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Modern Balinese - A regional literature of Indonesia


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MODERN BALINESE – A REGIONAL LITERATURE OF INDONESIA

1. INTRODUCTION

The role of Indonesian and of the regional languages
Since independence, the Indonesian language and literature have had a dominant and official role, but the regional languages have reasserted themselves, because of local sentiment and their innate vigour; and some use of them is made in schools and universities and for literary work. Balinese literature has been partly sustained by a continuing interest in Old Javanese, and in the long tradition of Javanese-Balinese writing, by the influence of Hinduism, and by the interaction of literature with the arts of painting, music, dance and drama; and above this, the Balinese language is used to interpret the local scene, in a popular, and sometimes secular, way.

Beginnings of modern Balinese literature
The first use of modern Balinese, as distinct from the Javanized literary idiom, appears to have been in the eighteenth century. Pigeaud (1968:5) says:

‘In Bali, Javanese gentlemen who had taken their refuge there after the Islamization of the Javanese court continued collecting manuscripts in the same way as had been done before in Java. Javanese-Balinese literature developed, and side by side with it native Balinese letters had a renascence in the eighteenth century after many centuries of Javanese supremacy in the province of culture.’

Gèlgèl considered itself as the successor of Majapahit, and maintained a Hindu-Javanese court style in language, literature and the arts; however, its unique position was destroyed by the invasion of Karang Asem forces in 1686. Gèlgèl’s successor, Klungkung, was unable to exercise
effective authority over the whole island: smaller princely courts developed, maintaining some of the old style, but now more open to new ideas and outside influences. In particular, Karang Asem entered on a career of adventure and conquest, culminating in the subjugation of Lombok in 1740, where a Balinese kingdom continued till it was overthrown by the Dutch in 1894.

The other centre of modern development was Bulélèng, which traded with the Islamic ports of the north coast of Java. Moreover, in 1697, Bulélèng intervened in Blambangan, the easternmost state of Java, and Balinese influence or interference continued there till the Dutch conquest of 1772. Bulélèng was also the state where European trade and political power in Bali was first based. During the British occupation of Java, 1811-15, Raffles was in touch with the Raja of Bulélèng. Following expeditions from 1846 onwards, the Dutch gained political control in 1855. It was here that the Dutch scholars, Rutger van Eck (1842-1901), and slightly later H. N. van der Tuuk (1824-1894), studied the Balinese language and literature. It was in Singaraja in 1928 that the Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk was established, to collect and preserve manuscripts and to record folk tales, and flourished under its first director, Roelof Goris (1895-1965), and his successor, Christiaan Hooykaas (1902-1979); and in Singaraja too, Pater Jan Kersten latterly did his work on modern spoken Balinese.

It appears to have been Karang Asem and Bulélèng where modern Balinese, as distinct from the Javanized literary idiom, was first used for imaginative writing. While the old romantic tradition was maintained, there also emerged a local and sometimes secular sentiment, not altogether bound by Hindu-Javanese conventions, but sometimes influenced by growing foreign contacts. These developments are exemplified in poetry, in folk literature, and in recent times in Balinese writing in western literary forms. Since the 1930s, many Balinese authors have also been writing in modern Indonesian: as much of their work expresses Balinese ideas and ethos, these writings will also be considered.

The modern period can be subdivided into four: (1) from the fall of Gèlgèl, 1686, till the Dutch expedition to Bulélèng, 1849, during which period the Balinese language was first used for a new, local literature; (2) from 1849 till the completion of the Dutch conquest in 1908: for this period, the collections and publications of Van Eck and Van der Tuuk provide substantial evidence for the development of Balinese letters till the end of the 19th century; (3) from 1908 till Indonesian independence in 1945, when the capital was at Singaraja, and where the educational establishment and later the Kirtya were of literary influence: during this period the first Balinese writers to use Indonesian were active from the 1930s; (4) from 1945 onwards, when the capital was moved to Den Pasar, the Udayana University was established, journalism and broad-
casting provided new outlets for writers, and the use of Indonesian became official and widespread.

This survey will cover imaginative writing: poems in the Balinese language in traditional metres; folk tales, which have been widely collected and published, and which by their use in schools have been an important means of sustaining an interest in Balinese language and literature; Balinese writing in western forms – poetry, novels, short stories and drama; and the works of Balinese authors using Indonesian for the same genres.

2. BALINESE POETRY IN TRADITIONAL METRES

The works considered in this section are those identified as Balinese in language by Brandes (1901-26) and Juynboll (1912) in their catalogues which deal with manuscripts from the Van der Tuuk collection (now in the Leiden University Library), or those available in published editions (listed in the Bibliography), or in mimeographed form available from the bookshops in Bali.

2.1. Tengahan poems

The tengahan poetry uses highly specialized metrical patterns. Usually a poem opens with some verses of fairly regular prosody (wiwitan or sawit), followed by alternate pairs of long (dawa) and short (bawak) verses. The tengahan metres used for Middle Javanese or Javanese-Balinese works are discussed by Robson (1971:20-3); he is reserved as to whether they represent an older form of poetry than the macapat: I would judge that they do, in view of their subject matter, archaic or archaizing language, and the fact that there is no new writing in this form. As far as tengahan poems in modern Balinese are concerned, there are a small number of these of considerable popularity, perhaps going back to the eighteenth century. There are also a few poems which have cantos both of tengahan and macapat, perhaps suggesting experimentation which was not sustained. (See the Appendix for analyses of the metres discussed.) Among the romantic poems, Jayapurana (L. Or. 4213-4-5, K. 1674) tells of Pasekrema who obtained a sacred image (arca), whence his dwelling place, Purbakara, became prosperous. When this prayangan was attacked, his grandson, Jayapurana, endeavoured to protect it, but in vain: the gods took the image away, while the desecrators were struck by lightning. Jayapurana now set out with his two brothers on a pilgrimage, and reached a hermitage, where they received a blessing. The poem is in three cantos in kadiri metre. L. Or. 4213 was copied in Saka 1670 (= A. D. 1748), and L. Or. 4215 in Saka 1671, the latter in Bakung, Bulêlèng.
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*Nyalig*, 'the pure, the handsome one', is the hero of a tale of erotic adventure. (L. Or. 3658, 3824, 3938(3), 4353-4, KBG lontar 688, K. 259, K. 1591 = L. Or. 11263, K. 1588). Van der Tuuk notes (Brandes II, 1903:202) that, other than in Karang Asem, this poem is not well understood; it contains a few Sasak words. At least one manuscript, L. Or. 4354, is from Bulèlèng. The poem is written in *demung* metre.

*Tunjung Biru* (L. Or. 3641, 3674, 3897(1), 4597-4602, K. 352 = L. Or. 11140) is the story of the *dadari* or heavenly nymphs, Tunjung Biru (= Blue Lotus), Suprabha (= Brilliant) and Lottama (i.e. Tilottama = Sesamum). The poem consists of a series of love adventures, and descriptions of the beauties of nature; mention is made of Asmara and Ratih, the love-gods. Van Eck (1875b:iv) mentions the *Tunjung Biru* as one of the most popular poems in every household.

*Tuung kuning*, 'Yellow Gherkin' (L. Or. 3819, 4602), is a folk tale in *demung* verse. It is also known in a prose tale (K. 1646 = L. Or. 11279b), which tells of a man, Pudak, so obsessed with cockfighting, that he wanted to reject and kill his little daughter; but she was rescued by a bidadari. *Dadang Dudang* (L. Or. 4169, K. 1269 = L. Or. 9709), also in *demung*, tells of the wanderings of Ki Dadang Dudang and his wife Ni Randi Randu. From a *pandita* he learns *brata* or ritual formulae, which however conduce to ill and bring him to hell; but in the end the pair are received by Wairocana in heaven, this last indicating the Buddhist authorship of the poem.

*Rara Wangi*, 'The Perfumed Maiden', is known from a single manuscript in the Van der Tuuk collection (L. Or. 3948 (1)). The heroine is in love with Ranapati, but the ruler of Badung desires her for himself, so they flee to Banjar. At first all goes well for them, but the ruler of this state likewise is enchanted by the beautiful girl, and he sends Ranapati to Blambangan, where he is killed. The Raja of Banjar summons Rara Wangi, but she stabs herself as he approaches her. Mad with grief, he kills his wives, wanders in the forest and dies. Ranapati is reunited with Rara Wangi in heaven, but the Raja of Banjar is tormented in hell by the hound *asu gaplong*, the swine *si damalung* and the king of the birds, *paksiraja*, and is further pursued by the reincarnated Ranapati and his bride, who finally annihilate him with an army of *bua*, and the Raja is followed to hell by his wives, whilst hero and heroine return to heaven. This story was copied from a palm-leaf manuscript of 72 folios from Bugbug in Karang Asem. The poem is of interest structurally, because it consists of nine cantos, some of which are *tengahan* and others old or obsolete *macapat* measures. Brandes III (1915:42-4) gives extensive extracts, as well as first lines of cantos, but it is not possible to determine the metres from the latter. Among those that can be identified, the first is
in *tikus kapanting, macapat*, the fifth is in *pinambi*, which is *tengahan*, the eighth *balabak* and the last in *panglipur*, both old *macapat* metres.

