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Résumé

Dans cet article, nous soutenons que, contrairement à l'opinion dominante, la pratique rituelle balinaise est inspirée par les textes prémodernes en vieux javanais, et repose sur les catégories métaphysiques et ontologiques du śivaïsme tantrique. Comme point de discussion, nous avons sélectionné quatre mantras utilisés pendant les *bhūṭayajñas* (« sacrifices aux forces néfastes ») afin d'identifier et de discuter certains des concepts philosophiques et cosmologiques fondamentaux qui constituent les fondements de ces rituels. Nous commençons avec une description des rituels exécutés pour les *bhūṭakālas* (« entités négatives ») comme nous pouvons les observer aujourd'hui. Ensuite, nous abordons les sources textuelles balinaises et montrons comment elles pourraient être liées à la pratique rituelle actuelle. Au lieu d'interpréter les *bhūṭayajñas* comme des tentatives naïves de traiter les forces démoniaques, soit en les chassant ou en les apaisant avec des offrandes de nourriture, nous soutenons que lorsque les rituels des *bhūṭakālas* sont placés dans un contexte textuel, ils révèlent leur dépendance à l'égard de la cosmologie, de la philosophie et de la théologie du śivaïsme tantrique tel qu'on les connaît par les sources sanskrites indiennes. Des concepts clés tels que le mandala śivaïte, la cosmologie de l'émanation et de la réabsorption des *tattvas*, et la nécessité d'expliquer comment l'ensemble de la création provient et revient à un seul point, forment et structurent les *bhūṭayajñas*. Ces rituels ont pour but d'effectuer le retour cosmique, de sorte que lorsque le processus de création/émanation dégénère naturellement en formes inférieures et plus dangereuses, il peut être renversé et retourné à ses origines pures.

Abstract

In this article we argue, contrarily to the dominant scholarly opinion, that Balinese ritual practice is informed by Old Javanese texts, and ultimately rests on the metaphysical and ontological categories of Tantric Śaiva traditions. As a focus for discussion, we have selected four mantras that are intended for use during the *bhūṭayajñas* ("sacrifices to demonic forces") in order to identify and discuss some of the important philosophical and cosmological concepts that underlie and shape these rituals. We begin by examining and describing the rituals performed for the *bhūṭakālas* ("adverse entities") as we can observe them today. We then turn to the Balinese textual sources and how they might be related to present ritual practice. Instead of interpreting the Balinese *bhūṭayajñas* as naive attempts to deal with demonic forces, either by driving them away or by placating them with food offerings, we argue that when the rituals for the *bhūṭakālas* are placed in the context of textual understandings, they reveal their dependence on the cosmology, philosophy, and theology of Tantric Śaivism as known from Sanskrit sources from India. Such key concepts as the five-fold Śaiva mandala, the cosmology of the emanation and reabsorption of the *tattvas*, and the need to explain how the whole of creation originates from and returns to a single point, shape and structure the *bhūṭayajñas*. These rituals are intended to effect the cosmic return so that as the process of creation/emanation naturally degenerates into lower and more dangerous forms it can be reversed, and returned to its pure origins.

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Keywords: Balinese Hinduism; *Bhūṭayajñas*; Tantrism; Old Javanese literature.

Résumé

Dans cet article, nous soutenons que, contrairement à l'opinion dominante, la pratique rituelle balinaise est inspirée par les textes prémodernes en vieux javanais, et repose sur les catégories métaphysiques et ontologiques du śaïvisme tantrique. Comme point de discussion, nous avons sélectionné quatre mantras utilisés pendant les bhūṭayajñas (« sacrifices aux forces néfastes ») afin d'identifier et de discuter certains des concepts philosophiques et cosmologiques fondamentaux qui constituent les fondements de ces rituels. Nous commençons avec une description des rituels exécutés

pour les bhūtakālas (« entités négatives ») comme nous pouvons les observer aujourd'hui. Ensuite, nous abordons les sources textuelles balinaises et montrons comment elles pourraient être liées à la pratique rituelle actuelle. Au lieu d'interpréter les bhūtayajñas comme des tentatives naïves de traiter les forces démoniaques, soit en les chassant ou en les apaisant avec des offrandes de nourriture, nous soutenons que lorsque les rituels des bhūtakālas sont placés dans un contexte textuel, ils révèlent leur dépendance à l'égard de la cosmologie, de la philosophie et de la théologie du śivaïsme tantrique tel qu'on les connaît par les sources sanskrites indiennes. Des concepts clés tels que le mandala śivaïte, la cosmologie de l'émanation et de la réabsorption des tattvas, et la nécessité d'expliquer comment l'ensemble de la création provient et revient à un seul point, forment et structurent les bhūtayajñas. Ces rituels ont pour but d'effectuer le retour cosmique, de sorte que lorsque le processus de création/émanation dégénère naturellement en formes inférieures et plus dangereuses, il peut être renversé et retourné à ses origines pures.

Mots-clés : hindouisme balinaï ; *Bhūtayajñas* ; tantrisme ; littérature en vieux javanais.

Mantras to Make Demons into Gods

Old Javanese Texts and the Balinese *Bhūṭayajñas*

Andrea ACRI & Michele STEPHEN*

“Dans l’Inde ancienne, le monde tantrique apparaît avant tout comme celui de la prolifération rituelle. [...] Il n’y a pas de rite sans présence de la parole. Pas de pratique rituelle ou corporelle qui ne soit sous-tendue, orientée, explicitée et justifiée par une idéologie, des croyances : on n’accomplit pas de rite, on ne fait pas de yoga, on ne s’unit pas sexuellement, on ne prononce pas de mantra sans savoir ce que l’on fait et pourquoi on le fait, même si l’acte accompli ou la parole énoncée n’ont en eux-mêmes pas de sens explicite. Traitant de pratiques, donc, nous aurons à traiter de notions ou de doctrines [...]” Padoux 2010: 121.

1. Introduction¹

As the much-quoted dictum by the late Indologist Frits Staal goes, “Balinese ritual is a classic case of ritual without religion” (1995: 31).² The statement by Staal – the propounder of the “meaninglessness” of ritual (1979) – reflects the well-received idea that Balinese religion is characterised by

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1. Note on romanisation conventions: the overlapping languages and registers of Sanskrit (Skt), Old Javanese (OJ), Balinese (Bal.), and Indonesian, as well as the different date and nature of the sources we have used – i.e., written sources vs. oral accounts – make it impossible to avoid inconsistencies in transcription/transliteration, for example when dealing with words of Old Javanese and Sanskrit origin that have entered modern Balinese parlance and have been adapted to the Balinese spelling, or when referring to words used in different contexts (i.e. modern Bali, India, or premodern Java). Instead of striving for absolute consistency through the implementation of a one-size-fits-all romanisation policy, we have used the system described in Acri & Griffiths 2014 for Old Javanese, ISO 15919 for Sanskrit, and the Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan (EYD) for Balinese and Indonesian, according to the context. In some instances, we have preferred the Old Javanese or Sanskrit spelling over the modern Balinese one (thus, we print *bhūṭayajña* instead of *b(h)utayadnya*, *tattva* instead of *tatwa*, Śiva instead of Siwa). In cases where an overlap exists, we print both the original Sanskrit or/and Old Javanese transliteration and the Balinese one within parentheses. All translations of Old Javanese and Sanskrit passages are our own.

Acknowledgements: we would like to acknowledge the wealth of information and insights concerning Balinese culture and religion provided by I Gusti Nyoman Mirdiana over the long process of writing this article, from the initial selection of the textual material up until the final corrections and amendments, as well as his authorship of the photos and diagrams used in this article. We also thank Arlo Griffiths and Peter Worsley for their helpful feedback. We alone are responsible for any mistakes in the article.

2. According to Frits Staal, ritual in general, and Balinese ritual in particular, “does *not*, or only rarely reflect myths” (1995: 30); furthermore, Balinese rites “seem to have been provided with Indian names without changing substantially. They probably incorporated other Indian elements, possibly mudras, but the chief respect in which they were Indianized was mantras” (*ibid.*: 39).

an “astounding proliferation of ceremonial activity”, orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy, and a “metaphysical nonchalance” (C. Geertz 1973: 176). Stemming from this train of thought, the Balinese religious discourse has been regarded as being a highly embedded and localised phenomenon that owes little to Indian Hinduism.³ According to this view, there is no link between ritual practice and Old Javanese texts: the texts used by Balinese Śaiva high priests (*pedanda*), like the *Sūryasevana*, do not reveal any doctrinal elements and are just “aide-mémoires” containing the script for the words and ritual gestures (Guermonprez 2001: 277).

Anthropologists of Bali have tended to criticise philological approaches, questioning whether written texts are a legitimate key to interpretation of Balinese realities – for, as they contend, the two domains rarely overlap. As already remarked by C. Geertz (1976: 224), “texts are relevant only to the degree that they, or the ideas and images they contain, become part of the living experience of existent human beings”. The assumption that the foundational texts of Balinese Hinduism – the corpus of Old Javanese⁴ Śaiva *tuturs* and *tattvas* – have little relationship to ritual practice in Bali today has led to them being largely ignored, or positively discarded as useful means to understand “living” realities, including ritual.⁵ For instance, Fox (2005: 68) dismisses the study of Old Javanese *kakavins* as a “point of access to the ‘earlier social, cultural and religious values’ required for ‘understanding’ contemporary Balinese practices”, while passing over in silence the corpus of *tuturs* and *tattvas*.⁶ More recently, in his article “Why Do Balinese Make Offerings?”, Fox (2015: 51) counteracts a possible “textualist objection” to his argument, observing that

one could locate literary parallels to several of these practices and the ideals they embody, and I think this is potentially a worthwhile endeavour. However, for such parallels to be of any historical value, it would

3. For a survey and critique of these views, see Aciri 2011 and 2013.

4. Several scholars (including Aciri) have resorted to the expressions “Javano-Balinese” or “Javanese-Balinese” (cf. Pigeaud 1967: 55) to refer to both an idiom (i.e., Old Javanese mixed with Balinese) and a genre of post-15th century religious literature composed in Bali. We have found this label to be not helpful in the present context for, as Pigeaud himself noted, the Balinese linguistic and cultural influence on this literature greatly varies (sometimes being negligible), and many of the “late” texts were (re)compiled on the basis of earlier Old Javanese texts composed in Java. Thus, here we only speak about “Old Javanese texts”. Still, we have used the expression “Javano-Balinese” when describing elements shared by both Javanese and Balinese cultures (such as the *nava saṅga*).

5. To be fair, interpretations of certain Balinese rituals and/or offerings based on Old Javanese texts were already advanced by Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp (1961), Brunner (1967), Hooykaas (1977), among others (see also Stephen 2002, 2010, 2015); however, the majority of scholars have focused on other aspects, such as arts and aesthetics, social and community goals, “performativity”, and a world view aiming at achieving purification of or control over nefarious influences (for a list of relevant studies, see fn. 2 in Fox 2015 and par. 17 in Méric 2016). Fox (2015) regards Balinese offerings as shaped by five categories of conflicting purposes – namely “balance and harmony”, “purity”, “well-being”, “power”, and “flows and concentrations” – produced by “rival modes of practical reasoning”. Méric (2016) focuses on the process of the fabrication of offerings and its role in the local social life, as well as the generation of a dynamic “vital flux”. Hunter (2011) analyses the ritual artifact called *pengajeg* in the light of the semiotic system of Charles Sanders Peirce, as well as the work of Gell and Hildred Geertz.

6. See also Fox 2003.

be incumbent on the textual scholar to account empirically for the relationship between their palm-leaf manuscripts and the practices of contemporary Balinese. As sociologists well know, the appearance of a correlation does not an explanation make.

Here we will try to fulfil the desiderata put forward by Fox, namely that “the anthropological study of religion in Bali requires greater attention to the *longue durée*”, and that “ethnographic sensibilities would also have much to contribute to philological approaches to history and precedent” (2015: 52).⁷ In particular, we aim to show that texts can in fact provide new and important understandings of Balinese ritual, including present-day ritual practice. If we are not to impoverish the meaning and significance of ritual as performed today, we cannot ignore the texts that provide the conceptual underpinning of the ritual actions. Also, it is only through a study of the texts that we can achieve a deeper historical perspective and try to make sense of the translocal dynamics of religious and cultural transfer that shaped the Balinese religious discourse from the premodern period to the present.

We will argue that far from constituting “ritual without religion”, as Staal’s extreme view would have it, many Balinese rituals are shaped by and express philosophical, theological, and cosmological concepts that are expounded in the Old Javanese texts, which are themselves anchored on South Asian Sanskrit prototypical sources. Thus, it appears that what people actually do – i.e. the nature of the actions they perform – is guided by ideas expounded in the texts – whether they are conscious of it or not. (Why people perform the rituals is a different question relating to private and group motivation, and will not be dealt with here.) Many ethnographers of Bali have noted that the participants in the endlessly elaborate rituals for which the Balinese are famous were usually unable, or unwilling, to explain them to an outsider. Many people did explain, however, that the responsibility of the ordinary man and woman is to perform the rituals, not to ask why; and that if one wants to know more, one must consult the religious texts (preferably those preserved in palm-leaf manuscripts, or *lontars*) and the experts whose profession it is to interpret them. The ethnographer of ritual in Bali is thus drawn into dealing with texts because such are culturally valued as the highest source of religious knowledge. Of course, one might deliberately limit one’s enquiries to exclude textual knowledge, but to do so is to ignore the potentially valuable dimension of expert and esoteric understandings. This would be much like an ethnographer trying to describe the Catholic mass on the basis of accounts given by unsophisticated lay devotees of a rural congregation, refusing to speak to the priest and ignoring his library.

7. Our interdisciplinary approach is the result of collaboration between a textual scholar (Acri) and a cultural anthropologist (Stephen). Michele Stephen’s original intention in working in Bali was to employ traditional “participant-observer” anthropological methods to interview Balinese informants, as she had done in Papua New Guinea (Stephen 1995). However, her attention was soon drawn to the importance in Balinese culture of textual sources of knowledge (Stephen 2002: 63–66). All Stephen’s publications on Bali to date have been pervaded by this conviction and most have included some discussion of textual material, especially the *tutur* and *tattva* texts studied by Acri (2006, 2013, 2014a, 2017).

As a focus for discussion, we have selected from textual sources four mantras that are intended for use during the *bhūṭayajñas* (“sacrifices to demonic forces”, Bal. *b[h]utayadnya*) in order to identify and discuss some of the important philosophical and cosmological concepts that underlie and shape these rituals. We begin by examining and describing the rituals performed for the *bhūṭakālas* (“adverse/malevolent/demonic entities”) as we can observe them today. We then turn to the Balinese textual sources and how they might be related to present ritual practice.

2. The *bhūṭayajñas*

The *bhūṭayajñas*, in the view to be presented here, have been largely misunderstood and subjected to various distortions by Western scholars and observers in the process of attempting to make them more comprehensible in terms of Western assumptions about such matters. Usually translated into English as “sacrifices for the demons”, the *bhūṭayajña* rituals constitute one of the five conventional classifications of Balinese ritual, along with those for the gods (*devayajña*, Bal. *dewayadnya*), the ancestors (*pitṛyajña*, Bal. *pitrayadnya*), human beings (*mānuṣayajña*, Bal. *manusayadnya*) and the sages (*ṛṣiyajña*, Bal. *resiyadnya*). Although some have regarded this fivefold division – which is already attested in the early strata of Sanskrit literature from India – as an artifact of recent reformist constructions, the numerous references to these divisions in Old Javanese texts from both Java and Bali indicate otherwise.⁸

Most previous discussions of the *bhūṭayajñas* have treated them as straightforward efforts to deal with the demonic forces either by chasing them off, or satiating them with coarse offerings of blood, raw meat, and strong drink. The notion that gods and demons represented a clear dichotomy opposed in every way made sense to early European scholars versed in Judeo-Christian cultural traditions. Dutch scholar Goris (1960: 98) expressed a view widely shared at the time, and still adhered to by many:

This [Balinese] religion includes both gods and demons. The gods are upper-worldly beings, the demons the nether-worldly forces. The whole realm both of the materially existing and of the immaterial, the intangible, existing only as an idea, can be arranged in these two categories.

In many respects the two categories manifest a peculiar antithesis and tension such as there is between the positive and negative poles of a magnet.

8. For example: *Tutur Candrabherava* (Dinas Kebudayaan Propinsi Bali [henceforth: PusDok] 2004, p. 11), *Tattva Kāla* (PusDok 2000, pp. 6–7), *Vasiṣṭha Tattva* (PusDok 2005, p. 88). Hooykaas (1975) has discussed the *pañcayajñas* as described in Sanskrit texts from India, premodern Balinese texts, and in modern Balinese publications. He pointed out that, although the compound *pañcayajña/pañcayadnya* is not found in Van Der Tuuk’s *Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlansch Woordenboek* (compiled between 1897 and 1912), the five different sacrifices are collectively mentioned as *pañcayajña* as well as separately in the Old Javanese *Agastyaparva* (prob. 10th–11th century) and *Koravāśrama* (anterior to AD 1635; see *ibid.*: 247–248), thus demonstrating that a modern reformist origin for these rituals, at least when taken individually, is unconvincing. Of course, this does not imply that there is no variation between the Sanskrit, Javanese, and Balinese understandings of the various sacrifices, or that their systematisation and popularisation did not occur in the early decades of the 20th century.

Lovric (1987: 63–65), in a thesis focusing on Balinese ritual and magic which makes a bold attempt to challenge many ingrained stereotypes such as the above, has emphasised that Western notions of good and evil as clearly separate and definable entities makes little sense in relation to Balinese culture and religion. She points out:

Any confrontation between deities and demons cannot represent a conflict between good and evil because these moral categories simply do not apply... Deities and demons are not directly concerned with each other or with human moral or ethical conduct. They merely demand deference. Moreover, Balinese are not concerned with the morality or virtue of deities and demons but with their power and the ambiguous nature of that power. It is not a case of lofty, exalted, high-minded deities aligned against apolaustic, iniquitous demons. Neither align to oppose, oppugn or objugate the other. Both belong to the realm of the divine.

Lovric's insights have been taken further in recent work by Hildred Geertz (2004: 64–65), who likewise points out that deities and demons, good and evil, are false dichotomies when applied to Balinese ritual and religion. She goes so far as to say that in Bali gods and demons might better be regarded as different states of the same entity, or as transformations of each other (Geertz 2004: 64). Her nuanced ethnographic research on temple ritual reveals that in many respects gods and demons are treated with the same deference during temple festivals (*odalan*) and that "the gods and demons are, from first to last, treated as high royalty...". Geertz also discusses the opinion of a Balinese scholar, Gusti Ngurah Bagus, that the climatic point of the Ekadasa Rudra (Skt./OJ *ekādaśarudra*) rituals, the grandest of all the *bhūṭayajñas*, involves requesting "the greatest demons of the universe" to "transform themselves from demons into deities".⁹ Although she accepts these transformations at the highest levels, Geertz (2004: 252, note 53) questions whether the same applies on the level of everyday life and calls for further investigation of the matter.

Stephen (2002, 2005) has previously argued that the aim of the *bhūṭayajñas* is to transform demons into beneficent entities and further attest that the lowest entities can be returned to the highest level. Basing her arguments primarily on various *tutur* and *tattva* texts that recount the myths of Śiva, Umā and their son, Kāla, the god of all terrible things, she describes the mythic origins of the *bhūṭakālas* and shows how all dangerous and destructive forces in the world, including disease, pestilence, sorcery and witchcraft, and the *bhūṭakālas* themselves, originate from the high god Śiva and his consort, Umā; and that the divine couple are forever in the process of descending to earth in demonic form as Kālarudra and Durgā, bringing pestilence and disaster. Thus human beings must constantly devote ritual attention to avoiding these calamities.

