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The Litany of “The World’s Beginning”: A Hindu-Javanese Purification Text

NANCY J. SMITH-HEFNER

Tengger Javanese are an ethnic Javanese people who live in the rugged uplands surrounding Mount Bromo in eastern Java.¹ Tengger are unique among modern Javanese in that they alone trace their religious traditions back to a non-Islamic, Hindu-Javanese priesthood thought to date from the time of the last of Java’s great Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms (the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). Specialists of Java’s ancient Hindu traditions, however, have generally concluded that liturgical manuscripts from the Tengger region can tell us little about Old Javanese religion. The eminent Dutch historian Th. G. Th. Pigeaud writes that the people who preserved the religious texts among the Tengger never belonged to the class of cultured ecclesiastics so prominent in Hindu-Javanese times.² Many of the Tengger manuscripts in museum collections are written in a rustic and non-standard, *budha* script,³ and do not contain any learned Sanskrit slokas or other easily identifiable references to classical Hindu-Javanese traditions.⁴ These facts led Pigeaud to speculate that the Tengger population had always formed a separate community, only superficially

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¹Linguistic research was conducted in the Tengger highlands of East Java from 1978 to 1980. It was supported by a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant and was sponsored in Indonesia by the National Language Centre (Pusat Bahasa) and the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (LIPI). Follow-up research, conducted over a nine month period in 1985, was also supported by Fulbright (ASEAN) as well as the Social Science Research Council. I would like to acknowledge with appreciation the critical input of my husband and co-worker in the region, Robert W. Hefner, whose reconstruction of historical events in the Tengger region has served as the foundation of my own understanding of Tengger social and religious change; see Robert W. Hefner, *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); “Islamizing Java? Religion and Politics in Rural East Java”, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 3 (1987): 533–54; *The Political Economy of Mountain Java: An Interpretive History* (Berkeley, University of California Press, forthcoming).

²Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, Vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), p. 49.

³*Budha* (literally, “Buddhist”) script or *gunung* (“mountain”) script are terms used to refer to archaic and non-standard forms of Javanese script found in remote areas of Java in non-Islamic manuscripts; see Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, p. 54; Nancy J. Smith-Hefner, “Reading, Reciting and Knowing: Interpreting a Rural Javanese Text Tradition”, in *Writing on the Tongue*, ed. Alton L. Becker (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1989), p. 196.

⁴Another Dutch historian, G.P. Rouffaer [“Tenggerezen”, *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1921), p. 303] even reports that prayers collected from the Tengger area in the early nineteenth century are written “in ordinary Javanese prose”. They are, in fact, written in a form of what is often referred to as Middle Javanese. Cf. P.J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), pp. 24–36 and 441–43.

influenced by Hindu tradition, and primarily involved in the worship of Mount Bromo, the volcano located at the centre of the region.⁵

With the collapse of the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the conditions for the survival of Hindu-Javanese culture in Java were seriously disrupted: "Hindu-Javanism, driven from the centers of political power which were the strongholds of its culture, was doomed to disappear."⁶ Few Hindu-Javanese religious works survived the Islamization of Java's courts, and little of this literature would remain today were it not for the Hindu-Balinese kraton with their brahmin priests who continued to make the ancient religious writings the subject of their interest and study.⁷ As a result, much of what we know of Old Javanese literature has actually come to us from Bali. In the one area of Java where non-Islamic texts were maintained well into the twentieth century — the Tengger highlands — scholars like Pigeaud contended that these manuscripts provided little insight into Old Javanese Hinduism; the prayers contained in these texts, Pigeaud argued, were never part of a great religious tradition, but were only "rather popular speculations, apparently of a relatively recent date. . . ."⁸

Closer examination of the Tengger manuscripts, however, reveals that they are of greater interest to those seeking information on early Javanese religion than these arguments would suggest. The *Purwo Bumi Kamulane* (litany of "The World's Beginning") is an ancient Hindu-Javanese purification prayer still recited by Tengger priests today. Comparative analysis indicates that this litany is the same as that collected from the Tengger area in the early nineteenth century by the English Governor Raffles.⁹ Even more dramatic, however, is the discovery by the present author that the prayer is also virtually identical to the litany of the Balinese *sengguhu* or *resi bhujaangga*, a non-Brahmanic, commoner priest. The parallels between the two liturgies provide powerful evidence that at one point there was significant cultural contact between the priesthood of the Tengger mountains and the Balinese *resi*. This evidence renders highly implausible the conclusions of earlier historians to the effect that Tengger Javanese were always a tribal population separate from other Javanese, and only nominally involved in any Hindu worship.¹⁰ Conversely, the liturgical parallels between Tengger and Balinese prayers support the longstanding contention of the Tengger that they are, in fact, "original Javanese", and the descendants of refugees from fallen Majapahit. The Tengger manuscripts thus have more to tell us about Old Javanese religion than scholars have long thought.

The Tengger Highlands in Early Javanese History

The Tengger highlands are located forty kilometres to the east of the city of Malang and fifty kilometres to the south of the north coast ports of Probolinggo

⁵Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, p. 49.

⁶Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, p. 22.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, p. 49.

⁹Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, "A Discourse Delivered on the 11th September 1815", *Transactions of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 8 (1826), p. 40.

¹⁰J.E. Jasper, *Tengger en de Tenggereezen* (Batavia: Druk van G. Kolff, 1926); Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, p. 49.

and Pasuruan. In earlier times, the area lay just to the east of the Hindu-Javanese court centres of Singosari and its successor, Majapahit. Charters found near the mountain region, dating from as early as the tenth century, attest to the fact that pre-Islamic courts considered the mountain region sacred. These charters indicate that the area was the site of a *mandhala* religious community and that many of the inhabitants were members of Buddhist and Hindu religious sects.¹¹

With the decline of the last powerful East Javanese court of Majapahit in the late fifteenth century and the rise to power of Central Javanese Muslim courts, Java's eastern territories experienced a lengthy period of warfare and political disorder.¹² Only one small Hindu principality survived the devastation; it was located at Blambangan, on the far eastern tip of Java, adjacent to Bali. This non-Muslim court was the target of repeated attacks launched by Central Javanese (Mataram) authorities.

Outside of Blambangan, pockets of non-Islamic population also appear to have survived for some time. The most important of these was located in the Tengger mountains. Anti-Mataram rebels used these mountains as a refuge and a base for attacks against Mataram and Dutch forces. This resistance to Central Javanese authority proved so successful that in 1743 the eastern territories were ceded to the Dutch East Indies Company as payment for the Company's assistance in military campaigns against eastern Java's rebels. The Europeans were able to pacify the area, however, only in the final years of the eighteenth century.¹³

The consequences of this history were severe. Nearly two centuries of fighting in eastern Java had destroyed much of the area's indigenous population and the traditions to which it was heir. The Dutch subsequently encouraged immigration to provide labour for sugar and coffee estates.¹⁴ The majority of these newcomers were at least nominally Muslim; many were Madurese. In the resulting flood of migration, the indigenous East Javanese population maintained a strong presence only in a few areas — most notably around Blambangan in the far east and in the Tengger highlands.

In the early nineteenth century, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, then Lieutenant-Governor of Java, conducted a tour of Java's eastern districts and visited the Tengger area.¹⁵ Raffles reported on his visit in a lecture delivered on 11 September 1815 to the

¹¹J.L.A. Brandes, "Oud-Javaansch Oorkonden", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Vol. 60 (1913); J.G. De Casparis, "Oorkonde uit het Singosarische", *Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indie* (1940), pp. 50–60; Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century*, Vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960–63), p. 120.

¹²Ann Kumar, *Surapati: Man and Legend* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976); M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia: C. 1300 to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981).

¹³Ann Kumar, "Javanese Historiography in and of the 'Colonial Period': A Case Study", in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid and David Marr (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979), pp. 187–206; Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*.

¹⁴Kumar, "Javanese Historiography in and of the 'Colonial Period'", p. 192; Egbert DeVries, *Landbouw en Welvaart in het Regentschap Pasoeroean: Bidjrage tot de Kennis van de Sociale Economie van Java* (Wageningen, The Netherlands: H. Veenman, 1931), p. 32; Hefner, *Hindu Javanese*, p. 32.

¹⁵Raffles, "A Discourse Delivered on the 11th September".

Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in which he described the Tengger priests, called *dhukun*,¹⁶ and the religious texts he collected from them.

[The priests' religious] records consist of three compositions, written on the Lontar leaf, describing the origin of the world, the attributes of the Deity, and the forms of worship to be observed on different occasions. Copies were taken on the spot.¹⁷

It is unclear where the originals of the texts Raffles collected in Tengger are today. Raffles wrote that he planned to publish translations, but they never appeared. It is possible, however, that a British Library manuscript, add. 123424, is a copy of one of the texts Raffles refers to here.¹⁸ Museum manuscript catalogues indicate that the manuscript was purchased by the library in 1842 from John Crawford, esq. Like Raffles, Crawford was a British diplomat in Southeast Asia during the first quarter of the nineteenth century and had a keen interest in Javanese language and history.

The museum notes which accompany add. 123424 direct the reader to Raffles' comments, cited above, and to similar comments made in his book, *The History of Java*.¹⁹ On the flyleaf of the library's manuscript there is a short note written in English: "Sacred Book of the Hindoo of the Mountain of Tangar". Examination of the text confirms the manuscript's importance. After a standard invocation, *hong hawiggenam astu nammah* ("Om, let there be no hinderance, hommage!"), it begins, *hong pruwa bumi kammullan* ("Om, the origin of the world"). Although somewhat longer than contemporary versions, it is none other than the Tengger *Purwo Bumi Kamulane*, the litany of "The World's Beginning" still recited by Tengger priests today.

