

MARY SABINE ZURBUCHEN

The Language of Balinese Shadow Theater



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THE LANGUAGE
OF BALINESE SHADOW
THEATER

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MARY SABINA
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To My Parents

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PREFACE

Invocation for the Performance of Shadow Theater

JUST AS THE boundaries of awareness become perceptible, there is perfect tranquility, undisturbed by any threat, and even the utterances of the gods subside. It is none other which forms the beginning of my obeisance at the foot of the Divine. Greatly may I be forgiven, for my intention to call forth a story. And where dwells the story?

There is a god unsupported by the divine mother earth, unsheltered by the sky, unilluminated by the sun, moon, stars, or constellations. Yes, Lord, you dwell in the Void, and are situated thus. You reside in a golden jewel, regaled on a golden palanquin, shaded by a floating lotus. There, all the gods of the cardinal directions approach in audience, these being: Isora, Mahisora, Brahma, Ludra, Mahadéwa, Sangkara, Wisnu, Sambu, Sadasiwa, not to mention the five seers, and these are: Kursika, Gargga, Métri, Kurusya, Pratañjala. Not far away are the seven seers, these being: Parasu, Janaka, Kanwa, Narada, Bhayu, Bajra, Érawana, and even the four world guardians, these being: Indra, Yama, Baruna, Kuwéra. Not distant are the three great powers, namely: Siwa, Sadasiwa, Paramasiwa, not distant are the male and female celestial creatures. All are nearing the foot of the divine, exalted Supreme Teacher, in the Void.

There are found the young palm leaves, the one *lontar*, which, when taken and split apart, carefully measured are the lengths and widths. It is this which is brought to life with *hasta*, *gangga*, *uwira*, *tanu*. And what are the things so named? *Hasta* means 'hand', *gangga* means 'water', *uwira* means 'writing-instrument', *tanu* means 'ink'. What is that which is called "ink"? That is the name for, and none other than, the soot of the oil-lamp, mixed with the ashes of the *kepuh*-tree, placed in a vessel of copper. It is these things which are gathered together and given shape on leaf.

"Written symbol" is its name, of one substance and different soundings. And thus there are the Ten Written Symbols, and the Five Written Symbols, and the Three Written Symbols, the total count is eighteen in number, the complete set of written symbols, in the form of vowel and consonant types. The symbols *a*, *i*, *u*, *é*, *o*: the *a* symbol is attached with the *tarung*; the *i* symbol is attached with the *hulu*, the *u*

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symbol is attached with the *suku*, the *é* symbol is attached with the *taling*; the *o* symbol is attached with the *taling* and the *tarung*. Ka-kha-ga-gha-nga, ca-cha-ja-jha-ña, ta-tha-da-dha-na, pa-pha-ba-bha-ma, ya-ra-la-wa, śa-sa-sa-ha.

Of many forms is the greatness of the symbols, concealed, disguised, like ants all in a row. It is that which is spoken of by the exalted poet in his wisdom. And who is he called "exalted"? He is well born, foremost among poets, with knowledge of the smallest details in the field of letters. Rightly explained by him is the nature of the sounds of the four stops. There are *anudanti*, *anunasika*, *alpaprana*, and *mahaprana*. What are these so named? *Anudanti* are the written symbols sounded on the ends of the teeth, *anunasika* are written symbols sounded through the nose; *alpaprana* are written symbols sounded with fluttering of the lips, *mahaprana* are written symbols sounded from within the mind.

These are what resound, allowing the shaping of a story. Thus, apparent is the unity of the *astadaséka*, the Eighteen. How? As follows: *asta* means 'eight', *daséka* means 'ten'. The total is eighteen, the number of the *Parwas*, from the land of India. These are recounted by the divine Supreme Poet, and include, for example, *Sramaparwa*, *Santikaparwa*, *Udyogaparwa*, *Swargarohanaparwa*, *Dirawanaparwa*, *Bhismaparwa*, *Dronaparwa*, *Krepaparwa*, *Salyaparwa*, *Karnaparwa*, *Wirataparwa*, complete, with the Sanskrit phrases of the *Adiparwa*.

And how does tonight's story begin? . . .