In this article we will show that the mantras recited to accompany the offerings (*caru*) to the *bhūṭakālas* can throw further light on the process of

9. Cf. below, p. 169. On the Ekadasa Rudra, see Stuart-Fox 2002.

demons transforming into gods that Stephen has identified in the mythic narratives, thus revealing the abstract philosophical concepts that underpin the idea. From the perspective we defend here, the *bhūṭayajñas* can be understood to form part of a complex cosmological system based on classic tenets of Tantric Śaivism. As we shall show, to describe the *bhūṭayajñas* as simple or naïve efforts to placate hungry demons is a gross simplification, to say the least.

3. *Caru* offerings

Since beginning fieldwork in Bali in 1996, Stephen has attended, observed, and photographed with Balinese assistants, many kinds of rituals. She has interviewed, both formally and informally, many Balinese – both ordinary persons and experts of various kinds – concerning the rituals they perform. However the complexity and scale of ritual in Bali are such that describing it, or any part of it, let alone explaining it, are notoriously difficult tasks. Compounding the situation, regional variations and the differences to be observed between even neighbouring communities are such that whatever might apply in one location may appear to be quite different in another. Jane Belo, a pioneering ethnographer of Balinese ritual, when attempting to describe the offerings presented at a temple festival (*odalan*) that she observed at Sayan in the 1930s, expostulated (Belo 1953: 17),

The number of different kinds of offerings is staggering. The number required of each variety, and the list of items necessary to the composition of any one leaves us aghast. Europeans quail at the very thought of such a catalogue of minutiae. When we would set our Balinese secretaries to write down the necessary offerings, they would fill pages and pages with the record.

Her rueful comments were seconded by her contemporaries, Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson (Bateson & Mead 1942: xiii–iv), and surely might arouse the sympathy of all subsequent ethnographers of Bali. Nor has the situation changed much up to the present, except that if anything ritual activity and the amount of offerings required on each occasion have greatly expanded with the wealth currently flowing from tourism and modern development. Ever since Clifford Geertz's (1973: 177) influential statement that Balinese religion should be regarded as constituting an “orthopraxy” rather than “orthodoxy”, one point of agreement among scholars is that the key to Balinese religious life is ritual. Yet no definitive study of Balinese ritual exists and, given the difficulties involved, it probably never will. In focusing our description here of a *caru* ritual on a small domestic event requiring a comparatively small number of offerings, rather than the grand observances that attract public attention, we hope to identify a pattern that is obscured in the larger performances.

All Balinese rituals, including the *bhūṭayajñas*, consist in essence of presentations of offerings (Bal. *banten*/OJ *bantən*, equivalent to Sanskrit *bali*) – artistic arrangements of food, flowers, leaves, fruit and vegetables set out on trays and variously shaped containers made of palm and banana

leaf. They range from small, simple domestic arrangements of food and flowers to huge, elaborate depictions of the universe that are produced for the great public rituals (see Brinkgreve & Stuart-Fox 1992). As Stuart-Fox (2002: 143) explains:

To present an offering (*banten*) accompanied by that most prevalent of ritual gestures, wafting the essence of an offering towards a god or spirit, is the basic ritual act of the Balinese.

Distinguishing them from offerings for the gods (Bal. *dewa*, OJ/Skt *deva*), which are always placed on stands of some sort and never contain raw meat, offerings used for the *bhūṭayajñas*, are placed on or near the ground and most contain some raw meat and blood, or substitutes.¹⁰ However, it is quite misleading to state, as Covarrubias (1973 [1946]: 276–277) does, that the demons “the Balinese treat with contempt and the offerings intended for evil spirits are generally a smelly mess of half-decayed food which is disdainfully thrown to the ground”; or as described by Eiseman (1990: 226), that the *bhūṭakālas* are presented with heaps “of rotted and rotting fruit and flowers, shriveled palm and coconut leaves, and chunks of fly-covered meat”. Such might appear to be the case in large ceremonies, which require thousands of offerings and take place over several days, making it impossible in Bali’s steamy tropical climate to keep food fresh, but when observed closely in domestic contexts it is clear that offerings to the *bhūṭakālas* are prepared with as much care and artistry as those for the gods (figs. 1–20).¹¹

Rituals for the *bhūṭakālas* include simple daily observances in the household, as well as grand public occasions such as Tawur Kasanga performed once a year according to the lunar calendar just before Nyepi, the Day of Silence. Every day, Balinese households place around the house-compound little squares of palm leaf holding rice and other foodstuffs; these *saiban* offerings are for the *bhūṭakālas* (fig. 1a). On every full (*purnama*) and dark moon (*tilem*) day, and once every fifteen days, on Kajeng Kliwon, additional slightly larger offerings, also mostly composed of cooked rice, are made on the ground at various points around the house-compound. These offerings, also for the *bhūṭakālas*, are termed *segehan* (fig. 1b). Above this small, simple domestic level are larger presentations called *caru*.

10. The smallest offerings made to the *bhūṭakālas* often contain salt and onion as substitutes for raw meat. The placement of the *caru* and *bali* offerings on the ground is already prescribed in early Sanskrit sources from India in connection with the *bhūṭayajñas*: see, for instance, *Mānavadharmasāstra* 3.92–93 (*śūnām ca patitānām ca śvapacām pāparogiṇām / vayasānām kṣmīṇām ca śanakair nirvaped bhuvī // evaṃ yaḥ sarvabhūṭāni brāhmaṇo nityam arcati / sa gacchati param sthānam tejomūrtiḥ pathārjunā //* “Let him gently distribute on the ground [food offerings] for dogs, outcasts, *caṇḍālas*, those suffering from diseases caused from sins, crows, and insects. The Brahmin who honours all the living beings [*sarvabhūṭa*] every day in this manner, he – with a body made of light – goes to the supreme abode through a straight path”). According to Arbman (1922: 193), the *bhūṭayajña* in the Indian tradition must have been in origin a “ritual for the demons”, and only after was conceived more generally as a ritual for the “living beings”.

11. Figures 10–20 show the process of constructing the offerings and equipment used for a *caru eka sata*. All the items pictured here are mentioned in the texts from which we selected the mantras we discuss.



Fig. 1a — A *saiban* offering, consisting of a small portion of the food cooked for the family for that day.



Fig. 1b — A *segehan* offering containing cooked rice, salt, onion and ginger. A *canang* offering is placed on the top.

When offerings to the *bhūtakālas* are mentioned, it is usually *caru* offerings that are meant and there are many different kinds and levels. Depending on the level of complexity, *carus* require the services of one or more *pemangku* (village priests) or *pedanda* (Brahmana priests). The occasions on which *caru* might be offered are numerous: according to regular calendrical conjunctions of time (e.g. Bal. Galungan/OJ Galuṅan, Bal. Tawur Kasanga/OJ Tawur Kasaṅa) following the appearance of particular omens, following natural disasters such as plagues or floods, or just persistent misfortune and trouble in the household. They are always offered prior to undertaking other rituals, especially those performed for the gods (*devayajña*), rendering them the most frequently performed of all Balinese rituals. The pervasiveness and importance of *caru* rituals in contemporary Balinese life is evident to any informed observer and further demonstrated by the number of popular publications by Balinese on the topic.¹² This importance is also indicated by the fact that many myths concerning the origin of *caru* offerings are to be found in Old Javanese texts (Stephen 2002: 73–75; 2005: 59ff.);¹³ and that the various Balinese publications on the topic indicate that these origin myths are known to many Balinese authors (e.g., Arwati 2008: 9–12;

12. Over 50 years ago, Hooykaas (1963: 371–386) discussed the spate of writings on religious and ritual topics by Balinese authors that had appeared in the post-war period. This trend has continued to the present and there exists now a considerable body of published materials in Indonesian by Balinese dealing with ritual of all kinds. They vary from practical instructions as to how to construct various offerings (*banten*), to interpretations of symbolism and discussions of philosophy and ethics. These representations of Balinese understandings would make a worthy topic of study in themselves, but until such a study is made, we will refrain from using this material here since it may – at least in part – reflect modern reformist views.

13. According to the origin myths, the first *caru* rituals were taught to King Batatipati of Galuh in Java by the gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśvara (Stephen 2005: 66–67). Even today, the large *carus* are seen as the responsibility of government authorities.

Atmaja 1999: 9–14; Swastika 2008: 20–23; Wiana 2001: 188; Wikarman 1998: 11–14; Yendra 2010: 35–38).

In order to show what constitutes a *caru* ritual, we will briefly describe an actual household *caru* that Stephen, with her Balinese assistant, observed and photographed. The occasion was a *rainan* or 6-monthly observances for a house temple. This begins with *caru* offerings (made in various places around the house compound); later offerings are made to the gods and deified ancestors, which are considered to constitute *devayajña* rituals, although, as the photos indicate, these are different parts of the same ritual occasion rather than separate observances. Figure 2a shows the *caru* offerings laid out ready to begin the ritual, while figures 3–7 show the *caru* rituals being performed in front of the *padmāsana*¹⁴ (ideally to the south of it but limited space did not allow in this case, so it has been placed to one side).

a) The layout and composition of a caru offering (figs. 2a, 2b and 2c)

The simplest *caru*, as used in a domestic context, is based on the meat of a single chicken. Before the rituals can begin, the offerings need to be laid out in a specified manner. Figure 2a, which will form the basis of the description here, shows the group of offerings that constitutes this basic level of *caru*; while figures 2b and 2c are of domestic *carus* held on different occasions to demonstrate that the same basic pattern is followed. In the centre, a small stand raised on one bamboo leg called a *sanggar cucuk* (this is numbered 1 in the accompanying key to fig. 2a; see also fig. 20), is erected and stuck in the ground (or a pot of earth as here). The stand is square, with stiff cords of banana palm tied to each corner and then brought together in a central point, forming a pyramid shape; the end of a banana leaf and thin strips of banana palm fringe the edges (figs. 2a, 2b, 2c and 20). The other elements are arranged around the base of the *sanggar cucuk*. Placed directly on the ground in front of the *sanggar cucuk*, is a group of offerings laid out on a loosely woven coconut palm leaf divided into sections termed a *sengkwi* (this is numbered 2 on the key, see also figs. 16 and 17). On each of its eight sections is placed a packet wrapped in palm leaf containing two sticks of *sate*, and a small amount of red and white *lawar* (chopped coconut meat, spices and the blood of the chicken [figs. 10–13]). In front of the *sengkwi* is placed the *klabang ikuh* (number 3 on the key), a decoratively woven palm leaf mat (figs. 17 and 18) on which is placed the *layang-layang*, the skin and feathers of the chicken with the head and feet still attached (fig. 10). On top of this are placed more offerings containing meat (figs. 14 and 15) and cooked rice, effectively covering the *layang-layang*. All the meat offerings are made from a single chicken with feathers of five mixed colours (*brumbun*) and the rice used is also five coloured. Placed at the base of the *sanggar cucuk* are several more offerings contained in square and rounded baskets (these

14. Literally, the “lotus seat”; this is a ritual structure in the house temple which forms the focal point for worship and offerings to the gods (*devayajña*).

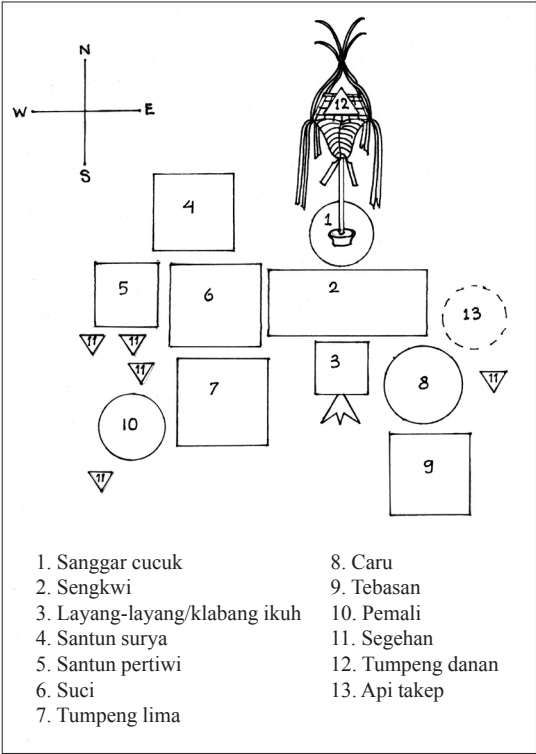


Fig. 2a — The offerings (*banten*) set out for a *caru eka sata*, with a key identifying the different parts.

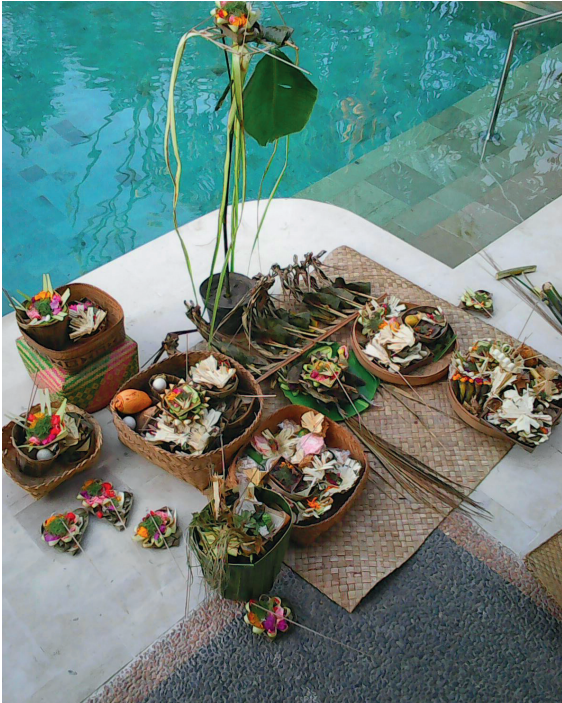


Fig. 2c — Offerings set out for a *caru eka sata* prior to *malaspas* (purification) for a new house, showing the basic pattern of arrangement of the *caru* offerings set out in front of the priest.



Fig. 2b — Offerings for a *caru eka sata* held as part of an *odalan* for a house temple, demonstrating the basic pattern of arrangement of the *caru* offerings.

are numbered 4 to 12 on the key).¹⁵ A *danan* offering (number 12 on the key), consisting of fruit and sweet cakes, and *canang* offerings are placed on the tray of the *sanggar cucuk*, while suspended underneath the tray are the *sujang*, small bamboo containers of *arak* and *brem* – alcoholic beverages (figs. 2c and 20). Number 13 on the key represents the *api takep*, two half coconut shells placed together containing burning charcoal; this item is not visible in figure 2a but can be seen in 2c.

Of this collection of many offerings only those made from the meat of the chicken, i.e. those arranged on the *sengkwi* and with the *layang-layang/klabang ikuh* (numbers 2 and 3 on the key) are specific to *caru*. In fact little raw meat is included in them, only the *layang-layang* and the chicken blood used in the *lawar*. Those offerings placed in front of, and on, the *sanggar cucuk* may be presented to other entities on other occasions, and consist mainly of cooked food, cakes and fruit. This basic *caru* is known as a *caru eka sata*¹⁶ since it requires the meat of one chicken, or as a *caru ayam brumbun* (*caru* made from a five-coloured chicken).

Far from a random or careless conglomeration, like scraps thrown to hungry dogs as some Western observers suggest, we can see that the offerings in this most basic of *caru* are very carefully prepared and intricately ordered. Furthermore we find that these offerings incorporate the ritual number (*urip*) eight in the meat offerings on the *sengkwi*, the colour *brumbun* (five colours) in the chicken used and the cooked rice, and the whole must be located in the centre. This arrangement follows the symbolism of the *nava saṇa* (Skt *nava* and OJ *saṇa*, both meaning “nine”), usually referred to as the Balinese cosmic map of the nine directions, which specifies a god for each of the cardinal and intermediate directions and the centre, as well as a weapon, a colour, a mystic number, a day of the week, and a sacred letter/syllable for each direction.¹⁷ In accordance with the *nava saṇa*, Śiva is the god symbolically associated with the centre, the mystic number (*urip*) eight, and *brumbun*, the five colours.¹⁸ We can thus see that even this basic *eka sata* offering for the *bhūtakālas* is tied to the symbolism of the Indic cosmic map and to the high god, Śiva. Indeed, an association between the *bhūtayajña* and the gods of the eleven directions – the *nava saṇa* plus the gods of the zenith and nadir – is found in the Old Javanese *Agastyaparva*: “*bhūtayajñas* are the offerings and rituals for the [supernatural beings called] *tuvuh ada* and *pamuñvan*, the fireplace in the ground, the moon, and in the

15. These offerings are: *santun surya*, *santun pertiwi*, *suci*, *tumpeng lima*, *caru*, *tebasan*, *pemali* and *segehan*.

16. *Eka* = one, *sata* = cock, chicken (Zoetmulder 1982: 1709; *Kamus Bali-Indonesia* 1979: 503). Arlo Griffiths has tentatively suggested to us that the origin of this term could be from the Sanskrit compound *ekā(da)śa(deva)tā* “the eleven [directional] deities” (cf. the Old Javanese *Agastyaparva* passage quoted below, note 19, and our reference to a relevant passage of the Rāmeśvarapura inscription).

17. On the *nava saṇa* system of deities, see Acri & Jordaan 2012 and the previous literature mentioned there (esp. pp. 283–290).

18. In the Indic tradition, Śiva – conceptualised in his *Sadāśiva* manifestation – has five faces, each one of which is associated with a colour; see below, note 48.

first place the *bali*-offerings, and the [offerings to] the mandala of eleven [directional] deities; those are the *bhūṭayajñas*”.¹⁹ The figures demonstrate the complexity and intricate composition and placement of the offerings, which are no less elaborate in form than those for higher entities. All this would be very surprising if the aim were merely to satiate the brutish appetites of the demonic forces, and more surprising still if the aim was simply to chase them away.

b) The ritual actions of the *caru* (figs. 3–7):

When all the offerings have been put in place (fig. 2a), the *caru* begins²⁰ as three pieces of bamboo (*tatimpug*) explode on a nearby fire (figs. 3 and 18), and the officiating *pemangku* (village priest), seated with the offerings in front of him, starts sprinkling holy water over them (fig. 4). The priest then takes up his bell and begins to murmur under his breath the words of offering and the mantra, continuing as assistants pour libations of *arak* and *brem* on the ground close to the *caru* offerings (fig. 5). It is at this point that mantras, such as the four to be discussed later, are recited but such are not usually audible or comprehensible to the other participants, nor is the priest usually eager to divulge his knowledge. The family members present pray together and the ritual is brought to a close (fig. 6) with two women *pemangku* and three family members circling the offerings from left to right (*prasawya*), each holding various objects (fig. 19), a bamboo gong (*ken-tongan*), a broom (*sapu lidi*), a tool to smooth the earth when planting rice (*talud*), while one person sprinkles holy water.²¹ The tools are finally used to break up the offerings and to knock over the *sanggar cucuk* stand, all of which is accompanied by much merriment (fig. 7). From start to finish, the whole performance takes less than 25 minutes.

