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The changeling in Balinese folklore and religion

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THE CHANGELING IN BALINESE FOLKLORE AND RELIGION

One of the most uncanny stories in European folklore is that of a mother who suddenly finds that her baby has been exchanged for an ugly, non-human one. This little creature goes by different names: in England it is called a 'changeling', in Germany 'Wechselbalg' (this word is a nickname) and in Holland 'wisselkind'. In many other European countries also there is a special name for it which is proof of the wide distribution of this idea.

Hastings in his 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' gives the following description of a changeling and also details the measures to prevent the substitution taking place.

"A *changeling* may be defined as the child of a non-human race left in place of a human child, which is stolen away from its mother by members of that race In general the changeling may be the child of fairies or elves (British islands, France, Italy); of dwarfs, elves or underground folk (Germany, Scandinavia, and among the Slavs and Wends); of various nature spirits — water spirits, nixes, wood-folk, wild women *lemures* (Hungary, Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Holland, Lithuania); of negroids (Greece), and in most of the regions of the witch or some other demoniac creature, or travelling beyond the European area of a variety of beings who will be considered later (paragraph 7).

A *changeling* was usually detected by its appearance. It was ill-favoured or deformed, with thick neck and large head; it seldom ceased crying when under observation and was to all appearances imbecile etc.

Precautions. Fairies being regarded as pagans, one group of precautions against their kidnapping was of a Christian character. Thus an effectual method was to place a bible or a prayer book or a leaf of it either in or near the cradle. Other religious objects (a rosary, cross or the like) might be used in this way. Prayer or divine ejaculation or the utterance of a divine name or blessing oneself would cause the fairies to drop the child either inside or outside the house, if they had been successful in seizing it. But above all, baptism was effective for once a child was baptised, the fairies' power over it was gone, as it had now ceased to be outside the grace, in other words, *it was no longer a pagan and could no longer be liable to the attacks of non-Christian beings.*"

The italics are mine; I use them to stress the close relation of early Christian beliefs with those of the Balinese.

Hastings gives "..... an instance among the hill tribes of Central India, where, until the performance of hair shaving or ear piercing, the child is considered as a *but* [in Bali we would say: *bhuta*] or devil..."

A parallel is to be found in Bali where the many ceremonies which are performed by the parents on behalf of the child (the last one being tooth filing) are called collectively *tingkah dadi janma* = the way of becoming a human being, and to ensure that the child shall become a human being the demoniacal powers which are an especial menace to it must be driven away. This was also the case in Europe in earlier times.

Here I will draw attention to two ceremonies in Bali concerning the changeling. First, however, I will quote from Van der Tuuk's dictionary, since he is the best source available on this ceremony.¹

"*Tjolong*, jav. *badjang tjolong*, a human figure made of *papah njuh*, painted white with chalk. At the festival held three months after the child's birth, the figure is thrown away by the roadside or near a bathing place. It is regarded as being a substitute for the child (cp. Batak *porsili*). The child itself is put into a hole filled with water in order to find the bracelets and rings which have been thrown into the hole. This is done so that he may have luck as a fisherman etc."

Van der Tuuk's human-like figure made from a stem of the coconut palm is still to be found in Bali. His description of a three-month's-old baby standing in a hole filled with water and fishing for ornaments as an inducement to luck to favour him in the future, does not, however, sound like a description based upon the evidence of an eye-witness. It smacks rather of the desire on the part of Van der Tuuk's informant to produce an answer that would satisfy his questioner's rational mind. This part of the ceremony will become clearer when I describe what I saw of it.

In another description on the same subject Van der Tuuk provides further information; s.v. *règèk* he writes:²

"*Rèrègèk*, a female ghost, beautiful, but having only a front and being hollow at the back. The figure is like that of a human woman but is made of *don papah* smeared with chalk. It is thrown into the water three months after the birth of the child."

¹ Dr. H. N. Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek I-IV*, 1897-1912, Batavia, Landsdrukkerij; I, p. 647b.