THE INVOCATION translated above (see the Appendix for the Balinese version) is an example of a traditional opening "apology" uttered by a Balinese puppet master, *dalang*, before the first scene of a shadow puppet play, or *wayang kulit* performance. Such invocations vary in content, in length, and in regional distribution throughout the island. In such texts, the use of symbolism, allusive language, and metaphor is densely complex, when uttered aloud, the *dalang*'s vocal techniques of chanting, roaring, and guttural resonance combine a phonological poetics with the mysterious, incantatory atmosphere of the opening moments of the shadow play. It is indeed a too-ambitious undertaking to attempt to explain all the meanings of such invocations, says the puppet master; their truth lies beyond words and analytic reason. The outsider can hope to catch only part of the ultimate sense, and even that only after much study and contemplation.

In the thus imperfect understanding of the foreign visitor to Bali, then, one puzzles over the intent of the performer's invocations. The

example above seems to join cosmological vision with metalinguistics. It shares with other examples of the genre two particular features: first, a direct address to nonspecific divinity asking forgiveness, and second, the linking, in the last words, of the play about to be performed with the books, or *parwa*, of the originally Indian great saga of the Bhārata heroes.

The last verses of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* compare the epic itself to the oceans and mountains, "mines of precious gems." The image of the literary work is that of a perpetual source of meaning, yielding up jewels of wisdom from boundless depths. In Southeast as well as South Asia, this particular epic has indeed been a recurrent inspiration and cultural force for many centuries. It is intriguing to find on the small island of Bali a continuing, exuberant expressiveness in which *Mahābhārata* tales and characters are a vital presence.

This presence becomes even more provocative when it is realized that direct contacts between Bali and the South Asian sources of Sanskrit literature ceased more than a millennium ago. The Balinese people on their volcanic island, speaking Austronesian languages and retaining a prehistoric base of ancestor-and-animist beliefs even while fashioning a unique blend of Hindu and Buddhist conceptual systems, have also woven the *Mahābhārata* into their characteristic cultural proliferation.

The intriguing persistence of an originally Sanskrit epic in the form of Balinese shadow theater is a spark that ignited my interest in the languages and verbal arts that are subjects of this study. Yet I am not concerned here with tracing Indian entities from historical sources to present forms. There is little that is exclusively Indian in the Balinese expression of the struggles of Pandawas and Korawas, the antagonists of the epic, and the *wayang parwa* (shadow theater using *Mahābhārata* stories) is a rich and enduring form because it shows important things to the Balinese about themselves.

One of the many things *wayang parwa* portrays is the role of language as the shaper of Balinese experience. As a student of linguistics, I found the configuration of linguistic forms, sound, and written literature, together with beliefs about the cultural past and present as suggested by shadow theater, to be of primary importance in my research.

I came to Bali after studying linguistics and Indonesian languages and literatures, and I was initially drawn to *wayang* because of its use of Old Javanese (Kawi), a language fundamental to Bali's history and social evolution. With my husband I took up residence in a village in south-central Bali where shadow theater is the dominant performing

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art, and I soon found myself following performers as they carried their puppets, screen, and instruments from village to village, temple to temple, covering most districts and ceremonial occasions of the territorial and temporal layout. Watching wayang was an effective method of approaching modern Balinese language, another object of my studies, and as time went on I was increasingly impressed by the nature of wayang as a complex and perplexing form of language behavior.

Of course, there is more to wayang than language—there are also light and shadow, movement, music, the sounds and smells of tropical nights, the setting of crowds and busy ritual—yet more than other forms of theater Balinese wayang is a linguistic tour de force, and the *dalang* perceives the task in this way

I eventually became convinced that the linguistic shape of wayang *parwa* could only be explained after coming to terms with many other ways in which languages and texts are experienced in Bali. The interrelations of sound, verbal code, ritual use of language, beliefs about writing, manuscript tradition, textual structures, social force of certain linguistic forms, and coherence of the universe itself—all these have repercussions in terms of wayang that are neither trivial nor always obvious. For this reason, I offer in this study a perspective on Balinese verbal art which, emphasizing contemporary wayang practice, attempts to ground itself in a broader context—the context of the particular culture's language behavior, and also the wider scope of a linguistics that encompasses the patterns and purposes of all verbal communication.