The significance of this sequence of actions is evidently not readily apparent merely from observing them. The participants could explain to Michele Stephen that the *bhūtakālas* were summoned to the *caru* by the

19. *Agastyaparva*, ed. Gonda (1933: 356, lines 7–9): *bhūṭayajña nāranya tavur mvaṇ kapūjāniṇ tuvuḥ ada pamuṇvan kuṇḍa vulan makādi valikarma, ekādaśadevatāmaṇḍala; ya bhūṭayajña nāranya*. We believe that a ritual similar to a *bhūṭayajña* may be described in another premodern source from Java, i.e. the East Javanese inscription of Rāmeśvarapura dated AD 1275 (Suhadi 2003). Plate XIVa mentions, in connection with a ceremony for the consecration of a *sīma*, offerings (*sajisaji*) to be laid beneath a tree, the worship of the deities of the directions (*vidikvidik*), and one *ayam tyas* or “chicken of the centre” (*tyas = tvas*, “core”, corresponding to the Balinese *ayam jeroan = ayam brumbun?*).

20. Before the actions to be described here begin, the *pemangku* purifies himself, the equipment to be used, the offerings, and the area with holy water and mantras. This purification is the opening of a ritual sequence of which the *caru* is but a part. Here we focus specifically on the *caru*.

21. A Balinese scholar, Ida Bagus Putu Sudarsana (2000: 98–100), has suggested that these objects, the bamboo gong (*kentongan*), the broom (*sapu lidi*) and the earth-smoothing tool (*talud*) are symbolically linked to three among the five elements, or *pañcamahābhūtas*. In his view, the *kentongan* is linked to *ākāśa* (space), the broom to *pṛthivī* (earth, Skt *pṛthivī*) and the *talud* to *bāyu* (air). If he is correct, it would suggest that this ritual is connected with the idea of the re-absorption of the *tattvas*. However, he simply asserts this connection, without providing any source or reasons for his statements.

Fig. 3 — The three sticks of bamboo (*tatimpug*) being burnt on a fire to make them explode, signaling the beginning of the *caru*.



Fig. 4 — The *caru* begins as the *pemangku*, sitting in front of the *caru* offerings — here placed to the left side — sprinkles holy water and takes up his bell. The offerings placed directly in front of him on a raised table and on the *padmāsana*, the tall stone structure decorated with cloth, are for the gods. They will be offered in a separate ritual (*piodalan*) after the *caru* is completed.



Fig. 5 — The *pemangku*, holding a flower and his bell, recites the words of offering and mantras. A female *pemangku* holds a bottle of mixed *arak* and *brem* (alcoholic beverages), sprinkling them on the ground in front of the *caru* offerings, which are obscured in this photo by offerings for the gods to be used later. Another woman sprinkles water on the ground.



Fig. 6 — Two female *pemangku* and a woman and child, family members, circle from left to right (*prasawya*) the *caru* offerings, holding the *ken-tongan*, *sapu lidi* and *talud* (see fig. 19). The woman leading the group is sprinkling holy water with a flower. The position of the *caru* offerings in relation to the offerings for the gods, which are raised up on a table and the *padmāsana*, is clear in this photo.



Fig. 7 — The close of the *caru*, showing the offerings knocked over and dismantled, and the laughter of the participants.



exploding of the bamboo *tatimpug*, that the *pemangku* then invited the *bhūtakālas* to partake of the offerings set out for them and that their eager consumption of the food was depicted in the merry destruction of the neatly arranged *caru*. But why such elaborate and carefully arranged offerings were necessary was not known to anyone and, apart from the names of the offerings and their components, even those who had produced them knew little or nothing of why these particular items were required. It is, we think, possible to discern in the ritual process just described a movement of drawing to a centre, indicated in the summoning of the *bhūtakālas* with loud explosions, and then a movement upwards that is depicted in the participants circling the offerings in a *prasawya* direction (which always indicates a movement upwards or return) while they wield replicas of tools used for cleaning. This movement towards a centre and upwards is further suggested in the offerings in their progression from coarse raw meat on

the ground to cooked meat and refined cakes, fruits and sweets placed at higher levels. We have already drawn attention to the fact that this core *caru* offering is constructed in a manner that follows the symbolism of the cosmic directions, here focusing on the centre; however, such symbolism is not noted by ordinary people and Stephen has found from experience that to try to encourage participants to provide further comment only serves to elicit contradictory and confused accounts.

Many ordinary people know how to prepare the offerings and perform the actions necessary for a simple *caru eka sata* such as that just described. None of the participants in this ceremony consulted Old Javanese texts or needed to refer to a Brahmana priest in order to perform it. How to carry out a basic *caru* – and many other kinds of ritual – involves cultural schema, learnt from participation in such activities since childhood. The *pemangku*'s mantras may be learned by rote from another priest, or today from some printed source. Regarded as valuable, esoteric knowledge, mantras are not usually spoken aloud or divulged to others. Michele Stephen has even heard mention of *pemangkus* receiving knowledge of mantras in dreams in revelations from deceased relatives who were themselves *pemangkus*. The village priest, as our description suggests, is not part of the religious elite whose role it is to study the Old Javanese texts; that is confined largely to Brahmana priests and scholars. No more than the layman does he presume to understand the formulae he recites.²² Belo's (1953: 9–10) comments on the *pemangku* apply as well today as in the 1930s:

... as often as not one would find that the priest either misunderstood the formula he repeated or disclaimed any knowledge of its meaning, saying "I would not dare to understand that." The *mantras* are in the so-called old language, Old Javanese and Old Balinese and some Sanskrit ... It must be remembered that we are referring here to the village temple priests (*pemangkoe*) who are simple officiants and guardians of the temples, and should not be confused with the Brahmin high priests (*pedanda*) to whose province belongs the study and understanding of the classical texts.

Clearly there exists no necessarily direct relationship between the performance of a ritual and a textual source. This is not to say, however, that ritual forms are unrelated to texts. In other words, information about rituals recorded in the Old Javanese sources may also exist in the form of oral traditions passed from generation to generation as cultural information. However, most Balinese would not hesitate to say that ultimately knowledge concerning all such rituals derives from the sacred repository of the written traditions.

22. There is a text (or rather many versions of it), the *Kusuma Deva*, which has been translated into English by Hooykaas (1977) and is described by him as the *pemangku*'s manual. However, being composed in Old Javanese, it is no more comprehensible to the average *pemangku* than any other such text. While it describes the *pemangku*'s duties and records the mantras he is to use, it does not really provide a clear step by step description of the performance of his rituals as involved in the temple festival (*odalan*). In fact it seems less a guide for the *pemangku* than a guide for the Brahmana scholars and priests as to his role.

For simple observances, such as the *carus* described in this section, there is no need to go beyond everyday knowledge, but for larger and more complex observances, such as those to be described in the next section, the family involved would likely seek guidance from a Brahmana priest and his household (*griya*). A *pedanda* would be likely to be consulted concerning an auspicious date, and possibly other details, while the women (*dayu*) of the *griya* would be approached concerning the number and type of offerings required; indeed they might be commissioned to provide them. Jacoba Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp (1961: 6) observed this practice over 50 years ago, noting the importance of the *dayu* in constructing special offerings and providing expert advice, and even selling what was needed to the family holding the ritual. Evidently this is a time-honoured phenomenon, not a recent one. Special Old Javanese and Balinese texts referred to as *pulutuk* are devoted specifically to offerings and such presumably provide the point of reference when the limits of memory are reached, as in more elaborate observances.

c) *Larger observances*

The basic *eka sata caru* described above forms the foundation of larger and more complex rituals. The next level is the *panca sata* or five-chicken *carus* in which four *caru* offerings are placed in the four cardinal directions around a central offering which is identical to that just described (fig. 8). Each of the four *carus* placed around the centre comprise the meat of a chicken coloured appropriately for that direction according to the *nava saṇa* diagram – e.g. a white chicken for the east, red for the south, yellow for the west, and black for the north. Each direction also has a sacred number (*urip*): 5 for the east, for the south 9, for the west 7, for the north 4 and for the centre, 8. The number of meat offerings in each of the five *carus* is determined by the *urip* appropriate to that direction; and each of the five *carus* must have a *sanggar cucuk*. More elaborate *carus* involve offerings for the nine directions (fig. 9) and ultimately the eleven directions (including zenith and nadir) in the case of the grandest of all the *bhūtayañās*, the Ekadasa Rudra. Such great occasions require many more expensive, larger and rarer animal victims than a single chicken, but the basic pattern is the same.

Drawing on extensive and detailed ethnographic studies of rituals performed at Besakih Temple, Stuart-Fox (2002: 155–158; Brinkgreve & Stuart-Fox 1992: 113–114) has also drawn attention to the correspondence between the symbolism of the *caru* offerings and the *nava saṇa* (see also Howe 1980: 64 “one of its main uses is the arrangement of *caru*”); and he clearly demonstrates the pattern of elaboration on a single basic unit. He comments on the surprising lack of attention by Balinese to the meaning of *caru* offerings, as have we, but is, himself, concerned primarily with the prominence of hierarchical organisation displayed in the rituals. This same principle of constructing increasingly greater *carus* by adding to the same foundation is also described in the Old Javanese texts consulted here (e.g. *Japa Kāla*, [B] pp. 6–7; *Tutur Lābur Gaṇsa*, ed. PusDok, pp. 9 ff.). The notion of a core *caru* ritual is thus evident, with the same underlying principles governing all levels.



Fig. 8 — A *panca sata caru* – a *caru* using five chickens – held during rituals at the Mertsari temple, Pengosekan, Ubud. The five *carus* can be identified by the five *sangga cucuk* stands placed in five directions, north, to the bottom left of the photo, east to the top left, south to the top right, and west to the right. The *sengkw* mats with the packets of *sate* can be identified at the bottom of the *sangga cucuk*, the numbers arranged according to the *urip* for each direction – four to the north and seven to the west are clearly visible as dark green rectangles placed on the light green palm leaf *sengkw*. The position of the *caru* offerings on the ground in relation to the offerings on the raised platform covered with yellow and white cloth, which will later be offered to the gods, is clear. The wet patches of ground visible around the *caru* offerings show that the libations of *arak*, *brem* and water have been made over them.

As is clear from even the brief description and the few photos provided here, offerings for “demons” in Bali are arranged no less carefully and artistically than any other offerings. Far from consisting of a contemptuous tossing of scraps on the ground, offerings to the demonic forces are determined by the Balinese model of the universe, the *nava saña*, being specifically linked by the symbolism of direction, colour, and number used in the offerings. However, what might be the purpose of all this is only implied in the ritual actions. Without the textual sources about to be considered, it would be difficult to say more on the basis of observation alone, or to make much sense of participants’ commentaries. While there is no lack of Balinese commentary in the form of the recent publications in Indonesian referred to earlier (cf. note 12), they hardly constitute as yet a coherent body of interpretation, and may be indicative of modern revisionism rather than (or besides) reflecting a long-standing relationship between ritual and text. The sources we are going to examine



Fig. 9 — A *caru* for the nine directions, held at the beach as part of a large purification (*malasti*) for an Ubud temple, Pura Gunung Lebah. The photo reveals that the *caru*, which is properly termed a *tawur agung* at this level of complexity, is part of a great many offerings. It is arranged on the ground at the base of the tall tower-like structure seen in the middle of the photo which holds offerings (*bagia*) for the gods (*dewa*). Coloured flags placed in the ground mark the nine directions; here black for the north, pink for the south east, red for the south, and five colours (*brumbun*) for the centre, are visible, as also is the animal victim, a buffalo calf, laid out to the side of the five-coloured flag in the centre. The animal victim, with the head wrapped in white cloth and the legs and body covered with gold-figured cloth (*kain prada*), has been skinned, with the head and legs left attached, like the chicken used in smaller *caru*. Each flag is attached to a *sanggar cucuk* stand, but these are hardly visible in the mass of offerings, although they can be glimpsed under the black and five-coloured flags.

here are, therefore, Old Javanese texts dealing with *bhūṭayajñas*, which are likely to contain elements predating the reformists' influences that started to make a noticeable impact on Balinese Hinduism from the 1940s onwards.

4. Texts describing the *bhūṭayajñas*

The four mantras to be discussed here were selected from a body of Old Javanese texts dealing specifically with the *bhūṭayajñas*: *Japa Kāla* (Reciting Mantras for Demons/Kāla), *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (II), *Agem Ageman Pamañku* (Instructions for Pemangkus), *Tutur Ləbur Gaṇsa* (Purifying Bell Metal), and *Roga Sañhāra Bhūmi* (Disease and Destruction [in the] World; or, The Neutralisation of Disease [in the] World). These anonymous texts, written in a register of Old Javanese replete with Balinisms, are of uncertain date. Only one of them – the *Roga Sañhāra Bhūmi* – can be confidently dated back to at least the beginning of the 20th century. However, while the

others might have been compiled at a later date, they are likely to contain precolonial material that has been rearranged and expanded.²³

Japa Kāla begins with a myth about the god Kāla, and then describes various kinds of *caru* and how they must be carried out. It also names the offerings to be given for each, sets out the mantras required, and explains the benefits to be had from the ritual. The instructions it provides for performing *caru* ([B], pp. 2–4) parallel in many respects the description given in the previous section of a domestic *caru* and clearly describe a very similar ritual. Mantra I (a), labeled *Caru Ṛṣi Gaṇa: Pañundaṇ Kāla* (“Offering to Ṛṣi Gaṇa: The Invitation of the Demons”), and mantra IV, labeled *Caru Ṛṣi Gaṇa: Pañlukatan* (“Offering to Ṛṣi Gaṇa: The Purification”), have been selected from the several mantras contained in this text. Virtually identical versions of these mantras are also attested in the Buddhist (or Buddhicised) manual *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (II, which differs from version I published by Hooykaas in 1973). Mantra I (b) is a related mantra that occurs in both the *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (II) and the ritual manual *Agem-Ageman Pamañku*.

Mantra II, labeled *Pūjā Pañca Sānak/Pañca Sata* (“The Offering of the Five Siblings/Five Chickens”), was selected from the large number of mantras addressing the *bhūtakālas* we found in *Tutur Ləbur Gaṇsa*. The first several pages of this text deal with bad omens of all kinds and the need to perform *caru* to avoid the danger they presage. Then follow many mantras and statements that reflect our themes of returning demonic entities to god-form (e.g. ed. PusDok, pp. 9, 16, 18, 19, 29–30, 32, 33). The instructions given for performing a *caru nava gəmpan* (*ibid.*: 9–10), which is described as containing the essence of all *caru* offerings, are recognisable as those constituting the contemporary *caru* that we described in the previous section.

The significant level of intertextuality displayed by Mantras I and II, the extent of which we have barely started to unravel here,²⁴ suggests to us that

23. Old Javanese religious texts from Bali are notoriously difficult to date, not least because they have undergone a long and complex process of text-building/recompilation throughout the centuries. But in the case of the *Roga Sañhāra Bhūmi*, we know that a manuscript with that title, dated AD 1902, was found in the collection of P. Jlantik in Singaraja, and that the Gedung Kirtya acquired at least three manuscripts of that text between 1929 and 1936 (i.e. *Roga Sañhāra Bhūmi* (= *Vidhi Śāstra*) [K 44, 1929], *Roga Sañhāra Bhūmi* [K 1196b, 1936] and *Roga Sañhāra Bhūmi (Vidhiśāstra)* [1196c, 1936]; see *Register*, ms. K 7). Furthermore, the references to kings holding rituals suggest a precolonial date. Conversely, it is likely that the *Japa Kāla* reached its current form later in the 20th century since the Arabic words *Setan* and *Jajil* occurs in it as the names of two demons; *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (II) and *Agem Ageman Pamañku* are probably the most recent texts. In any case, that all our texts are deliberate forgeries intended to establish the antiquity of *caru* rituals scarcely seems probable. These texts have been transmitted to us through *lontar* manuscripts, and some of them have been recently published as romanised versions issued by the PusDok in Denpasar, and even digitised and uploaded on the internet. Such booklets and digital versions (with or without Indonesian translations) are more accessible to Balinese readers than *lontars* – whether they be ritual experts like *pedandas* and *pemangkus*, or informed readers. In the Appendix we have edited and translated relevant passages of these texts on the basis of all the medias that were available to us – palm-leaf manuscripts, romanised transcriptions, and digital versions (see section “Primary sources” in the Bibliography).

24. See, for instance, the similar descriptions of *caru* rituals, invocations of *bhūtas*, and their homologisations with the points of the compass, colours, etc., found in our texts as well as in other sources, such as *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* I (Hooykaas 1973: 208), *Bama Kertih*, *Kāla Tattva*, and ritual texts of the *Ṛṣi Gaṇa* corpus (i.e. *Kaputusan Ṛṣi Gaṇa*, *Kavisesan Ṛṣi Gaṇa*, *Caru Ṛṣi Gaṇa*, etc.).

these formulas, their ritual application, and their underlying ideology must reflect important and long-standing motifs in Balinese Hinduism. These motifs are likely to have come down to us from an as yet unidentified source (or corpus of sources) from the precolonial period.

Mantra III comes from the *Roga Saṅhāra Bhūmi*, a text primarily devoted to listing all kinds of omens and the rituals to be undertaken to avert ominous influence. The number of different omens it identifies seems overwhelming, indicating that much attention in the past must have focused on such, which the text makes clear were mainly for kings and rulers to attend to, and hold the appropriate ceremonies to avert them. Mantra III is recommended for use in the circumstances that the king is sick and people hear mysterious sobbing at night in the palace. Although the texts we have identified here cover somewhat different ground, there are sufficient commonalities and overlap to indicate that they reflect not one-off views but shared understandings of what constitutes *caru* rituals and how to perform them; furthermore, the rites they describe are recognisable in general form, and in many details with those actually performed today. This seems remarkable, given the fact that the participants in the *caru*s described here consulted no text or textual experts in order to prepare their offerings but merely drew upon their store of cultural everyday knowledge that they had acquired by oral learning and participation.²⁵

In fact all the key components of the *caru* that appear here in the photographs are referred to specifically in the texts about to be considered. The stand on one leg, the *sanggar cucuk* (number 1 on the key accompanying fig. 2a; see also fig. 20), which is characteristic of *caru*, is referred to by name, along with the *talujungan* leaf (fig. 20) decorating it and the *sujang* containers containing alcoholic beverages suspended from it (fig. 20) in both *Japa Kāla* ([B], p. 4) and *Tutur Ləbur Gaṅsa* (ed. PusDok, p. 10). *Japa Kāla* also refers to a *caru* made from the meat of a five-coloured chicken that has been skinned (the *layang-layang* – number 3 on the key and fig. 10) and arranged according to the *urip* number. It further mentions the *sengkwi* (OJ *senkriṇ*), and *klabang ikuh* (OJ *klabaṅ maikuh*) (numbers 2 and 3 on the key and figs. 16 and 17). It even specifies that the meat offerings placed on them be made into *sate lambat*, *sate asem*, and *calon agung*, which are the names given to the kinds of *sate* used in present *caru* offerings (figs. 12, 13 and 14). The three exploding tubes of bamboo (*tatimpug*) which open the *caru* by summoning the *bhūtakālas* (figs. 3 and 18) are also described, as are the tools used to break up the *caru* offerings at the end: the *kentongan*,

25. Of course, the possibility that these texts reflect practice rather than vice versa cannot be ruled out, especially in the case of the more recent texts; however, we think that this argument does not really stand up to scrutiny, for in Bali, texts – especially the Old Javanese ones, handed down from the past through *lontars* – are perceived as the ultimate sources of authority, and people asking for explanations about the meaning of existing rituals (or other cultural practices, including figurative and performing arts) usually turn to written texts and their “natural” custodians/exegetes, namely the *pedandas*. Further, the fact that ritual practice reflects theological and philosophical ideas as well as mythological motifs described in texts (not only from Bali, but also from Java and South Asia) suggests to us that it is the (prescriptive) texts that inform practice – even if through some kind of “trickle-down effect” from (literate) elite to popular (oral) milieus – rather than vice versa.

