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A note on Balinese Sanskrit

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When a Sanskritist becomes interested in the religious culture of Bali, he is likely to feel immediately at home with the many Sanskrit (Skt) mantras uttered during the ritual proceedings by the Padandas and other priests. As is well-known, the Isle of Bali is the last remaining place in the Indonesian Archipelago where one still finds that curious blend of foreign influences — Hindu and Buddhist — from the Indian Subcontinent and the indigenous tradition. The Balinese priests use the Skt language in their mantras throughout their rituals, however mutilated and corrupt this may sometimes seem in the eyes of a Sanskritist.

The study of Balinese religion is necessarily connected with the study of Indian religions and literature written in Skt. The first serious attempt in this direction was represented by Goris' *Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie*. Goris examines concepts such as *śādāṅganyāṣa, prāṇāyāma*, etc. with reference to the Indian tradition, and compares the mantras with their Indian originals, where traceable. Goris was to some extent successful in this attempt, not least because of the Indian texts he used, the *Garudapurāṇa* and the *Agnipurāṇa*. The *Agnipurāṇa*, especially, proved useful in this regard because of its rather Tantric character (cf. Hazra 1963: 82; Gyani 1964: *passim*), a very important quality with respect to Balinese religion, as we shall see. Shortly after Goris had published his book, the prominent French Indo-
logist Sylvain Lévy visited Bali for a short stay in June-July 1928. The number of Skt texts he collected is remarkable, considering the brevity of his stay in Bali. The title of the book published subsequently, Sanskrit Texts from Bali, should be taken literally, though, for the fact that the texts were indeed collected in Bali does not necessarily imply that they were also composed in Bali. Hooykaas’ publications represent a true milestone in the study of Balinese religion and its literature. His research is concentrated almost exclusively on this branch of the study of Indonesian culture. He has collected, edited and translated an astonishing number of Balinese ritual texts, and indeed, is continuing in this task with unflagging energy. Because of the enormous number of texts available on Bali, Hooykaas needs all his energy for the texts themselves and their proper study. Consequently, the aspects of the texts relating directly to Skt and Indian culture are regarded as a separate field of research by him. For this reason he has always asked the advice of Indologists on subjects in his Balinese texts relating directly to the Indian Subcontinent. On one occasion this led him to work in close co-operation with Dr. T. Goudriaan. The result of this co-operation was the publication of Stuti and Stava (StSt), an impressive collection of Skt hymns used in Balinese ritual. More important, perhaps, is the fact that quite a number of these hymns could be traced back to Indian parallels (cf. StSt: 14). Others were obviously composed in Bali. Hooykaas has stated on many occasions: “I have collected and preserved the material (Proyek Tik! Cf. Hooykaas 1973: 38-40); it is up to the next generation to do something with it!” But Hooykaas himself has also ‘done something’ with his material, and in this way has built a bridge to the next phase in the study of Balinese religious culture: the interpretation and evaluation of the Balinese rituals as found in the texts, with reference both to Bali itself and to the Indian Subcontinent. At this point, however, one comes up against a number of rather serious obstacles, since the study of Balinese ritual texts presupposes certain special qualifications on the part of the prospective scholar. In the first place he has to have a thorough knowledge of the Old Javanese and Balinese languages, and of Balinese culture; secondly, he should possess an equally profound knowledge of the kind of Skt found in the Balinese texts, and, because of the Tantric nature of the texts, be well versed in the Indian Mantravidya, ‘The Science of Mantra’, with all its technical terms, etc. Although it is certainly no mean task to master the Old Javanese and Balinese languages, the main obstacle is provided by the second requirement: a thorough knowledge of the kind of Skt found in the Balinese texts, and of the Indian Mantravidya.
I have deliberately used the term 'the kind of Skt' in connection with the Balinese texts. As it happens, the hymns and mantras found in Balinese texts are sometimes written in correct, Classical Skt, sometimes in what is termed by Goudriaan and Hooykaas 'a kind of language and style so different from what one might expect in Skt texts, however incorrect, from the Indian Subcontinent...' (StSt: 11). For this kind of Skt the term Archipelago Sanskrit (ArSkt) has been invented, as early as Goris (1926, 13: "Archipel"-formule; 36: Archipel-maaksels). Later authors have invariably accepted this designation without too much concern about its meaning. Gonda published his Sanskrit in Indonesia, the first thorough investigation of Skt usage in the Indonesian Archipelago, in which he considers innumerable Skt words in Indonesian inscriptions, texts and spoken languages, in the early fifties. He, however, focuses his research almost exclusively on non-Balinese texts and languages, and devotes most of his attention to the "Outward Appearance of the Borrowed Words' (Ch. IV) and their possible "Change of Meaning" (Ch. V). For Balinese texts proper, the only source we have is the introduction to StSt, in which Goudriaan and Hooykaas have made 'Some Remarks with respect to Morphology and Lexicon' (StSt: 9). Here we find enumerated the characteristics of ArSkt as found in Balinese hymns (StSt: 11-13).

Obviously the term ArSkt can only exist in the context of the term Skt itself. One wonders what kind of Skt is meant, however. Generally speaking, one may distinguish between three types of Skt: (1) Vedic Skt, (2) Post-Vedic Skt following the rules of Pāṇini, and (3) Post-Vedic Skt not strictly following the rules of Pāṇini. Although there are, in fact, a few Vedic mantras to be found in the Balinese texts (cf. Goudriaan 1970: 556), Vedic Skt can safely be ruled out here. That leaves us with Post-Vedic Skt. At a first glance at the texts, it is evident that one cannot expect to find Pāṇinian Skt in the Balinese texts, either, at least in the texts composed in Bali. Post-Vedic non-Pāṇinian Skt encompasses a large body of literature on the Indian Subcontinent. As Goris (1926: 9) and Lévy (1933: XIII) have already observed, we must turn, in an attempt to evaluate the ideas as well as the kind of Skt found in Balinese texts, to the Tantric texts of the Indian Subcontinent. For a genuine evaluation of ArSkt as found in Balinese texts, a study of the kind of Skt used in these Indian Tantric texts is prerequisite. For this, however, a grammar and dictionary of non-Pāṇinian Tantric Skt are required, but unfortunately do not exist. The majority of the relevant texts, moreover, are virtually inaccessible, as most of them have not been published, and
if they have, in most cases they lack a critical edition. Consequently, research into the grammar and vocabulary of the Indian Tantric texts has been only incidental (cf. Hazra 1963: 94-143 for the Deviāpurāṇa; Tsuda 1974: 16-27 for the Samvarodayatantra). In this respect scholars studying Balinese religion and ritual texts have one great advantage over their colleagues studying Tantrism on the Indian Subcontinent: most of the Balinese texts have been tracked down and meticulously copied in the framework of Hooykaas’ Proyek Tik. They are at least accessible. The most significant publication relating to Post-Vedic non-Pāṇinian Skt is, of course, the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary by Edgerton. This is not, however, based on Tantric texts, although one could assign the Saddhanamālā (v. p. 338) to this category. It is nevertheless relevant here, since Edgerton has shown that his ‘kind of Skt’ is a separate idiom, and not simply bad Skt (cf. Snellgrove 1959, II: XI), a qualification that is too facilely applied to the kind of Skt found in Balinese texts. The Skt found in the Indian Tantric texts, both Hindu and Buddhist, should be regarded, like Edgerton’s Skt, as a separate idiom. Only when Sanskritists have formulated the rules of this kind of Skt (cf. Carlstedt 1974: 17; George 1974: 14 ff.) will it be possible to determine the characteristics of ArSkt as found in Balinese texts, and to use the term ArSkt in its true sense. Until then, one should apply the term ArSkt with due reserve.

