In Memory of C. Hooykaas

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Mantras between Fire and Water

Reflections on a Balinese Rite

by

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Cover: Reciting mantras, Krambitan 1987
(photo: Dick van der Meij)
Frontispiece: Dispensing the consecrated water, Krambitan 1987
(photo: Dick van der Meij)

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The student of Balinese ritual faces problems that are customarily assigned to more academic disciplines than a single person can handle. Team work may be the answer but many puzzles are conceptual and in that area, at least, I have tried to provide some kind of preliminary sketch. In Chapters I–III, I attempt to disentangle some of the problems with the help of the concepts of 'history,' 'text,' 'society' and 'religion.' I found that the disciplines could be kept apart only by forcing the issues in directions that are not necessarily the most appropriate or promising. In the final analysis, the questions seem to lie deeper than where the answers have been sought. I offer no solution but will briefly indicate in which direction I believe that solutions may be found.

All of this may sound as if I am about to present something wonderfully new. The truth is that my path has been paved by others more competent in these areas of study than I shall ever be. I am eager to record my debts to these predecessors but, at the same time, cannot conceal why I feel that their work is not finished. I could put it differently like this. I found myself in the enviable position of Dante at the beginning of the *Divine Comedy*, yet without a grand design or creative urge: in the middle of a dark forest, which I could not have reached without following existing trails but from where I could not escape since all exits seemed to have disappeared or be mysteriously blocked. I had to find my own way out even if it had not yet been developed into a comfortable road, let alone an autostrada where motorized vehicles of various manufacture can move freely and at will.

I do not know Balinese or Old Javanese, and not even the allegedly much simpler Bahasa Indonesia, but have been fortunate in being provided with excellent support, introductions, guides and critics. My first thanks go to the *International Institute for Asian Studies* for its Senior Scholarship which en-

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F. S.

Chapter 1

Balinese Ritual and History

Bali remains the showcase of 'Hinduism' in Indonesia and thus of 'Indianization.' India is about 3000 times as large as Bali but why be slaves of quantity and not conceive of India's 'Balinization'? Jan Gonda would not have thought so: he contributed to the international *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, of which he was one of the editors, an authoritative *Abschnitt* entitled *The Indian Religions in Pre-Islamic Indonesia and their Survival in Bali* (1975). Hermann Kulke, Professor of the History of Asia at the University of Kiel and the scholar who has most recently surveyed the state of the art, put his emphasis elsewhere. He has argued that the concept of 'Indianization,' most magnificently displayed by Coedès' *États hindouisés* of 1944 (where the term *hindouisé* refers to Buddhist as well as Hindu), has 'perpetuated the Indocentric view of early Southeast Asian history' (1990: 13). Kulke has persuasively argued that the process of state formation from Burton Stein's fertile 'nuclear areas' at the lower courses and deltas of rivers (Stein 1969) started around the middle of the first millennium in Southeast Asia as well as in many parts of East, Central and Southeast India (to which, at a slightly later date, Southwest India may be added: Narayanan and Veluthat 1983).

One issue on which the two savants seem to disagree is subtle: is, as the words suggest, Hinduism *Indian*? And if it is, would that imply that Islam is *Arab* and Christianity, *Palestinian*? Is there conceptual confusion even if both scholars agree on many facts, for example that, on both sides of the Bay of Bengal, *Sanskrit* inscriptions attest that the new kings wished it to be known that they ruled their states according to Indian ideals and *śāstras*?

Kulke has introduced the term 'convergence' which is apt in many contexts. Similar ideas have been expressed before, e.g., by Krom, and we shall come across several examples in the following pages. These early statements may be outdated in other respects, but their basic message is unequi-

vocal. Here is an example from Bernet Kempers, largely but not exclusively dealing with art, from a lecture delivered at Calcutta University in 1936 to an Indian audience:

> The Indian elements in [Javanese] culture are too numerous by far and form so much an inseparable component of it that it is impossible to explain them by the use of the catch-phrase 'influence.' Ancient Javanese culture can only have developed as a living, organic entity, in a society formed by a Hindu-Javanese people, that is to say, a people that had come into being by the fusion of Hindus and Indonesians. The historical foundations of this fusion have already been shortly indicated, though the exact manner in which it eventually took place can only be guessed. In my opinion there is no reason to make a principal difference between Indian and Indo-Javanese culture while regarding the former as the original and the latter as a mixed culture. We need but remember that Indian culture itself also grew and developed by the fusion of several civilizations of an entirely different character, from the times of Mohenjodaro, the Aryans or the Graeco-Buddhists till to-day. Can we, indeed, imagine any culture which has not come into being by amalgamation otherwise than one which is entirely devoid of life and progress? Instead of awarding the monopoly of originality to one culture, while withholding it to/from the other, which mainly differs from it by being separated from it by the Indian Ocean – instead of this it would be, I think, much more correct to regard the various periods of the culture of India proper, as well as those of Central Asia, China, Further India, Indonesia, and so on, in which the Indian elements more or less prevailed as components of equal value forming one indivisible whole (Bernet Kempers 1937: 16–17).

In India, much of the epigraphical evidence to which Kulke refers is concerned with land grants to brahmins; that is, grants of the royal share of taxation and compulsory services. In Bali, land grants are not mentioned, but a ninth century Sanskrit inscription from Trunjan (Goris 1954: 003.2b.1) mentions payments made to brahmins and according to one of several similar Old Javanese inscriptions from Batuan (Goris 1954: 352.3a.3–4), kings received taxes and made gifts to members of several communities, including again brahmins.

Following Max Weber, many scholars have written that brahmins were invited by the chieftains or kings as ritual specialists who provided or added extra legitimation for their newly established authority, adding prestige and status for both rulers and the community as a whole. This legitimation was effected not by the advisory discourse that local experts are in a better position to provide, but by brahmins officiating as priests at the emerging

courts and in temples, performing *rites de passage* for the higher strata (or castes) of the population and executing larger rituals for public or private consumption. In Kerala, brahmins excelled in the 'skilful blending of the sense of obligation to the landlord and devotion to the deity' (Narayanan and Veluthat 1983: 261). Summing up these findings, it is *ritual* that effected legitimization.

What is it *in* ritual that empowers it to perform such extraordinary feats? To begin with, we must answer the question what ritual *is* – taking into account that there are few things that have *not* been called ritual at some time or other (Goody 1977). I shall give a preliminary and rough explicit answer, enough to work with, an answer that is also implicit in the following pages for I shall be concerned with ritual and not with state formation or the thesis of its legitimation by ritual means.

Ritual consists, not only on both sides of the Bay of Bengal but in South, Southeast, Central and East Asia generally – and probably elsewhere – of (at least) two interconnected realms: a domain of *acts* and a domain of *sounds*. Both acts and sounds (the latter generally recited or chanted) are executed or performed in strict accordance with *rules*. In India and 'Indianized' areas, the first domain is often referred to with the help of terms derived from the Sanskrit root *kṛ-* 'do, act,' such as *karman* or *kriyā*, '(ritual) activity' or 'rite.' It corresponds, to some extent, to the *δρῶμενα* '(ritual) activities,' of the ancient Greeks. The second domain consists almost exclusively of what is called *mantra*, a term that occurs or has equivalents in almost all the languages of South and Southeast Asia. In Chinese Taoist ritual, 'sound' includes more: wind, string and especially percussion instruments, in addition to the chanting, singing, muttering, reading aloud and reciting, audibly or inaudibly, of South and Southeast Asia (cf. Needham 1967, Schipper and Staal, forthcoming). In South Asia, bell-ringing did not occur in the Vedic but appears in later rites, e.g., Tantric ritual, and is a common feature of ritual in most of Central and Southeast Asia.

In the Vedic ritual of the last millennium B.C., which in India has been preserved by brahmins, the correlation between acts and mantras was systematized and made part of the theory of ritual. The ritual manuals declare that there is or should be a one-to-one correspondence between the two, e.g.:

> *ekamantrāṇi karmāṇi*, 'each act is accompanied by (associated with) one mantra' (*Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* 24.1.44).

This principle admits of many exceptions but it is of heuristic value in the study of ritual, not surprising because it was formulated by ritual experts who were developing a scientific tradition of abstract analysis that also led to linguistics. The two sciences of ritual and language were originally clo-

sely related (e.g., Renou 1941–42) and we shall touch upon that relationship later.

Some Vedic manuals define ritual as consisting of three elements: *dravya*, the 'substance' of the offering or oblation, *devatā* the 'deity' to whom the offering is made, and *tyāga*, the 'renunciation' by the ritual patron (*yajamāna*) of the offering to the deity. This characterization is more functional than syntactic but, like the syntactic, it subdivides the ritual into clearly marked units: the end of each unit, which consists of one offering to one deity, is marked by the recitation of the corresponding *tyāga* formula.

The hierarchy of Vedic *śrauta* rituals is characterized in terms of offerings: the four simplest rituals involve offerings of milk, rice or barley; one ritual involves the sacrifice of an animal (generally a goat); and the seven most complex rituals involve offerings (generally called 'oblations') of Soma.

Chapter II

Balinese Ritual and Texts

That the subdivision of ritual into acts and sounds applies to Bali at least in general terms is clear from the literature. Acts and sounds are included in the triad *bayu-sabda-idep*, 'action-word-thought' (Hooykaas 1966: 14), but the subdivision is not only theoretical or interpretative. Hooykaas writes about Jane Belo's *Bali: Temple Festival* of 1953 in his 'complimentary' (read: 'complementary') volume *A Balinese Temple Festival* of 1977, that Belo's monograph:

> depicts vividly the actions and responsibilities of the *pamangku* temple priest ... but it concerns itself with his activities rather than with what he says. One must, however, know what a priest says in order to obtain a better understanding of his ritual. With this end in view I have gradually collected texts in the hope that with a sufficient number of them, I could arrive at a satisfactory composition of a text dealing with this ritual (Hooykaas 1977: 1–2).

Hooykaas is right, but the typically philological (not to say: hermeneutical) obsession with texts – a term Hooykaas uses for his manuscript materials and also for the scholarly contribution he intends to make – is of limited use in the study of ritual which is concerned not with texts but, as we have just seen, with acts and sounds. The sounds of ritual are not what the priest *says* (which is in language), but what he *recites* (which is in mantras). What he says about his ritual may be interpretative or theoretical. In the latter case, it pertains to the rules of ritual, which are formulated, when formulated at all, in a somewhat technical or artificial language created for insider's use: for such rules try to explicate what cannot easily be explained in language. This is one of the reasons that scientists of ritual, instead of trying

to give detailed descriptions, tend to abstract or postulate underlying rules from which the activities may be derived or in terms of which they may be analyzed. In so doing they discovered something more important than the rules themselves, viz., the nature of ritual as a rule-governed activity. Within the perspective of the history of science, the Indian *śrauta sūtras* were the first ritual manuals to explicate that discovery and provide such rules. These rules, which may belong to an artificial language or meta-language (because it is *about* rules), may be studied through texts, unlike the ritual itself.

That acts are difficult to describe in language applies to the peeling of a mango and even more to complex ritual or technical activity. Hooykaas is fully aware of that fact. He writes in the *Acknowledgements* of his 1977 monograph: 'To describe a Balinese temple festival in words cannot do it justice nor can a description convey the colour and fragrance of the offerings,' adding that the photographs by H.I.R. Hinzler 'give the much desired life to this book.' Elsewhere, Hooykaas has for the same reasons made use of a variety of illustrations, especially in Hooykaas 1966 to which I shall from now on refer as *SuSe.* Sounds may be studied separately with the help of sound recordings (as have been made more recently by Hinzler), but only films are the natural means for the depiction – and analysis – of the association between sounds and acts that characterizes ritual.

The limitations of language are also clear with respect to offerings, a feature of Vedic ritual mentioned at the end of the previous section which has been developed to a much greater extent in Balinese ritual than in Indian Vedic or even Tantric ritual. Here photographs are also needed (see, e.g., Stuart-Fox 1974; Brinkgreve 1993). In Bali, the making of offerings displays more variation than the ritual itself and 'is only extremely tenuously associated with the written tradition' (Stuart-Fox 1987: page 198 of a doctoral dissertation, unpublished except for some conclusions in Stuart-Fox 1991).

Mantras may be written down though frequently they are not because they typically belong to the oral tradition of the ritual specialist. They are often prohibited from being written down. Mantras, moreover, are often accented or chanted which calls for special notations, more simple in the former than in the latter case.

The needs of audio-visual methods of documentation and the inadequacy of philology as an instrument for the study of ritual are two sides of the same coin – a fact that is of general and methodological significance in the study of ritual. In the case of Balinese ritual, the limited applicability of philology has caused additional confusion because of the idiosyncracies of Hooykaas' own important contributions to this neglected area. Gonda has written about these in his 1979 obituary for the *Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences* from which I translate the final paragraph into English for

the benefit of all Dutch-less students of Balinese ritual who wrestle – as wrestle they must – with Hooykaas:

> It could be imagined that some readers of Hooykaas' publications might on occasion feel irritated or inclined to criticism on account of the form (the unrestful typography) of these works, the sometimes incoherent discourses and numerous digressions, the somewhat flowery and idiosyncratic style, the allusions to personal experiences, the presentation of the material in the form of text editions accompanied by commentaries interspersed with deviations, the incomplete treatment of many topics and problems that are embarked upon – but they should always take the following into account. It has been a meritorious service to collect the extensive religious/ritual literature of Bali which is of great cultural and historical importance and make a beginning – after the generally incidental and always incomplete and unfinished pioneering work of others (Sylvain Levi: Sanskrit texts; McPhee: Wajang; Jane Belo: village or temple priests, etc.) – with the systematic publication and study of its contents. One must take into account the characteristics of the materials themselves; the ritual texts and activities are always presented as notes to be used on particular occasions, certainly not as manuals prepared for our benefit nor with an eye to scientific publication. One will have to value the multifarious items of information regarding local customs and situations; the necessarily not always final solution to all kinds of problems inherent in the published materials; the numerous cases where new information is provided and the results of earlier publications are supplemented or rectified; the extensive bibliographies and evaluations of the work of predecessors, and last but not least, the industry and devotion that inspired Hooykaas' work until his final day: when he died, three of his books were already with printers or publishers (Gonda 1979: 207).

Though these words themselves are not devoid of what Sanskrit calls *gaurava* 'heaviness, prolixity,' and were written by a great Indologist who never did fieldwork or even visited India, they are also wise words that we should take to heart.

Another example of rites from Hooykaas' own materials, also practically impossible to describe in words, are the gestures (*mudra*) of Balinese ritual. They are typically ritual acts that are associated with sounds. Mudras occur elsewhere in dance and theatre, where films are similarly helpful, and in iconography, where still photography suffices. The relationships between all these kinds of mudra in South and Southeast Asia constitute an extensive field of study that has hardly been touched. In Balinese ritual, mudras often follow each other in quick succession which must be kept in mind when we study the pictures published earlier by de Kleen and Hooykaas.

Hooykaas writes (*SuSe* 33), that even if the manuscripts may give the impression that they are not so much concerned with mudras as with mantras, this does not mean that 'the officiating priests do not care about mudras.' This is supported by *Appendix* I (on pages 53–89 below) in which Dick van der Meij publishes a collection of drawings of mudras made in 1941 by the grandfather of Ida Padanda Gde Manuaba who has given us permission to publish them here. The mudras of Balinese ritual (like the Vedic, cf. Staal 1983, II: Plates 9–13) refer to sound, unlike the mudras of iconography and some of the mudras of Indian dance that are symbolic or expressive (*abhinaya*), and more like those of most Indonesian dances which are 'pure dance' (*nṛtya*).

Mudras illustrate graphically what philology is ill-equipped to do. Philology is at its best when it is concerned with well-known texts or texts about things already known. When the Bible or Plato had been the subject of extensive discussion for more than two millennia, philologists could assist not only usefully but decisively by providing a sound foundation for discussion and analysis in the form of a *reliable* text. The same kind of significant reliability may be obtained in texts dealing with well-known events or familiar entities. But when a ritual is still largely unknown, to provide variant readings from numerous manuscripts does not only fail to provide *additional* illumination (because there is nothing to add to), but poses a serious obstacle to an adequate understanding of the subject matter itself. Ritual is not a state to be reconstructed but an activity in a developing tradition and development here means almost always: proliferation and growth. Studying variant readings of a text throws light on such proliferation but it is not studying ritual just as studying Newton's *Principia* is not doing physics.

In the case of Vedic ritual, we are fortunately provided with the highly systematized auxiliary literature of the ritual *sūtras*. And yet, that extensive literature makes little sense unless one has *witnessed* such rituals or is 'gifted with the rare virtuosity of a Caland' (Renou 1953: 34). For Indian Tantric ritual, similar texts are being made accessible but it is the rituals themselves that need to be studied in the first place. With regard to Balinese rites, Hooykaas himself, who was intermittently aware of most of these problems, is not encouraging about the materials even in the best known and allegedly most Indianized case, that of the *padanda* Śiva priest. In that case, the manuals clearly distinguish between the description of the rite and the accompanying mantra in what appears to be a purely Indic manner – at first sight, at any rate. The first kind of information may be confined to

titles or headings, injunctions (*vidhi*)[1], or both; the mantra, which follows, is to be recited concurrently. Here is a simple example from *SuSe*, p. 90–91:

Ua *ṄASKĀRA VÉ* (G: *nambut sĕkar*):
2 oṃ hrāṃ hrīṃ saḥ kṣmuṃ Aṃ-Uṃ-Maṃ Oṃ svasti-svasti
3 kṣiṅ-kṣriṅ ya-vā-Śi-ma-na I-Ba-Sa-Ta-A bhūtih-bhūtih
4 Bhūr-Bhuvaḥ-Svaḥ svāhā Oṃ Aṃ-Iṃ-Uṃ vyoṅ-maṅ-vyaṅ-piṅ-nèṅ
5 Oṃ-Oṃ I-A-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-UṂ namo namaḥ svāhā
6 Oṃ-Oṃ A-RA-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-UṂ namo namaḥ svāhā.

Ua *CONSECRATION OF WATER. Take a flower*:
2 om hrām hrīm saḥ kṣmum Am-Um-Mam OM luck luck kṣiṅ-kṣriṅ
3 va-Śi-to-mage-ho I-Ba-Sa-Ta-A welfare welfare
4 Earth-Sky-Heaven-Hail OM Am-Im-Um sky penetrating
5 Om om I-A-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-UM namo namah svāhā;
6 Om om A-RA-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-UM namo namah svāhā.

The first paragraph is Hooykaas' edition of the original; the second his translation. In both, the capitalized heading and the italicized injunction are in Balinese or Old-Javanese ('Javano-Balinese idiom': Stuart-Fox 1987: 217 and elsewhere), where capitals or italics do not exist. The mantra immediately following consists of Sanskrit or Old-Javanese words which have been translated into English (e.g., 'luck, luck') or meaningless syllables which have been provided with or are fully written in capitals, but the distinction is not known to the priest unless he knows (some) Sanskrit. Expressions such as *ya-vā-Śi-ma-na* 'va-Śi-to-mage-ho' are not misprints but cases of inversion or transposition of an underlying form *Śivāya nama(ḥ)* 'homage to Śiva' which it is safe to postulate because it is known from elsewhere, in fact, abundantly.

This particular mantra could not have come from India since it contains Old-Javanese (*vyoṅ-maṅ-vyaṅ-piṅ-nèṅ*). The rest may be Indian and the principles of its mantrification are unmistakeably Indic. The similarities with Indian mantras are often striking ('bisweilen treffend' Gonda 1970: 23). But does it matter much whether those other parts were composed in India, Java or Bali, by an Indian, Javanese or Balinese, a brahmin and/or Tan-

[1] The Indian philosophy of ritual, (Pūrva) Mīmāṃsā, uses the term *vidhi* (which possesses more general meanings such as 'order,' 'destiny' or 'fate') to refer specifically to the Vedic 'injunctions' that prompt ritual activity. I do not know whether this particular meaning has anything to do with the Sanghyang Widhi deity (cf. Gonda 1952: 135, 160 and, unconnected, 174; 1975: 46) who has taken the place of the almighty God of contemporary, 'intellectually' inspired Balinese Hinduism by conforming or being made to conform to the first principle of the Pancasila.

tric, or a person of mixed parentage and/or ritual affiliation? If they were composed outside India (like the Old-Javanese part), the concept of 'Indianization' would apply to them if it were to apply anywhere – subject to qualifications to which we shall return.

Entire mantras of this type, replete as they are with meaningless syllables generally consisting of vowels or diphthongs often followed by a nasal and called *bījamantra*, 'seed mantra,' or *dhāraṇī* (in Buddhism), can not always be traced to Indian sources because they tend to proliferate anywhere into arbitrary variety, sometimes recursively, that is, in accordance with rules that apply and re-apply to their own output (with repetition as the simplest example). One part that is not arbitrary is the emphasis on the sounds of the syllabary (illustrated here, e.g., by the semi-vowels *ra*, *la*, *va ya*, and in *Appendix* I, Nrs.II a–c for the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* and Nrs.III f–h for the fricatives *s*, *ṣ*, *ś*, which are distinct in Sanskrit but pronounced identically in Balinese). These features of linguistics are common in Bali as they are in India and reflect the discoveries of the Indian grammarians. Unlike the general proliferation of mantrification according to Indian principles, it is a specific instance of Indianization, found, more meaningfully than in mantras, in the order of sounds adopted in most of the syllabaries (not 'alphabets') of South and Southeast Asia, including the Korean and Japanese syllabaries of East Asia.

Of the more than three hundred specimens published and translated in Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971 (the only published corpus of Balinese mantras which also includes 'songs' and real *texts* that may not be described as 'mantra'), about 10% have been actually traced back, wholly or in part, to Indian sources. However, all mantras are Indianized in the general sense illustrated here.

Such mantras show that F.D.K. Bosch (1961) was right that brahmins are more likely than kṣatriyas or vaiśyas to have been the major agents of Indianization (to the extent there was any); but we have to add to brahmins, (Buddhist or non-Buddhist) Tantrics, who were often ritual specialists and may but need not have been brahmins. The contribution of Tantrics is likely to have been more substantial than that of brahmins: for mantras of the above type are numerous and typically Tantric. If brahmins had been more prominent one would expect to find more Vedic mantras. As a matter of fact, Vedic mantras are practically non-existent in Bali (cf. Levi 1933: xv etc.) and even the beginning words of the four Vedas, found once, 'have become nearly irrecognizable' (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971: 38). We shall return to this fact and its implications in *Appendix* II. (Note that I use 'Buddhist' and 'Tantric' but avoid the appellation 'Hindu' as the name of a religion, which is of nineteenth century manufacture; cf. note 3; Staal 1989 = 1993, Chapter 28A; and Bernet Kempers 1937: 5, addressing his Indian

audience: 'I must warn you that I use the name Hindu as an indication of the Indians in general and not of the adherents of a certain religion').