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tan wismrti sangka nikang hayu n teka

For never did he forget from whence the
good came —*Arjunawiwāha* XIII 1

THE LEARNING that led to this book could never have occurred without the advice and assistance of many persons. In Bali from 1977 to 1979, I was fortunate enough to be helped in my studies by Ida Bagus Alit Budhiana, I Madé Bandem, Ketut Ginarsa, Ida Bagus Maka, Madé Sanggra, I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, Nyoman Sumandhi, and Wayan Warna. At Udayana University's Faculty of Letters, I Gusti Ngurah Bagus, Gusti Putu Dharsana, Wayan Jéndra, and Nengah Médra were most kind. The staff of the Gedong Kirtya and its director Ketut Suwidja were generous with their assistance. I owe a lasting debt of gratitude to the late Ida Bagus Gedé Geria of Sidemen for sharing his deep understanding of languages and literature with me.

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Among those who taught me about the shadow theater, there is one above all whose help and inspiration will most endure. Part Two of this study is dedicated to the memory of Dalang Sukawati I Ketut Madra

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ORTHOGRAPHY

FOR THE MOST PART, the spellings used in this book conform to the modernized Balinese orthography of the *Kamus Bali-Indonesia (KBI)*. Thus, *é* as in English *hey* and *e* as in English *dirt* are distinguished from each other, word-final *a* should also be pronounced as in English *first*, *shirt*, and so on. Sanskrit and Old Javanese terms may not conform to their respective conventional orthographies unless they appear in the title of a text or are quoted from a manuscript or printed work. Indonesian words employ the orthography in effect since 1972, for both Indonesian and Balinese terms, *j* and *y* and *c* correspond to English *jump*, *yes*, and *chair*, respectively.

In the bibliography, archaic spellings in personal names (e.g., *oe* instead of *u*) have been retained.

The first time a non-English word occurs in the text it is italicized. Subsequent occurrences are not italicized, except when necessary for clarity. Frequently cited Balinese or Indonesian terms are listed in the accompanying Glossary.

PART ONE
THE SHAPE OF THE WORD
IN BALI

IN THE LONG history of Western scholarly commentary on Bali, the phenomena of language and literary arts have never been overlooked, indeed, in some of the earliest general accounts, such as those by Crawfurd (1820) and Friederich (1876-1878), the possible origins and observed transmission of literary languages and manuscripts were discussed at length. Subsequent generations of researchers, including van der Tuuk, Goris, and Hooykaas among the most prominent, have continued to labor in the fields of lexicography, epigraphy, and textual studies, these and many other scholars have contributed the collections of manuscripts, translations, and critical editions that form the basis of our present knowledge and opinions of Balinese words and the works into which they have been shaped.

If one scrutinizes this wide range of valuable contributions to Balinese letters, several models for the general orientations of its authors come to mind. Not every scholar has clearly manifested one of these orientations, but on the whole there is much evidence for the following outlines of thought.

First, some authors have approached Balinese letters as a route of access to the historical past, following the traces of a once great and powerful, civilizing Indian presence in the Indonesian archipelago. According to this notion, Hindu and Buddhist culture and Sanskrit texts were brought, either in a thin trickle through centuries, or as part of a colonizing wave, to the maritime and agrarian kingdoms of ancient Southeast Asia, whence subsequent historical tempests caused them to be swept from their original island beachheads and to be stranded in the "living museum" of Bali. By studying the Old Javanese and Sanskrit works preserved there, scholars felt, we could reconstruct the circumstances, persons, places and texts involved in the scarcely documented process of "indianization" in Southeast Asia.

The priority given to Indian-born theology, liturgy, epic themes, and Sanskritized language in the views of some scholars resulted from a methodological concern for tracing Balinese manuscripts and ritual to the hypothesized South Asian homeland. It was assumed that "pure" Indian forms had been superimposed on the prehistoric animistic, "pagan," indigenous culture of the archipelago, and after many centuries of contamination and acculturation they would have to be carefully sifted out from the accretions, corruptions, and distortions of a confused transmission. In this view, the Balinese could only dimly grasp the significance of the lost Indian origins of things they had come to call their own, and thus any Balinese usages, interpretations, and

changes of the heritage not only were of scarce interest, they indeed actually obscured the underlying original forms.

Another general perspective common among students of Balinese letters emphasizes not the Indian so much as the Javanese cultural legacy on that island. For certain authors, the ancient Javanese world of Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms, shrines, arts, and literature is the object of study, since Java's more recent Islamization and colonization, many of the signs of this past vanished or were moribund, and so scholars would look to the smaller island neighbor for Hindu-Javanese reflections and continuities. In this view, Old Javanese "classical" literature, architecture, royal genealogies harking back to the Majapahit courts, and anything else that could be traced to ancient Java were of paramount importance. The processes of adaptation whereby Javanese entities were "balinized," or the contemporary meanings given to Old Javanese letters in Bali, were largely ignored.

