



A. Vickers

A Balinese illustrated manuscript of the Siwaratrikalpa

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 138 (1982), no: 4, Leiden, 443-469

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

ADRIAN VICKERS

A BALINESE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE ŚĪWARĀTRIKALPA¹

The edited, translated, annotated and historically traced version of the Old Javanese text *Śīwarātrikalpa* (ŚR), presented by a team of scholars organized by Teeuw, included a lengthy identification by Galestin of a number of Balinese paintings of the *Śīwarātri* (called *Lubdaka* on Bali) (Teeuw *et al.* 1969). Worsley later supplemented Galestin's presentation of one of the oldest paintings with a discussion of a missing fragment of that work (Worsley 1970). All of these paintings are now located in Europe, so a discussion of Balinese ŚR paintings on Bali seems opportune. In the course of recent research on Bali, I came across one of the oldest illustrated versions of the story still to be found with its original owners.

Description of the MS

The version of the ŚR referred to is an illustrated book on folio size paper, presently kept in Griya Pidada, Klungkung, the residence of the descendants of one of the former *Purohita* (court priests) of the *raja* of Klungkung. The *raja* was, until 1908, considered the *maharaja* of Bali (see Vickers unpubl.:1). The MS consists of some fifty-five pages, illustrated on both sides, having the text of the *kakawin* itself interspersed with illustrations in Chinese ink. Most of the pages are badly damaged.

The watermark on the paper shows that it was Dutch paper made by the firm of Van der Ley, as indicated by the letters V d L beside an emblem some 15 centimetres high, consisting of a rampant lion inside two concentric circles. The legend in the circles is "GOD ZY MET ONS" (God be with us). According to Russell Jones, of the University of London, Van der Ley paper with this particular water-

ADRIAN VICKERS, a graduate of and currently a research student at the University of Sydney, whose main field of interest is Balinese art and literature, has also published 'Gusti Madé Dëblog: Artistic Manifestations of Change in Bali', *RIMA* 14-2, 1980. He may be contacted at the Department of Indonesian & Malayan Studies, University of Sydney, Sydney, 2006 N.S.W., Australia.

mark was fairly rare, but is found in a Malay MS in Jakarta (no. 23B) dated ca. 1864. Many manuscripts exist with the Van der Ley emblem and the legend "PRO PATRIA EENDRAGT MAAKT MAGT" (For our country, Unity creates might), and these date approximately from 1864 to 1873, which seems to be the period of the MS being examined here. Two Malay manuscripts which have been dated to 1823 also bear the Van der Ley emblem with the words "CONCORDIA RES-PARVAE CRESCUNT" (Little things increase through unity), but this dating is open to question.²

According to oral histories collected by the Balinese scholar Made Kanta, the *SR* MS now in Griya Pidada was illustrated by Modara, an artist patronized by the Klungkung court and working from the artisans' village of Kamasan (Kanta 1979:35). A second illustrated MS, of the *kakawin Sutasoma*, was supposed to have also been done by Modara, but was allegedly stolen by the Dutch during the military conquest of Klungkung. It is known that Modara lived sometime around 1830 (Bonnet 1936:64), and that one of his grandchildren, the artist Nyoman Laya, was born around 1865.³ Thus there is some evidence for Modara's authorship of this MS, but not enough to make any conclusive statement on this issue. A reason for doubting Modara's identity as the author is that his name is the only one known from that period, and thus his descendants are quick to ascribe all early works to him, as a means of promoting, or at least honouring, his name (Vickers unpubl.:47-49).

Stylistic identification of particular artists' work within the Kamasan tradition is difficult, because of the conventionality of stylization within the tradition. Living artists can identify the stylistic "tricks" of their contemporaries, but when it comes to artists outside living memory the situation is confused. Thus from stylistic criteria it is difficult to either support or attack the above argument. However, there seems little doubt that it is an artist from the Kamasan tradition. Present-day artists are quick to point out traditional paintings not from their school, and are highly sensitive to questions of style (Forge 1978: cat.no. 30). Those who have seen the work have no doubt that it is a "classical" Kamasan work, and the *Brahmana* of Griya Pidada do not contradict this as they would if it were one of their immediate ancestors.

Usually illustrated *lontar* (palm leaf manuscripts) were called *prasi*, and were made by artists of the *Brahmana* caste.⁴ Kamasan artists presently work on cloth, sometimes on wood, but in the past also worked on bark paper. Kamasan artists also worked on a larger scale, and the figures drawn were always much larger than those of the *prasi*, which were only a few inches wide. Few *prasi* are known, but those available in publications indicate the existence of a number of artists working within a reasonable degree of stylistic variation (Pleyte 1948;

Hooykaas 1968; van Stein Callenfels 1925: pl.54-58). Thus, for instance, the illustrator of the *Arjunawiwaha* fills his landscapes with hills and feathery trees, while the *Dampati Lalangon* is less crowded, but is filled with odd animals and fantastic constructions in profile. An illustrated *Wawatėkan* (divinatory calendar) on paper,⁵ but by a *padanda* (*Brahmana* priest), points to the ability of artists from the *prasi* tradition to cope with working with a larger format. Only one or two figures reach the size used so consistently in the *ŚR* MS, and these are mystical god-figures composed of sacred letters and depicted *en face*, not in three quarter profile as with Kamasan paintings. Most of the figures are only a few inches high, with a tendency towards fussy details, odd creatures and shapes, and relatively small representations of unusual architecture. In comparison the *ŚR* MS concentrates on the figures central to the story, with little detail used around the outside. Only four basic types of architecture are used: the raised platform where gods and other high-status figures sit; the *balė* or pavilion, usually only shown partially on the page; and two types of shrine, the *meru*, or tiered pavilion, and the *sanggah*, or small bamboo shrine. The unusual architecture of *prasi* traditions could perhaps be ascribed to observation of architecture within the inner courtyards of *puri* (royal palaces) or *griya* (priestly households), where there was much more architectural variation and elaboration, whereas the architecture of the MS could be said to be the type experienced by lower-status members of society living outside these privileged enclosures.

There is evidence that the text of the *ŚR* MS itself was copied from a *lontar* possibly originating from the priestly family group of Griya Pidada. The variations in the text agree largely with the variant selected by Teeuw *et al.* (1969:58 & 156) as the "C" text. The colophon of this "C" text indicates that it came from "Puṇyatirtha", which is Griya Punya Sidemen.⁶ According to the *babad* (genealogical history) of the Sidemen priestly family, Padanda Nyoman Pidada of Griya Punya was the grandfather of Padanda Wayahan Pidada, who came to Klungkung from Sidemen to be court priest for the "Virgin Queen" of Klungkung, Dewa Agung Isteri Kanya (who ruled with her brother circa 1830-1860).⁷ Padanda Wayahan Pidada is the ancestor of the residents of Griya Pidada Klungkung.