It would be misleading to say of these Indianized mantras that they provide a *convergence* between Indian and Balinese mantras, which is not to say that bits of Javano-Balinese are not also sometimes included along with the 'Archipelago Sanskrit' specimens that were certainly composed in Bali or at least in Indonesia (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971: 11) – *unless* these Indic mantras replaced earlier Balinese mantras.

The Indianization of mantras applies in the first place to those of the *padanda*. It is less conspicuous in the case of the *pamangku* priest whose traditions are also more divergent and about whose ritual Hooykaas writes: 'the 'order' of the ritualistic activities is rather 'free' and the manuals are in a state of utter confusion' (Hooykaas 1977: 1). Confusion, yes, from our point of view, but also from that of the *pamangku*? Are we not seeking for a 'reliable standard' that does not and has never existed? Variations between rituals and ritual traditions exist in the case of the *padanda* (cf. note 14), are greater in that of the *pamangku* ('even among those living in the same village,' Stuart-Fox 1987: 198) and increase further in the traditions of the *sengguhu*, *balian*, etc. I emphasize this not because of a value judgment but because, if there is 'Indianization' anywhere, it is in the domain of the *padanda* that it must be primarily sought. I conclude that there is at least some such Indianization, and that it pertains to mantras.

There are two kinds of *padanda*: the large majority (in Bali and Lombok) are *padanda Śiva* and a small number (partly located in Lombok) are *padanda Buddha*. The differences between the two traditions are small and pertain to ritual and mantric technicalities (Hooykaas 1973, *passim*; 1965: 33: 'the hymns sung by the brahmin Bauddha priests in Bali, far from being purely Buddhist, have often largely adopted Śaiva admixture, if not being Śaiva through and through'; 1963: 547, 550). The two kinds of *padanda* officiate together during large rituals. Their difference has little or nothing to do with the differences between Buddhism and Śaivism as portrayed in handbooks of religion. This is not confined to Bali: Tantrism obliterated many of the presumed differences between Śaivism and Mahāyāna Buddhism, in other parts of Southeast Asia, Nepal, Tibet and medieval India itself – a topic to which we return in Chapter v.

I shall confine myself to the *padanda Śiva*'s daily ritual known by various names including Sanskrit *sūrya-sevana*, 'sun service' or 'sun worship.' This is also the main title of Hooykaas 1966 monograph *SuSe* which is devoted to its description, mainly on the basis of a number of manuscripts, partly overlapping and/or dealing with other topics and subdivided into six main categories. Many of these manuscripts do not specify the *mantras* in full but only refer to them by the beginning syllables (Hooykaas compares the expression *Te Deum)*. In India, that practice was systematized in the Vedic ri-

tual sūtras which were composed for specialists who had learned the Vedas (or their relevant branches or portions) by heart (*ādhyāya*) before taking on the study of their applications in ritual (*prayoga*).

The Sun Service starts soon after sun rise[2] and the priest faces East. In the course of the ceremony, which lasts for about an hour, the priest prepares 'Holy Water,' called *tīrtha* which is as Balinese as it is Sanskrit. Afterwards he sprinkles the water on himself, sips and washes his face and head, and then dispenses it to his visitors, customers or clients who are lined up to receive it, first sprinkling and then pouring the water over their heads generously. These visitors had already deposited their artfully prepared offerings, which will be consecrated with the water, along with a variety of receptacles, vessels, bottles, often beer bottles (I once saw a half-gallon Burgundy bottle), in which the water will be poured so that they can take it home with them. Consecrated water is also kept by the priest for later use that day at home or elsewhere in life-cycle, therapeutical or other ceremonies.

The importance of holy water as a feature of Balinese ritual seems hardly less than that of hydrogen in the universe. Hooykaas' description of Balinese religion as *Āgama Tīrtha* (Sanskrit: 'tradition of water') is therefore justified: 'the role of holy water in Balinese Hinduism is so pervasive that, with good reason, the religion itself has at times been called Agama Tirtha' (Stuart-Fox 1987: 173). This is so even if modernized or recently Indianized Balinese intellectuals (who are not the subject of this essay, but cf. Bakker 1993) tend to insist that 'Hinduism' as an *agama* (which in Indonesia means 'religion') comprises more than only holy water – presumably because the 'Hinduism' of Bali must be closely or more closely related to the 'Hinduism' of India. However, in India itself, 'Hinduism' is hardly a meaningful or unitary category, and certainly not anything like a 'religion' in the sense of the three monotheisms.[3]

We have seen that Hooykaas 1977 was intended as a kind of complement to Belo 1953. No one who immerses him- or herself in Hooykaas' monograph, however, will be able to form much of an idea of what is described in Belo's monograph. For Sūrya Sevana we possess only the textual material of *SuSe* and no complementary information. Accordingly, when one wit-

[2] The ceremony does not always start at the same time (roughly between 7 and 7:30 a.m.). As a pupil of my *pedanda* I experienced once what Gonda said in the evening of his cat and his students regularly found in the morning when they arrived at the *Oosters Instituut* at Utrecht after 9 a.m.: *hij zit er al* ('he is already sitting there': Bodewitz 1993: 14).

[3] 'In India, the chief conceptual tangle is proffered by Hinduism itself. For Hinduism does not merely fail to be a religion; it is not even a meaningful unit of discourse. There is no way to abstract a meaningful unitary notion of Hinduism from the Indian phenomena, unless it is done by exclusion, following the well-worn formula: a Hindu is an Indian who is *not* a Jaina, Buddhist, Parsi, Christian, Muslim, Sikh, Animist ...' (Staal 1989 = 1993: 397).

nesses the rite, one sees many things that are not in *SuSe* or may be extracted from it only with difficulty. As for sequences that are not there, it is often unclear where they would fit.

An example of a sequence of rites that is clearly visible to a witness of the ritual begins, about two thirds through the performance, with the tying of the *śiroviṣṭa* string around the performer's head. This is mentioned in the mantras of *SuSe*'s subdivision 'Ga' (p.54), where it applies to the *Śivamba* vessel in which the water will be prepared, and also in the preceding 'Summary' (p.36), confusingly so since the same term is applied to the head string a few pages later (p.39). Actually, *śiras* means 'head' and in the performances I witnessed, the string around the vessel had already been tied before the ceremony by the *padanda*'s wife, who engages together with her husband and one or more other helpers in numerous similar preparations. After tying the string, she adds flower petals and 'unblemished rice grains' (*akṣaṭa*) around the rim of the vessel in the eight directions. Hooykaas (p.39) adds that at this stage the priest might don the black silken sash (*sampet*).

What the priest does is put some 'unblemished rice grains' in his slightly scooped left hand, puts his right hand over it and looks into it as if through a magnifying glass while slowly stirring the mixture with his right ring-finger. The mudra is depicted here after Tyra de Kleen in *SuSe* Plate 32, top right (facing p.161), but the picture has to be turned counter-clockwise about 30 degrees, as in Fig. 1. This is a composite mudra not included among the basic forms of *Appendix* 1.

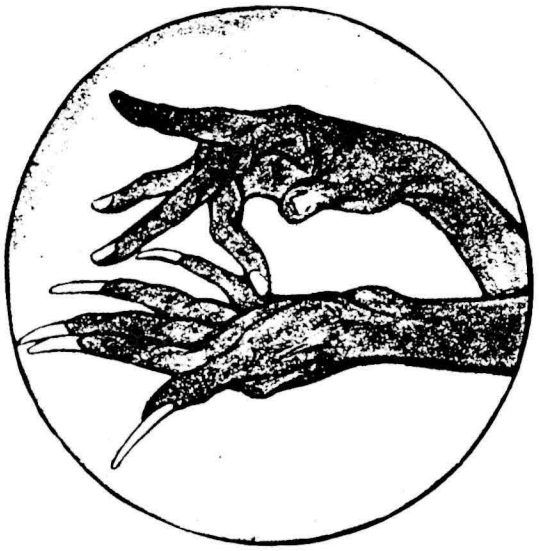


Fig. 1. A 'Magnifying-Glass' Mudra By Tyra de Kleen: *SuSe* Plate 32, top right

The priest then applies the rice to his forehead, temples, chest, shoulders, upper arms, etc. He puts on the head-string to which is tied the *kalpikā*,[4] an ornament composed from red and white flower petals and green leaves and prepared on more than one occasion (*SuSe* Plate 4). He then unwinds the black sash and puts it around himself, followed by what Hooykaas calls 'OMNIA' – the marker of the end of a rite (see below, page 34).

Prior to Hooykaas' detailed, text-based description and analysis there were no precise descriptions of the Sūrya Sevana rite but only general impressions. An example from Korn 1928 = 1984, 138–139, a little outmoded, conveys some of the flavour and context of the sounds and activities:

> The priest, on a platform, performs the (pre)requisite ceremonies. The *mantras* on his lips have a serious tone; now they are murmured softly, then again loud and long drawn-out, sometimes muttered swiftly, sometimes pronounced slowly and solemnly. Meanwhile he holds his hands in various positions, he rings the prayer bell, sprinkles holy water, fire and water.[5] His whole attention is focused on the performance of his service.
>
> And meanwhile the public that has called in his assistance drifts here and there or sits in groups to talk loudly and without restraint about the most frivolous subjects. For the ordinary Balinese there is no irreverence in this: he has prepared the offerings according to the directions of specialists and has asked the help of the priest to bless them and dedicate them to the gods, and with that his task is ended. It is the priest's duty to see that the offering and the contact with the gods are successful; the ordinary man has no understanding of such things and does not have to concern himself with them.

The second paragraph of this impression, which is of importance for the understanding of ritual and tends to astonish, scandalize or merely escape

[4] Ida Padanda Gde Manuaba calls the ornament *kārtikā*, not *kalpikā*. In Bali, apparently, a ritualist need not be a scholar and vice versa. In India, similarly, the 'reciter of the Veda' (*vedapāṭhaka*) is often reviled by scholars but it is acknowledged that the preservation of the purity of the tradition is due to him. One reason is that a scholar, unlike a reciter, may replace a word in a mantra by a synonym: e.g., *agni* by *vahni*. But (as the Mīmāṃsā specifies), words in mantras may not be replaced by synonyms because they are not words-with-meanings: a mantra is an indivisible unit. 'To the Vedic ritualist, it is the action which counts, not verbal elucidation or interpretation. Of course, in India there have also been scholars .:. But practising ritualists pay no attention to their theories' (Staal 1989, 1993: 155).

[5] Are the last three words a misprint or does 'fire' refer to the incense burner or brazier (*dhūpa*)?

scientists with monotheistic (particularly Protestant) leanings, is echoed by Hooykaas 1977:105 in a different context:

> I was told that the proportion of *padanda*-s Śiva seems to be diminishing in relation to a growing population and certainly this is the case with *padanda*-s Buddha when compared with the number of existing *griya* Buddha (cf. BBB.App. [which refers to Hooykaas 1973, *FS*]). This does not, however, prove anything as regards the *pamangku*. He may never have been an intellectual or a theologian. As Clifford Geertz put it, orthopraxis was more of his concern than orthodoxy. The mass of Balinese villagers, for whom the majority of Balinese publications are meant, since they deal mainly with religion, seem to be satisfied by being given holy water and do not bother themselves about how it is prepared. A Balinese priest is not so much a leader and a guide, not even a teacher, but a kind of specialist whose technical help is invoked.

It might be added that the *padanda*, after he has prepared and dispensed his holy water, may attend to questions from visitors, often involving, directly or indirectly, matters of ritual or the calender.

Statements like the last one show that Hooykaas was more than the philologist he claimed to be. His contributions are indispensable *as philology* because they contain the mantras of the written tradition that are associated with the rites and that are often inaudible, especially during the last two thirds of the performance when their recital or muttering is almost always accompanied by the ringing of the bell; but he was open-minded and this is perhaps the ultimate reason for the chaotic impression his texts sometimes make:

> My approach is mainly that of the philologist who tries to understand his textual materials and to explain them. During my first stay in Bali (Aug.'39-Dec.'41) I was mainly intent on learning Balinese language and procuring copies of Balinese writings, and during my study leave (Sept.'58-Aug.'59) I spent much of my time in collecting additional textual materials ... Not being able to spend my life in my field of predilection, as before the war I had hoped and intended to do, but being handicapped by having my work and my study in London, I considered this as the method for my type of work, in doing so remaining well aware that there are equally justified but completely different approaches to the subject (Hooykaas 1964: 10).

One thing seems certain. Philology by itself cannot answer the questions whether there were similar Balinese rituals prior to any Indianization, and if so, whether they consisted of activities that were silent or already accompanied by (some kind of) mantras.

So far we have come across a clear case of Indianization (mantras) and a general domain (ritual preparation of water) which seems to be primarily Balinese though some of its ritual forms may be Indian. Ritual purification by sprinkling or pouring water is common in India: examples range from the Vedic (see, e.g., Staal 1983, 1:534; Tachikawa 1993: 253–254) to the present (e.g., *udakaśānti* 'pacification through water' Gonda 1980: 205, 287). In Vedic ritual there is a sprinkling with mantras that appears to be a substitute for sprinkling with water (*āpyāyana*, 'swelling the Soma stalks': Staal 1983, 1:358–359). In Tantrism, different kinds of water occur both in the Hindu *pūjā* and the corresponding Buddhist rites (see Gonda 1970: 22–23; Mori 1990). However, it should not be forgotten that not only washing but also sprinkling water are universal elements of human ritual (and more than that, as we shall see). Moreover, in Bali, there is more than washing, sprinkling or pouring: the entire ceremony is concerned with the purification of water and its subsequent ritual uses.

If anything occupies a comparable position in Indian ritual it is *fire* (*agni*). Throughout the history of Indian ritual, it has retained that position and spread as *homa*, 'fire oblation,' and often through the intermediary of Buddhism, throughout Southeast and East Asia (for Tibet, cf. Skorupski 1983; for China and Japan, Strickmann 1983). In Japanese Shingon Buddhism, the *homa* rite is still performed with similar mantras and ladles as in India and is called *goma* (cf. Payne 1990). Bali has also inherited the Indian *homa*, a clearer case of Indianization, though not in some of the details: but it is rare if not peripheral (last performed in Lombok in 1931; cf. Hooykaas 1983a, 1983b).

The difference between fire and water as ritual or 'purificatory' agents reflect in a general manner non-ritual backgrounds, physical as well as social. I shall mention a few of these in rather vague and general terms, all standing in need of qualification. 'Physical' is not confined to the differences between oxygen and hydrogen and all those that pertain to the chemical compounds in which these elements function; it also pertains to geography and climate. Vedic ritual typically originated in a cold or at least cool climate although it was preserved in hot surroundings; Balinese ritual on a tropical island, actually cooler than many parts of India. As for the social background, Vedic ritual originated among nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralists, and was preserved by wanderers although it also became part of settled civilization. Balinese ritual belonged to a society of agriculturists where irrigation was all important, organized by associations (*subak*) and regulated through temples (cf. Goris 1938 = 1984: 108 and Grader 1939 = 1984: 269–288; Stuart-Fox 1987: 233–241).

Irrigation is not confined to Bali and is important in India precisely because India is drier and flatter (with well-known exceptions). There are more qualifications to be added but even these vague generalizations about

non-ritual backgrounds seem to have been missed by the few savants who have attempted to compare Balinese and Indian ritual. If we confine ourselves to the Sūrya Sevana, the two most authoritative statements come from Sylvain Levi and Hooykaas.

Sylvain Lévi stated in 1933 (IX-X, quoted by Hooykaas 1966: 141):

> If the traveller happens to be admitted into the house of a local priest, of a pedanda as they call him, he will witness the same worship that is practised all over India, a regular Sandhyā sevana; he will hear Sanskrit mantras recited in the Indian fashion, with the regular Indian accompaniment of mystic gestures, mudras.

This statement is correct insofar as it refers to mantras and mudras in general terms, but it is misleading. It is true that the term *sandhya* occurs in Bali (in interpretative contexts: see, e.g., *trisandhya*: *SuSe* 137 #8a; cf. Gonda 1952: 142), but it merely refers to 'worship at dawn, noon and sunset.' The Gāyatrī mantra (Rigveda 3.62.10), which is the pivot of the Indian *sandhyā-vandana*, was found by Hooykaas in two manuscripts 'in a state of serious mutilation' (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971: 519–520). Its second pāda (of the three-pāda verse) occurs at the end of the Sūrya Sevana which also refers to 'Veda Mantra Gāyatrī' (Goris 1926: 44; Levi 1933: xv; *SuSe* 126), but it occurs among numerous other fragments and is as conspicuous as a wart on the tail of an elephant.

It is true that in the Indian *sandhyā-vandana*, there is bathing and sipping of water, but the purification is confined to the ritualist himself and is preparatory to offerings to the sun and other deities and seers, with the passage of time increasingly including ancestors (see Gonda 1980: 460; Srinivasan 1973 and especially Einoo 1992 and 1993). There are countless other differences. In the Indian rite, the brahmin sits, gets up, bathes and moves around (in Banaras, the able-bodied add push-ups). The Balinese ritualist never moves from his seated position. But these are details. What Levi missed is that the Balinese Sūrya Sevana is a ritual for the consecration of water, prepared by the priest in order to be used in his own household, dispensed to others and/or used elsewhere.

Gonda (1970: 21–24) has compared the Balinese Sūrya Sevana with the Indian Śivapūjā as known from Southeast Indian Āgama texts published by Hélène Brunner(-Lachaux) and others. Hooykaas had already made use of some of these publications in his 'Comparison of Śaiva Ritual in South India and Bali' (*SuSe* Ch.IV) and we shall return to them. Following Hooykaas' *SuSe*, Gonda enumerates similarities (mainly pertaining to mantras) and dissimilarities (mainly pertaining to the preparation and uses of water) but he does not arrive at a definite conclusion. When he briefly discusses the general situation on Bali, he writes about 'the remarkable mix-

ture' (*das merkwürdige Gemisch*) of Indian, Javanese and Balinese elements. This sounds more like 'convergence' than 'Indianization,' but I believe that we are justified in going a little further: the Balinese Sūrya Sevana is basically a Balinese water ritual enriched with and immersed in Indian elements, especially mantras. This is supported by Gonda's subsequent (1975: 51–52) references to holy water in pre-Islamic Java and is not confined to Indonesia. In Thailand, Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn continues to inaugurate buildings by sprinkling holy water.

That Levi, on his brief visit, exuded knowledge rather than using his eyes is not entirely surprising, but that the author of *Āgama Tīrtha* is similarly misleading, is nothing short of astounding. In his 'Comparison,' Hooykaas does not fail to mention 'Holy Water' a couple of times when enumerating 'constituents of the Balinese ritual which are either absent in South India or are much less developed' (Hooykaas 1966: 152–153), but he does not state explicitly that the *entire ceremony* of Sūrya Sevana is concerned with the ritual preparation of water in contradistinction to any Indian ritual of comparable importance. This is the more surprising since Hooykaas is, as a matter of course, well aware of the fact that many other ritual specialists in Bali consecrate water and use it in similar and dissimilar ways and in a great variety of contexts.

In one passage (1964: 37), Hooykaas seems to explicitly contradict the exclusive importance I am assigning here to water in Balinese ritual:

> Whether one examines the Śaiva priest's ritual at home or in public, in temple or in graveyard, directed mainly in adoration of the godly powers or mainly in averting the evil powers – fire and water, water and fire, are the dominating powers.

Perhaps they are, but we should read carefully and look at the context. I am claiming that the Sūrya Sevana is primarily concerned with the preparation of water like several other Balinese ceremonies. Hooykaas refers to many other rituals and contexts, including the *homa* fire ritual already mentioned, but he is mainly concerned with texts and mantras (the above passage occurs in an Appendix on 'Mystical Syllables'). In texts and mantras, everything under the sun is mentioned or recited, including the sun itself. In the mantras of the sun service, in addition to Sūrya and Agni, many other names of powers and deities occur. The recitation or invocation of Agni is not arbitrary: it often accompanies the ritual use of *dhūpa*, 'incense.' That does not mean that the sun service is, even in part, a fire ritual, just as the fact that a piece of the Gāyatrī mantra occurs at its tail-end does not imply that it corresponds to the Indian *sandhya-vandana*.

What are the reasons for Hooykaas' lack of clarity on this central issue? Is it respect for Levi's authority to which he obliquely refers when writing: 'I,

who perforce reside in the outskirts of London, have not witnessed 'worship as it is practised all over India"? Unlikely, for Hooykaas 1963: 545, *note* 2 and 1966: 11–12 gives balanced but critical evaluations of Levi's contribution. Is it the rather limited selection of secondary literature on South Indian Śaivism[6] which he uses in his comparison? Is it the philologist's characteristic inability, if not to see the forest for the trees, at least to show it to others?

There may be some truth to all of these, but the real reason is that texts do not only fail to characterize the universe but are also insufficient as means for the study of human civilization.

[6] I myself am responsible for the suggestion that Hooykaas take a look at Diehl 1956 (see Hooykaas 1964:17) which is less reliable than the two subsequently published books he used (Bhatt 1961 and Brunner-Lachaux 1963). When Hooykaas wonders (1966: 145) why Diehl pays so much more attention to preparations and ablutions than to the ritual itself, all one can say is: so much the worse for Diehl.

Chapter III

Balinese Ritual, Society and Religion

So far we have found a clear case of Indianization in mantras. The Sūrya Sevana looks like a purely Balinese ceremony, with Indianization and convergence affecting several details. Once we enter the almost indefinite variety of ritual detail, each case has to be considered on its own merits. At the present state of our knowledge, which is very limited, convergence remains a possibility in the majority of cases; there are only a few where we can clearly detect Indianization. I have already referred to bells and *mudra* gestures. The square 'pavilion' or *bale pa-veda-an*, where the priest performs his ceremonies, is (as its name suggests) another likely case of convergence: it is probably indigenous (cf. Swellengrebel 1984: 29) but also reminiscent of the Indian *maṇḍapa*, which may be part of the temple or occur by itself. In such cases, we may have neither Indianization nor convergence but parallel development.

Hooykaas' general comparison between South Indian and Balinese Śaiva ritual (*SuSe* pp.141 sq., to which we return in Chapter V) requires some qualification. Following his sources, which are not impeccable (cf. note 6), Hooykaas correctly draws (pp.154–155) a contrast between, on the one hand, the *padanda*'s ritual, independent from the temple ritual or larger ceremonies in which it plays its important role; and on the other, the Indian temple ritual. But the contrast is apparent, for Indian domestic rites and many others (including the rites of ascetics and other renouncers) are also independent from the temple. Though the *padanda*'s ritual is certainly not Vedic, as we have just seen, the Vedic domestic ritual of brahmins is called *gṛhya*, 'domestic,' from *gṛha*, 'house,' and the same word, *griya*, is used in Bali to refer to the *padanda*'s home.

