

ADRIAN VICKERS

Ritual Written

The Song of the Ligya, or The Killing of the Rhinoceros

Balinese rituals have captivated visitors to the island for centuries. Seeing them is one thing, writing about them is another. While most people who write about Bali recognize the importance of ritual for Balinese society, they have difficulty finding ways to describe and analyse these ceremonies. Here, it is via a Balinese representation of a ritual that I attempt to come to terms with Balinese rituals, rather than through my own observations and descriptions.

Philology and anthropology have done their bit for the study of Balinese rituals. Still, there have been few detailed studies of Balinese ritual texts beside the corpus of work by C. Hooykaas, whose major interest was the editing and translating of a variety of such texts.¹ Most of these texts could be considered as 'manuals' prescribing ritual utterances and actions. There are other Balinese texts which are more descriptive in function; rather than serving as sources for the study of ritual in its essential form or as rule-governed activity,² they display rituals as historical events.³

The *Kidung Karya Ligya* (Song of the Ligya Ritual), alternatively known as the *Geguritan Padem Warak* (Song of the Killing of the Rhinoceros) is one such historical description of a ritual. As the first title suggests, it is a description of a *ligya*, *baligya*, or *maligya* ritual, but it does not refer either to the 'meaning' of this post-cremation ritual, or to the details of the offerings, utterances, and actions in this ritual. Such areas are covered by other texts about other *ligya*, but I shall not refer here to their content, nor speculate on what the ritual means in relation to its Indian and Indonesian antecedents.⁴

¹ For a bibliography of the works of Hooykaas see Swellengrebel and Hinzler 1980.

² For the analysis of ritual as rule-governed activity see Staal 1985.

³ The major historical study of a ritual is Le Roy Ladurie 1979. See also Sahlins 1981.

⁴ For the relevant Indian and Indonesian rituals see Sen 1978: s.v. *śrāddha*; Pigeaud 1960-63: cantos 63-69 of the *Nāgarakertagama*; Zoetmulder 1974: appendix V; Hefner 1985:122; and Metcalf 1982.

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In deferring to the intention of the text, which I shall call, for convenience, the *Geguritan*, I intend to complement the encyclopedic Hooykaasian project and the anthropological analysis of scholars such as C. Geertz. Both discuss ideal versions of rituals which run counter to the historical specificity of rituals as events. Hooykaas does so because he is primarily interested in reconstructing an *Ur* text from the varying manuscripts available to him; Geertz does so because he constructs general models which can be used in comparisons with other societies. This necessitates writing ahistorically about rituals, at the same time suppressing the multidimensional, polyvalent nature of meaning in ritual and representation.⁵

In examining the *Geguritan* as a written representation I am interested in how it functions in the context of precolonial Balinese society. I am examining not a ritual, but a perception of the role of emotions, social structure, politics, and religion in a ritual.

The text

The text begins by describing the kings and their followers who attend the *ligya* ritual held by the Déwa Agung, the great king of Klungkung. Most of the initial stanzas are taken up with descriptions of the preparation of the offering area (1.1-12). The day after these preparations are finished and the other kings have arrived, the king holds an audience to discuss how to kill a rhinoceros which he has received from the Dutch (1.13-25). When this problem is solved and the beast has been killed at an appropriate time, a ritual procession is held in which a bull is put at the head of a ceremonial group including the king and other rulers, who are here described as his ministers (*mañca agung*). The procession goes to the offering area, where the Brahmana high priests (*pedanda*) perform their worship, while the king watches from beneath in audience with the other lords and the other Brahmana. After the priests have finished, rifles are fired and gongs and alarm drums are sounded (1.26-47).

That night the streets are crowded with people visiting food stalls, flirting, and enjoying themselves, although there are disagreements and acts of theft in the crowd (1.57-64). During the night the king's subjects prepare offerings and food which are ready early the next morning in time for the subsequent phase of the ritual. At this stage the priests carry out their worship again, and are given devotional gifts (1.64-78).

⁵ Geertz's *Negara* (1980), although largely concerned with ritual, relies more on western descriptions and some of Hooykaas's material than on Balinese explanations. For a critique of Dutch philology as practised by earlier generations of scholars of Indonesia see Vickers 1986.

The next day the *buta yadnya* or demon-offering stage of the ritual takes place. Everyone crowds around in readiness for the tearing apart and seizing of the valuable parts of this offering, which will follow the next act of worship by the priests (1.79-84). After the *pedanda* have finished, the offering area is swamped and completely torn to pieces by those around it, who fight over the loot. Everyone goes home to prepare for the next day's ceremony, in which effigies of souls are cast into the sea, and during the night the carousing continues (2.1-19).

Early the next morning the ritual procession to the sea begins. Everyone joins in, and the ceremony is completed by final rites on the beach performed by three priests. Here the text ends (2.20-30).

Although a number of other *geguritan* or *kidung-geguritan* ('songs') have been published and translated over the last century, little analysis of this literary genre and its relationship to other literary-artistic forms has been carried out. For example, the *arja* dance-drama uses this kind of song as its basic libretto. The song form is also known in Java, where it is called *macapat* or *sekar alit*, while in Bali it is known alternatively as *tembang*. The metric pattern involves



Ink drawing of a *warak* and a *kekua* (rhinoceros and land tortoise), Bulèlèng; from the Van der Tuuk collection, Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 3390-14.

lines of differing lengths, each containing a set number of syllables, and each ending in a given vowel sound.⁶ In terms of content, the various *geguritan* seem to have little in common with each other. Some describe the fall of kingdoms (for example the *Rusak Bulèlèng* and the *Ug Gianyar*), others tell tales of black magic (the *Basur*), of tragic heroes (the *Jayaprana*), or of journeys to the underworld (the *Bagus Diarsa*).⁷ Some are seemingly lightweight, charming stories, others are closer to the genre of the courtly romance stories about Java which are cast in the more complex metrical form of *kidung tengahan* (otherwise known simply as *kidung*).⁸

The Song of the Ligya, or *The Killing of the Rhinoceros*, appears, on first impressions, to have most in common with those other *geguritan* concerned with the destruction of kingdoms, since it is a narrative of a historically known event, just as are these other texts. Given the lack of previous analysis of other *geguritan*, such impressions are not necessarily reliable. The criterion that the content should be historical is not necessarily a criterion that Balinese would use in understanding the text. This can be seen from other Balinese genres. The *kekawin* poems which utilize Indic metres and a form of the poetic language known as Kawi, are not necessarily all similar in content. The same can be said of the *kidung* using the more complex *tengahan* metres, which are written in a different form of Kawi from that of the *kekawin* (the *kekawin* form of Kawi is known as 'Old Javanese', the *kidung* form 'Middle Javanese'). What makes these two categories similar to western notions of genre is a combination of different elements producing a shared way of representing a specific range of topics for each category. In *kekawin* the metre and language combine to present certain types of characters (mainly gods, priests, and semi-divine heroes) in terms of religious practices and divine kingship. *Kidung* metres and language present the political exercise of power by princes and kings in terms of an emotional experience of martial and marital events (Vickers 1986:187-97). I will suggest that the use of *geguritan* metres is similarly linked to special ways of presenting a subject, ways designed to produce a set type of emotional effect in an audience.

⁶ On these metres in Bali see Van Eck 1875:xi-xv. Although much research has been carried out on Javanese *macapat* song, little has been done on its Balinese equivalents.

⁷ The first of these texts has been edited by Geria 1957, the second, also known as *Geguritan Rereg Gianyar*, is known to me from a manuscript from Geria Jebang, Gianyar. *Basur* has been translated by Hooykaas 1978, *Jayaprana* by Hooykaas 1958, *Bagus Diarsa* by J. Hooykaas-Van Leeuwen Boomkamp 1949.

⁸ The *Mégantaka*, Van Eck 1875, is closest to this latter category, and was once performed as a *gambuh* dance-drama, in which usually *kidung*, pre-eminently the *Malat*, are performed. See Vickers 1986.

The historical event

That a *ligya* ritual took place in 1842 in Klungkung, East Bali, is well attested by a variety of sources. A *kekawin* poem refers to the post-funerary rites for a king of Klungkung, Déwa Agung Putra, who died in battle at Blahpané in 1809. This work was allegedly written by the king's daughter, Déwa Agung Isteri Kanya, the mid-nineteenth-century queen of Klungkung.⁹ In it, special attention is given to the donation of a rhinoceros (*warak*) from 'Surabaya'. Another manuscript, this time of the *Kidung Bimaswarga*, has a colophon yielding the date AD 1852. This colophon mentions that I Déwa Putu Bandèsa of Satrya Kawan (Klungkung) commissioned the manuscript to commemorate the *pamaligyanné* of the 'God-King Who Died in Battle at Blahpané', held in 1842, in which a rhinoceros was the offering from 'the Javanese', specifically the Dutch Governor General. This colophon further mentions that the officiating priests were Pedanda Ktut Ngurah, Ida Gedé Pidada, and Ida Gedé Nyoman Jumpung, whose names indicate that they were all from the Brahmana caste (Brandes 1901: no. 249).¹⁰

A third group of sources are held in the Dutch archives. In 1839, according to a summary of these sources by Lekkerkerker, G.A. Granpré Molière was negotiating with the rajas of Klungkung and Badung for a place to situate a trading post. The king of Klungkung gave this Dutch emissary a black horse, 'the kind that may only be ridden by kings and their relatives on Bali', according to the accompanying message. In return he asked for a rhinoceros for a forthcoming ritual. This caused some consternation, but the animal was eventually despatched from Surabaya on the ship *Blora* that same year, and was landed at Kuta (Badung, southern Bali) on 30 July. Unfortunately, the animal caused 'still more trouble' in its delivery, because the Kuta locals refused to have anything to do with a gift for a ruler who was not their own, especially since their lord, the ruler of Kesiman, was still waiting for cannon which had been promised by the Dutch some time earlier. Captain Thierbach of the *Blora* obtained '600 bamboos and five *jukung* (small boats)' for the task of shipping the rhinoceros to Klungkung by sea. The bamboos were stolen as soon as they arrived, and it was not until 31 August that the animal arrived in Klungkung. The total cost to the Dutch was f 869.25 (Lekkerkerker 1923:245-52).