² o.c. I, p. 867b.

The word *cholong* means something like 'stealthy'; *bajang cholong* is, therefore, fairly well translated by 'changeling' since it conveys the idea of the child exchange being done with stealth.

The treatment of the changeling in Bali is exactly the same as that which obtained for it in Europe. In Bali the changeling is regarded as unclean and is treated as such. A Brahmin lady, well known as a maker of offerings, was shocked when I asked her for details of the *bajang cholong*. "We leave that to *sudras*", she said scornfully.

I come now to the description of the ceremonies which centre round the *bajang cholong*, the changeling. One is the ceremony which is held when a baby is three months old (low-Balinese *nělu-bulanin*; high-Balinese *nigang-sasihin*). Following my description of the three-month's-ceremony I will describe that which is held when a child is one month and seven days old, since there also a *bajang cholong* is used.

I have witnessed a three-month's-ceremony three times, once with a *Wésya* family and twice in a prince's court.

I am only able to give the barest outline of what happened. To make a complete and satisfying report a staff of helpers, including photographers, would be needed. As with every Balinese ceremony the offerings made for the occasion are bewildering in their numbers and their variety. It is to be hoped that perhaps some Balinese girl student at the newly established Faculty of Arts in Denpasar will make a study of them, preferably illustrated with water-colour drawings, for many of these offerings consist of cakes whose colours are pleasing to the eye. These colours have some significance; this applies equally to the shapes of the cakes.

My attention was especially drawn to three objects in the *balé* which were hung high in the N.E. part — considered as being the most holy side — nearest to the house shrine which again is orientated to the holy mountain, the Gunung Agung. The importance of these three items was established by the fact that they were hung higher than the squatting *padanda*, Brahmin priest. One was a cradle filled with offerings, and the other two were the figures of Kumara and Kumari, each of which was several yards in length. This couple are the guardians of childhood and being divine rightly occupy a position above that of even a Brahmin priest.

At the priest's side of the *balé*, the east side, the 'clean' offerings (*bantěn suchi*) had been placed. On the west side were a host of offerings used for the purification. The offerings which lay in the western part were not handled by the Brahmin priest, but by the

female helpers who used them to purify the child before it went to the priest, e.g. by touching the child's feet with a pig's leg in order to strengthen them.

The ceremony was held, as it should be for a high-caste baby, in the *balé gědé*. A ground plan of the kind of house in which the one I witnessed took place can be found in that eminently readable book of Miguel Covarrubias, 'The Island of Bali'.³

The *balé gědé* was the usual square building open at the front and on both sides; on this occasion it had a wall at the back. Against this were two raised ceremonial benches with a passage between them. On the ceremonial bench in the eastern half, that nearest the house temple, a Brahmin priest prepared the holy water. The western half was filled with offerings used for the purification. In front of the *balé gědé* the *dalang* sat on a mat on the ground and prepared the *wayang lěmah*, performance of polychromed flat hide puppets, without using lamp or screen.⁴

The voice of the *padanda* chanting the praise of the holy water mingled with the hoarse shouts of the puppet performer.

Outside the *balé gědé* were laid out the offerings necessary for that part of the ceremony which could be regarded as being that of the *adat*, and which had next to nothing to do with the Hindu religion. It possibly preceded the latter in Bali, but has in the course of time become blended with it. It is considered as a lustration, a casting out of the demons before the really holy (and more Hindu) part of the ceremony is enacted.

Between the *padanda* and the *dalang* there were those offerings lying on a mat in the compound. West of this mat there was an earthenware pot standing on a round, hollow base. This base was the *lěsung*, the mortar in which rice is pounded. It is itself a purification symbol and can thus be used as the stand for the ceremonial bath. At the lustration of a Balinese temple a miniature *lěsung* is used, and it is but one of the dozens of ritual objects that have a place in this ceremony. In due course it is my intention to describe these objects, specimens of which are now in the National Museum for Ethnology, Leiden.