Collecting the Texts

Between the early nineteenth century, when Raffles visited Tengger, and 1978 when my husband and I began our research — over a century and a half later — enormous changes had occurred in the Tengger highlands. The influx of Muslim Madurese and Javanese into lower-lying areas in the nineteenth century had pushed Tengger settlements further up the mountainside, into areas where coffee cultivation was not possible.²⁰ The presence of these Muslim newcomers in the surrounding area eventually caused a severe crisis of identity among Tengger Javanese. Despite their pretensions to being the most indigenous of Javanese, Tengger found themselves surrounded by those who neither shared their tradition nor accepted its legitimacy.

In the late nineteenth century, the religious crisis worsened, as lowland villages around the Tengger highlands were swept by the first of a series of movements for Islamic revitalization.²¹ During this period, in response to Islam's perceived threat, Tengger priests began to borrow elements of Muslim lore into their ritual performances. Furthermore, elements of specifically Hindu-Shaivite tradition were purposely

¹⁶Although the term *dhukun* has taken on a pejorative sense in more orthodox Muslim areas of Java, in Tengger the term is used to refer to local priests and has no such pejorative overtones.

¹⁷Raffles, "A Discourse Delivered on the 11th September", p. 40.

¹⁸M.C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 84.

¹⁹Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1965 [1830]), p. 330.

²⁰Hefner, *Hindu Javanese*, p. 33.

²¹Hefner, "Islamizing Java?", and *The Political Economy of Mountain Java* (forthcoming).

backgrounded in public religious statements. By the 1960s, a number of Tengger communities had converted to Islam, and others continued to flirt with the possibility of conversion.

In late 1978, when my husband and I arrived on the scene, the crisis had entered a new phase, influenced by the religious policies of the Indonesian state.²² Whereas some Tengger villages had finally decided to affiliate themselves with Balinese Hinduism, the members of other villages felt this was a repudiation of ancestral ways. A few priests feared that the texts would in fact prove them to be animists. In this atmosphere, Tengger priests were understandably nervous about showing their liturgical texts to outsiders. Although we were permitted to tape the (often unintelligible) priestly rituals, we were unable to convince any of the priests to allow us to see their books.

Finally, after many months in the region, a priest from the southwest felt sufficiently comfortable with us to give us access to his texts. The *Purwo Bumi Kamulane* litany was prominent among them. We were subsequently able to obtain a number of prayer texts from other Tengger priests, including two additional versions of the litany, one from the northwest and another from a village in the northeast.²³

Although in none of our versions is the narrative of the purification complete in itself, the litany can be summarized as follows,

In the beginning the Goddess Uma emerged from the void. The Goddess became Bathara Guru's consort and the two meditated. From their meditation emerged the five sages, Kosika, Garga, Maitri, Kurusya, and Pratanjala. Kosika came forth from their skin, Garga from their flesh, and Maitri from their sinews. Kurusya came from their bones and Pratanjala from their marrow.

The upper world was then complete, and the five sages were told by the God and Goddess to descend to create the lower world. Four of the sages refused and were cursed by the God. Kosika became a monster and went off to the east. Garga became a snake and went off to the west. Kurusya became a crocodile and went to the north. Pratanjala was the only one who accepted the Gods' command. He became the king of the turtles, his place, at the centre.

Pratanjala then descended to create the world. There was as yet nothing in the void, no east, no south, no west, no north, nothing to be seen, nothing to be heard. The Goddess Uma began to create the world with Pratanjala. She concentrated her mind and from her body sweat began to pour forth. It gushed in streams and became the Gangges. Then from her body the earth came forth. The sun and the moon emerged, and all of the planets and stars. The five elements came forth and the four elements, water, light, wind and sky. Everything was finally complete in the three worlds.

²²According to national policy, all Indonesians must now profess one of the five world religions recognized by the Indonesian government: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, or reform-variants of Buddhism or Hinduism.

²³Also of significance, among the texts we collected was a prayer which accompanies a ceremony which Tengger call the *pembaruan*, a rite of priestly renewal. Priests who have undergone renewal, in Tengger called *tiyang baru* "new men", are mentioned in Pigeaud's *Java in the 14th Century* as well as in the *Tantu Panggelaran*, an old Javanese historical text which dates from the late Majapahit period [Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1924)]. The exegesis of the *pembaruan* text will be taken up in a later paper, but its existence in Tengger is further support for the early and extensive contacts between the upland area and the lowland Hindu Javanese courts.



Representatives holding the effigies of their deceased relatives.



Purifying the dead/stitching the winding cloth.

The Goddess Uma then suddenly became angry. She desired human flesh. She became the Goddess Durga. She screamed and roared like a lion. Her teeth were long and sharp like tusks. Her mouth was like an abyss. Her eyes were like twin stars and her nostrils like deep wells. Her hair was matted and tangled and her body was huge beyond compare. Her horrible demon army surrounded her and from the sea came more monsters and every kind of fish.

When the God Guru saw this, he descended to earth and became the God Kala. His appearance was as horrifying as that of the Goddess Durga.

The two of them were accompanied by all sorts of fiends and demons, demons of the forest, demons of the road, demons of the gate and of the courtyard, demons whose place is under the bed, in the lean-to, in the kitchen, and in the rice bin, bulging-eyed demons, hunchback demons, demons of the graveyard and of the marketplace.

The Goddess Durga came forth from the ocean in her terrifying form. She was smeared with blood and wore a necklace of human skulls. She was draped with intestines and escorted by Kala's army to the graveyard of infants. Humans were eaten by day and by night.

Finally, the God Kala created Brahma, Visnu, and Maheswara and sent them down to the middle world to help humankind. Iswara became a brahmin priest and Visnu became a *bujangga*. They made offerings of various kinds to be eaten by Durga and Kala. The priests honoured the Gods, chanting prayers, ringing bells, and burning incense, performing a purification. A covenant was made with the gods so that if on certain days they are feasted and honoured, humans will no longer be eaten.

The God Kala then returned to his former self as Bathara Guru and Durga became Uma again. Kosika returned to the East as the God Iswara. Garga returned to the south as the God Brahma. Maitri returned to the west as the God Mahadewa. Kurusya went to the north as the god Visnu and Pratanjala went to his place in the centre and became the God Siva. All returned to their true forms.

The Ritual Context

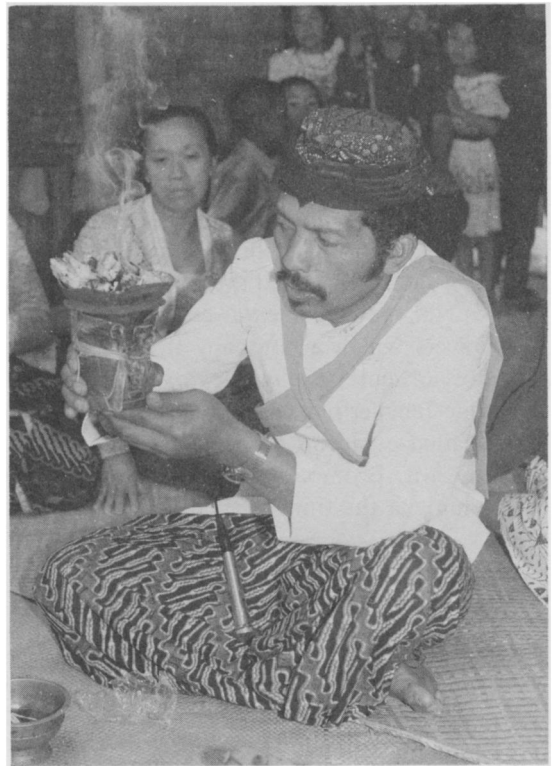
The *Purwo Bumi Kamulane* is considered by Tengger priests as the most sacred and efficacious of their liturgy. It accompanies the most significant of the Tengger rituals, a ceremony called the *entas-entas*, the purification or "elevation" of deceased souls.²⁴ Not only is the *entas-entas* the most elaborate and lengthy of Tengger rituals, the prayers which accompany it are, with regard to both language and imagery, the most obscure. *Entas* (*mentas*) means literally to "emerge as from water". In at least one Tengger prayer the purified souls are depicted as emerging from the boiling, cow-headed cauldron of hell (the Indic *gomukha*), identified as the crater of the volcano, Mt. Bromo.²⁵ The *entas-entas* is performed not to purify single deceased individuals at the time of their death, but rather the collective dead of a family. It

²⁴For a more detailed description of the *entas-entas* ceremony and its interpretation see Hefner, "Chapter 8", *Hindu Javanese*, pp. 163-88. For an earlier, less complete description, see John Scholte, "De Slamatan Entas-Entas der Tenggereezen on de Memukur Ceremonie op Bali", *Handelingen van het Eerst Kongres voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Yawa Gehouden* (1919), pp. 47-80.

²⁵Nancy J. Smith-Hefner, "Language and Social Identity: Speaking Javanese in Tengger" (Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1983), p. 284. See also Jan Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (Nagpur, India: The International Academy of Indian Culture, 1952), p. 147.