⁹ On poetry writing during her reign, see Vickers 1982b and Kanta 1983. Kanta, appendix 1, reproduces a transcription of the *Pralambang Bhasa Wawatakan* from Jero Kanginan, Sidemen.

¹⁰ Although 'Ida' (an honourific third person pronoun) is usually used for unconsecrated Brahmana I take it that all three persons referred to here are *pedanda*.

Colonial frustrations aside, the rhinoceros, in its scale and rarity, was singularly important for all concerned. The alternative title of the *Geguritan*, 'The Killing of the Rhinoceros', commemorates this singularity.

As far as I can discern from other prescriptive texts for *ligya* rituals, the use of a rhinoceros in this particular ceremony was unique. This does not mean that the animal had never been heard of before, or that it did not have other possible ritual uses, but it indicates that the beast was an innovation within this ritual. The king probably seized upon the status of the water buffalo (*kerbaulkebo*) as a signifier of grand ritual, and tried to outdo the status of that animal with one which was even grander. The *Geguritan* states that the rhinoceros was equal to three water buffalo in size. The 1842 rhinoceros is still remembered in connection with *ligya* rituals, even if only one holder of such a ritual, the 1930s king of Karangasem, Anak Agung Ktut Karangasem (Gusti Bagus Jlantik), was able to obtain parts of a rhinoceros for such a ritual.¹¹

A masterstroke of ritual assertion, the killing of the rhinoceros is a fitting subject for a poem, even though the *Geguritan* does not concern itself only with this animal. The killing of the rhinoceros occupies one section of the narrative, but it sets the text in motion as a historical event. In accordance with this sense of history the author marks the text with a date equivalent to AD 1842, the date of the ritual and perhaps the date of writing.¹²

The historical specificity of the event recalls the way present-day Balinese see rituals as part of a series of historical events which mark the passing of time. Most Balinese 'date' their lives in terms of such events on both state and personal levels. Births, deaths, and marriages are temporarily described in terms of major events such as natural disasters (the earthquake of 1917 or the eruption of Mount Agung in 1963), wars and invasions (the defeats of Mengwi, Lombok, Badung, and Klungkung between 1891 and 1908), and state rituals (the Karangasem *ligya* of 1937 and the 1979 *ékadasa rudra*). Equivalent events on the personal level are severe illnesses, accidents, lucky escapes, divine boons, and cremations. Such phenomena determine the course of people's lives,

¹¹ For a description of this 1937 *ligya*, see Mershon 1971:chapter 27. Bateson and Mead 1942 include various photographs, and there is a Balinese description of this ceremony under the title of *Déwayadnya ring Karangasem*. Mershon 1971:251 notes that the effigies of souls (*sekah*) used in the ritual should include three types of liquid: milk, honey, and powdered rhinoceros horn mixed with water. This is also mentioned in a version of the *Indik Ligya* (GK 299) and is in fact part of the offering usually known as *maduparka*. Other texts about *ligya* rituals do not mention this.

¹² I Madé Kanta (personal communication). All the numbers of the *saka* year (1764) are not immediately apparent, although in the second and third verses we find the equivalents of 7 (*wiku*) and 6 (*rasa*).

making Balinese biographies into a series of crises.¹³ Personal rituals and rituals held by kings in which people from all over Bali participate can be seen as points within a continuum of different kinds of critical events which constitute Balinese 'history'.

The *Geguritan* is deliberately 'historical' in that it not only marks and describes a specific event, but also portrays specific individuals from different levels of society participating in the ritual, and vividly gives details of those individuals' actions.

The role of peasants in the ritual

The text distinguishes between a number of groups: the nobility (*mènak*), the Brahmana, and the peasantry (*anak tani*). Of the first group only the Déwa Agung or Cokorda is mentioned repeatedly, since he is the holder of the ritual. The king of Badung, Gusti Gedé Oka, is described in one event of the ritual, but the other lesser kings are not mentioned by name. Different ranks of aristocracy are identified. Of the Brahmana, only Sang Gedé (Ida Gedé Pidada, presumably the main priest) is mentioned by name. The most graphic descriptions are reserved for the peasants who participate in the ritual.

The sharp focus on the peasants connects with the viewpoint implied by the author of the text, as well as creating an image of the role of commoners in the state. In a word-play hidden in the opening lines of the text the author gives his name (or pseudonym) as Pan Dudong ('Father of Dudong', a commoner's name). This name is built into a pun on the self-deprecating remarks which are demanded in any Balinese statement of authorship ('because I'm not a priest'). Such puns are a common device in Balinese literature, accompanying the colophons hidden in the opening or closing of texts, and signalling to the audience that a play of allusions or hidden meanings (*sesimblingsesemon*, Indonesian *sindiran*) is taking place in the text. It is important to note that the author may not really have been a commoner, but may have assumed the persona of a commoner in line with generic precedents in which the authors of other *geguritan* are commoners (in contrast to *kekawin* and *kidung*, where traditions of authorship attribute works to priests and princes).¹⁴

¹³ John Wilkinson (personal communication). For a Balinese autobiography see Connor 1982.

¹⁴ Kanta 1983:5 advances the theory that the author of the *Geguritan* was Anak Agung Gedé Mregeg. Since it seems common to attribute many works to this author, it is difficult to judge the veracity of the claim. The fact that Mregeg, an aristocrat from a minor house in Klungkung, may have been the author would strengthen my argument that *geguritan* were generically associated with the commoner domain and that therefore one always has to give the appearance of 'commonness', despite other origins. The case of the *Brayat* is similar.

As a group the peasants are first mentioned in the third stanza of the first canto of the poem, following a description of how the whole of the island of Bali (*jagat Bali*), excepting Tabanan, has come to carry out ritual duties (*mangayah*). The duties of the peasants consist of building the ritual area. This area is described in terms of its brightness (*tèja*) and its great height, both of which give it a relationship to heaven, mountains, and the skies which may be more metonymy than metaphor.¹⁵ In this passage the words *luung* and *becik*, both meaning 'good', are repeated with emphatic monotony. The positive descriptions of the ritual scene come together with representations of artistic performances and paintings which contribute to the ritual. The total effect of this is *ramé*, positive bustling crowdedness. In this *ramé* peasant and noble mix together:

The followers (of kings) came in scores,
flowing from the north, flowing from the east,
filling the streets to watch,
like a swarm of spreading wasps;
there were probably more than 100,000
people in Klungkung
crowding and jostling each other.
Not knowing who was noble, who was not
they jostled each other,
uncertain of the way. (1.12)

This image of noble and peasant mixing together in their devotion to the ritual recurs just after the description of the killing of the rhinoceros. It may be significant that these images are used to frame the killing in this way.

If the positive emphasis of the opening of the poem is accepted, then the mixing of social groups shows how ritual provides religious integration in the state (Vickers 1982a:466). Here, as in the rest of the poem, it is possible simply to read the poem as a panegyric extolling the Déwa Agung. However, the images are not completely positive. In stanza three the peasants are described as milling around in a way that emphasizes the diversity of the occasion and its plenitude of diversions, but which also gives the impression of confusion. This is echoed in the last verse of stanza twelve, quoted above (*tani karwan jejilangan*), which is an expression used of someone drunk (Van der Tuuk 1897-1912: s.v. *jalang*).

In the descriptions of behaviour between main ritual events the negative side of the mixing comes to the fore. The peasants' participation in the carnival

¹⁵ Painted representations of *swarga*, 'heaven', show it as an inner-courtyard of a temple, or as the *méru*, 'mountains', inside such a courtyard. An example is the Kerta Gosa paintings in the former palace of Klungkung.

atmosphere of the ritual involves lively depictions of lewd behaviour. One instance vividly describes how men and women 'accidentally' grope each other and end up causing arguments and speaking coarsely (*kotor*) (1.52-56). The general result is that people forget morality (*èngsap ring laksana pelih*, 1.59), and feel confused (*paling*). A pickpocket from Bulèlèng also does well out of the crowds, stealing many valuable *keris* (1.61-62). Later, before the last stage of the ritual is described, there is a summary of this 'forgetting' of morality:

Everyone went out of their way to follow whatever pleased them [...]
they forgot about how such wrong actions made slaves of them
as they daily dared to take a ball of opium.
So they didn't know what was right or wrong
and it made them confused
because they thought only of the moment. (2.17-19)

There is some ambiguity in the original Balinese of this passage, which comes from the fact that those who indulge in the vices of the celebrations (sex and drugs) are made subjects of their immorality (*anggon ya pañjak*) but, in a pun on the meaning of these words, can be said to be prone to vice because they are 'subjects' (*pañjak*), that is, commoners.

The confusion and licentiousness are not incidental to the ritual, nor are they just additional detail to make the historical depiction more 'realistic'. The unbridled behaviour is part of what is produced in ritual labour (*ngayah*); it becomes the laughter and enjoyment which signals deep and meaningful personal involvement in the outcome of the ritual.¹⁶ The excessive behaviour is a kind of surplus energy to be put to ritual use, and the poem is quite explicit about this at the beginning, where it says the ritual was held to bring everyone together, literally to 'make a crowd' (*nggejenang*, 1.1), that is, to create *ramé*.