Fig. 10 — The meat offerings laid out, showing the *layang-layang*, the skin with feathers, head and feet of a multicoloured chicken; and to the side, eight small squares of palm leaf (*ketengan*), each with a daub of red and white *lawar*, made from grated coconut meat, spices and the blood of the chicken. Below these are three larger squares of palm leaf with red and white *lawar*.



Fig. 11 — The chicken's blood, in a glass bowl, and the chopped coconut used to make the *lawar* placed on the squares of palm leaf as shown in figure 10. *Lawar* is a festive food much enjoyed by Balinese on feast days such as Galungan.



Fig. 12 — The three different kinds of *sate* prepared from the chopped chicken meat, combined with coconut and spices – a) to the left, *sate lambat* (the chicken meat with chopped coconut), b) *sate asem* (made of the chicken giblets) to the top, and c) to the right, *sate empol* (made of the chicken meat).





Fig. 13 — Shows the *sate* of two kinds, *sate lambat* and *sate empol*, being placed with the *lawar* on the eight *ketengan*, palm leaf squares.



Fig. 14 — Shows two larger squares of palm leaf with larger numbers of *sate*. The one to the top also holds a special meat ball wrapped in green termed a *calon agung*.



Fig. 15 — Shows all the meat items composing the *caru* laid out together, the chicken skin with head and feathers (*layang-layang*), the eight small packets of *lawar* and *sate*, the two larger piles of *sate*, plus one small additional spare *ketengan*.

sapu lidi, and *talud* (fig. 19), and the circling of the offerings to the left (figs. 6 and 7). The *Tutur Ləbur Gaṇsa* further states clearly that the meat of the five-coloured chicken must be arranged according to the correct colour, ritual number (*urip*), and direction (ed. PusDok, p. 10), leaving no doubt of the intentionality of the arrangement according to the *nava saṇa*. Both texts refer to a five chicken (*panca sata*) *caru* (fig. 8) and a *caru* for the nine directions (fig. 9), as well as many other different kinds of *caru* depending on special circumstances.

In short, the *caru* rituals we observe in the 21st century are clearly recognisable as those described in the Old Javanese texts we are examining. This degree of correspondence between the detailed requirements of the texts and the details of actual ritual performance as observable today seems to us quite remarkable, especially in view of the current opinion of many Western scholars that ritual performance and texts are quite separate, essentially unrelated domains. The relationship is close enough, we think, to convince that text and ritual performance are complementary aspects of the same phenomena.

Fig. 16 — The eight *ketengan* must be wrapped up to form bundles which are finally placed on an elaborately woven mat of palm leaf called a *sengkwi*. This photo shows the *sengkwi* being woven. For an *eka sata caru*, the *sengkwi* must have eight divisions. The *sengkwi* with the eight bundles of *sate* and *lawar* can be seen in figure 2a, and is number 2 on the accompanying key.



Fig. 17 — Shows the *sengkwi* completed with its eight divisions and above it three other woven palm leaf mats called *klabang ikuh*. One *klabang ikuh*, which can be seen in figure 2 and is number 3 on the key, is placed in front of the *sengkwi*. On it are placed the *layang-layang* (the chicken skin and head) with the larger bundles of *sate*, *lawar* and meat balls seen in figure 14.



Fig. 18 — Another *klabang ikuh* is placed on the sticks of bamboo that are burnt to signal the beginning of the *caru* ritual as they explode with a loud retort (the *tatimpug*, see also fig. 3).



Fig. 19 — The three implements that are used to knock over the *caru* offerings at the end — a *kentongan*, a bamboo gong/bell; the *talud*, a tool to smooth the earth after plowing and a broom, *sapu lidi*, as used to clean the house and yard.





Fig. 20 — The *sanggar cucuk* stand, which every *caru* must have, hung with the *talunjungan*, the end of a banana leaf resembling a tongue, strips of palm leaf and underneath it, two bamboo sections containing *arak* and *brem*, alcoholic beverages.

One important aspect of *caru* and the *bhūṭayajñas* that we will not attempt to deal with in this article is the various forms of performance – including masked dances, songs and recitations, and shadow puppet theatre – that usually accompany larger *caru* rituals (Stephen 2002: 77–81) but are omitted in small domestic observances such as the *caru eka sata* described here. Indeed the origin of the *wayang kulit* theatre is explained in the myth of the origin of *caru* (Stephen 2002: 75) as taking place when the Tri Samaya (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Īśvara) taught the King of Galuh how to make *caru* offerings. The three texts that are the focus of this article do not mention theatrical performances and to follow up this aspect of the *bhūṭayajñas* would require venturing into too broad an area of as yet little known territory, so we must regretfully put it to one side for the time being.

5. The four mantras (see Appendix)

Mantras I (versions a/b), II, and III consist of invocations to the *bhūtakālas*, inviting them to attend and consume a feast prepared for them.²⁶ The first two are very similar, both addressing five *bhūtas* by name, two of which are the same in each, and identifying them in terms of the direction from which they come, their day in the five-day week (*pañcavāra*), their god (*deva*), and specifying their colour (*varṇa*), their ritual number (*urip*) and their holy syllable (*akṣara*) – these details are the same in both mantras. The gods' weapons are also mentioned in mantra I (a) (ms. B) but not II. These details of direction, colour and so on clearly link these mantras with the *nava saṇa*, which also determines the layout and nature of the offerings (*bantən*) made

26. It is difficult to be certain how representative these mantras might be of current practice. While mantras are an essential element of current ritual they are usually kept secret and muttered by the *pemangku* so that they remain inaudible to others present.

for *caru*, as we have just seen. Although only five directions are mentioned, the details are identical with those specified in the *nava saṅga* for the cardinal directions of east, south, west, north, and the centre. Each of the five named *bhūta*-leaders invoked is invited to bring his troops of hundreds of *kālas* with him to enjoy the food and drink laid out for them, the numbers of the forces corresponding with the *urip* number for that direction, thus for the east five hundred and fifty-five, for the south nine hundred and ninety-nine, and so on. The mantras also state the required colour and nature of the food offerings according to the *nava saṅga* – for the east the meat of a white chicken and balls of white rice, for the south the meat of a red chicken and red rice, and so on. See, for instance, Mantra I (a), 2.1–2 (Appendix, p. 194):

2.1 OM reverend Bhūta Jaṅgitan, you come from the south,

2.2 Paing is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Brahmā is your god,
the club is your weapon.

When they have finished eating and drinking, the *bhūtakālas* are asked to leave. Mantra I simply states that the *bhūtakālas* are to leave (*luṅhā kabeh*) but the second mantra specifies that they should all return to their heavenly abode (*mantuk sira marin ḍaṇ kahyaṇanira sovaṇsovaṇ*).²⁷

Both mantras indicate that the *bhūtakālas* are under the command of demonic leaders identified with the five directions and that the aim of the *caru* offerings is to satisfy the hunger and thirst of their troops – with the appropriate and carefully specified offerings – whereupon they are expected to return to their place of origin, which is to say the heavenly abodes of their respective gods (i.e. the god of their direction). Evidently, the demons are not simply to be chased away or sent back to hell, as we might expect from Western accounts.

The third mantra is slightly different from the first two but follows a similar pattern. It is recommended for use in the special circumstances that a king is sick and his followers hear sounds of sobbing at night in the palace. It addresses three named “kings of *bhūtas*” (*rāja bhūta*): Saṅ Kāla Siṅsaṅ Bhuvana (Upside-down World), Saṅ Kāla Sapu Jagat (Broom of the Universe), and Saṅ Kāla Maṅsa Bhuvana (Devourer of the World).²⁸ As in the previous examples, the leaders with their followers are presented with food offerings, and then asked to return to the heavenly abodes of their respective gods (*mantuk rin kahyaṇanira sovaṇsovaṇ*), but in this case before leaving they are also requested to return the soul of the sick king to his body. Only three directions (north, east and south), three gods (Viṣṇu, Īśvara, and Brahmā) and three colours of *bhūtas* (black, white, and red) are mentioned, but these conform to the details as given in the *nava saṅga* cosmic map for these directions, and clearly should be regarded as a part of it rather than a separate set of directions and gods.

27. While in some contexts the word *kahyaṇan* could denote a “temple” (cf., e.g., the *Tutur Ləbur Gaṅsa* passage quoted below, p. 171), we feel that in the context of these mantras the word could denote, at the same time, both a temple or shrine (that is, the earthly residence of the gods) and the otherworldly/cosmic residences of the gods situated in the cardinal directions.

28. See Hooykaas 1977: 91 for the names of these *bhūtas* in a formula used at a temple festival.

The final lines of this mantra form a *śloka* that is also found in the corpus of hymns from Bali as *Kālastava* (*Stuti and Stava* 236, Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971: 152). The verse is written in a hybrid language mixing (incorrect/corrupt) Sanskrit and Old Javanese forms (so-called “Archipelago Sanskrit”, see *ibid.*: 11–12) that makes interpretation difficult, and also poses various philological riddles. According to the editors and translators, the verse “deals with the Forces of Death and the release from their grip which is proclaimed by the priest”, as it occurs in the setting of the death ritual. This would agree with the details given earlier in the text about a king who is sick and lying in a limbo between life and death. However, we believe that here the text specifies that the demonic troops are not simply expected to depart and release the soul of the suffering king, but to be raised to a higher level. In other words, all the demonic entities are not only returned to their respective gods; they are instructed to take divine forms themselves, that is to become again pure and perfected beings:

om, *durgāpati maśarīram, kālakiṅkaramokṣatām*²⁹ /
kālamṛtyu punaḥ citram,³⁰ *sarvavighnavināśanam* //

om! The Husband of Durgā (i.e. Kāla) manifests Himself. May [the King’s Soul] be released from the attendants of Kāla! Kāla and Mṛtyu (Death) [become] of extraordinary appearance again.³¹ All the obstacles are annihilated.

If it still seems counter-intuitive that demons can become gods, we need to connect these mantras with the textual versions of the myth of the origins of *caru* discussed by Stephen (2002, 2005) in previous work. According to the myths (Stephen 2002: 75; 2005: 67), the first *caru* was taught to King Batatipati of Galuh of Java by the Tri Samaya (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Īśvara) at a time of terrible cosmic destruction when human beings, along with all living creatures, were being devoured by Kālarudra and his consort, Durgā, accompanied by their minions, the *bhūtakālas*. The king was shown how to prepare a feast of meat and strong drink to appease the ravening hunger of the *bhūtakālas*, and to provide performances (*imenimen*) depicting the frightful doings of Kālarudra and Durgā on earth. By these means, the demonic minions were calmed and the god and goddess made conscious of the frightful destruction they had wrought. Kālarudra and Durgā resume their former god-natures as Śiva and Umā, while the *bhūtakālas* are transformed back into the angels and heavenly musicians (*gandharva*) that constitute

29. *Kālastava* reads *mokṣaṇam*, translated by Goudriaan and Hooykaas as “[offering] release”.

30. Variants readings include *pūrṇa sitam* and *punaḥ sitam*. All the mss. of *Kālastava* consulted by Goudriaan and Hooykaas read *punaḥ citram*; the last word is interpreted by them as the equivalent of such expressions as *bhāsmicitram* or *-cittam*: “Kāla and Mṛtyu are again destroyed”, which we find unlikely. We prefer to take *citra* in its Old Javanese meaning of “bright-coloured, of bright or extraordinary appearance” (Zoetmulder 1982: 330), which would imply their successful return to a divine form (in fact, *sitam* also means “white, candid, pure”). Alternatively, one may take *punaḥ* to be Old Javanese and not Sanskrit, meaning “disappeared, destroyed, overcome”, and *sitam* to be a corruption for *syātām* (third person dual optative); this would lead to the translation “may they be destroyed”.

31. Or, if we follow the reading *pūrṇa sitam*: “become pure and white”.

their retinue. These mythic accounts clearly describe in narrative form the process of transformation from demonic to divine that is achieved through performing the *caru* rituals. This view is directly confirmed by the inscription found in the recipient called *paso Yamarāja*, which is used at the climax of the Tawur Ekadasa Rudra described by Bagus (1974: 65) – when the malevolent *bhūtas* are turned into benign Gods: *śiva mātu sakiñ kāla, umā mātu sakiñ durgā* (“Śiva emanates from Kāla, Umā emanates from Durgā”).³²

In the four mantras we have selected, we find that the feast of meat and strong drink for the *bhūtakālas* is set out just as described in the myths and as also represented in the arrangement of the *caru* offerings that are used in today’s rituals. Furthermore, the prominence of the five directions in our first two mantras (rather than the nine directions of the *nava saña*) is repeated in the myths in which Durgā becomes the five Durgā (Pañca Durgā) – one for each of the four cardinal directions and the centre – and Kālarudra meets each of the five Durgās to create the hosts of *bhūtakālas* in all of the five directions (Stephen 2002: 74; 2005: 66–67). Thus *caru* offerings for the *bhūtakālas* are appropriately made in the five directions since this is where they first appeared when created by Kālarudra and Durgā.³³ At this point we begin to see how myth, mantra, text and actual ritual performances even today are woven together. Furthermore, to appreciate its significance, each element needs to be placed in the context of meaning provided by the other elements rather than interpreted in isolation.

The fourth and final mantra to be discussed is used not for a *caru* ritual, which is performed for an area or place, but for a *lukat/ruwat*, which is a purification ritual for a person; in any event, the intent is essentially the same. The priest (usually a *pedanda* in Stephen’s experience) pours holy water (Bal. *tirtha panglukatan*/OJ *tirtha pañlukatan*) over the person to be purified while reciting mantras such as the one included here. The intention of this *lukatan* ritual is to remove, or rather transform, all negative and destructive influences within the recipient – an intent clearly stated in the words of the mantra.³⁴ Zoetmulder (1982: 1053) gives an accurate sense of what is involved, explaining that the Old Javanese *lukat* has the sense of “wiped out, undone (of sin, a curse); released, purified (of the person)”. The

32. Hooykaas’ (1975: 255–256) dismissal of Bagus’ clearly stated view is a telling example of Western misconception and scholarly arrogance.

33. The 14th-century Buddhist *kakavin Sutasoma*, addressing Durgā’s terrifying form as Mahābhairavī, describes the return of the hosts of demons involved in a battle as follows: “upon the destructions of the weapons of the enemies they swiftly returned to her tongue where they immediately disappeared. Because she indeed was in the past the source and the origin of all those furious and angry demons” (132.2, *rūg bhraṣṭāṇ asurāstra śighraṇ umaluy riñ jihvamārgan hilañ, āpan rakva sireki mulanikanañ yakṣātirodren dañu*). These lines incontrovertibly describe Durgā as the place of origin and dissolution of demonic entities, which, in order to be “defeated”, need to be reabsorbed into the entity that emanated them formerly.

34. The term *lukatan* is often, if not usually, translated as “exorcism”, which according to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Sykes 1982: 338) means “expel (evil spirit *from, out of*, person or place) by invocation or use of holy name”. The Balinese term *lukat* is translated into Indonesian as *ruwat* (*Kamus Bali-Indonesia* 1979: 361) and from Indonesian to English as “exorcism ritual” (Echols & Shadily 1997: 467), so perhaps this English rendering is not surprising. However, the Western concept of exorcism is inadequate to express the several and more subtle meanings of *lukat*.

notion of driving out some evil spirit or possessing entity is particularly inappropriate and misleading when trying to describe the ritual process involved in the *bhūtayajñas*, since it fails to recognise that there is no intrusive entity involved that can be driven out, but that a total transformation of substance and being is effected analogous, say, to water being returned to vapour. The mantra begins with the lowest level of *bhūtakālas* – Bhūta Dānən. Addressing Bhūta Dānən directly, the mantra states that purification (*lukat*) is given and Bhūta Dānən must now dissolve/merge (*sumurup*) into Bhūta Kālikā,³⁵ a higher but still dangerous female entity. In turn, Bhūta Kālikā is given purification and instructed to merge into Bhaṭārī Durgā, Bhaṭārī Durgā into Bhaṭārī Umā, and then Umā is purified and dissolved into Bhaṭāra Śiva.³⁶ Not content even with this level of transformation back to a pure source, the god Śiva is purified and dissolved into Sañ Hyañ Tuṅgal, and finally Tuṅgal is reabsorbed into Sañ Hyañ Tan Paharan (the One Without Form or Name) and Tan Pasaṅkan (the One Without Cause). Thus the very lowest level of *bhūtakāla* energy is transformed by various stages back into the very highest level of the godhead – the One without form, name, and cause. The inappropriateness of the translation “exorcise” for *lukat* is further highlighted here since how could Śiva and even higher levels be “exorcised”? This is a much more subtle process of lifting to higher, more subtle levels of consciousness. Clearly the words of this mantra express as direct imperatives³⁷ the intent to transform the lowest entities into the highest and most perfect, expressing in a different medium the mythic accounts of the origins of *caru* rituals and their intent. The mantras, as it were, order/command into existence the actions and states of being described in myth.³⁸ As we have now seen, all four mantras examined here clearly and explicitly state the ritual intention to turn demons into gods, i.e. to return them to their divine origins.

This intent is not just to be found in the mantras discussed here, but indeed is reiterated throughout the texts from which the mantras have been selected. The *Tutur Ləbur Gansa*, for example, states that the effects of performing *caru* or *ruwat* are thus:

35. Kālikā, described as Durgā’s daughter, appears in various myths concerning the origins of witchcraft, narrated in such texts as *Śivāgama* and *Aṇḍabhuvana* (Stephen 2005: 88). Brahmana mask maker Ida Bagus Sutarja created a superb mask of Kālikā to illustrate for Stephen the transformations from demonic entities back to the god, Śiva.

36. This sequence of purifications from the lowest entity, Bhūta Dānən, up to the high god, Śiva, was explained to Stephen by Ida Bagus Sutarja as being represented in a series of masks he had made for her. Later when she came across the text of *Japa Kāla* she realised this was the textual source of the artist’s inspiration, and that his description of the masks was virtually word for word derived from this mantra. Sutarja’s masks, however, did not go beyond the god, Śiva, but were identical up to that point. See Stephen 2011: 7–9 for a discussion of the role of masks in Balinese ritual performances directed to demonic forces.

37. Imperative forms addressing divine or demonic entities are characteristic of Tantric mantras and *dhāraṇīs* in Sanskrit.

38. The text *Śivāgama*, for example, contains numerous myths and stories involving *lukat* rituals and transformations from demonic to divine levels of being. Although this work was composed in the early 20th century by well-known Brahmana scholar and priest, Ida Pedanda Sidemen, the stories of Śiva and Umā and the many examples of *lukat* rituals it contains are closely paralleled in the Middle Javanese text *Tantu Paṅgalaran*, dated to the 16th century by its translator, Pigeaud (Sedyawati 1994: 165), thus leaving little likelihood of these myths being modern inventions.

Saṅ hyaṅ kāla tiga mantuk matəmahan saṅ hyaṅ tiga viśeṣa, brahmā viṣṇu īśvara, saṅ durgāmaya³⁹ sumurup mariṅ saṅ hyaṅ hayu, mulih riṅ prāthivi, sarva kāla bhūta matəmahan bhaṭāra, kaṅ deṣṭi⁴⁰ matəmahan pañjati, mulih mariṅ mānuṣa jāti, durbhaga durgā bhūcarī mantuk mariṅ bhaṭārī, sarva sasab maraṇa tutumpur, mulih mariṅ sagara, dadi dagiṅ sagara. (Ləbur Gaṅsa, ed. PusDok, p. 9.)