As we have mentioned before, the characteristics of ArSkt have been listed by the authors of StSt (StSt: 11-13). Nevertheless, it may prove useful to examine some of these characteristics in greater detail.2

LOSS OF THE INITIAL VOWEL IN SKT WORDS

“Very often, of Skt words beginning with a-, this a- has been omitted and cannot be restored on account of the metre. Thus e.g. mṛta < amṛta; nugarā ṇa or even nugarā ṇ < anugaraha; prameya < aprameya (718.9); bhūcari probably < abhicārī (594.1). This fact also occurs in the Skt loanwords in OJ.” (StSt: 12).

Indeed, one of the most striking characteristics of ArSkt appears to be the loss of the initial a- of Skt words. Besides dropping of the initial a-, we have also observed loss of the initial ā-, u-, and possibly i-. In the following pages I will attempt to systematize these ‘losses’.

(I) Loss of Initial a- in Skt Words

This category can be divided into two classes: (1) Skt words where the
initial a- is a negative prefix, (2) Skt words where the initial a- is part of the stem. These two classes will be discussed separately.

(I.1) Loss of the negative prefix a- in Skt words

To this class belong words like (a)mṛta, (a)prameya, (a)cintya, (a)nanta, and (a)mogha. Compared with the other categories and classes, this class is the most common, mainly due to the frequent occurrence of the word (a)mṛta in the texts. It turns out that the loss of this initial a- may occur anywhere in a śloka⁴: within a pāda (718.15c: viśaṁ 'mṛta pūrna-jīvam), at the beginning of an odd-numbered pāda (642.5a: 'mṛta-jīnānam nugrahakam,; 040.13c: 'mṛta-varṣa-śuddhatmakam,), and at the beginning of an even-numbered pāda, i.e. at the caesura (043.7b: 'mṛta-varṣa-nugrahakam,; 043.8d: 'cintya-deva mahā-liṅgam). Although Gonda (1973:389) mentions the tendency to drop the initial a- in trisyllabic Skt words, there appears to be something more to it than that with respect to the Balinese hymns. When checking the instances where the negative prefix a- is dropped, the preceding syllable should be taken into account, irrespective of whether this preceding syllable occurs in another pāda, or even śloka. It appears that the negative prefix a- is regularly dropped after a word ending in an anusvāra (-aṁ), or after a word ending in a vowel (-a, -i, -ī). Loss of the negative prefix a- after an anusvāra is the most common.

(I.1.a) Loss of the negative prefix a- in Skt words after the anusvāra

As we have stated above, one should take into account the preceding syllable, irrespective of the pāda division. When the negative prefix a- is dropped within a pāda (718.15c: viśaṁ 'mṛta pūrna-jīvam,) there are no problems. At the beginning of a pāda, however, there is a difficulty, as the Balinese observe the pāda division very strictly (cf. StSt: 11). In the present case, though, one should ignore this pāda division: not only the caesura, but also the division between the two lines of a śloka, and even between the lines of two subsequent ślokas (642.4d;5a: sarva-jagat-pavitraṇam // 'mṛta-jīnānam nugrahakam,). The same tendency can be noticed in the Indian Tantric texts, where it is often the result of omission to clearly mark the end of a pāda with a single or double danda in the MSS. For Bali an illustrative example is found in the Śivādityastava (SuSe: 144; BTF: 32), viz.

\[
\text{anugraha manohara, devadattānugrāhaka / \nlh y arcanam sarvāpūjānāṁ, namah sarvānugrāhaka }//.
\]
Here we find *hy* in a very unusual place, namely at the beginning of an odd-numbered *pāda*. The only explanation for its occurrence here is that it functions as an — unnecessary — space-filler between the two lines of the *śloka*. The authors of *StSt* have 'corrected' the lines to *...-grahaka / arcanam ...* (082.1), but some of the MSS read: *...-grahaka / y arcanam ...*; obviously the *y* here has the same function as *hy* in the text as presented in *SuSe* and *BTF*. The ignoring of the *pāda* division with respect to the dropping of the negative prefix *a-* after the *anusvāra* is clearly illustrated by the following two *ślokas*, which are very much alike:

\[śiva jagat-pati devam, śiva sadā-śiva smṛtam / śiva sapūrṇa-pramāṇam, 'mrta-maṅgala-pavitram // (StSt 633.3)\]

and:

\[śiva jagat-pati devam, sadā-śiva maṁ pramāṇam / 'mrta-maṅgalaṁ pavitraṁ, sarvēla-mala-saṁpārnam // (StSt 754.1)\]

The most prominent feature of the dropping of the negative prefix *a-* after the *anusvāra* is that the lost *a-* cannot be restored on account of the metre: restoration of the lost *a-* would result in a *pāda* of nine syllables instead of the regular eight syllables.

We have shown so far that the negative prefix *a-* in Skt words is dropped after a word ending in *-am* in Balinese *ślokas*. But is it possible to account for this peculiarity? The first thing to note in this connection is the frequent occurrence of the *-am* ending in Balinese hymns. Goris himself observed that 'this ending might represent an original *-a, -ah, -ā* or *-ām* (Goris 1926: 21, 34). This preference for the *-am* ending can be explained by the actual use of the hymns: they are for recitation during ritual proceedings. Especially in recitation, the sonorous sound of the *anusvāra* lends a rather solemn tone to a hymn. As regards the dropping of the *a-* after the *anusvāra*, one should bear in mind the special character of the *anusvāra*: it is not a consonant in the strict sense of the word, but merely a nasalization of a vowel. Thus Indian grammarians reckon the *anusvāra* among the sixteen vowels. This may have stimulated the process of the dropping of the *a-* after the *anusvāra*.

