

INSTITUTIONALIZED SPIRIT-POSSESSION AND HEALING RITES IN A BALINESE VILLAGE

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This paper is based on field work which I carried out in Bali in April and May 1975 and between January and May 1976. I will describe an example of institutionalized spirit-possession in a Balinese village known as the *Sanghyang dedara*,* *Sanghyang dedari* (male spirit, female spirit (possession)) ritual.

The village where the ritual occurs is about 15km from Denpasar in South Bali. The village population is made up of 200 households (about 1,000 people), who are of the Sudra class, except for three families of low Satria status. The Balinese adopted the Brahmanical class system of India, acknowledging the Brahman, Satria and Wesia as the twice born and the rest as Sudra. But there is no untouchable class in Bali. From the Brahman class the highest religious practitioners are drawn, that is, the Siwaite and Buddhist priests, and belonging to the Satria and Wesia classes are the descendants of the former rulers and administrators of the eight Balinese Kingdoms, which existed prior to Dutch rule in Bali, which commenced in the late nineteenth century. Only 10% of the population belong to this twice born group, who claim to be the original descendants of those former members of the East Javanese Kingdom of Majapahit who left Java, when Islam became widespread in the 14th century. They subsequently became the priests, the rulers and administrators of the Balinese Kingdoms.

The Sanghyang ritual has occurred at irregular intervals for many years. Some say it began in 1857 when a severe epidemic was present in the village. When the ritual is performed it occurs nightly for several months, then twice every five nights for perhaps a year, then once every five nights before ceasing at the end of one or two years. When it is decided to invoke the high spirits and perform the ritual, two pre-adolescent girls are chosen at a special ceremony in the village temple near the graveyard (*Pura Dalem*), which is dedicated to the goddess Durga. They become possessed by the Sanghyang dedara and the Sanghyang dedari. They live in the village temple (*Pura Desa*) for the duration of the ritual and have special ritual duties to perform during the day.

*Key terms are italicised and defined only at their first appearance in this paper.— Ed.

The ritual is part of Balinese folk religion. The songs sung by the women and the prayers of the local Sudra priest (*pemangku*) are part of an oral tradition and as such are not found in the texts of the Brahman priest, nor are they found in the publications of the Balinese religious organization, the "Hindu Parisada Dharma". This is an organization which is attempting to bring an understanding of orthodox Hindu philosophy and a knowledge of the Vedic and Smṛti literature of India to the Balinese people.

I have used the word 'institutionalized' to describe the type of spirit-possession which occurs in this ritual because it is officially acknowledged and seen to be legitimate by the entire village community. It is ordered, intentional and stylized, the trance state of the girls is controlled and occurs regularly at the appropriate time in the ritual and they regain a normal state of consciousness at the required moment.

Following my description of the ritual, I will confine my discussion of the ritual to the ideological level and particularly to certain aspects of Balinese cosmology and theology which this ritual emphasises.

I.

THE SANGHYANG DEDARA, SANGHYANG DEDARI RITUAL

1. In The Village Temple (Pura Desa)

At dusk, which is about 6.30pm in Bali, the preparations for the descent of the Sanghyang begin in the village temple. The *Ayu* (the two pre-adolescent girls) previously chosen to become possessed by these High Spirits, are dressed in their usual white sarongs and shirts, with the heavy brass bangles around their ankles. On one of the roofed open pavilions in the temple (*bale piasan*) they begin to fill the large gold embossed leather crowns with various types of very fragrant flowers. Many white frangipani flowers, a bordering row of green sandat buds, occasional yellow flowers and always a red flower, sometimes an hibiscus, placed in the centre, at the front. At the back is the golden head of the garuda bird, the mythical bird with supernatural powers from Indian mythology, there to watch for enemies which may approach from the rear. Also present in the temple are about half a dozen other children, mainly girls about twelve to fourteen years old and younger and including the two constant attendants of the girls. They are careful to remain standing at a lower level to the *Ayu*. They all wear scarves around their waists, needed by all who enter the temple as a sign of ritual purity and respect for the gods. They joke together singing snatches of hymns (*kidung*) and usually a hymn of invocation to Siwa. Also present is the *pemangku* (the local priest of the temple) and one or two assistants, there to fetch extra

flowers if they are needed and to prepare the brazier which contains a mixture of dap dap wood, sandalwood and frankincense which will produce the pungent, heavily fragrant smoke needed to bring the Ayu into trance and provide the pathway for the male and female High Spirits, Tunjung Biru and Superaba, to descend from heaven and enter the bodies of the Ayu.