In the description of the killing of the rhinoceros the relationship between the *ramé* of the commoners' behaviour and the ritual is portrayed as one aspect of a struggle for power involving the king and the Dutch. When the king and the Brahmana discuss the offering from the Dutch they are clearly worried about how to kill it, but in their discussions they make jokes about the efficacy of their subjects' strength and ability to carry out the execution. Sang Gedé compares the twelve subjects from Yéh Nuyling's attempts to kill the

¹⁶ This involvement is 'deep' in the sense of the 'deep play' (Geertz 1973c), which Geertz derives from Jeremy Bentham. As will become evident, my use differs slightly from the Geertz-Bentham use because there the argument is concerned with how 'much more is at stake than material gain: namely, esteem, honor, dignity, respect' (1973c:433), whereas to me it is possible to read the representation of the commoners in the text as one in which they derive material gain but not necessarily esteem etc. from the ritual, but that this is nevertheless linked to their 'pleasure'.

rhinoceros to mice trying to kill a cow, causing a powerful roar of laughter (*kedeké muug mabriag*, 1.16). Suggestions about tying up the beast and stabbing it or shooting it are rejected on the grounds that too many subjects (*roang*) would be killed, and eventually the beast is despatched by constructing a strong corral over a covered hole (1.20-26).

Despite the hilarity there is recognition that the actual work involved in killing the animal must come from the subjects, acting upon proper instructions from the king and his Brahmana. The successful killing of the animal is vital because it has been offered up by the Dutch, inferring that they would know how to kill it. The consternation caused by the sight of this animal which is invulnerable (*bas teguh*) comes from the fact that a failure to successfully slaughter it would mean that the king of Klungkung was inferior to the Dutch. Killing the rhinoceros is a necessary form of destruction, comparable to the way war is described in many Balinese texts as a ritual (*rana yadnya*).

The tumult of opinions around the king threatens to overwhelm the scene with chaos. The Déwa Agung is likened to the Divine Snake king, Basukih, surrounded by the thousand serpents, an image of slithering confusion which is connected to the double-edged observation that great power can be overwhelmed by talk (*sakti kaon antuk raos*, 1.21).

This comment is connected to a story from the *Parwa* in which the demon I Kalaywana is defeated by a ruse, meaning that the rhinoceros could be killed by stealth rather than just brute force, an appropriate literary reference. It could also be taken to mean that the Déwa Agung's own power is in danger here of being defeated by too much talk. This heightens the critical moment and underlines the king's decisiveness in choosing the best advice and acting on it quickly. The success of the venture is assured by cooperation between priest and king, and this cooperation is continued in their actions in the ritual. In the ceremonies the priests perform the prayers of offering (*mapios*) while the king watches from an elevated platform and supervises the proceedings. The relationship always has a third element, the labouring commoners who cannot be forgotten because of their constant noisy activity.

Strength, destruction, and the bustling crowd

This constant activity, *ramé*, is stressed in the poem. *Ramé* is given various associations, from positive tumultuous gaiety to dangerous chaotic or immoral behaviour. The poem defines *ramé* in relation to the emotions resulting from it, and in connection with modes of being, notably the mode of being opposite to *ramé*, the state of *suung* or *sepi*, stillness, loneliness, emptiness. The difference

between *ramé* and *suung* is not simple, and the poem orders that difference according to varying contexts. The poem displays *ramé* as the motivating force of the *ligya* ritual, and associates that force with the relationships between commoners, king, and priests in the state.

One of the sets of terms which intervenes between *ramé* and *suung* is a series of synonyms for 'strength'. The killing of the rhinoceros is a sub-narrative, marked off by the standard phrase *sampun puputing carita* – 'it is the end of the story' (1.28). In the sub-narrative a relationship is established between the idea of 'defeat'/destruction' (*kaon*), and 'strength'/firmness' (*kukuh* or *teguh*). The idea of 'power defeated (*kaon*) by talk' is continued in the description of how the officiating priests at the ritual are offered the meat of the rhinoceros to eat. Some are 'game' or daring enough (*purun*), others are scared to eat it because of the memory of the horrible form, *rupan kaon* (1.27). Although the rhinoceros was excessively strong (*bas teguh*) it was also *kaon*, a pun since the word means both 'horrible' and 'defeated'. The king could order a corral to be built which was even stronger, *lintang kukuh*. This royal strength is the same strength and firmness which characterizes the offering structures; these have been built to be bright and high, and firm like a mountain, *gedé tegeh*. Height, strength, and brightness are all ultimately part of the initial subject of the poem announced in the opening: the 'position'/seat'/place' (*linggih*) of the Déwa Agung, the king of Klungkung, whose claims to be ruler of all Bali are based on the Majapahit (Javanese) origins of the Balinese state (1.1-2). The successful performance of the ritual will avert any potential defeat of this position.

The vocabulary of strength fades into the background as the narrative of the ritual progresses, and the dominant lexicon revolves around the noise and turbulence of *ramé*. While *ramé*, as it is associated with the labour of the peasants, may be the source of the king's strength, there are hints that it may also be a powerful source of defeat.

Bustling events and actions punctuate each stage of the ritual's progress. The poem announces that there were 'three rituals of *baligya*' (1.1), probably meaning the ritual gift of money and other presents to the presiding priests (*dana punia* 1.66-78), the making of demon offerings and the subsequent rifling of the offering area in order to destroy it (*buta yadnya* and *marebut* 1.79, 2.17), and the *ligya* proper, which involves an initial procession and worship (1.28-49) and a final procession to the sea, where the mountain-like *bukur* towers and the flower effigies (*sekah puspa*) are cast away (*panganyutan* 2.20-30).

Each stage of the ritual involves some type of *ramé* scene, usually separating one stage from another. At the beginning the descriptions are brief (1.3, 1.12)

and frame the depiction of the work on the offering area. The major *ramé* scene occurs after the first ritual procession, and this scene encapsulates all the qualities of crowding, immorality, humour, noise, and foulness which are linked in the text to commoners (1.50-64). After the meritorious gifts to the priests (*dana punia*) there is a brief description of how dirty everyone gets in the crowds (2.75-76). Here, as in the scene of the first night, foulness is attributed both to being physically dirty and covered in dust, and to speech (*munyiné kaliwat kotor*, 1.55, and *munyi daki*, 1.76). The last scenes of nighttime revelry lay more emphasis on immorality than on the positive good-humour of the crowd (2.17-19).

The noise of the crowd's laughter in the night while watching *gambuh* (*kedeké mawanti-wanti*) mixes with foul speech and yelling (*muug pajerit*, 1.64) to become a general clamour summarized in the word *muug*. This clamour is part of the tumultuous noise of the ritual, found first in the noise of the *sundari* or aeolian harps, which 'howl [...] thunderously, roaring like the sound of crashing waves' (*magereh munyin sundari/pagariung/muhug masawang ampuhan*, 1.8). Later this recurs in laughter which accompanies Sang Gedé's joke about the subjects from Yéh Nyuling (*kedeké muhug mabriyag*, 1.16), and in other descriptions of noise. The sound of the ritual procession is a combination of shouting, talking, playing music, and firing rifles, the latter sound in particular being described as 'a furious noise like thunder [...] frightening' (*mabriug ramé mamunyi [...] ngesyabang hati*, 1.36). While *muug* is used of a sound, it has further connotations of 'commotion', and of being 'shattering' in effect. *Muug* is a form of the word *uug* 'destruction', and this derivation is brought out in the depiction of the firing of rifles, swivel-cannon, and cannons, which is 'like a village captured in war (decimated)' (*mirib désa sampun kalah*, 1.35) and gives the appearance that Klungkung had 'all in a flash [...] been destroyed' (*kadi uug/Kalungkungé asaksanan*, 1.36).

In the destruction (*marebut*) of the chthonic offerings (*buta yadnya*), *ramé* has both positive and negative aspects; it brings both bustling pleasure and a potential for destruction. Expectation and excitement are built up through detailed descriptions of those milling around or climbing trees as they wait for the *pedanda* to finish their priestly rites (1.83-84). The metres of the poem shift at this point from *sinom* to *durma* as a way of drawing attention to the importance of the destruction (*marebut*), which is more central to the ritual than the killing of the rhinoceros. The destruction is the high point or culmination of the noise, crowding, and energetic movement of *ramé*, demonstrating that the significance of the ritual cannot be divorced from the coarse actions of commoners. It is fundamental to the ritual that it be crowded

(*magejenan*), full (*ngebek*), and *ramé*, but this must involve violence, theft, and devastation.

As well as giving colour and depth to the representation of the ritual, the poem's stress on *ramé* can be explained as an ideological contrast between chaotic commoners and refined rulers, and also as an effect of generic convention. I would like to suggest that in addition to being a combination of these elements, the *ramé* is seen as the fundamental energy of the ritual.

That the *ramé* is not purely incidental is demonstrated by the important structural positions the descriptions of *ramé* occupy within the text's portrayal of acts of worship, or what we might think of as the more solemn parts of the ritual. These acts are not free of the language of noise and agitation, and in fact are also organized by the tumult and the shouting because it provides both continuity between ritual actions and punctuation of those moments in which the Brahmana priests and the king come to the forefront of the narrative. The *ramé* is integral to the poem, which, with its less elevated language (less elevated, that is, than the Kawi language of other poems) and its humour strives for a *ramé* sense of noise which conveys the direct experience of the events narrated.