It is not only the presence of the *lěsung* beneath the pot that indicates the special purpose that the latter serves, but also the fact that leaves from the *kayu mas* and the *kayu puring* have been thrown into it as

³ Alfred A. Knopf publisher, New York, 1937, repeatedly reprinted, p. 91.

⁴ Colin MacPhee, 'The Balinese wajang koelit and its music', DJAWA 16, 1936 Djokjakarta.

well as a stone and 225 *kèpèng* (Chinese coin); this last being the number of coins customarily used for offerings.

The pot is called *taman* which means ceremonial bath/bathing place (cf. my article "Upon a White Stone under a Nagasari Tree")⁵ and so it is decorated with curved narrow strips cut out of a young palm leaf; these strips are placed crosswise over it.⁶

As the padanda finished his ceremony with the holy water, the dalang of the wayang lèmah broke the white thread stretched between the two freshly cut branches of the dapdap tree. Those branches act as the uprights of the frame within which the dalang manipulates the puppets; the white thread is the daytime substitute for the white screen used at night performances of the wayang kulit. It is worthy of note that at the lustration of a wedding, both bride and groom have to break a similar white thread that is stretched between two dapdap branches that have been put in the ground for this purpose.

As soon as the thread had been broken, a woman standing near the padanda cut some strips off the top of the three-foot-long *lis*, an object made of palmleaves which is used for sprinkling the holy water (elsewhere I intend to deal with it at length). She then quickly twisted these strips — which represent the 'hair' of this figure, for such it is — back into the body of the 'figure' and then offered the whole thing to the padanda who uttered a mantra in its honour.⁷

The first place of all to be purified is the open seat of the Sungod. This is done by the sprinkling of holy water and other means of purification are used as well. This function is always in charge of several elderly women.

As soon as the courtyard has been freed of evil influences, the adat ceremony began. The mother made her appearance with the three-months-old baby in her arms. She was preceded by another woman who carried the bajang cholong in her outstretched arms. The bajang cholong was an unripe *papaya* fruit covered with an expensive cloth.

This ceremonial cloth not only covered the bajang cholong but also

⁵ BKI 113/IV, 1957, pp. 324-340.

⁶ An interesting description of a ceremonial bath for royal infants of a Malay court in Kalimantan (Borneo) is to be found in 'De Kroniek van Koetai, tekst-uitgave met toelichting' by C. A. Mees (Ph. D. thesis Leiden), Santpoort, 1935, p. 69 and pp. 127-131. This passage also in 'Literatuur in Maleis en Indonésisch' by Dr. C. Hooykaas, Wolters, Groningen/Djakarta, 1952, pp. 327-332, and in 'Perintis Sastra' edited by Dr. C. Hooykaas, id. ib. 2nd imp. pp. 328-334.

⁷ A Balinese artist made many drawings for me of its individual parts.

a purple banana flower. Thin sticks had been stuck into the papaya, and hanging from them were bracelets and a necklace with a locket.

The papaya and the purple banana flower were bathed in the ceremonial bath and after that the bracelets and the necklace were thrown into the water. The bajang cholong itself was then thrown away, (but not the cloth covering it), and the princeling had his ceremonial bath in the taman in which were the purifying leaves, the stone and the kèpèngs. After that he was robed in the same ceremonial cloth that had covered the bajang cholong and adorned with the ornaments that had hung on it.

I believe that in the case of the bajang cholong we possess not only the rite which has to be performed for every three-months-old baby, but also the myth.