This piece of information provides some insight into the processes of *lontar* copying on Bali in the past. Hinzler and Schoterman have noted that through the family connections of this priestly group, a number of copies of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* have been circulated. One of these copies was found in Griya Punya Sidemen, another in Griya Pidada Alampura (Karangasem) (Hinzler and Schoterman 1979:482). Griya Punya and Amlapura are mentioned in the colophons of two *ŚR Lontar*, "C" and "A" respectively of Teeuw *et al.* Hinzler and Schoterman also hypothesized that the copy of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*

from Lombok, which is found in a bundle together with the ŚR text used as MS "B" in the published edition, came there originally through that same priestly family.

Made Kanta (1978; cf. Atmodjo 1973) has argued for a reinterpretation of the second colophon of the Lombok *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, postulating that Sidemen is its place of origin. Since his argument is not readily accessible, a summary follows.

He believes that the "*Kañcāṇasthana*" of the colophon could well refer to Griya Sėkaton Sidemen (*sukaton* = *kañcāṇa*, gold; Griya Sėkaton is also called Griya Mas), and that the district "Kawyan" could mean "the poets' district", since Sidemen is known for its poetical activities.

Further, the "east of the Talaga Dwaja" location of the village is a common designation for Sidemen, which lies east of the Talaga Dwaja river, a tributary of the Unda. The copyist's signature has already been corrected by Berg to read "Nirartha Pamasah", "a descendant of Nirartha". The first priest of Griya Sėkaton was Padanda Sėkaton, allegedly a great-grandson of the legendary Nirartha. The direct descendants of Padanda Sėkaton, now residing in Griya Carik Sidemen, also have a copy of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*.

Support for Made Kanta's argument comes from the comment of the colophon that the text was copied "while imperilled by enemies". At the beginning of the eighteenth century Sidemen was attacked by the forces of Karangasem, and its Ksatriya house fell to the forces of the three sons of Bagawan Atapa Rare, the former *raja* (*Babad Karangasem Lombok*, leaf 71). The dates 1737-38 and 1740 mentioned in the Lombok ŚR and *Nāgarakṛtāgama* colophons may confirm this. Supporting this general argument is the rumoured existence of a copy of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* in Griya Pidada Klungkung, which in turn confirms the importance of the Sidemen priestly descent group for *lontar* circulation in the eastern part of Bali.

The ŚR MS which is the subject of this article is only a part of the original. According to the residents of Griya Pidada, over half the pages were stolen in the 1930's by an unscrupulous German, on the pretext of borrowing the MS to photograph it. Photographs dating from the 1930's of the known pages are to be found in the Museum Bali, and they indicate that much of the damage to the MS occurred before they were photographed. If so, the damage may have resulted from excessive use during the last century. The obvious use for such a manuscript would have been for celebrations of the ritual of *Siwarātri*. Hooykaas has shown this celebration to be a royal ritual, probably performed by the *raja* in conjunction with his court priests, as were other royal rituals (Hooykaas 1964:200). Even today the ŚR is read during the Night of Śiwa as a ritual guide, and as an aid to staying awake all night, the main requirement of the observance.

The Illustrations

The remaining pages of the MS are numbered from 90 to 142. Two pages are numbered 118, and three between 131 and 134 are unnumbered. The number of lines of the *kakawin* text per page side varies between one and eight, but usually there is one stanza per page. Working from this average, it becomes clear that the eighty-nine missing pages would not have gone back to the beginning of the *ŚR kakawin*, but perhaps only to the eighth canto. In this case it may be that the long descriptions of nature used by the 15th-century author of the *kakawin* have been omitted. This would agree with the general picture of later Balinese literature, which tends away from such natural descriptions.⁸ Lubdaka's actual inadvertent celebration of the Night of Śiwa may have been left out as well, since it is briefly recapitulated in another part. It is not known whether the last twenty-eight stanzas were illustrated at the end of the MS, or whether they too were omitted. The extant illustrations begin towards the end of the battle between the forces of Yama, the *Yamabala*, and the army of Śiwa, the *Gaṇa*, for the soul of the hunter Lubdaka, the evil-natured man who has celebrated the Night of Śiwa.

The accompanying table provides a statement of the correspondence between the *kakawin* lines and the illustrations of the MS. It is clear from this how much flexibility the artist had in the groupings of lines in relation to their meanings. Stanzas are frequently broken up between illustrations, but in only one example is the end of a canto found on the same illustration as the beginning of the next page (page 124 verso). Generally the lines are broken up and scattered over the pages. There are nine examples of the line being broken up between two illustrations (marked with an asterisk on the table). In some of the cases of broken lines there is a perceived change in subject matter, and hence of scene, in the middle of the line, but in others there seems to be little explanation for the break in subject matter. The first example is found in the middle of 24,3c⁹, where the break signals a change of emphasis. The first drawing (p. 94r) depicts the nature of the battle, showing how Nila of the demons and Wirabhadra of the *Gaṇa* were "locked together, punching each other in an embrace" (24,2d), but also that Wirabhadra was "hard pressed . . . and . . . driven back" by putting him in a lower position, as Nila seems to be lifting him to throw him to the ground. The beginning of line 3c continues this theme, with the words "*kapōsan ira*", "he was overcome by exhaustion", and the break follows these words. The next words, "*Ūrdhawakeśa saw this, and came with Prakarṣa to help*"*, are illustrated on the reverse side of the page, but it is not clear why the artist left the first syllable of Ūrdhawakeśa's name on the previous illustration. Perhaps this was an attempt to provide a transitional link between the illustrations so that there would be more continuity for a reader of the text.