Saṅ Hyaṅ Three Kālas returns and becomes Saṅ Hyaṅ Three Supreme Beings – Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Īśvara. Saṅ Durgāmaya is absorbed into Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu,⁴¹ returning to the [element] earth. All the evil entities become gods, sorcery becomes truth, and returns to the true human being. The repugnant Durgā Bhūcarīs⁴² return to being goddesses, all pests are destroyed⁴³ and return to the ocean, becoming the contents of the ocean.

Another passage from the same text, probably also part of a mantra according to a Balinese informant, reflects this process of transformation in similar terms:

Yakṣa sumurup riṅ bhaṭāra, yakṣī sumurup riṅ bhaṭārī, saṅ hyaṅ durgā valuya umā, hyaṅ kāla valuya hyaṅ guru, kaṅ hala dadi ayu, kaṅ kṣetra dadi kahyaṇan, kahyaṇan dadi svarga ... (Ləbur Gaṅsa, ed. PusDok, p. 32.)

Male Yakṣas (demonic beings) are absorbed into gods, female Yakṣas are absorbed into goddesses, Saṅ Hyaṅ Durgā returns to being the goddess Umā, Hyaṅ Kāla (Lord of all terrible things) returns to being Hyaṅ Guru (the Lord Teacher, i.e. Śiva), evil becomes goodness, the graveyard becomes a temple, the temple becomes heaven ...

The *Tutur Ləbur Gaṅsa* is in fact replete with such statements concerning the results of performing *caru* and *ruvatan*, as are the other two texts. The title of the work is in itself evocative, since the purifying (*ləbur*) of bell metal (*gaṅsa*) provides a clear metaphor for the ritual process of transforming coarse substance/energy – the demonic forces – into highly refined and pure energies – the gods and goddesses. Thus the ritual process is likened to the smelting of base metal in order to burn away the dross to obtain the precious metal it contains.⁴⁴ The terms used in these passages, as in the

39. Or: Durgā Māyā?

40. Em.; *jyesti* ed. PusDok and LOr 24218. This is apparently *deṣṭi* “evil sorcery, black magic, evil eye” (from Skt *dr̥ṣṭi*, “look”; cf. *dr̥ṣṭipāta*, “evil eye”; see Goodall & Rastelli 2013: 187–188).

41. *Hayu* means “beauty, goodness” (Zoetmulder 1982: 608); Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu as the name of the Supreme Lord is frequently found in pre-17th century Old Javanese *tuturs* from West Java (see Acri 2017: 3–4, note 5).

42. Bhūcarīs form a group of evil *yoginīs* who “enter people through the anus, the penis or the tip of nails to take away their blood, fat, semen and flesh” (Goodall & Rastelli 2013: 156); they are also part of the four groups of goddesses representing the manifestation of consciousness in the nondual Śaiva system of the Krama or, in early Tantric Buddhist texts, classified as Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*) to be “converted” (Hatley 2016: 49).

43. Zoetmulder (1982: 2063) only has *tumpur*, “destroyed; to die in battle”.

44. The Old Javanese word *ləbur* is defined by Zoetmulder (1982: 1001) as “destroyed, annihilated, wiped out, melted, dissolved”. The more subtle range of meanings “melted”, “dissolved” is easily overlooked in the task of translation and most Western scholars of Balinese texts have not attempted to engage with them. We consider it a key concept that goes well beyond any simple rendering designating “destruction”. A change of state, rather than annihilation, would be more appropriate in our view.

four mantras just discussed, emphasise that the process of transformation is not one where an entity is changed to something completely different, but rather something returned to its original state. For example: *mantuk* = return, go back, go home; *mulih* = go back, go home; *valuya* = become something again, going back, return (Zoetmulder 1982: 59, 2112, 2187). Thus gods become demons and then by means of ritual are returned to their original state. These metamorphoses from divine to demonic are part of a continuous cosmic cycle, not isolated events, such that Hildred Geertz's suggestion that *devas* and *bhūtakālas* might well be likened to different states of the same entity seems much closer to Balinese conceptions than previous Western formulations.

6. Two key symbolic forms

Two key symbolic forms and philosophical concepts provide the conceptual basis of the mantras we have been discussing: a) the so-called “cosmic map”, the *nava saṅga*, referred to earlier, and b) the doctrine of the emanation and re-absorption of the cosmos via orderly stages referred to as *tattva*, a pervasive but rarely discussed concept in relation to Balinese ritual. These ideas are elaborated in many premodern Old Javanese texts and an examination of them is crucial to the issues raised here and the seemingly paradoxical notion of turning demons into gods.

a) *The nava saṅga mandala*

The first step is to recognise that the *nava saṅga* is not simply a static directional map, imposing divine order from above to be reproduced on a mundane plane, as has been described in many influential studies (Covarrubias 1973 [1946]: 76, 296; Grader 1960: 169–173; Swellengrebel 1960: 36ff; Pott 1966: 133–136; C. Geertz 1980: 218–219; Zurbuchen 1987: 51–54; Lansing 1995: 25ff; Hobart, Ramseyer & Leemann 1996: 98ff) and now is widely accepted as an accurate understanding, if not a cultural cliché. Generally acknowledged as a pervasive symbol in Bali, the *nava saṅga* is sometimes treated as an entity known only in Bali.⁴⁵ Although popular accounts easily refer to it as a “mandala”, Western scholarly descriptions have rarely sought to identify its antecedents or ramifications on a comparative basis. A recent exception is provided by Aciri and Jordaan (2012) who trace the early history of the *nava saṅga* at Candi Śiva in the temple complex of Loro Jonggrang at Prambanan (Central Java), thus establishing its existence and importance in Java by the 9th century. Furthermore, as Aciri and Jordaan point out, the *nava saṅga* is frequently described in Old Javanese texts, including those of the earliest dates (Aciri & Jordaan 2012: 285–287).

45. Darta, Couteau & Breguet (2013: 236, note 41) refer to the Indonesian translation of the study by Damais (1969), in which it is implied that the *nava saṅga* is totally Indonesian in origin. However, Damais' article focuses in detail only on the colours associated with the cardinal directions and not the multiple aspects dealt with here.

Whereas modern accounts tend to describe the *nava saṅga* as nine compass points assigned to gods, ancient textual sources present nine gods who are linked to nine directions and many other things besides. Aciri and Jordaan trace the *nava saṅga* circle of gods to formations of deities termed *āvaraṇas* that are well known in Śaivism in India. These series of deities, comprising manifestations of the centrally placed paramount Lord Śiva, might serve as “the object of ritual worship, meditative visualisation (as in a mandala or *yantra*), enshrinement or depiction in a building” (*ibid.*: 280). They were usually arranged in inner and outer circles, varying from one to six, their purpose being to protect Śiva and to invoke the powers emanating from him as appropriate to a particular ritual context. Often overlooked, or ignored, is the important fact that the gods of the Balinese *nava saṅga* are all manifestations of Śiva (see *ibid.*: 283, 285–287; the understanding of a modern Balinese scholar on this point is clearly stated by Atmaja 1991: 267). It is often noted that these manifestations may be represented by their weapons alone, thus emphasising their protective function, as in the *āvaraṇa* circles known from India.

Aciri and Jordaan’s work clearly establishes that the *nava saṅga* in the form of a circle of nine gods associated with nine specific directions, nine colours and ten sacred syllables (two for the centre) existed in the early Central Javanese period. The essential framework of the Balinese *nava saṅga* thus clearly existed long before the modern period and is not exclusively Balinese. The combination of directions, colours and syllables that it displays can also be traced to Śaiva textual sources. Stephen (2014) has previously discussed the similarities between Old Javanese texts describing meditative practices based on the *daśākṣaras* and classic Śaiva texts such as the *Liṅga Purāṇa*. The *daśākṣaras* are the ten graphemes that appear with the circle of nine gods in the *nava saṅga*. Stephen (2014) notes that these ten syllables make up two famous Śaiva mantras – the *brahmamantras* and the *mūlamantra*.⁴⁶ The incipits of the *brahmamantras* – Sa, Ba, Ta, A, Ī – are placed on the four cardinal directions, starting with “Sa” and the east, with the last, “Ī”, placed in the centre. The syllables making up the *mūlamantra* – Na, Ma(h), Śi, Vā, Ya – are placed in the intermediate directions, beginning with “Na” placed in the north east, Ma in the south east, Si in the south west, Vā in the north west and finally “Ya” in the centre. From this placement we can see that the cardinal directions and centre constitute a separate and primary formation or circle of five directions and *bīja* mantras. The intermediate directions represent an expansion of the central five, as is also demonstrated by the colours assigned to each cardinal direction – white for the east, red for the south, yellow for the west and black for the north – while the interstitial directions are north east (grey, the blending of black and white), south east is pink (the blending of white and red), and so on. Thus the core of the *nava saṅga* can be seen to be a five-fold figure to which additional elements are added. Indeed it is this five-fold core that

46. See also Zurbuchen (1987: 53–54) and Hobart (2003: 218) on the *mūlamantra* and Zurbuchen (1987: 54) on the *pañcabrahmamantra*.

relates to the structure of the mantras and the layout of offerings for the *bhūtayañās*, as we noted earlier.⁴⁷

In his pioneering study, Tucci (1961: 49–50) already observed that the classic Śaiva mandala is a five-fold figure based on the five faces of Śiva. Each face is assigned a direction and colour – the four cardinal directions and the centre, with red, white, black, yellow and crystal (or multi-coloured). These five faces of Śiva (in his Sadāśiva form) are invoked in the *brahmamantras* – Sa Ba Ta A Ī – which are the *bīja* mantras for Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, and Īśāna, all aspects of Śiva and symbolising his different powers and functions.⁴⁸ Clearly the central core of the Javano-Balinese *nava saṇa* is nothing less than this classic five-fold Śaiva mandala – incorporating precisely the same directions, the same colours and the same *bīja* mantras. Thus we can see that the *nava saṇa* is in fact composed of various elements from Śaiva sources: a) the circles of deities, the *āvaraṇa*, used in Śaiva mandalas, and b) the *bīja* mantras, directions and colours used in the classic five-fold Śaiva mandala described by Tucci. Once this is recognised, there can be little doubt that the Javano-Balinese so called “cosmic map” is a mandala in origin and was intended to function as such.

The mandala, Tucci (1961: 23) explains, is not a static map, but rather a tool to channel and focus cosmic energies; it is inherently dynamic, depicting the universe “in its process of emanation and of reabsorption”. More recently, David Gordon White (2000: 9) has examined the function of the mandala in Tantrism, emphasising that it is the “key to understanding Tantric practice”. He defines the mandala as:

... the energy grid that represents the constant flow of divine and demonic, human and animal impulses in the universe, as they interact in both constructive and destructive patterns. ... This grid is three dimensional, in the sense that it locates the supreme deity..., the source of that energy and ground of the grid itself, at the center and apex of a hierarchized cosmos. All other beings, including the practitioner, will be situated at lower levels of energy/consciousness/being, radiating downward and outward from the mandala’s elevated center point.

The mandala as it radiates out from the elevated centre represents cosmic devolution or creation from a single point, outwards and downwards towards an ever-expanding circle representing the totality of the physical universe. Conversely, the process may be reversed, so that the coarse and even terrible

47. Hobart (2003: 218) describes a central core of five, as does Zurbuchen (1987: 52). Also, in meditation on the *daśākṣaras* as described by Stephen (2014: 187–189) the practitioner begins with five and expands to nine directions. Cf. above for the early connection between the *bhūtayañās* and the mandala of eleven directional deities in the Old Javanese *Agastyaparva*. The origin of the connection between *bhūtayañās* and the directional deities seems to be Indian: for instance, in the *Gautamadharmasāstra* (1.5.10) the *bhūtayañā* includes the offering to these deities (*digdevatā*).

48. The function of Sadyojāta is emission, of Vāma is maintenance, of Tatpuruṣa is veiling, of Aghora is reabsorption, and of Īśāna is grace (Davis 1991: 48). The depiction of Sadāśiva as possessing a fivefold mantric body is common in Śaiva Saiddhāntika texts in Sanskrit (Acri 2014b: 9 note 4, 13 note 22, 31) and also current in Old Javanese texts, like the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Dharma Pātāñjala* (Acri 2017: 195 note 2, 356–357).

beings and energies at the periphery of the material universe may be directed back to the pure centre from which they originated. Thus the practitioner employing the mandala as a meditative device seeks to move from the peripheries and limited human consciousness to return to the divine point of origin at the centre. Characteristically, as White (2000: 10) observes, mandalas consist of concentric circles representing “hypostasized forms of the divine energy” which may appear as divine or terrifying beings but also manifest themselves as sounds, or written syllables or light, as in the form of colours. The *nava saña*, as we have seen, combines circles of depictions of deities with circles of graphemes representing the energies of deities in sound (i.e. mantras), and in colours.

Another respect in which the *nava saña* functions as a classic mandala in White’s terms is the way it operates to provide a classificatory system for a wide range of entities. White’s (2000: 10) comments thus on this function:

Unity in multiplicity is a hallmark of Tantra ... There is, in Tantra, an exponential explosion of all preexisting pantheons of deities, and together with these, an expansion of every sort of category – family, number, color, direction, aspect, and so on – into an intricate cosmic calculus. With its perfect geometrical forms and elaborately interwoven lines, the mandala is the ideal conceptual tool for plotting the multi-leveled and polyvalent interrelationships between these categories.

Kramrisch (1981: 182–183) shows how in Śaiva texts the five faces of Sadāśiva are linked to the five elements, the five senses, the five organs of perception and the five organs of action. Davis (1991: 50) emphasises this same tendency in Śaivism to incorporate entities into linked groups of five thus establishing “a whole series of associative connections linking the *brahmamantras* to the five *kalās*, the five elements, the thirty-six *tattvas*, the parts of the body, the worlds, and so on: in short, to all the basic constituents of the cosmos.” The Javano-Balinese *nava saña* exhibits the same propensity to add entities to the basic pattern of nine or five directions. Thus each direction as well as a colour, a god, a weapon, might be linked to a demonic form of the god, to the god’s consort, to the god’s vehicle, to a part of the human body, to a ritual number (*urip*), to days and months of the Javano-Balinese *pawukon* calendar (Zurbuchen 1987: 51–52). Even more elaborate schema are to be found in the medical or *usada* texts; Lovric (1987) has shown that cosmic mountains, state temples, types of holy water, elements of the body, tissues and organs of the body and many other entities are linked to the *nava saña* in the texts used by *balian* (traditional healers). Evidently the *nava saña* adds items distinctive to Java and Bali, such as the days of the several weeks counted in the *pawukon* Javanese calendar, but the process of extensive classification belongs to the same conceptual style as that of classic Indian Śaiva prototypes.

Although earlier scholars presented the *nava saña* as a static map, more recent studies have recognised its dynamic aspects. Zurbuchen (1987: 54), Hobart (2003: 218) and Stephen (2014) have separately observed that the *nava saña* is used in meditative practices to return from the many to the

one, or the divine point of origin. As Zurbuchen puts it, “When this whole system is in motion, revolving, the ordered differences can begin their condensation into fewer and fewer forms until the final single distillation is achieved – the goal of the mystic adept’s meditation.” Hobart (2003: 217) even notes the similarities of the *nava saṇa* meditation with the mandala practice described by Tucci. Zurbuchen (1987: 54) explains how the meditation on the ten letters (*akṣara*) involves the mental rotation of the directions such that:

... the ten letters are progressively condensed and transformed. First they become five, the *pancaksara* (Na-Ma-Si-Wa-Ya), then three, or *triaksara* (Ang-Ung-Mang). This triad in turn becomes a duality, *rwa bhinéda* ‘the two distinguished’ (Ang-Ah), a principle referring to the bipartite-yet-indivisible nature of universal oppositions such as male-female, life-death, and macrocosmos-microcosmos. Finally there is the all-encompassing ONG, or *ongkara*, the representation of essential sound and ultimate reality all in one.

Stephen’s (2014) study of the *daśākṣaras* and *ṣaḍaṅga* yoga goes into even greater detail on the process of compression and transformation. The previously static view of the *nava saṇa* led earlier scholars like Swellengrebel (1960: 41–51) to mistake these stages of cosmic reabsorption for several different numerical schemas employed in Balinese cosmology, failing to recognise their relationship to each other in a dynamic transformative process.⁴⁹

As well as compressing back to one, the *nava saṇa* mandala can be extended out to eleven directions by including the zenith and nadir, with Paramāśiva as the highest point and Śiva as the lowest (Grader 1960: 169; Zurbuchen 1987: 52; for a Balinese depiction of the eleven directions see Atmaja 1991: 267–269), to provide a three-dimensional model. Thus we can see that these numbers from 1 to 11 represent stages of cosmic expansion or contraction, indicating the fluid and fluctuating nature of the cosmos itself, such as Davis (1991) describes as characteristic of the Śaiva cosmos as known from the Indian texts.

The *nava saṇa*, as a mandala, is not primarily concerned with directions in physical space, but with pulsations of cosmic energy. Many Western studies, however, have presented it as a development or an elaboration of a

49. It seems to us that this tendency has persisted among scholars to our days; one exception are the observations by Méric (2016, par. 21) that the presentation of the spatial ordination of the existent reflected by Balinese offerings, which is based on the *nava saṇa*, does not highlight the dynamic character of the model: “*Cette présentation de l’ordonnement spatial du monde ne met néanmoins pas en évidence le caractère dynamique de ce modèle. Le monde est ordonné en fonction des relations (multiples) qui s’établissent entre les choses et non en fonction d’une place immuable qui leur serait attribuée. On considère plutôt que cette conceptualisation ésotérique concentre un ensemble d’associations complémentaires dynamiques reproduisant un mouvement de concentration et d’expansion.*” Fox (2015: 47) captures the fundamentally dynamic nature of Balinese ritual when speaking about “a certain ‘watery’ logic underpinning the use of what I have, until now, perhaps rather facetiously called ‘offerings’”. This world of ‘flows and concentrations’ would be one of dynamic change, in which a subtle life force moves freely over surfaces and is channelled into various byways and passages”. Still, neither Méric nor Fox appear to have captured the Śaiva nature and origin of this model.

purely Balinese system of categorising and organising physical space. Howe (1980: 56–63), in his admirably detailed and comprehensive ethnography of a Balinese village, reflects a view widely held by other Western scholars. In a chapter on Balinese spatial orientation, he discusses the ways in which two basic axes *kaja/kelod* (towards the mountains and towards the sea) and *kangin/kauh* (in the direction of the rising sun and the setting sun) provide the basis for organising many aspects of Balinese life, including village layout, the layout of the house compound, the positioning of temples and much else besides. According to Howe (1980: 63):

The two axes *kaja/kelod* and *kangin/kauh* are combined to form what is known as the *panca dēwata* ('five gods') classification. There is a second, expanded, version of this called the *nawa sanga* ('nine, nine') which includes the four intermediate points as well as the four cardinal directions.

In this view, gods have been added to pre-existing Balinese concepts of space to create a distinctive Balinese model of the cosmos. Given the existence of the *nawa saṅa* in Old Javanese texts and pre-Islamic Javanese temple architecture, and its special capacity to incorporate additional entities, we think it is far more likely that the Balinese directions *kaja/kelod* and *kangin/kauh* were appended to a well developed mandala based on Śaiva components, and only partially integrated into it. For ordinary, unlettered Balinese, it would be usual to refer to the directions depicted in the *nawa saṅa* diagram by Balinese language directional terms, whereas those with textual knowledge might employ the directional terms of Old Javanese, derived from Sanskrit.⁵⁰ Thus, far from being the basis of the *nawa saṅa*, we suggest that *kaja/kelod*, *kangin/kauh* axes are a later layer added in Bali to a Śaiva mandala that had already undergone some modification in Java but is still recognisable.