The myth is found in the Balinese folktale, I Baboso.⁸ The story runs as follows:

The Prince of Koripan had retired to the woods in order to perform *tapa*, askesis. He was accompanied by his two young wives. After a time the elder wife gave birth to a son, the younger to a daughter. Now it happened that when the Prince was out hunting he lost his way. He entered a house and found an old woman and her daughter living there. They were witches. They bewitched the Prince so that he would not notice the young witch's prominent and pointed canine teeth and would fall in love with her. This he did. He then took the young witch back home and in due time she bore him a son. The witch-wife was jealous of the other two wives and put out their eyes. Thereupon the two wives sent their children to heaven for safety. When the elder child, the boy, grew up he came down to earth and was found by his father. The Prince did not know that the boy was his son and so he gave him to the witch-wife's son as his servant. The witch-wife, however, realised who the boy was and determined to get rid of him. So she sent a letter to her witch-mother in which she told her that her grandson was now grown up and would be coming on a visit to her, and that he would be accompanied by a servant, who was in reality the son of one of her rival wives. She would recognise the one child

⁸ Ms. Gedong Kirtya, Singaradja, No. 1656; the complete tale retold in my 'Sprookjes en Verhalen van Bali', Van Hoeve, The Hague, 1956, No. 18, 'Grootmoeder Heks', pp. 117-121; part of it in Dr. C. Hooykaas, 'The Lay of Jaya Prana', Luzac & Co. Ltd., London, 1958, pp. 16-18. The editors kindly draw my attention to: Dr. P. Voorhoeve, 'Overzicht van de Volksverhalen der Bataks', Ph. D. thesis Leiden, Vlossingen 1927, p. 116 No. 92; Dr. J. van Baal, 'Over Wegen en Drijfveren der Religie', Amsterdam, 1947, p. 174; A. C. Kruyt, in 'Tuin der Goden' II (onder redactie van prof. dr. A. G. van Hamel), Utrecht 1947, p. 161 (a version from Borneo).

from the other because her grandson was fat and would be wearing golden ornaments, whereas the servant was lean and would not be wearing any ornaments at all. The witch-wife instructed her mother to devour the latter. The children departed and during the journey the princeling persuaded the witch's son — naturally a stupid oaf — to give him the clothing and ornaments he was wearing. The witch's son agreed to the exchange and so the princeling arrived at the old witch's house attired as befitted his real rank. As a consequence the old witch devoured her own grandson.

This exchange of clothing and ornaments is, in fact, that which took place in the ceremony just described.

On one occasion I witnessed a curious ceremony which took place immediately after the princeling had been given his clothing and ornaments. At this ceremony he was provided with a female servant as well as a male servant. The latter, a boy about eight years old and wearing a ceremonial scarf round his waist, took the baby from the mother. A kind of cage was then placed over him, the baby, and the girl who was about five years of age. Ornaments made from young palm leaves were placed over the cage.

At this ceremony the eight-year-old boy became the princeling's male servant (*parėkan*) and the girl his female servant (*pañėroan*). During this ceremony certain of the participants walked three times round the mat on the ground and on which the offerings were lying. (I have witnessed this ceremony many times: at a cremation, a wedding, and at the welcoming of the old gods into a new home). In front walked an old woman (at the cremation it was the oldest grandson of the deceased). She carried an offering which is called *panuntun*.⁹ *Panuntun* means 'leader'. Perhaps it signified the princeling being led into the religious community of his parents and ancestors. The *panuntun* in this case was a pea-shoot since the ceremony was performed on behalf of a boy. Had it been for a girl then a spindle would have been used. The pea-shoot had been wrapped in a bundle consisting of a coconut and packets of purifying herbs etc.

This *panuntun* had a twist of three coloured threads attached to it, each colour representing one of the Balinese Trinity: red for Brahma, black for Wisnu, white for Iswara = Siwa. The twist passed over the right shoulder of the bearer of the *panuntun* and was held up by the person walking behind him. Then followed a boy carrying an offering called *salaran*. I noticed at every lustration ceremony which I witnessed

⁹ 'Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Balisch Doodenritueel' by K. C. Crucq (Ph. D. thesis Leiden), Santpoort, 1928, pp. 64*, 65, 115.

that this salaran was borne on the shoulder of a boy. The salaran consisted of coconuts, sweet potatoes, betelnut, ready made betel quids, packets of cooked rice, and a white duck and a white chicken, both of which were alive. The role played by the duck and the chicken will be seen in the next ceremony. Behind the salaran-bearer walked the mother and the baby, the two newly-consecrated servant-children and some elderly women.