TABLE

Relationship Between the Kakawin Text and Illustrations in the Śiwarātrikalpa MS

Page No.	Canto/Stanza/Line	Page No.	Canto/Stanza/Line	Page No.	Canto/Stanza/Line	Page No.	Canto/Stanza/Line		
90r	23	5a-c	104r	5a-d	118r	3a-c*	131r	7c-d	
v		5d-6b	v	6a-d	v	3c-d	v	33	1a-b
91r		6c-7b	105r	7a-d	118Br	4a-c	131Br		1c
v		7c-d	v	8a-d	v	4d	v		1d-2a
92r		8a-c	106r	9a-d	119r	5a-c*	132r		2b-c
v		8d-9b	v	1a-d	v	5c-d	v		2d
93r		9c-d	107r	2a-d	120r	6a-c	133r	34	1a-c*
v	24	1a-2c	v	3a-d	v	6d	v		1c-2c
94r		2d-3b	108r	1a-d	121r	7a-d	134r		2d-3a*
v		3c-d*	v	2a-c	v	8a-b	v		3a-c
95r		4a-5c	109r	2d-3a	122r	8c-d	135r		3d
v	25	5d-1a	v	3b-d	v	9a-b	v		4a-b
96r		1b-d	110r	4a-5a	123r	9c-d	136r		4c-d
v		2a-d	v	5b-d	v	10a-c	v		5a-c
97r		3a-4a	111r	6a-d	124r	10d-11c	137r		5d-6b*
v		4b-d	v	7a-d	v	11d-1b	v		6b-c
98r		5a-d	112r	8a-d	125r	1c-2b	138r		6d
v		6a-d	v	9a-d	v	2c-3b	v		7a-d
99r		7a-b	113r	10a-d	126r	3c-d	139r	35	1a-c
v		7c-8a	v	1a	v	4a-d	v		1d
100r		8b-d	114r	1b-d	127r	1a-2d	140r		2a-b
v		9a-10b	v	2a-d	v	3a-d	v		2c-3a*
101r		10c-d	115r	3a-d	128r	4a-c	141r		3a-d
v	26	1a	v	4a-d	v	4d	v	36	1a-b*
102r		1b-d	116r	5a-d	129r	5a-c	142r		1c-2a
v		2a-d	v	6a-d	v	5d-6c	v		2b-d
103r		3a-d	117r	1a-b	130r	6d			
v		4a-d	v	1c-2d	v	7a-c*			

In some of the other cases the change of subject is less clear, such as at the beginning of line 30,3c, or at the end of 36,1b. In 30,5c the line is split in two to enable the descriptions of the *pamurtian*, angry forms of divine figures (see Hooykaas 1972), to be shown. The line is split thus: "*caturbhujā waneh mahasta daśa/ len śata sama ya dhumāraṇāyudha*", "others were four armed, with ten hands, some had a hundred hands, each bearing a weapon"*. Here the break is used to distinguish items in a rhetorical catalogue, and comes almost in the exact centre of the line. Explanations for this treatment of the poetry will not be forthcoming until more research is done on Balinese interpretation of *kakawin* literature, particularly on the singing of *kakawin*.

Most of the illustrations follow the text literally. In some cases this literal treatment leads to concrete depictions of figures of speech. One example of this comes during the battle between the *Gaṇa* and the *Yamabala*, where, according to the text, "the battle scene looked like the sea . . . the rumble of the resounding drums (*gubar*)¹⁰ was like thunder, and the numerous weapons in the sky were like lightning / the flags rose up like smoke, and they were packed together like a spreading field of cloud./ The voices roared loudly, and the shouting boomed like the rumble of ships crashing on the water"* (28,2). Page 108 verso shows this battle in front of water (the sea). One of the *Gaṇa* fights a demon beneath a dark cloud of smoke, which is juxtaposed with a flag, while another beats a drum that hangs around his neck. Arrows fly through the air, next to a stylized representation of lightning, coiling threads burning at each end. The next illustration is even more interesting, for there the battle, now swinging to the advantage of the *Gaṇa*, is shown behind the depiction of a ship. The ship is beautifully drawn, and at first glance resembles a Portuguese man-of-war, but in all probability is actually based on the older type of Buginese vessels which cruised throughout the Archipelago (see MacKnight and Mukhlis 1979:275), and which probably would have been seen by the artist on the coast of Klungkung, perhaps at Kusamba.

It is interesting that this depiction of the ship (*bahitra* in the text) differs from other ship depictions in Kamasan paintings. Larger ships on paintings dating around the 1870's are modelled on Balinese fishing vessels, the same stylized model being applied to Chinese junks (see Galestin 1954:26f.; and Forge 1978: cat.no.28). In the twentieth-century Kamasan depictions of ocean-going vessels these are modelled on steam ships (Forge 1978: cat.nos.50-51), so it may be that the *bahitra* of the MS is an example of an earlier form of stylization, although the evidence could be used to argue for innovation by the artist in such a case, since we lack any known precedent.

Other literally rendered figures of speech include the depiction on

p.111v of the simile, "It was as if the heavens were collapsing . . . / the god Śakra was disturbed . . ." (28,7), by showing a *meru*, a pagoda-like structure representing heaven, about to topple; a refined and well dressed figure running about with one hand on his ear and the other on his cheek, out of bewilderment (the divine hosts); and Indra (*Śakra*) on a raised platform, throwing his hands up in the air. Later, in the scenes where Yama, lord of hell, comes to Śiwa to complain about the *Gaṇa*'s taking of Lubdaka, comes a description of the heavenly women who wait on Śiwa and his wife Uma. The artist uses this description for a lyrical display. One of the women is shown "repairing her coiffure" (p.127r), with a kneeling woman beside her holding a flower, and smoothing her dress. The same woman is shown in this illustration again, this time standing, but bent forward under the weight of her breasts, as the text describes. The *kakawin* also mentions that her hair falls over her face, but, probably because there is no provision for this in the pattern of Kamasan painting, the artist does not show her hair in this manner. In one of the inevitable stock phrases of *kakawin*, the woman is described as having a "languid" and "coquettish" gait ("*ngĕlih-ngĕlih ika n lumampah angamĕr laku rasa-rasa tan tumindaka*", 32,2d). In the illustration her hair hangs down her back, and she walks bent forward, with one foot barely in front of the other, her breasts now uncovered, erotically raising her skirt to reveal her thighs. The description of one of the women's eyebrows being "as sharp as a reef" is shown by placing the woman next to a coral reef (p.127v), an image that fits in well with the sea of honey image in that same stanza. The same illustration renders the words, "it is only natural that such beauty should endanger one who sought her charms in the bed chamber"¹¹ (32,3d), by showing a refined prince (Pañji), up to his waist in the sea, with a *balé* with curtains behind him representing a bed-chamber (*jinĕm*).

On the next page the "joy of the onlooker" which would bud forth at seeing the "waist" of one of the other women is shown by the Pañji figure holding up his hand in surprise as a woman disrobes, while a tree sprouts up in the middle of the scene, under four stars which represent the fourth month, the month of erotic pleasure. The English translation is rather misleading, for "*panĕpinya angliga*" is taken by the artist to mean "the edge (of her skirt) drawn up". While the next line of the text is written on the same illustration (p.128r), the illustration which accompanies it is on the other side of the page. Since this is the only example of such a disjunction in the whole MS, it was probably an oversight by the artist. This next illustration uses the lines, "the love of him who might try to take her virginity on the couch would turn to a gentle rain;/ the longing of him who strove to entwine himself with her in union would bear tendrils of passion"* (32,4c-d); and shows a Pañji figure wrapped in a sarong with a beautiful girl,

who makes some modest resistance as he squeezes her breasts. Gentle rain falls above the two figures. A tree is entwined by a vine, with the image of this beautiful woman being repeated at the side of the illustration. The Pañji figure is, in the artist's mind, not just a translation, but the embodiment of the lover, an image stronger than metaphor or allegory.