There are some Balinese didactic poems in *tengahan* metres: *Cowak*, in *demung*, the advice of an old man, Muslim influenced; *Darma sembada*, ‘mutual obligations’, with the first canto in the *macapat* metre, *adri*, the second in *demung*; *Dé Gunati*, on sicknesses, punishments and rewards and the duties of kings, in *panjimarga*, and *Kidung anacaraka*, an alphabetical acrostic poem of moral content, in *kadiri*.

### 2.2. *Macapat* poems

Later Balinese poetry is called *gaguritan* and is all in modern *macapat* metres, the Balinese ones constructed on the same principles as the Javanese. Each stanza is fixed as to the number of lines, the number of syllables in each line, and the vowel of the last syllable of the line. The rules are not always perfectly applied: sometimes the *pepet* vowel is pronounced, sometimes suppressed, according to the exigencies of the metre; and some imperfect rhymes may be allowed, where *o* may alternate with *a* or *e*; a syllable *ya* may sometimes be resolved as *ia*, and *wa* as *ua* to accommodate the metre.

There are differences between Balinese and Javanese usage. Some Balinese *macapat* metres are not known, or not used, in Central Java, as they originate from Blambangan or Bali itself. Some Javanese metrical schemes are modified in Balinese use, where there is a tendency to greater squareness, so that a Javanese line of 7 or 9 syllables is rendered in 8 in Bali, while a Javanese line of 12 syllables often appears in Balinese as 4 + 8, with a fixed vowel at the end of either part. Many Balinese poems are written throughout in one metre, while certain Javanese metres are never used alone in Balinese, but only in the course of poems of several cantos in different metres.

Balinese poetry is usually classified by metrical form: this is the way it is taught in schools, the various metres being set out with their tunes, and examples given of the best known texts. There is some relationship between metre and theme, both in the character of poems in a single metre, and in changes of mood where there are several cantos in different metres. These, however, are trends, not absolute differences, as there are examples of the same story’s being rendered in different metres in different versions. In the treatment below, poems in a single metre will be dealt with first, then those in mixed, mostly Balinese metres, and finally Balinese poems in mixed, mostly Javanese metres. Particular metres will be discussed, but all are set out in the Appendix, with a comparison with their Javanese forms.

#### 2.2.1. *Macapat* poems in single metres – (a) *adri*

The 17th century Javanese poem *Sri Tanjung*, from Blambangan, is the source of a popular Balinese metre, called *adri*, ‘hill’. In the *Sri Tanjung*,
the main metre has stanzas of 71 syllables. The work is divided into
cantos by short interludes in another original metre, panggalang. This
same pattern of two metres is used in a Balinese version of the Bima-
swarga, the story of Bhima's visit to hell to secure the release of his father
(L. Or. 4136-8), as seen in the excerpts given by Brandes (I, 1901:178-
81). Juynboll (1912:97) is, however, doubtful of the language, which he
declares can be called as good Javanese as Balinese: he gives the date of
L. Or. 4136 as Saka 1774 (= A. D. 1852). See further, Hinzler 1981,
passim.

When used for poems in Balinese, the Sri Tanjung or adri was most
frequently used alone. Many of the poems of this kind have to do with
popular Hinduism and exorcism. Bagus Diarsa, in 270 stanzas (ed. J. H.
Hooykaas, 1949), tells of a visit to earth of Siva (Batara Guru) in the
form of a beggar. He was kindly received by Bagus Diarsa, who allowed
him to take his son, Wiracita, to heaven. Bagus Diarsa was permitted to
see the torments of the damned in hell; and Batara Guru gave him an
excellent fighting cock and precious stones, by which he was enabled to
make successful wagers, and to supplant the unrighteous king with
whom he had contested.

I Dreman, in 60 stanzas adri, is the story of an unrecognized spouse
whose true love was rewarded (De Vroom 1875a): Jatiraga had two
wives, the elder, I Tan Porat, was faithful but neglected; the younger, I
Dreman, was flighty, and after her death was sent to hell; so too was
Jatiraga, for allowing the younger to rule over the elder. I Tan Porat
went to heaven, and begged the gods for the release of her husband, who
was allowed to rejoin her in heaven. (L. Or. 3826, 3916(1), 4224.)

Pan Brayut (summarized by Grader, 1939) is the story of a farming
family with eighteen children, who by hard work and good fortune reach
material well being, and through practical spirituality achieve harmony
and contentment. Pan Brayut and his wife end by adopting a life of
meditation in a hermitage. The story is popular as a representation of
fertility. The copies in the Van der Tuuk collection (L. Or. 3613,
3698(2), 3773, 3823, 3883(2), 3911(2), 3948(4), 3982(2), 4380-2) are
in adri; L. Or. 3823 has 123 stanzas. Grader (1939:260), however, talks
of a version in difficult and rough Balinese in another old macapat metre,
tikus kapanting.

Other poems in adri include Curik (L. Or. 4595), a folk tale of a
mynah who brings luck to his girl owner, Botoh Lara; and Limbur (L.
Or. 3661, 3923(3), 3982(3), 3983(3), 4292-3), about the ugly wife of
Puspa Jagat, whom she persuades to kill his son, whom he had by
another woman: the son goes to heaven, while the wife endures torments
in hell. Limbur is in the repertory of the arja, the Balinese opera (De
Zoete and Spies 1938:197). Another version of this tale, also in adri, is

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Sundari Petah (L. Or. 3923(1)), where the husband and wife are Sundari Petah and Liku.

These adri poems represent early examples of poetry in modern Balinese. Their provenance, so far as it is known, suggests that they come from, or at least were favoured in, the peripheral states, rather than traditional south-central Bali. The manuscripts of Bagus Diarsa used by Dr. Jacoba Hooykaas (1949:22-5) were from Bulélèng, Karang Asem and Jemberana; one of Van der Tuuk’s manuscripts of I Dreman (L. Or. 4224) was from Kubu Tambahan (Bulélèng); of Limbur (L. Or. 3983(3)) from Kloncing (Bulélèng); of Curik (L. Or. 4595) from Bugbug (Karang Asem). Van der Tuuk noted that images of the fertile pair, Pan and Men Brayut, were carved on stilts in Karang Asem (Brandes II 1903:229), while one of his manuscripts (L. Or. 4382) was from Mengwi.

2.2.2. Macapat metres — (b) ginada

The ginada metre was invented in Bali, and is used for Balinese poetry, but not for Javanese. It is a genuinely macapat type, but has the square rhythm typical of Balinese verse, consisting of 7 lines containing 52 syllables, with the formula 8a, 8i, 8o, 8u, 4i, 8a. It is discussed in detail by C. Hooykaas (1958:23-4). Ginada is the favourite stanza in Balinese poetry, and is employed for various themes: usually secular, sometimes satirical, and occasionally anti-establishment in sentiment.

There are some Panji tales in ginada. Bagus Umbara (L. Or. 3763, 3767, 4108-12, K. 339 = L. Or. 11139, K 476, 589) tells of the handsome prince, Bagus Umbara (Panji), who journeyed with his ugly attendant, Pun Semar, through Java and Bali to seek the most beautiful princesses, and succeeded in gaining the hand of two, those of Jong Biru and Jamintora. The text was edited by R. van Eck (1876), who divided the 933 stanzas into 13 episodes. A fine twentieth century illustrated lontar of a short portion of this text (British Library Or. 12579) was edited by C. Hooykaas (1968). There are indications of some Islamic influence, as in the name Jamintora, derived from the Amir Hamzah cycle, and originally Persian Zamin Turan — land of the Turks. One of Van der Tuuk’s manuscripts (L. Or. 4109) was from Karang Asem. A version is presented through the Balinese opera, arja (Dibia 1979:54-6).

Pakang Raras is named from the hero of another Panji story: in a storm, he reached the palace gardens of Daha, where he wooed a princess who was playing a gèndèr; when they were discovered, the king had them killed, but Batara Guru sent Narada to revive him with the tirta kamandalu, the water of life.

The Van der Tuuk collection contains two ginada versions: A — L. Or. 3812 and 3914(1), and B — L. Or. 4359 (see also K. 457). In 1984, a research team headed by I Gusti Ngurah Bagus chose this text as the best
example for a study of the Panji tales in modern Balinese, including an edition based upon the Kirtya manuscript K. 457, which is a lontar of 67 folios, with the text in 623 stanzas. Its continuing popularity is evidenced by its use in the arja repertoire (Dibia 1979:51-3), as well as in the drama gong, in a more modern and realistic presentation, where the gamelan is retained, but more difficult songs and dances are omitted.

Mantri Jawa (L. Or. 3952(1), K. 2268 = L. Or. 10217), also a Panji tale, was best known in Karang Asem (Juynboll 1912:117). The hero went from Java to Bali, where he fell in love with princess Cinamburat, who healed him when he was spewing blood. As he took leave, she followed him secretly, but her mother persuaded him to marry Limbur, who cast a spell on him, so he forgot his first love. She in sorrow stabbed herself, but was revived; Mantri Jawa escaped from the spell, married Cinamburat, and Limbur was put to death. This tale is thoroughly Balinese in sentiment, with its elements of magic and exorcism, and of tragic love redeemed through death.