To return to the connection with *caru* rituals, Howe (1980: 64) observes that "one of main uses" of the *nawa saṅa* "is in the positioning of offerings for the class of ceremonies known as *caru*." Once the *nawa saṅa* is recognised as a mandala, its prominent role in relation to *caru* becomes clear. As a mandala functions to return cosmic energies from the periphery to the centre and upwards, so the use of the *nawa saṅa* in *caru* rituals is intended to do the same, fulfilling the aim stated in the mantras we considered earlier of refining, raising and transforming negative energies into positive ones; or in the language of myth, to "make demons into gods". The ritual movements we have described earlier as accompanying the *caru* offerings – bringing to the centre, raising and turning anti-clockwise (which always indicates return or reabsorption) become comprehensible as symbolic actions representing the process of return and the merging of lower entities into the divine source. In the same way that the individual mystic meditates on the *daśākṣaras* in order to return to the One, so the community by performing *caru*, placing

50. The Old Javanese directional terms (on which, see Degroot, Griffiths & Tjahjono 2013) are virtually identical with the High Balinese, and both sets of terms evidently derive from Sanskrit.

offerings according to the cosmological “logic” of the *nava saṅga* mandala, transforms dangerous, destructive forces, returning them back to their pure origins.⁵¹ One involves private inner visualisation, the other public enactment, but both are guided by the *nava saṅga* mandala.

Today in Bali representations of the *nava saṅga* termed *kekasan*, which are drawn in black ink on squares of coarse white cloth, are frequently to be seen hung over the entrances of buildings; they are also placed on the chest of the corpse at mortuary rituals, or drawn on representations of the corpse, as well as laid on the torso of persons undergoing tooth filing. More elaborate embroidered examples of velvet and silk are used by *pedandas* when performing their daily rites of *sūryasevana* to produce holy water. The small square of cloth about the size of an A4 sheet of paper, is placed on the lap of the seated priest at the beginning of the rites and remains there until the end (Stephen 2015: figs. 3–5). Coloured painted banners (*ulon-ulon*) showing the *nava saṅga* are to be seen at temple festivals, and it is a popular subject for Balinese artists producing for domestic consumption and for tourists. These various representations, according to the comments of one Balinese artist, depict the intention to bring all the powers in the universe together to focus on the centre – of the body, of the building, or of the place where a ritual is being enacted – in order to protect and give life.

In short, rather than a static directional map, the Javano-Balinese *nava saṅga* can be better understood as a Śaiva mandala – in the terms defined by Tucci (1961: 49–50) and White (2000: 9) – that has undergone only comparatively minor modifications in the long process of transmission from medieval Śaiva Sanskrit texts, via Old Javanese texts and pre-Islamic Javanese architecture, to modern Balinese representations.

b) The reabsorption of the tattvas

Although the first three mantras with which we began this discussion are clearly linked to the *nava saṅga*, the fourth example is not. In this example there is no mandala implied, but a direct vertical line of transformation from demonic to divine. It provides a striking statement of the conviction that demons can be turned into gods, starting with the lowest, Bhūta Dāṇa, who is returned to Kālikā, another demonic but somewhat higher entity, who is dissolved into the goddess Durgā, the queen of the *bhūtakālas* according to the texts (the goddess of *caru* according to the *Tutur Ləbur Gaṅsa*,

51. Fox (2015: 336) reports that three out of four diverging interpretations of offerings at roadside shrines by common Balinese had in common the fact that the identity of their intended recipients were generally unknown; however, “it was on precisely this point that these three uses of the roadside shrines differed from yet a fourth, namely those who took it to be dedicated to Sang Hyang Indrabelaka, whom some took to be a malevolent form of the Hindu deity Lord Indra. Those who understood the shrines in this way had usually been instructed by a brahmin ritual advisor, who also explained – usually in Indonesian – that the function (i. *fungsi*) of the shrine and its offerings was to transform the deity from its malevolent manifestation into a more beneficent (b./k. *somya*) form.” This observation perfectly illustrates our point about the knowledge-level of the texts and of the (no longer completely esoteric) lore of the Brahmana priests vs. the level of orthopraxy pertaining to the masses.

ed. PusDok, p. 12), who is dissolved into the goddess Umā, who in turn is dissolved into the god, Śiva, her consort, who in turn is returned to Sañ Hyañ Tuṅgal, and finally Tuṅgal is dissolved into Sañ Hyañ Tan Paharan, the last two representing increasingly higher forms of Śiva until the ultimate is reached. Yet taken as it is, this statement provides little understanding of how or why such a transformation can possibly take place – it simply assumes the actions described.

There is, however, a logic underlying these assumptions and it is provided by a cosmology based on classic Śaiva teachings concerning the emanation and reabsorption of the *tattvas*, the constitutive principles of existence.⁵² As remarked by Torella (1999: 555), the doctrine of the *tattvas*, and the related micro-macrocosmic classifications of the *buddhibhāvas* and *pratyayas*, as well as the three *guṇas* or qualities of *prakṛti* (*sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*) do not concern only the speculative plane, but are “also firmly grounded in ritual”;⁵³ this appears to be the case not only in the Indian tradition, but also in the Javano-Balinese one.⁵⁴ Recent work by Acri (2017: 424–429) has discussed passages describing these Śaiva ontological principles in Old Javanese texts. To the 25 *tattvas* of classical Sāṅkhya philosophy, Śaivism added extra principles to enable a theistic understanding of the creation of the universe and claim the superiority of its soteriology vis-à-vis the earlier systems. The principles added vary according to different periods, texts, and schools, the earlier including fewer, such as the Old Javanese texts that mention a total of 30 or 31, while a total of 36 is considered “standard” in the mature Indian traditions. Despite the variations in numbers of *tattvas*, the general picture of the cosmos remains much the same. From the highest and most subtle point of consciousness, Paramaśiva, which constitutes the first *tattva*, emerge in strict descending order the other *tattvas* down to the last, most coarse, solid and material *tattva*, *pṛthivī*, earth. In this way it is shown how every entity in the cosmos originates from the one divine source, and contains Śiva within it; furthermore, everything ultimately can be returned to this divine source by being absorbed back into the entity from which it emerged. Thus earth can be absorbed back to water (*āpas*), water to fire (*tejas*), fire to air (*vāyu*), air to space (*ākāśa*), and so on up to the very highest and most subtle *tattva*, Paramaśiva.⁵⁵ It is this reabsorption that the yogin strives for in his meditations in order to unite with God/Śiva. Although we find neither enumerations of the Śaiva ontological *tattvas* nor correspondences between the *tattvas* and other realities in the ritual texts under discussion – which we do not expect, as these texts usually reflect different, more practical concerns – , our mantra presupposes the same idea

52. For an account of the importance of this emanationist cosmology, based on Sāṅkhya categories, in Śaivism see Flood (1996: 232–236, and 2006: 126–129).

53. Torella points, for example, to the role of the *buddhibhāvas* in the mental visualisation of Śiva’s throne, and to the five great elements (*mahābhūta*) as pervading the universe in the *pañcatattvadīksā*.

54. The doctrine of the *bhāvas* and *pratyayas*, the idea of the fourfold throne of Śiva, the three *guṇas*, are all found in Old Javanese Śaiva texts, such as the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Dharma Pātāñjala*.

55. These processes of cosmic emanation and reabsorption are described (or hinted at), besides in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Dharma Pātāñjala*, in many other Old Javanese texts.

of Śaiva cosmos in that it clearly assumes the same possibility of returning the lowest and most coarse energies, such as Bhūta Dāṇan, through orderly stages of increasingly higher and more positive levels (Kālikā, Durgā, Umā, Śiva), until finally the ultimate is reached (Saṅ Hyaṅ Tan Paharan who might here be equated with Paramaśiva). The *tattva* system posits many levels of cosmic energy, each of which can be absorbed back into the one directly above it from which it emerged. In fact, our mantra might be considered a neat summary statement of the process of return. From this perspective we can make sense of the Old Javanese expression *sumurup rin*, “dissolve into”, and the possibility of dissolving Bhūta Dāṇan into Kālikā, Kālikā into Durgā, and so on. The mantra belongs to a conceptual world in which the very nature of the cosmos is constructed according to a logic that makes turning demons into gods the natural order of things, and not the anomaly it appears to be from a Western perspective.

Balinese mythology, as Stephen (2002, 2005) has shown, provides a narrative logic for these processes of transformation; that is to say the myths of Śiva, Umā, and their offspring describe how gods can take demonic form and later return to their previous divine condition, this presumably simply being the nature of divine beings. The philosophy of the *tattvas* demonstrates that the whole cosmos is subject to these same processes and that they are part of a total system of thought. We should hardly be surprised to find that rituals to deal with demonic, or rather chthonic, forces are shaped by these cosmological notions. However, up until recently the importance of the *tattva* cosmology has been scarcely considered in accounts of Balinese ritual, and current opinion is that text and ritual are different, unrelated domains. Furthermore, present assumptions that all evidence of complex Hindu philosophy is the result of modern efforts to reformulate Balinese religion, has militated against a more careful re-examination of such ideas.

Acri (2013, 2014a) has focused new attention on this material, revealing the extent to which the terminology, concepts and understandings of medieval Śaiva philosophy are woven into early and later Old Javanese texts from both Java and Bali, leaving no doubt that such ideas are ancient and deeply embedded in Balinese thought. Working from a different direction, from the perspective of present day Balinese ritual, Stephen (2010) has argued the extent to which Balinese mortuary rituals, the *pitrayajñas*, are underpinned by the doctrine of the reabsorption of the *tattvas*. In this article we together extend our arguments to demonstrate that the rituals performed for Balinese demonic forces, the *bhūtayajñas*, are likewise structured on the basis of understandings drawn from Śaiva cosmology concerning the reabsorption of the *tattvas*.⁵⁶

56. Although it cannot be fully argued through here, we believe that such provides an essential basis for understanding Balinese ritual as a whole. Stephen (2010) has previously argued that the notoriously complicated Balinese death rituals, the *pitrayajñas*, can be understood as expressing the process of cosmic reabsorption of the *tattvas* described in Śaiva philosophy. Since Howe (1980) has demonstrated that the rituals of birth and human development picture the reverse of the death ceremonies, we can see that the *mānuṣayajñas* might depict the process of cosmic emanation. Cf. also Bagus' (1974: 65) statement that “les *buta yadnya* ne sont que des variations des *dewa yadnya* et non pas une catégorie séparée.”

Mantra IV is for use in a *lukat* ritual which differs from a *caru* in that it is performed not for an area, as is the latter, but for a person. Still, the intention to transform and purify negative energies is essentially the same. In the case of a *caru*, the *bhūtakālas* of a specific area are drawn to the centre and then raised up and returned to god-form, so the *nava saṅga* provides the appropriate mandala layout, while for a *lukat* ritual only the vertical movement is necessary as the energies being dealt with are already gathered together in the body of a single person. In both cases the intent is to return disturbing and destructive energies to higher and more pure levels.

Westerners, whose thoughts on religion tend to be dominated by cultural assumptions arising out of Judeo-Christian traditions, inevitably think of “gods” as personalised, clearly defined entities and find it difficult to grasp the way in which Hindu deities belong to an ever fluctuating – “oscillating” Davis (1991) calls it – universe that is process rather than substance. An awareness of the doctrine of the emanation of the *tattvas* and of its prominence in Old Javanese ritual texts can help to make comprehensible such subtleties as they operate in Bali.

7. Demonology and Tantrism

Finally, we would like to consider briefly some points raised by White (2012) in a recent article on demonology and Tantrism that seem of importance to the arguments developed here. Although White is writing about sorcery and witchcraft primarily, his comments can apply to dealing with demons more broadly. He demonstrates that “demonology”, far from being a tangential or merely folk concern, constitutes a broad framework of beliefs and practices that underlies Tantrism as it developed across South and Southeast Asia and beyond; and is as characteristic of it as its philosophical schools, so that to ignore this aspect of Tantrism is to overlook one of its most significant unifying factors (White 2012: 165–166). From this perspective, dealing with demons in Bali is not simply a primitive concern left over from some pre-Hindu past, but a further respect in which Balinese ritual displays its Tantric origins.

Another issue raised by White (2012: 146–147) is the way in which demons needed to be made “internal to Śiva and the universe he embodies” in non-dualist Śaiva systems. This might, for example, be achieved by providing a myth explaining how Śiva himself was responsible for creating demonic entities. White (2012: 152–153) observes that demons in such texts are always presented as “subordinates of some supreme form of Śiva or the great Goddess”. This feature equally well applies to the Balinese mythology Stephen (2002, 2005) has discussed, as well as to the rituals we have examined in this article. White draws attention to the way in which Śaiva texts describe demons as organised hosts, subjected to the rule of demonic commanders and kings, and ultimately Śiva himself – among whose appellatives is Bhūtapati, the “Lord of the Demons”, i.e. Rudra (Arbman 1922: 156ff.). This is a feature that stands out in the Balinese mantras which, as we have seen, are directed to various “kings” of *bhūtas* and *kālas* who are

instructed to act in accordance with their commands. Durgā Devī is said to be the *deva*, the god, of *caru* rituals in the *Tutur Ləbur Gaṅsa* (ed. PusDok, p. 12), emphasising the chain of command, as it were. Clearly the Balinese *bhūtakālas* are no totally chaotic rabble, but more like a disciplined army under orders from higher authorities, as White describes.

White's comments further highlight that the Balinese aim to return demons to gods can be understood, not as some quaint or idiosyncratic notion, but rather as an integral and important part of Tantric philosophical concepts of the cosmos. In a non-dualist cosmology, everything that exists, evil as well as good, destructive as well as creative, must be accounted for as part of the godhead: "Nothing exists that is not Śiva". Although "localisation" may be involved in the details and the narratives of the Balinese myths and rituals, the central aims and understandings are classically non-dualistic Śaiva and Tantric when approached from this perspective.

8. Conclusion

The Balinese *bhūtayajñas* have usually been presented by Western scholars as simply naive attempts to deal with demonic forces, either by driving them away or by placating them with food offerings. Merely observing contemporary ritual, no matter how carefully and rigorously this might be done, is not likely to shed much further light on the matter. In this article we have argued that when the rituals for the *bhūtakālas* are placed in the context of textual understandings, a rather different picture emerges. We have shown that myths, mantras, descriptions of offerings and of rites provided in selected Old Javanese ritual texts clearly reveal that the *bhūtayajñas* have been shaped by the cosmology, philosophy, and theology of Tantric Śaivism as known from Sanskrit sources from India. Such key concepts as the five-fold Śaiva mandala, the cosmology of the emanation and reabsorption of the *tattvas*, the need to explain how the whole of creation originates from and returns to a single pure point, shape and structure the *bhūtayajñas*. These rituals are intended to effect the cosmic return – to achieve for the external world (OJ *bhuvana agāṇ*, Bal. *buana agung*) what the yogin seeks to achieve in the self (OJ *bhuvana alit*, Bal. *buana alit*) – so that as the process of creation/emanation naturally degenerates into lower and more dangerous forms it can be reversed, and returned to its pure origins. This is the language of abstract philosophy.⁵⁷ In mythic terms, it is the cosmic moment depicted in myth when the goddess suddenly turns upon the world she has created and begins to tear it apart together with her minions (Hooykaas 1974: 64–65). *Caru* rituals are the means to arrest the cosmic process of degeneration and to return the lowest entities, such as Bhūta Dəṇən, to the highest levels of pure consciousness. The Balinese rituals for demons thus play a crucial role in directing cosmic processes, their aim being nothing less than to "turn

57. It is perhaps significant to note here that the trope of "philosophy" (*filasafat*, *hakikat*) for the interpretation of Balinese ritual is of greater importance for Balinese publications than for studies authored by Western scholars (see Fox 2015: 31, note 2).

demons into gods”, and they form an integral part of a coherent system of thought shaped by the Śaiva/Sāṅkhya philosophies of the emanation and reabsorption of the universe.

In continuing to avoid Old Javanese Śaiva texts, as both ethnographers and most textual scholars have been inclined to do up until now, we strip Balinese ritual of its context of philosophical and theological meanings and the webs of cultural significance that link it to a Śaiva and Tantric world view. Balinese ritual is thus left denuded and impoverished – indeed ritual without religion, as Staal (1995: 31) would have it, or a contradictory and incongruous set of teleologically overdetermined practices, as argued by Fox (2015: 37); but such views, we have argued here, are an artifact of Western description and analysis, not the intrinsic nature of the ideas and practices themselves. We believe that by explaining Balinese *bhūtayajñas* – and potentially other types of rituals too, like the *devayajñas* – in the light of the mechanics of Śaiva Tantric cosmology we have done more justice to the (Indic) Balinese world-view than if we applied a foreign (i.e., Western) theoretical framework. Scholars have too often invoked the need to “give voice to the Balinese” while, at the same time, have subliminally perpetuated a patronising paradigm by analysing Balinese phenomena through the interpretive model of one or the other Western theoretician.

Finally, the arguments presented in this article as a whole highlight the inadequacy of the terminology still used by Western scholars to translate the Balinese concepts of *bhūtakālas* and *deva* and the continuing need to formulate more accurate understandings. The very title of this paper is a kind of contradiction in terms, and one that we have had to argue around throughout, since how can demons be returned to divine entities? In the Christian view, a fallen angel may become a devil, but once a demon, is irreversibly evil, so the very notion of demons becoming gods is nonsensical from this perspective. We need more nuanced ways to express such concepts, drawing upon cosmological and philosophical systems that derive from the varied Hindu traditions, rather than Judeo-Christian ones.

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APPENDIX

Four Mantras Used in *Caru* Rituals

This Appendix presents the editions and translations of the texts of the four mantras discussed in the article. The editions have been established by collating different textual sources, namely either typewritten/digital romanisations, *lontar* manuscripts, and/or versions published as booklets by the Dinas Kebudayaan Propinsi Bali (PusDok) in Denpasar.¹ Spelling and punctuation divergences have not been noted in the (positive) apparatus, and tacitly standardised (e.g. vowel length, *a* = *ə*, *h* in initial, intervocalic or final position, the rendering of OM as OM̐/OM/AU in romanisations, variations between *g/gh*, *t/th*, *ḍ/dh* and *ś/s*, consonantal gemination, etc.).

Mantra I (a) — *Caru Ṛṣi Gaṇa: Pañundaṅ Kāla* (Offering to Ṛṣi Gaṇa: The Invitation of the Demons)

Sources: (1) *Japa Kāla*: [A] LOr 13279, p. 4; [B] LOr 19397, p. 5; [C] LOr 24362, pp. 7–8. (2) *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (II) (Stanza 1 only) [D], p. 54. Cf. *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (II), p. 66.