A third general view of languages and literary arts in Bali has taken both Sanskritic and Javanese origins and influences into account, yet has focused primarily on the material of the manuscript tradition. Many scholars have seen the wealth of works on palm-leaf strips as a massive archival and philological challenge. They have conceived their task to be the collection and "rescue" of as much material as possible, and the transferral of it into more durable form. These scholars have assumed that multiple versions of a text emanated from a single original and ideally should be grouped together, analyzed, and collated, with any inconsistencies, ambiguities, lacunas, or other undesirable features eliminated. From this process would emerge a "purer" text resembling that of the "original" author—a text free from corruptions and errors that are the inevitable result of repeated transmission through copying. This work would then stand as a "critical edition," a solid basis on which any further linguistic and textual research could be founded.

Like the perspectives emphasizing Indian and Javanese origins, the philological¹ viewpoint in Balinese studies tends to downplay any spe-

¹ My use of the term *philological* refers to the text-focused study of language. The original object of philology, the "unified study of language and texts," seems in many respects to have become obscured by a word-focused philology that has as its objects both etymological analysis according to the science of historical linguistics and the compilation of critical editions and translations of texts. In a recent essay, A. L. Becker (1980) has suggested a "re-visioning" of philology in order to reunify linguistics and textual studies. This "modern philology" aims at deeper cross-linguistic and cross-cultural understanding through

cifically Balinese processes, interpretations, and contributions within the long evolution of the literary tradition. In the arduous task of manuscript scrutiny and attention to minute detail demanded by the production of critical editions, scholars have not always been concerned to analyze the relationships between a text and its immediate cultural surroundings. Manuscripts written in Javanese linguistic forms were considered part of "Javanese" or "Javano-Balinese" literature irrespective of their significance or possible origin in Bali; words borrowed from Sanskrit or modeled on Sanskrit analogy were to be "corrected" to resemble the "true" originals. Texts were taken as self-sufficient entities suitable for study regardless of any real-world users or uses, any difficulties of form or meaning within the text should thus be resolvable by comparison with other manuscripts.

Similarly, although great attention has been paid to issues of provenance, original form, and historical significance of manuscripts, and although a diachronic viewpoint is certainly necessary, there has been a notable lack of an interpretive thrust that seeks to explain Balinese letters primarily in terms of Balinese behavior and beliefs. Questions regarding how and why the Balinese maintained such an active and multifarious literary tradition, the impact of Balinese and non-Balinese languages and texts on linguistic and non-linguistic cultural forms, and the synchronic configurations of languages and literature in terms of everyday life have long remained unanswered.

The present study aims to bring forward such questions of interpretation as a context for understanding the linguistic forms and cultural role of one genre of verbal art, the Balinese shadow theater. Part One is thus devoted to a discussion of the meanings and uses of language and written texts in the Balinese world, under the assumption that these may exist according to wholly different patterns, and with a quite distinctive character, when compared with standard Western conceptions of the "universal" qualities of language and literature.

The study begins with a survey of important diachronic and synchronic patterns of interest to the linguistics-minded observer. I also try, in Chapter 1, to make explicit some of the theoretical perspectives and assumptions that have characterized my research and reporting of conclusions. Chapter 2 covers certain aspects of language in both spo-

"sampling the whole of the relations of the text to its various contexts." The philological expertise that has traditionally been applied by Western scholars to Balinese texts is not the same "linguistics of particularity" that Becker describes.

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ken and written manifestations, with reference to important social values and cultural patterns. In Chapter 3, the focus shifts from language in general to verbal art in particular, as we examine the media of literate expression and the characteristics of the Balinese "literary" entity and event. The subject matter of all three chapters is interrelated and can be seen as a setting within which both terminological and conceptual problems regarding language in Bali take shape, and as a background against which my later evaluations of the discourse of Balinese shadow theater must be viewed

1

LANGUAGE PATTERNS AND THE LINGUIST'S VIEW

This is our fabric, the language is, and it's very specific. It's really like a warp and a woof. The idea that there is an archetype, either deep in your psyche or in a metaphysical world, is nothing compared with the fact that *language* is flooded with archetypes as we write or read. Powerhouses and residence these words are, and they're built into a vast fabric and they extend way back in time —Robert Duncan, "Warp and Woof: Notes from a Talk"

LANGUAGE PATTERNS IN BALI

THE LANGUAGE world of Bali is one of remarkable richness and diversity in all its spoken, written, sung, and chanted manifestations. So various are the different linguistic forms employed, so complex the interweaving of vocal styles and literary genres, that both language and literature seem a tangled confusion that escapes characterization and conceals both sources and structures. Yet this linguistic proliferation is indeed like a richly woven fabric, no matter how complex the design, a discernable warp and weft underlie its form and provide essential unity.