A comparison between the *ŚR ider-ider* (long roll painting) described by Galestin and the MS is revealing. Worsley (1970:351,n7) proposed two alternative dates for the *ider-ider*, based on badly erased writing on the back of the painting, 1818 or 1918. The style of the work does not agree at all with that of any of the Kamasan artists practising in 1918 (Vickers unpubl.38 & diagr.3; Forge 1978:84). Furthermore, the *ider-ider* has a stylistic feature in common with an illustrated MS of the *Rāmāyana*, which is similar in kind to the *ŚR MS*, but which has a watermark dating it between 1811 and 1815, and an old painting on bark-cloth from the Forge Collection of the Australian Museum, probably also dating from the first half of the nineteenth century (Forge 1978: cat.no.16). In Kamasan paintings from the latter part of the last century, and also in present-day paintings, the necks of the figures are shown with one fold of skin in the middle of the neck, and two at the base, but the three works in question all show necks with two folds at the base and two in the centre, thus:



present-day depiction



early nineteenth century

This is evidence for the 1818 date of the *ider-ider*.

Although the *ider-ider* pre-dates the MS, there is no evidence that the artist of the latter would have seen the former. Naturally all the stock poses and stylized gestures of Kamasan painting are there, but no two scenes are exactly alike. In addition the iconography of the *Gaṇa* and *Yamabala* is very different. Prakarṣa, for instance, in the MS is almost the same as in the *ider-ider*, but has almond-shaped, not bulging eyes. Antaka's hair falls down his back, and he wears no cap as in the *ider-ider*. None of Galestin's identifications of the figures correspond, although there are one or two iconographical inconsisten-

cies in the MS. The implication is that, whereas there are strong traditional prescriptions for the iconography of gods and heroes, the minor divine beings, not occurring so often in paintings, do not have fixed representations. However, as Galestin demonstrated, they may be depicted consistently in one work (Teeuw *et al.* 1969:224ff).

The constraints of literally depicting all the words of the *kakawin* did not inhibit the artist from using the type of earthy humour usually found in Kamasan paintings. In the passage describing the revival of the dead combatants after Yama's audience with Śiwa, the text mentions that, "they were not altogether conscious, and imagined that they were lying in bed with their loved ones;/ absently they rolled up the trousers of those who had just come to, but were surprised to see they had the wrong one" (35,2c-d). This is illustrated (p.140v) by four demons in front of a *balé*, two still lying down, two others standing. The two standing ones are checking through the casualties for friends, but are surprised by the erect penis revealed when they shift the loin cloth of the one newly revived. In a *Malat* painting of a battle scene this metaphor for revival recurs (*De Kunst van Bali*:ill.13, cat.no.27). Dead soldiers being carried off the battle field are shown with flaccid penises, but on being sprinkled with holy water by a *balian* (traditional medical practitioner), an erection signals their rejuvenation. In the same vein a scene occurs on the next page (141v) of a demon reunited with his loved one in the bed-chamber, a grotesque parody of the noble lovers of the earlier scene.

The artist also exhibits subtlety of understanding through a visual pun. When Yama, in the *kakawin*, questions the purpose of being lord of the realm of punishment if an evil-doer can escape (30,9c), he asks, "*ikang sakala baddhaka ndya pakēnanya kēkē-kēkēsananta niṣphala*", "all these captives, what is the point of our continuing to keep them here for nothing?" This is illustrated with the depiction of a peasant tied to a tree, complete with straw hat and sickle (p.123r). Between the farmer and Yama, however, is a figure elaborately dressed in Balinese dancing costume, dancing the courtly *gambuh*, as indicated by another man playing a large flute. The reference remains obscure without the information supplied by van der Tuuk in his definition of the word *wadak* (1897-1912: vol. III,521), where it is mentioned that in the nineteenth century a new written narrative called *Mantri Wadak* was known. It is not unlikely that this narrative could have been used for *gambuh* or other dance forms; hence there is a pun that would have been well understood by the courtly reader well acquainted with *gambuh*. The pun is not just pure play, as it has a potential significance for the next lines of Yama's speech. He says, "I shall resign my work of observing the distinction between good and evil as laid down by Gaṇadhīpa"*. The *gambuh* dancer depicted is of the *prabu kras* or coarse kingly type, as indicated by his coiffure and his



p.128v — 32,4d



p.140v — 35,2c-3a

bulging eyes and thick moustache. He is "violent and sudden in his movements; . . . the embodiment of energetic manhood, with something of demonic strength" (de Zoete & Spies 1938:139). This type of king could be benevolent, in that his bellicose nature may protect the kingdom against enemies (Worsley 1972:41), or the features may indicate an evil nature. In other words, the ambiguity blurs the distinction between good and evil. In the same way the ambiguous question is raised in the comparison between a king and a peasant farmer, as to which is good and which is evil.

Interpretations of the Balinese artist do not necessarily agree with the finer points of the Western translation. Although generally there are no major disagreements, there are one or two points in need of clarification. In the commentary on 31,4b-c, there is the problem of who the *sang hanggana* are, and whether it is the heavenly women who are compared to Ratih, or Uma (Teeuw *et al.* 1969:152). In the first case the text of the MS has been written as "*stri stri sang hyang marēki wuri selandraduhita*", confirming the translation of, "the heavenly women who sat behind the daughter of Śailendra".¹² The second problem is not quite as straightforward. The translators feel that, "grammar as well as logic preclude the poetical comparison of Śiwa's spouse Uma to Ratih, the wife of Kama, hierarchically her inferior!" (Teeuw *et al.* 1969:152). The artist depicts Ratih amongst the heavenly women, but standing whilst the other women kneel, and with her head tilted at such an angle as to invite visual comparison between herself and Uma (p.126v). It is not such an illogical comparison if Ratih is viewed as the embodiment of female beauty and love in the aesthetic world. Exactly the same comparison comes a few pages later (p.130r) to illustrate the words, "And he who might try to describe her [Uma's] sweetness would be at his wit's end, for she is truly the deity of love (*tuhu dewa ning Ratih*)"* (32,6d). There Uma is shown standing beside a poet, who is depicted as a *Brahmana*, and who holds in his hands a blank writing-slate, as he looks up at her in bewilderment. Ratih is shown facing Uma and making a submissive gesture. In the Old Javanese *kakawin Smaradahana*, Ratih's spirit actually enters Uma's body to fill her with love (Poerbatjaraka 1931:33 & 92).