Gusti Wayan (L. Or. 3582(3), 3910(2), 3940(2), 3972(3), K. 1077 = L. Or. 11205, K. 1507 = L. Or. 11247) is the story of a young man who was killed by a prince because the latter had fallen in love with his wife. This is a recurrent theme in Balinese literature, and is discussed, with several examples, by C. Hooykaas in his edition of Jaya Prana (1958), whom he calls the Balinese Uriah. Jaya Prana was a youth of the village of Kalianget, west of Singaraja. He became a retainer at the court of the local prince, where he fell in love with a beautiful girl, Layon Sari, and married her; but the ruler desired the girl, and sent Jaya Prana on an expedition to Pulaki, far away in north-west Bali, and here he was put to death. When his bride heard of this, she refused the prince’s advances and stabbed herself; but she was reunited with Jaya Prana in heaven. The story is significant not solely for its tragic love theme, but also because in 1949 it became the basis of a religious cult in the village of Kalianget initiated by a cremation in effigy of the hero in expiation of the crime of the local ruler centuries before. This development was described by Franken (1951), who also noted how well known this ballad is throughout Bali, being published locally, translated into Javanese, and staged in the arja and in a modern adaptation by the schools of Singaraja (Franken 1960:237). C. Hooykaas (1958:28) notes an older recension (L. Or. 3789, 3795, 4209-12), and a younger (of which the best text is K. 202 = L. Or. 11129, also L. Or. 3910(1), 3967, K. 2237). Hooykaas’s edition is in 182 stanzas; in the opening verses the copyist (or composer?) describes his home at Kalianget. Another manuscript of the younger recension is L. Or. 1884, of the Delft Collection, deposited in Leiden in 1864. A popular edition, with the Balinese text, Indonesian translation and description and illustrations of...
the modern cult was made by I Ketut Puthra in 1951, and republished several times.

*Lingga Peta* deals with the violent death of a handsome and virtuous young man, falsely accused of improper approaches to a young girl: her short-tempered father, without attempting to investigate, killed him. However, the gods restored him to life, and he became king of the country. In a second part, Lingga Peta visited hell, where he secured the release of his parents from torment. The poem was edited by De Vroom (1875b), in two parts. Lekkerkerker (1920:81-2) reckoned that after the anonymous first part (stanzas 1-48), there is a lacuna before the conclusion (stanzas 49-156) by I Srinakta of Banyumala (Bulélèng). L. Or. 3923(3) corresponds to stanzas 51-92. L. Or. 4294 is part of a variant version (see also K. 115).

*Wira Tantra* (L. Or. 3660, 4680) is the story of an elopement: Wira Tantra was a dalang, and after giving a *wayang* performance of an episode from the Ramayana, on the contest between Kumbakarna and Hanuman, ran off with a girl, Wira Tantri, while her parents and relations followed after them. Another tale of elopement is *Jambé Nagara*, also called *Siayat Sasak* (L. Or. 3606, K. 203 = L. Or. 9202). Jambé Nagara, a young man of Gianyar, fled with his sweetheart to Karang Asem, and thence to Ampenan in Lombok, where by misfortune the Balinese Raja of Mataram saw the girl on the strand and desired her. The young man fled to Sumbawa, where he was befriended by the ruler, who commandeered a fleet of Dutch and Bugis ships to sail to Ampenan to avenge the deed. From there they marched to Mataram, where the Raja submitted without fighting, restored Jambé Nagara’s bride, and entertained the Dutch with dancing girls and the Bugis with a feast. An extensive summary is given by Van Eck (1875a:336-9).

*Basur* (L. Or. 4130-1, K. 216) is an exorcist tale. Nyoman Karang had two beautiful daughters: the elder, Sokasti, was promised to her cousin, Tirta; he however did not want to marry, but rather to become a wizard and help mankind, but after his father’s remonstration, consented to the union. Meanwhile Basur, a magician, set his heart on getting Sokasti for his own crazy son, Tigaron. Nyoman Karang, though terrified, refused to give her away against her will. Basur resorted to magic, and in the shape of a bird, carried disease to Sokasti’s window, so that she fell dangerously ill. A *balian*, or healer, was called: he discovered the cause of her sickness, and engaged in a great duel of magic with Basur. This first *balian* was defeated, but a second was summoned, who overcame Basur and healed Sokasti. The story is used in the *arja* (De Zoete and Spies 1938:205-10). The poem was edited by C. Hooykaas (1978).
I Ketüt Bungkling (L. Or. 4375-9, K. 1416) is a remarkable satirical poem, in which the hero, a cunning disputant, outwits representatives of the Balinese establishment: first a Brahman priest, over the requirements for a cremation (and he asks him why he has an ugly son); then a Sudra priest, a sengguhu, on the questions of where is Jero Gedé (that is the supreme God) and how far is the east? Then he consults a jaksa, a learned legal officer, pretending to be afflicted with epilepsy. He discusses rice-growing with men constructing a dam, visits a temple festival, and queries the claims of a medium to communicate with the dead or to raise divinities. Finally he comes on a reader of Old Javanese and a Balinese interpreter and discredits the latter. This ginada version is attributed to a dalang, Tagksub of Bongkasa (Mengwi). Van Eerde (1902) gives a detailed summary, and notes its popularity in Lombok. Its contents and stance may suggest a Muslim writer.

2.2.3. Macapat metres — (c) sinom
Of the modern Javanese verse forms, the most popular in Bali is the sinom. It is usually modified from the standard Javanese form by making each line to be of eight syllables, except the penultimate of four, resulting in a stanza of 10 lines of 76 syllables. The differences between the Javanese and Balinese forms of sinom are set out in the Appendix.

The sinom version of the Bungkling story, called Pan Bungkling, is by Ida Wayan Dingin, a Brahman of Sidemen (Karang Asem), who was put to death for treason in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is longer than the ginada poem, having 226 stanzas, compared with the 102 of the latter (K. 1416). According to Van Eerde (1902:188), the Sinom version is the more popular. Perhaps this is because it contains a long additional episode which is anti-Muslim in theme. The Van der Tuuk collection contains many copies (L. Or. 3128, 3163, 3617, 3694, 3813, 3831, 3876(1), 4369-74, compare K. 465 = L. Or. 11158). The opening of the sinom version is similar to the other, but is followed by a long account of the arrangement made by Gusti Agung, Prince of Pamenoran, for Pan Bungkling to hold a disputation with the Muslim dukuh Durahim. Pan Bungkling puts the question: who stands higher, a Muslim or a Hindu? When the Muslim is worsted, a fight ensues, which leads to an invasion by the King of Mecca: but Pan Bunkling routs the enemy's elephants with sungga (sharpened bamboo stakes); then Gusti Agung invades Mecca and defeats their king.

An historical war poem, Uwug Banjar (L. Or. 3582(2), 3972(2), 4631, K. 918 = L. Or. 1191), gives an account, from the point of view of a Balinese observer, of the Dutch expedition to that place in Bulèlèng in 1868, occasioned by a local uprising headed by Ida Madé Rai, of the former princely house of Banjar, against the District head under the Dutch administration, Ida Ketut Anom, and carried out by Lt. van Hasselt of the Dutch Navy. This work, in 102 stanzas, preserves the
Javanese form of the *sinom* metre, except that the end line is always $4u + 8a$, and so perhaps represents a transition to the later Balinese form. (Van Eek 1874:104-21.)

*Kasmoran* (K. 2196 = L. Or. 10171) is a lyric poem, a protestation of longing and fidelity of a lover for his girl. It is in 39 stanzas, *sinom séwagati*, which hovers between the Javanese and Balinese forms, allowing either 7 or 8 syllables to the fifth and seventh lines, but the last always $4u + 8a$. An annotated edition was published by I Ketut Ginarsa (1980). The *Kirtya* lists include several other manuscripts of varying lengths, suggesting that this is a mere category title, *kasmaran* = love.

One of the Balinese versions of the Tantri animal fables is wholly in *sinom* (L. Or. 4552). *Cetrung* (*Gending Bali* 1979:11, 65) is the story of a bird and a deer. The same school textbook (pp. 63-64) has a *Gaguritan Pancasila* in six stanzas *sinom*.

### 2.2.4. Poems in *durma* and *layon sari* metres

Both these metres have Javanese antecedents, which were modified when taken over into Balinese, and became naturalized, taking their names from popular poems. The poem *Durma* is discussed in the next section; the verse form, where it is used with others, has in Bali 52 syllables in 7 lines. Poems wholly in *durma* include a version of the Tantri tales, also called *Gunakaya* (L. Or. 3911(1)), and a verse rendering of the *kabayan*, or satirical tale, *I Sugih I tiwas*, in which a poor man becomes rich and a rich man poor (L. Or. 4242).