- 1.1 OM *indah kita suta saṅ hyaṅ ṛṣi gaṇa*,
- 1.2 *kita saṅ pūrva, umanis pañcavārane sira, bajra sañjatane sira, īśvara devatane sira*,
- 1.3 *iki taḍah sajīnira, pəṇək putih, ayam putih, sāmpun vus rinañcaṇa*,
- 1.4 *ajakən paḍa vadvā kālanira kabeh, limaṅ atus limaṅ daśa lima*,
- 1.5 *ri huvus sira amañan aninum, atatañjək ta sira luñhā kabeh, OM SAṂ NAMAḤ.*

1.1 *indah*] BD; *indrah* ta A; *indah* ta C • *kita suta*] ABC; *suta kita* D 1.2 *umanis*] BC; *manis* AD • *pañcavārane sira*] BD; *pañcavāranya* AC • *bajra sañjatane sira, īśvara devatane sira*] B; AC *om.*; *sira bhaṭāra īśvara devatane sira* D 1.3 *ayam*] ABD; *satha* C • *sampun*] ABD; *om.* C 1.4 *ajakən*] ABD; *hajəkən* C • *vadvā*] AB; *vavva* C; *vadvanira* D 1.5 *ri huvus sira*] B; *ri vuvus sira* AD; *ri vusira* C • *atatañjək ta sira*] BCD; *atatañjək ta sira* A • *luñhā kabeh*] BD; *alaluña kabeh* A; *hala luñha ta sira kabeh* C • OM SAṂ] *em.*; OM MAM ABD; OM AM C

- 1.1 OM! O child, reverend Ṛṣi Gaṇa, listen!
- 1.2 You come from the east, Umanis is your day in the five-day week, the *vajra* is your weapon, Īśvara is your god,
- 1.3 This food is your offering, a white rice cake and a white chicken, already laid out,
- 1.4 Invite all your troops of *bhūtas*, five hundred and fifty-five,
- 1.5 When you have finished eating, drinking, and regaling yourselves, leave all together! OM SAṂ NAMAḤ.

1. The authors have not been able to locate and access *lontar* testimonia for the *Japa Kāla* and *Tutur Ləbur Gaṇsa*, while all the *lontars* of the *Roga Sañhāra Bhūmi* listed in the *Register* and subsequent catalogues appear to be no longer extant or retrievable at the Gedung Kirtya in Singaraja, Bali (except for *Rogasañhāra* [K 657, 1931], which, however, contains a different text).

- 2.1 OM *sañ bhūta jaṅgitan, kita sakiñ dakṣiṇa,*
 2.2 *pahiñ pañcavārane sira, bhaṭāra brahmā devatane sira, daṇḍa sañjatane sira,*
 2.3 *iki taḍah sajinira, pənək bañ, ayam viriñ, sāmpun vus rinañcaṇa,*
 2.4 *ajakən paḍa vadva kālanira kabeh, sañan atus sañan daśa sia,*
 2.5 *ri huvus sira amañan aṇinum, atatañjək ta sira, luñhā kabeh, OM BAṂ NAMAḤ.*

2.1 jaṅgitan] BC; jaṅgitan A 2.2 pañcavārane sira] AB; pañcavarānira C • bhaṭāra] B; buta AC • devatane sira] *em.*; devata sira C; devatane kita A; bhaṭārane sira B • daṇḍa sañjatane sira] B; *om.* AC 2.3 iki] AC; itti B • bañ] AB; habaṇ C • ayam viriñ] AB; hayva mvirin C • sāmpun vus] B; sāmpun A; vis C 2.4 vadva kālanira] AC; vadva bālanira B 2.5 ri huvus sira] B; ri huvus sira A; ri vusira C • OM BAṂ] C; OM AM AB

- 2.1 OM reverend Bhūta Jaṅgitan, you come from the south,
 2.2 Paing is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Brahmā is your god, the club is your weapon,
 2.3 This food is your offering, a red rice cake and a red chicken, already laid out,
 2.4 Invite all your troops of *bhūtas*, nine hundred and ninety-nine,
 2.5 When you have finished eating, drinking, and regaling yourselves, leave all together! OM BAṂ NAMAḤ.

- 3.1 OM *sañ bhūta ləmbu kanyā, kita sakiñ paścima,*
 3.2 *pon pañcavārane sira, bhaṭāra mahādeva devatane sira, pāśa sañjatane sira,*
 3.3 *iki taḍah sajinira, pənək kuniñ tulus, ayam kuniñ tulus, sāmpun vus rinañcana,*
 3.4 *ajakən paḍa vadva kālanira kabeh, pituñ atus pituñ daśa pitu.*
 3.5 *ri huvus amañan aṇinum, atatañjək ta sira lunghā kabeh, OM TAṂ NAMAḤ.*

3.1 sañ] BC; seṇ A • bhūta] BC; *om.* A 3.2 pañcavārane sira] AB; pva, mañcavarānira C • bhaṭāra mahādeva devatane sira] AB; bhaṭāra mahādevatanya C • pāśa sañjatane sira] *em.*; pasah sañjatane sira B; *om.* AC 3.3 iki] AB; itthi C • ayam kuniñ tulus] B; ayam putih kuniñ mulus A; hayam viriñ kuniñ C • sāmpun vus] AB; vus C 3.4 ajakən] A; ahajakən B; hajakan C • atus pituñ] AB; pitu C 3.5 ri huvus] AB; ri vus C • ta sira] BC; *om.* A

- 3.1 OM reverend Bhūta Ləmbu Kanyā, you come from the west,
 3.2 Pon is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Mahādeva is your god, the lasso is your weapon,
 3.3 This food is your offering, a pure yellow rice cake and a pure yellow chicken, already laid out,
 3.4 Invite all your troops of *bhūtas*, seven hundred and seventy-seven,
 3.5 When you have finished eating, drinking, and regaling yourselves, leave all together! OM TAṂ NAMAḤ.

- 4.1 OM *sañ bhūta laṅkir, kita sakiñ Uttara,*
 4.2 *vage pañcavārane sira, bhaṭāra viṣṇu devatane sira, cakra sañjatane sira,*
 4.3 *iki taḍah sajinira, pənək hirəñ ayam hirəñ, sāmpun vus rinañcaṇa,*
 4.4 *ajakən paḍa vadva kālanira kabeh, patañ atus patañ daśa pat,*
 4.5 *ri huvus sira amaṇan aṇinum, atatañjək ta sira luñhā kabeh, OM AM NAMAḤ.*

4.1 A laṅkir] AB; laṅki C 4.2 pañcavārane sira] AB; pañcavāranira C • devatane sira] AB; devatanira C • cakra sañjatane sira] B; om. AC • sāmpun] AB; om. C 4.3 iki] AB; ithi C • ayam] AB; satha C 4.4 vadva] AB; vadhya C • pat] em.; patpat ABC 4.5 ri huvus] AB; ri vus C • sira] BC; kita A • amaṇan] AB; hanaṇan C em.; • OM AM] em.; OM HUM A, OM UM BC

- 4.1 OM reverend Bhūta Laṅkir, you come from the north,
 4.2 Vage is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Viṣṇu is your god, the *cakra* is your weapon,
 4.3 This food is your offering, a black rice cake and a black chicken, already laid out,
 4.4 Invite all your troops of *bhūtas*, four hundred and forty-four,
 4.5 When you have finished eating, drinking, and regaling yourselves, leave all together! OM AM NAMAḤ.

- 5.1 OM *sañ bhūta tiga śakti, kita sakiñ tənəh,*
 5.2 *kalivon pañcavārane sira, bhaṭāra śiva devatane sira, padma sañjatane sira,*
 5.3 *iki taḍah sajinira, pənək barumbun, ayam barumbun, sāmpun vus rinañcaṇa,*
 5.4 *ajakən paḍa vadva kālanira kabeh, huluñ atus huluñ daśa hulu,*
 5.5 *ri huvus ira amaṇan aṇinum, atatañjək ta sira luñhā kabeh, OM IM NAMAḤ.*

5.2 pañcavārane sira] AB; pañcavāranira C • devatane sira] AB; devatanira C • padma sañjatane sira] B; om. AC 5.3 iki] AB; ithi C • ayam] AB; satha C • sāmpun] AB; om. C • vus] BC; om. A 5.4 vadva kālanira] AB; vadvanira C • huluñ atus] AB; vəluñ atus C • hulu] B; kutus AC 5.5 ri huvus ira] B; ri vuvusta sira A; ri vus C

- 5.1 OM reverend Bhūta Tiga Śakti, you come from the centre,
 5.2 Kalivon is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Śiva is your god, the lotus is your weapon,
 5.3 This food is your offering, a five-coloured rice cake and a five-coloured chicken, already laid out;
 5.4 Bring all of your troops of *bhūtas*, eight hundred and eighty-eight,
 5.5 After you have finished eating, drinking, and regaling yourselves, leave all together! OM IM NAMAḤ.

Mantra I (b) — *Pañundañ Kāla* (The Invitation of the Demons)

Sources: [A] Lontar *Agem-Ageman Pamāṅku*, ff. 18b–20a; [B] *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (II), p. 42.²

1.1 oṃ sañ bhūta jaṅgitan, kita sakiñ pūrva,
1.2 umanis pañcavāranta, bhaṭāra īśvara devatanta,
1.3 iki taḍah sajinira, pṇak putih ayam putih,
1.4 vus inolah saparikrama vinañun hurip,
1.5 ajakən paḍa rovañira kabeh, limaṅ atus limaṅ daśa lima,
1.6 vus ira amañan aṇinum, mantuk sira ṇelinin kahyañanira sovañsovañ,
1.7 rakṣanən sañ adrəve caru, vehana kadīrghāyuṣan, luputa riñ lara roga,
1.8 aja paveh sānūt saṅkala riñ avak śarīranipun, oṃ saṃ namaḥ.

1.2 umanis] A; u B devatanya • devatanta] B; devatanya A 1.5 daśa] B; puluh A 1.6 ṇelinin] B; ilinīn A 1.7 rakṣanən sañ adrəve] A; raksa sañ ṇadervo B • kadīrghāyuṣan] *em.*; dirghāyuṣan A; dīrghāyuṣa B • luputa riñ lara roga] B; *om.* A 1.8 saṃ] *em.*; MAM AB

- 1.1 oṃ reverend Bhūta Jaṅgitan, you come from the east,
- 1.2 Umanis is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Īśvara is your god,
- 1.3 This food is your offering, a white rice cake and a white chicken,
- 1.4 Already prepared; the ritual numbers have been composed according to the proper arrangement.³
- 1.5 Invite all your companions, five hundred and fifty-five.
- 1.6 After you have finished eating and drinking, regain consciousness⁴ and return to your divine abode, one by one.
- 1.7 Protect the owner of the offering, grant him a long life, may he be free from suffering and disease.
- 1.8 Do not be the one giving all that goes along with⁵ misfortune in his body, oṃ saṃ namaḥ.

2. For different configurations of this mantra, cf. *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (II), p. 66, *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (I, Hooykaas 1973: 208), *Agem Ageman Pamāṅku* ff. 31a–32b, 35b, 13b–14a.

3. We have taken *vinañun hurip* as a reference to the arrangement of the “ritual numbers” ([*h*]urip) incorporated by the offerings (see above, pp. 153, 158, 167, 175). However, the expression may also denote something that has been brought back to life ([*h*]urip = “life”). This meaning would fit the present context, as the chicken is prepared by skinning it and retaining the head, feathers, and feet which are laid out in a way that suggests the live, whole chicken; this is called a *layang-layang* (see fig. 10). The alternative translation of this line (and its counterparts in the following stanzas) would be: “already prepared according to the proper arrangement, as if alive”.

4. We analyse this as the Balinese form *elingin* (2.6 and 3.6; cf. (*a*)*ṇelinin*, 4.6 and 5.6), equivalent to the Old Javanese *elin* (Zoetmulder 1982: 674) “to be aware of, know or understand clearly; to recall; to be conscious, regain consciousness” (= *tutur*) (cf. Juynboll 1902: 238), rather than *ilingin* “to look” (cf. Zoetmulder 1982: 674, “*ilin** I, *anilini*, *anilin-ilini*, *inilin-ilinan*, ‘to look at (regard, observe) with attention (affection, love)’”). The position between *mantuk sira* and *kahyañanira* is odd (we would have expected *marin*, “to”; cf. Mantra II, line 5 of each stanza).

5. We tentatively analyse *sānūt* (spelled *sanut* in mss.) as the Old Javanese *sa+anūt*, “all that goes along with” (Zoetmulder 1982: 2081, “*anūt*, *tumūt*, *tinūt*, *panūt* (avs) to follow, go along; to follow (in time), come after (*tinūt*: and consequently, and after that); to go along with, accompany; to follow, obey; to follow, go after, chase, pursue, try to obtain”), and *saṅkala* as the Balinese *sangkala* “suffer damage, be cursed, be deformed, be crippled; woe to...; low damage, disaster, misfortune, hindrance, an accident, trouble” (Barber 1979, no. 15959). The sequence *sānūt saṅkala* is attested also in the *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (see Hooykaas 1973: 224; the translation of *sānūt* is seemingly omitted). Alternatively, if we read *sānūt sañ kāla*, the translation would be: “[Do not be the one giving] all that follows the reverend Kāla [in the body]”.

2.1 OM *sañ bhūta laṅkir, kita sakiñ dakṣiṇa,*
 2.2 *paiñ pañcavāranta, bhaṭāra brahmā devatanta,*
 2.3 *iki tadah sajīnira, pñak bañ ayam viriñ,*
 2.4 *vus iñolah saparikrama vinañun urip,*
 2.5 *ajakən padha rovañira kabeh, sañan atus sañan daśa sya,*
 2.6 *ri vus ira amañan aṇinum, mantuk sira eliñin kahyañanira sovañsovañ,*
 2.7 *rakṣanən sañ adruve caru, vehana kadīrghāyusañ, luputa riñ lara roga*
 2.8 *aja paveh sāmūt sañkala riñ avak śarīranipun, OM Bām NAMAḤ.*

2.2 paiñ] A; pa B 2.6 ri vus] A; vus B • eliñin] A; ñeliñin B 2.7 rakṣanən sañ adruve] A; raksa sañ naderve B • kadīrghāyusañ] A; hipun dhīrghayusa • luputa riñ lara roga] B; om. A 2.8 Bām] em.; AM AB

2.1 OM reverend Bhūta Laṅkir, you come from the south,
 2.2 Pain is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Brahmā is your god,
 2.3 This food is your offering, a red rice cake and a red chicken,
 2.4 Already prepared; the ritual numbers have been composed according to the proper arrangement.
 2.5 Invite all your companions, nine hundred and ninety-nine,
 2.6 After you have finished eating and drinking, regain consciousness and return to your divine abode, one by one.
 2.7 Protect the owner of the offering, grant him a long life, may he be free from suffering and disease.
 2.8 Do not be the one giving all that goes along with misfortune in his body, OM Bām NAMAḤ.

3.1 OM *sañ bhūtha lāmbu kanyā, kita sakiñ kulon,*
 3.2 *pvon pañcavāranta, bhaṭāra mahādeva devatanta,*
 3.3 *iki taḍah sajīnira, pñak kuniñ, ayam putih syuñan,*
 3.4 *vus iñolah saparikrama vinañun urip,*
 3.5 *ajakən paḍa rovañira kabeh, pituñ atus pituñ daśa pitu,*
 3.6 *vus ira amañan aṇinum, mantuk sira eliñin kahyañanira sovañsovañ,*
 3.7 *rakṣanən sañ adrəve caru, vehana kadīrghāyusañ, luputa riñ lara roga,*
 3.8 *aja paveh sāmūt sañkala riñ avak śarīranipun, OM Tām NAMAḤ.*

3.1 kulon] A; pascima B 3.2 pvon] A; pva B 3.3 ayam putih] B; ayam putih kuniñ A 3.5 rovañira] B; roviñira A 3.6 eliñin] A; ñeliñin B 3.7 rakṣanən sañ adrəve] A; raksa sang ngaderwe B 3.7 kadīrghāyusañ] em.; adīrghāyusañ A; hipun dhīrghayusa B • luputa] A; luput B • roga] B; roga kabeh A

3.1 OM reverend Bhūta Lāmbu Kanyā, you come from the west,
 3.2 Pvon is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Mahādeva is your god,
 3.3 This food is your offering, a yellow rice cake and a white chicken with yellow beak and legs,
 3.4 Already prepared; the ritual numbers have been composed according to the proper arrangement.
 3.5 Invite all your companions, nine hundred and ninety-nine,
 3.6 After you have finished eating and drinking, regain consciousness and return to your divine abode, one by one.

- 3.7 Protect the owner of the offering, grant him a long life, may he be free from suffering and disease.
- 2.8 Do not be the one giving all that goes along with misfortune in his body, OM TAṂ NAMAḤ.

4.1 OM *sañ bhūta taruṇa, kita sakiñ lor,*
 4.2 *vage pañcavāranta, bhaṭāra viṣṇu devatanta,*
 4.3 *iki taḍah sajinira, pənək irəñ, ayam irəñ,*
 4.4 *vus inolah saparikrama vinañun urip,*
 4.5 *ajakən paḍa rovañira kabeh, ptañ atus ptañ daśa pat,*
 4.6 *vusira amañan añinum, mantuk sira ñeliñin kahyañanira sovañsovañ,*
 4.7 *rakṣanən sañ adruve caru, vehana kadirghāyusañ, luputa riñ lara roga,*
 4.8 *aja paveh sāmūt sañkala riñ avak śarīranipun, OM AṂ NAMAḤ.*

4.1 kita sakiñ lor] em.; sakiñ lor A; kita saking utara B 4.2 vage] A; va B 4.3 pənək] A; pnok B 4.5 pat] A; patpat B 4.6 ñeliñin] B; añeliñin A 4.7 rakṣanən sañ adruve caru] A; raksa sañ ñaderve caru B • kadirghāyusañ] A; hipun dhirgayusa B 4.8 AṂ] em.; UM AB

- 4.1 OM reverend Bhūta Taruṇa, you come from the north,
 4.2 Vage is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Viṣṇu is your god,
 4.3 This food is your offering, a black rice cake and a black chicken,
 4.4 Already prepared; the ritual numbers have been composed according to the proper arrangement.
 4.5 Invite all your companions, four hundred and forty-four,
 4.6 After you have finished eating and drinking, regain consciousness and return to your divine abode, one by one.
 4.7 Protect the owner of the offering, grant him a long life, may he be free from suffering and disease.
 4.8 Do not be the one giving all that goes along with misfortune in his body, OM AṂ NAMAḤ.

5.1 OM *sañ bhūta tiga śakti, kita sakiñ madhya,*
 5.2 *klivon pañcavāranta, bhaṭāra śiva devatanta,*
 5.3 *iki tadah sajinira, pnək brumbun, ayam brumbun*
 5.4 *vus inolah saparikrama vinañun urip,*
 5.5 *ajakən paḍa rovañira kabeh, valuñ atus valuñ daśa kutus,*
 5.6 *vus ira amañan añinum, mantuk sira ñeliñin kahyañanira sovañsovañ,*
 5.7 *rakṣanən sañ adruve caru, vehana kadirghāyusañ, luputa riñ lara roga,*
 5.8 *aja paveh sāmūt sañkala riñ avak śarīranipun, OM IṂ NAMAḤ.*

5.2 klivon] A; ka B • devatanta] B; devatanya A 5.3 pənək] A; paek B 5.4 inolah] B; irinolah A 5.5 valuñ atus] em.; vuluñ atus A; huluñ atus B 5.6 ñeliñin] B; añeliñin A 5.7 rakṣanən sañ adruve] A; raksa sañ ñaderve B • kadirghāyusañ] A; ipun dirghayusa B 5.8 paveh] A; om. B

- 5.1 OM reverend Bhūta Tiga Śakti, you come from the centre,
 5.2 Klivon is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Śiva is your god,
 5.3 This food is your offering, a five-coloured rice cake and a five-coloured fowl,

- 5.4 Already prepared; the ritual numbers have been composed according to the proper arrangement.
- 5.5 Invite all your companions, eight hundred and eighty-eight,
- 5.6 After you have finished eating and drinking, regain consciousness and return to your divine abode, one by one.
- 5.7 Protect the owner of the offering, grant him a long life, may he be free from suffering and disease.
- 5.8 Do not be the one giving all that goes along with misfortune in his body, OM IM NAMAḤ.