Another Balinese comment on the translation occurs when Yama is consulting with Citragupta about the possibility of Lubdaka being a hopeless sinner. Citragupta, pictured as an aged *Brahmana* with long hair and a long coat, is asked to consult his *galih* to see whether Lubdaka has any merit.¹³ The translators posit the idea that a *galih* is a type of karmic record-book, but add that, "No satisfactory etymological explanation or confirmation from the sources is available to us for the meaning 'book', 'records'. In OJ *galih* only occurs in later texts, meaning 'marrow', 'energy', 'power'" (Teeuw *et al.* 1969:151). The artist depicts the *galih* as a skull (p.124r), showing the reading



p.141v — 36,1a-b



p.123r — 30,9c-d

from the *galih* as an image of Lubdaka smoking opium, a dissolute vice in nineteenth-century Bali (Geria 1958:34). Perhaps there is some evidence here to associate the skull, the most sacred part of the body, with the source of spiritual power, as containing a record of the thoughts and deeds of a person. It must be added that no practices of divination through human remains are known on Bali.

But what lies at the heart of the *kakawin*, and what emerges as the artist's interest, despite the danger of getting lost in details, is the religious meaning of the Night of Śiwa. For this purpose all details that seem extraneous to the Westerner, the humorous, the erotic, poetical beauty, battle and nature, are in fact different aspects of the total religious picture. The artist, in his treatment of the hymn to Śiwa in Canto 33, demonstrates the personal devotion that accompanies the act of illustrating the *kakawin*. When illustrating the lines, "Hail! Behold the homage of him who has no refuge, here at the lotus-feet of the Lord of the World; Outwardly and inwardly I pay homage (*sembah*) to you, who are the constant object of my devotion", the portrayal is of Yama making the *sembah* gesture to Śiwa, but behind Śiwa is another figure making the same gesture. This man is dressed only in a sarong, with a very simple ear ornament and a flower above his ear. In his simple dress he resembles Lubdaka, and this is generally indicative of lower status figures, who lack the elegant dress and coiffure that the *Gaṇa*, for instance, have. However, he has a thin moustache, unlike Lubdaka, and his mouth is shown in profile, with no upper lip, a feature of lower-status court servants in *Malat* paintings (Forge 1978: cat.no.42). Since this is not Lubdaka, or one of the *Gaṇa*, or a poet, since poets are usually shown as *Brahmana*, this is probably a self-portrait by the artist, something unique in Kamasan painting, and a special mark of the artist's worship of Śiwa.

The rest of the hymn is presented in a manner sensitive to particular aspects of religious devotion and to Śiwa's being "visible and invisible in the whole world"* . Śiwa (p.131Br) is shown both in his normal godly form and as the small naked figure with flames issuing from its joints known as Atintya. This raises all kinds of theological questions as to whether Śiwa is a manifest form of this invisible supreme God, or whether Atintya is an ephemeral form of Śiwa.

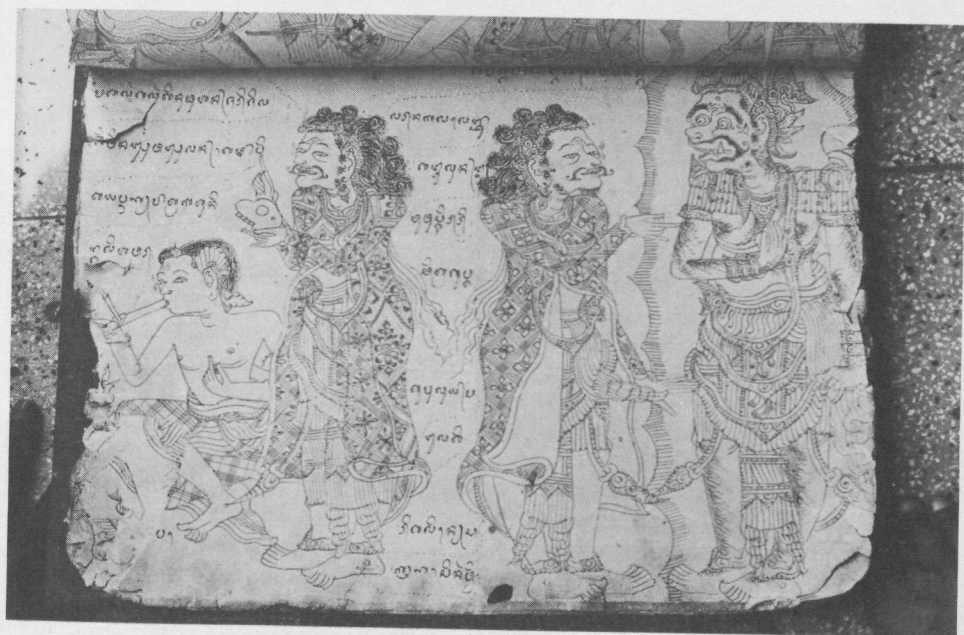
In "You are the life of the living, and bring about both evil and good"* (33,1c), a witch is shown under the word "*hala*" (evil) and a refined man holding a flower under the word "*hayu*" (good). Here is recognition of the potential for both influences which emanate from Śiwa. The former is especially prominent in his aspect of Prajapati, lord of the graveyard (*ulun setra*) and spouse of Durga, patron of witchcraft. "You are the permanent object of desire of those who purify the spirit by abandoning the ten senses. In consecration and other rites you represent the state of complete abstraction..."

(33,Id-2a). Here (p.131Bv) is shown a meditating sage, with the *ketu* (turban) of a priest, seated at the front of a cave, with his hands clasped together in the *musti* gesture (Vickers unpubl.:90) while being tempted by a beautiful woman, found as the stock scene in paintings of Arjuna's meditation (from the *Arjunawiwāha* story) (Forge 1978: cat.nos 22-24). This is accompanied by a scene of a younger *Brahmana* (as indicated by his special fan-like head-dress), being consecrated by an older priest with a *ketu*. This form of consecration is that described as *napak*, where the *guru*, seated on a raised platform, completes the ceremony by placing his foot on the initiate (Korn 1960:146). "When chanting the sacred *weda*, you are the embodiment of the holy words . . ./ . . subtler than the slenderest body, and coarser than the greatest"* (33,2b-c). Here is a *padanda* in full ritual regalia, seated on a platform, with a cloth with the lotus of the gods of the nine directions on his lap (Damsté 1926:257), ringing his bell with his left hand and holding flower petals with his right, as he performs the sacred gestures (*mudra*). This is what most Balinese refer to as *maweda*, the performance of the high priest's ritual. The censer (*dhupa*) and holy-water pot with sprinkler are also shown on the platform. The slenderest body is shown as a small form of the incorporeal Atintya, this time not with an aureole, and the greatest as a *pamurtian* form, so that the whole scene not only shows the act of worship, but also opposite forms of the object of worship.