*Layon sari* is the name of a poem, its heroine, and the metre in which it is written, which has 60 syllables and 7 lines; the metre is also called *panglipur*. The story is of Layon Sari, the wife of Singan Dalang, who disappears in the forest, and dies there, but is later restored to life. There are copies in the Van der Tuuk collection (L. Or. 3582(1), 3764, 3948(8), 3972(1), 4291), the Lombok collection (L. Or. 5270), and the *Kirtya* (K. 510 = L. Or. 9338).

### 2.2.5. Poems in mixed Balinese metres

A few Balinese poems of several cantos make use of the native *ginada*, and the naturalized *adri, sinom, durma* and *layon sari*. Such combinations are not generally used in Javanese, nor in recent Balinese poetry, so they may be presumed to belong to the earlier period of experimentation of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth century. *Durma* is a romantic poem which has an important place in the popular tradition of Bali, and is written in three cantos, *sinom, durma, sinom*. Rajapala, while out in the forest hunting deer, came upon the heavenly nymph, Selasih, while she was bathing in a stream, and stole her clothes, and only consented to restore them if she would marry him. They had a
son, Durma, after whose birth Ken Selasih returned to heaven. The boy became a hermit with his father, who gave him good advice and then left him. After encountering a raksasi in the mountains, he reached the kingdom of Wanokling, where the prince adopted him. Durma is a favourite subject for Balinese dance-drama and painting. (L. Or. 3657, 3671, 3696, 3734, 3746(1), 4225-9, K. 545, and K. 1386 = L. Or. 11228.)

Cupak is a satirical tale, which occurs in various renderings in Bali and Lombok, as well as being represented in the dance drama in both islands. There is a Balinese version in three cantos, adri, ginada, adri (L. Or. 3729, 3948(7), 4591-2). This is the story of two brothers, the cowardly and cunning Cupak, and the noble Grantang, the young and clever one. Grantang proposed that they should go and rescue princess Timur Sasih from the cave where she was held by a raksasa. Grantang slew the giant, but Cupak tricked him, leaving him in the cave, and going to the court to claim the princess as his prize. When Grantang eventually reached court, he challenged Cupak to a duel, worsted him, and when the truth became known, gained the princess himself. De Zoete and Spies (1938:143-6, 275-8) gives an extensive summary.

Purwajati (L. Or. 4433-4) is in three cantos, sinom, adri and layon sari. Before his death, Purwajati took leave of his two wives, and went to heaven. When the children born to either spouse grew up, they went to seek their father, meeting on the way a raksasa, a garuda, a tiger, a lion and an elephant. When they reached the realm of the divinity, Adi Guru, he sent them against Wirajaya, the ruler of Sindupati, who had abducted their mothers. The women were sent to hell on account of their presumed infidelity, but at their sons' entreaty were restored to their husband. The manuscript orginated from Bugbug (Karang Asem).

Buwang Sakti (L. Or. 4167-8) is in four cantos, ginada, adri, durma and layon sari. Jayamitra took service with the ruler of Minangkabau, who gave him the name Buwang Sakti, Love Charmer. He went out to kill a tiger, a raksasa, and then the Prince of Pancanagara, whose widow, Dewi Sita Rum, he married. Later he was captured, and although his father, a Djinn, tried to rescue him, he was killed. Van der Tuuk says (Brandes I, 1901:293) that this tale was composed under Sasak influence; his manuscripts were copied from a lontar from Bugbug.

2.2.6. Poems in mixed, mostly Javanese, metres
A large number of gaguritan, generally the longest ones, are composed in several cantos of Javanese metres. Some are modified in their structure when used in Balinese, which tends to prefer lines of four or eight syllables, and to avoid those with an odd number of syllables. Most of
these metres are seldom, if ever, used as the one-verse form for a poem, unlike those discussed above. Among the most usually adopted and adapted Javanese metres are dangdang gula, ginanti, mas kumambang, megatruh, mijil, pangkur, pucung and semerendana. Their Balinese forms, and the manner in which they differ from the corresponding Javanese metres, are set out in the Appendix. Some of the poems also introduce cantos in the metres discussed in para. 2.2.5. Since in some of the works there is evidence of literary influence from Lombok, it should be noted that Sasak and Lombok Javanese poems are nearly all written in several cantos, employing the six Javanese metres dangdang gula, durma, mas kumambang, pangkur, semerendana and sinom, as in the Tutur Monyeh and the Sasak version of the Rengganis.

Many of the Balinese poems in this class are of fairly recent origin, and show evidence of adaptation from existing sources, including Balinese prose histories and folk tales, Chinese and Islamic stories. The paparikan, modern renderings of the Old Javanese kakawin, are also generally presented in this form. There appears to be a greater artificiality in these poems than in those previously discussed. In the same poem, for instance, a canto in ginada will be wholly in Balinese, while one in a Javanese metre may be in a more literary language, with a greater number of Javanese words: occasionally even a canto in Old Javanese may be introduced. When I visited the Kirtya in 1984, their list included the titles of eighty literary gaguritan, with a further fourteen paparikan based upon Old Javanese kakawin: a few only of the best known poems will be discussed.

Radèn Saputra (L. Or. 3676, 4435) is a widespread tale, also popular in East Java, Madura and Lombok. The Balinese version is in four cantos, pangkur, sinom, semerendana and durma. The hero, with his attendants, Saulat and Sambada, fights with tigers and ghosts in a cemetery, where he dreams of the beautiful Déwi Ratna Manik. He surprises her while she is bathing, and marries her; his followers likewise take her ladies-in-waiting. The father of the princess pursues them, but in vain. The Kirtya has a copy (K. 1390).

Mégantaka (L. Or. 3639, 3739, 4331-7, K. 502) is a Panji tale in 448 stanzas in 10 cantos: sinom, semerendana, durma, pangkur, dangdang gula, and the same sequence again. It relates the adventures of Princess Ambara Sari, and the rivals for her hand Ambarapati and Mégantaka, Prince of Melaka, the death of the princess, and her subsequent return to heaven. This was the first complete Balinese text to be edited by Van Eck (1875b): he used it as a good example of modern Balinese poetry, a subject which he discussed in the introduction to his edition. He reckons that this text does not go back to any Javanese source, but rather to some Muslim Malay story, or, as the introduction to the poem itself suggests,
one brought by Bugis seafarers (Van Eck 1875b:xvii). In Van der Tuuk’s view, however (Brandes II, 1903:171), it was composed under Muslim influence in Ampenan, Lombok, and contains several Arabic words.

_Japatuan_ (L. Or. 4199-4200, K. 214, K. 417 = L. Or. 11150) is named after its hero. His elder brother is Gagak Turas; his wife died shortly after their marriage. Through the gracious intervention of Indra, he went to heaven to recover her. There he drank the revivifying _amrita_ and returned to earth as a king. The Hindu background of this story is reinforced by the author’s familiarity with the _Wayupurana_ and the _Adiparwa_; in canto 6, Japatuan visited hell; Jogormanik, Darakala and Mahakala, deities of the underworld, were encountered there. Van der Tuuk however notes some Muslim words (Brandes I, 1901:247-8). My duplicated copy from Klungkung has six cantos: _durma, pangkur, sinom, semerendana, dangdang gula_ and _sinom_; the incipits correspond to Van der Tuuk’s text, which however has a further four cantos, apparently in _pangkur, semerendana, dangdang gula_ and _durma_.

_Dukuh Siladri_, ‘the hermit on the rocky hill’ (K. 1157), is an exorcist tale relating to Bangli. A rich villager fell in love with the charming daughter of a hermit. Although she was newly married, the villager sought to ensnare her with magic: but the hermit called upon all the animals of the forest to resist. Almost overcome, the hermit subdued the sorceries of his adversary at a second attempt. In the lists and published versions, the name appears as _Dukuh Suladri_, as for instance in the publication in 1974 of the prose work in Balinese-Javanese, _Babad Dukuh Suladri_ (K. 238), and in the extended verse rendering _Gaguritan Dukuh Suladri_ by Gora Sirikan (Nyoman Jelada) of Gianyar, in 11 parts, 1958-62. A Dutch translation by C. Hooykaas (1982), based on the Kirtya manuscript, shows that this has 410 stanzas in ten cantos: _sinom, durma, ginada, dangdang gula, semerandana, sinom, ginada, ginanti, pangkur_ and _sinom_.

_Sampik Ingtai_ is a Chinese story. A Javanese version was published in Samarang in 1873; Van der Tuuk’s manuscript, in an East Javanese script, was copied in Surabaya in 1878 (Brandes III, 1915:55; Juynboll 1912:109; L. Or. 3996(1)). The Balinese rendering, in its opening verses, announces that it was composed in A. D. 1915 at Waciu Negri (Sanur). Ingtai went to school dressed as a boy, and there made friends with Sampik. The latter discovered that she was a girl, fell in love with her, and wanted to marry her. She had first to go home, but when Sampik arrived later than was expected, she was already promised to another. He died of grief; but when Ingtai saw the grave, it opened and she entered it; in heaven the pair prayed to be revived and sent back to earth, where they were united; but the discarded husband was disconsolate.
The story was included in the repertory of the arja (De Zoete and Spies 1938:322-3). There are copies in the Kirtya collection (K. 514, 1764), and it is available in duplicated form. It is in 240 stanzas in 12 cantos. Of these the fourth canto is in dangdang gula, incorporating a Javanese poem, Duh Ratnayu, which does not mention the hero and heroine, but refers to Bagawan Tresna Windu and Hiang Smara, the love god. In its original form, Duh Ratnayu has two cantos, 28 stanzas dangdang gula followed by 4 pangkur (cf. L. Or. 13413). The Sampik Ingtai incorporates the first canto from the original poem, but translates the second into Balinese in the dangdang gula metre.