Ramé and emotions

Before I can comment on the ideological contrasts at work in the poem, it is necessary for me to further explain the emotional effects the writer intends to produce with his poem, and how these effects are related to the *geguritan* genre. Other *geguritan* present, or are engaged in, a discourse of emotion shared with the *Karya Ligya*, a discourse which is different, for example, from the discourse of desire found in courtly romance *kidung* such as the *Malat*.¹⁷ In the *Geguritan* the discourse is one in which 'happiness' and 'troubled confusion', as mental states, feature most prominently. In the *Karya Ligya* words like *demen* and *liang* describe the 'happiness', and *kèweh* and *ibuk* the emotional experience of difficulty.

In the opening of the poem, when the commoners arrive to carry out their service for the Déwa Agung, *topèng* and *gambuh* dance-drama performances are provided, to make people really happy (*liang manah*, 1.3). This 'pleasing' nature of the performances contrasts with the 'startling' nature of the gunfire mentioned above (1.36), which, with its ensuing smoke, deafens the ears and blinds the eyes, making those who follow Gusti Gedé Oka feel 'troubled' (*ibuk*)

¹⁷ On this discourse see Vickers 1986:219-76. The *Geguritan Kedis* is an interesting example of a text which utilizes these two discourses, demonstrating a link (which is perhaps one of derivation) between the discourse of *kidung* and *gambuh*, and that of *geguritan*.

The *Karya LigyalPadem Warak* is written as a *geguritan* using a form of Balinese language by an alleged commoner for an ideological purpose. Other *geguritan* such as the *Brayut* and the *Basur* also place themselves in the commoner domain, giving the appearance of domesticity and of the representation of everyday life. Some, like the *Basur* and the *Jayaprana*, claim to be written by commoners – the *Karya Ligya* claims this perspective. Its criticisms of the *pedanda* in particular seem to be those of an outraged peasantry. Nevertheless, the *Geguritan* maintains what may be an aristocratic vision of commoners, showing them to be inferior beings by virtue of their ambiguous *ramé*, which is 'coarse' and 'dirty'. This representation is similar to Balinese iconographic conventions, where commoners are shown as fat and coarse, lacking the innate refinement of princes and kings. Even commoner artists reproduce this convention without any qualms.

The idea of commoners as rulers is outside the discourse, it is unthinkable, an annihilation of the social order. Yet the poem is not simply a justification of the Cokorda's rule. It involves, for example, no descriptions of a state of harmony (*kerta*) produced by the ritual. Instead, it celebrates *ramé* in all its ambiguity, exhibiting the limitations of royal rule and power by showing that this power rests on something which is always a potential threat. It celebrates the kingdom as a happy conjunction of different types of being which could conflict if not properly mediated by ritual. It affirms violence and difference as political forces.

This affirmation goes beyond conscious ideological statement. It is shaped by the genre in which the poem is cast, a genre concerned with emotion, crisis, and the nature of being. And it produces an image which is historical because it uses a critical event for the purpose of remembering. Because the poem is caught up in a variety of forces present in the discourse of the genre and the historical moment of the ritual, it exhibits itself as a play of forces which can be put to different purposes, whether royal, priestly, or commoner.

The text and ritual analysis

The text speaks of a time when Klungkung's position was insecure. The king who was the object of the *ligya* had died during a war of dispute over the Klungkung throne and Klungkung's relationship to neighbouring kingdoms. After his death his children had to move the main palace of the state back to Klungkung from Kusamba, where their father's seat had been, and restore the Klungkung palace. Holding rituals must have been an important part of this

restoration.²⁸ The emphasis on 'firmness' in the poem is so marked as to be almost a statement of insecurity. The poet dares to write in order to assert Klungkung's status, in order to affect it, and therefore to effect change. The sense of unease and the desire to act to change that unease may explain why the author has not chosen to describe a state of order (*kerta*) issuing from the ritual, since such order could not be taken for granted.

In 1842, when the text may have been written, the Déwa Agung's position was not definite even within the state. His elder sister, Déwa Agung Isteri Kanya, was endorsed as queen by powerful factions in Klungkung, on the basis of her superior descent (her mother was a princess of Karangasem and the chosen queen from amongst their father's wives). The *Geguritan* scrupulously avoids any reference to her, thus making its allegiances clear. Outside Klungkung there were constant threats from other rulers, particularly the powerful ruler of Kesiman in Badung. If the text was not written in 1842, it could even have been composed at the time when Klungkung itself hung on the brink and thousands crowded into the state to either support or oppose her in her 1849 war with the Dutch.²⁹

The possibility that the poem forms a kind of active intervention heightens its political impact, although the sense of politics comes more from an assertion of Klungkung's status vis-à-vis the other rulers of Bali, rather than in relation to the Dutch, who are alluded to in ambiguous terms (Vickers 1984). The poem is not limited by being solely political, since it involves a sense of spiritual and emotional engagement. The combination of material, existential, and emotional elements is not simply the statement of a direct interdependence between power and pomp, as Geertz would have it.³⁰ The poem and the ritual it describes are material combinations of being and action, at the same level as wars, natural disasters, and epidemics. The lives of Balinese are determined by these phenomena, and acts of representation play a part in this determination.

The *Geguritan* acts as a counter to conventional academic wisdom about what rituals are and how they function. That it does not represent the ritual in metaphysical terms (the domain of priestly manuals and forms of exegesis) is not as striking as the fact that the ritual is not really presented in any terms which we might call 'symbolic'. The text does not provide an opportunity for the semiotics of ritual, since it does not talk about a range of symbols and

²⁸ The primary source of this view came from interviews with the late Cokorda Gedé Pamayun of Puri Anyar, Klungkung.

²⁹ I am indebted to Henk Schulte Nordholt for this suggestion.

³⁰ For a critique of the dichotomies Geertz uses in his analysis of religion (underlying the view of theatre and ritual in Geertz 1980) see Asad 1983. My thanks to Arlette Filloux for drawing my attention to this article and for discussions of Geertz's work.

attitudes to them current within ceremonial practice. Since the ritual is not presented as symbolism in operation, it cannot be discussed in Geertz's famous terms of 'model of' and 'model for'.³¹

As material action the poem blurs the distinction between the ceremonial repetitive actions which usually define ritual; nighttime carousing, and poetry writing. All are equally 'ritual' in that they are part of a common purpose and play of forces. Tambiah (1985) come closest to recognizing this aspect of ritual when he associates ritual with 'play', especially with 'elements of tension, uncertainty, and chanciness of outcome in play' (1985:127), but he veers away from exploring this dimension of ritual in favour of analysing ritual as 'conventionalized action' which 'is not a "free expression of emotions" but a disciplined rehearsal of "right attitudes"' (1985:134), a formula which does not seem applicable to the range of reaction and attitudes the poem attributes to the participants in the ritual. Tambiah's analysis does not cover all aspects of the poem's representation of the ritual because he depends on ritual having clear borders, an 'outside' and an 'inside'. The *Geguritan* suggests that it is the ritual, and that the time of ordered ceremonial action is not strictly separated from that of disordered events.

The poem does not, however, represent the riotous acts as forms of ritual inversion. The majority of analyses of ritual that contain elements of the riotous tend to see them in terms of 'licensed rebellion' in which the whole ritual reverses roles either as a social escape mechanism or for the sake of strengthening social order through role emphasis.³² In the view of the text, the riot of the commoners is a 'normal' aspect of society which is exacerbated and harnessed as a social force for the king's ends. There is no sense of rebellion or reversal in the processes of the ritual, only a pervasive order of being which is inherently dynamic and potentially unstable.

The historicism of the *Kidung Karya Ligya / Geguritan Padem Warak* denies that *ligya* rituals are all the same (i.e. essentially repetition) and therefore involved in a constant, inherently static, form of reflexive symbolism.³³ Each ritual is shown to have a particular position within a series of power relations connected to different forms of being. These relations are constantly changing in association with the past, via the agency of memory. New elements in the

³¹ On the paradigm see Geertz 1973a and Asad 1983.

³² See Miller 1973 for a discussion of Indian rituals that provides a critique of other anthropological analyses of rituals of 'inversion'. The comments made by Le Roy Ladurie 1979:292 are pertinent in this connection. See also Boon 1984.

³³ On processes of historical change in rituals see Tambiah 1985:165, where he argues that rituals are always between 'ossification and revivalism' (emphasis in the original), and Sahlins 1981.

series of power relations, such as the coming of the Dutch, result in changes to the nature of rituals. This is not a passive and timeless acceptance of fixed sets of symbols and actions, but a demonstration of the importance of agency, of a constant need for intervention and decision in order to make the flow of changes coalesce in a mutually beneficial way.³⁴

³⁴ The author would like to thank the various participants in the Leiden Bali workshop for their comments on drafts of this paper, particularly James A. Boon, Hildred Geertz, Mark Hobart, and Henk Schulte Nordholt. Raechelle Rubinstein commented on earlier versions, and B. Joseph and Gusti Madé Sutjaya kindly provided many insights into problems of translation and interpretation. Further comments also came from anthropological seminars at Sydney and Macquarie Universities.

APPENDIX

Selected translations from the *Geguritan Padem Warak*

The following translations and summaries are based on the Proyek Tik transcription of a manuscript from Geria Pidada, Klungkung. A final revision of the translation was made in 1989 referring to Handriyani 1984.

Kidung Karya Ligya

Canto 1

1.

Ada jani kacarita
Pan Dudong suba ngwikonin
pangrasané pati [k]onol

It will now be told.
Because I'm not a priest
It seems that I'm always putting things in
the wrong place;

twara nawang beneh pelih
paling dadi manggurit
linggih Ida I Déwagung

Not knowing right from wrong
I'm confused, so I have written a song
(About) the position of his majesty, the
Great King

tiga mawangun karya
baligya nggejenang gumi

Who held three rituals
Of baligya to bring the world together in
great numbers.

sami rawuh
jagat Baliné mangayah

All came,
The whole world of Bali was there to do
service.

2.