*The banten gedhe/inviting the
World Deity.*



The priestly incense invocation.

is an expensive ceremony and awaits the time when living family members have amassed the significant amount of capital required to sponsor its celebration.

The ceremony is normally three days in length. During the rites and festivities of the first two days the various orders of family and guardian spirits are invited, fed, and entertained with *tayuban* dancing, *ludruk* comedic performance, *jaran kepang* (horse trance dancing) and the like. The purification proper or *palukatan* occurs only on the third day when, through an elaborate ceremony called the *banten gedhe*, the most powerful world deity is entreated to descend and to enter the priest. This deity may be referred to by various terms, but is here identified as *Sunan Prabu Guru* or Siva as World Teacher. It is in his name and through his power that the purification will be effected. Once the *banten gedhe* has been performed and the most powerful deity has been invoked, the purification of the deceased souls can begin.

The volume and complexity of the *palukatan* preparations and offerings indicate the spiritual significance of the ceremony to be performed. The assistants of the priest arrange low benches on which are placed, at intervals, unhusked rice stalks. The benches are then covered by woven mats. Clay pots (*cepel*) are set out in front of the benches, one for each representative of the dead. These representatives are actually living relatives of the deceased who seat themselves on low benches, each in front of one of the clay pots. They wear only pants or a sarong. Women loosen their hair and take off any jewellery. They sit holding in their right hand the flower and stalk figures called *petra* to which the souls of the ancestral dead will be invoked. The *petra* sit in clay pots in which are also placed a few coins and some cigarettes said to be provisions for the soul's journey.

Food offerings for the deceased souls are set out in front of each *cepel*. And in front of these are the requisite *nasi tumpeng*, rice mountains, one for each of the deceased, whole roasted chickens, more dishes of cooked meat, of *sate*, of curries and of noodles and bunches of bananas, all for the ancestral spirits. After this come the trays and trays of *sajenan* offerings for the guardian deities, stacked up in teetering piles, each tray of woven banana leaf filled with a prescribed combination of fried meat, rice cakes and sweets. To the left of these offerings is placed a thigh of raw beef as an offering for the demons. And to the right sits the freshly removed head and skin of a goat which is to be the vehicle for the souls' journey to heaven, once purified.

The living representatives of the deceased souls are covered with a long white cloth, symbolically, the winding cloth of the dead. The priest recites the incense offering sequence, the gamelan starts to play and all other activity stops as everyone present turns his attention to the purification ceremony. The priest then begins slowly and clearly to intone the *Purwo Bumi* litany while, at intervals, ringing his ceremonial bell.²⁶

²⁶These bells are very similar to the ones still used by Balinese priests today in Bali. They are a part of the Tengger priest's ritual regalia which includes a *prapen* or "incense burner" and a *prasen* or "zodiakbeker", so called because it is typically imprinted with signs of the zodiac. The Tengger priests' holy water beakers have been found to date from as early as the first half of the fourteenth century [H.H. Juynboll, "Zodiakbeker", in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie*, ed. J. Paulus (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1921), pp. 838-40], another indication of the archaic pedigree of Tengger priestly ritual.

The *Purwo Bumi* prayer is itself the story of a purification — that of the five Indic sages, Kosika, Garga, Maitri, Kurusya and Pratanjala (here, identified as sons of the Primordial being). According to C. Hooykaas these sages play a fairly insignificant role in the Indic literature, but their status is upgraded in Java and Bali where they have come to be associated with the five gross elements, the five incarnations of Buddha, and with other classifications of five.²⁷ At the end of the *Purwo Bumi* litany, the five sages are identified with the five aspects of Siva, as Iswara, Brahma, Mahadewa, Visnu (and Siva himself). Purified, they each return to the compass direction from whence they came.

Through the recitation of the liturgy and various ritual acts of cleansing which follow, the priest, as the vehicle of the Lord Guru, purifies the deceased souls who are represented by their living descendants. Finally, the priest pulls the white cloth from the heads of the souls' representatives, saying loudly, "All go!" The men and women rush to the doorway whereupon, with a dramatic flourish, the priest's assistant chops a green coconut in two with a single stroke of his machete. At this point, the relationship between the living and the ancestral souls is severed. The souls have been purified, released (*linukat*). The representatives, shivering with cold, quickly wash their hands and faces. The purification is complete.

The Texts

Four versions of the *Purwo Bumi* are presented on pp. 297 to 325. The first two are contemporary versions which are still recited in Tengger villages today. One is from a village to the southwest of Mount Bromo; the other is from a village to the northwest. Both of these texts were already transliterated into Roman script when collected from their priest owners. Their spelling and punctuation have not been significantly altered. The third version is the British Library manuscript add. 123424. It has been transliterated from the Javanese script of the library original.²⁸ The fourth version is the Balinese *Purwo Bumi*, as presented by Hooykaas in his book *Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese tradition*.²⁹ Hooykaas' English translation is also given. Additions to the translation are in brackets.

²⁷C. Hooykaas, *Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), p. 2.

²⁸The keeper of The British Museum manuscript collection, Mr. G.E. Marrison, kindly supplied me with a microfilmed copy of the manuscript. He described the library manuscript as written on Javanese paper and bound in a dark brown tooled leather cover. I transliterated the text from the Javanese script, keeping spelling and punctuation as close as possible to the original. It should be noted that many of the sound distinctions indicated by various diacritics in Hooykaas' text are missing completely from both present day Tengger versions and from the museum manuscript and are not noted here.

²⁹Hooykaas' elaborate system of diacritics (which reflects an earlier "Sanskritized" ideal) has of necessity, been simplified here [Hooykaas, *Cosmogony and Creation* (1974)].

Tenger Southwest	Tenger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
		hong hawiggenam astu nammah			[Om, let there be no hinderance, hommage!]
1. hong bekulun pruwabumi kamulane	hong purwobumi kamuliane	hong pruwa bumi kammullan	Om Purva Bhumi Kamulan,	Om, The Origin of This World.	
2. bethari uma	bethari umo	bathari huma	Paduka Bhaṭṭari Uma;	The Exalted Goddess Uma,	
3. mijil saking limu-limu-	mijil saking limu-limu-	mejil saking limun-limun	Mijil saking limo-limo-	Then did come forth from the ankles	[Then did come forth from the invisible sphere.]
4. miro panduko	nane bathari	ning bethari	Nira Hyang Bhaṭṭara Guru.	Of The Supreme God, the Teacher.	
5. mulane tanono bethari	mulane ono bethari		Mula ning ana Bhaṭṭari,	The Goddess, in the Beginning	
6. pinako sami betharo	pinongko semine bethoro	minongka semi ning bethari	Minaka-somah Bhaṭṭara;	She was the spouse unto the God.	
7. ayugo sira diwato	ayugo do siro muah	hayuga ta sira muwah	Mayoga sira Bhaṭṭara,	The God a penance did perform;	
8.			Mayoga sira Bhaṭṭari,	The Goddess penance did perform.	
9. mijil panco resi	mijil kang panca dewata	mejil kang ponca dewata	Mijil ta sira Devata,	The godheads thereupon were born,	
10.			Panca-resi, Sapta-resi;	The Five-and Seven-Anchorites,	
11. kusang gargo mestri	kongsi gargo mentri	kasikka gerga metri	Kosika, sang Garga, Matri,	Kosika, Garga and Matri,	
12. sang kurase sang printajolo	kuruso kang kaliyan wong priktajalo	kurusa prihanjala	Kurusya, sang Pratanjala.	Kurusya, and Pratanjala.	
13.			Kosika vikan padyargha,	Kosika knew 'footwater'(?)	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
14.			Sinapa dening Bhattara;	and he was cursed by the God.	
15.		mejil sira sang kusikkang	Mijil ta Sang Hyang Kosika,	The God Kosika then came forth;	
16.		kulit sangkanira	Sakeng kulit sangkanira.	The skin, that was his origin.	
17.		mejil sira sang garga	Mijil ta sira Sang Garga,	And then came forth the God Garga;	
18.		saking daging sangkanira	Sakeng daging sangkanira	The flesh, that was his origin.	
19.		mejilla sira sang nyang metri	Mijil ta sira Sang Maitri,	Then came forth the God Maitri;	
20.		saking hatot sangkanira	Sakeng otot sangkanira.	The sinews were his origin.	
21.		mejilla sang nyang kurusa	Mijil ta Sang Hyang Kurusya,	The God Kurusya then came forth;	
22.		saking balung sangkanira	Sakeng balung sangkanira,	The bones, they were his origin.	
23.		mejilla sang prithanjala	Mijil ta Sang Pratanjala,	Came forth the God Pratanjala;	
24.		saking sungsum sangkanira	Sakeng sumsum sangkanira.	The marrow was his origin.	
25.	genep kabeh kang panca resi	genep kabeh sang dewata	Genep isi ning Bhuvana,	The Upper World was then complete.	
26.	sang gargo mestri sang kuruse pritajalo	kusika gerga metri kurusa prithanjala padha sira mawa-	Apan sampun vinastonan;	The High God said: "Let it be so."	
27.	ing utus	hing ngutus bathari durga	Ingutus ikang Bhattara,	The Bhattara then were sent down,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
28.			Kalih lan sira Bhattari.	Together with the Bhattari.	
29.	kinano gawiyo loka ngiseni ngadha buono	kinon hagawe lukka hisi ning hondha buwona kalih lawan prithanjala	Kinon sira[ng] gave loka,	And ordered to create the world.	[And ordered to create the world, the contents of the egg of the earth, along with Pritanjala.]
30.			Neher sira sinanmata,	They were permitted to depart,	
31.			Kang vikan patengranira	Those who his gesture understood.	
32.	tinapoka ki panduko betharo		Sinapa ta de Bhattara.	And then were cursed by The God.	
33.	kangsi malesat mangetan		Kosika mlesat Mangetan,	Kosika sprang off to the East,	
34.	temahan dadi dengan		Matemahan dadi dengan;	And there he took a devil's form.	
35.	sang gargo malesato ngidul		Sang Garga mlesat Mangidul,	Then Garga sprang off to the South,	
36.	temahan dadi kong		Matemahan dadi sang mong;	And he took on a tiger's form.	
37.	si mestri melesato ngulon,		Sang Maitri mlesat Mangulon,	Then Maitri sprang off to the West,	
38.	temahan dadi ulo		Matemahan dadi ula;	Now his form was that of a snake.	
39.	sang kuruse malesat ongalor		Kurusya mlesat Mangalor,	Kurusya sprang off to the North,	
40.	temahan dadi buto yen genep yugane padho nabuano padho moweku kabeh lararan mitruyo aja lala		Matemahan dadi bvaya.	And he became a crocodile.	[a monster.]