Tamtam (K. 2262 = L. Or. 10213) is an adventure story telling of I Ginal and I Ginul from Java, who changed their form, visited Egypt, and were there involved with I Tamtam. It is in 270 stanzas in 9 cantos. A duplicated edition published by Pustaka Balimas, Den Pasar 1961, gives the author as I Ketut Sangging, the Perbekel of Bastala, Bubunan District (Bulèlèng), and the date of composition as 1935.

3. SATWA—FOLK TALES

Folk tales have a significant place in modern Balinese literature. The term satwa, = Sanskrit satva, a creature, hence an animal, indicates the character of many of them. Van der Tuuk (Brandes III, 1915:75) describes them as ‘tales, generally oral, such as are told by women to children; some of them summarize the contents of a poem known to the teller, others have been worked up into poems’. This relationship of the oral to the written literature is significant, firstly because the tales provide some of the evidence on which the history and criticism of Balinese literature can be built, and secondly because it is widely recognized that both in language and in sentiment they provide a nearly ideal representation of the indigenous Balinese outlook.

It will be convenient to consider the folk tales in four stages. First there are a few examples in the Van der Tuuk collection. Secondly there was the wide and intensive collecting by the Kirtya in the years immediately before the Second World War, which provided much new material for study by Balinese and European scholars.

The third stage has been their use in the schools of Bali, especially since independence. Fourthly, the Department of Education and Culture in Bali, and the Udayana University, Den Pasar, have engaged in further collecting and study.

3.1. The Van der Tuuk collection

This consists of eleven manuscripts containing 24 texts: one is a lontar, and several of the other texts are recorded in the Roman script, probably
indicating that they were obtained orally. These now constitute L. Or. 3701 and 4474-83 (Brandes III, 1915:75-6; Juynboll 1912:179-83). It is evident that some of them contain plots of wayang plays, especially those introduced by the term magunem, which is usually understood to refer to the music performed before a shadow play.

Besides animal tales, there are stories of village wisdom, humour and cunning, with stock characters as in other Indonesian literatures, but with a background of Balinese life and sentiment. Among the animal fables are I bojog ring i kèkèr – The ape and the jungle fowl; I kakwa makakasihan ring sang lutung – The tortoise enamoured of the monkey; Pan Cubling, in which an ape forces the boy Cubling to give him rice, but is killed by the father; Kèn Bojog – The man who married a monkey; and I Celepuk – The owl, with the gingerbread woman and the monkeys.

Among the farcical tales are I bawang tekèn i kasuna – The onion and the garlic, a tale of two sisters, the former good, who marries a prince, the latter bad, who meets misfortune. I belog is the village fool: Van der Tuuk has two tales, one being I belog tekèn i daha tuha – The fool and the old maid; the other I sugih teken i tiwas – The rich man and the poor man: the latter becomes wealthy in the end. Other titles include I rara – The girl; Pan Paluk, which is described as satwa gegancar = transmitted from mouth to mouth; and Pan Gulalang tekèn Men Gulalang, village man and wife.

Romances and fairy tales include: I bintang lara, named after the hero, a boy found in a clump of ferns, who with the help of his sorceress wife, Ni Cili, cured a queen of her sickness with the help of a magic white crow; Suksma lara di nagara Kulwan: a king was driven away by his patih; later he meets three women, for all of whom he sings, and he marries one of them. I ubuh – The orphan: he makes friends with a jagul, a huge eel who supports the world, and who presents him with a fighting cock, which defeats the king’s bird, and enables its owner to become the ruler of Pajarakan.

The magunem tales are probably summaries used by the dalang for shadow plays. The first is a dialogue between Batara Guru and Batara Kala; the second introduces the five Pandawa brothers; and the third refers to Duryodhana, the leader of the Korawa princes, opponents to the Pandawas in the Mahabharata story.

Three more tales are Panji legends: two are versions of Pakang Raras, of which one is preserved in original form in Balinese script on palm leaves; the other story is Satwa Koripan, telling of Mantri Koripan (Panji), who marries two princesses of Daha, and later the daughter of a raksasa. Panji loses his son to a gambler in a cockfight, but the boy, with the help of a raven, steals the magic jewel of the raksasa and is eventually reunited with his mother.
3.2. Folk tales collected by the Gedong Kirtya
The Kirtya Liefrinck – Van der Tuuk, Singaraja (nowadays known as the Gedong Kirtya), was most active in collecting folk tales from 1937 to 1941: altogether about 350 titles were assembled. Copies of many of the typescripts were later acquired by the University of Leiden Library, in 1961 and 1966. The folk tales are listed by Pigeaud (II, 1968:913-72), with other types of manuscript; but most can be recognized by their titles, which usually refer to the individual human or animal protagonists. Personal prefixes include I (common to male and female), ni (female), sang (lord), pan, nang (father), luh (woman), and mèn (mother), followed by a proper name, or by designations of such stock characters as belog (foolish), sigir (half), sugih (rich), and tiwas (poor). Animal characters include macan, samong, mong (tiger), lutung, bojog (monkey), sampi (ox), kidang (deer), naga (dragon), ayam, siyap (fowl), celepuk (owl), cru kcuk (thrush) and kakuwa (tortoise). A frequent form of title connects two characters by the words tekên or ring: Sang lutung tekên sang kakuwa – The monkey and the tortoise; / bojog ring i kèkèr – The ape and the jungle fowl.

The collection has been the principal source for study in this field, mostly since Indonesian independence, both by European and by Balinese scholars, including C. Hooykaas, J. Hooykaas, I Gusti Ngurah Bagus and I Ketut Ginarsa, and W. Jendra: their works are signalled in the bibliography. C. Hooykaas (1948) has a collection of six tales, with Dutch translations opposite the texts, all of which have to do with a lad who is born with only half a body: Imrèrèng – The naughty boy (K. 1942 = L. Or. 11336), I rare sigaran – The half child (K. 1960 = L. Or. 10048), I sigir – The half one (K. 2075 = 10101), I truna asibak tua asibak – The one who was half-young and half-old (K. 2076 = L. Or. 10102), I dukuh sakti – The wonderful hermit (K. 2127 = L. Or. 11423), and I sibakan – The half-one (K. 2182). I Gusti Ngurah Bagus (1971) has a collection of farcical tales, the first five under the heading kabelogan = foolishness: I belog – The fool (K. 1748 = L. Or. 11313), Nang Bangsing tekên i belog – Bangsing and the fool (K. 1946 = L. Or. 11339), Pan belog – The old fool (K. 1938 = L. Or. 11334), Nyoman Jater – The fop (K. 1311 = L. Or. 11217), Mèn Muntig – The woman of Banyusri (K. 1330 = L. Or. 11221); the second set are under daya = cunning, and include I Celempung – The stumbler (K. 1677 = L. Or. 9909), Pan balang tamak – Mr. Greedy Locust (not listed by the Kirtya), I belog mantu – The foolish son-in-law (K. 2200 = L. Or. 10173), and Pan Angklung Gadang – The court servant (K. 1313 = L. Or. 9725).

3.3. Folk tales in school
The use of Balinese reading materials in primary and middle schools has been an important part of the educational policy in the island. Semereti dwiwingsati: piteger ipun satuwa kalih likur soroh consists of 22 tales
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compiled by I Madé Pasek and I Wayan Jiwa, published in Batavia in 1915. I Madé Pasek also composed a modern Balinese prose version of the Tantri animal fables in the Balinese script, likewise published in Batavia, in 1916, and reissued many times since then and still in use. Besides the frame story it contains 25 fables, such as *Kedis cangak mati bahan lobané* – The heron who died because of his greed, and *Macan kesapa bahan Ida Sang Pandita* – The tiger cursed by the Brahman.

Many of the folk tales from the Kirtya collection have been transcribed or adapted for school use, while other stories from well-known poems have been edited and presented in a similar form. The Team Penyusun Buku-buku compiled a series, *Satua Bali*, published in Den Pasar in six parts in 1975, comprising 28 tales. The aim of the editors is given in the following translated extracts from their introduction:

‘These books of Balinese folk tales are examples of the series of readers based on the material of popular stories which are widely known by the Balinese community . . . To fulfil the purpose of language instruction, they are presented so as to promote in the children a feeling of respect for their culture. Moreover, the Balinese folk tales illustrate local aspects, which in their turn illuminate the national culture of the people of Indonesia . . . With the children’s reading these stories themselves, it is hoped that they will appreciate the values and beauties of the literature they contain, and understand the content of the stories, distinguishing the good and bad elements within them.’