By seven o'clock the number of girls in the temple has increased. The oldest Ayu, the one who will be entered by the male spirit and who will play the leading role in the ritual, may order the children to continue singing the hymns to Siwa. When the Ayu have finished decorating their crowns, they place each one on a small wooden throne in the pavilion. Incense sticks are lighted and the Ayu pray before the crowns and waft the smoke of the incense towards the crowns. Then they fold the white headcloths, which will bind their hair, into triangular shapes. The braziers are lit and placed before the crowns. By 7.30pm the Ayu have retired to their open sleeping pavilion in the south-east corner of the temple to change into clean white sarongs and shirts. By this time the women singers are arriving and the Ayu move to the central area of the temple, to be wound about with clean white belts from hips to chest by the pemangku and his helper. They stand with their backs to the north east and Gunung Agung (the holy mountain) and the women sing selections from hymns praising Siwa.

When the dressing is completed the Ayu kneel on a woven mat before the central shrine in the temple (*bale pepelik*) and burning sticks of incense are placed before them. The pemangku positions a brightly shining pressure lamp on the steps of the bale pepelik, about 2 metres in front of the Ayu. The Ayu pray, their hands raised to the level of their foreheads, their palms pressed together. The pemangku prays facing the north-east and Gunung Agung, then brings water from the water pot in the piasan and pours it into the hands of each Ayu. They rinse their hands, then drink it and finally wipe the water over their faces and their hair. The two attendants of the Ayu kneel on the mat behind each one and behind them the women arrange themselves in rows sitting on the ground singing hymns. The braziers are brought from the piasan, one is placed before each Ayu, the pemangku and his assistant fan them until the smoke becomes dense. It is dark now. There is just one patch of light in the temple and it falls on the group seated on the mat of woven coconut palm leaves; the pemangku of the village temple dedicated to Durga (*Pura Panataran*) and his assistant. They sit crosslegged on each side of the mat facing the kneeling Ayu with their attendants behind them. Behind them in the darkness are the rows of women singers, about twenty now. The white head cloths are brought by the pemangku. They are held over the smoking braziers. The women sing the hymn in praise of the goddess Saraswati (goddess of knowledge) and the god Kawiswara (the god of poetry, who gives out words). Each Ayu knots her hair and the pemangku ties the cloth tightly around her head, concealing all her hair.

The braziers are now moved in towards the Ayu, who lean forward placing their faces far into the smoke and begin to move their heads back and forth. One of the leading singers leads the group of women, about thirty of them now, in the special song used only to invoke the sanghyang dedara and sanghyang dedari . (Song No.1)* They begin the song to a slow tune, each syllable is elongated, and the five stanzas call on Tunjung Biru and Superaba to descend. Then these five stanzas are repeated twice to a different and more insistent and compelling tune which becomes increasingly fast, the Ayu swaying rhythmically in time to the music, their movements gradually becoming larger and slower. After about fifteen minutes they fall back limply into the waiting arms of their young attendants. The hollowed wooden log at the temple entrance is beaten to signal the arrival in the temple of the sanghyang dedara and sanghyang dedari. The men arrive to sit on the steps of the bale used to house the *gamelan* (the percussion orchestra) in the distant south-west corner of the temple. The assistant of the pemangku brings out the ritual ornaments of the sanghyang from an old tin trunk. The women sing the song asking the sanghyang to beautify themselves, to put on their robes of office. (Song No.2) They repeat it twice until the sanghyang are fully dressed in the red and gold embossed leather armlets, belts, long aprons and jackets ornamented with small round mirrors. The pemangku of the Pura Dalem dresses the leading Ayu, now possessed by the sanghyang dedara, and the pemangku of the Pura Panataran dresses the other Ayu, now possessed by the sanghyang dedari. The Ayu are now addressed as Sanghyang Dedara or *Ratu Widiadara* and Sanghyang Dedari or *Ratu Widiadari*. At first they are limply propped up by their attendants whilst the pemangku are dressing them but are kneeling upright by the time they are fully dressed. They pass their hands through the smoke, their eyes are closed. The assistant of the pemangku places crossed burning coconuts on the ground before the bale pepelik and pours a libation of alcoholic liquor on the ground to placate any demons which may be present. Then the crowns are brought, the women sing a song glorifying them. (Song No.3) They describe their beauty and the flowers that are used to adorn them. Each sanghyang holds a crown and passes it back and forth through the smoke, then places it firmly on her head. The pemangku adjust them and fasten them securely. It is now about 8.30pm and the sanghyang are in their complete regalia. The ashes of the braziers are thrown onto the ground. Each sanghyang gives a flower to each pemangku. They turn now to face those gathered behind them, the group of women singers and the men in the distant corner of the temple.