Convergences are of various degrees. The touching of different parts of the body, the Tantric *nyāsa*, occurred already in the Vedic domestic ritual

Fig. 2. Padanda

Fig. 3. Priest from Mohenjo-Daro

Fig. 4. Pots with breasts used in Balinese temple ceremony

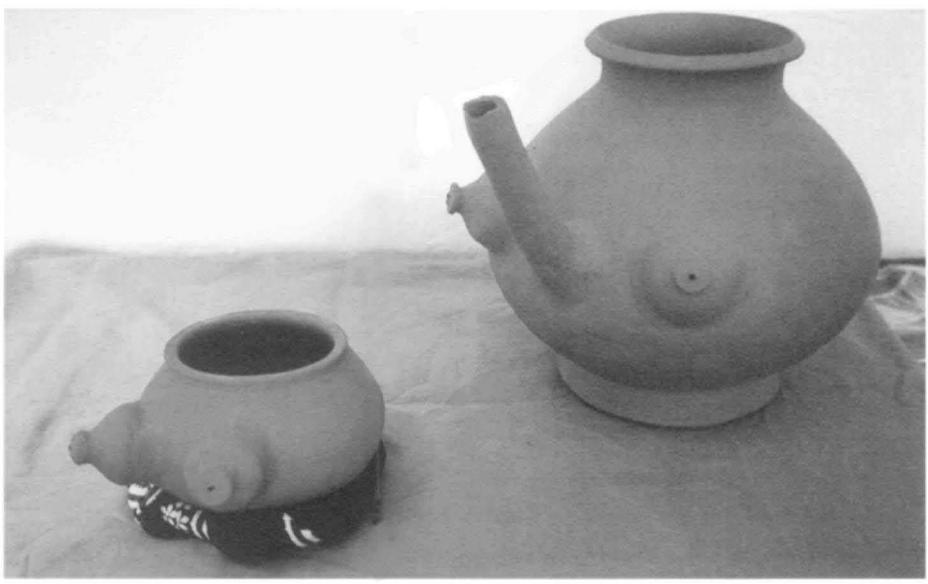


Fig. 5 Pots with breasts used in Vedic Agnicayana ritual

and is also found in other cultures, in a great variety of forms. It is connected with joint marks that are found all over the world and go back at least to the Neolithic period (see, e.g., Schuster and Carpenter 1986: Vol.1, Book 3, Ch.17: 775–861). It is obvious that touching different spots of the body, especially with water, is not very different from washing. All humans do not engage in that practice to the same extent, but it is not confined to humans as is demonstrated by one of our close associates in the animal world: the cat.

When the priest of a South Indian *Viṣṇu* temple comes out from the inner shrine after performing his *pūjā*, he not only sprinkles the devotees with water, but they receive it (in their right hand), sip it and wet their face, head and hair in a similar manner as Balinese recipients do with the *tīrtha* of their Śaivite padanda (which they receive in both hands). In South India this water is often called Viṣṇutīrtham and is associated with the 'waters' in which Viṣṇu lies between creations, but it may be connected with Śiva and places of pilgrimage are called *tīrtha* even if they are not on the banks or confluences of rivers, lakes or other watery spots or regions. Moreover, the priest comes out of the inner sanctum with burning camphor and people hold their hands over it and move it back to their eyes in the same manner as the *padanda* does in Bali. These are Tantric or Agamic but not esoteric rites: modern visitors to South India temples cannot miss them and Indonesian visitors would not have failed to do so in the past when these rites were probably the same (for their Buddhist counterparts, see Mori 1990). In such cases, Indianization is more likely than convergence even if the idea of purification through water or fire is universal.

The *śiroviṣṭa* head-string, with the *kalpikā* attached to it (above, page 14), does not seem to occur in India and certainly not in the *sandhyā-vandana*; until one goes back a few thousand years and meets it on the famous priest figure from Mohenjo-Daro who has a string around his head with a similar ornament, of similar size, tied to it. See Figure 2 (detail from *SuSe* plate 10) and Figure 3 (from Wheeler 1968).

Other types of illustration for likely convergences come from material culture. Pots with breasts, for example, are common in South Asia from the Vedic period and not rare in Bali where the breasts are more numerous. This is more likely a case of convergence than Indianization. See Figure 4 (from Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp 1961: plates 75–79) and Figure 5 (author's photograph; see also Staal 1983, 1: plates 27, 31, 67, 83).

Domestic ritual on both sides of the Bay of Bengal and all over the globe is, by definition, concerned with life cycles or rites-of-passage. People are born and die everywhere and marry in most places and all such events are surrounded by ritual. But all life-cycles are not universal. Tooth-filing is more Balinese (and Indonesian) than Indian and name-giving rituals are, at least in special cases, more developed on the Balinese side (Hinzler

1988). Dying is often related to ancestors and ancestral rites appear to be – if I may venture an awesome generalization – more developed in Southeast than in South Asia. Whatever the percentages, there is a telling contrast: Indonesia is known for burials and India for cremation. But isn't cremation the most spectacular of all Balinese ceremonies? The larger South and Southeast Asian context suggests, as we shall see, that the idea is Indian but its execution, though also found in Burma and Thailand, largely Balinese.[7]

That the picture becomes more complicated is not surprising and accords with the terms used by de Casparis (1983 quoted by Kulke 1990: 14, 28): 'The relatively simple, or perhaps simplistic, view of Indianization is replaced by a complicated network of relations.' We must also speculate, rationally, for how can we try to visualize the situation on Bali prior to Indianization? Were the dead buried without cremation? This question runs parallel with our earlier one: were there ancient water purification rituals performed without mantras? It is now known, or likely, that some *padanda* rites developed from former *pamangku* rituals (Stuart-Fox 1987: 251). But we need to go further and solutions to these questions, even tentative ones, will have to take into account regions beyond Bali.

That is where they were sought, in the case of cremation, by the author of the first textual study of the Balinese death ritual that moved beyond texts, K.C. Crucq's dissertation of 1928, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Balisch doodenritueel* ('Contribution to the knowledge of Balinese funeral ritual'). Crucq's study is based upon manuscripts and published materials including accounts from India, other parts of Indonesia and the apparently more traditional *Bali-aga*, about whom we should recall that their unity is 'a purely negative one, that of being non-Javanized Hindu Balinese' (Goris 1929 = 1984: 294). The distinction between directly-Indianized and Indianized-via-Java does not concern us in the present context, but the point to be retained is that, from the historical point of view, the *Bali-aga*, though it need not be, might very well have been Indianized.

Crucq maintains that funeral rites are the most invariable elements of a culture ('het doodenceremonieel verandert overal het minst van het gehele cultuur-complex van een volk') but found in Bali a picture of terrible confusion and uncertainty ('een beeld van hopelooze verwarring en onzekerheid': pp.110–1). He refers, in particular, to the fact that the Balinese first

[7] Gonda writes about the 'remarkable features of the cremation ceremonies' that they are 'widely different from the Indian funeral rites' (quoted in Bakker 1993). Swellengrebel's enumeration (1984: 29–30) is misleading on this point, as on other 'cultural elements of Hindu or Hindu-Javanese origin' (e.g., 'the central authority of the ruler, and his position as representative of the divine forces' – contrast Kulke 1990 – and 'the Brahmin *padanda* and his ritual').

bury their dead and later dig up the remains again in order to cremate them. It has been maintained that this practice is due to financial reasons: since cremations are expensive, it is cheaper to cremate many people at the same time, but since they do not obligingly die simultaneously, each is first buried separately and temporarily and all are later cremated together. Crucq points out, however, that princes and other aristocrats are also often buried before they are cremated and so saving money cannot be the reason ('de kosten der verbranding kunnen natuurlijk niet de reden zijn'). Crucq concludes that the Balinese originally buried their dead as is still done by the *Bali-aga* and elsewhere in Indonesia (p.114), and that the Indian method of cremation was added later. According to him, most of the funeral rites ('verreweg het grootste deel van het gehele ritueel') are non-Indian (p.121).

Crucq's conclusions have been generally accepted (cf. Gonda in note 7) and are in accordance with what others found, e.g., Stutterheim 1931: 12:

> Meanwhile it has become clear that the entombing of old Javanese kings was not a Hinduistic practice grown in course of time more and more Indonesian, but a thoroughly Indonesian ceremony, which on Java and Bali took a Hinduistic form and should be considered as a higher form of the analogous ceremonies of the Dayaks and other Indonesian peoples not influenced by the Hindus.

What Stutterheim formulates here is a kind of convergence, not Indianization. More information is nowadays available about ancient burials in Indonesia and Southeast Asia generally. For Bali, we have excavations by H. R. van Heekeren (e.g., van Heekeren 1955) and R. P. Soejono (e.g., Soejono 1969), not only of some 100 prehistoric burial sites from Gilimanuk (at the Western tip of Bali, just across the Bali Strait from East Java), but of large stone sarcophagi, '53 from 37 different sites' (Bernet Kempers 1991: 13–14; spectacular specimens are on display at the Archaeological Museum at Bedulu).

Hooykaas has pointed out (1964: 6) that Crucq might have added some 500% to his textual materials if he had consulted a manuscript in the Leiden library on Buddhist Balinese death ritual, described by Juynboll in his 1907 Supplement to the Leiden Manuscript Catalogue. It would, no doubt, have introduced great opacity into Crucq's slim volume. But Hooykaas also adds, significantly, that Juynboll's description mentioned that the funeral rites are called *tiwa*, a term that is obviously 'related with the Dayak *tiwah*.'

Here we arrive on firmer ground for the Dayak *tiwah* rites are among the world's best described funeral rites as anthropologists know from Hans Schärer's *Der Totenkult der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo* of 1966, especially

Volume II *Handlungen und Texte zum Totenkult.* Interestingly, the publication of these two large volumes by the KITLV was partly financed by Hooykaas (not a wealthy man) as the Preface informs us. But there is more to it.

Schärer was a missionary who lived for seven years in Kalimantan, making copious notes (in some 800 copy-books) chiefly from what he was told by informants, especially ritual experts who dictated the chants that accompany their rites and the ritual injunctions that specify how acts and chants are combined. Schärer painstakingly collected these materials, transcribed the originals and made translations which he checked again with the same and other informants. Subsequently he went to Leiden, studied anthropology with J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong and became more widely known through his Leiden dissertation published in 1946 with the title *Die Gottesidee der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo.* Schärer returned to Kalimantan once more but died there soon (in 1947). In due course his book was translated into English by another well known anthropologist who was interested in the Dayaks, Rodney Needham, under the title *Ngaju Religion. The Conception of God among a South Borneo people* (1963).

In the *Preface* to this English edition, de Josselin de Jong is surprisingly ambiguous about the contribution of the study of anthropology to Schärer's work. On the one hand, he writes that Schärer, on his second visit, returned 'this time with the backing of sound scholarly method and theory' although 'it was never granted to Schärer, with his self-acquired insight, to pursue his studies on religion in Borneo as a trained anthropologist; it is likely the result would have been work of inestimable value.' On the other hand, he acknowledges 'a remarkable thing,' i.e., 'that much of Schärer's interpretation of Ngaju religion was not due to his anthropological training, but had already developed during the years of close and continued contact with the Ngaju, before he made the acquaintance of academic anthropology' (pages V and VI). Note that de Josselin de Jong refers to 'interpretation of the religion' and mentions neither the editions of originals nor their translations – i.e., the bulk and most valuable part of Schärer's work.

If we take a look at the books themselves we read in Schärer 1963 (p.35) that 'the conception of God is the focal point of Dayak culture, by which everything is defined and to which everything is referred ... the social and economic aspects of this sacred contest must also be seen and interpreted in relation to it'; in other words, a straightforward expression of the missionary faith, apparently unchecked by anthropology. 'Social and economic aspects' are mentioned, but they are interpreted in terms of a 'sacred contest,' i.e., in theological terms. The ethnocentricity of Schärer's views may have been elicited by the influential opinion of the nineteenth century linguist A. Hardeland, author of a Dayak grammar and dictionary, according to whom the highest divinity of the Dayaks is a shadowy being devoid of significance – a view consistent with much of Schärer's own materials as J. van

Baal sagaciously remarked (1947–1948: 94). If Schärer's statement about the importance of the concept of God were correct, the Dayaks would be unique among the tribal and oral cultures of the world, vying with Ikhnaton for the honour of being monotheists not only *avant* but also *sans la lettre*. Such statements might have earned their author a doctor's degree from Vienna's Father Wilhelm Schmidt in the 'twenties or 'thirties rather than Leiden's de Josselin de Jong in the 'fourties.

In the *Introduction* to the 1966 volumes we read something different: 'We learned that if we wished to get to know the Dayak religion better, we must first of all know the funeral cult which is one of the most important features of the religious, economical and social life of the Dayaks' (1966, 1:53).[8] To someone familiar with oral and tribal cultures, especially of Indonesia, that statement rings more true than the *credo* of 1946.

It is an undisputed fact (which Hooykaas must have grasped at once), that the editions and translations of 1966, which are directly based upon some of the *Notebooks*, are not only of much greater value than the statements of the dissertation (although the latter also contain valuable *Notebook* material), but bear an almost uncanny resemblance to Indian ritual manuals. Schärer, apparently, was a rather unusual missionary. He never abandoned the faith in his mission, but he was a careful recorder of what he saw and especially meticulous with regard to the songs and the accompanying explanations of their ritual use that were dictated to him. To many anthropologists, most of these extensive materials may appear rather detailed and specialized; they look like the field notes from which 'anthropological theory' has to be distilled. But Schärer's notes were not field notes; they were meticulous recordings of songs and their ritual uses, as careful as are some of the best of the philologist's critical editions and translations. Schärer, however, had elected to study anthropology, not philology or linguistics. When he was pressed to conform to 'academic anthropology' and 'theory,' what he did, apparently, was generalize and speculate along the lines of his missionary background and education with results that were predictable and uninformative insofar as they were not also misleading. The result was different from the picture that arises from his *Notebooks*.

Here is an example from the *Notebooks* themselves:

> The chief balian keeps the vessel with the sprinkling rice in his hands and burns some garo or manjan in order to fumigate the sprinkling rice, while saying:

[8] Wir sahen dass wir, wollten wir die Religion der Dajak etwas näher kennen lernen, vor allem den Totenkult kennen mussten, der eine der wichtigsten Erscheinungen des religiösen, oekonomischen und sozialen Lebens der Dajak ist.

I smoke you, O rice, with golden incense, which may attract the hornbill with its aromatic, like the aroma of women that causes the water snake to emerge from the waters, so that your soul will become clairvoyant and clear until it arrives at the village of the Sangiang (Schärer 1966, II:451).[9]

Before we place this in context, we should take into account that the description of the rite (the first paragraph) is in the Ngaju language, but the recitation itself (the second paragraph) in a special language, about which Schärer writes:

The Basa Sangiang was, according to the Ngaju Dayak, the original language ... the language still used in the ritual, from which ordinary Ngaju is a degeneration ... Actually, most words of the Basa Sangiang are formed by making changes in existing words or by affixation of syllables in front or at the end (*Wortumformungen oder Anfügung von Vor- und Nachsilben*: Schärer 1966, I:7–8).

What Schärer refers to here may be called, in Indian terms: mantrification. As it happens, the earliest Sanskrit inscription in Indonesia comes from Kalimantan (Kutei) – but were these Dayak ceremonies subject to Indianization?

Since we are back in some kind of philology, albeit oral philology, what about the philologist's 'variant readings'? Schärer is very definite about them. After referring to Hardeland's statement that different Balians sing different songs, he writes:

That continues to be true and we cannot, of course, collect all versions and then construct a pure text. That is neither possible nor necessary. Despite many differences, the principal parts, which are essential, remain unaffected since any arbitrary touch or change of these most important parts would not only take away the effect of the songs and therefore of the entire activity, but would also bear serious consequences for the

[9] Der Hauptbalian hält nun das Gefäss, das den Streureis enthält, in seinen Händen und er verbrennt etwas Garo oder Manjan, um damit das Gefäss des Streureises zu beräuchern, indem er dabei spricht:

Ich beräuchere dich, o Reis, mit goldenem Weihrauch, welcher anzulocken vermag den Nashornvogel, mit duftendem Räucherwerk, das wie ein Wohlgeruch ist, der von Frauen ausgeht und der zum Auftauchen bringt die Wasserschlange, auf dass deine Seele weitsichtig und helle werde, bis sie angekommen ist im Dorfe des Sangiang.

priests and priestesses (Basir and Balian), be it sudden illness or impending death (1966, 1:5).[10]

Dayak orally transmitted ritual manuals are strikingly similar to Indian and Balinese ritual literature, a similarity that includes the uses of a *meta-language* of rules which is different from the artificial *mantra*-language of songs. In the example from the Sūrya Sevana quoted earlier (above, page 9), the words 'take a flower' are in Old-Javanese, and the mantras are in Sanskrit, Javano-Balinese or meaningless in the Indian mantric manner just as the Dayak 'injunction' is in the ordinary Ngaju language and the 'mantra' in the Basa Sangiang. Dayak 'mantras' are more similar to the Vedic than to the Balinese-Tantric variety as in the following illustration from the beginning of the Vedic Agnicayana ritual, where the first paragraph comes from Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 10.6 (translated by Ikari and Arnold in Staal 1983, II: 495) and refers (by their beginning words) to the mantras (from Taittirīya Saṃhitā 4.1.6.1a in Staal 1983, I: 298) that follow in the second paragraph:

> He (the Adhvaryu priest) prepares twenty-one balls of stallion dung, a hoe, fire, and fuel for firing. Then he lights the horse dung and fumigates the main *ukhā* (pot) with (seven mantras) starting with:
> May the Vasus make you smoke with the Gāyatrī meter
> in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
> May the Rudras make you smoke with the Triṣṭubh meter
> in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
> May the Ādityas make you smoke with the Jagatī meter
> in the fashion of the Aṅgirases!
> ...

I believe that we may conclude that the Balinese ritual as we know it replete with Indic mantras, is the successor to a similar Balinese ritual in which the mantras were not Indic, just as the Dayak recitations are not Indic even though they are in a mantra-like language. In other words, what looks like an Indian ritual, or a highly Indianized ritual, transported to Bali, is, in fact, a result of some degree of ritual convergence. Only the mantras, pos-

[10] Wir können natürlich nicht alle Versionen sammeln und dann einen sauberen Text herstellen. Das ist weder möglich noch notwendig. Trotz manchen Verschiedenheiten bleiben die prinzipiellen Teile, um die es geht, unangetastet, weil jede willkürliche Antastung oder Veränderung dieser wichtigsten Teile die Gesänge, und damit die ganze Handlung, nicht nur unwirksam machen würde, sondern auch für die Priester und Priesterinnen (Basir und Balian) sehr schwere Folgen hatte, sei es plötzliche Erkrankung oder rasch eintretender Tod.' Note the preponderance of songs ('Gesänge') over activity ('Handlung').

sibly some mudras and other details of the rites, are Indic. That the picture has thus become more complex – even without taking into account that some *padanda* rituals may originally have been *pamangku* rituals – is not surprising and in accordance with de Casparis' formula, already quoted, of 'a complicated network of relations.'

The use of mantra-like language, songs or formulas is not confined to the Dayaks and allegedly Indianized peoples. It has been widely reported from Southeast Asia an elsewhere. A particularly instructive therapeutic case from Halmahera 'magic/medicine' is described by Taylor (1988) who refers to other studies on Thailand (by L. Golomb) and Malay magic (by K. Endicott, J.D. Gimlette, S. Howell and W.W. Skeat). Taylor contrasts his materials with 'Hindu/Buddhist mantras' but his information on the latter should be used with caution and the contrast is more apparent than real. It seems likely that the mantra-like expressions of Indonesia are related to the paired ritual language of Eastern Indonesia to which J.J. Fox (1988) and others have called attention, but I must leave it to Indonesia specialists to pursue this further.

I have concentrated on the second volume of Schärer 1966, the one that deals with ritual, not on the first, which deals with myths because my subject is ritual. But doesn't ritual stand in need of an explanation and reflect myths? It *does* stand in need of an explanation but it does *not*, or only rarely, reflect myths. To think so is itself a very persistent myth, discussed *ad nauseam* since the nineteenth century (cf. Staal 1989, especially Chapter 13). It is clear that Schärer subscribed to that myth at least intermittently which is not surprising for it used to be fashionable especially among scholars of religion. Some of his materials could be quoted in support of it though other parts support the opposite view that rituals are independent of myths and myths are rationalizations of rites (as in the Balinese case discussed by Stuart-Fox, below page 37–38).

The emphasis on the creation myth in Schärer 1946, which has largely (though not entirely) disappeared from Schärer 1966, is almost always a direct reflection of monotheistic projections. I cannot judge the Dayak case (where Vredenbregt 1981: 25 follows Schärer though he regards myths of creation primarily as 'social facts'), but in the case of the Indian Vedas, for example, the emphasis in many modern publications on the so-called 'creation myth' of the Rigveda (10.90), which also introduces for the first time the names of the four castes, is doubtless unwarranted. This poem, actually a hymn to a cosmic man, is an atypical, late and isolated composition. It is an important myth, no doubt, but so are hundreds of others. In monotheism, creation is fundamental, which is the sole reason that missionaries and some anthropologists continue to look for creation myths.

The same holds for Bali, with a few exceptions. The first sentence of the first Sanskrit text from Bali published by Levi has Sanskrit *sṛjeya* 'may I

create (offspring),' followed by an enumeration of things that 'are born' (*jāyate*; better Balinese versions in *SuSe* 176–177). Similarly, in his extensive description and analysis of the temples and rituals of Besakih, Stuart-Fox (1987) mentions once, in an *Appendix* (E: 511–515), a ritual dialogue where the question 'What is it you do?' is answered by 'I make/create (*akarya*) the earth, the mountain,' which is followed by an enumeration of their contents. Both appear to be atypical. The text published first by Levi is not a basic text, like *Genesis*, but a litany chanted on new and full moon days and accompanying some of the rites. The dialogue of Stuart-Fox's *Appendix* occurs in rite #11 in the sequence of ritual events of the Bhatara Turun Kabeh which last over a period of almost a month if and when they are performed.

I have not been able to find a single reference to creation in Hooykaas' writings. *SuSe* (page 145) informs us that the Sanskrit term for creation, *sṛṣṭi*, occurs neither in Balinese ritual nor elsewhere in Indonesia. What about Hooykaas 1974 where the term 'creation' has made it into the title: 'Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition'? The book was published, like Schärer's volumes, by the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (KITLV), known for its Calvinist background and leanings. Did a sympathetic editor perhaps help with the title, which might appeal to a wider audience, certainly in the Netherlands, with the word 'Creation' added? I doubt it, for sales have never been – and should not be – an important consideration in scientific publication.