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41.			Pratanjala mlesat (ring) Madhya,	Centrewards sprang Pratanjala,	
42.			Mat'mahan Hyang Kurma-Raja,	The King of Turtles he became;	
43.			Ingutus Sang Pratanjala,	Pratanjala was then dispatched	
44.			Tumurun manggawe loka.	Down, downwards to create the world.	
45.	lumampah arandad tampo ruwang		Lumampah nda tanpa rovang	He set out; he was all alone,	
46.	ingutus bathari uma		Ingutus Bhattari Uma;	By The Goddess Uma ordered,	
47.			Dening paduka Bhattari,	By The Goddess, The Divine One,	
48.	umutang sang printajalo betari umo pan datan tanpo ruwang pritajalo ing gayungan		Tumurun Sang Pratanjala.	Downwards went Sang Pratanjala.	
49.			Neher amit anganjali,	Respectfully he took his leave	
50.			Bhattara lavan Bhattari;	Of The God and of The Goddess.	
51.			Angadeg sireng pantara,	He rested in mid-way space,	

Tenger Southwest	Tenger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
52.			Avang-avang uvung-uvung.	That void that was the Universe.	
53.	tanono ing saruwo	hyang ayu hing tan ono sarwo-sarwane	Tan ana ning sarva katon, Tan ana ning sarva umung.	There was yet nothing to be seen, There was yet nothing to be heard.	
54.	naro wetan naro idul naro kulon naro lor awang-awang nguwung-nguwung angadeg paritaro	nara wetan nara kulon nara helor hawang-hawang huwung-huwung hanggadeg sireng wantara			[There was no east, no south, no west, no north, just emptiness. He rested in mid-way space.]
55.			Ahening cipta Bhattari,	And then The Goddess fixed her Mind	
56.	alegkas anggawo lanke	lekkas-lekkas hagaweya lokka	alekas anggawe loka,	And started to create the world,	
57.		hisi ning hondha buwona	maka-daging ing bhuvana;	To be within the Universe.	
58.	kasih lan sang printajalo	kalih lawan prihanjala	kalih lan Sang Pratanjala.	With Her, the God Pratanjala.	
59.	metu kringet mangkuyu-kuyu	karingnet makuyu-kuyu	Karinget a-kuyu-kuyu,	Her sweat, it gushed forth and it flowed,	
60.	dras tetessi sariro	handres titis sing sarira	Adres titis ing sarira.	From Her body it poured in streams.	
61.	tumbeng mangke tanono	tumbeng mangko samodra	Tumiba mangkeng Bhattari,	And then it from The Goddess dropped;	

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62. mijil sang betharo gago	bethari gonggo	mijil ta bethari gongga	Mijil ta Bhattari Gangga.	From it came the Goddess Gangga.	
63. muloniro dug semono			Mulanira duk samana.	Such was it at The Beginning.	
64. asat kari kang bethari	asat kringet	hasat keringet bethari	Asat karinget Bhattari,	Her sweat then on The Goddess dried,	
65. metu uyah saki awak sangkanniro	metu uyah saking awak	metu huyah saking hawak	Metu uyah saking awak,	And Salt upon Her body stood	
66.	ginugut sedhep asin	ginogut hasedhep hasin	GINUTUK TA SEPET ASIN.	Resembling sea-borne coconuts.	[Delicious, salty, to taste.]
67. tumibeng sangke tanono	tumibo	tumibeng bethari gongga	Tumibeng Bhattari Gangga,	Into Goddess Gangga dropping,	
68. mijil se samudro	sanghyang	sang nyang samudro duksemona	Mijil Bhattari Samudra; samodra mulanira	The Goddess Ocean now appeared.	
69. linulur aweg bethari		linolur hawak bethari	Dinulu awak Bhattari,	Could then Her body have been seen,	
70. metu lemah saking awag sangkanira		metu lemmah saking hawak	Metu lemah saking awak.	The Earth was coming forth from Her.	
71. tumibeng mangke sesamudro		tumibeng sangnyang samodra	T(um)ibeng Bhattari Samudra,	Into Goddess Ocean dropping	
72. mijil saking prathiwi mulaniro dhug semano	mijil to sangnyang	mijil ta sang nyang prathiwi	Mijil Bhattari Prthivi;	The Earth Goddess did now appear	
73. sarimbag la ning prathiwi	sak rimbag onengo lemah	sarimbag lo ning kang lemmah	Sarimbag lo ning Prthivi;	The Earth was only one turf's width,	
74. kasa	sepayung onengo akoso	sepayung lo ning ngakasa	Sa-Payung lo ning Akasa.	The Sky was of a sunshade's width.	
75.			Mulanira duk samana,	Such was it at the Beginning.	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
76.			Mayoga ta Sira muvah,	Once more a penance She performed,	
77.			Alekas anggave loka.	Began the whole world to create.	
78.	kang		Yoganira Sang Hyang Dharma	The penance of the God Dharma	
79.	mijil lampah	umijil lampah	Mijil tekang Maha-Padma,	Gave birth to the Great Lotus Bloom	
80.	jagat kaso	humongko uripe buwono	Maka-sesek ing Bhuvana.	That filled the Universe complete.	
81.	mijil samahopat mang	raditiyang	Mijil ta Raditya Vulcan,	The Sun, and then the Moon came forth	
82.	mongko uripe badito mulawan	pramona haphah teja bayu	Maka-suluh ing Bhuvana;	Illuminating the Universe.	
83.	lintang lawan	lintang	Mijil Lintang	Came forth the Planets,	
84.	taranggono	taranggono	Taranggana, Maka- tulis ing Bhuvana.	all the Stars, Signs lining in the Universe.	
85.			Mijil Panca Maha-Bhuta,	The Five Coarse Elements came forth	
86.			Maka-urip ing Bhuvana;	And gave life to the Universe.	
87.			Mijil ta Catur- Pramana	Came forth the Four Elements,	
88.			Apah, Teja, Bayu, Akasa.	The Water, Light, the Wind, the Sky.	