At this moment in the ritual, those who are ill or troubled and wish to ask the sanghyang for holy water, the particular holy water given to the sick, for themselves or a sick relative, kneel before the sanghyang with a bowl containing a small offering – a plaited plate

* For songs No.1 through 7 see Appendix I , pp. 60-63.

of young coconut leaves containing a flower, some rice grains and some betel nut, sometimes with some rice cakes or fruit and always with a small amount of money placed on top. They kneel and place their offerings, with a burning stick of incense, before the sanghyang and make the gesture of prayer. The Pemangku Dalem asks them what their problem is, then turning towards the sanghyang dedara he prays aloud, quickly and repeatedly asking the sanghyang to give healing holy water to the ill or troubled person. He describes the illness and the offerings the person has brought to the sanghyang. The sanghyang dedara then makes a waving gesture to waft a silent prayer towards the ill or troubled person, then taking the glass of perfumed healing water handed to her by the Pemangku Dalem and using a small leafy twig of the dap-dap tree, she sprinkles the water several times over the person's bowed head. Finally she empties the entire glass of healing water over the devotee, who then prays and withdraws. The women are singing a hymn which extols the powers of the holy water or a hymn praising Siwa.

2. The Procession

When the healing rites in the temple have been completed, usually by 9 p.m., the sanghyang must leave the temple to purify the village and secure its boundaries from *leyak* (the evil forms assumed by living people who practise black magic and which cause illness, death and misfortune in the village). The women sing the song which asks the sanghyang to arise, telling them the people are waiting, that the singers have assembled and will accompany the dance of the sanghyang. (Song No.4) Each sanghyang is then given a fan and stands up. Then the leading sanghyang moves slowly, dancing to the centre of the temple accompanied by the singing of a rhythmic song by the women. The two carrying chairs are brought and the sanghyangs sit in them. Each chair is lifted onto the shoulders of four unmarried men and above each a tall white umbrella is held. They then circle the village about three k.m., stopping to pray and flick flowers and waft the essence of a silent prayer at the northern, southern, eastern and western extremities of the village and before the path to the Pura Dalem which is situated in the centre of the village. In the dry season, on a fine night and especially at full moon, many of the villagers join the procession, particularly the unmarried girls and boys – the girls walking arm in arm in rows which stretch across the full width of the main road which runs through the village. The girls lead the procession, then come the young men carrying the chairs with the sanghyang, then the pemangku and his assistants carrying the kerosene pressure lamps, with the boys bringing up the rear. They sing songs in unison or sometimes the girls sing two lines of a song and the boys answer them. During the wet season when the roads are muddy or it is raining, the sanghyang are carried directly on the shoulders of two young men to the pavilion (*wantilan*) opposite the Pura Desa.

3. In The Village Pavilion (Wantilan)

This pavilion is open on four sides with a high conical-shaped roof. In the centre is a cleared, slightly raised central square outlined by a railing, where there are two household wooden chairs on which the sanghyang sit. The Pemangku Dalem and the Pemangku Panataran sit on a mat within the cleared space before the *sanggar agung* (the bamboo throne of Sanghyang Widi, the supreme deity) erected in the north-east corner of the cleared space. The assistant of the Pemangku also sits within this sacred area but at the southern end. He has with him the various properties (such as fans, garuda wings, doll, sword, etc.) needed by the sanghyang in the dance and mime performance which follows. The women sit outside the railing on the cobbled stone floor, around three sides of the square. They represent the three territorial divisions of the village: *kaja-kauh*, the group from the north-west and nearest to Gunung Agung; *tengah*, the group from the centre; and *kelod-kangin* from the south-east and nearest to the sea. The women and children sit on that side of the wantilan which is closest to their home. On the fourth and south side of the wantilan the instruments of the gamelan are arranged and during the next half hour the men who are to play them arrive. Other men and boys sit on the road quietly chatting throughout the performance.