Despite its title, the reader of Hooykaas 1974 will find much about cosmogony and nothing about creation in that book. The veil of contradiction between title and contents is partly lifted when we arrive at the 'Final Word' (page 171) and read: 'I considered using for this book the title 'Synthesis of Macrocosm and Microcosm,' but dropped the idea since I preferred the narrative to the philosophical approach.' I cannot tell – as is often the case – what exactly was in Hooykaas' mind. Did he simply want to stay away from theological quibbles (cf. his objection to Geertz' use of the term 'theology' discussed in Staal 1989: 338–339)?

Whether or not Bali originally possessed a 'religion' which changed along with the mantras, the ritual seems to have remained the same. I conclude that Balinese ritual is a classic case of a ritual without religion. This may seem puzzling when we *define* religion along the lines of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and note that these three also comprise ritual features which, therefore, seem to be features of religion. But in many parts of Asia, where ritual is much more widespread and developed than in the three monotheisms, that concept of religion is not or not easily applicable. It is a monotheistic projection that backfires because the Asian situation throws light, in the opposite direction, on the monotheistic concept of ritual itself:

for if A ('ritual') invariably co-occurs with both B and non-B, it cannot be a feature of B ('religion').

That the monotheistic concept of religion cannot be used in most parts of Asia is consistent with the fact that, outside the three monotheisms, none of these so-called religions are based upon an authoritative sacred book. The Vedas are repositories of mantras and the other traditions have produced innumerable orally composed or written compositions and texts but none that are considered authoritative. All are not only constantly being re-interpreted, but also revised, modified, transformed and added to. To begin a section on the 'religion' of a village community in Bali with a chapter on *De heilige schrift en de verhouding van mensch tot God* ('The Holy Writ and the relation of Man to God'), as did Korn in his 1933 monograph on Tnganan Pagringsingan, is therefore misleading.

That the monotheistic concept of religion cannot be used to characterize the familiar Chinese rubric of the 'Three Teachings' is becoming widely known. In East or Southeast Asia, there are no indigenous religions and in South Asia, there are none until we come to the *bhakti* movements of medieval India. In sum, the rituals of South, Southeast and East Asia are rituals without religion.

I cannot establish this general thesis in its full generality in the present context, but it was the natural (albeit unexpected) outcome of Staal 1983, Volume I, with respect to South Asia, was formulated as such in the *Preface* of Volume II, substantiated and widened by other contributions in that volume and further discussed elsewhere, especially in Staal 1989. The idea of ritual as a specialized science or technique with a biological background rather than a feature of society or religion is in full accordance with the observations on Balinese ritual performances by Korn and Hooykaas quoted earlier (above page 14–15).

Chapter IV

Ritual Structure

Whatever the conceptual status of ritual, it would not be difficult to show that most of the rituals of South, Southeast and East Asia are *structurally* similar. It would not be difficult but time-consuming and is best left to the future when rituals will be formalized and computers can do (part of) the job. Formalization would require a much more thorough analysis than can be given in the present context; but the general outlines are clear and enough is known for a simplified account to be sketched. Studying the structure of ritual is not wedded, incidentally, to 'structural anthropology' or 'Structuralism' (though the connections with 'Post-Structuralism' are even more tenuous). For Vedic, I may refer to the publications already mentioned, and for the comparison between the Vedic and the Taoist, to Schipper and Staal, *forthcoming*.

In order to study the structure of a ritual we must first of all establish appropriate *units*. This is not an arbitrary matter and can only be done by studying other rituals. For example, if a ritual seems to consist of five rites which we may represent by the five numerals:

1 2 3 4 5,

we do not know whether the actual number of units should be larger or smaller, i.e., whether we have under- or over-analyzed. If it is larger, we try to subdivide further. If it is smaller, there are several possibilities. If two units have to be postulated, they might be, for instance:

1 – 2 and: 3 – 4 – 5 (1)

or:

1 – 2 – 3 and: 4 – 5. (2)

If we know another ritual that looks like:

1 2 3 8 9, (3)

we are entitled to assume that the analysis (2) is more probable than (1) because '3 – 4 – 5' and '3 – 8 – 9' are less likely to be units than '1 – 2 – 3' which occurs in both (2) and (3). If we conclude that this assumption is correct, we express it by inserting in (2) a *caesura* between '1 – 2 – 3' and '4 – 5.'

Often the rituals themselves mark such a caesura. This discovery of the 'science of ritual' was probably Indian. The concomitant discovery of methods for marking the ends of mantras and sentences was the starting point of linguistics. It is of equal importance for the development of logic, algebra and the construction of artificial languages. Marking the end of a mantra or sentence is connected with breathing: some sentences are, and most mantras should be uttered without taking breath. Yogic *prāṇāyāma* and the like are connected with recitation. Such subdivisions are, in other words, real and not only 'as logical as any other' (Nihom 1994: 74; in dance, mudras are used: de Zoete and Spies 1939).

Hooykaas discovered several methods in Sūrya Sevana that are used for marking a caesura. He refers to the chief of these as OMNIA:

> SAŃKEPI(N) & NAŃKEPI(N) is a code-word ... it is seen that the officiating priest addresses himself to all his perishable and imperishable cult objects, in doing so making it perfectly clear that he has terminated the preceding action or chain of actions ... in many cases, though it cannot be said to be general ... (it is) followed by *patarianan* (GESTURES) ... this frequency of *sarikepi* considerably helped me in subdividing the ritual into 80 parts (*SuSe* 24–27).

It is difficult to establish by what calculation Hooykaas arrived at his number. I have counted all markings of OMNIA and GESTURES in his text, including all types of typography and all sizes he makes use of, and arrive at '39' and '38,' respectively. There is one mention, in the *translation*, of SAŃKEPI, which may indicate that '39' should be changed into '40' but that still does not support the expression 'in many cases, though it cannot be said to be general.'

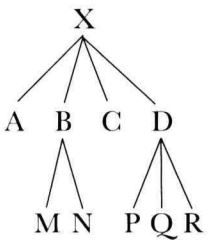
To use Hooykaas' own subdivision is not easy either, for he adds a reverse order, provided with small letters, accents, single and double, after and *before* the capitals – e.g., A, Ea, T"c, 'Y"a, ...

It makes little sense to extend the discussion over many manuscripts and manuscript families, and get involved in discussions such as 'In that case this item would be the end of my Cb and not the beginning of D. The mate-

rials at my disposal do not admit of a decision' (p.51). Traditions proliferate but there is no UR-TRUTH to be found here. However, what Hooykaas seeks – a good subdivision – is of fundamental significance: it is the first step of a structural analysis.

I used a simpler method and counted in the performance of my single priest-informant, repeated on a number of occasions, occurrences of GESTURES. I arrived at numbers ranging from '28' to '30' – for even simple counting is not easy.

From the point of view of structure, the one significant conclusion we are justified in deriving from these materials is that this ritual consists of parts, each or many of which consist of parts, each or many of which consist of parts, each or many ... etc. The number of parts is not clear, and can only be clarified for a given case, but the general structure is what linguists call a recursive phrase-structure. Such a structure may be represented by a *tree*, e.g.:



where A indicates, for instance, the priest's arrival, M and N (which belong together as 'B') the washing of his hands and feet, C rinsing his mouth and P, Q, and R (which belong together as 'D') the purification of sandalwood, rice and flowers, in that order. The entire tree X is a sub-branch of a larger tree, of which there are other sub-branches Y, Z, ... that correspond to other parts of the ritual.

The recursive nature of these structures has been observed before. Bateson and Mead (1942: 260) write: 'Each element is reduplicated a specified number of times in each combination, and each combination is reduplicated a specified number of times for a given ceremony.' The only scholar, to my knowledge, who has carried out a systematic analysis of Balinese ritual along these lines is David Stuart-Fox in his unpublished dissertation of 1987, already mentioned. His Figure 8.7 provides a tree of the above form which explicates five phases (Purification and Invitation, performed by the *pemangku*, Prestations, Counterprestation and Dispersion, performed by the *padanda*) that recur at the next lower level as identical sub-phases (Stuart-Fox 1987: 262, culminating an analysis that started with a description of the five phases on page 196). The five phases exhibit a recursive inversion and may also be analyzed in the form 'A B B A' where the first 'A' includes

Purification and Invitation, the first B refers to Prestation, the second B to Counterprestation and the final A to Dispersion.

The inversion structure 'A B B A' occurs in more generalized forms in Balinese ritual, again most easily explained when we represent rites by numerals:

1 2 3 4 5 ..... 5 4 3 2 1.

We have already found a case in mantras, i.e., *na-ma(ḥ) Śi-vā-ya*, 'homage to Śiva,' is replaced by *ya-vā-Śi ma-na*, *'va-Śi-to-mage-ho'*. In mantras, there are many more particular structures and 'inversion' is a special case of 'transposition.' Another case of inversion is found in black magic when mantras auspiciously ordered *ang*, *ung*, *mang* (as in OM = A U M), are ordered inauspiciously in the reverse direction as at the beginning of 'a sort of guide to werewolfry' mentioned by Swellengrebel (1960: 51, referring to De Kat Angelino 1921).

Of the many cases of inversion that are found in the ritual itself, I mention one that is explicit, one implicit and one absent from Hooykaas. The first and most important inversion is the invoking of Śiva in the first part of the ritual and the sending-off of the deity in the second part which Hooykaas has indicated by means of accented capitals A' – Q' and which is mentioned in general terms in the Introduction of *SuSe* (page 41).

The second illustration of the classic 'A – B – A' structure is implicit in the directions the priest faces: he starts sitting on his platform facing west, turns round after his first ablutions and faces east throughout the ritual. In the end he turns round again and faces west to dispense the purified water to his customers.

The third example of inversion is continuous or 'dynamic': it is part of the consecration of the bell with smoke which is done by moving the brazier clockwise by the right hand immediately to the right of the bell which is held in the left. This is done 21 times, in three rounds of seven, and is reminiscent of the starting of an ancient automobile (corresponding to the bell) by putting a crankshaft into the engine in front and turning it around (corresponding to the clockwise movement of the brazier). Later in the ritual, when the bell has done its part, or most of it, the movement is repeated, again 21 times, but in the counterclockwise direction.

The most interesting structural property of the ritual is what linguists have referred to as transformations. This means, roughly and in terms of trees, that sub-branches moved to different branches change. It is easy to see, in less abstract terms, why the water purification ceremony may possess this property: the water is purified in order to be used in various ways, including in other ceremonies such as full and new moon (*SuSe* 176–181), birth, tooth-filing, marriage or cremation. In these cases, the *padanda* either

brings holy water along or sits on a specially prepared platform and prepares it there. In the first case he need not prepare it again but goes through some of the moves; in the second he may not do the same as he customarily does at home. There are countless variations which may be described as deviations or transformations of the paradigm case of *SuSe*. Many are omissions but they are not simple omissions: they are determined by larger structures in which they occur. How to describe these by precise rules is not known since none of these materials have been properly studied let alone formalized. It is likely, on the face of it, that the ritual modifications that will be required cannot be described by rules less complex than transformations. That same conclusion seems to be hinted at by Stuart-Fox (1987: 196) when he writes: 'The separate acts of the *padanda* tend to parallel those of the *pemangku*, though the details of the acts themselves and especially the mantras are different.'

We are entitled to conclude that the structure of one Balinese ritual is the same as that of the Vedic ritual for which I provided the specifications elsewhere (e.g., Staal 1983,II: 127–134). That the structure of both rituals is the same has nothing to do with Indianization or Convergence but is due to the fact that these ritual structures appear to be universal. This hypothesis is supported by the facts I am familiar with and if it is correct that would not mean that these structures are, in any manner of speaking, 'obvious' structures: they are, on the contrary, very specific. Transformations are similar to, and inversions dissimilar from language. Ritual could very well have had an entirely different structure but, as it happens, it possesses the structure it possesses.

In several earlier publications, I linked the analysis of the structure of ritual to the thesis of its meaninglessness. The two are related but it is not clear whether the link between them is that of logical implication. The former, structurally complex and 'positive' analysis has elicited less discussion than the latter, 'negative' one. This has led to confusions for which I am at least in part responsible. I am still groping about in a dark forest but believe that a serious discussion can get off the ground only if and when rites and rituals are studied much more thoroughly than has ever been done.

Whatever the value of these *caveats*, it remains true of Bali also that meaning is not intrinsic to ritual. In the words of Stuart-Fox (1987: 219–220) who uses the concept of 'purpose' rather than 'meaning':

> Purpose has the potential to change over time according to changes in cultural and religious ideology, and it can vary also from person to person according to the knowledge and experience each brings to the interpretation. Besakih, being what it is, is the subject of scholarly interpretation developed by the religion's intellectuals. It can be expected that new modern interpretations, such as those authorized by the official Hin-

du organization, will gradually become part of popular knowledge. To take one example: formerly the local *pemangku* thought that the *paselang* ritual during Bhatara Turun Kabeh referred to toothfiling (*mapandes*), since it was known that *paselang* ritual was included in highly elaborate toothfiling ceremonies. Why the gods should need their teeth filed was conveniently neglected. Based on the study of the ritual itself and textual sources unavailable to villagers, local intellectuals provided a more rationalizing interpretation that associated the ritual with the penetration of the deity's powers and blessings into the natural and human worlds.

Chapter v

Tantra, Agama, Mantra and Language

So far we have discussed Balinese ritual in terms of current notions such as 'history,' 'text,' 'society' and 'religion.' I have suggested that 'text,' 'religion' and even 'society' are of limited application in the study of ritual. The first two notions are European and ethnocentric or most commonly understood within a context that is ethnocentric. I have used one non-current or not-yet-current *Asian* concept that is needed: mantra. It stands to reason that other so-called 'e-tic' or 'indigenous' terms will be helpful or necessary. In this chapter, we shall continue the discussion of Balinese ritual in terms of two such concepts, both already referred to: *tantra* and *āgama*. The latter term is applicable to Balinese ritual in its Indian meaning ('ritual tradition') and possesses the confusing advantage of being in addition the modern Indonesian term for the monotheistic concept of 'religion,' the very notion I have attempted to get rid of. To further unravel the conceptual tangle we need another concept, but that is a human universal: language. However, before we launch onto *tantra* or *āgama*, let us retrace our steps.

I do not know whether the Sūrya Sevana rite of the *padanda* Śiva is typical of an allegedly Indianized Balinese ritual, but if it is we may generalize and draw from the preceding chapters the following tentative conclusions. With the exception of the important idea of cremation, which came from India but was combined with Balinese burial customs and recreated in an original manner, Balinese rites seem to have been provided with Indian names without changing substantially. They probably incorporated other Indian ritual elements, possibly mudras, but the chief respect in which they were Indianized was mantras. These did not merely enter but seem to have inundated the rites and replaced the songs or recitations that accompanied them originally.

These conclusions are consistent with most of Hooykaas' own comparisons in *SuSe* Part IV, but one important issue that is raised there deserves further examination. Hooykaas suggests, rightly I think, that the Baiinese ritualist's lack of connection with any particular temple is related to the fact that he acts as a *yogin* who identifies himself with a deity.[11] The Balinese ceremony seems more mystical than most or all of its apparently more purely ritualistic Indian counterparts.

It is true that there is a certain 'stillness' about the *padanda*'s service. It is the cause of the inaudibility of most of his mantras, many of which are muttered or ephemerized through meditation. Insofar as a stillness can be pronounced, that stillness is more pronounced than in many Indian rituals, certainly the Vedic. But stillness is not absent from Indian ritual. Its significance has not only been noted with respect to the Vedic by scholars (e.g., Renou and Silburn 1954), but novelist V.S. Naipaul has referred to it in his illuminating observation that the expertise of South Indian brahmin ritualists is the other side of the talent for mathematics and physics:

> Out of that confluence – the new education, the concern with the right performance of complicated rituals, the stillness that went with the performance of some of those rituals – there had come a generation of scientists (Naipaul 1990: 152).

Hooykaas' observation about the mystical character of the *padanda*'s ritual is apt and the contrast with India is especially striking when we confine ourselves to Vedic ritual. The difference is much smaller or dwindles to nothing if we look at the South Indian Śaiva ritual to which he refers, a ritual that is often called Āgamic but that also fits, together with the *padanda*'s mantras and much of the history of Javanese and Balinese ritual, under the Tantric or Tantrik umbrella. (Cf. Levi 1933: XIX: 'there is no feature in this Vedaparikrama which is not properly Tantric'; XXX: 'The whole Buddhaveda is a set of Tantrik fragments'). But what is Tantra? If we omit texts, the rituals of Indian Tantrism are only very imperfectly known and it is much too early to draw definite conclusions. What, then, would it mean to say that much that is basic to Tantrism is also in accordance with the Balinese facts as Hooykaas states them? Isn't it hazardous to refer to 'basic' features of a movement about which there is so much uncertainty and unreliable literature?

It may not be far off the mark to see in Tantrism a popular and originally non-elitist combination or re-integration of two streams that had been sepa-

[11] Yoga often involves identification with a deity but in the classical handbook of Yoga, Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*, *yoga* does not mean 'union' but *samādhi*, a state of concentration, and the ultimate aim of the system is not union but *kaivalya*, 'isolation.'

rated at the end of the Vedic period: (1) ritual, a primarily brahmin speciality that may be executed within the home, in temples or elsewhere; and (2) knowledge, meditation or yoga, the preoccupation of the wandering or sedentary renouncers (Upaniṣadic, Jaina and Buddhist), an activity often engaged in by a single person sitting in isolation under a tree, in a cave or cell or on a cremation ground. The former variety is often connected with the village, the latter with the countryside or 'forest.' In both currents, mantras played an important role: they were object of *recitation* in the first and of *meditation* in the second. Put differently and whether looked upon as objects or means, mantras were audible first and became inaudible later.

The two streams are distinguished in the Indian tradition in terms of the concepts of *karman*, 'ritual,' and *jñāna*, 'knowledge.' The Vedas themselves were in due course subdivided into *karmakhāṇḍa* ('the ritual part,' the core of the four Vedas which include the main source of mantras: the *saṃhitā*, 'continuously recited,' portions) and *jñānakhāṇḍa* ('the knowledge part,' primarily the *vedānta*, 'end of the Vedas' or Upaniṣads). The subdivision is more precise than I can indicate here, and I have lumped 'knowledge,' 'meditation' and 'yoga' together. The Upaniṣads and Buddhism place knowledge above ritual, but the concept of meditation, which is intermediate between the two, has been treated differently in the two traditions. Buddhism and various Yogīs continued to emphasize meditations, with and (in the limiting case) without mantras. Later followers of the Upaniṣads, such as Śaṅkara, rejected meditation because it is, like ritual, a form of *karman*, i.e., an activity that takes place in time and can therefore only have a temporary and hence finite result. In Vedānta, meditation as *upāsanā* retains its status on the lower level of exegetical interpretation where it is applied to the statements of the Upaniṣads rather than to mantras. But this is not 'meditation' in the later sense; it is closer to *mīmāṃsā*, 'intense reflection,' after which both Mīmāṃsā = Pūrva Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta = Uttara Mīmāṃsā are named. The Upaniṣads expressed the entire development in a nutshell when they declared with reference to 'the Self' (*ātman)* that is 'to be heard, to be reflected on, to be meditated upon' (*śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyaḥ*: Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 2.4.5; Mukti Upani-ṣad 1; etc.).

The basic distinction between ritual and knowledge was retained in Tantrism and in the Āgamas, but the various features were combined and treated within a single system. In Buddhist Tantrism, the standard categories are *kriyā*, *caryā*, *yoga* and *anuttarayoga*: the former two refer to ritual, the latter two to 'yoga' and though the term *jñāna* is not explicit (perhaps because its Buddhist counterpart is *prajñā*), it belongs here. We shall see that the Āgamas reintroduce *jñāna* and are, in that respect and not unexpectedly, closer to the Vedic heritage.

The history of mantras reflects these developments. In the Vedic period, mantras were recited clearly or chanted, sometimes shouted (the grammar-

ian Pāṇini formulates the rules in special cases such as *vauṣaṭ!*) though some were muttered or mental (*mānasa*). The chief marks of professionalism and excellence of the Vedic ritualist have always been a good memory, a clear voice and 'purity of (enunciation of the syllables of) sound' (*akṣaraśuddhi*). In Tantra and Āgama, the two currents came together and ritual and meditation were combined. That characterizes the situation in Bali. It is likely, therefore, that it exhibits elements of Indianization. But convergence, though impossible to determine at the present state of our knowledge, is not excluded: ritual, recitation and meditation occur worldwide along with breathing and their combinations are unsurprising.

Even if Indian influences came primarily from South(east) India, they would not have been confined to Śaivism for Tantric Buddhism was thriving in important South Indian cities such as Kanchipuram until roughly 1000 A.D. The Buddhist *padanda* is there to remind us of that background. Another feature of Tantrism is also implied in this sketchy account: deities are not as important as mantras. Their numbers may be prolific but their illusoriness is not surprising in Buddhism or the Vedānta and hence in Tantrism. In the Śaivite Āgamas, deities are effectively identified with mantras or parts of mantras (see, e.g., Brunner 1986). This thesis runs parallel to the elitist ritual philosophy of the Mīmāṃsā in which the deities that occur in injunctions ('perform ... for Agni') are sometimes regarded as grammatical datives.

These developments explain the occurrence of Indian deities throughout Southeast Asia, with identical names, similar attributes and forms yet often strikingly different in appearance and feeling when represented in art – not unlike the Indian elephants depicted on Tibetan paintings by artists who had no direct knowledge of such beings. Levi (1933: XIV) noted something else: 'the most striking external feature of Balinese Hinduism is the complete absence of images of deities ... the fact is so much the more surprising as the Balinese are wonderfully gifted for art ... if the shrine is empty, the walls around are profusely ornamented with figures...' All of this is explained by the fact that it is through language and especially through mantras that deities travelled.[12]

The Tantric background of Indo-Indonesian civilization was detected early by Krom, Stutterheim, and others though the term was not always used. It was implicit in Stutterheim's sagacious subdivision (adopted by

[12] This is a simplification because deities travelled in *mandala* configurations that may be textually transmitted (see, e.g., Nihom 1994, especially Chapter 2) and also visualized. Moreover, pilgrims returning from South Asia, especially the Buddhist, sometimes carried small devotional figures which 'played a significant role in the transmission of styles' (Melikian 1995: 7). But even when stylistic conventions were similar, 'their aesthetic handling could be utterly different' (*ibid.*).

Goris) of inscriptions into 'Buddhist' and 'non-Buddhist:' for there are, in Bali as on Java, 'orthodox,' that is, non-Tantric Buddhist inscriptions, but the others are not always clearly Śaivite and certainly not 'Hindu' (cf. above page 12): they are Tantric. Stutterheim also defended the 'convergence' thesis that the so-called 'Hindu temples' of Java were no temples, not Hindu and not built by Hindus (Stutterheim 1931b).