Tenger Southwest	Tenger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
89.			Urip ing Anda-Bhuvana	The Egg of Universe had life,	
90.	sampun pepek	sampun pepek kang pesagi	Sampun apasek-apegeh;	All was ordered, all was arranged;	
91.	kunongko jagat tur	kuneng hingkang jagat traya	Mangke punang Jagat-traya	The Three Worlds were there, all complete.	
92.			Apan sampun Sirayoga.	That was done by His penance.	
93.	dineleng awag bethari	dineleng hapak bethari	Dinelo Bhattari Uma.	The Goddess Uma glanced around	
94.	satopagiro malulur-lulur	satampak kirama lohur	Sa-tampak-ira Bhattari;	And everywhere Her feet had touched	
95.	ono putih ono abang	hona potih hana habang	Ana putih, ana abang,	There was whiteness, there was redness,	
96.	ono kuning ono ireng	hana koning hana hireng	Ana kuning, ana ireng	There was yellowness, and blackness.	
97.	abrat	kaget panduko bathari	Kaget Battari Sri Uma,	The Goddess then looked on Her Self	
98.	tumingallinggo ngawak	tumingal ngawakira	Agila tumon ing awak;	And full of wrath She then became.	
99.		hangngraksira kang ngupuh	Neher masih 'nadah janma,	Her urge was then to eat mankind;	
100.	urip kadi singa anemo	angarakas singo nodo gegere sang dewoto kabeh	Mangerak ma-singha-nada;	She screamed, and like a lion roared.	
101.	siyung nguwang	wajo kasilat siyung	Vaja masalit masiyung,	Her teeth were long and sharp, like tusks,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
102. kadi pereng rejeng	tutup kadi pereng rejeng	totuk kadya parang rejeng	tutk Ivir jurang parah ro;	Her mouth an abyss in between,	
103. arang kadi sumur bandhung	irung kadi sumur bandhung	herung kadya somur bandhung	Netra kadi Surya kembar,	Her eyes shone, they were like twin suns.	
104. netro kasuriyo kembar	netro dadi suryo kembar	netra kadya surya kembar	Irung kadi sumur bandung;	Her nostrils, deep and cavernous.	
105. kadi	keranaira kadi layoran	karnanira kadya layar	Kupung Ivir leser ing pa[ha],	Her ears stood like two thighs, straight up	[like the sails of a boat,]
106. sarambut kuwel gimbal punika kelun.	rambut kuwel agimbal	rambut hakuwel haginbal	Roma . . . agimbali;	Matted and twisted was Her hair;	
107.	ogah uger luhuriro	hawakka hugah kahuger	Avak avegah aluhur,	Her body was misshapen, huge,	
108.	kang giri-giri	haluher kagiri-giri	Luhirira tanpa-tara;	There was nothing that broke its height.	
109.			Tutug ing Anda-Bhuvana,	It pierced The Egg of Universe,	
110.	tutug kemadiane akoso jambu	tutug madya ning ngakkasa	Tutug madya ning Akasa;	Reached to the center of the Sky.	
111.		denira bethari durga	Sira ta Bhattari Durga,	Such then, was the Goddess Durga,	
112.		namanira duksemona hanggenakkena prabawa genter ketuk linbdu lan prahhara heyang hiyung kang buwono trus lipat hing	Aranira duk samana.	That was the name that She then bore.	
113.		pratata denira bathari durga namanira duk semona	Sa-tinghal Bhattari Durga,	Minions of the Goddess Durga	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
114.		hayogata wadu kala saking manah hideppira jambu wedhi	Ayoga sang Vado Kala;	At the sight of Her their penance made.	
115.	kang dadi nahut ginowo bolo	dinalut ginawe bala	Vulune ginawe ala,	They tore their hair, disordered it	
116.			Lanang vadon varna-nira.	Until the men like women looked.	
117.	sampun podho	sampun padha hing	Pada sampun vinastonan,	"Let it be so," was said to them.	
118.	hingaranan deniro	ngryan denira bathari durga	Sampun pinugrahan aran;	A name was then bestowed on each,	
119.		kuneng ta hing ngaranira	Kunang tetendahanira,	These were the names that each one bore.	
120.	si camburo si camburi	si catora si catori	Si Cabora, Si Cabori,	Cabora, and also his spouse,	
121.		si gundala si gundali	Si Bragala, Si Bragali,	Bragala, and also his spouse,	
122.	si darwolo si darwali	si dalwala si dalwali	Si Sanaka, Si Sanaki,	Sanaka, and also his spouse	
123.	si betopo si betapi	si batapa si betapi	Si Durana, Si Durani,	Durana, and also his spouse	
124.		si batata si batati	Si Kaleka, Si Kaleki,	Kaleka, and also his spouse	
125.			Si Gondala, Si Gondali,	Gondala, and also his spouse	
126.			Si Betala, Si Betali,	Betala, and also his spouse,	
127.			Garbhayaksa, Garbhayaksi,	The ogre Garbha, and his spouse,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
128.			Galungan panadah Kala.	All feasted, as at Galungan.	
129.		ganayak wadu durga	Panavak ing Kala Braja,	From the Demon Braja's body,	
130.			Besavarna mandi-jati,	With power born Vaisravana;	
131.		kekelhika pepelhika	Pepelika, Pepeliki,	Pepelika was with his spouse,	
132.		hebekang hondha buwona	Agung alit varna-nira.	One tall of form, one short of form.	
133.		yugyane bathari durga	Yoga ning Bhatjari Durga;	The penance of Goddess Durga.	
134.		ring sampunira mayuga mangasta	Ri sampuira mayoga,	When She Her penance had performed	
135.		naring samudra	Lumebu Sireng samudra,	Into the Ocean She then went	
136.			Mayoga Sira irika.	And there Her penance carried on.	
137.		mejil ta hiwakka	Isi ning dalem samudra,	From the sea came frightful monsters,	
138.		boraladan lawan gajah mina	Mijil tekang sarva-rupa,	fish of every kind and shape;	
139.		kaluyu kalawan paprang butek persut lan sumbilang gedeppung cumbal	Duyung kuluyung lan prang-prang,	Duyongs, and sharks and sawfishes,	
140.		tengngiri sarwa mandi sarwa wisa sarwa warna sarwa rupa kekelhika pepelika	Tangiri kalawan buntek.	Gigantic eels, and bladder fish.	

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141.			Tan ilang takonakena.	Too many to call each by name.	
142.		kebek kang ngana hing dalem sammodra	Genep kabeh punang varna.	All kinds were there, they were complete.	
143.		yuga ning bathari durga ning sampunira mayuga hinggayap hing wadukala kalih lawan prithanjala	Yoga ning Bhatari Durga,	When Goddess Durga penance made,	
144.			Dineleng Sireng bhuwana,	She could have been seen ev'ry-where,	
145.			Tutug madhya ning Akasa.	Right upwards, to the Highest Spheres.	
146.		tumingal pada yang guru ning sira bathari durga	Tuminghal (ta) Bhatara Guru,	All these things the God Guru saw	
147.	tumurun sang kareng	tumurun sira sakareng	Turun Sira sakarengan,	And He descended straightaway	
148.			Mayoga ta Sira muvah,	And once again a penance made.	
149.		atemmahhandadi kala	Matemahan metu Kala.	His form was of the God Kala.	
150.	angarak singo manguwuh angarakas singonodo gegere kang dewoto kabeh	hanggerrak sira hangguwuh mangerap kasinga nada geger kang dewata kabeh denira bathara kala haranira duksemona	Mangerak masingha-nada,	He screamed, and like a lion roared,	
151.	wajo kasilat siyung	hawaja hasilat hasiyung	Vaja masalit asiyung,	His teeth were long and sharp, like tusks,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
152.	tutup kadi pereng rejeng	tutuk kadya parang rejeng	Tutuk Ivir jurang parongbrong,	His mouth an abyss ,	
153.	irung kadi sumur	herung kadya somur bandhung	Netra kadi Surya kalih.	His eyes shone, they were like twin suns.	
154.	netro kadi suryo kembar		Irung kadi sumur bandung,	His nostrils, deep and cavernous,	
155.	kerananiro kadi layaran	karnanira kadya layar	Kuping Ivir lalar ing padung,	His ears . . .	[His ears were like the sails of a boat.]
156.	rambut kuwel agimbal	rambut hakuwel hagimbal	Roma akepel agimbal,	Matted and twisted was His hair,	
157.	ogah-uger luhuriro kang giri-giri	hawak kahuga kahuger	Avak avegah aluhur.	His body was misshapen, huge.	
158.	luhuriro tanpo toro	haluhur kagiri-giri luhurira tanpa tara	Luhurira tanpa-tara.	There was no thing that broke its height.	
159.			Abang tutug ing Bhuvana,	His redness pierced the Universe,	
160.	tutup kemadiane akoso jamburiti	tutug madya ring ngakasa	Tutug madya ning Akasa;	Reached the center of the Sky.	
161.		sira ta bathara kala	Sira ta Bhaṭṭara Kala.	Such was He then, the God Kala.	
162.			Sira ta Bhaṭṭari Uma,	And then She, the Goddess Uma,	
163.	araniro ari-ari lemah gentur paguyongane warak pakirikane pasengitane	haranira duksemona hanganakkena prabawa genter pater ketug lindhu lan prahhara siyung kang hondha buwana trus liwat tekkeng pratala	Aranira duk samana,	That was the name that She then bore,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
164.		hayuga ta sira	Mayoga sa-vado-Kala,	A penance, with her servants, made,	
165.		muwah mijil kang ditya danawa	Lanang vadon varna-nira.	With men who did like women look.	
166.	lambut buto wil	buta banaspati	Bhuta Bhuti, Yaksa Yaksi,	Fiends and ogres, with their spouses,	
167.	metu ring lemah		Pisaca-Bhuta mananti	Sprites and devils attended them.	
168.	buto bareng ring pangonan galih kapendhem ing pesawahan		Maha-Bhuta, Panca-Bhuta,	The great Fiend, and the Five-fold Fiend,	
169.			Pulung Dara(h), Pulung Dari(h)	Pulung Dara, and his spouse,	
170.			Krti Dara(h), Krti Dari(h),	Krti Dara, and his spouse,	
171.			Deva dengen, Bhuta dengen,	Godly devils, fiend-like devils,	
172.			Daitya, vil lavan danava,	The kobolds, imps and spirits, too,	
173.			Mrajapati Anggapati.	The Lords of Limbs, [detached], of Thunderbolts;	
174.		kekelhika	Kekelika, Kekeleki,	Kekelika, and his spouse, too,	
175.		pepelhika	Pepelika, Pepeleki,	Pepelika, and his spouse, too,	
176.		kebek kang hondha buwona	Agung, alit varna-nira,	One tall of form, one short of form,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
177.		yugyane kang bathara kala	Yoga ning Bhattara Kala.	By the penance of God Kala.	
178.		sampun padha hing ngaranan denira bathara kala	Ri sampunira mayoga,	Now that His penance is complete	
179.		malessata hing gunung	Mangher po sira ring gunung,	He to the mountains goes to dwell.	
180.		dus sangkara haranira	Hyang Sangkara namanira,	The god Sangkara is his name	
181.		hangari ya sira ngalas hagung	Mangher po sira ring alas.	And in the forests He does dwell.	
182.		buta banaspati raja	Bhuta Banaspati-Raja,	The fiend Banaspati-Raja,	
183.		banaspati sireng ngalas	Banaspati sireng kayu,	The Forest Lord, is in the trees,	
184.		kala sakti siring watu	Singha-Kala sireng lemah,	The Demon Lion, in the ground,	
185.			Kala Visesa ring Akasa.	Demon Distinction, in the Sky.	
186.		buta ngamapar haranira ka muing watu kemellas bangbangu ning denrahina	Bhuta Lamis sireng vatu,	The fiend called Lami(s), in the stones,	
187.		wisu wujut dena wengngi	Visnu Pujut sireng vengi,	Negrito Visnu, in the dark.	
188.			Bangbang Pita ring rahina,	In the sunlight, the Young Yellow Ones;	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
189.		kala ngadangi neng dalan buta ngempresi rang ngawon kali kapapa doning nguwoot pata ning gigilang ring sedang lawan panburran jambu riti haranira hering hering lemah guntur kang maguyangane parak pakiriggan pasingattane lembu buta wil metu ring lemah buta barrang wangngonan galih kapedhem hing sawah	Kala Nundang sireng dalan.	The demon Lurer, on the roads.	
190.		dara kala sireng lawang	Dorakala sireng lavang,	The Gatekeeper is at the gates,	
191.		yang maraja sireng latar	Hyang Maraja sireng natar,	God Maraja, in the courtyards,	
192.			Bhuta Suci sireng sanggar,	The fiends called Pure live in the shrines,	
193.		buta ngayap sireng joggan	Bhuta Sayah ring balyagung.	Fiend Poverty (?) in council halls.	
194.			Kala Graheng pamanggahan,	Fiend Snatcher in the graveyard,	
195.			Bhuta Ngadang simpang avan,	Fiend Enticer at the cross roads,	
196.			Kala Dungkang sireng batur,	The demon, Path, on stone-laid slopes,	
197.	buto ngente ring longon	buta wideng sireng longan	Bhuta Duleg sireng longan,	Fiend Mistrust in hollows hid,	