This threefold ritual walk round the mat concluded the purification (or lustration) ceremony. We are here reminded that the Latin word *lustrari* also refers to a ritual walking in a circle.

After the lustration, the child was fit to enter the balé gédé where the Brahmin priest had been sitting waiting quietly. Apparently the holy man has nothing whatever to do with the 'unclean' job of getting rid of the demons, though I did once see a padanda — having first asked about the baby's sex — draw a human figure on the papaya and on the banana flower, using a knife to do so. From this it is clear that no distinct division can be made between the adat part of the ceremony and its Hindu part.

Before sprinkling the baby the padanda performed a ceremony which I think will have as little to do with Hinduism as the bajang cholong itself. We never found a written formula for the ceremony concerning the bajang cholong, whereas the form of the one that will now be described is prescribed by the holy scripts.

Of the various offerings that make up the salaran it was the white duck and the white chicken that were brought to the padanda who purified them by sprinkling holy water over them while at the same time muttering the appropriate *mantra*.

To the duck he said: "Ong, you Garuda! peck away the impurities of him who is being purified. Fly away with them to the sea where they will be destroyed".

To the chicken he said: "Ong, you Kundi-raksa! I order you to peck away (any future) sickness and (any future) frustrations of him for whom this ceremony is being performed. Fly away with them to the sea where they will be destroyed".¹⁰

From here onward the priest used the well-known Sanskrit formulas for purification which are to be found in Sylvain Lévi's 'Sanskrit Texts from Bali'.¹¹

¹⁰ Pūjā Pañca Bali Krama, Ms. K. No. 1186 1(ēmpir = palmleafpage) 11a.

¹¹ Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXVII, Baroda 1933, 'critically edited and with an introduction by Sylvain Lévi'.

A chicken which has ritually taken away all the impurities of the child can never be killed for human consumption, because it is full of evil — a kind of scape goat. There is a belief often found among poor people that a child of theirs, for whom the lustration ritual has been performed, has a special sympathy for the chicken bearing its own load of badness. This chicken, called *siap cholong*, changeling-chicken, thus serves the same function as the *bajang cholong*: it removes the impurities of the child.

The second ceremony which I will describe is the purification of mother and child which is held one month and seven days after the confinement. The first part of the ceremony is called *ma-cholong-an*, which could be translated as: bringing the offerings to the (*bajang*) *cholong*, the changeling. We will see that in this part of the ceremony the *bajang cholong* itself is in fact an offering. The festival as a whole is called after the third and most holy ceremony, *ma-kambuh-an*.¹²

This ceremony, like that performed at three months, can be divided into three parts. The first is that of the *adat*, a purification which takes place in the compound and outside the *balé gèdé*; the second is also a purifying, or strengthening, ceremony which is performed on the west side of the *balé gèdé* — but not by the Brahmin priest. He only officiates at the third part performed at the holy east side of the *balé*.

The first thing I noticed was a table full of offerings which stood on a stone under which the afterbirth had been buried. Since the child was a boy the stone was set to the right of the exit of the house. On the top of the stone there lay a long finely cut strip of palmleaf and many flower offerings.

There was also a cradle, and hanging above it was the little shrine for the worship of Kumara and Kumari. I was told that on this occasion a special offering had been put there. This consisted of bananas and a cake in the shape of a chicken in the inside of which there was a whole egg.

Before the ceremony began the *padanda* sat waiting on the bench in the eastern portion of the *balé gèdé*.

Directly behind him, but on the ground, the *pamangku*, temple priest, sat before a mat on which offerings had been laid.