"You are present in the stationary and the moving" (33,2d) is shown by a tree and a deer respectively on page 132 verso; and "you alone are the goal of him who takes refuge in the void" (33,2d), is illustrated by an old sage, but with chains hanging from his waist to symbolize withdrawal from life¹⁴, walking with the help of a walking-stick, beneath a stylized shape which surrounds the word "*śūnyata*", the void. This stylized shape is used in various places throughout the MS. On page 127 recto it surrounds and depicts, "the moon covered with clouds". On page 129 verso, where the goddess of the beauty of the fourth month is shown, the words "fourth month" are divided into four syllables (*la-buh ka-pat*), and each is surrounded by a small moon or star motif. In the short description of Lubdaka's observance of the Night of Śiwa, which comes as part of Śiwa's explanation to Yama as to why Lubdaka was saved from hell (34,5a-c), the words "the black fourteenth day" (i.e. the new moon) are surrounded by a crescent in the illustration to highlight their significance as the time for performing the rite of *Śiwarātri*.

Comment and Conclusions

In the *ŚR ider-ider* mentioned above, as is generally the case with Kamasan paintings, the artist has selected a fragment (or fragments) of the narrative to highlight a theme considered relevant to the ritual



p.124r — 30,10d-11c



p.131v — 33,1a-b

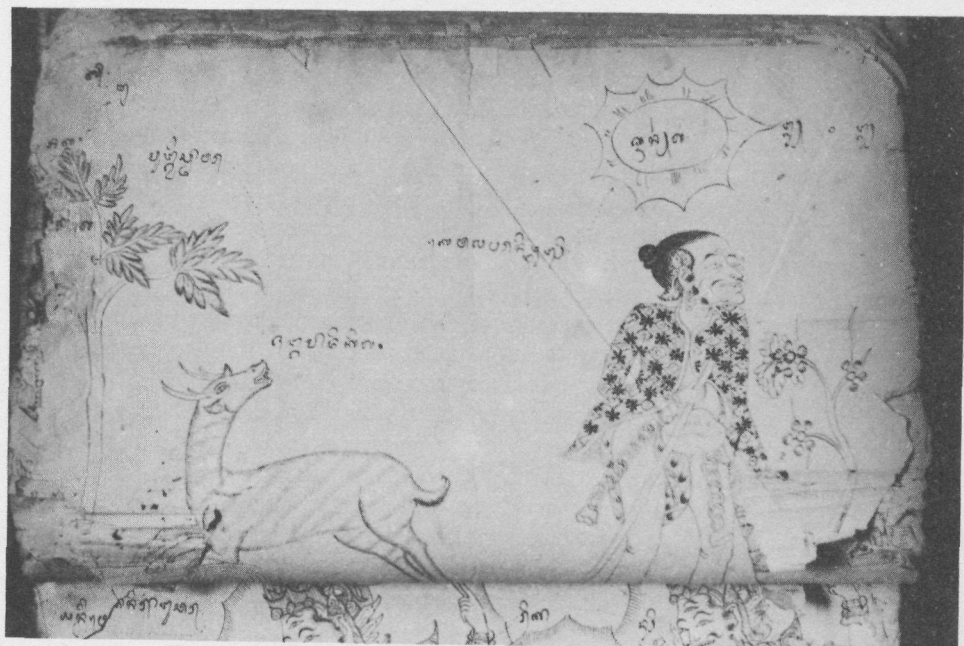
context of the painting. The format of the MS, with its literal adherence to a complete visualization of the *kakawin*, does not allow such freedoms in isolating themes. Although we do not know the original ritual context of the *ider-ider*, its theme is reasonably clear. Two forces are clearly delineated, the *Gana*, acting under Śiwa's orders, and the *Yamabala* under Yama's. The two gods are depicted at either end of the painting, and the central part is taken up with the coming together of the forces in conflict. The clash of the forces predominates, and the story of Lubdaka's asceticism is merely introductory. The conclusion, Lubdaka's escape on the Puspaka, "chariot", is only briefly alluded to, as if secondary to the battle. Even this element is counter-balanced by Lubdaka's being previously tied up by the demons, so that it could be said that the two are shown as the opposing potentials for a dead man, and occur within the framework of constantly warring demonic and godly forces. Thus this is more a statement about the condition of the soul in a cosmos of warring forces, with the final fate of the soul of man being left undecided. The *kakawin*, however, is much more conclusive in its presentation of the fate of Lubdaka, with such a conclusion designed to highlight the benefits of the ritual of *Siwarātri* in changing the balance. The *ider-ider* moves away from the ritual towards a depiction of forces that are at once cosmic components and representative of parts of the nature of man.

Although the MS is ostensibly faithful to the *kakawin*, it contains evidence of interpretation. It has already been mentioned that not all of the *kakawin* was used for the MS. This would accord with the practice of reading and interpreting *kakawin* at rituals, where only portions of a text are used (albeit large portions) to blend in with the nature of a ritual. The descriptions of nature at the beginning of the ŚR were probably, to the Balinese, extraneous to what interested them. The fact that some of the details of Lubdaka's observance, and also of his life, may have been omitted would indicate that the MS is also pursuing the theme of conflict. The battle between the *Gana* and the *Yamabala* must originally have occupied well over half the MS, while a verbal conflict between Yama and Śiwa ensues after this physical battle of their agents. The forces of the two gods are shown first as the embodiments of their respective qualities. When Yama goes to Śiwa to plead his case, however, it is as a ruler owing submission to a higher authority, Śiwa, who emerges as victorious, so that eventually Yama is shown as fleeing from Śiwa and Lubdaka. For such a theme the last few cantos of the *kakawin* are unnecessary, and thus they were probably never included in the MS.