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198.	buto ngut ring pawuhan agung	buto lengeng ring panggerret	Bhuta nDelik sireng galar,	In bamboo floors the fiend Spy hides,	
199.	buto among kapiarangrong	buto ngetir ring longlongan	Bhuta Gumulung ing klasa,	In sleeping mats, the Fiend Roll-up,	
200.	sido garis sireng peken	ponda kala haranira	Bhuta Jempang sireng galeng,	Fiend Reclining, on the cushions,	
201.	ing kandhang padhangan	kang mungeng jaba larangan	Bhuta Asih ring paturon.	Fiend Love on the sleeping benches,	
202.	ing lumbung pati	halunggan hawakking kala	Kala Mukti sireng pavon,	Demon Gorgier in the kitchens,	
203.	(ing) ramahan	buto sikat hing pager	Bhuta nDelep sireng dengen,	In company, Fiend Peeping Tom,	
204.	kolo kalih kabeh tan kolo	buto bajot hing papuwan	Kala Sakti sireng sanggar,	In shrines, Demon Unearthly Force,	
205.	Ngawung prang-prangan	buto gathong panimpallan	Kala Nembah taretepan,	Demon Respect in the lean-to,	
206.	buto kelawan raseksono	buto ngut pawuwan hagug	Kala Nginte sireng pager,	Demon Peeper, in the fencing walls,	
207.	kang muggeng kayu agung	buto lammong kapirare	Kala Ngintip sireng tampul,	In wooden pillars, Demon Nosey,	
208.	randu kepuk nyo bulu	hing kang hanggalap	Dorakala sireng lavang,	The Gatekeeper is at the gates,	
209.	takil waluku tetukul	hing ngembanan	Bhuta Ngigel siwavalan,	Fiends called Dancers at the trances,	
210.	kayu gerit lan kayu panggang	hing lesung kandhang padhangan	Bhuta Ninjo ring gugumuk,	On grave mounds is the Watcher Fiend,	
211.	karuyo wringin sungsang	hing tumbung pati pamahan	Bhuta Ngilo sireng sumur,	Fiend Reflector is in the wells,	

Tenger Southwest	Tenger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
	pangestuniro kolo	buta sang nyang hamong ngayu	Bhuta Mangsa sireng sema,	In graveyards, Fiend Flesh-eater lives,	
212.		buta rajeng suspatta	Bhuta Boset pabajangan,	Fiend Monkey is on infant's graves,	
213.		si dakarre sireng pekken	Bhuta Reregek ring vates,	Fiend Lovely Wraith at boundary marks,	
214.		kulah kalih kabatothnan	Bhuta Ulu sireng pangkung,	The fiends called Head are in ravines,	
215.		kala nawung paperrannan	Bhuta Edan (ring) dalam agung,	The fiend called Lust is on the roads,	
216.		buta kalawan rassaksa	Bhuta Vuru sireng sajeng,	Fiends Drunkard, they are in the wine,	
217.		kang muggeng kayu hagung agung	Bhuta Bloh (sir)eng dalam	On the highways, Bulging-eyed fiend,	
218.		randhu keppuh kurammeyah	Bhuta Logok sireng 'tapan,	In hermitages (?) fiend Logok (?),	
219.		tangkil walu tethukul	Bhuta Bega pamidangan,	...	
220.		kayu nyrat lan kayu panggang	Bhuta Cantuleng pasanjan,	Fiend ... on the meeting place,	
221.		karruya lan kayu warengen sungsang pangastana ning yang kala	Bhuta Simuh sande kavon,	The fiend called Worry, in the night,	
222.					
223.			Bhuta Ngoncang sireng lumpang,	The fiend called Noise is in the rice troughs,	
224.			Bhuta Ngadu sireng lebu,	Fiend Attacker on the high roads,	
225.			Kuncang-kancing ring padangan,	...	

Tenger Southwest	Tenger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
226.			Bhuta Gravang umah suvung,	Gravang, the fiends in empty houses,	
227.			Bhuta Lavang pacirangan,	The fiend, Door, in the passage ways,	
228.			Bhuta Lepek paperangan,	On battlefields, the fiend called scared,	
229.			Bhuta Rengregek (sir)eng vates,	Fiend Lovely Wraith at boundary marks,	
230.			Bhuta Tulu(s) sireng pangkung,	The fiends called ... are in ravines,	
231.			Kala-Kali ring pajuden,	The fiends called Dice, in gambling halls,	
232.			Singanjaya ring kalangan,	Lions, victors in arenas,	
233.			Kala Edan sireng pasar,	Demon Desire in market place,	
234.			Sid[dh]a-kara ring patamon,	In union, Reacher of aim,	
235.			Bhuta Dengkol sireng dagan,	Fiend Hunchback at the feet of beds,	
236.			Kala Mendek ring paseban,	Demon Humble in audience hall,	
237.			Bhuta Asih ring paturon,	Fiend Love on the sleeping benches,	
238.			Kala Mukti pabetekan,	Demon Gorgon in the kitchens,	
239.			Kala Dengsek pabajangan,	Demon ... on infants' graves,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
240.			Kala Dekek sireng sendi.	In pillared halls, Demon . . .	
241.		tuningal bethari durga	Dineleng Bhattari Durga,	Could then the Goddess have been seen,	
242.		reng sira bathara kala	Mentas ta saking samudra,	She was arising from the Deep,	
243.	(sak)menten sireng samudro	samonta sireng samdra	Sareng lan Bhattara Kala,	And with Her was the God Kala,	
244.			Apa ta juluknira?	What was the aspect She then had?	
245.	agegelang	hagegellang	Abhasma Sira rudhira,	With blood, as ashes, She was smeared,	
246.	akekalung	hakekekkalung	Kapala ganitri-Nira,	And garlanded with human skulls,	
247.			Usus ta sandangan-Ira,	Intestines were draped over Her,	
248.	atetapih	hatapih randi rodira	Asampet Sira bang ireng.	She wore a scarf of red and black.	
249.		hawuss wussan sang nyang	Ingenban ingiring-iring,	Her minions were escorting Her,	
250.		nggarjita bathara kali	De ning vado- Kala-Nira,	The creatures of the God Kala,	
251.			Tan sah ring pasanak-Ira,	With all their brood attending them.	
252.		tekaning bathari durga tansalah sana nira	Angher po Sira ring setra.	The in the graveyard She did dwell.	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
253.	alas wates mbajangan	lalasya tespa tajangan	Setra vates pabajangan,	In the graveyard of the infants,	
254.	nago candhi	nalunggeng candhi kapala	Kepuh randu kuranbeyan,	Uncanny trees, branches drooping,	
255.	hing nyayabi wado-kali lanang karo wadon namaniro	hing ngayap hing madu kala danawa donwarna nira	Ingayap ing vado-Kala,	Where God Kala's creatures dwelt,	
256.	padho malumaksono daja nem	hangagem sireng badhomma lummekkas hanadhah hing jalma	Dremba moha 'naḍah janma.	The frenzied Dremba ate mankind.	
257.	gawiyo luko isine ondho buwono	hahlahhe hagawe luka	Ulih ing anggawe loka,	When the world had been created,	
258.		tinadha rahina	Tinaḍah rahina vengi,	Mankind was eaten day and night,	
259.		denira bethari kala kalih lan	Binuru inguyang-uyang,	They were hunted, and they were trapped,	
260.		bathari durga	Dening vado-Kala-Nira.	By the creatures of God Kala.	
261.			Tinutut sa-paranira,	From every place they were sought out,	
262.			Tinaḍah rahina vengi,	And they were eaten day and night,	
263.		kuneka(ng) tinadhahhira	Kuneng kang tinaḍah-Ira,	All of the things that could be eaten,	
264.		lahera metu gunggi lunggan	Enaknya anaḍah jalma.	Mankind the choicest was to eat.	
265.			Tan salah tinaḍahira,	They did no wrong that they did eat	