The first two volumes (1A, 1B, 2A, 2B) contain stories of the kind already cited, but the third (3A, 3B) also has some adaptations from traditional Balinese literature. The latter include a version of *Sang Nandaka* – The bull and the lion, which is the frame story from the *Tantri* tales; *Durma* and *Cupak*, already summarized above; and episodes from *kakawin*: Hanuman in Langka from the *Ramayana*, Parikesit in Hastinapura from the *Mahabharata*, and the story of *Garuda*.

3.4. **New collecting and academic study**

The study of folk tales is being further developed by the Department of Education and Culture, and by the Universities. In 1976, the Faculty of Education, Udayana University, Den Pasar, published a report in two volumes: *Laporan penelitian sastra lisan Bali*. I Gusti Ngurah Bagus and I Ketut Ginarsa compiled *Kembang rampé kasusastran Bali purwa* (1978b), which included 25 tales from the Kirtya collection. In 1978, a research team from the Department of Education and Culture published *Cerita rakyat daerah tematis tokoh utama mitologis dan legendaris daerah Bali*. This comprises fifteen tales, newly collected, some having a bearing on the history of Bali, and includes the texts in Balinese with Indonesian translations and commentary. *I Kebo Iwa* is the story of the ancient giant of Taro, in the mountains of north Gianyar, who could never get enough
food, but became a cannibal: he is credited with building many of Bali's ancient monuments. *Bulan di Pejeng* is the story of how the moon fell at Pejeng, which is an account of the origin of the great ancient bronze drum at Pura Panataran Sasih. *Dalang Buricèk* originates from Kamasan (Klungkung). The hero was so talented that he became the court *dalang*, his performances so powerful that the Badung court at Kesiman was shaken. *Ula selam bukit ring bukit Tenganan* is a legend of a man who consented to become a serpent to protect his master, and lives in a hill by Tenganan (Karang Asem).

This collection also contains some stories of more general import: *Batara bícara tekèn manusia* tells how at his creation, man was able to converse with the gods Brahma, Visnu, Iswara (= Siva), Saraswati and others. *Watu Gunung* is the story of the king whose children became the days of the month, explaining the mythology of the Javano-Balinese calendar. *I Godogan* is a Panji story in fairy-tale form: a prince of Janggala was born as a frog with magical powers. He went to Daha to ask for the hand of the princess, but the king was so affronted that he killed him; but by his magical power, as often as he was slain, he was restored to life. Eventually he won the princess, resumed his human form as a handsome prince, and became ruler of Janggala. This tale is widely known, and is also used in the repertory of the arja (Dibia 1979:53-4).

4. **BALINESE WRITING IN MODERN FORMS**

The writers considered here are those whose works are most extensive or varied, or those whom recent Balinese literary critics consider the most significant.

4.1. **Introduction**

From early in the present century, a small number of Balinese scholars and literary writers published works relating to the Balinese language and the inherited literature and culture, as well as original imaginative compositions, both in Balinese and Indonesian. They had a strong base on which to build: the Old Javanese and Javanese literature, the shadow-play and dance drama and their associated music, and painting, both traditional and modern, all of which were based to a large extent on literary themes. With the establishment of Dutch authority throughout the island from 1908, the writers were further influenced by the colonial educational policy; by the Volkslectuur – Balai Pustaka; by the nationalist movement, which encouraged the growth of Indonesian language and literature; and by the establishment of the Kirtya-Liefirck – Van der Tuuk at Singaraja in 1928, which made the old literature accessible to Balinese scholars.

In 1929, I Nyoman Kajeng produced a scheme of classification for the
Balinese and other texts collected by the Kirtya; in 1963 he was appointed, with others, to compile an Indonesian-Balinese dictionary; among them were two scholars who were also leading original writers: I Wayan Gobiah and I Wayan Bhadra.

Current Balinese writing for the most part follows the modes of modern Indonesian: lyric poetry, short stories, novels, and drama in European forms. The subjects and sentiments are largely of the present day, sometimes romantic, sometimes realistic; social and national themes are frequent, and often, though not always, reflect a secular outlook. Personal authorship, rather than the traditional anonymity, has become the fashion. Most authors are, or have been, schoolteachers, university lecturers, government officers or journalists. Most, but not all, writers use both Balinese and Indonesian. Balinese is employed partly out of local patriotism, but especially to express personal outlooks and emotions. On the other hand, the use of Indonesian ensures a wider readership for the author, and the spreading of Balinese ideas throughout the country: it is used not only for original writing, but also to provide introductions to and translations of Balinese texts, and for works about Balinese religion and culture.

4.2. Some pioneer novelists
I Wayan Gobiah was born at Panjèr, Den Pasar; he became a schoolmaster at Mengwi in 1928. Already in 1923, his *Satua I lutung mungil* — The story of a favourite monkey, had been published by Balai Pustaka. His romantic novel, *Nemu karma* — Meeting one’s fate, was issued by B. P. (no. 929) in 1929. This story follows the life of I Sangga, through the successive stages of his courting Ni Sukarsi, followed by their marriage, family life, misfortunes, and separation; as with other works of this period, there are strong didactic overtones.

I Wayan Bhadra, called Gedé Sréwana, was born at Singaraja in 1905, and held high office in the Departments of Religion and of Education and Culture. He worked for the Gedong Kirtya from 1935, and in 1937 published an article on *mabasan*, the recitation of Old Javanese works, and later compiled works on Balinese Hinduism, and made important contributions to Balinese lexicography. In 1940 he became leader of the Perkumpulan Bali Darma Laksana (Ethical Society), and joint editor of the literary journal *Jatayu*, and in 1950 cultural editor of *Bhakti*, both published in Singaraja. His novel *Mlancaran ka Sasak* — Migrating to Lombok, was first published in parts by the Kirtya in its journal *Bhawanagara* and was subsequently reissued in one volume. It has a social theme, set in modern time: most of the action is conveyed through lively conversations, with only occasional narrative passages in the third person.

Several Balinese authors writing in Indonesian published their work at Batavia, or other centres outside of Bali. Imam Supardi’s *Kintamani*...

The best known Balinese novelist writing in Indonesian is Anak Agung Panji Tisna (1908-1978), born at Singaraja. He is recognized as of national standing, and his works are discussed in the general histories of Indonesian literature (Teeuw 1967, 1:52, 77-8, 220-1; Rosidi 1969: 57-8). Especially valuable is Caldwell's article (1985) on Panji Tisna's life and writings, with a comprehensive bibliography. He was a remarkable writer, a prince of Bulèlèng, a man of strong individuality, who in his later years became a Christian, and so was separated from his family. His first book, *Ni Rawit, cèti penjual orang* — *Ni Rawit, the slave-trader* (Balai Pustaka no. 1198, 1935, reissued at Den Pasar, 1975), describes Balinese society, in which the characters are hard and cruel, the rajas being responsible for the malaise which countenances slaving. His next work, *Sukréni, gadis Bali* (B. P. no. 1225, 1936), again emphasized the hard side of Balinese character: a mother, who thought only of material gain, hoped she could sell her daughter; this unhappy fate was the result of *karma* arising from her conduct in previous lives. *I Swasta setahun di Bedahulu* (B. P. no. 1293, 1938) is an historical novel of Balinese life in the tenth century A. D., in which the author describes the curse which was to hang over succeeding generations, and which was manifested in the various palace intrigues of the Balinese court. *Déwi Karuna: salah sebuah jalan pengembara dunia* was published at Mèdan in 1938. After Indonesian independence, when Panji Tisna had become a Christian, his novel *I Madé Widiadi: kembali pada Tuhan* was published by Badan Penerbit Kristen (Jakarta, c. 1957). Rosidi (1969:57) says that, compared with the contemporary writings of Sumatran authors, the work of Panji Tisna is livelier and quicker of movement.

4.3. Post-independence Balinese scholars

From the 1950's onwards, a number of Balinese scholars, most of whom had grown up before the Japanese war, wrote extensively on Balinese literature and culture, both by way of critical appreciation, and by works of popularization: many of these were in Indonesian, or provided translations of editions which also contained the original texts. I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa published *Ilmu pedalangan* and *Hari raya Bali Hindu*, both in 1952, and from 1956 to 1960 issued editions of Old Javanese texts, with modern Balinese and Indonesian translations in multiple parts, including the *Ramayana*, *Bharata Yuddha*, *Arjuna Wiwaha* and *Sutasoma*.