After wondering why the Buddhist and non-Buddhist inscriptions of Pejeng could occur together (their locations were, in fact, at some distance from each other) and whether the Buddhist preceded the non-Buddhist or vice versa, Stutterheim writes in the rather circumstantial manner he adopted in some of his Dutch writings, here rendered into English:

> And thus one wonders about the sharp division drawn by the manuals between Buddhism and Śaivism in Java during the middle-Javanese period, seeing in Śaivism a national religion, but in Buddhism a rather international, at any rate foreign religion. Without diminishing the value of the latter opposition, for which I am willing to take responsibility, I feel I must cast doubt on the alleged impropriety of the going-together of Śaivite and Buddhist characteristics in one place, allegedly based upon what is known about the Śailendra kingdom on Java during that period. The contents of the fragments we have given and other investigations may show that such a going-together was very well possible because of the great similarities and that we have to look there for the origin of the remarkable Balinese combination of padanda siwa and padanda boeda, a combination which must have existed also in Central Java and must have originated in Central Java during the Śailendra period by the absorption of younger Buddhist elements into earlier Śaivism (Stutterheim 1929, 1:60–61).[13]

[13] Aldus zou men, afgaande op de in de handboeken getrokken scherpe scheiding tusschen Buddhisme en Çiwaisme op Java in den middeljavaanschen tijd, de vraag willen stellen, daarbij in het Çiwaisme ziende een nationale, in het Buddhisme daarentegen een min of meer internationale, althans buitenlandsche godsdienst. Zonder over de waarde van deze laatste tegenstelling, die ik gaarne op mijn verantwoording neem, veel af te dingen, moet ik toch het niet-mogen-samengaan van çiwaitische en buddhistische kenmerken op een plek, zoals men dat uit de gegevens over een Çailendra-rijk op Java in dien tijd zou willen afleiden, betwijfelen.
De inhoud van de boven gegeven fragmenten benevens de laatste onderzoekingen kunnen laten zien dat zulk een samengaan op grond van de groote overeenkomsten zeer goed mogelijk was en dat wij daarin dus in zekeren zin den oorsprong hebben te zien van de eigenaardige balische combinatie van pedanda siwa en pedanda boeda, welke combinatie op Java natuurlijk ook moet hebben bestaan en op Midden-Java in den Çailendra-tijd moet zijn ontstaan door de opname van buddhistische, jongere elementen in het oudere Çiwaisme.

In Stutterheim's time, Buddhism was still largely known in the Theravāda forms studied by Rhys Davids and other Protestant scholars and was regarded as a puritan faith. Mahāyāna was looked upon as a degeneration due to the absorption, from 'Hinduism,' of mantras, magical practices and other allegedly bad features. Deconstructionists still have some work to do in this area where theologians have reigned too long: for Buddhism is not a religion and certainly not a 'faith' (cf. Schopen 1991). We now know that Mahāyāna has a good if not impeccable pedigree and retains materials that go back to an early period. Mahāyāna Buddhism entered Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and spread not only to Central and East but also to Southeast Asia where it was, in Burma and Thailand, replaced by Theravāda at a later period. We also know that Tantrism, Buddhist and Śaivite, far from being a Javanese invention, was preponderant in India from the early centuries A.D. and spread not only to Central and East but also to Southeast Asia, thus easily combining with the diffusion of the more traditional forms of Buddhism with which it was in competition.

Much of this information was available to Krom (1924: 203 *note* 1):

> We do not deny that Buddhism, in its country of origin and prior to its introduction to Java, had in several respects undergone Śivaite influences, the less so because both religions had developed in a Tantric direction and were therefore naturally inclined to grow toward each other.[14]

The *historical* development of Tantrism poses more and more complex problems than these early pioneers were aware of or I am competent to unravel let alone expound. The latest contribution to this field of study, Nihom 1994, uses the expression 'Indo-Indonesian Tantrism.' Nihom combines a devastating attack on the post-war Leiden Indonesianists' emphasis on 'typically Javanese' syncretisms with a spirited defense of the 'Greater India' perspective of pre-war Dutch scholars who were trained in Indology and Buddhology. Unfortunately, the latter fields of study have, in the mean time, developed in increasingly diverging directions: some Indologists write as if Buddhism did not exist and some Buddhologists similarly ignore India.

On the *geographical* origins of the Tantra much speculation continues, e.g., on the extent of the contributions of the subcontinent's extreme northwestern or northeastern corners – Kashmir and Assam, roughly speaking (i.e., at the boundaries of South Asia with South-east, Central and/or East

[14] Dat het (Buddhisme) reeds in zijn oorspronkelijk vaderland, voor de invoering op Java, in allerlei opzichten Çiwaitische invloeden had ondergaan, ontkennen wij allerminst, te minder waar beide godsdiensten in tantrische richting ontwikkeld waren en daardoor uit den aard der zaak geneigd waren naar elkander toe te groeien.

Asia; cf. Gupta *et al.* 1979: 36–39, not always clearly consistent with 17–25). At the same time, many scholars did and do not use the term tantra clearly or consistently. Levi criticized Goris for failing 'to perceive the evidently Tantric character of the whole ritual' (1933: xix) but it is not clear what he means by Tantric himself. Gonda in his 1970 study on Śiva in Indonesia clearly states (p.30) that Tantrism tended to erase the differences between Hinduism and Buddhism in India before it happened in Indonesia, but after primarily using the appellation 'śivaitisch,' in line with his title, he shifts gradually, via 'śivaitisch-tantrisch,' to 'tantrisch.'

The concept of *āgama* belongs in the same context though some of the most baffling conceptual confusions surrounding its use have appeared only in recent times. In Sanskrit, the term may refer to many things including 'tradition' in general and any particular tradition in particular. It is used, in particular, of a development of Śaivism in Southeast India (viz., the Tamil country) starting after the middle of the first millennium with a class of works called *Śaivāgamas* which inspired numerous others. In theory, these works deal with four categories, clearly reminiscent of the distinctions we discussed earlier: (1) *jñāna*, 'knowledge,' (2) *yoga*, (3) *kriyā* and (4) *caryā*. The last two refer to forms of ritual but are not distinguished in the same way in different texts. The first term is closer to the Vedic than to the Tantric *anuttarayoga*. Whatever the role of theory, all 'concentrate on religious practice' (Gonda 1977: 166), i.e., on ritual and yoga. Referring to Brunner 1977, the Sinologist Strickmann (1983: 419) wrote: 'There is no doubt that in these long neglected scriptures lies the origin of modern Indian religious ritual, and the Śaivāgamas are no whit less significant in respect to subsequent developments than the Vedas were before them.' The *jñāna* component of these ritual traditions is related to a more purely interpretative and philosophical development referred to as *Śaiva Siddhānta*. There are also connections with Southeast Indian *bhakti* or 'devotional' movements but these are principally connected with Viṣṇu rather than Śiva and are often of later date. The term *āgama* occured in Cambodia, Java and Bali, not always in the same meanings. Whatever the extent of their contribution, it is clear that there are connections between these Āgamas and Balinese ritual (Gonda 1970: 5; 1977: 175; etc.).

Gonda did not use the term *āgama* in his 1970 study, but had paid due attention to it in his *Sanskrit in Indonesia* of 1952 (pages 43, 46, 175, 244, etc.). It is the first example discussed in his chapter on 'Semantic Change and Historical Evolution' (p.330):

> In Sanskrit, *āgama*, apart from other use, designates 'a traditional precept, doctrine, body of precepts, collection of such doctrines'; in short, 'anything handed down as fixed by tradition'; it is, moreover, the name of a class of works inculcating the so-called tantric worship of Śiva and Śakti.

> In Old Javanese it could apply to a body of customary law or a Dharma-book, and to religious or moral traditions, and the words *sañ hyañ* 'the divine, holy' often preceding it emphasize its superhuman character. The term is, moreover, used to signify the religious knowledge of a brahmin, and also that of a high Buddhist functionary. Islam, in the spread of which many compatriots of Śivaists and Buddhists who had led the way into the Archipelago took an important part, adopted the term, and so did, in the course of time, Christianity...

In modern Indonesia, the Department of Religious Affairs uses the term *agama* for 'religion' interpreted in monotheistic terms. In doing so, it has incorporated the legacy of Dutch inspired 'Bureaux for Religious Affairs' and a variety of missionary forebears.[15] This interpretation is canonized in the

[15] Muslims in the Department of Religion knew from the start that they had a common cause with Christianity; the Koran says so. They did not need resort to *divida et impera* since the Christians remained divided into Catholics and Protestants. The remaining task – the imposition of the concept of monotheistic religion on other traditions – is not completed and Balinese members of the Department, though not finished at home, are still trying to convince the Dayaks (and others *mutatis mutandis*) that their newly labelled *kaharingan* is a form of 'Hinduism.' In Bali itself, the specialized knowledge needed for Sūrya Sevana and other similar rites-without-religion may be on the wane, but the faithful are now awakened in non-tourist areas in Buleleng (northern Bali) by latter day Bali Hindu muezzin loudspeakers intoning the Gāyatrī mantra, recently imported intact from India (after it had already become known to some Balinese through modern scholarship: Goris 1926: 143–144). Such Islamization or Monotheization is supported or supplemented by fresh Indianization. A new wave of Sanskrit mantras and expressions is entering the Balinese language, including *omsvastyastu* 'Om! It is good, it should be!' found at the entrance to puras, puris, griyas, etc. and used as a greeting, perhaps somewhat self-consciously. Is it intended as an improvement on Indian *namaste*, an alternative to *assalāmu 'alaikum* or both? Whatever its status, it has made its way into outlines of the Balinese language for Japanese tourists along with (Upaniṣadic) *oṃ śānti śānti śānti* 'Om! Peace Peace Peace!' which is offered as a translation of *sayonara!*

However, we should not take a short term view. Monotheist opinions have always ranged from the fundamentalist to the tolerant and Islam came to Indonesia as a result not of holy war but of trade. The Dutch protected Bali from missionaries for similar economic reasons (tourism) which continue to be operative. Unlike monotheistic religion, which insists on the acceptance of truths that are immune to revision, Balinese culture, which includes rituals along with dances, other performing arts and much else, does not conflict with science or progress. It continues to be vigorous and is likely to survive. Hooykaas (1977: 105) was optimistic about the continuation of temple festivities and the *pamangku*'s ritual. The links between ritual and culture were placed in perspective by Ida Padanda Gde Manuaba when explaining to Professor Vredenbregt why different *padandas* may use different styles of mudra: *sebetulnya ada seni tetapi fungsi sama saja*, 'in fact, it is art, but the function is the same.'

first principle of the Pancasila as *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*, 'Belief in One Almighty God.' Ironically, the Department refused for many years to accept 'Balinese Hinduism' as *agama* although the term in its predominant Indian connotation referred to a ritual development that not only characterizes the Balinese ritual-*without*-religion but denotes one of its primary sources. The status of Buddhism, which is similar, remains undetermined.

Another maxim of modern Indonesia: *bhineka tunggal ika*, 'unity in diversity,' which supplements the *Pancasila* without failing to mirror the American motto *e pluribus unum*, also goes back to the Indo-Indonesian Śaivite/Buddhist/Tantric/Āgamic 'coalition' (a concept Gonda 1970: 28 prefers to 'syncretism'): for it is taken, as is well known, from the assertion by the fourteenth century Tantric Buddhist Sutasoma that the truths of Jina (i.e., Buddha) and Śiva are one.

But let us leave Tantra and Āgama and return to the element that is conspicuous everywhere: mantras. Our conclusion that the chief instruments of Indianization were mantras is in accordance with a variety of facts in addition to the ones we have already met with. First of all, mantras tend to be complex and exceptionally difficult to learn, more even than the ritual itself, which is in accordance with the fact that the agents of Indianization must have been ritual specialists, whether brahmins or Tantrics, who possessed a font of knowledge into which outsiders not only were not but also could not be easily initiated. The initiation of the experts themselves had taken many years and passed through several stages such as the learning of mantras (*ādhyāya*) and that of their adaptation to ritual use or ritual application (*prayoga*), both already mentioned.

That such expert knowledge is relevant to our subject is obvious. It is often ignored or neglected, for example, by Geertz (*passim*) or Schulte Nordholt (1991: 38) when he discusses recent opposition by commoners to 'the dominance of the social and ritual hierarchy in Bali, as embodied by the Brahman priesthood' and declares: 'The *Eka Dasa Rudra* of 1979 and the *Panca Wali Krama* of 1978 and 1989 were almost exclusively officiated by Brahman Priests.' If we take ritual seriously – as is done by commoners in Asia and might be expected from scientists who regard it as a source of political authority – the question of knowledge logically precedes that of dominance just as competence is prior to performance and *pace* Nietzsche or Foucault: for who but a brahmin – or Tantric – is competent to officiate in a large and complex ritual?

Other facts support the thesis of mantras as the chief means of Indianization indirectly. They include De Casparis' suggestion (1983: 4, quoted in Kulke 1990: 13 *note* 3) that the Kutei Sanskrit inscriptions of Eastern Kalimantan of slightly before 400 A.D. may well refer to 'a truly Indonesian ceremony' despite their being inscribed on an apparently Vedic *yūpa* or 'sacrificial pole' ('perhaps to the delight of Vedists': Nihom 1994: 69). This sug-

gestion complements Stutterheim's observation about the Indonesian character of the great monuments of Java, and the Balinese character of the Sūrya Sevana rite and of Balinese cremation. With specific reference to funerary and ancestral rites, this thesis is in line with the simplistic but nonetheless perceptive observation of 1887 by the then Collector of Malabar, William Logan, about the advent of the Nambudiri brahmins in Kerala: 'They posed before the rude chieftains with whom they came in contact as 'God-compellers.' Their sonorous mantrams and spells could compel the gods to take the wandering ghosts of even the worst of men directly to heaven' (*Malabar Manual* quoted in Staal 1983, 1: 92).

If it is true that the chief elements of Indianization were mantras, it does not detract from Kulke's chief conclusions about state formation on both sides of the Bay of Bengal; but some of his other observations appear in a new light and have to be placed in a wider historical and geographical context. The mystery remains, for *Malabar Manual* type assertions do not explain why mantras, themselves often meaningless, were so effective in ritual and, allegedly, through ritual as means of legitimation. Whatever the mystery, we have to take account of a historical fact: the importation of mantras is not confined to regions bordering on the Bay of Bengal or Indian Ocean; for mantras played a similar role in Northwest India almost two millennia earlier.

We still do not know what languages were spoken in the various centres of the Harappan civilization before the advent of the Indo-European and subsequently Vedic semi-nomadic tribes. These languages may have been already Indo-European though the majority of specialists seem to consider it more likely that they were Dravidian. One hypothesis does not exclude the other for we are dealing with many regions and centuries. It is clear that few things remain of the various waves of Indo-European semi-nomadic bands that trickled in across the high mountain ranges that separate Central Asia from Iran and the Indian subcontinent: their Indo-European gods have largely disappeared, of their social structure only the exogamous brahmin *gotra* survives (see pages 94ff. below), and apart from elements of life-cycle rites among the higher castes, remnants of their larger rituals have been long extinct or become exceedingly rare. Only two major features of Indo-European have lasted: the Sanskrit language of classical Indian civilization together with its numerous Indo-Aryan relatives and offshoots (Masica 1991); and the mantras of the Vedas, especially the Rigveda which had been composed by the poets of these semi-nomadic pastoralists as early as the third millennium B.C.

Why indigenous Indians adopted an Indo-European language is not easily explained. It is likely that there were extended periods of bilingualism (an idea first voiced by Murray Emeneau and now generally accepted: Deshpande 1993). The problem is not confined to India for Indo-European

languages entered other areas and replaced other languages in similar ways (Mallory 1989: 257–261). In South Asia something else happened in addition. Not only Indo-Aryan languages established themselves and produced a flowering of languages and cultures, but bits and pieces of the Vedas became mantras and acquired extraordinary power and longevity, producing more and other waves of mantras, generally preserving their structural properties. The proliferation of mantras is due to a great variety of causes which changed over the centuries. In Bali, for example, 'the number of mantra increases partly because certain additional offerings possess their own mantra and partly because more mantras are uttered at certain key points in the ritual (often marked: *FS*) where one mantra would have sufficed at smaller rituals' (Stuart-Fox 1987: 172).

The continued existence of a language or language family, once it has been established and become a vehicle of civilization, is perhaps not a surprising event – we got used to it, at any rate. But nowhere else in the world have large numbers of mysterious and unintelligible language-like bits of sound spread with a force and tenacity that almost resembles the spread of a virus. The epidemic dimensions of mantra diffusion are nothing short of astounding.

This mantra expansion may have something to do with the Vedic language being no longer understood; with the legitimation of social change that cannot be explained – as earlier generations of scientists believed – by military conquest or cultural superiority; 'simple superstition' (that is, by explaining *obscurum per obscurius*); or something else. Whatever the circumstances, legitimation through mantras, generally through the intermediary of ritual, must have been as common during the Vedic period as during later periods of South and Southeast Asian history. Some of its most straightforward features have long attracted the attention of scholars, e.g., the ritual of the Aśvamedha horse sacrifice celebrated to establish, expand or legitimize a king's territory. But we still have not answered the question as to why ritual might be in a position to legitimize political authority. I believe that more than ritual is at stake and that the power of mantras is connected with the power of language to which Indians began to refer as *brahman*. That power and its origins would take us further afield and I refer for it to another publication (Staal, *forthcoming*).

The facts that remain are that mantras entered South Asia before the beginning of the last millennium B.C., perhaps replacing earlier mantras as they were to do later, and were preserved chiefly by brahmins and later by Buddhists and/or Tantrics, who in due course enriched and exported them further and in ever larger quantities to regions as distant from their original homes as Japan and Bali.

The spread of the Indo-European languages during the last three thousand years is not easily explained (one hypothesis has it that the original im-

petus was due not to people but to their horses who went in search of fresh grasslands); but it seems to have followed similar patterns in the various areas where earlier languages were replaced. The concomitant spread of mantras did not occur in Europe or most other regions where Indo-European languages entered, perhaps because of the invention of writing, but similar sacred noises are found in many oral societies: they survive in magic (e.g., Egyptian papyri) or religion (e.g., glossolalia) and continue to occur, in small numbers, in modern societies where they perform a variety of basic functions on the fringes of language, often with formal and phonetic characteristics.[16] The extraordinary spread of mantras over South and Southeast Asia may reflect even earlier events and more archaic characteristics of the entire area, in which case Indianization through mantras itself is a feature of convergence at a more abstract level. How should this be conceived?

It is conceivable that the mantra-stage was more widespread in ancient, oral civilizations than is presently known, at least to me. Mantras are essentially oral and leave no trace in prehistory or archaeology. I have argued elsewhere that they preserve a pre-linguistic stage of evolution. That would support and be supported by the hypothesis that language originated in Asia (cf. Freeman Dyson 1985 *et al.*, discussed in Staal, *forthcoming*). If both hypotheses are true, the subsequent flourish of mantras in that part of the world is likely to be a kind of return to an earlier stage of evolution.

Ritual and mantras exhibit universal characteristics. Foremost among these are abstract structural properties that occur in the life sciences beyond the domain of the human animal. Other ritual traits are not confined to humans either. Ethologists are familiar with the marking of animal territory through 'sprinkling' or 'pouring' and everyone knows what a dog does against a stone. The classicist and historian of Greek religion Walter Burkert has drawn attention to classical comparisons of the sprinkling of *hermai* to the dog's behaviour (Burkert 1979: 43). These dogs join the cats and horses we met with before and such facts alone are sufficient to demonstrate that ritual is not the exclusive domain of historians, philologists, anthropologists, theologians and other human or social scientists even if they were to combine forces.

Unlike Christians marching onward from the Carolingian Renaissance (when Germanic cremation became, in a manner of speaking, a capital offence), the Balinese have skilfully blended Indonesian burials with Indian

[16] Mantras are independent of language but have important phonetic properties including preference for nasality, clear, high vowels and aspiration (= breathing). For example, HA-I, a stobha of the Sāmaveda and a Tantric *bīja*-mantra reappears in different spellings but pronounced with the same diphthong in Japanese HAI 'yes!', (fascist) German HEIL!, the beginning of the Muslim call for prayer in Arabic ḤAYYA ('alā ṣ-ṣalā) and American HI!

cremation, using fire in a new manner and turning the result into such theatrical splendour that it misled a well-known American anthropologist once much quoted. Southeast Asia has not only created the greatest monuments of Indian Buddhist and Tantric genius, such as Angkor and Borobudur as was first noted by Sylvain Levi (cf. Kulke 1990: 31); it also evolved the most resplendent manifestations of an Indian ritual: the rites of cremation that flourished in Burma and Thailand until very recently and are now one of the main tourist attractions of Bali.

Ritual is subject to the constraints of the physical universe and thereby enables us to distinguish between civilizations. Indian grammarians and logicians, always concerned with the demarcation of meaningful from meaningless expressions, did not fail to note it: their stock-example of *ayogyatā*, 'semantic incompatibility' or 'non-sense' is: *agninā siñcati*, 'sprinkles with fire.' The implied contrast is with the perfectly meaningful common expression *tīrthena siñcati*, 'sprinkles with water.' They knew it and we know it because language and ritual must confirm, at least in some respects, to the universe where fire and water do not mix. The gap may be bridged, perhaps, by the inspiration of mantras, that is, breaths of fresh air.

Appendix 1

The Mudras of Ida Padanda Gde Agung

Dick van der Meij

While conducting research into the Sūrya Sevana ritual of the Balinese *Padanda* in the spring of 1995, Frits Staal was allowed by Ida Padanda Gde Manuaba to borrow a manuscript on rituals in Bali containing drawings of the mudras the *Padanda* uses during the performance of his ritual. These drawings were photocopied and are presented and explained here with the permission of the *Padanda*.

We need only glance at Hooykaas' *Sūrya-Sevana* (*SuSe*) to see that texts on Balinese ritual are numerous and that it is not the first time drawings of mudras are published. In the 1920's, Tyra de Kleen published 59 pages of drawings of mudras she made herself. They were published in Dutch (1922), German (1923), and English (1924). Mudras shown in other books usually derive from these, for example in Hooykaas' *SuSe* (1966), *Stuti and Stava* (1971), and *Balinese Bauddha Brahmans* (1973). The mudras she presented were from both Śaiva and Bauddha *Padanda*. Hooykaas' *SuSe* and *Balinese Bauddha Brahmans* also contain drawings of mudras made by the late I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka from the Saren Kangin of Puri Gde Krambitan. Neither Tyra de Kleen nor Ratu Sangka were *Padanda*s and their drawings were made for a foreign public. Tyra de Kleen's drawings also provide information on the posture of the priest, his dress and ritual utensils.

For *Balinese Bauddha Brahmans*, a collection of drawings were made by Ida Bagus Made Poleng of Tebes Aya near Ubud and published by Hooykaas in an article in *BSOAS* (1963: 544–550) and in *Balinese Baudda Brahmans* (1973: 27–46).