The loss of the negative prefix *a-* in Skt words after an *anusvāra* appears to be a characteristic feature of ArSkt, at least in the case of the Balinese hymns. It serves only one purpose: to regulate the metre. Omission of the negative prefix *a-* after an *anusvāra* in Skt texts from the Indian Subcontinent is not reported anywhere, to my knowledge. There are instances of the dropping of an initial *a-* here, but only in a restricted number of words (*api*, etc.) It is perhaps worth drawing attention to
Edgerton's (1953: 4.3 ff.) mention of the importance of the anusvāra in this context, the initial a- of api being dropped after the anusvāra.

(I.1.b) Loss of the negative prefix a- in Skt words after a vowel

Omission of the a- is found most commonly at the beginning of an even-numbered pāda, i.e., at the caesura. So we find: dhūpaṁ bhavanaṁ timiraṇ ca, 'mṛta-bhūmi candra-prabham (StSt: 043.2cd). It is only once in evidence at the beginning of an odd-numbered pāda, viz., dhruta sūrya mahā-raudra / 'mṛtaṁ śuddha-bhūk-lokaṁ (StSt: 857.2bc). Sometimes it occurs in the middle of a pāda, viz. bhūmi-matsya 'prameyaṇ ca, (StSt: 718.9c). In the first two cases (loss of the a- at the beginning of a pāda) the dropped a- may be restored in accordance with the metre if one ignores the pāda division. In contrast to the previous class (I.1.a), here the a- is omitted because of the strict observance of the pāda division by the Balinese. Thus, e.g., dhūpaṁ bhavanaṁ timiraṇ ca, 'mṛta-bhūmi candra-prabham (StSt: 043.2cd) can be 'restored' to: dhūpaṁ bhavanaṁ timiraṇ caḥmṛta-bhūmi candra-prabham; deva-deva mahā-sīdhi, 'mṛta-saṅjīvani punyam (StSt: 296.3ab) to: deva-deva mahā-sīdhy amṛta-saṅjīvani punyam, etc. The instances of the dropping of the a- in the middle of a pāda are, it seems, also capable of emendation in most cases. Thus bhūmi-matsya 'prameyaṇ ca (StSt: 718.9c) should be emended to bhūmi-matsyaḥ 'prameyaṇ ca, which fits in rather better with its meaning, '(I shall proclaim) the place of living for the fishes, infinitely large, ...' (Goudriaan and Hooykaas), than the reading bhūmi-matsyaḥ 'prameyaṇ ca. Consequently, this example should be included in the previous class, 'Loss of the negative prefix a- in Skt words after the anusvāra'. In ksiti-devi 'nanta-bhogam, (StSt: 423.1a) the lost a- can likewise be restored in accordance with the metre (ksiti-devy ananta-bhogam), but has probably been dropped as a result of observance of the semi-caesura.

(I.2) Loss of the initial a- belonging to the stem in Skt words

Loss of this a- occurs only after a preceding word ending in a vowel. It is found at the beginning of even-numbered pādas, i.e. at the caesura (923.1cd: saumya-rūpaṁ avāpnoti, 'ham vande vara-dam amum), at the beginning of odd-numbered pādas (073.12bc: nara-sūrānugrahaś ca / 'tirūpaṁ suṇāpaṁ vīryam), and in the middle of a pāda (546.4a: sūryaṅgi 'nala bhairavaḥ). The omitted a- can be restored in accordance with the metre (923.1cd: saumya-rūpaṁ avāpnoti 'ham vande vara-dam amum). Only in one instance is this a- dropped after a word ending in
-am, namely nanta-bhogam 'dhipam bhvanam (286.7d). This reading seems to be doubtful, however, as dhipam is found in only one MS (No. 1257), while MS PPQ reads divam. Possibly, one should emend this to nanta-bhogam devi (devam or divam) bhvanam, which corresponds to kṣiti-devi 'nanta-bhogam (423.1a).

Evidently the words (a)nugraha and (a)nugṛṇa also belong to the present class. It is questionable whether the initial a- here is really dropped, however. We find nugraha / nugṛṇa after words ending in -aṁ, -a, -i, -āṁ (302.10ab) and -t (though only in the compound jagatnugrahaka). It occurs at the beginning of both even and odd-numbered pādas, as well as within pādas. Omission of the a- after a word ending in -āṁ or -t is a new feature, which we have not observed before. Loss of the a- after -āṁ may be of the same kind as that after -aṁ, which does not fit in the present class, but loss of a- after -t appears to be unique. Edgerton (1953, Grammar: 4.4) mentions one instance of loss of a- after -t (abравīt pi) in Buddhist Skt, although pi for api is not unusual in Skt. In the case of nugraha / nugṛṇa it is more reasonable to assume a Skt word nugraha alongside anugraha. The authors of the Glossary of Sanskrit from Indonesia have already accepted this nugraha as Skt without any reservation. One does not find the word in any dictionary, either Classical Skt or Buddhist Hybrid Skt, however. The existence of a Skt word nugraha is nevertheless attested by the Satsāhasrasamhitā (unedited), a Hindu Tantric text from Nepal (ca. 11th century A.D.), where anugraha and nugraha are used side by side.

(II) Loss of the Initial ā-, i- and u- in Skt Words

Of the omission of the initial ā- we find only two examples in StSt: prama-devāstv 'di-nātham (840.1d), and diśī diśī pravṛttena, 'dītya-mūrte namo 'stu te (426.5cd). The latter is clearly the result of strict observance of the caesura (diśī diśī pravṛttendītya-mūrte namo 'stu te). The former, however, is due to a different reason. Applying the Skt rules of sandhi, one should read prama-devāstv ādi-nātham here. This would, however, result in a long fifth syllable in this pāda, which is usually avoided in a sloka (cf. Tsuda 1974: 17ff.).

Loss of the initial u- occurs only once, namely in pomyana priya sa-nitya, 'dadhi-tīre priyaṁ tathā (821.3ab). Again strict observance of the caesura seems to be the cause of this. One could read the line as pomyana priya sa-nityōdadhi-tīre priyaṁ tathā. But there is another possibility, whereby one may read dadhi-tīre instead of 'dadhi-tīre, 'on the shores of the Milk-Ocean', which dadhi refers to the Dadhi-samudra (cf.
271.6a). This does not seem to fit in with the context of the hymn, however.