The performance starts when a group of six or eight girls, from the section of the village which is to sing at this performance, repeat the song which calls on the sanghyang to rise up and dance. (Song No. 4) The sanghyang stand up and dance in unison, a classical dance using fans (*legong*). The women then sing a bracket of two songs. These are different on almost every occasion as each of the three groups of singers has a large collection of songs which has been learnt from the elderly women teachers on whom they are dependent for new songs. It is only recently that some of the songs have been written down by the more educated girls. The three groups take it in turns to sing. This may be followed by a male chorus, a group of about ten to twenty men from each division of the village, who arrange themselves together in one corner of the wantilan. They sing a *cek* (a rhythmic chanting of meaningless syllables). Again the sanghyang dance in unison and in time to this chorus. They again return to their chairs and wait for the gamelan to begin to play and for one of the *dalang* (the singer-reciter), sometimes two of them, sometimes three, to introduce the segment of the classical story from the Ramayana, Mahabharata or a legend from the Kingdom of Lasem in East Java or from the Calon Arang story. (See Summary of this - Appendix 2). The choice is made by one of the dalang, but a particular segment from the Calon Arang story must be performed every fifteen days, on the night of *kajeng-kliwon* (a combination of the last days of the three and the five day calendar). The dalang tell the story, the sanghyang dance and mime it, still with their eyes firmly shut. They each play the part of a character in the story, the leading sanghyang, the sanghyang dedara, playing the dominant character and the male roles. The performance lasts for one or two hours. If it is a performance of the Calon Arang story it can last until one or two o'clock in the morning.

At the end of this performance the sanghyang kneel before the bamboo altar, the women sing, calling on them to pray to the supreme deity Sanghyang Widi. (Song No.5) The sanghyang make the gesture of prayer with their hands, the Pemangku Dalem and the Pemangku Panataran remove the armlets, the collars, the aprons, the jackets and the belts. The Pemangku brings the holy water pots made from coconut shells down from the sanggah agung, he gives one to each of the sanghyang. Using a flower the sanghyang sprinkle the water towards themselves, then towards the Pemangku who collect it in their outstretched hands and drink it. The sanghyang then move among the seated women and children sprinkling them with water, whilst the small group of singers sing the song extolling the healing powers of the water. (Song No.6) The people hold out their hands eagerly to receive the water, the men move up to the edge of the wantilan and stand with outstretched hands to receive their share. They drink it and wipe it over their faces and their hair. The two or three dalang receive a special share and are given the particularly fragrant green sandat flowers, which have been soaked in the water and which they eat. Having circled the wantilan the sanghyang kneel again before the sanggar agung. The women sing the song which asks the high spirits to return to heaven. (Song No.7) The Pemangku pours libations of alcohol onto the ground to the demons and the sanghyang make gestures of prayer, wafting their silent prayers upwards with a flower towards the throne of Sanghyang Widi. The Pemangku remove their crowns and they are left in the white clothing. The braziers are brought, one is placed before each sanghyang and each bends forward over the smoke. The women repeat the song requesting the sanghyang dedara and the sanghyang dedari to return to heaven. (Song No.6) They repeat it, sometimes three times, until the Ayu open their eyes, the sign that the high spirits have returned through the smoke to heaven. The Ayu pull off the white head cloths, shake out their hair and retie it. They then remove the flowers from their crowns which they give to the men, women and children who press forward eagerly to receive them. They place the flowers behind their ears and quickly go home. The Ayu cross the road to the temple to sleep.

II.

ASPECTS OF BALINESE COSMOLOGY AND THEOLOGY ILLUSTRATED BY THE RITUAL

There are several aspects of Balinese cosmology and theology which this ritual illustrates very clearly.

1) The belief that the cosmos is divided horizontally into an upper level, which begins above the peak of the holy mountain Gunung Agung, and a lower level which stretches down from this mountain peak to the ground. The upper level or macrocosmos is occupied by deities who are ranked according to their ability to give good health and spiritual strength or sickness and mental confusion to mankind. The lower level or microcosmos is occupied at the highest level by the purified ancestral spirits, followed by the unpurified souls of the dead, then by human beings, animal and plant life and demons. Within each of these groups in the microcosmos, as in the macrocosmos, a system of classification and ordering exists which is based on the ability to manipulate the forces of good and evil in the cosmos. Those deities possessing the greatest powers of either good or evil occupy the highest level in space and are the greatest distance from man. At the other extreme are the demons who have the power to irritate man, but who can be controlled by man and are found at ground level.