Tenger Southwest	Tenger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
266.		sira kang kir	Janma vetu Vuku Carik,	People born on Vuku Carik	
267.		metu wayang	Vuku Vayang vuku nira,	And those born on Vuku Vayang;	
268.		kala yan wuku kacatur	Kadana(n) lavan kadini.	And twins, like brother and sister.	
269.			Pandava lavan metuvang,	And five brothers, five sons, no more	
270.		hunting-hunting	Tunggak vareng, unting-unting,	... only child,	
271.		pada wadon melawan suku ning panggung binuru kinuya koya	Uduh-uduh rare bajang,	... infants,	
272.			Tinadah rahina vengi.	And they were eaten day and night.	
273.		mangkin kurdha bethari kala kalih lan bathari durga tuminggal padukka sang nyang ring sira bathara kala kalawan bathari durga	Mangkin krodha Sang Hyang Kala,	Wrathful then became God Kala,	
274.		tumurun bathari durga nsinga sakareng	Tumurun Sira sakareng,	He came down for a space of time	
275.			Angadeg ring Sunnyantara,	And dwelt then in the Lower Spheres,	
276.		kanggawe ya dewata puja	Anggawe sanggah pamujan.	And places for devotion made.	
277.			Neher ta ginave-Nira,	And then it was He did create	

Tenger Southwest	Tenger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
278.			Brahma, Visnu, Mahesvara,	Brahma, Visnu, Mahesvara	
279.			Tumurun ring Madhya-pada,	Who came down to the Middle World,	
280.		tinilas dening manusa	Arddha maho'-nggave manusa.	And felt urged to [re]make mankind.	
281.			Hyang Isvara dadi Resi,	A Resi, Isvara became.	
282.			Hyang Brahma dadi Brahmana,	Brahma became the brahmin priest,	
283.			Hyang Visnu dadi Bhujaangga,	And Visnu Bhujaangga became.	
284.			Ya 'tha sira mankengutus,	And then they were sent down to Earth.	
285.			Dening pada-Nira, Sang Hyang,	By Him, the Highest God of all,	
286.			Ngaturaken tadah saji,	To make the offerings of food,	
287.			Sari genep saji-Nira,	All kinds of ritual food.	
288.			Sampun ta mangke vinastvan.	'Let it be done,' had been pronounced.	
289.	kuneng kang ginaawe pujo	kuneng kang ginaawe pujo	Dening pada-Nira Sang Hyang,	By Him, the Highest God of all.	
290.	resi sawang sugo(to) bromo	ressi sewa sugata bramona	Brahmana, Bhujaangga, Resi,	Brahmana, Bhujaangga, Resi,	
291.	bromo pujaango mulane ono pujo	bramona pujongga muwah mula ning hena muja	Saiva kalavan Saugata,	Priests of Siva and of Buddha,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
292.	palukatan duso molo ilo-ilo lan rugo tujuh teluh tarangono sepoto lan upo darwo sengoro tulah sarik	panglukatan dasa mala hila-hila lara roga tuju teluh tara kaya kasupat lan hupa dalwa sanggara talah sarrek	Anglukata dasa-mala.	Were to expel Man's Ten Evils.	[sickness, suffering, curses, evil rays, oaths and poisons, the perpetrators of curses and sickness.]
293.		hapa tadhahhe yang kala,	Anadah Bhattara Kala,	And the God Kala had to eat,	
294.			Kalih lan Bhattari Durga,	And the Goddess Durga also	
295.	tuk sekul kelawan ulam rumbagi	tek sekkul kalayang narulam rummaggile	Tok sekul kalavan ulam,	Fermented liquor, flesh and rice:	
296.	sasak mentah belung gending	sasak mentah	Sarva genep kang tadahan.	Much food there was, and of all kinds.	
297.		tan ilang tinakokena	Tan ilang takonakena.	Too many to give each a name.	
298.		denuluran puja sura	Datenge Bhattara Kala,	And then arrived the God Kala,	
299.			Kalih lan Bhattari Durga,	And the Goddess Durga with Him	
300.			Angadeg ing puspa-kaki,	Standing on the stalks of flowers,	
301.			Ingayap ing vado-Kala,	Attended by their retinue;	
302.			Garjita tumon ing (ta)tadah (an),	They looked with joy upon their feast,	
303.	tan ilang tinakokaken kinen		Tan ilang takonakena.	Too many to give each a name.	
304.	nggawiyo japo mantro	kinudang hing japa montra	Ingundang ing japa- mantra,	By formulas of prayers called,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
305.			Tinabuhan genta-genti,	The ringing of bells of priests,	
306.	uniwo gento uragan	huniweh geta huragang	Umung kang genta-oragan,	The tinkling of the bells, wheel hung,	
307.	gemuruh kang tetabuhan pangrenganane	ngumuruh kang tetabuhan pangrengananing	Sangka umung tanpantara.	The conch that blew with no surcease.	
308.			Tutug seka ring akasa,	Its sound the Upper Spheres did reach,	
309.			Siniratan sekar ura,	Then everywhere were flowers strewn,	
310.			Candana la(va)n vija kuning,	Sandalwood, and rice grains, yellow,	
311.			Damar murub lavan dhupa,	The flame burned, there was incense, too.	
312.			Kukus saking dhupa panggil,	The smoke of incense, summoning,	
313.			Tutug teka ring akasa,	Rose up until it reached the Sky,	
314.			Mrebuk arum kang Bhuvana,	And fragrant made the Universe;	
315.			Kongas tekeng Vindu-pada.	Reaching unto the Upper Voidness.	
316.			Mula ning ana amuja,	Worship was the result of it,	
317.	manungso kajenan madyo-podo	manusa kang madya pada	Kang manuseng Madhya-pada,	of mankind in the Middle Sphere	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
318.	datemah sang nyang kolo	ring sira bathara kala dateng mangke sang nyang kala	Tadahan Bhattara Kala,	Being eaten by God Kala,	
319.	kali lan bathari durga	kali lan bathari durga	Kalih lan Bhattari Durga.	And by the Goddess Durga too.	
320.	nekhir sini majangan	hangngadegging puspa kaking garjita tumoning ngadhoh hanadhah bathara kala kalih lan bathari durga suna mangkeng bathara kala kalawan bathari durga muwah wadu kalanira padha suka manahhira naker sinammayan	Neher sira sinamaya:	And then a covenant they made:	
321.	kajenang (ring) madyo podo tuture dewoto	kangjama ri madya pada tutura dewata	Manusa ring Madhya-pada,	That mankind in the Middle Sphere,	
322.	pujo purnomo kelawan tilem galungan kelawan penawangan kesodho kelawan kepitu	puja warna malawan tilem galungan kasadha lawan kapitu	Purnama klavan tilem.	At full of moon and when at new,	[Galungan, and Panalungan, Kasadha and Kapitu.]
323.	ngambektiyo maring bethoro	habaktiya ring yang kala	Tan kasapa de Hyang Kala,	Should not by Kala be accurt,	
324.			Tan kasapa de Hyang Durga.	Should not by Durga be accurt.	
325.			Tan katadah de Hyang Kala.	God Kala shall not eat of him,	
326.	tan ketadhah hyang durgo	tan katadah hing yang Durga	Tan katadah de Hyang Durga,	The Goddess Durga eat him not;	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
	padho winastanan lukatan	padha winasta lukat	'Pan sampun sinuddha-mala,	From his Ten Evils he be freed.	
328.	patahmiro	denira padanira sangnyang wastu nira sang wisesa	Deni vastu-Nira Sang Hyang.	The High God said: "Let it be so."	
329.			Ilang tekang rupa juti,	Gone is the form that They then had,	
330.			Valuy atemahan jati,	To Their first form They have returned;	
331.			Hyang Kalatemahan Guru,	God Kala, Guru has become,	
332.			Hyang Durgatemahan Uma.	And Durga, Uma has become.	
333.			Mantuk mareng Siva-pada,	He has gone back to Siva's heaven.	
334.			Kalih lan Battari Uma;	And the Goddess Uma with him.	
335.			Deni vastu-Nira Sang Hyang,	The High God said: "Let it be so."	
336.			Lukat sira sang linukat.	'Lukat' the ones on this act done,	
337.			Lukat sira sang anglukat.	'Lukat' the one who did the act,	
338.			Deva Sira Sang Linukat,	'Lukat' unto the Gods was done,	
339.			Ana Sireng Siva-pada,	In Siva's Heaven to abide.	
340.			Mantuk Sira mareng svarga.	Then to this Heaven they returned,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
341.			Angiring ing pada Sang Hyang,	Obedient unto the God,	
342.			Anadeg ing Surya-pada;	In the Heaven of the Sun God.	
343.	sang kongsi ruwat	sang kusika sira ruwat	Kosika mulih Mangetan,	Kosika to the East returned;	
344.	waluyo bethoro isworo	waluya bathara iswara	Matemahan Hyang Isvara.	The God Isvara he became.	
345.	sang hyang mentri sira ruwat	sang garga sira ruwat	Sang Garga mulih Mangidul,	The God Garga went to the South;	
346.	waluyo bethoro bromo	waluya bathara brama	Mat'mahan Bhattara Brahma;	The God Brahma he there became.	
347.	sangnyang durgo sira ruwat	sangnyang matri sira ruwat	Sang Mairi mulih Mangulon,	Then Mairi to the West returned,	
348.	waluyo bethoro masmohodewo	waluya yang madhadewa	Mat'mahan Hyang Mahadeva.	To be the God Mahadeva.	
349.	sangnyang kolo sira ruwat	sangnyang kurusa sira ruwat	Kurusya mulih Mangalor,	Kurusya to the North returned,	
350.	waluyo bethoro wisnu	waluya bathara wisna	Mat'mahan Bhattara Visnu,	The God Visnu he there became.	
351.	sangnyang umo	pritahanjala sira ruwat	Pratanjala mulih (ring) Madhya	Pratanjala turned Centrewards;	
352.	sira waluyo bethoro guru	waluya bathara siwah sangnyang kala sira ruwat waluya bathara guru sangnyang durga sira ruwat waluya bathari humma	Mat'mahan Bhattara Siva.	The God Siva he there became.	[The God Kala, purified, became the God Guru. The Goddess Durga, purified, became Goddess Uma.]
353.	muah vadu kala nira padha ruwat kabe	muwah wadu kala nira padha ruwat mala nira	Sa-kveh ikang vado-Kala,	All the train of the God Kala,	