Omission of the initial i- is dubious. In 658.4a we find $OM\ DIH\ ŠRUH\ TY$-$ādi$-$hrn$-$mantrām, 'Whose heart formula consists of the syllables $OM\ DIH\ ŠRUH\ TI$ etc.' (Goudriaan and Hooykaas). The complete heart formula runs $OM\ DIH\ ŠRUTI\ VIJRA$. The authors of StSt have taken TI in the text as part of the formula, which is, of course, perfectly correct, the word ŠRUTI having been divided into ŠRUH and TI. One wonders, however, why only the syllable ŠRUH is provided with a visarga (-H), and not TI? It is possible to read the line as $OM\ DIH\ ŠRUH\ ty$-$ādi$-$hrn$-$mantrām, 'Whose heart formula consists of the syllables $OM\ DIH\ ŠRUH$ etc.', therefore. Ending an enumeration with ity-$ādi$ is very common, in which case our ti would be a short form of iti. Since iti and ti are used interchangeably in Skt, however, the initial i- need not necessarily be regarded as dropped.

Summarizing, we arrive at the following conclusions:

(I.a) Skt words with a negative prefix a- may lose this a- on account of the metre when the preceding word ends in an anusvāra — irrespective of the pāda division; the dropped a- cannot be restored because of the metre.

(I.b) Skt words with a negative prefix a- may lose this a- after a word ending in a vowel, as the result of strict observance of the pāda division; the lost a- can be restored in accordance with the metre.

(II) Skt words with an initial a-, ā, or ū belonging to the stem may lose this initial vowel after a word ending in a vowel, as the result of strict observance of the pāda division; the dropped initial vowel can be restored in accordance with the metre.

Obviously, the two main types of omission of the initial vowel in Skt words each serve a different purpose. The first type, omission of the negative prefix a- after the anusvāra (I.a), appears to be a very important expedient for the Balinese composer trying to construct a regular sloka of four octosyllabic pādas. As Hooykaas (1962: 309-327) has pointed out, Skt was sufficiently well-known to enable the composition of slokas in Bali (cf. Soebadio 1971: 65). Balinese priests, obviously, possessed an extensive Skt vocabulary, and were perfectly familiar with the characteristics of the Indian sloka; they only lacked the experience of their Indian colleagues in handling the Skt language. To make up for this lack, the Balinese had to resort to a tour de force — as the dropping of the negative prefix after the anusvāra evidently is — in order to be able to compose regular slokas themselves. Where the metre permits, the
'normal' form of the Skt words is used (049.9cd: tvam rudra saṅkara matam, amṛta bhuvanesāya, etc.). Obviously this feature is to be found only in ślokas for which no Indian original has been traced. Thus it appears to be a genuine characteristic of ArSkt, though it was employed only for the sake of composing regular ślokas. The second type (I-b and II) is based on a different principle: the initial vowel here is dropped only as a result of the strict observance of the pāda division by the Balinese. This becomes perfectly clear during recitation of the hymns, where the priests make a very clear pause at the pāda division.

SOME OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF ARSKT

As we have shown, omission of the initial vowel in Skt words appears to be a genuine characteristic of ArSkt. Next we shall discuss a number of other characteristics of ArSkt as enumerated by the authors of StSt.

The frequent occurrence of pādas beginning with sarva- (Characteristic No. 3), as in sarva-satru-vināśanam (010.1b), is indeed amply attested. One should perhaps add that in these cases the pāda is formed by a single compound of eight syllables beginning with sarva-. This feature, however, is also fairly common in Skt texts from the Subcontinent with no literary pretensions, such as Tantric texts. The same appears to be true of the fourth characteristic of ArSkt, viz. the virtual absence of conjugated verbal forms, except for a few stereotyped ones.

Characteristic No. 10, 'Case endings, when occurring, are sometimes meaningless', should at least be reformulated. In deva-devam mahā-devam, pūjāyitvā narasya ca (670.6ab) the genitive narasya has correctly been translated as a nominative. In other words, the genitive case ending has the function of the nominative: it is not therefore meaningless. This apparent confusion between case endings is not unique of ArSkt. Hazra (1963: 114-120) quotes a great many instances from the Devīpurāṇa, while Edgerton (1953, Grammar: 42ff.) does the same with regard to the Buddhist texts he used.

As Characteristic No. 11 Goudriaan and Hooykaas mention the frequent inversion of the parts of a compound (e.g., 259.3d, gaṇa-ṛṣī- instead of ṛṣī-gaṇa-), and the possible separation of the parts of a compound from each other by particles (417.7d, sandhyā-bhṛṣṭa tu Sanyuṣtaḥ). Again, both features are equally apparent in texts from the Indian Subcontinent. Reversals like patra-bhūrja for bhūrja-patra are found quite frequently in the Devīpurāṇa (Hazra 1963: 122, 123). Hazra remarks, moreover, that in the case of the separation of the parts of a compound from one another no case ending is added to those com-
ponents of the compound which are not final; this is evidently true of sandhyā-bhrāṣṭa (s) tu sānyutah (417.7d). The same features have been observed for the Sāmvarodayatantra, a Buddhist text, by Tsuda (1974: 25).

I have only discussed some of the characteristics of ArSkt as listed in Sūt briefly. It should have become clear, however, that one has to be very careful in classifying a hymn as being composed in ArSkt, since a number of these characteristics are also to be found in texts from the Indian Subcontinent which are not written in Classical Skt. Only when more of these Indian texts of a Tantric nature have been critically edited and studied will it be possible to evaluate the kind of Skt of the Balinese hymns. Evidently some of the characteristics of ArSkt will then turn out to be typical of the kind of Skt contained in texts of a Tantric nature found in India as well as abroad. Other features of ArSkt may prove to be genuinely characteristic. As some of these we may mention the loss of the initial vowel of Skt words, the frequency of the nominal suffix -na (deva-na, loka-na, etc.), the addition of syllables without any apparent meaning (bhāṣa-ta-kara, etc), or those with a specific meaning (mapurusa, śūra-nē, etc.), and the occurrence of syllabic haplographies (pāśaścime for pāśa-pāścime, etc.). These features have one thing in common, however: they all help the Balinese poet in his attempt to produce a regular octosyllabic pāda.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL IMPLICATIONS
As is clear from the above, there are quite a number of Skt words and lines found in Balinese ritual texts. Consequently it is important to know exactly what these Skt words mean in order to be able to clearly understand these texts. As Gonda (1973: 635ff.) has pointed out, the study of Skt words in Indonesia is important not only for the student of Indonesian culture, but also for Skt lexicography itself. By the publication of his Sanskrit in Indonesia with its exhaustive index Gonda has enormously facilitated the study of Skt words in Indonesia.

The texts from Bali, especially those with a Tantric character, should be considered separately. For an understanding of the many technical words in these texts the scholar should be well versed in the Tantric vocabulary of the Indian Subcontinent, and have a profound knowledge of Tantrism in general (v. p. 324 above).