Two general descriptive dimensions have long been important in language studies: the diachronic, or historical and developmental aspect, and the synchronic, or timeless and systemic one. Like the unjoined warp and weft in weaving, however, which unloomed have neither the art nor serviceability of textiles, the abstractions of diachronicity and synchronicity, if taken individually, do not resemble a language. Both these notions must be employed to highlight those features of the general Balinese linguistic setting that facilitate analysis in following chapters.

Diachronic Considerations

Balinese is an Austronesian language of the Hesperonesian subgroup,¹ and it is related to the languages of Bali's closest island

¹ See the classification provided by Bellwood (1979: 121-124)

neighbors, Lombok to the east and Java to the west. On the basis of phonological correspondences, Esser² groups Balinese with Sasak of Lombok and Sumbawan of western Sumbawa, making Balinese part of an Eastern Indonesian subgrouping. Yet this assignment is in some ways unsatisfying because both Bali's cultural history and its present-day linguistic forms make us turn west toward Java (and even beyond Indonesia, to India) as well as east toward Lombok. While it is theoretically useful to examine a stratum of Balinese that might be called "indigenous" or "pre-Sanskrit, pre-Javanese influence," and thus that might be closer to some Eastern Indonesian languages in terms of phonology, in reality such a stage of the language is unrecoverable, instead of being able to look at the language of a human group at that abstract level of investigation, one finds only a very limited list of relationships between abstract "sound" categories.³

The fact is that Bali from the time of the earliest written records had already come under the influence of non-Balinese cultural and linguistic traditions.⁴ We have no way of knowing how Balinese was spoken before the adoption on the island of certain Buddhist and Hindu ideas, along with the use of Sanskrit, some time before the ninth century A.D., the period of the oldest dated metal⁵ and stone inscriptions.⁶ Aside from a relatively small number of the oldest inscriptions that are entirely in Sanskrit, including the Buddhist clay seals that are supposed to date from the eighth century A.D.,⁷ Balinese inscriptions prior to the time of the first close ties with Java are in a mixture of Sanskrit and Old Balinese (Coedès 1968:129, Goris 1954).

It appears that, just as in other Southeast Asian areas where Indian

² See Map 9B of the *Atlas van tropisch Nederland* (Esser 1938)

³ For this dimension of comparative Austronesian linguistics, see especially Dempwolff's extensive vocabulary (1938), drawn from a large number of languages, as well as the work of Dyen (1965) and Dahl (1973)

⁴ Goris's (1954) collection of ancient edicts with notes, translation, and glossary remains the most thorough work published containing data from this early period. The name *Bali*, it should be noted, is thoroughly documented in both Javanese and Balinese inscriptions as being synonymous with *banten*, meaning 'offering' (Sukarto K. Atmodjo 1977:13)

⁵ Although the metal inscriptions are usually referred to as "copper plates," the actual material is bronze (Bernet Kempers 1977:97)

⁶ Since the inscriptional evidence from Java starts at an earlier date, from at least the fifth century, we can speculate that the Balinese, too, may have begun hearing Sanskrit sometime in the early centuries A.D.

⁷ For the text and translation of the formula on these artifacts, see Goris and Dronkers (1955:190 n. 3-01) and Bernet Kempers (1977:101-103)

influence led to the use of Sanskrit, the language as it was adopted in Bali did not alter indigenous sound systems at all (Gonda 1973 579) Sanskrit seems to have functioned as a court-based medium for the teaching of literature and religion, and it was never spoken or even studied by the population at large Yet Indic words were used in great numbers in the Old Balinese inscriptions, this fact, while shedding little light on the nature of ancient spoken Balinese, does raise interesting issues about the communicative situation that existed between the kings authorizing the writing of inscriptions and the communities of presumably nonliterate villagers who received them We will return to this relationship between the "speakers" and "hearers" implied by the ancient Balinese edicts