Tengger Southwest	Tengger Northwest	British Lib. Manuscript	Hooykaas Text (1974)	Hooykaas Transl. (1974)	Additions to Translation
354.	namaniro bukto atemah widodharo	butemmah widadhara	Matemahan vidlyjadhara;	In Heaven musicians became.	
355.	bukti	buti	Mandi-raksa k'lavan yaksi,	Mandi-raksa and ogresses,	
356.	atemah widodhari	tammah widdhari	Matemahan vidlyjadhari,	The nymphs of Heaven they became.	
357.			Sami mantuk mareng Svarga,	To Heaven all of them returned,	
358.			Angiring paduka-nira,	They followed on behind their Lords,	
359.			Dening vastu-nira Sang Hyang,	The High God said: “Let it be so.”	
360.	ilango kang rupo jati mulio kang rupo jati tirta ning kumadhalu mulih maring siwah padha toto kolo jatismikaning ruwat kang diliwati sang nyang griyo tuyo winangunan nomo siwoho ngerti ki pujo purwobumi kamuliyen lan palukatan.	hilang hingang rupa jati molih hingang rupa jati dening tirta kommadhallu tirta yang wisesa padha ruwat sira kabeh mulih maring siwa padha hatata hingang jatismika ruwat sira kang rinuwat ruwat sira sang ngangruwat kadi ruwattirta ta sangnyang hong sri yantu yavinaman nama siwaha ngerti puja kamullan.	Mulih kuneng jati-purva.	They all returned, with perfect form.	[Lost, that which appeared true. By the holy holy water all powerful, all are purified. All of you return to Siva. All is ordered; all is purified. Purify the one who is purified. Purify the one who purifies, like the Gods’ purification. Om, homage to Siva! Understand the Purwo Bumi ceremony of prosperity and purification.]

Hooykaas identifies the Balinese *Purwo Bumi* as belonging to the repertoire of the Balinese *sengguhu* priest or *resi bujangga*, a “commoner priest” of *sengguhu* birth.³⁰ The *sengguhu* is best known for the role he plays in the exorcism rituals which take place throughout Bali at *nyepi*, the annual “day of silence”. During *nyepi* the *sengguhu* priest performs the purification rituals which serve to banish lower-order demons from the island for another year. Hooykaas unfortunately gives few details of the ceremony that the Balinese litany accompanies. What is striking, however, is that whereas in Tengger the *Purwo Bumi* is the most sacred of priestly liturgy, accompanying the most critical and elaborate of Tengger rituals, the Balinese *Purwo Bumi* apparently accompanies a ceremony of a less prestigious standing, associated with priests of the underworld.

When compared line for line, the version supplied by Hooykaas and the Tengger versions of the *Purwo Bumi* are remarkably similar; they are obviously versions of the same work. The parallel is all the more striking when one remembers that the Balinese *Purwo Bumi* is in fact a reconstruction based on ten different manuscripts which Hooykaas collected from various museums and from priests in different areas of Bali.³¹ The original texts are from Tabanan, Gianyar, Badung, and even Western Lombok. The wide dispersion of this prayer indicates that the *Purwo Bumi* litany and the tradition of which it was once part was widespread throughout Bali and perhaps even Lombok. The Tengger evidence suggests that, several centuries earlier, this same popular priestly tradition extended throughout eastern Java.

Although clearly versions of the same work, the manuscripts also differ in obvious ways. For example, the names and the orders of demons to be appeased vary in all four versions of the prayer. In Tengger versions many of the more obscure fiends, and those with particularly difficult names, are dropped from the litany altogether. The order of those mentioned, furthermore, reflects to some extent local directional schemata and topography. Traditional Tengger cosmogony is “anchored” by Mount Bromo, which is identified as either south (as the place of the God Brahma) or east (as the place of the highest God, the origin of all things). The other directions are determined accordingly. This directional schema was often used as a mnemonic device.³² To remember the order of their mention, each demon would be “placed” in one of the four directions plus one (centre) according to their directional associations. The order of their mention would thus vary somewhat from village to village depending on its orientation to Mt. Bromo.

Hooykaas comments similarly on the “annoying variation” in the names and orders of demons in his Balinese originals. He reports that according to one of his *sengguhu* informants the different orders mark the difference between versions from the east and the west.³³ It is interesting to note that in Bali too, there is a traditional directional orientation towards the mountains, specifically Gunung Agung, which is identified as northwards (*kaja* or *kaler*).³⁴ It is this portion of the litany, then,

³⁰Hooykaas, *Cosmogony and Creation*, p. 53.

³¹Ibid., pp. 53–57.

³²See Smith-Hefner, “Reading, Reciting and Knowing”.

³³Hooykaas, *Cosmogony and Creation*, p. 58.

³⁴Urs Ramseyer, *The Art and Culture of Bali* (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 95.

dealing with lower-order spiritual entities, which most clearly reflects local spiritual concerns and thus has undergone considerable local interpretation.

Perhaps the most significant point of variation in the four versions of the litany, however, is in the lines where the covenant with the gods is described and the days when humans must honour them are listed. Whereas the Balinese text only mentions *purnama* (full moon) and *tilem* (no moon), the Tengger texts mention *purnama*, *tilem*, *galungan* (the 11th *wuku* of the thirty week *wuku* cycle), the time of *kasadha* (the Old Javanese month corresponding to June–July) and *kapitu* (the seventh month, corresponding to January–February). The dates mentioned in the Tengger versions of the litany continue to be important days of ritual observance in Tengger. On these days priestly ritual is still performed in an attempt to keep the dangerous Kala and Durga from causing destruction among the inhabitants of the "middle world".

The difference in the dates of ritual observance listed in Balinese and Tengger versions of the litany indicates that the Tengger priest's ritual responsibilities were similar to, but much greater than, those of the Balinese *sengguhu* priest. This points in turn to a contrast related to differences in the social development of Indic tradition in popular Bali and Java. In Bali the *sengguhu* is identified as a "commoner priest" within a hierarchy of priests, among whom ritual labour is divided. The relegation of the *sengguhu* priest to his "commoner status" is evidently not based strictly upon the category of spiritual entities the *sengguhu* may address, since within the *Purwo Bumi* litany clear mention is made of high-status deities such as Siva and Uma. Rather, the designation "commoner status" is made in relation to the existence of other, higher status priests associated with the courts. In Java, by contrast, with the fall of the last Hindu-Javanese courts, there were no other higher status priests to compete with the Tengger priests. Thus, whereas in Bali the *sengguhu* is inferior to the high-caste, courtly *pedandas*, in Tengger, where there is no more "exemplary centre", the Tengger *dhukuns* are inferior to no one, but have remained the sole priestly practitioners.³⁵

Conclusion

Perhaps the most important insight to come from the comparison of the Balinese and Tengger texts is that, contrary to Pigeaud's speculations on the importance of the Tengger texts and religious tradition, Tengger were clearly part of a liturgical community that stretched beyond its borders all the way to Bali. Although this was a more popular, less courtly, variant of Hinduism, nonetheless the detail of the text and its centrality in the full array of Tengger rites shows that Hindu-Javanese influences were probably quite strong among some of Java's rural peoples — in this instance, even among the inhabitants of one of its largest and most rugged mountain regions. It suggests, furthermore, that in Java, unlike some other parts of South-east Asia,³⁶ at least some mountain villagers were integrated into state and cultic traditions of the lowlands from classical times.

³⁵See Hefner, "appendix", *Hindu Javanese*, pp. 271–76, for further speculation as to the relationship between Tengger *dhukun* and Balinese *sengguhu* priests.

³⁶Charles Keyes, *The Golden Peninsula: Culture and Adaptation in Mainland Southeast Asia* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1977); E.R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).

Yet, however tantalizing the Tenger evidence may be, we will never know whether this was in fact the case for all of Java. The destruction of Java's Hindu-Buddhist courts spelled the end of vital social and political supports for Javanese Hinduism. It insured that, in the centuries that followed, only one small mountain population would hold itself apart from larger Java to such a degree that it could preserve a liturgy and an identity radically inconsistent with the pressing realities of an Islamizing Java.