Apart from the fact that many Skt words commonly possess a very specialized meaning in Tantric texts, the meaning of Skt words in Balinese texts will not necessarily be the same as in texts from the Indian
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Subcontinent. Gonda (1973: Ch. V) has paid ample attention to these changes of meaning of Skt words outside Bali; Goudriaan (1972: 55-61) has clearly shown the same type of change to occur with regard to vīrya / vīra in the Balinese texts.

Lévy’s view (1933: X; XXXV) that Balinese priests were completely ignorant of the meaning of their texts as far as Skt was concerned is rejected nowadays: they certainly had a sufficient knowledge of the Skt language to be able to compose their own Skt ślokas (cf. p. 331 above). Consequently, when dealing with Skt words and their meanings in Balinese texts it is pertinent to start from the texts themselves. Only in the second phase should one turn to the Skt texts and lexicographical studies from the Indian Subcontinent.

The Skt words in Balinese texts have hardly been investigated lexicologically to date. Only in the indexes of, for instance, SuSe and StSt do we find a listing of Skt words. But one has to check their occurrence in the texts themselves to arrive at their meaning. The only attempt so far to collect Skt words from Balinese texts and give a definition of their meaning is found in the *Glossary of Sanskrit from Indonesia* (Vāk No. 6) by Van Buitenen and Ensink. Part of the material was collected from Lévy’s *Sanskrit Texts from Bāli*. Since this is the only work in the field of Balinese Skt lexicography, an examination of this part of the *Glossary* might prove useful.

It is imperative that a lexicographer be accurate when collecting his material — he must be careful to extract all possible material from the texts used by him (cf. *Glossary*: II). Unfortunately, this rather basic principle has been neglected with respect to the Skt words collected from Lévy’s texts. The Skt words from these texts included in the *Glossary* seem to have been chosen rather randomly. For instance, of the six Vināyakas (Lévy: 41, 17, 18) only four have been included in the *Glossary*, leaving out Āmoda and Vīghnarūpa. Since the same lines are also found in StSt (471.4) this omission is repaired in the index to StSt (Appendix 4), where these two are included. Of the line kaphameda-
yutaṁ chukraṁ, purīṣaṁṭrasanyutam (Lévy: 59, 13) in the Śivastava (Lévy: 58, 59), kapha (= phlegm) and meda (= fat) are not listed in the *Glossary*; purīsa (= excrement) is included, but without any reference to this particular place in the text; and śukra (= semen) is not mentioned with this meaning, nor with any reference to Lévy. In this case the omission is not made up by StSt, where the same *stava* is also included (No. 471). The authors of the latter do not claim a high degree of completeness for their index, however. From the *Glossary*
alone one would get the impression that such well-known words as sukra, kapha and meda are not found in Skt texts from Indonesia. Besides the examples cited here, there are many more Skt words found in Lévy which are not included in the Glossary (cf. Gonda 1973: 213 note 56).

A more serious deficiency still attaches to the Glossary, where Skt words are listed without any regard to the context in which they are used. The words are provided with a standard meaning as found in the current dictionaries of Classical Skt; as this is combined with an apparent lack of knowledge of Tantrism, the results are often disappointing. To illustrate the necessity of at least some knowledge of Tantrism when dealing with these Balinese texts, we have selected the following examples from the Glossary.

P. 43: 'kavaca- m.n. “armour” (?), m. “N. of a god?” , n. “piece of bark inscribed with magic words and used as an amulet”? B 8, 18; 9, 8; 9, 19; pass.'.

The word kavaca does not occur passim in Lévy, but is found in only one text, the Vedaparikrama, a text with a strong Tantric character, and in only the one context, viz. OM HHRMJ (19, 25: HRIM) kavacāya namah (8, 18; 9, 8/19; 11, 10; 26, 11; 31, 7). With regard to its gender (Glossary: masculine or neuter), the examples from the Vedaparikrama are not conclusive. According to the rules of Skt grammar kavacāya is the dative sg. of either a masculine or neuter word kavaca; on the basis of the rules applying in the type of Skt found in Balinese texts, however, one might even consider a feminine form kavaca. It is evident from other Balinese texts, though, that a fem. kavaca can be safely ruled out; but if one goes only by the Vedaparikrama, it is premature to determine the gender as masculine or neuter on the sole basis of Skt lexicography. For only one usage of kavaca in the text, the Glossary provides three different meanings. The first and third meaning can be found in any Skt dictionary; the second seems to be an innovation. Goris (1926: 64) already mentions kavaca as one of the sañiganyāsa, or consecrations of six different parts of the body (viz. hrdaya, siras, śikhā, kavaca, netra, and astra). While uttering the kavacamantra, the priest covers his chest with his arms, touching the shoulders with his hands (cf. Avalon 1972: 106 note 4). This explains the name kavaca (‘armour’) for this nyāsa: the arms of the priest covering his chest resemble a piece of armour.

P. 48: ‘kumbhaka- m. “pot” B 13, 14’.

Again, the word kumbhaka is found only in the Vedaparikrama, where
it is mentioned in close relationship with pūraka and recaka (Lévy: 13, 14/15). Of course kumbhaka means ‘pot’ in Skt, but this meaning does not make any sense in the context under discussion. Obviously one has to translate kumbhaka as ‘stopping of the breath’, while pūraka and recaka mean ‘inhalation’ and ‘exhalation’ respectively. All three of them together are named prāṇāyāma, ‘breath control’, a well-known exercise in Tantric ritual (cf. Goris 1926: 60).

P. 48: ‘kuru “magic word” B 81, 17’.

Anyone not versed in Tantric texts and their contents might be inclined to regard mantras as mere meaningless mumbling. Words like OṂ, HṚṂ, etc., do not have any specific meaning in the true sense of the word, in fact, but possess symbolic value. Some words found in mantras have a very definite meaning, however, and should not therefore be labelled merely as ‘magic words’. So the Buddhaveda, to which the Glossary refers in the case of the ‘magic word’ kuru, contains a long mantra most of which is perfectly intelligible. Towards the end (Lévy: 81, 16/17) we read . . . praviniśaya trātaya 2 kampaya 2 bandhaya 2 mardaya 2 caṇḍa 2 mara 2 daya 2 kuru 2 . . . The words praviniśaya, kampaya, bandhaya, and mardaya are correctly identified as verbs in the Glossary (viz. imperative sg.); caṇḍa, mara, and kuru are classed as ‘magic words’; trātaya, and daya are not included in it at all. It is nonetheless obvious that the three ‘magic words’ and the two words that are not included are also imperative sg. forms, viz. caṇḍa,12 ‘be wrathful upon’; mara,13 ‘kill’; kuru, ‘do’; daya,12 ‘destroy!’; trātaya may be corrupt for trāsaya, ‘cause to tremble’! It appears, then, that the ‘magic word’ kuru is simply the imperative sg. of the verb kr-. Compared with the other verbs in this series, the meaning of kuru (‘do!’) seems at first glance to be out of place. At the end of this string of imperatives, all denoting some sort of destructive action, kuru functions as a strong affirmative, however: ‘Do, do (i.e., all the actions expressed by the preceding verbs)!!’.