I Gusti Ananda Kusuma, head of the Satya Hindu Dharma Indonesia, Klungkung, compiled *Kamus Bali-Indonesia, Indonesia-Bali* (1956), a version of the *Bimaswarga* (1976), a work on the Kertaghosa at Klungkung (1976), a *Wariga* (1979), and many titles relating to modern Hinduism in Bali. Anak Agung Made Regeg, also of Klungkung, edited
various babad from about 1958, as well as the gaguritan Pan Bungkling and Duh Ratnayu and a paparikan of Sutasoma, and various Hindu works. I Wayan Simpèn published historical works: an edition of the Babad Mengwi in 1958, and in the same year Sejarah Bali and Sejarah perang kerajaan Badung. Later he compiled grammatical works, and primers for teaching Balinese. I Ketut Ginarsa produced editions of Tamiam (1953), I Gunawati (1959), and I Rajapala, that is, the Durma story (1975). His Anêka kidung was published as Balai Pustaka 2066 (1961), and contained examples of Old Javanese and Javanese Balinese poetry, illustrating the use of the Sanskrit and tengahan metres, while his Paribhasa Bali (Singaraja 1971) has proverbs and riddles and gnomic verses. He has also written critical articles on Balinese language and literature. I Gusti Ngurah Bagus has been active, since about 1963, in writing about Balinese folk tales, and in the critical appreciation of the literature. In co-operation with I Ketut Ginarsa, he compiled the important literary anthologies Kembang rampé kasastraan Bali purwa and Kembang rampé Kasusastraan Bali anyar, both published in Singaraja in 1978. I Wayan Jendra has published numerous papers on Balinese linguistics from 1972 onwards, as well as editions and Indonesian translations of Balinese texts, including Pan Balang Tamak (1973) (translations of folk tales), Sampik Ingtai (1978), Basur and Salia (1979). From 1980 he has been Dean of the Faculty of Literature in the Udayana University, Den Pasar. I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka, of Krambitan, Tabanan, published a version of the Wanaparwa from the Mahabharata (1964-5), and, with I Gusti Ketut Anom, the Udyogaparwa (1975). He also translated a collection of Indian folk tales as Buta Wétala (Den Pasar, 1973). His great ongoing work has been to organize the romanized transcription and typing of texts from Balinese lontar, at first with C. Hooykaas and since 1979 with Dr. H. Hinzler, making copies available for subscribing libraries in Indonesia and the west.

The work of these scholars has been of great importance in providing an intellectual and cultural base for the new generation of original writers in Bali. More details are given by C. Hooykaas (1963:380-4, and 1979:79-84). Another encouragement for the new writers has been the various literary societies and conferences which have been organized, such as the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional, which held a sewambara (colloquium) in Singaraja in 1968, and in 1971 a Pakéling petangdasa warsa wedalan sastra Bali anyar: peringatan empat-puluh tahun lahirnya sastra Bali modèrn, which commemorated 40 years of modern Balinese writing from 1931. This was followed the next year by another sewambara, promoted by the Listibaya Propinsi Bali, which produced a collection both in Balinese and Indonesian: Himpunan naskah pemenang sayembara sastra daerah dan nasional (Den Pasar, 1972). The Yayasan Dharma Budhaya, at Banjar Teges, Gianyar, has published the poetry and other works of leading Balinese writers, and in more recent times the
Yayasan Saba Sastra Bali, Den Pasar, has done similar service, under its president, Ida Bagus Mayun, whose writings are discussed below. Two organizations devoted to the promotion of Indonesian writing by Balinese authors are the Himpunan Pengarang Indonesia Bali, Den Pasar, which has published anthologies from 1969, and the Lesiba Seniman Indonesia Bali, which since 1973 has been very active in collecting and publishing the work of Balinese poets writing in the national language. The Udayana University and the Department of Education and Culture have promoted various literary research projects, as, for example, the team led by I Gusti Ketut Ardhana, which reviewed the work of seven living Balinese poets by means of structural analysis in a report *Telaah puisi Bali* (1984).

### 4.4. The new generation of Balinese writers

Among the current Balinese writers, the greater number were born after 1935, so that much of their schooling and all their adult experience has been after Indonesian independence. For their background they have the old literature, the graphic and performing arts, the example of their few eminent predecessors, the recent work of the scholars and popularizers, and the aspirations and pressures of modern Indonesian society. The result has been a wider vision, which, nevertheless, perpetuates some Balinese traditions and traits of character. Modern Balinese poetry is either romantic or realistic: favourite themes include the natural scene, dawn, the sunset, moonlight, rain, the soul and death; but there is little in the way of love poetry. Daily life in its many aspects inspires the poet, as do patriotic themes, especially the love of Bali itself. Poetry is typically lyrical and is composed in free verse. The short story embraces some of the same themes, but also frequently deals with poverty, fate, the need for social change and the ironies of life: there are many more writers of this genre than of novels. Drama tackles social issues, and is influenced by western ideas and by drama school training available in Java; but, since Bali has a strong indigenous dramatic tradition, this too has influenced its development.

One of the senior, and probably the most successful, of the present generation of Balinese writers has been I Madé Sanggra: born at Sukawati, Gianyar, in 1926, he has worked as a government official. His writings, which have been published since 1953, include poetry, short stories, plays and research articles. Some of his poems are in a patriotic vein: *Suro ing boyo* – Brave against fear; *Panji buana kerta* – The national flag; and *Atur pakéling* – Making remembrance. Two are vignettes: *Den Pasar sané mangkin* – Den Pasar as it is now; and *Tukang kawat* – The telephone engineer; while a longer piece is *Wengi ring desa* – Night in the village. His collection of Balinese short stories *Katemu ring Tampak Siring* was published in 1975; they deal with modern life in rural Bali before and after independence: *Tukang gambar*
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- The painter; Kucit — A sucking-pig; Sekar emas — Golden flowers; Katemu ring Tampak Siring — Meeting at Tampak Siring; and Suaran asu — The voice of a dog. He edited Gaguritan Basur (1959) and Babad Sukawati (1975).

I Wayan Rugeg Nataran, bom at Den Pasar in 1930, also became a government official, and has published poetry and short stories since 1952. His verse is clear and uncomplicated, and he writes sensitively about the Balinese scene, particularly in its rural setting, and has a feeling for its spiritual aspects: Bedugul is a contemplation of the mountains, lake and countryside there; Surya kembar — The sun comes out; Wengi — Night; Raré ubuh — The orphan boy; Sisin cariké — By the banks of the ricefields; and a wistful and ironic view of his own work in Pagaèn titiangé.

The development of a western-style drama was a phenomenon of Bulèlèng from the 1950’s; some of the dramatists had been trained in Central Java. I Gedé Dharna, born at Sukasada in 1931, began by writing poetry and short stories, then led the way with plays which he produced himself, among them Kobaran apiné — Fire spreads; Aduh Dewa Ratu — Alas, Your Majesty; and Ki Bayan Suling, which last has to do with mourning women and children and their encounter with the heavenly nymphs Suprabha, Nilottama and Tunjung Biru. I Putu Arya Semadi was born at Banyuning, Singaraja, in 1934. From his school days he was interested in dancing, which he developed during his studies at Surakarta. He adapted some classical Balinese stories as dance drama, including Jaya Prana Layon Sari, Kèn Dèdès and Kencana Wungu. His drama Palakrama has an historical subject, set in the time of Gèlgèl. He writes both in Balinese and Indonesian. I Ketut Aryana was born at Banyuning in 1940, and had some of his training in Yogyakarta, where he studied at the Academy of Drama and Film of Indonesia. In 1964 he composed a drama Awal dan Mira in Indonesian. His Balinese play, Nang Kepod, named after the chief character, is a social drama set in modern Bali. Examples of the works of these dramatists are included in Bagus 1978a II:29-160.

I Putu Sedana was born at Pengastulan, Seririt, Bulèlèng, in 1932. He has worked for the Education Department, and has written books and music for primary schools. He has also written drama and produced plays, and made musical arrangements for the gamelan. His patriotic poem Mati nguda — Dying young, is discussed in the Telaah puisi Bali (Ardhana 1984:42-5). His story Mirah tells of the wanderings of a young dramatic artist and his chance meeting with the girl I Laba. His plays include Pertapa, Dalam Bungkut and Hasrat dan Ilmu.

I Gusti Putu Rai was born at Krambitan, Tabanan, in 1937: he too has worked for the Education Department, and writes both poetry and short stories, which have been published since 1968. His poems Atur suksma — Giving thanks, and Piteket — Admonition, are patriotic pieces upholding
both the Balinese tradition and modern developments and fidelity to the Pancasila. His story *Kapatutan ngulati kamajuan* – The right way to progress, raises such matters of the new order as justice, wealth, democracy and cooperation, as well as faith in the Balinese supreme deity, Ida Sang Hyang Widhi.

I Wayan Suthama was born in 1937 at Benoa, the port of Den Pasar, and has worked with shipping companies there, at Gilimanuk and at Ampenan in Lombok. He writes short stories and essays, and is also an accomplished dancer of Baris, Topeng and Jauk. In the *Bunga Rampé* . . . *Anyar* he is represented by two anecdotes: *Ngaturang pangubakti ring Pura jagatnatha* – Practising devotion at the central temple of Den Pasar; and *Tungkalikan jagat* – Against the world (Bagus and Ginarsa 1978a, I:242-3).

I Made Sukada was born at Gemeh, Den Pasar, in 1938. He has worked as a journalist on the Bali Post, and as a lecturer on poetry, drama and literary criticism at the Udayana University. He began by writing poems, some, such as *Telaga*, of a mystical nature, as well as short stories, but since 1972 has been most active in writing articles on literary subjects, and in sponsoring projects such as the *Telaah puisi Bali* discussed above.