Anghing jawining Tabanan
anak demen manidongin
awak mula sendin pawon

Except for the house of Tabanan
Who take pleasure in denying
Their origins as one of the pillars of the
(Déwa Agung's) household

ngiring saking Majapahit

When they accompanied him from
Majapahit

makrana buka jani
nggelah pañjak liwat agung
to dija jemak gogo

That's the reason they now
Have subjects in great numbers.
Where else could they grasp around for
them

apan duwé Dalem sami

Because everything belongs to the house
of Klungkung?

bawu agung
engsap ring palalawasan

Newly elevated
They forget their past.

3.

Réréng malu nyarita
anak tani gumirisin

Enough of that matter, let's tell first
How the peasants were dilly-dallying;

nyaka kéné nyaka kéto
nyen ja nawang di sasai
ngudyang data patuhutin

This one, that one, it's all the same,
Who knows after a while?
How can you follow everything that's
going on?

nyaka nopèng nyaka gambuh

Topèng performances, gambuh perform-
ances, whatever,

kanggo té liyang manah
mati iba idup kai
nggisi balung
kudyang tani ndampek damar

As long as it gives pleasure
I'm all right Jack!
When you're grabbing the bone
You have to blow out the lamp.

4.

Ucapen janmané ngayah

Let's say something about the people
carrying out ritual duties.

buka nyawané ngababin
masiyuran twara nongos

They were like swarming bees
Crowding around without being able to sit
down.

twara ngitang-ngitung sakit
laksana sami gati
ngajang paras ngajang batu
punyan-nyuh tiying buwah
né nggarapin lintang gati
sami puput
payadnyané kadi swarggan

They didn't worry if they were sick
They just did it in earnest.
Carrying tuff-stone, carrying rocks,
Coconut, bamboo and areca trees
Were all earnestly worked on.
When it was all finished
The offering area was like heaven.

5.

Témboknyané mailehan
paras Tusané maselik

Its fence, all around
Was made of specifically chosen tuff from
Tusan.

uli kaja mbétél kelod
uli kawuh mbétél kangin
bañcingah mañcak-saji
paras macarancang alus

From the north it came out to the south,
From the west it came out to the east.
The fore-court had a low protective fence
Of tuff, finely carved with openings to let
light through,

manyanding candhi-bentar
alun-aluné kakalih
sami luhung
taratagé alah sipat

Flanking a split gate.
Both open squares
Were equally resplendent
And the scaffolds looked like eyebrows on
a face.

6.

Tuwi twah nyandang gawokang
kakentané ngonyang becik
balé nyané twara rawos

It was really something to see,
It was all so wonderfully organized,
And that's not even saying anything about
the pavilions.

pagambuhan becik-becik

The one for gambuh performances was
marvelous,

gagarapané belig

It was so smoothly worked

kakupakan luhung-luhung
balé bunderé kembar
tegeh mangungkulin marggi
twah ya luhung
papantesé menék gambar

And its stage door was beautiful.
The twin six-sided pavilions
Were high, towering over the street.
Indeed, because they were so beautiful
It would have been the right thing to make
a painting of them.

7-10.

The beauty of the central offering yard (*natar*) is then described in detail, with special attention to its gates and the covered platform for receiving guests and officials. The ritual platforms were all decorated in white, so that they looked like mountains. Emphasis is laid on the appearance of all these things. There were also *sundari*, types of aeolian harps, placed in the central offering yard to give out a loud noise.

The offering towers (*bukur*) in the central yard shone brightly like the moon newly rising over Mount Kélasa. These towers had tall offering shrines (*sanggar tawang*) next to them, which looked like clouds in the sky.

11.

People crowded into the streets when all the rulers arrived. These kings all had golden *keris* hilts and great umbrellas, and their followers were all bold.

12.

Pangiringé magejenan
membah kaja membah kangin

ngebek di marggané ndélo
buka nyawané ngababin
méh tong kowang akethi
jalemané ring Kalungkung
masekse silih sondol
engkèn mènak engkèn tani

silih tuwuk
tani karwan jajalangan

The followers came in scores,
Flowing from the north, flowing from the
east,
Filling the streets to watch,
Like a swarm of spreading wasps;
There were probably more than 100,000
Of the people of Klungkung
Crowding and jostling each other.
Not knowing who was noble, who was
not,
They jostled each other
Uncertain of the way.

13-19.

That day the king held a discussion with many nobles and Brahmana guests in attendance, to decide what to do with the rhinoceros which had been given (*atur*) to them by the Dutch. This presented difficulties.

They had all heard that it would be too strong (*bas teguh*) to kill in an ordinary fashion. When someone suggested that it be stabbed, the *pedanda* replied that twelve subjects from Yéh Nyuling had been ordered to do just that, but they were like mice trying to kill a cow.

Sang Gedé's suggestion was to rope it like a cow, but since it was the size of three buffalo, they would have had to use the hide of a buffalo as rope. The Cokorda (Déwa Agung) rejected this idea because, buffalo hide being hard to get, it would be a waste to make hide into rope unless they were certain it would work.

Other suggestions included making a tiger trap or trying to shoot the beast between the eyes. The latter idea was rejected because too many subjects would have been killed in the fuss.

20.

Kuda rowang kabañcaran
ban tebengé buka jani
becik karyanang galogor
balungbangang apang becik

tangkep umpanin duwi
rupa-rupa siddha Ratu

sapa sira purun metoh
angan canangé asiki
titiang purun
manangkepeng isin pabwan

'How many subjects would be torn apart
In a crowd this size?
It would be best to have a corral made
And put a covered hole in the middle of it,
so that it is well
Overlaid by thorns.
It appears that would do the trick, My
Lord.
Whoever's game to stake
Just one betel quid (against it)
I'll be game
To wager the whole of a tray of betel
equipment against them.'

21.

Wènten matur mañjurungang

punika nyandang linggihin
kéwala pañjang kéh rawos
Cokor I Déwa né mangkin
kadi Sanghyang Basukih
katangkil ban naga siyu
sami ngaturang rawos
tan wènten nyandang linggihin

polih muug
pangrawosé mabyoyongan

Someone else made their contribution to
the discussion:
'That's worthy of consideration!
When it's only a lot of talking going on,
As now, My Lord,
You're like the Divine Serpent King
Attended by the thousand snakes
All talking at once.
None of what they say is worth
considering
So it becomes tumult
And their talk is just so much hot air.

22.

Punika napak ring sastra
wasthan pangrawosé mangkin
sakti kawon antuk rawos
mangda ké warak asiki
kalintang hina sakti
wènten ring Parwua umungguh
ipun I Kalaywana
punika raksasa sakti
padem ipun
ugi sami antuk daya

It is clear from literature
What this talk is called:
"Power defeated by talk."
So what should we do
To surpass the power of the rhinoceros?
In the Parwa it tells
How Kalaywana,
A great and powerful demon,
Was killed
In the same way by a trick.'

23-27.

After further discussion the Déwa Agung agreed and gave orders to make the corral and pit immediately. The Brahmana priests confirmed the order, and the resulting structure was very strong.

On the appointed day the rhinoceros was trapped in the corral, fell down the pit, and was impaled on stakes at the bottom. The beast was slaughtered and its meat taken to the ritual cooking area (*suci*), where it was cooked and offered to the *pedanda*. Some were game to eat it, others were scared. Those who did eat it said it was like no other meat.

28-33.

The description turns to the people carrying out their service (*ngayah*) at the palace, where noble and peasant mixed together. They had prepared three hundred *sekah puspa*, flower effigies of souls, for the ceremony. All were decorated with coins and ritually worshipped at the third hour (10.30 a.m.).

After this worship (*ngajum*) was finished these effigies were carried in procession, complete with umbrellas over them and the singing of *kekawin* texts in front and behind them. They were taken to the offering area, placed in order of importance, and carried around in a circle, beginning from the south and then going west. The procession was headed by a bull, which was decorated with fine cloths, silver, and gold.

'Ida Sang Muter Bali' (the Déwa Agung) was ready to join the procession with the other rulers, his great ministers (*mañca agung*). They were only delayed by having to wait for the king of Badung, who was late.

34.

Janggal kari mangawasang
bedhilé ngebekin marggi
makanda masoroh-soroh
atap sami marep kangin
watek kawuhé sami
bedhil Karangasem patuh
né kangin Singaraja

kadi timbang atap sami

telas sampun
kari ngantos dadawuhan

He paused to watch
The rifles filling the street.
They were divided up into troops
All neatly ordered and facing east.
The group on the left
Were all Karangasem rifles,
While those on the right were from
Singaraja.

The line of these rifles was so even they
looked like a balance.
They were all there
Just waiting for orders.

35.

Dané Gusti Gedé Oka
tan sèngéh raris mamarggi
mula ja kayuné jolot
katengah manduwak bedhil
tan dumadé mamunyi
I Tankober sagét ngembut

né beténan manimbal
madéng-ndut salèng timbalin
padha bulus

Gusti Gedé Oka
Started to go without thinking,
His mind firmly on walking.
When he was halfway there the rifles
Were unintentionally fired.
The one called Tankober suddenly
resounded
And the lesser weapons responded
Booming and cracking in turn,
Firing incessantly

mirib désa sampun kalah

As if a village had been captured in war.

36.

Munyin bedhilé manimbal
mabriyug ramé mamunyi
kadi galagah katunwan
lén munyin lélané tarik

liwat ngesyabang hati
mariyemé capag-cepug
mirib kilap macandha

magulem ban andus bedhil
kadi uwug
Kalungkungé asaksanan

37.