On the west (unholy) side of the compound a small pyre of bamboos was lighted. As soon as they started to explode — the object of the

¹² Van der Tuuk, KBNWdbk. s.v. *kambuh*, II p. 353a.

noise being to frighten off the demons — the *padanda* and the *pamangku*, who was seated in front of the mat, simultaneously began the ceremony, the *pamangku* performing the first act by sprinkling the offerings with holy water. One of the principal offerings consisted of two little chickens who have to peck grains from a narrow piece of bamboo, 8 inches long. We have already seen that this is a token of purification.

At the western side of the *pamangku*'s mat there was a curious offering: a very much damaged rice steamer on which stood different objects. One of them was the *papah nyuh*, the broad leaf stalk of a coconut leaf, which Van der Tuuk mentions as serving for the *bajang cholong*. I noticed a white cross being drawn on it to counter the bad spirits. I failed to observe, however, whether it had a human figure drawn on it, since at that time I did not know Van der Tuuk's *locus*. It may, therefore, have escaped my attention.

On this rice steamer, in addition to the *bajang cholong*, there stood an empty *katipat* (plaited leaves in which rice is cooked; an offering indeed fit for a ghost!), and a *pèñor*, in this instance made of cane; usually, when used for ceremonial, it is made of bamboo. Attached to it were *layang-layangan* (a flying object) made of a piece of banana stem with feathers stitched all round it. This miniature *pèñor*, like a real one, had an ornamental offering hanging from it. As well as this there was a palmleaf adorned with flowers.

As soon as the purifying ceremony had been performed with the chicken all the offerings, by then dangerous and polluted objects, were collected by a female servant and thrown away.

Then the temple priest ascended the *balé gédé* to perform the second part of the ceremony. This is called *ma-kakul-an* after the *kakul*, the large sawah-snail which is apparently one of its principal offerings.

The temple priest purified the baby by touching it first with an egg and then with the *kakul*.

During the time that the temple priest was performing the purification ceremony, I observed another one being enacted by the female assistant. She was standing at the outer edge of the western part of the *balé* and made two offerings change place. This she did three times, each time putting the offerings back in their correct place.

One of the offerings was large and cylindrical in form and was filled with *saté*, small pieces of meat to be grilled. The *katipat* on it was shaped like a bird. The other offering was also cylindrical, but was much smaller and empty.

Again there was an exchange, this time of food, and again the act was done stealthily, presumably to mislead the evil spirits. The next day when I questioned the assistant about the procedure she looked a little annoyed and was surprised that I had noticed it. She informed me that the offering was called *tutuhan* and that what she had performed had no meaning whatsoever. It was one of those things that just had to be done.

I suggest that the significance is in the seeming exchange of the well filled basket for the empty one, the purpose being to deceive the demons. Remember that the *bajang cholong* had an empty *katipat* as an offering.

CONCLUSIONS.

In Mediaeval Europe it was supposed that a child could be exchanged by creatures of a non-human race. This idea is current in Bali today. In Mediaeval Europe a ceremony was held to immunise the child against these malevolent powers. This also is done in present day Bali. In Mediaeval Europe the 'changeling' was finally thrown away. This is also done in Bali.

In Bali, besides the idea of a changeling in human shape (*bajang cholong*) there is also the bird which takes away the evil influences which menace the child (*siap cholong*).

We will now show that these conclusion hold good not only for Bali but that the same ideas are also to be found among the Javanese, the Batak and the people of Malaya. And, though our material is scanty — and much of it accidentally come by — it can be safely assumed that many other Indonesian peoples have either known, or still know, ceremonies concerning either the changeling, or the bird pecking away evil influences, or both.

In *Java* a typical ceremony of a changeling has been described by Snouck Hurgronje in his 'Brieven van een Wedono pensioen'.¹³

There is a custom which I believe to have as its purpose the deception of *kuntis* and other infant-stealing demons. An oblong stone, which usually serves for the rubbing of curries (condiments), is placed on the sleeping place of a baby. This stone is more or less dressed and is adorned with stripes of soot and chalk. Probably the stone is intended to receive the evils that would otherwise enter the baby who, in the meantime, is kept on the laps of the female relatives or of friends. —

¹³ 'Verspreide Geschriften', Kurt Schroeder, Bonn und Leipzig, IV¹, 1924, p. 133.