Possibly we have dealt with the Glossary at too great length, but with regard to the Skt texts from Bali the examples are illustrative of the wrong approach that may be adopted towards these texts. As point of departure has been used the vocabulary of Classical Skt, the semantics of which have been indiscriminately applied to the Balinese texts with no regard at all for the real meaning of the words in their context. It is clear that the lexicological study of these Balinese texts has not yet begun.
THE CATURSANDHYĀMANTRA

In conclusion, I wish to make some remarks to demonstrate the necessity of possessing at least some knowledge of Indian Tantrism when investigating some of the Balinese texts. For this purpose I shall discuss the Catursandhāyāmantra, which runs as follows:\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{verbatim}
I.1 HUM-kārādyantarasaṁruddhaṁ, guhyāsaktipradipanam /
    dipanam sarvapūjānāṁ, sarvasiddhikaraṇī smṛtam //
    Namaḥ Svāhā //
I.2 OM HUM AM UM MAM GMUM MAM UM AM
    HUM HUM OM //
    Namaḥ Svāhā //
II.1 NAM-kārādyantarasaṁruddhaṁ, NAM-kāreṇa vidarbhitam /
    amalikaraṇaṁ mantraṁ, sarvamantreṣu siddhidam //
    Namaḥ Svāhā //
II.2 OM NAM UM NAM GMUM NAM UM NAM OM //
    Namaḥ Svāhā //
III.1 UM-kārādyantarasaṁruddhaṁ, UM-kāreṇa vidarbhitam /
    etat supṛṣya mantrasya, bodhanaṁ paramaṁ smṛtam //
    Namaḥ Svāhā //
III.2 OM UM UM GMUM UM UM OM //
    Namaḥ Svāhā //
III.3 OM GRĪM Devarcandya Namo //
    Namaḥ Svāhā //
IV.1 AM-kārādyantarasaṁruddhaṁ, AM-kāreṇa vidarbhitam /
    tarpanaṁ sarva-pūjānāṁ, prasādhanaṁ tu siddhidam //
    Namaḥ Svāhā //
IV.2 OM AM UM AM GMUM AM UM AM OM //
\end{verbatim}

Goudriaan and Hooykaas, in their introduction to this mantra (StSt: 208ff.), have already discussed the problems connected with it and its interpretation. Some points remain unclear, however.

The Catursandhāyāmantra consists of four parts (I-IV), each of them sub-divided into a Skt \textit{sloka} (I.1; II.1 etc.) and a \textit{mantra} (I.2; II.2 etc.); the different parts are separated by \textit{Namaḥ Svāhā}. In part III of the Catursandhāyāmantra we find an addition (III.3) that is not found in the others.

The \textit{Slokas}

‘The \textit{slokas} are written in correct Skt and the author has used technical
terms of Indian Mantra-Science' (StSt: 209). This remark is illustrative of our own previous observations on ArSkt and its evaluation. In 1966 Hooykaas suspected the slokas of being written in ArSkt, because of the absence of declension in all four slokas (SuSe: 104). In 1971, cooperating with a Sanskritist well versed in Tantric texts, he rated the slokas in StSt at their true value, namely as correct Skt with Tantric technical terms. Vidarbhita, for instance, in 1966 was regarded as 'scarcely Skt' (SuSe: 105), while in StSt it is recognized as a technical term (StSt: 211 note 2).

The slokas provide, in highly technical language — secret to laymen! —, the rules for constructing a mantra, and indicate the application of the various mantras (dīpana, etc.) The technical terms have already been discussed at some length in StSt, but for a full understanding of the slokas further information seems necessary. Since the slokas are written in correct Skt, and the technical terms are not found in any of the hymns composed in Bali, one can safely assume that the slokas were borrowed from some Indian text. Hence we must turn, in an attempt to gain more insight into these technical terms to the texts from the Subcontinent.

Vidarbhita. This term is difficult to translate exactly, and has been rendered as 'set free' (SuSe: 103; StSt: 327.2b, etc) and 'let loose, extended' (Glossary: 171). One further clue to the meaning of vidarbhita is provided by Edgerton's Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, where the verb vidarbhayati is explained as 'intertwines (letters), i.e. writes the letters between the letters of a mantra' (v. also pravidarbhayati). Edgerton bases his translation on the occurrence of the word in the Sādhana-mālā, a Buddhist text containing the sādhanas of various deities. From the text itself it does not become clear, however, how exactly one should intertwine the letters between the letters of a mantra. In the Kubjikāmatatantra (unedited, Ch. 4), an early Hindu Tantra from Nepal, and in the Agnipurāṇa (138, 1ff.), vidarbhita or vidarbha is enumerated among the six so-called Sampradāyas. The Tantric Sādhaka has the faculty of wielding power over other persons by means of mantras. Towards this end the Sādhaka intertwines the letters of the name of his prospective victim, the Sādhyā, with the syllables of a mantra, which he pronounces or writes down. The different modes of intertwining — each with a different effect — are called Sampradāya. The effect of vidarbhita / vidarbha is to put the Sādhyā in one's power (Agnipurāṇa 138, 7d: vaśyākarṣeṣu yo jayet). The mode of intertwining is described
as follows: *mantrāksaradvayam likhya, ekam sādhyaḥkṣaram punaḥ* (Agni-nipuraṇa 138, 7ab), 'First (the Sādhaka) writes two syllables of the *mantra*, next (he writes) one syllable (of the name) of the Sādhya'. This can be schematized as mmS-mmS, etc.¹⁷

_Dīpana, amalīkarana, bodhana, and tarpana_. These four, each found in a different śloka, belong to a group of ten *Saṃskāras*, or Consecrations of a *mantra*; they are enumerated in the Gautamiyaṭaṇḍa (cf. StSt: 209), but not explained. In chapter six of the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* (v.p.330 above) we find a group of nine *Saṃskāras*¹⁸ listed: they are the same as those found in the Gautamiyaṭaṇḍa, except for the omission of *janaṇa* (cf. StSt: 209). The *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* does explain the nine *Saṃskāras*, however. Unfortunately, the text seems very corrupt and is difficult to understand because of its cryptic language. The nine *Saṃskāras* have one feature in common: they are all formed by placing a *bīja* before and after a *mantra*.¹⁹ Since we are for the moment interested only in the four *Saṃskāras* mentioned in the *Caturasandhyāmantra*, we shall focus on these four.