The collection presented here differs from the ones mentioned above primarily because it was made by a *Padanda* for the use of a *Padanda.*[17] The drawings form the first part of a description of his rituals. The manuscript consists of 99 pages. The drawings of the mudras are found on page 2–18. Page 19 contains a drawing of the *Padanda* in full attire and page 20–38 contain the text on the Sūrya Sevana ritual, specifying actions and mantras. The rest of the manuscript contains information on other rituals and will not be touched upon here.

According to the information Ida Padanda Gde Manuaba furnished, the drawings were made by his grandfather, Ida Padanda Gde Agung, around 1941. The manuscript itself does not contain a colophon.

The drawings present the mudras showing the position of the hand and the way the fingers should be held. The hands are presented in a position such as to make the mudras most easily understandable. Thus the hand is pictured from the front, the side or the back in order to show the most significant details of the mudra. Actually, mudras are not performed in isolation, but in a continuous flow of elegant action. Naturally, features of continuity and grace cannot be converted to paper. The drawings contain no indication of flowers of other ritual implements.

The pages of the mudras in the manuscript are unnumbered. I have numbered the sets of mudras I–XVII for easy reference. Each mudra is accompanied by a text, provided by Ida Padanda Gde Agung himself. Some specify names: this applies to the mudras of XII, which deal with the macrocosmos (*bhuvana agung*) and those of XVII which deal with the microcosmos (*bhuvana alit*). The majority of the mudras are accompanied by fragments of the mantras (or entire mantras: e.g., X–XI) with which they are associated. Some mudras occur in groups that accompany sequences of acts. Roughly, the sequence of mudras follows the unfolding of the ritual – types of information that the existing publications did not or only rarely provide. The drawings do not present the entire sequence of the ritual, only the basic hand gestures. In *SuSe*, many mudras and mantras occur repeatedly. If they occur repeatedly, the user should refer to the same drawings.

As rightfully pointed out by Hooykaas, manuscripts on ritual are written by those '*nourris dans la griya*' (Hooykaas 1966: 13) for the '*bon entendeur à qui demi-mot suffit*' (Hooykaas 1966: 11). *Ulaka Śaiva*, brahmins who are to be ordained, learn their rituals using *aides-mémoires* written on palm leaf or in drawing books, often containing hundreds of gestures and body positions. The drawings have clearly been made for a person already familiar with

[17] This explains, for example, that the long nails drawn in some of the drawings that were published before are not found in the present collection: growing long nails is a social custom familiar to ritualists but without ritual significance.

the mudras. The user of the manuscript will have to have had prior experience with the mudras in order to perform them satisfactorily.

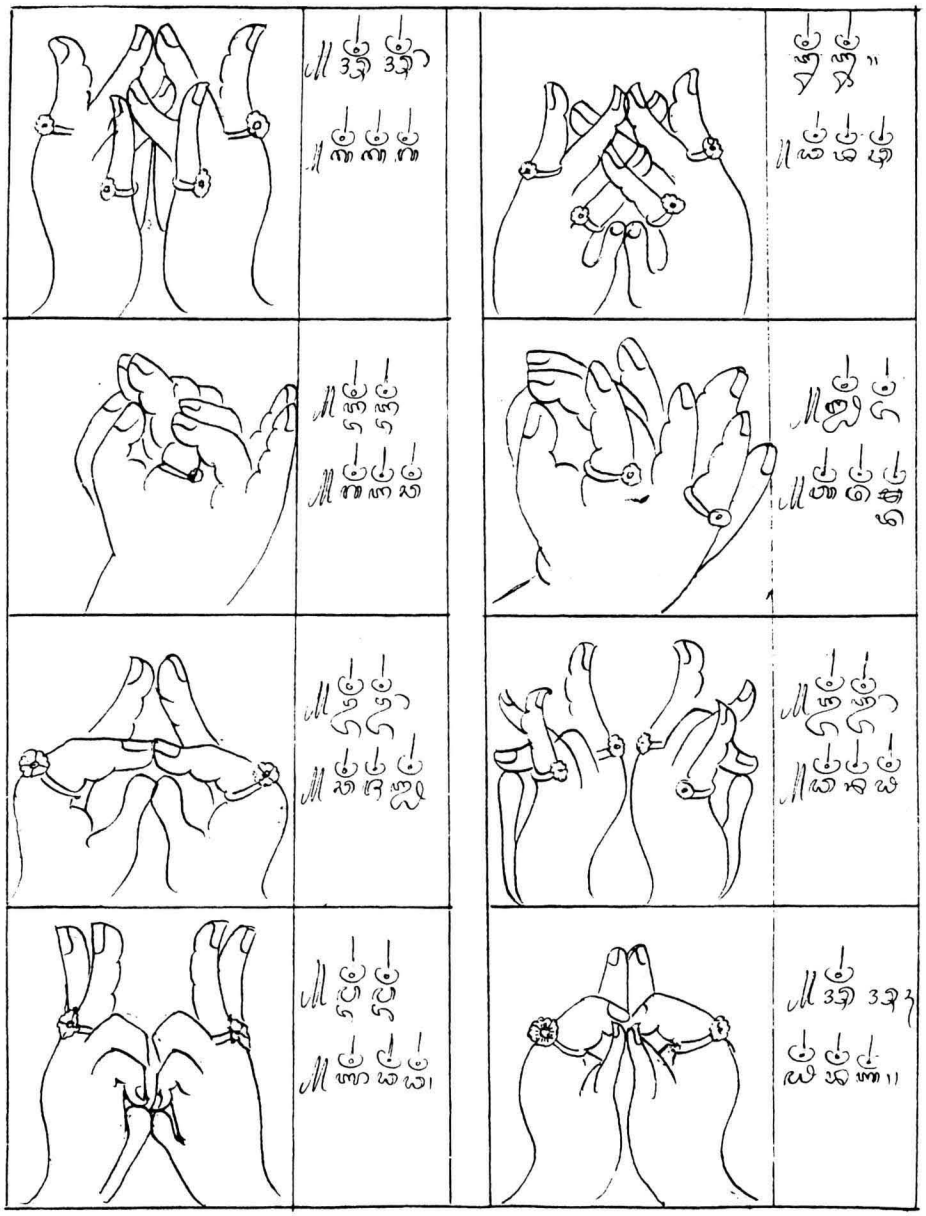
In the following transliterations, references are made to the corresponding passages in *SuSe*. The order of mudras in our collection does not appear to be always the same as in *SuSe*. Usually, in manuscripts of this nature exact similarity is not expected. These texts come from a tradition where written transmission presupposes oral transmission and may or may not complement it.

The mudras of this 1941 collection are basic mudras. There are composite and more complex mudras, such as the mudra of figure 1 (p. 13). Together they form a small percentage of the mudras used in Balinese ritual. Nothing is known about their actual number, structural composition (can they be reduced to more basic forms?) or relationship to mudras of ritual, dance or iconography elsewhere in Asia.

1

1-a	Śiwa Tatwa Widya Tatwa Atma Tatwa	1-e	Ong Leng Aiśwaryya
1-b	Om Ong Anāntāsana	1-f	Ong Ong Wéragya
1-c	Ong, Reng Ḍarma	1-g	Om Ong Padmasana
1-d	U Reng Jñāna	1-h	Om Ong Padmahredaya

1-a Tri Tattva : *SuSe* 56, 68, 82, [108]
1-b Gavé Anantāsana : *SuSe* 68
1-c-h Nyāsa Sang Hyang Catur Aiśvarya : *SuSe* 68–70, [102]



II-a	Ang Āng Kang Kang Gang	II-e	Leng Löng Ḍang Dang Thang
II-b	Ing Ing Gang Ngang Cang	II-f	Aing Eng Tang Thang Dang
II-c	Ung Ūng Cang Jang Aing	II-g	Ong Aung Ḍang Dang Phang
II-d	Reng Reng Nyang Ḍang Ḍang	II-h	Ang Ah Phang Bhang Bang

It is not clear where these mudras belong but they are commonly used and reflect linguistic regularities, e.g. vowels and diphthongs: *a – i – u* (*e – o – ai – au*) or semivowels: *r – l* (*cf.* above, page 10)

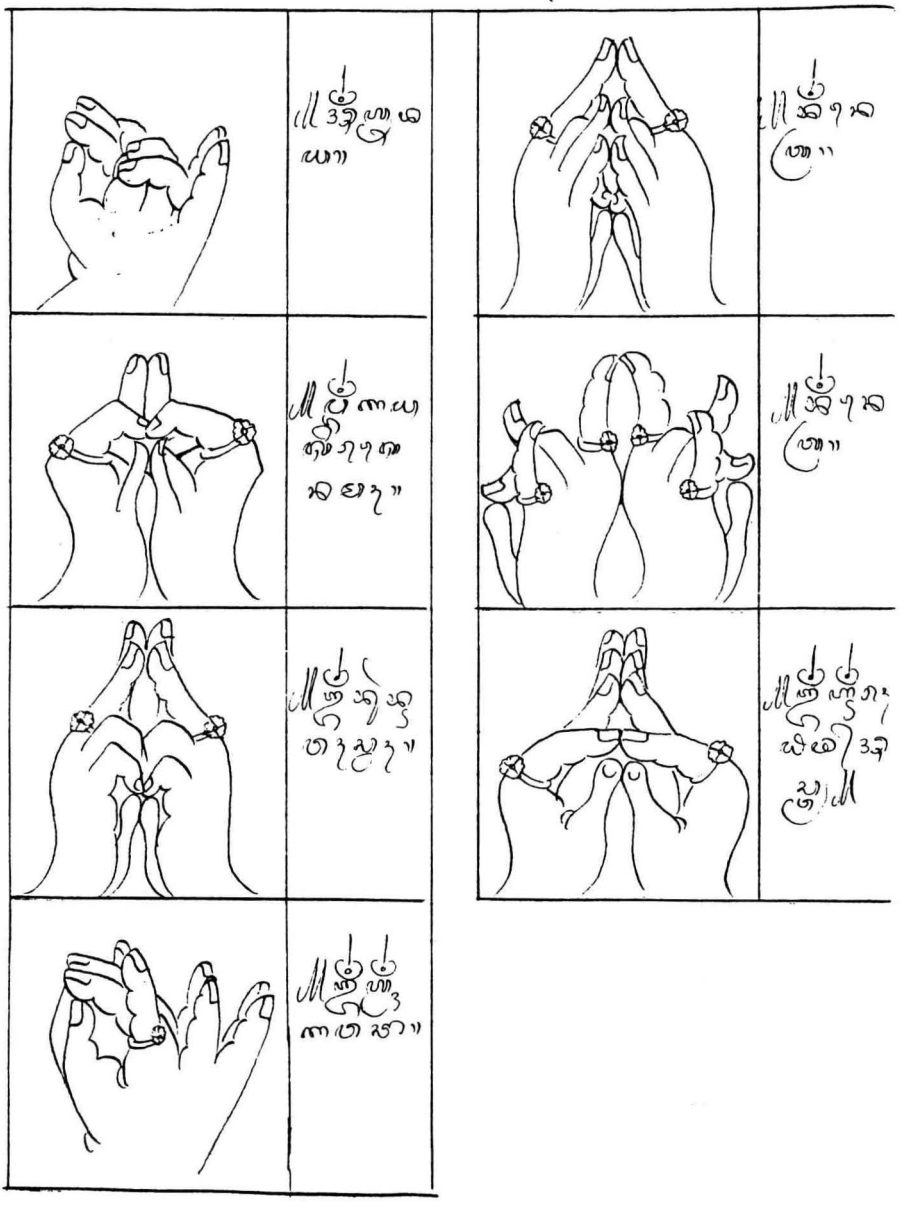
III

III-a	Ong Mang Rang Dipta	III-e	Ong Wang Ong Réng Wibhuta
III-b	Ong Yang Ong Ring Sūkṣma	III-f	Ong Sang Ong Réng Wimala
III-c	Ong Rang Ong Rūng Jaya	III-g	Ong Ṣang Ong Rong Amoga
III-d	Ong Lang Ong Rūng Bhadra	III-h	Ong Śang Ong Rong Widyuta

III-a-h Sang Hyang Nava-Śakti-Nyāsa ring dala-mūla : *SuSe* 72

IV-a	Ong Ang Ah	IV-e	Ong Rang Sarwwatomoki
IV-b	Ong Ang Kang Kaṣolkaya sād	IV-f	Ong Ang Kang Kaṣolkaya Tatpurusa
IV-c	Ong Ang Kang Kaṣolkaya Bamadéwa	IV-g	Ong Ang Kang Kaṣolkaya Iśana
IV-d	Ong Ang Kang Kaṣolkaya Aghora		

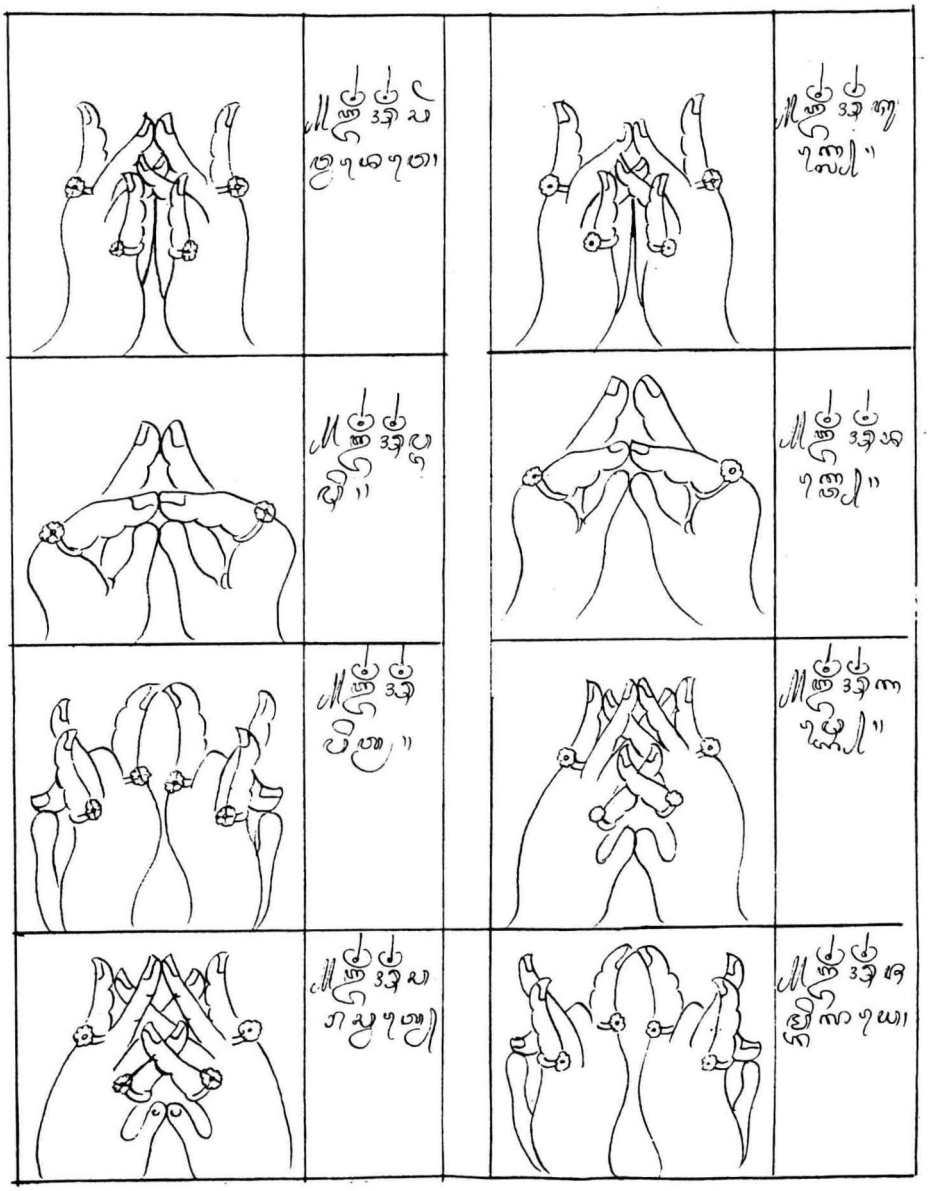
IV-a-g Sang Hyang Brahmāngga-Nyāsa : *SuSe* 74



v

v-a	Ang Hredaya	v-e	Bhang Nétra
v-b	Reng Kayaśiraśé namah	v-f	Bhang Nétra
v-c	Ong Bhurbhūwahswah	v-g	Ong Hūng Rah phaṭ astra
v-d	Ong Hreng Kawasā		

v-a-g Sang Hyang Śivāngga-Nyāsa : *SuSe* 74, [106]

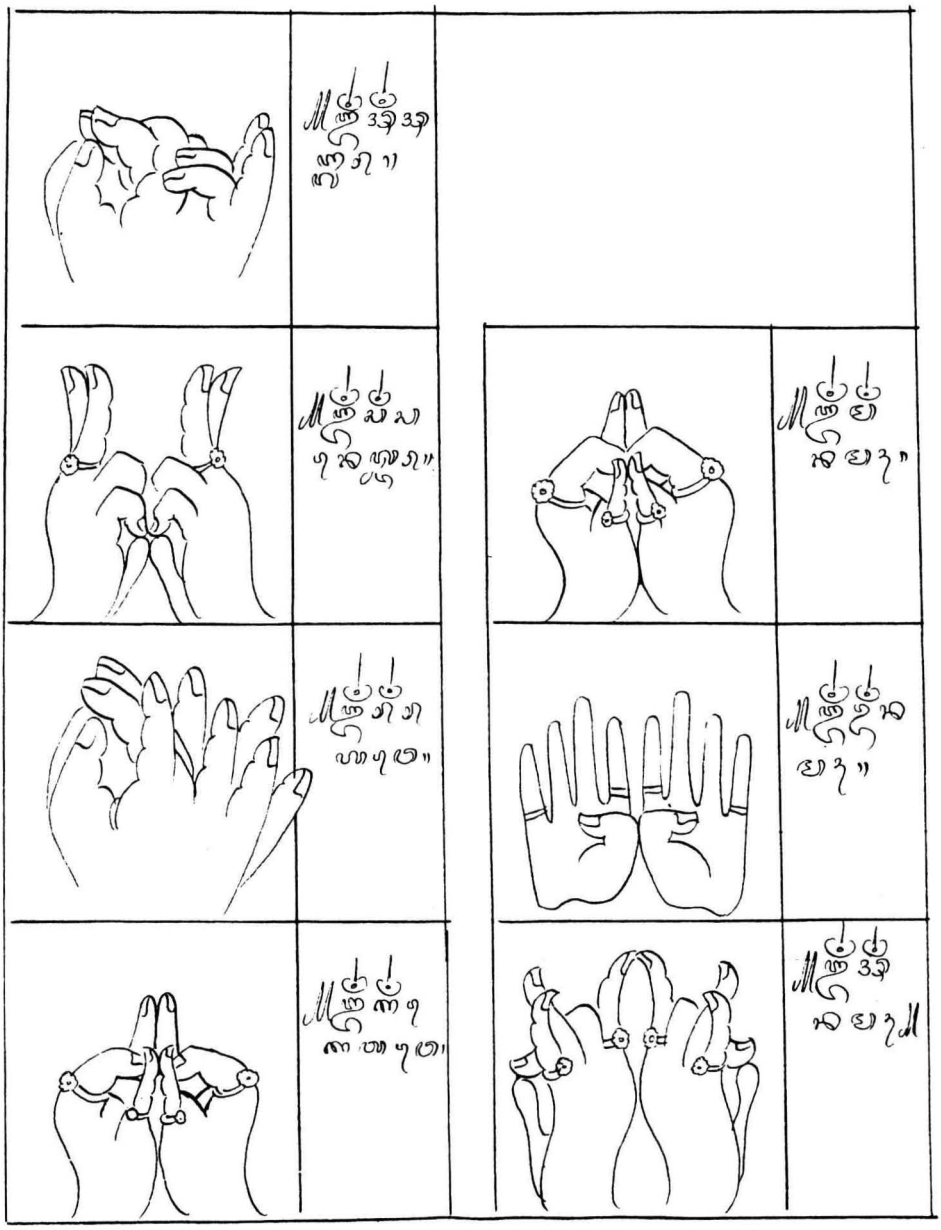


VI-a	Ong Ang Sarwwadéwa	VI-e	Ong Ang Śuklyé
VI-b	Ong Ang Reṣi	VI-f	Ong Ang Bhaktyé
VI-c	Ong Ang Pitra	VI-g	Ong Ang Kaṣnyé
VI-d	Ong Ang Saraswatyé	VI-h	Ong Ang Jambhikāyé

VI-a-d Sang Hyang Pitṛ-Ādi-Nyāsa : *SuSe* 76
VI-e-h Sang Hyang Catur Sandhyā : *SuSe* 76, [102]

VII-a	Ong Ang Kang Kaṣolkaya Śiwagarbba	VII-b	Ong Sang Soma
		VII-c	Ong Bang Budḍa
		VII-d	Ong Wreng Wrehaspata
		VII-e	Ong Bang Barggawa

VII-a Following the Catur-Sandhyā : *SuSe* 76
VII-b-e Sang Hyang Soma-Ādi-Āvaraṇa-Nyāsa: *SuSe* 76–78



VIII-a	Ong Ang Anggara		
VIII-b	Ong Sang Sanéścara	VIII-e	Ong Mang namah
VIII-c	Ong Rang Rahawé	VIII-f	Ong Ung namah
VIII-d	Ong Kang Kétawé	VIII-g	Ong Ang namah

VIII-a-d Sang Hyang Soma-Ādi-Āvaraṇa-Nyāsa (continued): *SuSe* 78

IX

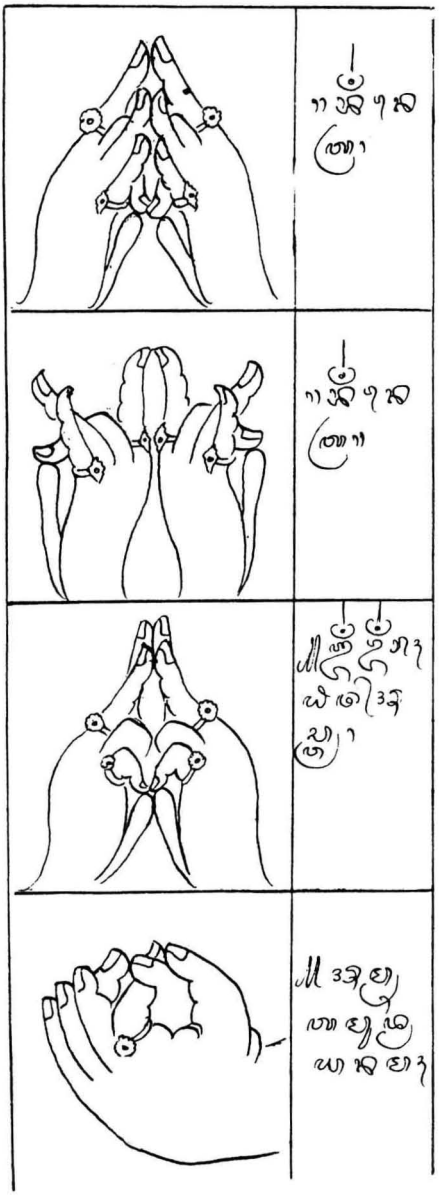
IX-a	Ong Ang Brahmabé namah	
IX-b	Ong Ung Waiṣnyawé namah	
IX-c	Ong Mang Iśwaraya namah	