Mangkin Gusti Gedé Oka
kaliput ban andus bedhil
kipak-kipak kadi barong
apan twah mula prajurit
déréng ndén taén éring
mula seneng liput andus

tolih pañjaké ilang

pajengé kucup di wuri

tuwi twah luhung
kadadèn anak utama

38.

Pangiringé sami ngarad
njangkreg mararyan di ori

takut ban petengé majog
andusé mangliput marggi
twara katon nyang esing
kuping empeng manah bingung

mata liyatang buta

to krana takut magedhi
liwat ibuk
ngenehang gustiné ilang

The sounds of the rifles echoed
With a furious noise like thunder.
They blazed like a grass fire.
Beside them a rapid volley discharged
from the swivel-cannon

In a frightening way.
The cannons roared and rumbled
Looking like lightning playing across the
skies,
Clouded over by the smoke of the rifles.
It was as if, all in a flash,
Klungkung had been destroyed.

Gusti Gedé Oka was now
Surrounded by the rifle smoke.
He twisted from side to side like a Barong.
Because he was really a soldier
He hadn't ever been respected,
So he was really happy to be surrounded
by smoke.

Looking around he saw that his subjects
were lost
And his umbrella (of state) was folded up
behind him.
This was really a good thing,
That he should take on the appearance of a
person of nobility.

His followers all fell back
And stopped behind with their legs wide
apart,
Scared by the descending darkness.
The smoke engulfed the road
And nothing was visible.
Their ears buzzed, their minds were
confused
And when they opened their eyes they
were blinded.
That's why they were scared to go on.
They were greatly troubled
To think that their lord was lost.

39-42.

The offering area is described again. All the flower effigies were in place around the *bukur* towers, which looked like they were about to fly off to heaven. They were decorated with jewels and statues (*arca*). The offerings were all in place – they had been beautifully made and sprinkled with milk.

The three high priests had already begun their rites. They were dressed in white, and with their ritual implements, headdresses, and earrings, they looked like they had come down from the heaven of Brahma. Before they chanted their *mantra* they faced east and emptied their gaze, making their bodies still (*sepi*) and pacifying the senses so that they would be completely empty.

43.

Raris ngawijilang wédha
tuwi twah wiku nagari
patanganan alep nggeloh
nyandang tulad ajak sami
wiramané becik
mauluwan alus lemu

kadi gerehing kapat
nyandang mawor ring Hyang Widhi

kadi santun
alum katibanan udan

Then they produced the holy chants.
They really were the priests of the nation.
Their adept gestures showed great variety,
They were all exemplary.
Their rhythm was excellent
And the scansion of the eight-syllable
metres was refined and graceful,
Like thunder in the fourth month.
No wonder they could unite with the Great
God
Like flower offerings
Made fragrant by raindrops.

44-45.

All the kings waited on the Déwa Agung below. The area was packed out, and all the rulers were young and handsome, like heavenly beings (*widyadhara*). In the east the consecrated Brahmana (*sulinggih*) were all resplendent in the clothes offered to them as meritorious gifts (*puniya*). In the north the noble women crowded with their retinues.

46.

Wus puput Ida mawédha
raris katuran mabhakti

Ida isteri lintang répot
tedhun ngaturang kawangi

sami wus kacacarin

ménak lawan para Agung
telas kayang iringan

punggawa ksatriya warggi

telas sampun
pedanda raris mawédha

When they had finished the holy chants
(The kings, lords and noble women) were
invited to worship.
The priests' women were very busy
Going down and giving packets of coins
and petals for the offering of prayers.
Everyone was given the packets for
worship –
All the aristocrats and lords
Without exception, their followers
included
Who were district rulers and warriors with
family connections.
When all was ready
The priests again performed the holy
chants.

47.

Puputing saporikrama
bedhil gong kulkul mamunyi

matuluwan endeh umor
twara karwan dingeh munyi
jiemane nekep kuping
paling dadi pati tulud

guminé géñjang-géñjong
buka rasanya mabading
antuk kulkul
pajenengané maswara

48.

Glis sami masiyepan
duk bau usan mabhakti
Cokorddha budal manonton

sareng anak Ida kalih
telasan sami ngiring

munggah raris nonton gambuh

mangigel kalih soroh
gambuh Giyanar Manguwi
sami luhung
apan gambuh seselikan

49.

Para agung akéh budal

malangsingan sampun singit
jalemané teka ndélo
makeselan bek mabalih

néné nanggu di ori
sok mbaan mabalih tundun

ngulahang dengak-dengok

mataténggeng dahas-dihis
masih saru
magedi tuarada ambah

When all the ritual duties were finished
The rifles, gongs, and alarm gongs
sounded,
Mixing together in a furious cacaphony.
You couldn't make out what anyone said,
So people blocked their ears
In confusion as the sounds merged into a
continuous series.
The earth shook
As if it truly wanted to turn over
At the sound of the
State slit-gongs.

They were all quickly stilled
The moment the worship was over.
The Déwa Agung went back to the palace
to watch performances
With his two children
Who, having finished, both accompanied
him.
They took their places to watch gambuh
dance-drama.
Two troupes performed,
Those of Giyanar and Mengwi.
They were both excellent
Since the performers were hand-picked.

Most of the lords went back to their
lodgings
To smoke opium since it was past midday.
People came to watch (the performances)
Pushing and shoving each other as they
crowded in to see.
Those who were right at the back
Got to watch by climbing on people's
backs
And making themselves obvious by
sticking their heads from side to side.
They stood on tiptoe panting,
And still couldn't see anything,
But there was no way out if they tried to
leave.

50-51.

Everyone pushed and shoved in the crowd. Men and women mixed together without being aware of each other's presence. One child being carried by her mother was pinched without her knowing it. Everyone was there to watch, young and old, sick and healthy.

52.

Padha mangutang ubuhan

katungku[!] luwas mabalih

gambuhé ramé maosog
kedéké mawanti-wanti
ada manyangkol beling
bareng mabalih matuwuk
basangé ada nggogo
ngusud-usud uli dori
twara tau
sengguh galederan tuma

Everyone left the animals they were
looking after

And gave their full attention to wandering
around watching the performance.

The gambuh was packed out
And the laughter was non-stop.
There was a pregnant woman
Who joined in the jostling to see.
Someone touched her stomach,
Feeling her up from behind
Without her being aware;
She thought it was a flea's tickle.

53.

Ndadakang tuun maliyat
sagét lima not malali
tongkejut gelu makejor
èñcong maliyat ka ori
ngengah anak mowani
ngelénang mahapi sadhu

padha mabalih bengong
tong kena baan ngingetin
dadi gelu
tuminé nundèn nyiyepang

Suddenly she looked down to see
A straying hand.

Startled, she yelped in amazement,
Quickly looking behind
Where there was a man
Averting his eyes so as to avoid being told
off.

Both kept watching, stupefied,
Each not recognizing the other,
Shocked,
Her step-mother told her to be quiet.

54.

Yakti mémé ngalah apa
nundèn iyang nyiyepang dini
kapalali baan basong

dong da titiyang jaran sampi
sing-sing teka nunggangin
tuminé krodha masawut
to jawat nyai kénto
enyèn anaké aranim

sok man muhug
gawé dini kedék anak

'Well, Mum, what are you doing
Telling me to shut up,
When some dog has used me as a
plaything?

I'm no horse or cow
To be ridden by whoever comes along.'
Her step-mother angrily replied,
'That may be the case for you,
But who here are you going to accuse
(they're all doing it)?
You'll just get tumult
And make everyone laugh.'

55-66.

She went on to explain that since everyone was playing up in the crowd, if the woman made a fuss she'd only succeed in making known to everyone that she had been made impure (*sebel*), and all that would achieve would be to make her husband angry.

The Cokorda left off watching the *gambuh*.

In the night the streets were crowded with lamps. People milled around and sellers packed the roadside. Young men went out chasing girls, forgetting that their actions were wrong. They carelessly made oaths and curses, without bothering to purify themselves.

One elevated commoner (*prebali*) from Singaraja, I Gedé Tuñjung, went around the crowds preening himself, whilst stealing *keris* from people without their realizing. The scene was one of noise and crowding.

The ward slit-gongs (*bañjar*) sounded to summon people to prepare for the next day. People stayed up all night cutting up meat and making offerings, without noticing the cold. Everything was ready by morning.

The offerings were in place before the third hour of the morning, and the *pedanda* had already begun their worship. Below them the Déwa Agung held audience, with the other rulers, warriors, Brahmana, and state officials in attendance. It was like an audience of Rawana (from the *Ramayana*).

67.

Wènten rawuh mangaturang
brahmana sampun sulinggih
kasèp antuk kasangkaon

sami durung kapuniyain

apan sampun cumawis
pawilangan puniya satus
punika dérèng telas
malih ka payadnyan mijil

pacang katur
ring Ida sang wau dhatang.

Someone came to tell the Déwa Agung
That the Brahmana priests
Had been temporarily delayed by an
accident

And none had received their meritorious
gifts.

As one hundred gifts had already
Been prepared
There were still plenty to go around.
Some of these were sent out to the offering
area

To be given
To the priests who had just arrived.

68.

Para kanggoné ngénterang
kadi né sampun mamarggi

wénten mangebatin èñcong
apan ngu[tam]Jayang linggih
puniya sampun madaging
madèrèk genahé luhung
sami mawadah bokor
bokoran punika sami
daging ipun
kempuh wastra wijil Jawa.

The palace officials were busy with
Their duties, according to what was
customary they gave out (the gifts).
Some opened their gifts hastily
Because they valued their status above all.
The meritorious gifts were all there
In a well-ordered row.
Each consisted of a tray as receptacle
And those trays
All held
An upper cloth and sarong from Java.

69.