A central problem in this case is to whom is the interpretation to be attributed? At the beginning of this article I mentioned the strong possibility that the artist may have been from the village of Kamasan, and therefore an outsider to the sub-cultures of *puri* and *griya*, sub-



p.131Bv — 33,1d-2a



p.132v — 33,2d

cultures largely concerned with the writing, copying and interpretation of literary materials.¹⁵ The alleged self-portrait mentioned above may support this, but there are a few points which could lead to other interpretations. First, there are none of the air/cloud motifs generally used in Kamasan paintings, although the written text to some degree takes on their space-filling role. More importantly there is the question of the artist's very close knowledge of the *kakawin* language. The literalness of the illustrations of the MS seems closer to the literary interests of *puri/griya* inhabitants, while the hundreds of illustrations are not laboured products, but quick sketches done with skill and firmness of line produced by a spontaneous interpretation of the Old Javanese language. This may be evidence for the illustrator's having been the writer of the actual text of the MS. In this light it could be argued that a *Brahmana* would certainly have possessed the necessary linguistic ability to illustrate the text, and it is not impossible that *Brahmana* artists could have practised in a number of media. There are examples of modern-day *Brahmana* artists working on larger works, and even one known example of a *Brahmana* painting on a larger format in the last century, even though this comes from an area distant from Klungkung.¹⁶ Could a *Brahmana* have approximated so closely the Kamasan style, however, or is this instead an example of a commoner's having a deep knowledge of *kakawin* language?

The Pulesari descent group in Kamasan has included many *dalang* (*wayang* puppeteers), as well as being the descent group of a number of Kamasan's principal artists from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, including Modara. *Dalang* have always required an active knowledge of *Kawi*, Old and "Middle" Javanese, for their performances, so it is not impossible that artists had access to such knowledge. In addition it is known that Kamasan artists were commissioned to do paintings to be used in rituals, but it is not known whether paintings by the *puri* or *griya* inhabitants had such an application. The little evidence we have on the matter seems to indicate that they did not. Finally it could be said that the earthy humour of the closing scenes is a noted characteristic of commoner work, but even this is hardly definitive evidence (Forge 1978: cat.nos.22-24, 30, 40-41). There are too many questions raised by the present inadequate state of knowledge of artistic activity in nineteenth-century Bali to be absolutely sure that the artist was a commoner.

It may also be that a commoner artist would have consulted with the royal patrons or *Brahmana* advisers in any case before illustrating the *kakawin*. That the text of the MS came via the *Brahmana* family of Griya Pidada Klungkung highlights this facet of the work. The MS is the product of at least two or three people from varying social backgrounds: the *raja* from his courtly sphere, a *Brahmana* from the priestly environment of Griya Pidada, and probably an artist from the

village sub-culture outside of these spheres. In such a case the end product is given added dimensions by the processes of inter-group reaction.

There is also a sense in which these social groups interact in the ritual of Śīwarātri related to this. The "royal ritual" explanation given by Hooykaas seems at odds with the present-day situation, where the ritual is celebrated by all social groups and is promoted by the Hindu reformist organization, the Parisada Hindu Dharma (see Forge 1980). Are these two facts irreconcilable? The *ider-ider* is fairly positive evidence of commoner knowledge of the Śīwarātri, and if the MS was also the work of a commoner artist, it shows that the meaning of the ritual was in no way the sole province of the *raja* or his priests. The nineteenth-century text *Rusak Buleleng* provides evidence of commoner participation in the ritual. In describing the state of cosmic harmony (*kërta*) created when the two *raja* of Lombok held the *danapunia* ritual, in which the priests and the people were given gifts by the *raja*, it is mentioned that, "The rulers both held observances [*brata*], *maduparka* and *Siwalatri* — they were advanced in lotus worship, and learned in the holy literature. The *punggawa* (state officials) were happy, and the subjects also, all joined in the observances" (Geria 1958:61). *Maduparka* here is part of the Śīwarātri celebration, and refers to special offerings made up of sweet food and drink (including honey, *madu*), which are eaten to absolve the participants from their sins during the Night of Śīwa (Putra 1974:46f). Clearly here the ritual is led, not monopolized, by the *raja*, and the object is to create a unity of participation which purifies the realm and hence mystically unites ruler, realm and people. In this way the conflict between the forces of Yama and those of Śīwa, and the vanquishing of the demonic forces, describes the process of purification.

The illustrations of the MS make an interesting comment on the nature of this unity. After the *Gaṇa* have brought Lubdaka to Śīwa, the text mentions that Lubdaka is raised up to become Śīwa's equal, and this is shown (p.116r) by the depiction of Lubdaka as Śīwa's iconographic double. After Śīwa's subtle victory over Yama, these words are illustrated: "(Yama) was perplexed to see how a person of low birth had become equal to the hosts of gods"* (35,1d). Again Śīwa and Lubdaka are shown as indistinguishable in form, being depicted as a twin god on one level, from whom Yama flees in terror (p. 139v). Even the Tabanan illustration of this scene (illustration 3 of Galestin's descriptions) does not go as far as this. If the artist was a "low born" village artist, this adds much to the meaning of "unity" with Śīwa in this context. The potential for such equality can be seen as an egalitarian ideal which cuts across the hierarchical nature of the Balinese state (Forge 1978:79). But such ideas hardly led to revolution. Rather, they could be integrated into the structure of rituals within the state,

such as in the *Rusak Buleleng* passage where the *raja* and his priests act as leaders and examples to the people, extending the doctrines of cleansing the individual from sin into an ideology of the religiously integrated state. The possibility that a *Brahmana* artist could have illustrated such a scene shows that perhaps the potential importance of the commoners could not be ignored by either *raja* or priests.

One way of reading the scene is to see it as the representation of ruler and ruled acting in concert on an equal footing to purify the realm from demonic influences. In the context of the kingdom of Klungkung a more direct political reading may also be possible. Since Klungkung was continually trying to assert the superior status of its ruler, the Dewa Agung, over all the other Balinese *raja*, the victory of Śiwa, as the highest god and ruler of the heavenly realm, over Yama, the ruler of the realm of hell, may be a statement about the superiority of the Klungkung *raja*. The importance of placing such an assertion within the context of the *Śiwarātri* is that it also implies that by acting to support the claims for higher status by their ruler, commoners can promote their own status.

Much research remains to be done on Old Javanese literature and its interpretation on Bali. The MS discussed here is not the only work of its kind, nor the only interpretation of the ŚR in Balinese art. The paucity of secondary literature in no way indicates a lack of primary material to be examined, only a shortage of scholars in this field.