The general consensus among historians regarding the spread of Indic notions of religion and statecraft in the Indonesian archipelago has shifted from a characterization in terms of "colonization" or "Indian expansion"⁸ to a view that gives native peoples a more active role in searching out and incorporating Hindu and Buddhist cultural features⁹ This view proposes a syncretic process of acculturation whereby priests and scholars, not necessarily of Indian blood but possibly Indonesians who had studied in India or at one of the monasteries within the archipelago, contextualized indigenous kings and native religion in terms of highly congenial ideas expressed in the sacred texts and epic literature brought from India (Stutterheim 1935 7, Bernet Kempers 1977 40)

Using writing systems whose origins were Indic, learned officials in the Old Balinese courts created inscriptional monuments to the supremacy and royal decrees of the rulers They mainly employed a script derived from the Pallava writing systems of southern India, which had spread in ancient times through Ceylon as well as mainland, peninsular, and insular Southeast Asia The form of this script used in the Old Balinese period is generally called "Early Kawi," emphasizing its close relationship with contemporaneous scripts of Java There is no definitive proof, however, that the scripts used in ancient Java and Bali might not have developed separately from a common Pallava source (Bernet Kempers 1977 43)

⁸ See, for instance, Gonda (1973 66) "This spread of Hinduism was neither sudden nor violent By marrying into leading local families, by displaying qualities as magician, practitioner or warrior, by the prestige of their higher civilization some of them [the Indians] impressed or even subjected local populations "

⁹ See, for example, the essays in Hall and Whitmore (1976)

Indian influences on the Old Balinese courts came from diverse sources, and their paths of transmission are difficult to trace—a fact that is borne out by the history of writing in Bali. For in addition to the Pallava-derived “Kawi” syllabary, we also find the “Early (or Pre-) Nāgarī” script of North Indian origin, the ancestor of modern Indian Devanāgarī. The use of this script in ancient Java and Bali is tied to the spread of Mahāyana Buddhism.¹⁰ In one particular case, the form of the Early Nāgarī script used on a non-Buddhist stone pillar erected in southern Bali in the early tenth century suggests a possibly direct link with ongoing changes in the Early Nāgarī of the same period in India (de Casparis 1975: 37), that link may, perhaps, have been a native Indian scribe engaged at court.

Whether directly or indirectly infused, however, Indic tradition emerges not only in the written shape but also in the language of the Old Balinese inscriptions. The priests and scholars responsible for directing the Old Balinese kings’ ritual and civic affairs were perhaps initially literate only in Sanskrit. Yet by the time of the earliest (late ninth century) inscriptions, they were inscribing native formal discourse—what we know as Old Balinese but which by now was mixed with Sanskrit words and phrases—in the Indian-derived script. They used Indian concepts to organize increasingly centralized bureaucracies, implementing complex systems of hermitage and temple management, taxation, corvée, irrigation management, and justice.

The character of the early inscriptions leads one to the conclusion that even prior to the late ninth century the Balinese had been hearing and using some Indic vocabulary in the context of their relations with religious centers and courts.¹¹ Gonda (1973: 180) notes that most of the Sanskrit terms in the Old Balinese inscriptions are used in connection with the king, and that “many Sanskrit items occur only, or predominantly, in those passages of the inscriptions which contain the date or refer to religious ceremonies, festivals etc.” In the very oldest inscriptions there are Sanskrit titles for court and religious officials (e.g., *senāpati* ‘commander’, *bhikṣu* ‘monk’), as well as Sanskrit roots serving

¹⁰ Coedes (1968: 30, 89) mentions a “temporary vogue” for this script in Java and Cambodia, which seemingly indicates the influence of the West Bengal and Nalanda monasteries in India.

¹¹ One authority who agrees with this conclusion is Goris (in Goris and Dronkers 1955: 16). On the Javanese side, Robson (1983: 294) suggests, in a similar vein, that “the main result of acculturation with India was that the institution of the *ratu* [‘king’] became Indianized.”

as Balinese word stems, for example, *partāpanan* 'hermitage', from Sanskrit *tapa* 'austerities, solitary life'.¹²