IXa-c Sang Hyang Tri-Akṣara Nyāsa : *SuSe* 78

x

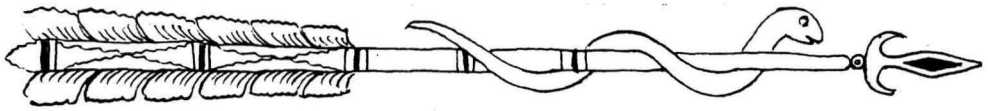
x-a	Ong	x-e	Astra
x-b	Ung	x-f	Atma Tatwātma
x-c	Rah	x-g	Kṣama Sāmpūrṇa
x-d	Phaṭ	x-h	Nārastā Mudra

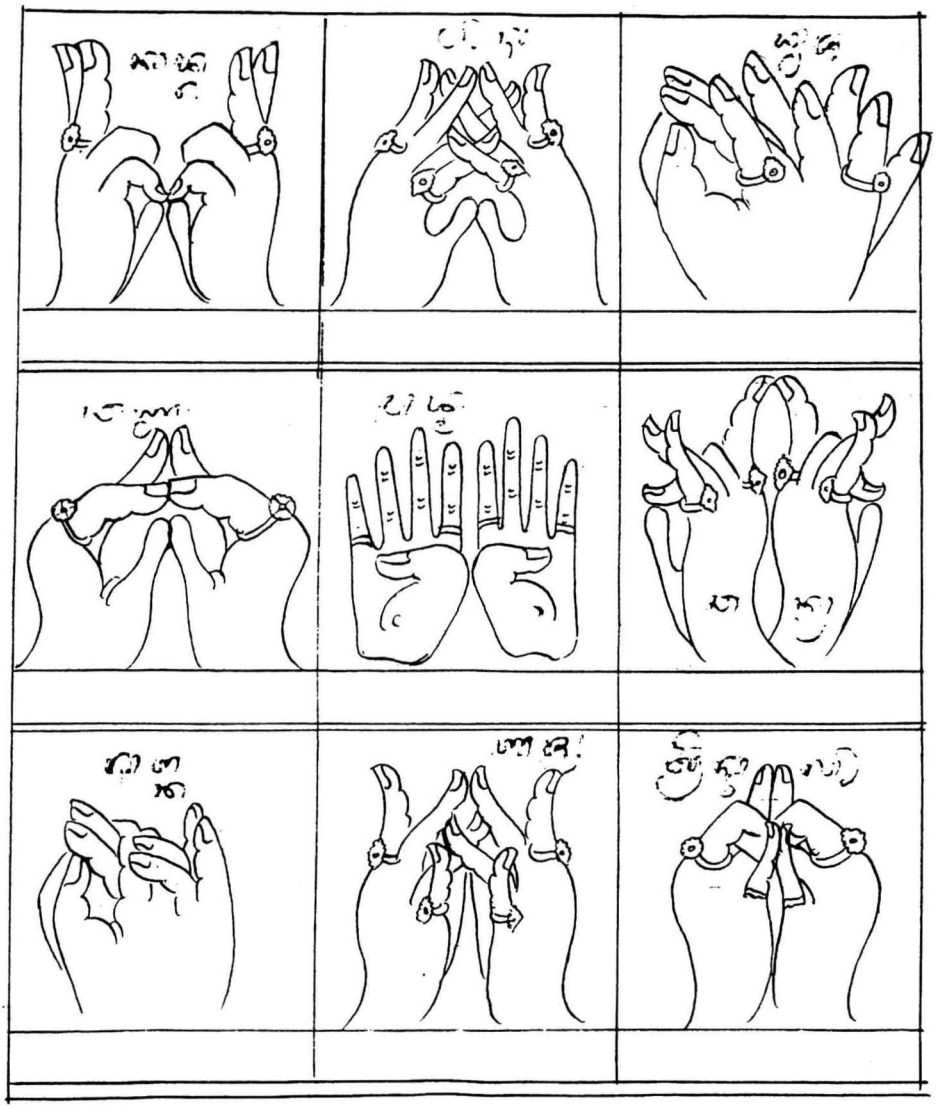
x-a-h	Ungkab Saguan Astra-mantra kabéh : *SuSe* 46 Plate 1–3/1
x-a-g	Gelar tikang Tri-Tattva : *SuSe* 56
x-a-g	Sirat-i Śarīra-nta Toya, Astra-mantra-sādhana : *SuSe* 100, [118] plates 16–17.



xi-a	Bhang Nétra
xi-b	Bhang Nétra
xi-c	Ong Ung Rah phaṭ astra
xi-d	Amretamudra ya namah

xia-d Ungkab Saguan (continued) : *SuSe* 46 Plate 3/2–3/6, 62
xi-a *SuSe* Plate 31





XII-a	Kadga	XII-d	Paśa	XII-g	Dwaja
XII-b	Ḍanda	XII-e	Padma	XII-h	Cakra
XII-c	Śangka	XII-f	Bajra	XII-i	Triśula

Mudra ka Jaba, Bhuvana Agung: to the exterior, to the material world : *SuSe* Plate 26.

XII-h,e,i	Śiro-Viṣṭa-ni tekang Śivambha : *SuSe* 54
XII-a-d;f-i	Nyāsa tang Svara-Vyañjana ring aṣṭa-dala-madhya : *SuSe* 70
XII-e,f,b,h,d	Śivī-karaṇa Tumūt Sang Hyang Brahmāng-ga-Nyāsa : *SuSe* 74
XII-f,b,h,d	Sang Hyang Pitṛ-Ādi-Nyāsa ring catur-deśa : *SuSe* 76
XII-f,b,d,h	Sang Hyang Catur-Sandhyā : *SuSe* 76
XII-f,b,d,h c,a,g, i	Sang Hyang Soma-Ādi-Āvaraṇa-Nyāsa : *SuSe* 76–78
XII-i,h, e	Tri Akṣara mantra : *SuSe* 78
XII-b,h,f	Sang Hyang Tri-Samaya-Nyāsa : *SuSe* 78

॥ अञ्जलिमुद्रा नमस्कारमुद्रा ॥	
॥ शङ्खमुद्रा नमस्कारमुद्रा ॥	
॥ गरुड मुद्रा नमस्कारमुद्रा ॥	
॥ पद्म मुद्रा गरुड मुद्रा अञ्जलि मुद्रा ॥	

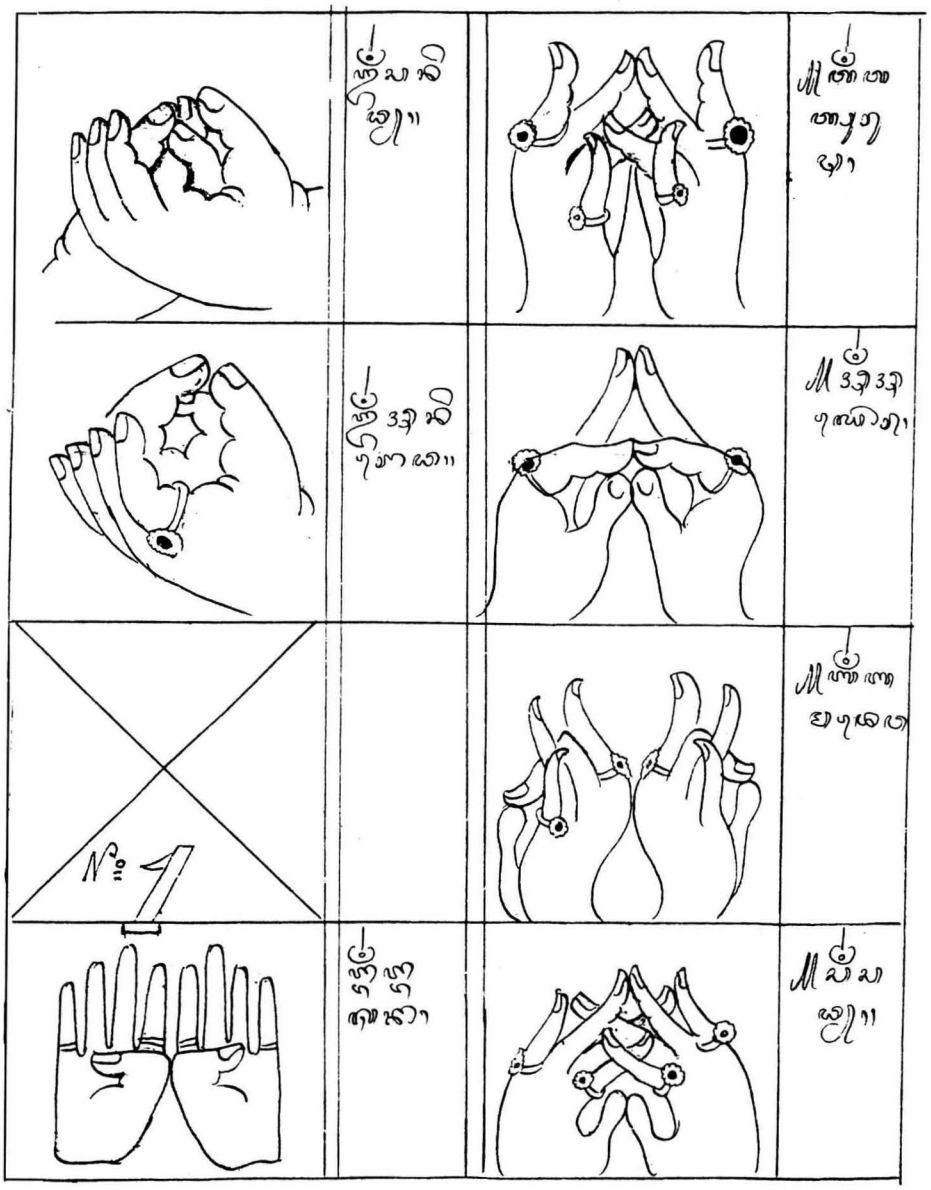
XIII-a	Agnimaṇḍala ya namah swāhā
XIII-b	Sūryyamaṇḍala ya namah swāhā
XIII-c	Somamaṇḍala ya namah swāhā
XIII-d	Ong Ong Śiwatatwa ya namah Widyatatwa ya namah Atmatatwa ya namah

XIIIa-c Tri-Maṇḍala : *SuSe* 52
XIII-d Tri Tattva : *SuSe* 56, 68, 82, [108]

XIV-a	Ngiliatma
XIV-b	Nagḍi, Śa, skar pucuk, Bāng Ong Śarīrakuṇḍa
XIV-c	Mretikāraṇa, ma. Śa, Kālphikā Ongkāram paramājnyanam
XIV-d	Ong Hreng Kawasā

These mudras should be performed with flowers : *SuSe* Plate 30

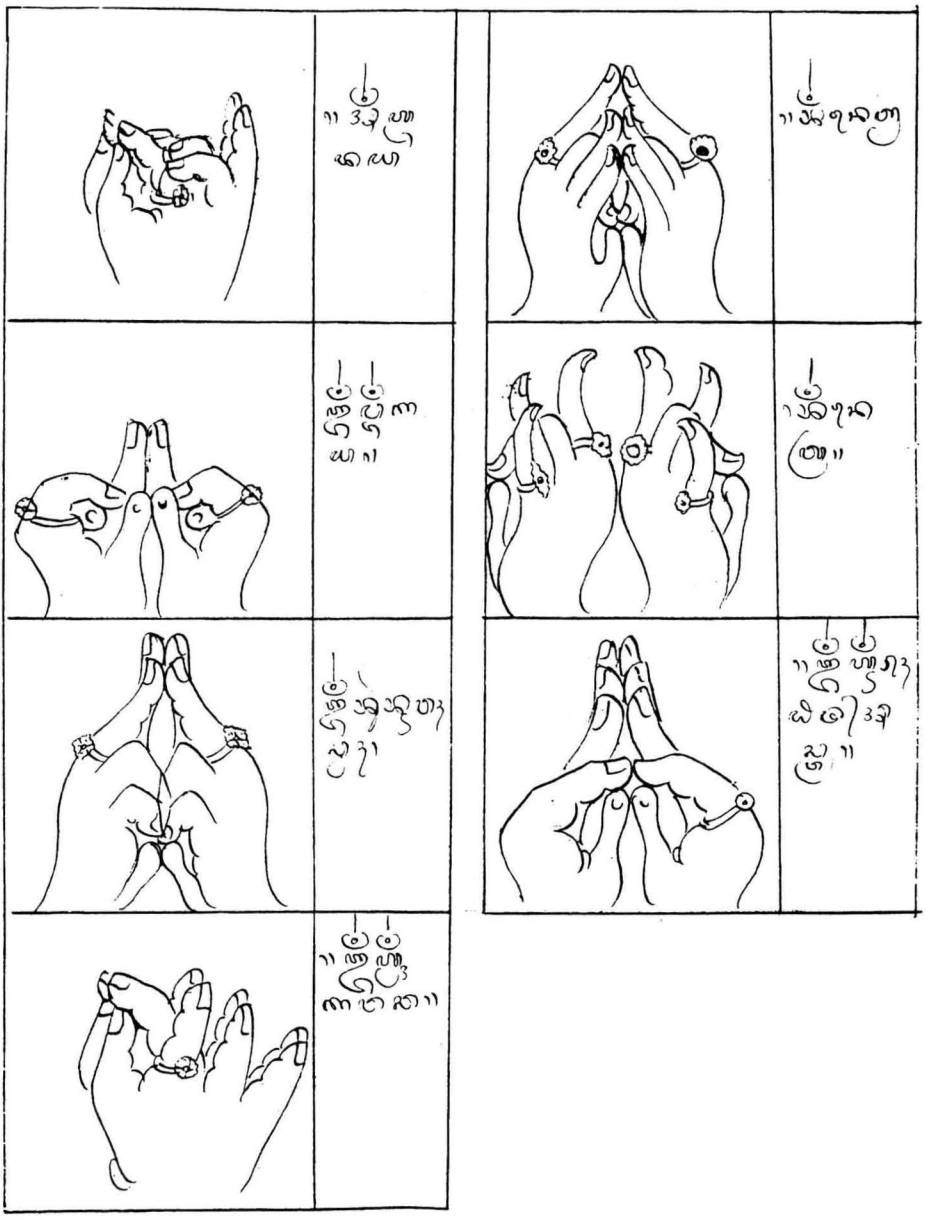
XIVa-d *SuSe* 58–62
XIV-a Plate 12–13


No. 1

xv-a	Ong Saniḍya	xv-e	Tang Tatpuruṣa
xv-b	Ong Aniroḍa	xv-f	Ang Aghora
xv-c		xv-g	Bang Bamadéwa
xv-d	Ing Iśanā	xv-h	Sang Saḍya

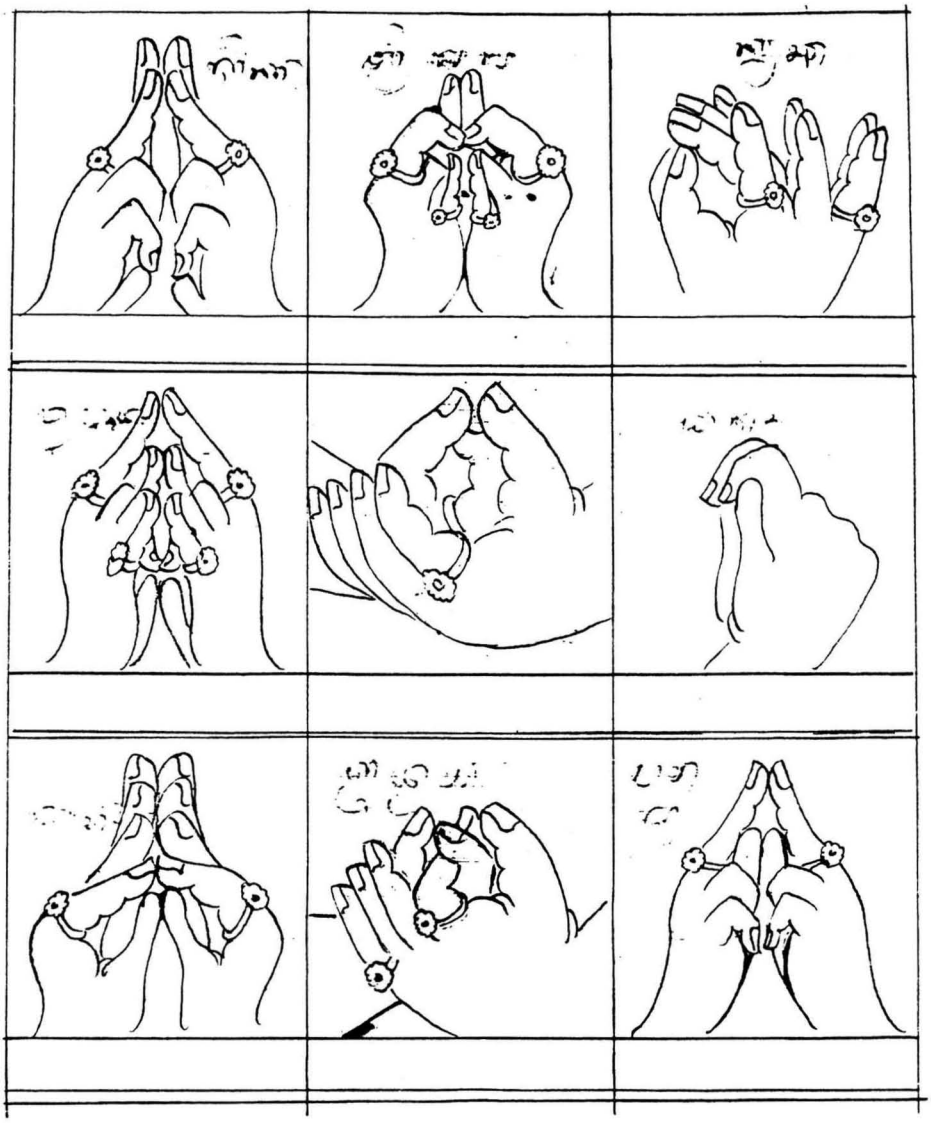
xv-a-b Ungkab Saguan (Continued) : *SuSe* 46, 48, Kara-Śodhananta Muvah : *SuSe* 48, 66

xv-d-h Śivī-Karaṇa : *SuSe* 66, 74, [106]



xvi-a	Ang Hredaya	xvi-e	Bhang Nétra
xvi-b	Ang Reng Kaya	xvi-f	Bhang Nétra
xvi-c	Ong Bhurbhuwahswah	xvi-g	Ong Hung Rah phaṭ astra
xvi-d	Ong Hreng Kawica		

xvi-a-g Śivī-Karaṇa (continued) : *SuSe* 68, 74, [106]



xvii-a	Sangkā	xvii-d	Triśula	xvii-g	Kwaca
xvii-b	Wreṣada	xvii-e		xvii-h	Ḍanah
xvii-c	Śaro	xvii-f	Hredraya	xvii-i	Paraśu

Mudra ka jero, Bhuvana Alit, to the interior, to the immaterial world : *SuSe* Plate 27

xviia-i	Sang Hyang Nava-Śakti-Nyāsa ring dala-mūla : *SuSe* 72
xvii-f,d,g,b,c	Śivī-karaṇa Tumūt Sang Hyang Śivāngga-Nyāsa : *SuSe* 74
[xvii-f,d,g,b,c	Śivī-karaṇa : *SuSe* 106]

Appendix II

Were the Brahmins of Southeast Asia Brahmins?

The main evidence in support of the idea that the brahmins of Southeast Asia were brahmins is that they were called so. Filliozat (1972: vii) was suitably cautious in putting both 'brahmin' and 'Hindu' within quotation marks:

> En Thailande et au Cambodge il existe une communauté dite de 'brahmanes', spécialisée dans l'accomplissement de rites 'hindous' dans les cérémonies officielles.

Filliozat (1965 and 1972) refers to court brahmins who went to Thailand and Cambodia some time after the sixteenth century, taking with them some of the Agamic traditions of Southeast India discussed in Chapter v and referred to by Filliozat 1965: 243 as '*Āgama* ou *Tantra* çivaïtes.' Filliozat has shown that these ritualists were successors to the domestic priests (*purohita*) of earlier kings in the sense of being ritual specialists, but that they were not brahmins. Their direct predecessors in the Tamil country of Southwest India, the *gurukkal*, though sometimes regarded as brahmins there, were not brahmins either.

Gonda in his 1970 study on Śiva in Indonesia emphasized the importance of Śaiva ascetics as transmitters of Indian mantras and rites to Indonesia at a much earlier period. As I mentioned before (page 45), these 'Śaiva' ascetics turn out to be Tantrics and include Buddhists. Whatever their precise affiliation, they were not brahmins either as pointed out long ago by Kern (1920, IX:259) when he wrote about 'brahmin monks, who should not be confounded with the Śaivite for the latter as such are *not* brahmins' (*brahmaansche monikken, die men niet verwarren moet met Çiwaietische, want deze laatste zijn als zoodanig* geen *brahmanen*).

In theory, Bali adopted the *triwangsa* system that incorporates the three highest castes of the so-called 'Indian caste system' of four castes: *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra*. Balinese Brahmins are designated with special titles and names such as 'Ida Bagus,' and appropriate designations are similarly reserved for members of the 'Satria' and 'Wesya' castes. After referring to Lekkerkerker 1926 (a monograph devoted to a comparison of the caste systems of India and Bali), Goris (1929 = 1984: 293–294) surveyed what was known at the time of his writing about the historical background:

> Up to the present no data have been found regarding a *triwangsa* structure on Bali before the Majapahit period, or at least before the beginning of Javanese influence during the reign of Erlangga in the early eleventh century. The Majapahit influence – which does not date merely from the fall of Majapahit, thus in the late fifteenth century, but was strong from the time of Ayam Wuruk's reign, that is to say around 1350 – transformed the direct Hindu-Balinism which had preceded it into a Hindu-Javanese Balinism.
>
> In the *triwangsa* system the first caste was that of the Brahmins, from whose families the *padandas* came. The second caste was that of the *kastriyas*, whence came the rulers and their *punggawas* (originally the *punggawas* were all of them relatives of the ruler) [*punggawas* were court nobles from whom the Dutch took their 'district officers': FS]. The third caste was that of the *wesyas*. Who were *wesyas* on Java and Bali (with the noble title of *gusti*) is not clear. In India they were those merchant gentlemen and large landholders not belonging to the royal family. From around 1350 on, the other population groups were lumped together as *śūdras*.
>
> Originally only a Javanese colonist could belong to the *trivangsa*. As a result of rapid intermarriage with Balinese families, and perhaps of elevation of Balinese families to the nobility by Javanese-Balinese rulers, the number of *triwangsa* members, who were at the same time 'men of Majapahit,' expanded swiftly. Many Balinese who had attained something of a position for themselves attempted (and still attempt) to be elevated to the nobility, in most cases to the lowest rank, that of *gusti*.