An example from the ritual which demonstrates this belief in a hierarchical ordering of deities which have the power to impart spiritual strength and good health to mankind occurs in the final stage of the ritual in the wantilan, when the women sing a song which orders the sanghyang to pray before the throne of Sanghyang Widi. They ask the sanghyang to receive the holy water created by Sanghyang Widi. The pemangku reaches above his head and takes the water pots from the throne of Sanghyang Widi and gives one to each sanghyang. The sanghyang sprinkle the water over their heads and then over the two pemangku and their two young attendants. They wipe the holy water over their faces and drink it from their cupped hands. Then the sanghyang move amongst the villagers sprinkling it over their bowed heads and pouring it into their outstretched hands, so that they may drink it and gain the protective power contained in it.

By kneeling before the throne of Sanghyang Widi, the sanghyang recognize this deity as being superior to them. The holy water, which they sprinkle upon themselves, the pemangku, their attendants and the villagers, they acknowledge as the creation of Sanghyang Widi and possessed of superior powers to the water which they had offered earlier to the sick in the temple.

Another example which illustrates this belief in a hierarchical ordering of deities, occurs in the temple before the sanghyang dedara and sanghyang dedari are invited to descend from heaven. The women always sing a universally accepted hymn of praise to Parama Siwa, Sada Siwa and Batara Guru (Maha Siwa) and a hymn to Sanghyang Kawiswara (another aspect of Siwa) and Sanghyang Saraswati (goddess of knowledge) asking them to send the sanghyang dedara and sanghyang dedari down from heaven and asking these superior deities to witness the ritual. Whilst the women sing these hymns and pemangku is praying to Sanghyang Widi to gain the blessing and approval of the Supreme Unity before the ritual of invocation of the sanghyang commences.

Thus the ritual recognizes Sanghyang Widi as the Supreme Unity. It acknowledges the three aspects of Siwa, also the God Kawiswara and the Goddess Saraswati. Clearly the sanghyang dedara and sanghyang dedari belong to a lower level of the macrocosmos. They are classified as god (*dewa*) and goddess (*dewi*) by the people of the village and are ranked above the deified ancestral spirits.

The clear distinction which these villagers make between the deities who occupy the upper level of the cosmos and the human beings occupying the lower level, is dramatically illustrated in the form which the procession takes as it moves around the boundaries of the village. It is led by the young unmarried girls, who are followed by the sanghyang carried high above them in their chairs on the shoulders of the young men, whilst others hold two white umbrellas above their heads and the bachelors of the village bring up the rear. The sanghyang, in their white clothing, their elaborate crowns decorated with white flowers and with the white umbrellas held above their heads, certainly appear to be heavenly beings as they are carried through the dark streets of the village.

There are many other occasions in the ritual when the arrangement of the different performers creates symbolically a forceful visual image of the cosmic order, of the classification and ranking of the different groups of human beings and their relative position to each other and to the sanghyang. For example; in the temple and in the wantilan only the pemangku and the attendants of the sanghyang may sit on the mat with the sanghyang or enter the central cleared space in the wantilan where the sanghyang dance. They take care that their heads always remain at a lower level than the crowns of the sanghyang. In the temple the women are careful to arrange themselves several metres behind the group on the mat and in the wantilan sit on the ground outside the marked central area. The men sit on the road outside the wantilan and when they come forward to receive holy water they stand on the ground beneath the level of the wantilan and the sanghyang. Thus the sacred area is clearly demarcated.

In the Calon Arang story we see a similar classification and ranking of the powers of evil. At the highest level is Durga, the female element of Siwa, who resides in the Pura Dalem situated next to the

graveyard where the uncremated, unpurified souls of the dead are found. In the graveyard Durga takes the form of Bhagawati. It is here that Durga's earthly pupil, the widow Calon Arang, worships her and obtains the power to transform herself into Rangda and learn the magic spells which will bring death and destruction to Erlangga's kingdom. Calon Arang's pupils also gather in the graveyard to learn magic spells and the art of becoming leyak. Leyak are ranked according to the complexity of the (evil) form they can transform themselves into. A flickering light being the lowest form and the least powerful and the Rangda form assumed by Calon Arang being the most powerful and therefore the highest state possible for a human being who follows the path of black magic. On some occasions when this story is performed as part of the sanghyang ritual, at the point in the story when Erlangga's prime minister attempts to kill Calon Arang, the leading sanghyang who plays the part of the prime minister is given a dagger by the pemangku and chases Calon Arang, played by the smaller sanghyang, to the Pura Dalem. Along the path to the Pura Dalem the sanghyang with the dagger may sight some form of leyak and kill it with the dagger. After such an incident in the ritual a known practitioner of black magic in a neighbouring village was found dead the next morning. When the sanghyang reach the Pura Dalem they enter the temple and pray to Durga asking her to curb her wrath.