_Dīpana_. This is effected by placing the *bīja RUM* before and after the *mantra*. Thus: *RUM — (mantra) — RUM*. The Sādhaka should recite this 'new' *mantra* 5000 times. The exact purpose of *dīpana* does not become clear from the text: it seems that the action of *dīpana* is compared to the beginning of creation at the start of a new Kalpa; in order to commence creating, God has to be 'inflamed' (*pradīpta*).

_Amalīkarana*.²⁰ The *bīja AḤ* is placed before and after the *mantra*. The Sādhaka should recite the formula a thousand times. The object of *amalīkarana* is clear: if the Sādhaka has grown tired during his ritual acts and has recited a *mantra* wrongly, the blame for this falls upon the Sādhaka himself. To remove the blame and undo the faulty recitation of the *mantra*, the *amalīkarana* is recited.

_Bodhana_. The *bīja RAḤ* is placed at either end of the *mantra*. The formula has to be recited 5000 times. *Bodhana* seems to have more or less the same meaning as *dīpana*: 'awakening; setting (a potency) into motion' (StSt: 209). In the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā*, *bodhana* is explained as awakening God from His *nīdrāyoga*, 'the state of deep meditation resembling sleep', into which God sinks between two *Kalpas*. The text adds: *bodhitah sādhakam ārjvā bhavet siddhipradah*, 'on being awakened and seeing the Sādhaka, (God) will grant (him) supernatural power.
(siddhi)'. Bodhana and dipana are explained in close connection with each other: in both cases God seems to be identified with Agni. This accords with the fact that the bijas added to the mantra (RUM & RAH) in both cases contain as basic consonant the letter R, which is the letter of Agni.

Tarpana. The bija HSRAUMH is placed at either end of the mantra. The Sādhaka should recite the formula a thousand times, each time adding Svadhā Vauṣṭi to the formula. Furthermore, he should make an oblation of sesame seed (tilahoma) each time. The purpose of this Sanskāra appears to lie in the fact that only a ‘satisfied’ mantra is effective (trpto mantrāḥ prasidhyati).

The Mantras

The four mantras (I.2; II.2 etc.) merely consist of syllables without any specific meaning. Consequently, the mantras cannot be translated in the strict sense of the word. We can, however, try to understand the underlying structure of the mantras themselves. For this purpose, we have regarded the four mantras as a unity, and have fitted them into a single table (the numbers at the bottom of the table denoting the number of units of each mantra):

| A) | I.2 | OM | HUM | HUM | AM | UM | MAM | GMUM | MAM | UM | AM | HUM | HUM | OM |
|----|-----|----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|
| II.2 | OM | NAM | UM | NAM | GMUM | NAM | UM | NAM | OM |
| III.2 | OM | UM | -UM | GMUM | UM | UM | OM |
| IV.2 | OM | AM | UM | AM | GMUM | AM | UM | AM | OM |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

A number of features of the four mantras become immediately apparent. Each mantra has as central syllable the bija GMUM. Furthermore, each mantra consists of two identical parts symmetrically arranged around this GMUM, the units 9, 8, 7, 6 being the reverse of the units 1, 2, 3, 4. The first mantra has a fourth (= sixth) unit of three syllables, while the others have only a monosyllabic such unit. The third mantra seems to have one syllable too few. In mantras II.2 and IV.2 the second (= eighth) unit is identical with the fourth (= sixth). Each mantra begins and ends with the syllable OM. Evidently the four mantras resemble one another to some extent, though at first sight they also
appear to show considerable discrepancies. I shall now attempt to demonstrate that the four mantras really form a unity, as was assumed earlier, and that they fully resemble one another.

As Goudriaan and Hooykaas have shown (StSt: 209), 'in the mantras the MSS often waver between different forms of the bījas especially between HUM, UM and OM'. These bījas should therefore be examined with some care. We have seen that in mantras II.2 and IV.2 the second (＝ eighth) unit is identical with the fourth (＝ sixth), and that mantra I.2 has three syllables for its fourth (＝ sixth) unit. The fourth unit of mantra I.2 consists of the syllables AM UM MAM, which are, in fact, the three components of the bija OM (＝ A + U + M), each component being provided with the anusvāra at the end. The second unit of mantra I.2 reads HUM, which obviously does not correspond to AM UM MAM (＝ OM). Therefore, one should emend the second unit of mantra I.2 to OM, which is perfectly permissible. The next problem is the lack of one syllable in mantra III.2, at least according to our table. For units 2, 3, and 4 of mantra III.2, we have only two syllables (UM & UM). The omission of a syllable is not unusual in MSS, especially when this omitted syllable is preceded or followed by exactly the same syllable. Hence, assuming that a syllable has been dropped in mantra III.2, the syllable most likely to have been omitted is UM. In this way the second, third, and fourth units of mantra III.2 would all read UM. This brings us to a further emendation: in mantras II.2, III.2 and IV.2 the third unit is UM, while the third unit of mantra I.2 reads HUM. Since HUM / UM / OM are virtually interchangeable, one is tempted to read for the third unit of mantra I.2 UM instead of HUM. This way the four mantras correspond to one another completely. There remains one more feature of the four mantras to be discussed. The fourth unit of mantra I.2 consists of three syllables (AM UM MAM), forming the syllable OM. Next we must examine how this trisyllabic fourth unit of mantra I.2 corresponds to the fourth units of the other mantras, which each consist of only one syllable (NAM, UM, and AM). Obviously, these three syllables also represent the three components of the syllable OM, in the same way as they are found in the fourth unit of mantra I.2. Consequently we are assuming that the syllable NAM (mantra II.2) has the same value as the syllable MAM (mantra I.2), which is not unlikely.

Summarizing this section on the mantras we propose the following 'corrected' table:
The Relation between the Ślokas and the Mantras

The ślokas, written in correct Skt, provide the rules for the construction of a particular mantra. Consequently one might assume that each of the four mantras corresponds to its preceding śloka. We shall examine to what extent this is, in fact, true.