The sociolinguistic situation in the Old Balinese courts was already complex. On the one hand the king dealt with his Sanskrit-titled religio-political officials in formal speech heavily laced with Sanskrit and heard himself consecrated in religious ceremonies using Sanskrit prayers and chants, some of which were composed in Bali following Indian models.¹³ On the other hand the village leaders used a language that was some form of Old Balinese—a language that represented the populace which formed the kingdom's economic base and retained the traditions of village autonomy, native religion, and indigenous social organization even as it embraced aspects of Hinduism and Buddhism expressed in Indic terms. For the common Balinese, "Sanskritization" was profoundly a linguistic phenomenon, and the monks and scribes were agents of an ongoing cultural revolution—the advent of literacy in the archipelago.¹⁴ To honor the king properly, Sanskrit terms were necessarily used by courtiers and village representatives, to avoid alienating his subjects, the king could not move too far away from the Balinese linguistic framework. After reading the inscriptions, one imagines that a good deal of paraphrase and cross-linguistic explanation went on in the Old Balinese courts as boundaries, taxes, ritual obligations, and inheritance settlements were debated by the king's council, which heard from village elders and scholar-priests alike.¹⁵

The sociolinguistic aspects of the Old Balinese court, then, promoted the use of different languages or speech styles by different speakers in different settings. A crucial result of this "multiple code" communication was the need for translation and paraphrase. The king, in recording his edicts, would wish to make certain that the Sanskrit words constituting as well as recording his authority and divinity were understood by the general populace. He was after all not addressing

¹² For these and other examples, see edicts 001 and 002 in Goris (1954, vol. 1)

¹³ According to Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971: 5), the "great majority" of these hymns were written in Java and Bali. For an explanation of how some of them may have been composed, see Schoterman (1979)

¹⁴ To date there is no evidence that a non-Indic script was ever used in Indonesia, so we continue to assume that writing and Sanskrit were imported hand in glove. For a consideration of the processes of linguistic "Sanskritization" in India itself, see Deshpande (1978)

¹⁵ The most ancient edicts in Goris (1954) are interesting in this regard, see especially numbers 001-006, 101, 104-107, 108, 110

himself *only* to the gods or to an abstract posterity, but to a specific and contemporary Balinese audience, as we know from the speech context reflected in the inscriptions.

A series of the oldest inscriptions is characterized by an opening formula: *Yumu pakatahu sarbwa [X]*, which may be glossed as 'Let it be known by you all', with [X] standing for various terms referring to the intended audience. *Yumu* is a second-person pronoun probably related to the *-mu* of Old Malay and the *kamu* and *kanyu* of Old Javanese, the inscriptional context strongly suggests a non-honorific sense, such as fits with the notion of a ruler addressing his subjects. *Pakatahu* is a derivation composed of the root *tahu* 'know', plus the nominalizing prefix *paka-*, which has both causative function (emphasizing the result of an action) and imperative force.¹⁶ *Sarbwa* is a written variant of Sanskrit *sarwwa* 'all'

The titles referring to the king's audience vary from one edict to another, but many of them allude to age status, which seems to have always been an important social referent in Bali. Among the terms meaning 'elders' are *kiha* (reminiscent of the Javanese honorifics *kī* and *kyai*), *kumpi* (in Modern Balinese, 'great-grandfather'), and *sanāt* (Sanskrit). For 'younger (persons)' we find *dyah*, *kumāra* (Sanskrit), and *addhī* (cf. Modern Balinese *adī* 'younger sibling') The mixture of indigenous terms with Sanskrit borrowings is characteristic of the edicts as a whole.¹⁷

From the point of view of the Balinese villagers, the inscriptions authorized by the king were kept as relics, repositories of the power of the king's word.¹⁸ In certain cases their contents may have been explained to the general public, in colloquial Balinese, on holy days when the stone or bronze plate was ritually cleansed, given offerings, and read aloud. Readings of inscriptions do still take place in many Balinese vil-

¹⁶ Whereas *paka-* only occurs with *tahu* in the Old Balinese inscriptions, the related form *maka-* is frequent and still functions as a numerical prefix in modern Balinese. See the discussion in Goris (1971 2-5) on *paka-*.

¹⁷ For examples of the use of the *yumu pakatahu* opening formula, see the edicts cited in n. 15 above.