Mantra II — *Lābur Gaṇsa: Pūjā Pañca Sānak/Pañca Sata*
(Purifying Bell Metal: The Offering of the Five Siblings/Five Chickens)

Sources: *Tutur Lābur Gaṇsa*: [A] LOr 24218, pp. 18–19; [B] PusDok Ed., p. 25.

- 1.1 *saṅ bhūta kāraṇa, manis pañcavāranira, bhaṭāra īśvara devatanira,*
- 1.2 *iki taḍah sajinira, pənək putih, ivak ayam putih mulus rinañcaṇa,*
- 1.3 *hajakən vado kālanira, liman atus liman puluh ləlima, 555;*
- 1.4 *sira padha amañan aninum tatañjak,*
- 1.5 *mantuk sira mariṅ dhaṅ kahyañannira sovaṅsovaṅ, OM SAṂ NAMAḤ.*

1.2 pənək] A; pəpək B 1.4 tatañjak] *em.*; tatañjan AB

- 1.1 Reverend Bhūta Kāraṇa (Cause), (U)manis is your day of the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Īśvara is your god,
- 1.2 This is your food offering, white rice cake and pure white chicken meat, perfectly arranged.
- 1.3 Invite your troops of demons, five hundred and fifty-five, 555;
- 1.4 You eat, drink, and regale yourself all together;
- 1.5 [Then] return to your divine abode, one by one. OM SAṂ NAMAḤ.

- 2.1 *saṅ bhūta jaṅgitan, pahiṅ pañcavāranira, bhaṭāra brahmā devatanira,*
- 2.2 *iki taḍah sajinira, pənək aban, ivak ayam viriṅ rinañcaṇa,*
- 2.3 *hajakən vado kālanira, saṇaṅ atus saṇaṅ puluh saṇa, 999;*
- 2.4 *vus sira amañan aninum tatañjak,*
- 2.5 *mantuk ta sira sovaṅsovaṅ mariṅ dhaṅ kahyañanira. OM BAṂ NAMAḤ.*

2.1 bhaṭāra brahmā devatanira] B; *om.* A 2.4 tatañjak] A; tatañjan B

- 2.1 O reverend Bhūta Jaṅgitan,⁶ Pahiṅ is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Brahmā is your god,
- 2.2 This is your food offering, a red rice cake and red chicken meat, [wholly] arranged,
- 2.3 Invite your troops of demons, nine hundred and ninety-nine, 999;
- 2.4 After you have eaten, drunk, and regaled yourselves,
- 2.5 Return to your divine abode, one by one. OM BAṂ NAMAḤ.

6. Zoetmulder 1982: 727: “type of disease from black magic”.

- 3.1 *sañ bhūta ləmbu kanyā, pvon pañcavāranira, bhaṭāra mahādeva devatanira,*
 3.2 *iki taḍah sajinira, pənək kuniñ, ivak ayam kuniñ rinañcaṇa,*
 3.3 *hajakən vado kālanira, pituñ atus pituñ puluh pitu, 777;*
 3.4 *vus sira amañan aṇinum tatañjək,*
 3.5 *mantuk ta sira mariñ dhañ kahyañanira sovañsovañ. OM TAM NAMAḤ.*

3.1 kanyā] B; kano A 3.4 tatañjək] A; tətāñjan B 3.5 mantuk ta] B; ta mantuk A

- 3.1 O reverend Bhūta Ləmbu Kanyā, Pon is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Mahādeva is your god,
 3.2 This is your food offering, a yellow rice cake and meat of a yellow fowl, [wholly] arranged.
 3.3 Invite your troops of demons, seven hundred and seventy-seven, 777;
 3.4 After you have eaten, drunk, and regaled yourself,
 3.5 Return to your divine abode, one by one. OM TAM NAMAḤ.

- 4.1 *sañ bhūta hirəñ, vage pañcavāranira, viṣṇu devatanira,*
 4.2 *iki taḍah sajinira, pənək hirəñ, ivak ayam hirəñ rinañcaṇa,*
 4.3 *hajakən vado kālanira, patañ atus patañ puluh pat, 444;*
 4.4 *vus sira amañan aṇinum tatañjək,*
 4.5 *mantuk ta sira mariñ dhañ kahyañanira sovañsovañ, OM AM NAMAḤ.*

4.1 devatanira] B; devatahanira A 4.2 pənək hirəñ] B; *om. A • rinañcaṇa] B; rinañcaṇa, səgā pənək hirəñ A 4.4 tatañjək] A; tətāñjan B 4.5 mantuk ta sira] em.; ta mantuk A; mantuk B*

- 4.1 O Reverend Bhūta Hirəñ (“Black”), Vage is your day in the five-day week, Viṣṇu is your god,
 4.2 This is your food offering, a black rice cake and the meat of a black chicken, [wholly] arranged.
 4.3 Invite your troops of demons, four hundred and forty-four, 444;
 4.4 After you haven eaten, drunk, and regaled yourselves,
 4.5 Return to your divine abode, one by one. OM AM NAMAḤ.

- 5.1 *sañ bhūta lañē śakti, klivon pañcavāranira, bhaṭāra śiva devatanira,*
 5.2 *iki taḍah sajinira, pənək brumbun, ivak ayam brumbun rinañcaṇa,*
 5.3 *hajakən vado kālanira, valuñ atus valuñ puluh vvalu, 888;*
 5.4 *vus sira amañan aṇinum tatañjək,*
 5.5 *mantuk ta sira mariñ dhañ kahyañanira sovañsovañ. OM IM NAMAḤ.*

5.1 lañē] B; laṅgo A 5.4 tatañjək] A; tətāñjan B

- 5.1 O Reverend Bhūta Lañē⁷ Śakti, Klivon is your day in the five-day week, Bhaṭāra Śiva is your god,

7. See Zoetmulder 1982: 976 s.v. *lañō*: “(subjectively) the feeling of longing or being entranced (by beauty or love), aesthetic experience, romantic feelings, the raptures of love”, as well as *lēñō* (= *lēñēñ*, q.v.) “entrancing, delightful”; *lēñē-lēñō* “dazed, stunned, dizzy”; *lēñēñ* 1. “a state of daze, of being unaware of things about one, rapture, ecstasy; being enraptured by beauty or love, being overwhelmed by longing or sadness (cf *lañō*); 2. “entrancing beauty, charms”; 3. (adjectival, cf. *alañō* 1.) “dazed, carried, away by one’s longing for beauty, by nostalgia or sorrow” (*ibid.*: 1007).

- 5.2 This is your food offering, a cake of five-coloured rice and the meat of a five-coloured fowl, [wholly] arranged,
- 5.3 Invite your troops of demons, eight hundred and eighty-eight, 888;
- 5.4 After you have eaten, drunk, and regaled yourselves,
- 5.5 Return to your divine abode, one by one. OM IM NAMAḤ.

Mantra III — *Roga Saṅhāra Bhūmi*
(Disease and Destruction in the World/
The Neutralisation of Disease in the World)

Sources: *Roga Saṅhāra Bhūmi*: [A] LOr 9101 (= Kirtya 44), p. 14; [B] LOr 13396, p. 5; [C] LOr 13627, pp. 7–8; [D] LOr 13713, pp. 5–6; [E] LOr 13724, p. 6; [F] LOr 13742, pp. 13–14; [G] 16998, p. 13; [H] LOr 21142, p. 14; [I] LOr 24057, p. 12; [L] LOr CB 76, p. 17, [M] PusDok 20/01/Ks up to 1.6, f. 23b; [N] PusDok T/XXV/4, ff. 20a–21b; [O] *Kālastava* (5.2–3 only); [P] Pusdok Ed., p. 18.

- 1.1 OM *indah ta kita kamuñ rāja bhūta,*
- 1.2 *sañ kāla suṅsañ bhuvana, sañ kāla sapuh jagat, sañ kāla maṅsa bhuvana,*
- 1.3 *iki taḍah sajinira, asiñ kirañ luput ipun, gəñ rənā sinampura,*
- 1.4 *mañke sira paḍa vehən sañ amaṅgih lara,*
- 1.5 *manavi kacaṇḍak ātmanira sañ agəriñ, kakuñkuñ antuk sañ bhūta tiga śakti,*
- 1.6 *mañke antukakna riñ raga valunan ipun,*
- 1.7 *mañke sañ bhūta tiga viśeṣa mantuk riñ kahyañanira sovaṅsovañ.*

1.1 kamuñ rāja bhūta] AFGHILMNP; kamuñ sañ bhūta rāja BC; kamuñ sañ bhuta rāja bhuta D; kamuñ sañ buñrajabhuta E 1.2 sañ kāla suṅsañ bhuvana] ACEFGHILNP; sañ nala suṅsañ buvana B; sañ nala suṅsañ buava D • sañ kāla sapuh jagat] M om. 1.3 iki] all mss.; iti P • asiñ kirañ luput ipun] BCDEN; siñ kirañ luput ipun AFGHM; siñ kirañ siñ luput ipun LI; asiñ kirañ asiñ luput sāmpun P • gəñ] all mss.; tan P 1.4 sira] all mss.; si L • vehən] all mss.; vehin A • mañke ... lara] all mss.; sagadraveca vehən sy anu hamaṅguh dīrgghayusa M 1.5 kacaṇḍak] BDFLMN; kacaṇḍat ACEGHIP • ātmanira sañ agəriñ] AFHILNP; kakuñkuñ atmanira sañiñ grīn BD; kakuñkuñ atmanira sañ agriñ CE; atmane sañ agriñ G; akuñkuñ hatma jvāttane sy anu M • kakuñkuñ antuk] AFGHILNP; denira BCDE; antuk M 1.6 mañke antukakna riñ raga] M; mañke sira mantukakna mariñ raga BD; mañke antukakna mariñ raga CE; mañke antukakən riñ rāga AFGHILNP • valunan ipun] all mss.; valunane sy anu M (hereafter, the ms. skips to OM SIDDHIR ASTU YA NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ, OM SAM BAM ... AM UM MAḤ) 1.7 tiga viśeṣa] AEFGHILMNP; tiga śakti BD; tatiga sakti C • sovaṅsovañ] BCDEFIP; sovañ AGHLMN

- 1.1 OM, pay attention, you Kings of Bhūtas,
- 1.2 Reverend Kāla Suṅsañ Bhuvana (“Upside-Down World”), reverend Kāla Sapu Jagat (“Broom of the World”), reverend Kāla Maṅsa Bhuvana (“Devourer of the World”):
- 1.3 This is your food offering. If there is something lacking, if something is forgotten, may the gratitude [for what has been offered] be great[er], let there be forbearance!
- 1.4 Now, those who are afflicted by suffering, let all of them receive [your gratitude],
- 1.5 Lest the soul of he who is sick be seized, held captive by the reverend Bhūta Tiga Śakti.
- 1.6 Now return it to the body [wrapped in] his [mortuary] cloth,
- 1.7 Now the reverend Bhūta Tiga Viśeṣa each return to their divine abodes.

- 2.1 *sañ kāla suṅsañ bhuvana, mulih riñ bhaṭāra viṣṇu mariñ uttara,*
 2.2 *iniriñ deniñ bhūta irəñ, pətañ atus pətañ daśa pat kvehnya.*

2.1 sañ] all mss.; OM sañ P • kāla] all mss.; kama D • suṅsañ] all mss.; susaṅ A • mariñ uttara] INP; 3 BDE; u CGL; om. AFH 2.2 irəñ] ACEFGHILNP; nivuñ BD • pat] IP; pat ika C; patpat ABDEFH; om. GLN

- 2.1 Reverend Kāla Suṅsañ Bhuvana, go home to Bhaṭāra Viṣṇu in the north,
 2.2 Followed by the black *bhūtas*, 444 in number.

- 3.1 *sañ kāla sapuh jagat, mantuk riñ bhaṭāra īśvara mariñ pūrva,*
 3.2 *kahiriñ antuk i bhūta putih, limañ atus limañ daśa lima kvehniñ sarva bhūta.*

3.1 sañ] all mss.; OM sañ P • jagat] all mss.; bvana G • mantuk riñ] all mss.; mantuk mariñ C • mariñ pūrva] INP; riñ pūrva deśanira A; pūrva H; pūr BCDEFGL 3.2 antuk i] AFHILNP; deniñ BCDEG • daśa] all mss.; puluh F • kvehniñ sarva bhūta] P; kvehniñ sarvabuta GILN; kvehniñ bhūta AH; kuvehnia B; kvehnia CDE; siki kvehnia buta F

- 3.1 Reverend Kāla Sapuh Jagat, return to Bhaṭāra Īśvara in the east,
 3.2 Accompanied by the white *bhūtas*; 555 is the number of all the *bhūtas*.

- 4.1 *sañ kāla maṅsa bhuvana, mantuk riñ bhaṭāra brahmā mariñ dakṣiṇa,*
 4.2 *iniriñ deniñ bhūta abañ, saṅaṅ atus saṅaṅ puluh saṅa sakvehiñ bhūta kabeh,*

4.1 bhaṭāra] ACEFGHILNP; sañ hyañ BD • mariñ dakṣiṇa] INP; daksina deśanira A; daksina H; da BCDEFGL 4.2 abañ] CEFHILNP; bañ ABD • puluh saṅa] all mss.; dasa sia G • sakvehiñ] HINP; kvehiñ AEGL; nkvehiñ F; kuvehnia, i B; kveh i C; kvehnia, i D

- 4.1 Reverend Kāla Maṅsa Bhuvana, return to Bhaṭāra Brahmā in the south,
 4.2 Accompanied by the red *bhūtas*; 999 is the number of all the *bhūtas*.

- 5.1 *poma, mundur;*
 5.2 *OM durgāpati maśarīram, kālakiṅkaramokṣatām*
 5.3 *kālamṛtyu punah citram, sarvaviḡhnavināśanam,⁸*
 5.4 *OM YAM, OM LAM, OM MAÑ, NAMAḥ SVĀHĀ VAUṢAT,*
 5.5 *OM AM UM MAM, OM IM, OM VAM,*
 5.6 *OM SIDDHIR ASTU YA NAMAḥ, AM UM MAM OM, SA, BA, TA, A, I, NA, MA, ŚI, VA, YA, OM*

5.1 poma, mundur] ILNP; poma, 3, mundur, 3, ABCDEFGH • Between 5.1 and 5.2: jəñ AH; jəñ, ruvah, ma, B; jəñ, muvah, ma, CD; jəñ, maliḥ, ma E; jəñ, maliḥ mantra F; mvah mantra G; om. ILNP 5.2 durgapati] all mss.; durgampati P • kālakiṅkaramokṣatām] HNP; kāla hiṅkara mokṣatam L; kala am ṅkara romoksatam B; kala aṅkaro moksatam C; kala aṅkara romoksatam D; kala im kara moksatam E; kala iṅkara moksatam G; kālakiṅkaramokṣaṇam FIO; kāla iṅkara mokṣahəm A; 5.3 punah citram] ABCDEFHO; punah citam G; punah sitam ILN; pūrṇasitam P 5.4 oñ lañ] all mss.; om. AP • vauṣat] CFHP; hosat AEGILN; sovat BD; 5.5 oñ vañ] all mss.; om. B

8. The four *pādas* obviously form a *śloka* in “Archipelago Sanskrit” (that is, Sanskrit intermixed with Old Javanese forms). See our discussion on *pāda c* at p. 168. The endings here are irregular as there is often no agreement of gender, number, and case. We have chosen the form *mokṣatām* (prob. irregular imperative for *mucyatām*) instead of *mokṣaṇam*, translated by Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971: 152) in the parallel verse of *Kālastava* as “[offering] release”.

- 5.1 Be warned! Retreat!
- 5.2 OM! The Husband of Durgā (i.e., Kāla) manifests Himself. May [the King's Soul] be released from the attendants of Kāla!
- 5.3 Kāla and Mṛtyu (Death) [become] of extraordinary appearance again. All obstacles are annihilated.
- 5.4 OM YAM, OM LAM, OM MAṆ, NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ VAUṢAT,
- 5.5 OM AṂ UM MAṆ, OM IM, OM VAM,
- 5.6 OM SIDDHIR ASTU YA NAMAḤ, AṂ UM MAṆ OM, SA, BA, TA, A, I, NA, MA, ŚI, VA, YA, OM

**Mantra IV — *Caru Ṛṣi Gaṇa: Paṇlukatan*
("Offering to Ṛṣi Gaṇa: The Purification")**

Sources: (1) *Japa Kāla*: [A], p. 4; [B], p. 4; [C], p. 6. (2) *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (II) [D], p. 53.

- 1.1 *iti paṇlukatanya, ma,*
- 1.2 *oṆ lukatira bhūta dāṇṇ, sumurup riṇ bhūta kālīkā,*
- 1.3 *lukatira bhūta kālīkā, sumurup riṇ bhaṭārī durgā,*
- 1.4 *lukatira bhaṭārī durgā, sumurup riṇ bhaṭārī umā,*
- 1.5 *lukatira bhaṭārī umā, sumurup riṇ bhaṭāra guru,*
- 1.6 *lukatira bhaṭāra guru, sumurup riṇ saṇ hyaṇ tuṅgal,*
- 1.7 *lukatira saṇ hyaṇ tuṅgal, sumurup riṇ saṇ hyaṇ tan paharan, sira juga tan pasaṅkan,*
- 1.8 *siddhā kalukat mala pāpa mvaṇ pātaka kabeh,*
- 1.9 OM AṂ KṢAMĀSAMPŪRNĀYA NAMAḤ.⁹

1.1 ma] BC; m A; om. D 1.2 lukatira] B; katira C; luket tina A; lukat tira D • *bhūta dāṇṇ*] ABD; bhūta kāla dāṇṇ C • sumurup] BCD; rusurup A 1.3 lukatira] BCD; lukatira A 1.4 lukatira bhaṭārī durgā] ABD; om. C • sumurup riṇ bhaṭārī umā] ACD; om. B 1.5 lukatira bhaṭārī umā] ACD; om. B 1.7 paharan] BCD; pearan A • sira juga tan pasaṅkan] B; sāri jāti tan pasaṅkanya AC; sira jati tan pasaṅkan D 1.8 mala pāpa mvaṇ pātaka] D; mala papā mvaṇ pātaka C; mala pāpa pātaka B; mala mvaṇ pātaka A 1.9 KṢAMĀ] BCD; KṢANA A

- 1.1 This is the purification, the mantra [is the following:]
- 1.2 OM you Bhūta Dāṇṇ are given purification, dissolving into Bhūta Kālīkā,
- 1.3 You Bhūta Kālīkā are given purification, dissolving into Bhaṭārī Durgā,
- 1.4 You Bhaṭārī Durgā are given purification, dissolving into Bhaṭārī Umā,
- 1.5 You Bhaṭārī Umā are given purification, dissolving into Bhaṭāra Guru,
- 1.6 You Bhaṭāra Guru are given purification, dissolving into Saṇ Hyaṇ Tuṅgal (the Unique),
- 1.7 You Saṇ Hyaṇ Tuṅgal are given purification, dissolving into Saṇ Hyaṇ Tan Paharan (the One Without Name), You also are Saṇ Hyaṇ Tan Pasaṅkan (the One Without Cause).
- 1.8 Successfully purified are all stain, sin and misfortune.
- 1.9 OM AṂ, to her who is full of forbearance, hail!

9. This Sanskrit line has been reconstructed/normalised in the light of parallels in Stuti 697 (Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971: 420), *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha* (version Hooykaas 1973: 54, 64, 96, 182, 198), and *Sūrya Sevana* (Hooykaas 1966: 46).