Thus the ritual acknowledges Durga as the supreme force of evil who possesses superior powers to the sanghyang. The sanghyang can combat the evil influences of the pupils of Calon Arang who have learnt the art of black magic and can transform themselves into leyak, but they must bow down before Durga and offer prayers to the goddess in order to dispel her wrath and to ask her to stop giving to her earthly pupils power with which to harm their fellow human beings.

The ritual also pays attention to the forces of evil which occupy the lowest level in the cosmos. A belief in the presence of demons at ground level and the need to placate and control them is illustrated by the small offerings placed on the ground and by the libations of alcohol poured onto the ground by the pemangku at different stages in the ritual. Coconut husks are also burned at the entrance to the temple and before the shrine in the temple where the sanghyang kneel, in order to frighten away any demons which may be present.

2) The ritual illustrates the belief that direct communication is possible between the deities and mankind. It shows that man can invoke the deities to descend from the macrocosmos and enter the microcosmos if he performs correctly the appropriate rituals. The ritual uses many natural elements as symbols in order to convey this belief. For example, the bodies of two pre-adolescent girls are chosen to become the receptacles of the sanghyang, to symbolise their earthly presence and to communicate with mankind.

Smoke is used not only as a technique to induce a trance state in the girls, but also as a symbol of the path, the link between the upper level of the cosmos occupied by the deities and the lower level occupied

by man. It is along this path that the sanghyang descend to enter the bodies of the two girls. At the end of the ritual it is also necessary to provide the symbolic path which the spirits may follow in their return to their heavenly home.

Water is also believed to be a vital link and means of communication between man and the powers of good. It is the medium used to pass onto man the lifegiving power of these deities. There are many different types of holy water which the Balinese classify and rank according to their source and to the deity who has imparted magical properties to the water. For example, in the ritual, the water which the sanghyang gave to the sick was of a high order. It had been collected by the pemangku early that morning from one pure source in the river and was then given special healing powers by the sanghyang which could be passed onto those who received it. The water used in the final stage of the ritual was of a higher order. It had been collected from five pure water sources and after it had been placed on the throne of Sanghyang Widi, the deity descended momentarily to impart supernatural power to it which would purify those who received it and give them the power to combat the powers of evil in this lower level of the universe. This water was considered to be of the highest order by the people of this village.

Such a firm belief in the power of the sanghyang is not always shared by those beyond this village. This is particularly true for those from the higher classes of Balinese society, the Brahmans and the Satrias. A Brahman friend who lived in the next village told me he would never attend this ritual. Unlike the people of the village who classified the sanghyang as dewa, he classified them at a lower level, as half dewa and half *roh* (ancestor spirit). He believed that the only acceptable way for a Brahman and some Satria to gain spiritual strength and protection from evil forces was for them to attain, through study and meditation, a gradual understanding of oneself and one's relation to Siwa. His aim is to gain gradual spiritual advancement by this method. He believes that to invoke with the community a lesser deity, such as the sanghyang dedara and the sanghyang dedari, who possess the bodies of two Sudra girls and to worship these spirits and ask for healing water and protection from sickness from them is the easy way to gain inferior protection. He sees it as being the way for those of inferior intellect, for those of Sudra class whose religious knowledge is limited and who are therefore unable to follow his method of personal spiritual advancement, with the ultimate goal of uniting one's soul with that of Siwa.

From this brief discussion it can be seen that the ritual illustrates the Balinese view of the cosmos. It emphasises the division which the Balinese make between the upper level occupied by the deities (the macrocosmos) and the lower level occupied by the spirits of the dead, by man and by the demons (the microcosmos). It illustrates the hierarchical order which exists at both levels and the communication which is possible between these two levels, between man and the deities and demons. The ritual uses songs, prayers, drama and many natural symbols to describe this ideal order.

APPENDIX I.