The first unit of every mantra consists of the syllable OM, which is not mentioned in the ślokas. The syllable OM ought, however, to precede every mantra, since it is the 'Leader of (all) matras' (cf. BTF: 12: OMKāram mantranāyakam). Hence the specific mention of OM is not necessary. The first pāda of each śloka refers to the second (= eighth) unit of the respective mantra: each mantra begins and ends with the syllables OM, NAM, UM, and AM respectively. Because of our emendation in mantra I.2 (second unit) of HUM into OM (see above), we should read in śloka I.1a OM-kārādyantasāṃruddham, instead of HUM-kārādyantasāṃruddham. The third unit of each mantra (UM) is not mentioned in the ślokas. One might consider this UM identical with the OM of the first unit; thus it need not be mentioned specifically, either. But why it features in this third unit remains an enigma. The fourth unit of each mantra corresponds to the second pāda of each śloka. So we see that the structure of the first lines of the ślokas is identical with and corresponds neatly to the mantras (units 2 & 4). Only in śloka I.1b is there a deviation, which recurs in the mantra: the fourth unit of mantra I.2 consists of three syllables forming the syllable OM. Bearing in mind the correspondence between units two and four in the mantras, and that between the first two pādas of the śloka, it becomes clear that AM UM MAM (mantra I.2, unit 4) corresponds to guhyāśaktipradīapanam in śloka I.1b. Because of the special relation between the first two pādas of the śloka, we should translate the first line of śloka I.1 as, '(The syllable GMUM) enclosed by the syllable OM at the beginning and the end (of the mantra; i.e., units 2 and 8), and showing its (i.e., of the syllable OM) secret potency (i.e. AM UM MAM = OM)'. The second
pādas of ślokas II.1, III.1, and IV.1 all include the word -vidarbhitam. This should refer to the fourth (= sixth) unit of the mantras. Obviously -vidarbhitam is represented in the mantras by enclosing the syllable GMUM with the syllables NAM, UM, and AM respectively, as Goudriaan and Hooykaas have already suggested (StSt: 211 note 2). The syllable GMUM in the first mantra, however, is also enclosed by units four and six, for which the first śloka does not account. The fifth unit, GMUM, is not mentioned in the ślokas at all.

Evaluation
Evidently the ślokas and mantras correspond to one another to some extent, as we have shown above. There are, however, several features in the mantras which are not accounted for in the ślokas: the third unit UM, the syllable GMUM, and the — reversed — second part of the mantras. Furthermore, the Sanskritāras (dīpāna etc.) mentioned in the ślokas are not expressed in the mantras. The technical term vidarbhita is not used in the same sense as in the Indian texts. As Goudriaan and Hooykaas (StSt: 208) have remarked, the Catur sandhyāmantra is only ‘a prescriptive fragment’. Obviously, it is impossible to construct a mantra in the form presented in the text by going solely on the preceding śloka. Moreover, there seems to be little sense in presenting a mantra in a ‘concealed’ way (i.e., the ślokas), and then immediately afterwards giving that same mantra in full (i.e., I.2 etc.). This leads us to the following conclusions regarding the Catur sandhyāmantra. The Balinese priest must have ‘borrowed’ the Skt ślokas from some Indian text, and provided them with mantras which seemed to fit in with the rules given in the ślokas, at least as far as they understood them. The ślokas of the Catur sandhyāmantra should obviously not be recited during ritual proceedings, but only the mantras should. It appears, however, that the priests recite both ślokas and mantras. For this purpose they have inserted the exclamation Namāḥ Svāhā between the ślokas and mantras.

CONCLUDING REMARKS
We have tried to clarify some of the problems encountered when dealing with Balinese ritual texts, at least as far as the Sanskrit used by Balinese priests is concerned. Knowledge of Tantrism in all its aspects and experience with Tantric texts from the Indian Subcontinent appeared to be necessary for an understanding of the true meaning of these Bali-
inese texts. More importantly, perhaps, we have shown that a term like Archipelago Sanskrit should be used with some reservation with respect to Balinese hymns.

We hope that the material collected by Hooykaas will be studied by Sanskritists and scholars of Indonesian culture alike. The study of these texts in all their aspects requires the close co-operation of Sanskritists and scholars of Balinese culture — the kind of co-operation for which Goudriaan and Hooykaas have set the example.

NOTES

1 I have not so far defined the terms Tantra, Tantrism, etc. I am applying them not only to texts which are accepted as Tantras, but also to texts with a strong Tantric character.

2 For my present examination of ArSkt I have used the texts as presented in StSt, for two reasons: (1) most of the texts found in Hooykaas' other publications are also included in StSt, and (2) the readings of the texts in StSt are in many instances better.

3 The negative prefix of ananta is of course an-, and not a-. For the sake of convenience, however, I have included ananta in this class.

4 The majority of the hymns in StSt are composed in the popular šloka-metre. A śloka consists of two lines, each of them divided into two pādas. Each pāda, or quarter, consists of eight syllables.

5 The semi-caesura falls after the fourth syllable of a pāda.

6 This is, obviously, ArSkt. In Classical Skt the line would run: . . . sānītyam, udadhiti . . . This would result in a pāda of nine syllables.

7 Possibly DH is corrupt for VIH. The heart formula would then run Viṣṇu Viṣṇu (for Viṣṇū?). In that case, VI is also provided with a visarga.

8 For which part of the Glossary Ensink is responsible.

9 In the references to Lévy's Sanskrit Texts from Bali the numbers of both the page and the line where the relevant word is to be found are indicated.

10 B = Sanskrit Texts from Bali.

11 Forms like gaṅgāya (= dative sg. of gaṅgā) are frequently found (cf. StSt: 9).

12 Caṇḍ- and day- are used only as middle voice verbs in Classical Skt.

13 Mara is obviously to be translated as its causative form māraya, 'cause to die!'.

14 I have used the text of StSt, No. 327. See also Lévy (1933:15-27), and SuSe (pp. 102ff.).

15 I have not been able to find the word vidarbhita in any of the other texts from Bali, for instance.

16 Just after the writing of this article, a short study on the word vidarbha was published by Padoux. He explains the meaning of vidarbha as 'cutting, tearing asunder, dispersing', basing his argument on traditional Indian lexicology.

17 m = syllable of the mantra; s = syllable of the Śādhyā's name. Subha-gānandaṁ, in his commentary on the Tantrarāja-jātantra, enumerates three kinds of vidarbhita (1,72), viz. mmS-mmS etc., SSm-SSm etc., mmSS-mmSS etc., and SSmm-SSmm etc.

18 The word Sāṃskāra is not used in the Sātāhasra-samhitā.

19 Only in one case, that of ḍṛpyāyana, are six bijas placed before and after the mantra.
A Note on Balinese Sanskrit

In the Sātāhasrasamhīṭā, as in the Gautamiya-tantra, vimalikaraṇa is used instead.

The Sātāhasrasamhīṭā reads samtarpaṇa.

For the sake of simplicity, we shall refer only to units 1-4 in the following, not mentioning the corresponding units 9-6 each time.

For MAM as the third component of OM, cf. StSt: 223, 7; 597.1/2; 616.4; etc.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

BTF: A Balinese Temple Festival (Hooykaas).
StSt: Stuti and Stava (Goudriaan and Hooykaas).
SuSe: Surya-Sevana (Hooykaas).

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