Damar lilin makembaran
rawuhing menyan asthinggi
punika kangkat abokor

lyan pajeng alit asiki
majinah tiang tali
wastra sami luhung-luhung
tatekèn les camara
mausus salaka sami
telas sampun
di ajeng Ida Cokorda.

70.

Kailehan panangkilan
di tengah linggihé becik
pangèntéré lintang épot
ndesek mambawosin pipil

pedanda sampun sami
kahaturan kenyung-kenyung
glis sami makakurah
kahaturan toya wijik
sampun puput
raris mambecikang sila.

71.

Njeheng sami marep kaja
nyakupang tangan mamusthi

sasebengé saling antos

keni wènten mangrihinin
rupa déréng mamanggih
kapuniyan né malu-malu
twara ajin matakon
patanganan kumaritip
raris mijil
wédha nahen raga bisa

72.

Wènten mijil astra mantra
saha patanganan pasthi
piyosé ramé nggaréyong

Pairs of lamps with candle wicks,
And incense;
Those were the proper contents of each
container,
Together with one small umbrella,
Three thousand coins,
Splendid cloths,
And staffs made out of she-oak heartwood
All inlaid with silver.
The giving of gifts was completed
In front of the king.

They circled him as he held audience,
Sitting auspiciously in the centre.
Orders were strenuously given
And they consulted palm-leaf manuscripts
together.

The priests had all
Been invited with smiles (to eat).
Quickly they cleansed their mouths
And were invited to wash their hands.
When they had finished
They sat up properly with their legs
crossed.

Fixing their gazes they all faced north,
Clasping their hands together tightly with
thumbs pointed upwards in a mystical
gesture,

Stoney-faced they waited, each for the
other.
One went first, out of turn,
It seemed he hadn't yet received
The meritorious gifts given out previously;
He hadn't yet thought to ask.
They stretched out their fingers
And then began to declaim
The holy chants, knowing themselves to
be capable.

Some declaimed the 'arrow mantra'
With firm gestures.
The worship was intense and profuse,

lintang mangleganin ati

anak pada ngutangin
kabisan pan putus-putus
tistising bhasmangkura
padha takut katon nempil

sami nyumbu-
ngang raga kadadèn tunggal

73-78.

All the rituals of receiving alms were carried out, as the priests went through their
different holy rites. One priest reported to Sang Gedé that he had difficulty bathing
because the water had run out, and besides, others had gone before him.

The streets of the villages were very crowded, with animals everywhere, and it was
very hot, so that everyone stank. The side-streets were filled with shit and people had not
had any opportunity to wash. A person got dirty just trying to cross the road.

One of the Brahmana women who was an expert in ritual matters came down from the
offering area to give out packets of coins and petals for the prayers. All the women
rushed her at once because they all wanted to perform their devotions. They pushed and
shoved without heeding that there were members of the king's family and women of high
nobility amongst them. When they all had their packets the priests made the offerings and
then the drums and rifles sounded to signal the end of the day's rituals.

79.

Gelis sami kacarita
rawuh di bengangé malih
wènten karya becik tonton
nyandang cingak sareng sami
liwat ngleganin hati
mangalahang barong gambuh

mawastha butha-yadnya
puput di margginé sami
lintang luhung
madaging balé saka-pat

80.

Puput sampun mabah-abah
sarwwa laluwasan becik
lèn pipis teka mandélo
sawatara kalih-kethi
babatarané titib
kelet jinahé madugdug
di tengah maselaan
madaging pamreman becik
galeng tumpuk

It gave great pleasure to the hearts of those
watching.

They gave their all,
Displaying their abilities to finish the rite.
These Brahmana priests
Were scared to be seen to be asking for
gifts as they sprinkled the holy water.
They all made a great show
So that their bodies seemed to become one.

We pass over how
Things returned to their quiet state.
There was a wonderful rite to see,
One fitting for all to watch,
Since it gives great pleasure to the heart.
It leaves barong and gambuh performances
behind, it is so pleasing,
And it is called Butha-Yadnya.
Everything was ready in the (main) street,
And was superlatively beautiful,
With the main feature being a pavilion with
four pillars.

It was finished off with decorations
Of hanging cloths, all of the finest quality,
And coins for everyone to come and see,
About two hundred thousand of them.
The floor of the pavilion was packed full;
It was closed off by piles of money.
In the middle a space had been left
For a beautiful bed
Piled high with pillows

maules antuk patola

Wrapped with splendid Indian cloths.

81.

Sampun nyanding papajangan
kotak peti becik-becik
ebek madaging panganggo
sarwwa laluwesé sami
panganggo lanang isteri
soroh mas-masan mapunduh

It was flanked by ceremonial bedding
And magnificent boxes, large and small,
Which were packed with clothing
Of the highest quality;
Clothing for men and women.
All kinds of gold ornaments were to be
found there

sami mawadah bokor
subeng gelang ali-ali
kekandelan
masanding lan sekar mas

Contained in trays:
Earrings, bracelets, rings,
Keris sheaths
With gold flowers beside them.

82.

Malih pipil masarengan
mungguh abyan miwah carik
soroh né tong dadi pondong
malih janma jaran sampi
sami kocap ring pipil
pajeng tanggalané ditu
pepek saruntutanya

More than this the offerings included deeds
For garden plots and rice fields
Which were free from taxes and imposts,
And bondsmen, horses, and cattle
Were mentioned in these deeds.
There were crescent umbrellas
Complete with everything that should go
with them,

wènten lyan sokasi cenik
sampun ngebek
sami padha madagingan

And beside these small food containers
Were packed in there
With everything included.

83.

Banten nyanding sanggar-tawang
sampun mangunggahang suci

Offerings flanked the sky-shrines
Which already had 'purity' offerings
placed on them;

pedanda hénak mapiyos
pepek mabhusana lewih
lèn lahapan madaging

The priests felt pleased to worship there,
Complete in their grand ritual attire.
There were low temporary structures
containing

caru sor sarupan ipun
lèn janma magejenan
empet kaja empot kangin
empet kawuh
kelod twara ngitung panas

Chthonic offerings of all sorts.
People came in scores
Closing off the north, closing off the east,
Closing off the west,
The south; they didn't think about the heat.

84.

Tekaning kayu di désa
balé telas kagenahin
tan ucapen tèmboke-tèmboke
ngebek janmané mabalih

Everything from the trees in the villages
To the pavilions was occupied,
Not to mention the walls,
As people packed in to watch.

lèn né pacang nyuragin

There were those there who would wreak
destruction

mapundung maudeng ambu

Gathering in groups and wearing palm-leaf
headbands,

ada maudeng ata
makejang mabulet ginting

Or grass headbands.

boké anggun
pantes nggawé durmanggala.

All of them had their sarongs tied up at the
back

And their hair sticking out in all directions
So that it was fitting that they used
offerings meant to ward off harm.

Canto 2

1.

Mabriyuk bangun tong dadi tahanang

Suddenly they all got up, they couldn't be
contained

ban demené ngiwasin

Because of their pleasure in looking (at the
offering area).

bangun né njongkokang
busan-busan gambura
Méh tong siddha ban ngampetin
pan kaliyunan
néné pacang rasanin

Those who were squatting got up
And kept spreading out.

They almost couldn't be restrained
Because of the great number of those
Who felt the urge to join in.

2.

Bau suwud pedanda nguñcarang wédha

The minute the priests finished declaiming
the holy chants,

sampun wus mangabhakti
raris padha mungguh
manuhut titi-gangsa
di balé tegehé becik
raris macingak
kosekan né manangkil

The minute the worship was finished,
They all got up
And crossed the metal bridge
So that they could then watch
From a fine, high pavilion
Although it was difficult for those who
wanted to attend on them.

3.

Déréng telas mungguh kulkulé maswara

Before the priests were even in place the
slit-gongs sounded

bangun néné nyuragin

And those who were going to wreak
destruction arose

rantaban manincap
menèkin babataran

And swarmed around to reach their goal.
They climbed on the platform of the
offering pavilion

krura padha nggogo pipis
saling ampigang
ada ngungkab sokasi

Groping for money with great violence,
Pulling each other out of the way.
Some opened the food containers.

4.
Mahadukan ramé ya saling angsekang Stirring around furiously they jostled each other,
pesu mangrondot pipis Coming out with money stashed away(?).
ada ngungkab kotak Some opened boxes
marebut saling umad And rifled them as they pulled at each other,
silih tuwuk ngubat-abit Each dragging the other back as they hit out,
saling ampigang Each pushing the other out of the way
langsé laluhur sitsit So that the curtains hung as ceilings on the pavilion were snagged.

5-15.

Others rushed in to look for gold ornaments and were pleased to find the gold *keris* hilts. As they pushed their way out of the area others pushed in to fight over money. They tore apart the pillows that were there. Everyone got very sweaty and dirty. The pushing and shoving became more earnest as people's anger grew, and they waved their arms in the air. Some were angry because of their shame (*jengah*), some danced around the edges of the area as others grappled, grasping hands, necks, and waists. As some people tried to leave with cloths filled with goods, still others crowded in, quickly reaching the metal bridge. Some were afraid because of the violence, and left.

The pavilion was cleaned out, and everything was removed from the offering area: tuff-stone, the sky-shrine, everything was dismantled and the last shaft of bamboo was taken away. The result was that the area was left bare and clean (*bresih*). Those who did not get anything fought with those who did, and even the priests' place of worship had been rifled, which troubled the watching priests. They went home as a result, but before they did so they went to the high pavilion (*balé tegeh*) to request replacement lamps from the Déwa Agung for those that had been lost in the *mêlée*. The Déwa Agung granted them the lamps and then surveyed the scene.