That much of this information about the caste system is theoretical is clear from Korn's handbook of Balinese Adat (1924: 70–74): Balinese society continued to function in the same way as before the alleged introduction of the Indian caste system. In villages, especially, 'members of the higher castes have no authority' (*hebben niets te zeggen*). Geertz and Geertz 1975, though often critical of Korn, are concerned to show the same, viz., that the Hindu concept of 'caste' is inappropriate and confusing when applied to Balinese status distinctions, adding that 'the Balinese themselves, less interested in

precision, nonetheless use it to explain their own system to themselves' (p.6) – all very true apart from the phrase 'less interested in precision' unless it is also lack of precision that caused Christians to incorporate the 'Christmas' tree and 'Easter' eggs.

Much of what Goris and Korn write applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to India. Here, too, we should distinguish between a largely theoretical *varṇa* system and the system of *jāti*, the term Indian anthropologists use to refer to the present-day system which comprises many thousands of castes, differing from region to region. In India, too, the *varṇa* system is invoked to provide the *jāti* system with a traditional foundation. The term *varṇa* means 'colour' which has inspired numerous hypotheses about the origin of caste, most of them predictable without being persuasive. The term *jāti* means 'birth' which expresses the defining characteristic of the system in both of its forms, theoretical and actual. Detailed empirical evidence, most of it contemporary, exists only for the *jāti* system. The evidence for the *varṇa* system is literary: known from the later Vedic period, it is chiefly described in Manu and other law books composed by brahmins and is primarily concerned not with what existed but with what brahmins believed or wanted to exist.

The two systems overlap at the top and diverge increasingly when we move down the hierarchy. If the majority of present day Indian *jātis* had to be classified in terms of the *varṇa* system, they would have to be lumped together as *śūdras*, just as Goris noted of Bali. At the top of the pyramid, there is almost total agreement on who is and who is not a brahmin. There has never been much clarity about ksatriyas. A prince or chieftain could employ a brahmin ritualist as a *purohita* and obtain his *gotra*, thereby confirming or acquiring ksatriya status for himself. If we confine ourselves to the present century, many of the more than 600 former rulers of princely states claimed that title for themselves and their (often extended) families, others did not (e.g., because they were Muslims) and about others there continued and continues to be controversy or simple uncertainty. The varying relationships between brahmins and ksatriyas constitute one of the enduring features of Indian social history and left their traces in Southeast Asia. The paradigm cases are that of the ksatriya king, who wields political executive power, and his brahmin minister, whose expertise is ritual and legal (for Bali: cf. Geertz and Geertz 1975: 29); and the great ksatriya systems of Mahavira and Buddha which challenged the traditional authority of the Vedas that had always been maintained and controlled by brahmins.

The position of the two highest castes is reflected by caste legitimation:

> (1) there is no known process by which a non-brahmin can become a brahmin, unless he can prove that he actually *is* one, a rare but by no means non-existent occurrence since brahmins may be able to demon-

strate, for example, that their ancestors had been brahmins who had become Muslims or Christians.[18]

(2) there are processes by which non-ksatriyas can become ksatriyas: these are precisely the ritual means discussed by Kulke *et al.* by which brahmins provide legitimation to rulers-already-in-power or aspiring to power.

In brief: non-brahmins cannot become brahmins, and non-ksatriyas can become ksatriyas but only with the help of brahmins.

Why is there hardly any controversy about who is or is not a brahmin, and why do non-brahmins not become or pretend to be brahmins? The answer is threefold: (1) because brahmins are not isolated but part of their society; (2) because of the numerous details of ritual knowledge that a brahmin possesses; and (3) because of penalties, e.g., the death penalty (also in Bali: Korn 1924: 83). Of course, there are ignorant brahmins (Sanskrit art and literature is replete with them and they occurred already in Vedic ritual: Staal 1978): but they can only be brahmins if they are members of brahmin communities that accept them as such and if they know at least a minimum (e.g., the Gāyatrī mantra or the beginning lines of the Vedic school to which they belong by birth).

India is replete with attempts, successful and unsuccessful, of castes raising their status or being forced to lower it, but it is not only theoretically but also practically almost impossible to *become* a brahmin. Uncertainty is another matter, as in the story of the Upaniṣadic teacher who asked a prospective pupil about his parents: the boy answered that his mother had told him that she knew many men but did not know who was his father. The teacher declared: he who speaks thus truthfully is a brahmin: you are admitted. Go and collect the fire-sticks!

It is difficult to become a brahmin not only because of context, penalties and expert knowledge, but also on account of the details of ritual affiliation. A brahmin belongs by birth to a particular school or branch (*śākhā*) of a Veda and to a particular ritual *sūtra* within that branch. Many South Indian brahmins, for example, belong to the Āpastamba *sūtra* of the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda. Of greater social significance is the *gotra* or exogamic unit that determines which brahmin a brahmin may *not* marry (i.e., one of the same gotra). A brahmin possesses such information about

[18] In Kerala, early in the century, controversy arose around a Śaivite temple located within the large compound of a wealthy Muslim landowner. Property acts of the temple were accepted as evidence that his ancestors had been brahmins. Appropriate rites re-instituted him as a brahmin and enabled him to marry a brahmin girl. But the bridegroom and his bride were murdered, allegedly by his former co-religionists.

ritual affiliation because it has to be recited on numerous ritual occasions. The most important of these and the first is initiation into the brahmin caste or *upanayana*, the 'second birth' when a boy becomes a brahmin (and analogously, at least in theory, for ksatriya and vaisya). During this ceremony, the officiating priest whispers into his ear the Gāyatrī mantra which he has to continue to recite daily during *sandhyā-vandana* for the rest of his life (or until he 'renounces,' a rare event to which we shall return). At the time of *upanayana*, the boy receives the *yajñopavīta* or 'sacred thread,' the primary mark by which one recognizes members of the brahmin community who continue to be shirtless, especially in rural areas and not only because of the climate.

At present, there are many brahmins, especially in cities and in North India, who do not know their Vedic affiliations. But there are few who have not undergone some kind of *upanayana*, without which they would not be brahmins, who do not wear the sacred thread or observe the *gotra* rules insofar as they marry within the caste at all. Since *upanayana* is, like all rituals, a relatively costly affair and many brahmins are poor, group *upanayana* performances have been introduced recently.

Whether this rough sketch correctly portrays the present situation or needs qualification, it is safe to assume that the further we go back in time, the stronger were brahmin ties and traditions and the more commonly available such types of information must have been among them.

The learning of brahmins pertains primarily to the Vedas and is mostly confined to features of ritual. The Vedānta, or 'end of the Vedas,' and similar philosophies with the exception of the Mīmāṃsā (cf. note 1), are not confined to brahmins, and neither is the bulk of Sanskrit literature and classical Indian civilization, to which, along with brahmins, important contributions were made by members of other castes, Jainas, Buddhists, Tantrics, Śaivites, Vaiṣṇavites and other sectarians, and in more recent times even Muslims and Christians. Brahmins are not agents of Sanskritization and Sanskrit culture is not their exclusive property (cf. Staal 1963). This is important in our context: that Sanskrit grammar was known in Indonesia, where Chinese Buddhist monks took language courses on their way to India, or that the inscriptions from Cambodia are in excellent Sanskrit, better than many from India, for example, does not imply that Southeast Asian experts or authors of Sanskrit must have been brahmins.

Apart from not being the exclusive agents of Sanskritization, brahmins are also not *literate* specialists as at least one anthropologist has claimed (Goody 1987) – a far-fetched supposition in view of the fact that the transmission of the Vedas and most of the brahmin's specialised knowledge is exclusively *oral* (Staal 1986c, 1989). In sum, brahmins are not Sanskritic or literate experts; they are ritual experts.

During recent centuries, Vedic traditions have been much stronger in

South than in North India where all South Indian brahmins originally came from. That holds true of Tamilnadu as it does of Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala. It is true that the Southern 'Vaidikas' form small, often tiny minorities, but they are linked through ritual, marriage and other social links to the brahmin majorities. Even isolated communities (such as the Co*r*iya of Tamilnadu) often preserve rare Vedic schools and traditions (such as the Jaiminīya of the Sāmaveda).

The brahmin traditions are very largely oral and of such complexity that it is unlikely that there has at any time been anything like a large-scale adoption of Vedic traditions by non-brahmins. Adoption by individuals could have taken place more easily and Vedic traditions could have been transmitted to an adopted son who was educated in a brahmin household practically from birth. The continued existence of Vedic traditions can only be accounted for by the assumption that there was a continuous transmission of knowledge, from teacher to pupil, often from father to son, into which the young were initiated at an early age and which they continued to cultivate throughout much of their adult lives.

The diffusion of Vedic ritual knowledge is confined to brahmins but is subject to further restrictions within the brahmin caste. A recent illustration comes from the performance tradition of large Vedic rituals, which have always required sixteen officiants including *four* brahmins from the Sāmaveda. The Sāmaveda is rare in all parts of India and in Kerala, about half a century ago, there was serious concern about the paucity of trained Sāmavedins since it was difficult to find even these four. The more numerous Rigvedins suggested that some of their sons undergo Sāmaveda training; but the Sāmavedins refused to teach Sāmaveda to other brahmins, not out of ill-will but because the Rigvedins had not undergone the particular Sāmavedic form of *upanayana*.

Leaving India and barring details to which we shall return, the overall picture is clear: in Bali, the entire ritual edifice erected by the brahmins of India is conspicuous by its absence.

It is conceivable that brahmins lost Vedic paraphernalia that in India might be regarded as essential but overseas as superfluous. After all, many Indian brahmins have lost their Vedic heritage and become cooks, taxi drivers, administrators, stenographers and scientists without ceasing to be brahmins. However, there is a difference. None of these modern specialists need ritual in their profession. The brahmins of Southeast Asia, on the other hand, went there allegedly as ritual specialists. It would have made little sense for them to cut off the ritual roots from which they derived their position, authority and influence.

It is always assumed that the brahmin settlers of Southeast Asia, after crossing the ocean, married indigenous women. Both crossing the ocean and marrying non-brahmins seem to conflict with the classical rules and

laws of brahmin society. Bernet Kempers (1937: 6–7) glosses over the first problem but faces the second squarely:

> The fact that Brahmans have come to Indonesia has puzzled many historians as we know from the sacred texts that Hindus are not allowed to travel by sea. But 'men are always caught by historians in the very act of belying their principles by their actions.'
>
> ... the supposition is upon the surface that the Indians married the daughters of the soil. We must, however, keep in mind, that we *know* nothing about this earliest evolution.

Wheatley (1982: 20) has referred to theories about *what* happened without specifying *how* it happened on the assumption that evidence is no longer available, as *black box* models. It is an apt characterization of a common scientific procedure, but Wheatley's own illustrations of 'first intimations' and 'first glimpses' inside the box are unpersuasive: Bosch' discussion of Śaiva Siddhānta overemphasized the philosophic, and Wolters' 'men of prowess' arose from a confusion between Śaiva Āgamas and devotional *bhakti* movements that extol the grace of Viṣṇu (if supermen were needed it would be easier to locate them in Tantrism where the practitioner is often referred to as *vīra*, litterally, 'male hero'). Bosch and Wolters paid insufficient attention to the fact that the Śaiva Āgamas and Tantrism in general deal primarily with ritual.

And yet, without mentioning it, both Bosch and Wolters pointed in the right direction: Tantra and Āgama help to explain that South and Southeast Asians looked in new directions. Moreover, the black box contains not only unsolved marriages and sea voyages but also a third difficulty that logically precedes them: for if we can solve it we may be able to solve the others. Though the French anthropologist Louis Dumont has expressed it perhaps most clearly, it is well known that the brahmins of India are (or were until recently) the people most comfortably placed in their society. Our first question must therefore be, why would a brahmin leave India and engage in prohibited acts? Were there specific reasons at home? Could there have been particularly attractive offers from overseas?

As for specific reasons at home, several may be imagined. They include caste exclusion because of crimes or misdeeds of individuals, as well as structural reasons. I am familiar with only one case of groups of Indian brahmins being excluded from the Vedic tradition. Among the Nambudiri brahmins of Kerala, two sub-castes have been excluded (they are called, in Malayalam, *ottillatta* 'non-chanting') because they were polluted by being in contact with blood. The first sub-caste consists of brahmins who became warriors. The second comprises eight families of traditional physicians (*aṣṭavaidyan*). In Bali, brahmins similarly 'embraced Satria ideals' and some

were warriors (Rubinstein 1991: 61, 69); but they were not similarly excluded.

Marriage alliances with non-brahmins are not absent from Sanskrit literature and they are recognized by the law books provided they are in accordance with the one principle that governs mixed marriage: they must be *anuloma*, 'moving along with the growth of the hair', i.e., the male must belong to the higher caste. Intercaste marriages especially of a brahmin male with a ksatriya or vaisya female are known from the Vedas onward and *anuloma* marriages in general were freely allowed until the ninth century A.D. (Kane 1941, Vol.II, Part I, 447 sq.). Inscriptions from Kerala first prohibited such marriage alliances with wives of tenants, but later recognized the system that is still unique there (Narayanan and Veluthat 1983: 261–263): in that system, only the oldest son of a brahmin is allowed to marry within his caste through the traditional Vedic marriage ritual referred to as *vivāha*; the younger sons are only permitted alliances with non-brahmin women through what are called *sambandham* relationships. This system works because it is in accordance with a special feature of the Kerala caste system: if we exclude some of the allegedly ksatriya nobles and a few rare 'intermediate' castes to which I shall return in a moment, the highest and most important non-brahmin castes of Kerala, specifically the Nayars, are matrilinear – that is, children inherit from the mother, including her caste. In the case of a *sambandham* alliance of a brahmin man with a Nayar woman, the offspring are not brahmins but Nayars – a result that accords with the non-identical caste rules of both parents. In Kerala, therefore, only the oldest son of a brahmin preserves the Vedic traditions characteristic of the brahmin caste.

There is some similarity between this Kerala system and what in Bali has been called the 'Principle of Sinking Status' (Geertz and Geertz 1975: 124–131). The rule of *anuloma* occurs in Bali: 'Although the texts do not mention it, a Brahmana man may marry women from other descent groups ... However, if Brahmana women marry into other descent groups, they cease to be Brahmana' (Rubinstein: 1991: 59–60). Hooykaas (1964: 35–36) writes about brahmin women: 'The craft of offering making forms for them a suitable means of livelihood when they remain unmarried, for whereas brahmins may, and often do, marry non-brahmins, this is still virtually impossible for the brahmin women, who then have to earn their own living. Their function, as the makers of offerings and as intermediaries between the *griya* and the *pura*, the temple, is probably very ancient.'

In Kerala such functions are not open to brahmin women, but a group of sub-castes is specifically concerned with occupations relating to the temple. Its members are referred to as *ambalavāsi*, 'temple dwellers' or *antarāla*, 'in-betweeners' since some were the offspring of mixed marriages with brahmin fathers. One of these sub-castes deals with the preparation of flower of-

ferings and garlands; their members are called *puṣpakan* from *puṣpa*, 'flower' (Thurston 1909: 28–29; Anantha Krishna Iyer 1912, I: 133–134).

I mention these Kerala specifics not because I feel that there are special connections between Indonesia and Kerala but because I happen to be familiar with them. However, Levi (1933: XIX) mentioned that he found mantras similar to the Balinese in the *Īśānaśivagurudeva-paddhati*, the *Tantrasamuccaya* ('*Tattvasamuccaya*' must be a misprint) and the *Paraśurāmakalpa*, all Tantric works from Kerala. These connections should be pursued further when Kerala Tantrism becomes better known.[19]

The structure of the caste system in a particular region may explain why some sons of brahmin fathers cease to be brahmins. But why should an individual brahmin give up his caste willingly? There is a general answer to this question: because of the desire for *renunciation*, an option especially attractive to non-brahmins but nevertheless adopted by brahmins throughout Indian history. Dumont (1959, 1966) has argued that the reason for renunciation is that it enables caste-members to become individuals. The underlying assumption is that 'individuality,' allegedly a characteristic feature of Europeans, is absent from members of a traditional caste hierarchy. I don't know whether this intriguing idea is correct: I know many Indian individuals and they do not seem to be rare in classical Sanskrit literature. Be this as it may, there is little doubt that the idea of renunciation is an important feature of Indian thought. Beginning during the end of the Vedas, or Upaniṣads, it has become increasingly common to denounce ritual and caste and recommend renunciation 'from the world,' i.e., from the society of family, village and caste with their concomitant rituals. This goal was advocated by Jainism and Buddhism and invaded the Vedic traditions. And yet, ritual and caste were often not rejected but merely transformed as the renouncers created new 'parallel societies' (as Romila Thapar called them; see also Heesterman 1985: 42 sq.). Buddhists and Jainas introduced rites for becoming a monk that are reminiscent of *upanayana*. The monks themselves officiated at funeral rites for the members of the higher castes whereas brahmin ritual experts continued to do so at all other life-cycle rites. The anti-ritual act of renunciation itself came to be celebrated by a rite modeled after funeral ritual.

Caste and ritual continued in some form or other through most innovations. The majority of early Buddhists themselves came from the higher castes, especially the brahmin. One of the first important brahmins who became a Buddhist was Mahākaśyapa, a direct pupil of Buddha and an important conservative voice in early Buddhism. Yoga, in its many forms,

[19] A project on Kerala Tantrism is presently underway and involves study of the living tradition as well as texts such as *Tantrasamuccaya*, *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* and *Śeṣasamuccaya*.

also appealed to brahmins. According to legend, the famous philosopher Śaṅkara celebrated the rite of renunciation when he was still young, possibly having fallen under the spell of a Yogin (cf. Staal 1995). With the development of Tantrism, new alternatives became available and a brahmin might feel that Tantric methods were more effective than the traditional, whatever the tradition (cf. Gupta *et al.* 1979: 30). Tantrism introduced new or partly new rites such as *dīkṣā* initiation, a term used in Vedic ritual for the initiation of the ritual patron or *yajamāna*.

In sum, both brahmins and non-brahmins were interested in the many other options that existed outside the traditional caste system, including those that could be combined with the adherence to (some form of) caste. The teachings of the Bhagavad Gītā, for example, have to be primarily understood in such a context: they advocate the performance of traditional caste duties (*varṇa-dharma*) without attachment to their alleged fruits – a cautious attack not on the system of caste itself but on some of its inherent values. Tantrics went much further, metaphorically and actually: they were not tied to caste or the Indian soil and could travel as they pleased.

If either brahmins or Tantrics transmitted Indian knowledge beyond Indian borders, marriages or marriage-like alliances with non-Indians are likely to have taken place. Not necessarily so, for the more orthodox (non-Tantric) forms of Buddhism were transmitted by non-marrying monks and Tantrics such as Gonda's Śaivite ascetics need not have been married either. There are non-Buddhist, including brahmin parallels from India, the latter Buddhist inspired: the Advaita Vedānta tradition is transmitted through lineages of originally brahmin Sankaracaryas who never married and became renouncers at an early stage of life, indicating their successor by simple choice when they felt the time was right.

Many of these facts about the Indian caste system provide no more than circumstantial evidence concerning the general question of the brahmins of Southeast Asia. However, as far as Bali is concerned, we can now be more specific: there is no evidence there of the *upanayana* initiation into brahminhood, the sacred thread, exogamic gotras or marriage restrictions and, above all, an almost total absence of Vedic mantras or anything else pertaining to Vedic traditions. The mantras found in Bali are largely Tantric as is the consecration of the *padanda* insofar as it is not Balinese. That latter ceremony has several names, including *mediksa* (cf. Korn 1928 = 1984: 131–153) which again is Tantric. Balinese ceremonies display a mixture of ritual and yoga-like meditation which is, as we have seen, a characteristic feature of Tantrism. Many of the specifically brahmin terms – *upanayana*, *gotra*, *śākhā*, etc. – do not occur in Indonesia or occur in other senses (Gonda 1952; Ensink and van Buitenen 1964). The term *yajñopavīta* does occur in mantras (*SuSe* 126, 180; cf. Gonda 1952: 167) but this is typical and does not imply that the ritualists used at any time the 'sacred thread' of the *upanaya-*

na – unlike the *śiroviṣṭa* 'head-band' which does not only occur in mantras but which the *padanda* uses although it does not occur in any brahmanic rite. These facts suggest that most of the so-called Balinese brahmins were Tantrics of various affiliations and persuasions, Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist. They may have included a few of partial and more or less distant brahmin origins and others pretending to be brahmins or later looked upon as such. The position they occupied was and still is similar to the position of brahmins (at least, until recently) in India: they continue to be patrilinear ritual experts with knowledge of mantras and a high ritual and social status, advisers of princes and others and comfortably placed in their society. They were also concerned with their status as brahmins (*kabrahmanan*; cf. Rubinstein 1991); but they were not brahmins.

Between India and the mainland of Southeast Asia the prohibited sea-travel would not have been necessary. Even so, the court or 'Buddhist brahmins' of Thailand and Cambodia, already mentioned, crossed the sea from Southeast India though it happened only a few centuries ago. Like the brahmins of Bali, they lack Vedic mantras, *upanayana*, the sacred thread and gotras, not to mention more exotic Vedic paraphernalia. Unlike their Balinese counterparts, they possess not only Sanskrit but also Tamil texts (Sarma 1972). As we have already seen, it is likely that neither they nor the Śaivite ascetics of Indonesia were brahmins. Earlier and on the mainland of Southeast Asia, a brahmin presence may have been more probable. The South Indian brahmin who belonged to the Taittirīya school according to a seventh century Cambodian inscription (Bhattacharya 1961: 131 *note* 1) is likely to have been a brahmin. The use of Vedic ritual terms and the reference to a (post-Vedic) *brahmayajña* during which allegedly Vedic and other texts were recited (*ibid.* 148–150), on the other hand, prove little and Bhattacharya comments that 'les rites proprement védiques n'ont joué aucun rôle au Cambodge.' It seems safe to conclude that the large majority of the so-called brahmins of Southeast Asia were not brahmins.

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