I Nyoman Manda was born in 1938 in Gianyar and became a schoolmaster in Singaraja. Many of his poems are reactions to scenes of daily life: the market, the fruit-seller, the concrete bridge, the dead cow, the salt trader and the strand; some are observations of nature: the jasmine, the cloud, the hill with teak trees; others of modern life: building a school, the hospital, the girl secretary. His poem *Ngrupuk*, that is the day before *Nyepi*, the annual day of silence, is an evocation of the bustle of preparation, with the village *kul kul* sounding. In the *Telaah puisi Bali* (Ardhana 1984:52-5) his poem *Pura* – The temple, is discussed, noting the uncomplicated language and direct description of the coming of the worshippers, and how nowadays they are disturbed by foreign visitors, who, it is implied, are not kept back by the authorities.

I Made Taro was born at Sengkidu, Karang Asem, in 1939. He worked in the Archaeological Department at Bedulu and later became a schoolmaster at Den Pasar. He writes poetry and short stories, both in Balinese and in Indonesian, an anthology of his poems, *Seekor burung buat tarmada*, being published in 1972. One of his Balinese poems is a wistful piece: *Jagi surup suryané* – The sun will set; while in Indonesian, *Penjaga menara* – The lighthouseman, provides him an opportunity to philosophize on life. His play *Keputusan di Bukit Kambing* was first staged in 1978.

Ida Bagus Mayun was born at Lukluk, Badung, in 1942, and now works at the headquarters of the Department of Education and Culture in Den Pasar. In 1975, he became president of the Yayasan Saba Sastra Bali (The Literary Society of Bali). He writes both in Balinese and in
Indonesian. In the *Kembang Rampé Anyar* (Bagus 1978a, II: 3-6), he is represented by the story of a girl, *Ni Luh Sari*.

I Gusti Made Suastika was born at Blah Batu, Gianyar, in 1942, and has taught at Gianyar. He has published a small book on Balinese literature, *Kesusastraan Bali* (1977), and won a prize from the Department of Education for his promotional work. His Balinese poems include: *Sasih kapat*— Mutual co-operation; and *Lèn dedalu, lèn tetani*— The termite and the white ant, the theme being that the old and young generations in Bali are at the same time both the same and different from one another.

I Nyoman Sariadha was born at Tinggarsari, Singaraja, in 1943. He was already writing poetry at the age of fifteen, and later took up short story writing, his work appearing in various Indonesian papers. He is now a government officer in Singaraja. His poem *Kepergian* is a lament—tonight flowers fall to the ground, and hearts dissolve at the tears of parting.

I Putu Wijaya was born at Puri Anom, Tabanan, in 1944. He is described by Teeuw (1967, II: 190-2) as 'a man of great energy and versatility: he is not only a journalist, and a regular member of the editorial staff of *Tempo*, but also a producer and writer of plays'. He writes in Indonesian. A collection of his poems, *Dadaku adalah perisai*— My breast is my shield, was published in Den Pasar in 1973. An early novel, written in 1964, but published in 1971, *Bila malam bertambah malam*, As night grew darker, is a story of a traditional type, set in Bali. Teeuw characterizes Putu Wijaya in his later works as the alienated man. He likes best the novel *Telegram* (1973); a young man thinks he has received a telegram to say that his mother is seriously ill; he abandons his girl-friend, and gradually loses grip of reality. These novels, like *Pabrik*— The factory (1975), and *Stasiun* (1977), were published at Jakarta by Pustaka Jaya. Later novelettes, published by the Cypress Press, Jakarta, reiterate the theme of alienation. These include *Tiba-tiba malam*— The night came suddenly (1977), *Sah* and *Ms.*, both in the same year. Among his plays, the best known is *Aduh*— Alas (1973).

I Gusti Bagus Arthanegara was born at Singaraja in 1944. He writes essays, plays and poems. His small collection of Indonesian poems, *Surat senja*, was published in 1970. His Balinese poem *Geguritan pianak bendega*— The fisherman's song, concerns the luck of the catch, dependence on God, and the anxious questions on his return from the sea. This work is studied in *Telaah puisi Bali* (Ardhana 1984:36-9).

I Nyoman Tusthi Eddy was born at Pidpid, Karang Asem, in 1945. He began writing for publication in 1962 and broadcasting in 1969. His works are in Balinese and Indonesian, and besides poetry, include short stories and essays. Some of his poems are observations of village life: *Joged bungbung*— A dance party; *Angin sanja*— Evening breeze. Some are philosophical: *Purnaming sasih kapat*— Full moon of the fourth
month, is a long poem in thirty irregular stanzas, which leads him into spiritual meditations; while in *Ida Sanghyang Widhi*, he considers his relationship with the supreme Deity. His poem *Pamargi* — The traveller, alludes to Goethe’s *Wandres Nachtlied*. Popular novelists include Putra Mada, whose *Liak ngakak* — The waves roar, has been made into a movie, and Putu Setia, author of *Sumpah* — The oath (personal communication from A. Vickers).

I Gusti Ngurah Parsua was born at Bondalem, Téjakula, Bulèleng, in 1945. He now works in Den Pasar, and his writings have been published since 1964, and include poetry, short stories, essays and plays. Among his Balinese poems, *Galang kangin* is a description of the dawn as observed in his home village; while *Mêmèn tiwase* is a lament at his mother’s death. In a poem in Indonesian, *Kejam*, he attributes cruelty to God. Some of his poetry has been collected and published at Den Pasar: *Matahari* (1970) and *Setelah angin senja berhembus* (1973).

I Ketut Kenuh was born at Negara, Jemberana. His Balinese poem *Sayahé gedé* — The long drought, laments the sufferings of the farmers; the fishermen fare no better: people say the country is prosperous, but in spite of the fertility of some regions, the sufferers get no redress. The poem is studied in *Telaah puisi Bali*, as is *Bali* (Ardhana 1984:55-7, 39-42), a patriotic ode by I Ngurah Yupa: he wants to defend the inheritance of his island, to be happy amongst the familiar dances, sad with the old songs, and to die in Bali to the words of an ancient lament.

**APPENDIX**
Balinese Metres

About 50 *tengahan* and *macapat* metres are used in Bali. Only those mentioned in the text are described below. These, for the most part, are the ones in most general use. Several important *tengahan* metres used in Javanese-Balinese literature are not described. For these, reference should be made to Ginarsa (1961) and Robson (1971:20-3).

**A – Tengahan**

*Demung*: wiwitan, 45o, 45o, bawak, 56u, 56u, dawa, 72u, 72u.
*Kadiri*: wiwitan, 62o, 62o, bawak, 33i, 33i, dawa, 80a, 80a.
*Panjimarga*: wiwitan, 27u, 27u, 55u, 55u, bawak, 31i, 31i, dawa, 56i, 56i.
*Pinambi*: wiwitan, 45a, 45a, bawak, 42i, 42i, dawa, 47o, 47o.
*Tunjung Biru*: wiwitan, 44o, 44o, bawak, 64u, 64u, dawa, 78u, 78u.

**B – Macapat**

*Adri (= Sri Tanjung)*: 10e, 6e, 8i, 7u, 8u, 8e, 8u, 8a, 8a.
Balabak (obsolete): 12a, 3e, 12a, 3e, 12a, 3e.
Dangdang Gula: 4a, 6i, 4a, 6a, 8e/a, 8u, 8i, 8a, 8u, 8a, 4a, 8i, 8a. (The Javanese form is: 10i, 10a, 8e/o, 7u, 9i, 7a, 6u, 8a, 12i, 7a.)
Durma: 12a, 8i, 6a, 8a, 8i, 4a, 8i. (Javanese: 12a, 7i, 6a, 7a, 8i, 5a, 7i.)
Ginada: 8a, 8i, 8o, 8u, 8a, 4i, 8a.
Ginanti (= Javanese Kinanti): 8u, 8i, 8a, 8i, 8a, 8i.
Layon Sari (= Panglipur): 8i, 8a/u, 8u, 8a, 8i, 8u, 12a. (Javanese: 8i, 8u, 7a, 9a, 8u, 8a.)
Mas Kumambang: 4a, 8i, 6a, 8i, 8a. (Javanese: 12i, 6a, 8i, 8a.)
Megatruh: 8u, 8i, 8u, 8i, 8o.
Pangkur: 8a, 8i, 8a, 8i, 8u, 8a, 12u, 8a, 8i. (Javanese: 8a, 8i, 8u, 7a, 12u, 8a, 8i.)
Pucung: 4u, 8u, 6a, 8i, 4u, 8a. (Javanese: 4u, 8u, 8i/u/e/o, 12a.)
Semerendana (= Javanese Asmaradana): 8i, 8a, 8e/o, 8a, 8a, 8u, 8a. (Javanese: 8i, 8a, 8e/o, 8a, 7a, 8u, 8a.)
Sinom: 8a, 8i, 8a, 8i, 8i, 8u, 8a, 8i, 4u, 8a. (Javanese: 8a, 8i, 8a, 8i, 7i, 8u, 7a, 8i, 12a.)
Tikus Kapanting (obsolete): 8u, 8i, 8a, 8u, 8a, 8i, 8u, 8i.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

BK I Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, KITLV.
TB G Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
VB G Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
VK I Verhandelingen KITLV.