16.
Pamiyosan sampun wènten The worship had been carried out
ngamarggiayang With great care by those who participated.
yatna sané nututin There had been accidents (in the crowd)
nahen kasangkala And the pavilion was in tatters.
balé sampun marugrag With a 'rip' the bamboo had been pulled apart
krebwakan tiyngé tarik As people had pulled against each other.
saling ampigang In a moment it had been cleared out.
ajahan sampun lisik

17.
Mangkin telas sané nyandang pacang Now everything that was fit to watch was over
cingak And everyone had gone home.
sami padha mudalin The next day was the rite of casting into
bèñjang panganyutan the sea.

wènten mungpung sakala The rite was to be manifested
karyané kari aselid In a half-day.
sami ngulahang Everyone went out of their way
ngulurin legan hati To follow whatever pleased them.

18.
Ada twara bisa kenyel ngabin dayang There were those who couldn't get enough of having girls on their laps,
ada demen mepugling There were those who with great relish and without stinting
mangingkrekin madat Couldn't get enough of smoking opium.
mungpung kapanggih sadya This was a rare opportunity for taking pleasure
engsap 'kèn laksana pelih So they forgot about how such wrong actions
anggon ya pañjak Made slaves of them
sai bani palintir As they daily dared to take a ball of opium.

19.
Dadi twara nawang madan beneh salah So they didn't know what was right or wrong
jemak manahé paling And it made them confused
ngulah ajaniyan Because they thought only of the moment.
liyu to bajang-bajang Many youths
mañjalanang sabeng wenti Wandered around every night
apan twara katrap For they were naïve
twaru nyandang glèmèkin And lacked good counsel.

20-26.

Between midnight and dawn the Brahmana women who made offerings arose to get ready, while the Brahmana men washed themselves at dawn in the Unda River. They dressed in white and when the day had fully broken everyone assembled in the offering area. Rifles sounded to awaken those who were not ready.

Those who would carry the four *bukur* towers to the sea made ready, and at the first hour (approximately 7.30 a.m.) they set out. Rifles sounded and the slit-drums rang out. Everyone on the road came out to see, man and wife, old and infirm.

27.
Ada mirib céling di beté masogsag Some people acted like pigs quarreling in the bushes,
pekesul tuwa cerik Ducking in and out, young and old,
muhug maibukan Making a commotion and arguing.
dadi ngenah prabhawa An emanation of power appeared
ujan-raja tēja guling As a rainbow in a sun-shower,
surya makalangan And a ring of light around the sun.
remrem guminé sedih The earth was dark, in sadness.

28.
Sampun rawuh ring pasisin Kusamba
malih nywarayang bedil
tarik akrepedan
bukur sami mararyan
murub ngebekin pasisi
sayang yan kutang

melahé nuduk ati
- They came to the beach at Kusamba
And the rifles were sounded again,
Crackling evenly.
The towers all halted
And (appeared to) flame, filling the beach.
It was a pity to have to cast them into the
sea
Because their beauty tugged at the heart.
29.
Papantesané wantungang ka nagara

damping ajak mangawi
nyalimurang manah
bengong 'pang ada ajak

sambil medem gulak-gulik
henengakena
karyané ucap malih
- The most fitting thing is that they should
be returned to the nation
To accompany the making of poetry
To please the mind
Which dwells on sadness, providing for
those who
Toss and turn in their sleep.
This should be passed over in silence
So that the ritual can be spoken of again.
30.
Pedanda tiga sampun munggah mawédha

kari meleng patitis
mangapikin swara
mangrengang kadi kumbang
legan janmané tan sipi
pan kayun liyang
twara rawosang malih
- The three priests had already taken their
places to chant holy texts;
In stillness they collected their thoughts
And harmonized their sounds
So that they rumbled like bees.
The people were happy beyond limit
Because they were pleased in their minds.
No more will be said of this.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

Since I did not have original manuscripts available, I have retained the spelling of the Proyek Tik (Hooykaas-Sangka-Hinzler Project) transliteration available to me, without any regularization of spelling.

Canto 1 is in the *sinom* metre, given by *Kamus Bali-Indonesia* (1978) as 8a, 8i, 8a/o, 8i, 8i, 8u, 8a, 8i, 4u, 8a. The metre of canto 2, *durma*, is given in the same source as 12a, 7i, 6a, 7a, 8i, 5i, 7i. In the case of canto 1 in particular these schemes are subject to variation, and there are a number of instances of enjambment. Usually these instances follow general patterns by which each stanza is divided into syntactic units. In *sinom* the most common pattern is for lines a-b or a-d to constitute one syntactic or topical unit, lines e-h another, and i-j a third unit which summarizes the overall topic of the stanza. In *durma* the division is most often a-c, d-f, g.

- 1.1c *konol* is the reading established from the other manuscripts consulted, the original *tonol* seems to make no sense.

- 1.1i For *gejen* see Van der Tuuk 1897-1912: s.v.: 'bij hoopen v. lieden op een groot feest b.v.'
- 1.2a The literal meaning of this line, 'except outside of Tabanan' makes little sense, but the meaning is obvious. Here, as in other cases, unusual grammatical constructions (especially involving seemingly contradictory additions of words) result from adherence to the metric patterns.
- 1.3i This appears to be part of a proverbial expression now unknown in Bali, and not mentioned in any of the dictionaries.
- 1.4g *Punyan* takes a compound form with the succeeding words, so here *buah* is not 'fruit' but *punyan buah*, the areca tree.
- 1.5f For *carangcang* see Zoetmulder 1982: s.v.
- 1.6j This line could also mean, 'it was fitting that paintings be mounted in the pavilions'.
- 1.7 For *sundari/sunari* see Stuart-Fox 1982: 37.
- 1.34e-g *Kangin* and *kawuh* are translated here as 'left' and 'right' to avoid confusion. In Balinese all relative placements are described according to compass directions.
- 1.37d Although *mula* in Indonesian means 'originally', the meaning of 'really' is more common in Balinese.
- 1.37e This line means literally, 'not yet later ever respected', another case of *metri causa*.
- 1.43i *Santun* usually means 'flowers', but can also be a kind of offering (containing flowers) given to Brahmmana priests as ritual 'payment' (Gusti Madé Sutjaya, personal communication).
- 1.46d For an illustration of *kawangikawangèn* see Putra 1982: ill. 38.
- 1.68c For *ēñcong* see Van der Tuuk 1897-1912 under *ēñcol*.
- 1.71h *Kritip*, according to Van der Tuuk 1897-1912: s.v., is used 'v.d. vingers cener wenkende hand [...] v.d. handen v. iemand, die moeielijk knutselwerk [...] vervaardigt'.
- 1.72 The syntax of this stanza is very difficult to make sense of. *Anak* in verse e seems to act as a conjunction referring to the *pedanda*. *Putus-putus* may also be used of rites of priestly purification, and *tis-tis* may mean 'stillness', 'coolness', so that it is possible some kind of punning may be going on.
- 1.79h In Klungkung the annual exorcistic *taur agung* rites are held at the main crossroads, and still feature a lively *rebut*.
- 1.83a For illustrations of *sanggar-tawang* see Stuart-Fox 1982:30-1 and 82-3.
- 1.83b For *suci* offerings see Putra 1982:35-40.
- 1.84j For *durmangala* offerings see Putra 1982:62.
- 2.4b *Rondot* is not found in any of the dictionaries.
- 2.16e *Krebwak*, though not found in any of the dictionaries, is one of the many onomatopoeic words used in texts like this one.
- 2.18g For *palinitir* see Van der Tuuk 1897-1912: s.v. *glintir*, meaning a ball of opium smaller than a *culangan*. The word seems to have troubled the transliterator, who was not familiar with it. An alternative translation is *sai ban i palinitir*, 'daily by Mr. Palintir', an appropriate personification.

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HENK SCHULTE NORDHOLT

Temple and Authority in South Bali, 1900–1980

Although it is common knowledge that there are thousands of temples in Bali, their meaning and significance have not yet been fully recognized in Western research. Apart from a few articles on, for instance, the village temple system (Goris 1960) and some interesting, but isolated case studies (Grader 1960b, 1969; Goris 1969), during the colonial period temples were hardly studied in a wider context. They have also been more or less neglected in postcolonial research. In both periods of Western research, especially the socio-political role of regional temples has largely been ignored.¹

It is my purpose in this paper to emphasize the political significance of regional temples in South Bali. These temples were signs in the political landscape of Bali, for they articulated the authority of the regional noble elite and expressed a regional hierarchy. The temples were more than manifestations of noble power, however. They also played a crucial role in processes of enhancement and legitimation of noble authority.

I will also argue that a proper understanding of the political role of regional temples was for a long time obscured by the artificial distinction between the Western analytical categories 'religion' and 'politics'. When these categories are applied to Bali, temples belong to the 'religious' domain and consequently are taken to have nothing to do with 'politics'. Rather than helping to explain the nature of Balinese politics, such an approach frequently leads us into serious misunderstanding.

¹ A major exception in the colonial period is Grader 1960a. In this article he discusses the network of 'state' temples of the former *negara* ('kingdom') of Mengwi in South Bali. Boon 1974 analyses the way members of an ancestor group derived their identity from their common temple. More recently Guernonprez (1989, 1990) argues convincingly that temple systems give shape to the hierarchical structure of Balinese society and are important 'signs' of group identity. See also Stuart-Fox in this volume on the history and function of the all-Bali temple complex in Besakih.

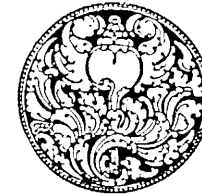
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STATE AND SOCIETY IN BALI

HISTORICAL, TEXTUAL
AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Edited by
Hildred Geertz



Cover: 'The exposure and capture of Batur Taskara'
by Gusti Nyoman Lempad, c. 1937
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