¹⁸ Bernet Kempers (1977 97) comments on the situation encountered by twentieth-century Dutch scholars collecting epigraphic material: "Villagers considered these metal bearers of a mysterious script to be magical, sacred. Besides, the plates were connected with the ancestors living in the mountains and the jungle. Best, they thought, to wrap the plates in white cloth to keep away evil influences, and to place them in closed temple shrines."

lages that store the sacred heirlooms, with archaeological specialists called in to decipher the old script.¹⁹

The Old Balinese kings seem to have been aware of the impact of the introduction of new cultural attributes through the medium of a new language. On at least one occasion a Balinese king inscribed his edict in two languages, and even in two different scripts, giving us a record in stone of functionally distinct linguistic codes in ancient Bali. This inscription is the *Blanjong* pillar of Sanur, dated A.D. 914 (Coedès 1968:129; Bernet Kempers 1977:103), which tells of the victories of a king called Śrī Kesarī Warmma (déwa). One side of the pillar contains an Old Balinese form of the message in Early Nāgarī script, the other side, in Sanskrit, is in the Pallava-derived Kawī script. This unique and somewhat cryptic form was perhaps intended to blend and unify the two literate traditions then active in Bali, rendering the more indigenous sounds in the more remote script while elevating the "local" alphabet by using it to record the prestigious pure Sanskrit version of the text.

The form of the *Blanjong* pillar edict is conservative in that it throws nothing away, making use of all available scripts and idioms; at the same time it is also quite radical in its crisscrossing of foreign and indigenous elements. Yet however it came about, the pillar is an early textual manifestation of a crucial aspect of Balinese language and literature from ancient times up to the present: the preservation of various "archaic" linguistic codes and their translation or interpretation via more "contemporary" ones. The many ways in which this principle has operated and, indeed, continues to operate will become clearer as this study proceeds.²⁰

Moving through the Old Balinese or "Hindu-Balinese" historical frame, when the island was acculturating language and ideas that were originally Indian, we come to a period when Bali was closely tied with Java politically, and when Javanese-Balinese cultural exchange no

¹⁹ During a series of visits made in 1977 and 1978 to Balinese villages to gather data on local edicts, a team led by Putu Budiastira invariably was welcomed by residents eager to know the contents of the inscriptions (Budiastira 1977-78).

²⁰ Another indication of the antiquity of the practice of "dual code" composition of texts comes from manuscripts in which interlinear Old Javanese glossing of Sanskrit occurs. Regarding both poetic and didactic forms, Chandra (1978) argues that these lontars provide unique insights into the pedagogical context for the transmission of a variety of Sanskrit genres in ancient Indonesia.

doubt intensified. This period was probably initiated by the marriage in the late tenth century of Udāyana of Bali and the Javanese princess Mahendradattā, although there is no reason to completely rule out the possibility of dynastic intermarriage even before this time.²¹ The famous son of this king and queen of Bali was Airlangga, who reigned in East Java, and presumably also held some sway over Balinese affairs, from A.D. 1019-1049. It is possible that at least by this time the most ancient extant examples of Old Javanese literature, such as the *kakawin Rāmāyana* written in central Java during the ninth century, were brought to Bali, where they were studied and copied. This would also have held true for the growing body of Old Javanese poems, treatises, didactic works, and so forth written in East Java. These works in palm-leaf manuscript form (*lontar*, *rontal*) gave impetus to the assimilation of new ideas from Java, leading to a "Javano-Balinese" cultural period following upon the age of the Old Balinese rulers. Javanese influence began to be felt in many spheres of Balinese life (all of which probably utilized the growing numbers of written manuscripts from Java), including literature, religion, philosophy, statecraft, and the arts and sciences.

In the context of language history, an especially significant change took place in late tenth-century Bali. During the reign of Airlangga's parents, court officials began to write inscriptions in Old Javanese,²² indeed, after A.D. 1016 there are no more inscriptions in Old Balinese.²³ While one can only speculate on the precise historical conditions that accompanied this change in the code of the inscriptions, it seems clear that the Balinese kings were again adopting and adapting a congenial model of written expression for their own needs. In the ninth century, priests trained in Sanskrit were an important institution at court because of their literacy; in the eleventh century, the highly developed Old Javanese court-based code became available and desirable as Bali's political and cultural ties with Java became stronger.

Linguistically, the shift from Old Balinese to Old Javanese is clearly distinguishable. Even though the two languages show structural similarity, *share a certain percentage of vocabulary, and utilize Sanskrit*

²¹ The inscriptional clues, primarily based on similarities in dating and titles, that indicate some previous ties between the courts of Bali and Java are discussed in Sumadio (1975).

²² The first edict in Old Javanese is numbered 303 in Goris (1954) and is called Buwahan A.

²³ The last Old Balinese inscription is numbered 351 in Goris (1954) and is called Sembiran A III.