With the *Batak* one finds time and again ceremonies concerning the changeling, not only for children but for all kinds of sick or afflicted persons; even for a whole tribe, in which case the changeling is taken to the enemy's territory. In his 'Toba-Batak auf Sumatra' Winkler¹⁴ deals at length with these ceremonies which are fundamentally the same as those held in Bali. Only one example of the changeling offerings will be given here.¹⁵

As many as ten puppets were made for this ceremony. One of them represented the woman on whose behalf the ceremony was performed. This puppet was cut out off a banana stem, dressed in rich material and adorned with the patient's silver necklace. The other nine were made of fern or grass, a few being made of wood. These were supposed to be the inhabitants of the ghost/spirit-land; some were eaters of flesh, others flying ghosts. One represented the patient's afterbirth.

Many guns were fired at the ceremony and bamboos had to be exploded just as in Bali, to drive away the devils. At the conclusion all the puppets were carried out of the village and taken to an unholy place.

In *Malaya* the ceremony of the changeling is found as well as that of the chicken pecking away the ritual impurities. As far as the *changing* is concerned, the description of the ceremony runs as follows: — (the ceremony was held for an expectant mother before her confinement)

"A palm blossom is swathed to represent the baby with a child's brooch on its bosom. The doll, adorned with flowers, is laid on a tray and the tray placed on a cradle made of three, five or seven layers according to the rank of the prospective parents. Midwife and magician sprinkle rice-paste on the doll and the cradle. The midwife rocks the cradle, crooning baby songs. Then she gives the doll to the future mother and father and all their relatives to dandle. Finally the doll is put back into the cradle and left there till the next day, *when it is broken up and thrown into the water*"¹⁶ (my italics).

The final throwing of the doll into the water, the exact procedure adopted in Bali, shows that here also it can be considered as a changeling intended to receive the evils which menace the unborn child.

¹⁴ Dr. med. Johannes Winkler, 'Die Toba-Batak auf Sumatra in gesunden und kranken Tagen', Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des animistischen Heidentums, Stuttgart, 1925.

¹⁵ M. Joustra, 'Het Porsili mbelin', *M(ededeelingen van wege het) N(ederland-sche) Z(endeling) G(enootschap)* 46, 1902, pp. 1-22.

¹⁶ R. O. Winstedt, 'Shaman Saiva and Sufi, a Study of the Evolution of Malay Magic'. Constable & Co., London-Bombay-Sydney, 1925, pp. 118-9.

That the use of such a 'changeling doll' was a common idea can be accepted from the fact that dolls were placed between the objects put near the spot where a baby is born,¹⁷ '..... to keep the spirits of evil from molesting mother and child.' —

As for the *chicken* pecking away the impurities, this is a feature of many Balinese ceremonies, not only those held for the purification of a temple, but those for a bridal couple, and a baby.

In Malaya it is performed at one of the crisis-rites, circumcision. The description is as follows:¹⁸

"His body (is) sprinkled with saffron rice and cooling rice-paste, and his mouth stuffed with a lump of glutinous rice and three grains of parched rice. *A hen is placed on his body and encouraged to peck up any of the grains of rice that may be sticking to his mouth*" (my italics).

In precisely the same way we saw a chicken pecking the grains of rice thrown by the priest on the arms of a bride!

One may safely say that both ideas, the changeling-doll and the chicken pecking away the impurities, were part of an ancient pre-Muslim and pre-Hindu belief in Indonesia.

In the Balinese language the connexion between the two ideas is expressed by calling the doll *bajang cholong*, and the chicken *siap cholong*, meaning changeling-child and changeling-chicken (Dutch: wissel-kind en wissel-kip).

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¹⁷ Winstedt o.c. p. 120.

¹⁸ Winstedt o.c. p. 129.