Song No.1 IN THE TEMPLE

- 1) *kembang jenar*
Like fragrant flowers,
mengundang dedari agung
We invite thee heavenly spirits,
dane becik becik undang
Oh beautiful ones, we call thee,
ni Superaba Tunjung Biru.
Superaba and Tunjung Biru.
- 2) *Tunjung Biru*
Tunjung Biru,
mengerangsuk meanggo-anggo
Already ornamented and robed
menyalukin baju mase
Puts on her golden jacket
melecat miber magagana.
And quickly leaves, soaring, gliding.
- 3) *magagana*
Gliding upwards
mengiluk ngaja ngaja kanginan
And circling, flying onward to the North East,
jalan dedari metanggun jero
Along the path to the heavenly home,
tamane bek misi sekar.
To its garden filled with flowers.
- 4) *sekar emas*
Golden flowers,
sandingin pudak anggerek geringsing
Pandanus buds, delicate orchids,
tiga kancu mana soli sempol
Tiga kancu, pineapple, soli sempol,
kedapane malalepe.
And tender young leaves unfolding.
- 5) *malalepe*
Unfolding,
mekebiyur ketaman sari
Their sweet perfume wafting through the garden,
lamun nudus kadewatan
When the smoking incense reaches heaven,
turun dedari kenderan.
Then the heavenly spirits descend.

Song No. 2

IN THE TEMPLE

becikang dewa becikang

Oh High Spirits, beautify yourselves

parekan menunas ica

Your servants humbly beseech you

mengaturin dewa mepayas

Oh High Spirits, adorn yourselves now

ngerangsuk raja busana.

Put on the special regalia.

Song No. 3

IN THE TEMPLE

gelung ya gelung agung

Crown, oh glorious crown

mabelengkar disekar tanjung

Encircled with tanjung blossoms,

maganitri magaruda unkur

Adorned with earrings and the garuda

ya sekar sempol ya menyunarin

With shimmering white sempol blossoms

ya sandat-sandat gubah anggen susun.

And sandat flowers arranged between.

Song No. 4

IN THE TEMPLE AND IN THE VILLAGE PAVILION

Dewa ayu metangi dewa metangi

Oh High Spirits arise, High Spirits arise,

juru ya kidung rauh

The leading singer has come

mengambelang

To arrange the music

mengending sanghyang.

For the High Spirits.

Song No. 5

IN THE VILLAGE PAVILION

- 1) *mebakti dewa mebakti dewa*
Worship high spirits, Worship high spirits,
mengarepin sanggar agung
Before the throne of the great God
tutugang dewa
Worship there High Spirits,
dewa ping telu.
High Spirits, worship three times.
- 2) *mengadeg dewa mengadeg*
Stand up High Spirits, stand up,
mengambil sibuh kencana
Take the holy water pots
medaging tirta hening
Filled with pure water
yeh empul sudha mala.
Gathered from five sources.

Song No. 6

IN THE VILLAGE PAVILION

- 1) *sekar jepun ya anggitana*
Frangipani flowers arranged
ratna maduri putih
With red ratna, white maduri,
teleng petak tunjung biru
Purple teleng, blue water lily,
ya ambil-ambil tirta sanggar agung.
High Spirits take the holy water from the Great
God's throne.
- 2) *tirta hening asibuh masa*
The holy water in the coconut pots
toya-toya pemastu
Holy water which protects,
pekaryan sakeng-sakeng suwarga
Its power created in heaven,
ya ketis-ketisin ragane dewa.
High Spirits sprinkle it over your bodies.
- 3) *wus meketis ya mantuk*
Sprinkle it and then go home
maring Indra kila angin
To heaven, to Indra Kila,
tarik urunganiya
The wind blows, the spirits leave
ya walu-waluya dadi manusa.
And only the human forms remain.

Song No. 7
IN THE VILLAGE PAVILION

Umantuk dewa umantuk
Go home High Spirits, go home,
menga-mengarepin sanggar agung
Worship before the Great God's throne,
malih a-we-ngi
For only one night
idewa turun kauntap
Then return High Spirits to heaven,
apang idewa gelis mantuk
High Spirits leave quickly,
mantuk idewa katuran budal.
High Spirits we ask you to go home.

APPENDIX II.

SUMMARY OF THE CALON ARANG STORY

The Calon Arang story is a legend set in the kingdom of Erlangga, who ruled over East Java in the twelfth century. The legend tells the story of a widow, Calon Arang, who lives in the village of Girah far from the city of Daha, the capital of King Erlangga's kingdom. She has an only daughter, Ratna Menggali, who is unmarried because of her mother's reputation for practising black magic. Calon Arang is angry at this rejection of her daughter and goes to the graveyard with her book of incantations. She then prays to the Goddess Berawi (the form assumed by Durga as the Goddess who presides over the graveyard). Calon Arang is accompanied by six pupils. They worship the goddess and dance in the graveyard in the hope that the Goddess will descend. The Goddess appears and dances with them. Calon Arang asks her permission to bring illness to the country. The Goddess gives her permission but forbids Calon Arang to curse the capital city. Calon Arang and her pupils celebrate this day by dancing in the graveyard and at midnight go to the crossroads to dance, accompanied by cymbals and a kettle drum.