NOTES

- 1 The author wishes to express his thanks to the family of Griya Pidada Klungkung, especially Ida Bagus Pidada Kaot, and to Anthony Forge and Peter Worsley for their suggestions.
- 2 David Stuart-Fox first examined the water-mark of the ŚR MS. Information on the dates of the water-mark comes from Russell Jones, who has researched these marks with reference to Malay manuscripts. Two other MSS on paper similar to the ŚR MS are known to exist on Bali, both in private collections. One, a *Rāmāyaṇa* MS, is on English paper marked 1811, while the other appears to be on the same paper as the ŚR MS. This is of two *kidung* stories, and has a date of 1868 in Arabic script, presumably a date of purchase rather than an artist's work date.
- 3 According to information from Nyoman Soma, who keeps the genealogical records of the Pulesari *dadia* in Kamasan. See also Forge 1978:85.
- 4 This describes the present-day situation in Sidemen. See also Pleyte 1948:1; Damsté 1926:15; and van Stein Callenfels 1925:50.
- 5 Photographed by P. J. Worsley from a MS illustrated by a Padanda Kamenuh of Blahbatu.
- 6 Information from private correspondence with Made Kanta.
- 7 This is stated in *Prasasti Brahmana*, leaf 11, but Griya Pidada's residents claim that he actually came to Klungkung during the reign of the queen's great-uncle, Dewa Agung Panji. See also Anandakusuma 1974:45.
- 8 Information from P. J. Worsley, based on a comparison between the *kakawin* and *kidung* versions of the *Sumanasantaka*, and also from my own researches on the *Malat*.

- 9 The mode of textual reference here is the same as that used by Teeuw *et al.* (1969), referring successively to canto, stanza and line (a,b,c,d). The MS illustrations are referred to by Balinese page number, recto or verso. Translations of the text, where quoted from Teeuw *et al.*, are left unmarked; where I have altered the latter's translations for stylistic reasons these are marked with an asterisk, while major alterations are referred to in footnotes. It should be noted that these alterations are based on the interpretations of the Balinese illustrations, and are not always strictly philologically correct.
- 10 Translated by Teeuw *et al.* as "cymbals".
- 11 Translated by Teeuw *et al.* as "wreck the passion", but *jahat* can mean "evil", "danger" in Balinese, while *raga* can mean "body".
- 12 The *sang hyang* emendation of the MS could be associated with the dance of the same name, where heavenly women descend into the bodies of young girls in trance.
- 13 There seems to be some confusion between Citragupta and the scribe of hell, Sang Suratma. See Teeuw *et al.* 1969:151.
- 14 Also found in *Arjunawiwāha* illustrations, both on Java (see van Stein Callenfels 1925: pl.45, panel 3) and Bali (Forge 1978:cat.no.24).
- 15 The main evidence for this is the colophons of *lontar*, which very rarely mention commoners either as copyists or owners.
- 16 See *De Kunst van Bali*, cat.no.39,4, which is an illustration purchased by van der Tuuk from Ida Made Telaga of Sanur.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anandakusuma, Sri Rsi
1974 *Silsilah Orang Suci dan Orang Besar di Bali, Klungkung: Anandasaraswati*.
- Atmodjo, M. M. Sukarto K.
1973 'The Second Colophon of the Nāgarakṛtāgama', *BKI* 129, pp. 277-286.
Babad Karangasem Lombok, Puri Kawan Amlapura (H. XXV, 13).
- Bonnet, R.
1936 'Beeldende Kunst uit Gianyar', *Djawa* 16, pp. 60-71.
- Damsté, H. T.
1926 'Balische Kleedjes en Doeken, Verband Houdende met Eeredienst en Doodenzorg', in *Gedenkschrift 75-jarig Bestaan van het Koninklijk Instituut*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, pp.254-264.
1929 'Een Geïllustreerde Bramara Sangupati', in *Nederlandsch Indië Oud en Nieuw*, pp.15-23.
- Forge, A.
1978 *Balinese Traditional Paintings*, Sydney: Australian Museum.
1980 'Balinese Religion and Indonesian Identity', *Indonesia: Australian Perspectives*, Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, pp. 221-233.
- Galestin, Th. P.
1954 'A Malat Story', in *Lamak and Malat in Bali and a Sumba Loom*, Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, Dept. of Cultural and Physical Anthropology.
- Geria, I Putu
1958 *Gaguritan Rusak Buleleng*, Denpasar: Balimas.
- Hinzler, H. I. R., and J. A. Schoterman
1979 'A Preliminary Note on Two Recently Discovered Mss of the Nāgarakṛtāgama', *BKI* 135, pp.481-484.

- Hooykaas, C.
1964 *Agama Tirtha*, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co.
1968 *Bagus Umbara; Prince of Koripan*, London: British Museum.
1972 'Pamurtian in Balinese Art', *Indonesia* 12, pp.1-20.
- Kanta, I Made
1978 'Tanggapan Terhadap Majalah B.K.I. d 129', *Saraswati* 12, pp.7-13.
1979 *Proses Melukis Tradisionil Wayang Kamasan*, Denpasar: Proyek Sasana Budaya Bali.
- Korn, V. E.
1960 'The Consecration of a Balinese Priest', *Bali; Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual*, The Hague: W. van Hoeve, pp.133-153.
- De Kunst van Bali; Verleden en Heden*
1961 The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum.
- MacKnight, C. C., and Mukhlis
1979 'A Buginese Manuscript about Prahus', *Archipel* 18, pp.271-282.
- Pleyte, C. M.
1948 *Dampati Lalangon; 11 platen naar Balische lontar-illustraties*, Bandoeng: Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap, A. C. Nix & Co. (reprint).
- Poerbatjaraka, R. M. Ng.
1931 *Smaradahana; Oud-Javaansche Tekst met Vertaling*, Bandoeng: A. C. Nix & Co.
- Prasasti Brahmana*, Singaraja (H.XIX,12).
- Putra, Nyo. I. G. A. Ms.
1974 *Upakara-Yadnya*, Denpasar: Dep. Agama.
- Stein Callenfels, P. V. van
1925 'De Mintaraga-basreliefs aan de Oud-Javaansche Bouwwerken', *Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, deel 1, Batavia.
- Teeuw, A., et al.
1969 *Śiwarātrikalpa of Mpu Tanakung*, Bibliotheca Indonesica, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Tuuk, H. N. van der
1897-1912 *Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Batavia.
- Vickers, A.
unpubl. *Kṛta Ghoṣa, the Ordered Realm; A Study in Balinese Narrative Art*, B.A. (Hons) thesis, Univ. of Sydney.
- Worsley, P. J.
1970 'A missing Piece of a Balinese Painting of the Śiwarātrikalpa', *BKI* 126, pp.347-351.
1972 *Babad Buleleng*, Bibliotheca Indonesica, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Zoete, Beryl de, and W. Spies
1938 *Dance and Drama in Bali*, London: Faber and Faber.