The sickness strikes and becomes increasingly prevalent. Dead bodies pile up along the roadside, in the rice fields and in the houses. King Erlangga is told of this serious situation by his Prime Minister and orders his army to the village of Girah to kill Calon Arang. The soldiers find her house and three of them enter it. She is asleep, one seizes her by the hair and draws his sword, but just as he is about to strike her his arms become paralysed. She awakens, flames spout from her eyes, nose, mouth, ears and vulva and the soldiers flee in terror back to Daha to tell the King.

Calon Arang is extremely angry about this attack by King Erlangga's soldiers. She summons her pupils and takes her book of incantations to the graveyard. She spends the night there discussing the situation with her pupils. They decide to continue their acts of destruction and Calon Arang orders them to practise dancing. She whispers spells and then sends a pupil to each of the four corners of the Kingdom - north, south, east and west to continue making black magic and spreading the illness. Calon Arang remains in the centre with two of her pupils, Wakcirsa and Mahisawadana. Again, Calon Arang calls on the Goddess Berawi, offering prayers and human sacrifice. Her pupils dance with their hair freshly shampooed in the blood of the victim and garlanded with its entrails. The body is offered to the Goddess, who then gives Calon Arang permission to spread the illness to the capital city. Calon Arang and her pupils then travel throughout Erlangga's Kingdom demanding warm blood and fresh human meat from the villagers. They cause many deaths.

Meanwhile, Erlangga is very disturbed, but being an intelligent and wise King he goes to his family temple to meditate and to give offerings to Siwa and to seek advice. However, the God does not descend. Erlangga then calls an assembly of all the twice-born and priests, both Siwaite and Buddhist, to his court and asks them to consider his suggestion. The King believes that as Calon Arang's power is that of black magic given to her by the Goddess Berawi and produced by incantations having supernatural power, so she must be fought on these grounds. The priests agree and go to the temple. They burn much incense and recite many mantras. Eventually, Siwa descends. The God declares that only a priest called Empu Bharada has sufficient knowledge to counter the magic of Calon Arang.

Erlangga then sends his messenger to Lemah Tulis to ask Empu Bharada for his help. Empu Bharada decides to send his pupil Empu Bahula to Girah to marry Ratna Menggali, Calon Arang's daughter. The marriage takes place, but afterwards Calon Arang continues to practise black magic in the graveyard at night. Empu Bahula asks Ratna Menggali where her mother goes each night. She tells him that she goes to the graveyard to practise black magic and to create the illness which is so widespread. He asks Ratna Menggali how she does it and is told that Calon Arang has a book of incantations which she takes with her everywhere. Then Empu Bahula tells Ratna Menggali that he would like to see Calon Arang's book and Ratna Menggali agrees to fetch it when her mother is asleep. She gets the book and gives it to Empu Bahula who immediately takes it to Empu Bharada at

Lemah Tulis. Empu Bharada reads it and finds that it tells of the path of good behaviour, of attaining supernatural power by good means, to bring gains to mankind, but that if it is used in the wrong way, that is, if it is read from left to right instead of from right to left, it can create black magic. Calon Arang had misused the book in this way. The book is returned to the woman and Empu Bharada begins to travel through the land, reversing the evil created by Calon Arang. Eventually, he reaches the village of Girah and confronts Calon Arang in the graveyard. Each demonstrates their power, Empu Bharada bringing the dead back to life and Calon Arang transforming herself into her most powerful form as Rangda. Finally, Calon Arang asks Empu Bharada for redemption. He declares she must be exorcised first and he then purifies her soul before burning her body.

This is an abbreviated version of part of the story taken from the translation into Dutch by R. Poerbatjaraka (see footnote*). In fact, the segment performed at the sanghyang ritual is only concerned with the early part of the story. It describes the actions of Calon Arang and her pupils and the results of Calon Arang's black magic. It also describes the concern of King Erlangga and the attack made on Calon Arang by the King's soldiers. It does not describe the actions of Empu Bharada. The dalang and all the pemangku of the village believe that by performing only this segment of the story, any practitioners of black magic who may be present in the audience will cease this practice when they see, acted out before them, the horrible results of black magic. It is a cautionary tale.

* R. Poerbatjaraka, *De Calon Arang*, Taal, Land En Volkenkunde, Deel LXXXII, 1926.