INSTITUTE OF RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY
STATE UNIVERSITY GRONINGEN

ICONOGRAPHY OF RELIGIONS
EDITED BY
Th. P. van Baaren, L. P. van den Bosch, L. Leerduwer, F. Leemhuis
and H. Buning (Secretary)

SUPPLEMENT I

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1980

DRAWINGS
OF
BALINESE SORCERY

PUBLISHED WITH A COMMENTARY BY

C. HOOYKAAS

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1980
FOREWORD

Since 1970, when the first fascicle in the series Iconography of Religions was published, there has been an increasing interest in this field of research. Historians of religion have come to realize the importance of iconic sources for a more complete account of religious culture. The expressions of religious thought and action in architecture, carving, sculptural and pictorial art, as well as in ritual and drama, are of no less value to our understanding than oral information and documents. Iconic materials of religious nature are not to be considered as only a biblia pauperum; very often, they reveal the central issues of a religion on a level of great subtlety and complexity.

Therefore, Iconography of Religions, planned to offer an encyclopaedic survey in the tradition of Hans Hans' Bildnatius der Religiongeschichte, cannot cover the whole field of study. Its scope does not encompass theoretical and comparative aspects, nor detailed regional and thematic problems.

In the near future, Visible Religion, Yearbook for the Iconography of Religions (H. G. Kippenberg, L. P. Van den Bosch and L. Leertouwer, Editors, E. J. Brill, Leiden, Publisher) will provide an opportunity for publication of short studies and articles on these themes.

The Supplements to Iconography of Religions, however, will not appear as a regular series; occasionally, monographs which either for their size or for their special subject go beyond the limits set for the series as well as for the Yearbook, will be published as supplements.

This first volume is the last work of the late Professor C. Hooykaas, whose death in 1979 bereaved the history of religions of one of its most dedicated specialists. The Editors wish to express their sincere thanks to H. I. R. Hinzer, who, having co-operated with the author in the preparation of the manuscript, at his request accepted the difficult and laborious task of making the text ready for the press.

The Editors
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword ......................................................... v
Bibliography on Balinese Religion and Magic .................. ix
Abbreviations used .............................................. xi
Orthography ..................................................... xiii
The Sources of this Book ....................................... xiii

Introduction ..................................................... 1

I. GODS AND DEVILS, MEN AND MEANS

1. The priest's 'indestructibles', i.e. syllables and letters ........................................... 16
2. Various priests; their utensils, mental-s and mudra-s .................................................. 20
3. AKU (me), stronger than any god or devil .............................................................. 23
4. The help received from the four elder 'siblings' ......................................................... 27
5. Pungu, a means of bewitching enemies ..................................................................... 32
6. Pungu, a means of winning popularity ......................................................................... 38
7. To win respect, obedience, submission, fear ............................................................. 41
8. To win sympathy, tenderness, love, infatuation ......................................................... 45
9. Benevolent gods and powers, their 'weapons' or emblems ......................................... 52
10. The gods with their inevitable retainers ...................................................................... 55
11. The evil creatures at whom white magic is directed ................................................ 59
12. The wrong family, date of birth, position of house ...................................................... 62

II. KEEPING WATCH; CHANGE AND DEFENCE

13. Pucang, the art of clearing the sky ............................................................................. 66
14. Pungu, the art of making wind and rain .................................................................... 70
15. Panacea: means to encompass any aim ..................................................................... 75
16. The desire for offspring; difficulties at birth and after .............................................. 79
17. Smallpox, the once most dreaded disease of all ....................................................... 85
18. Magical medicine, mainly for adults ......................................................................... 90
19. Escape (lapot) and resistance (gah) thanks to amulets ............................................. 96
20. Protection of the realm, the residence, and the home ............................................... 105
21. Guardians (pangkuis/panganar) for body, life, and soul ........................................... 109
22. Guardians for courtyard, granary, and stable ......................................................... 117
23. Active neutralisers, who keep enemies away called pahuni, pamanak, pandah, pangunah ................................................................. 121
24. Further magic operations, in alphabetical order: pamanah, pandah, pamanak, panganub, pangunah ......................................................... 127
25. Paralysis, pasinger, panyah, pasinger ................................................................. 133
26. Amulets against aing, angker, blaste-kali, karang, iik, mpelan .................................. 142
27. Tumal giring (illness), satu (enemy), teku (mice) .................................................... 147

[VII]
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

28. Tulak (reverser) of ala, bahai, bhapa, dengen, desti or lek ........................................... 152
29. Tuluk (reverser) of giring and grubug, guna, desti or lek ........................................... 159
30. Tulak (reverser) of sarwa-sensapa, sato, tonggo ......................................................... 167
31. Tuluk Tapa/trinlip lava.learning: tulak tupa-lah-truhga .................................................. 170
32. Reversal of evil: pamalak sampah, pang-udh-udh ......................................................... 177
33. Mean of attack: pasikiper, pasivrep, susahak ............................................................... 181
34. Death dealt to dusia (rogues) and maling (thieves) ..................................................... 188
35. Death from pangsilen and basuwan (decay and devastation) .................................... 192
36. Death from furer kinds of left-hand sorcery: acep-acep-un, pan[d]ejatian/pangplehak, pangiwa .......................................................... 197

Alphabetical list of Balinese Mantra and their fields of Operation ................................. 203

## BIBLIOGRAPHY ON BALINESE RELIGION AND MAGIC

1921. Angelino, P. de Kat: 'De Leuk op Bali', TBG 60, 1921, 1-44.
1933. Bosch, Dr. F. D. K., Bali en de Zending, Djawa 13, 1-39.
1953. Goris, D. R. (text) and Drohome, Mrs. P. L. (Photography), Bali, arts and Customs, Jakarta.
1986. id., Bali-sara, the Way to Gott of a Balinese Sisa-priest, Amsterdam.
1977. id., 'The Dunkuh as a Balinese Priest, a sociological problem', The South East Asian Review 51, Bodh Gaya.
1978. id., The Balinese Pem Reuh, an introduction to Magic, the Hague.
1955. id., 'A Journey into the Realm of Death', BKII 111.
1956. id., 'The Balinese Realm of Death', BKII 112.
1956. id., 'The Rainbow in Ancient Indonesian Religion', BKII 112.
1957. id., 'A White Stone under a Nagara-stone', BKII 113.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1922. Kleen, Tyra de, Madura’s op Bali, Handhounding der Priester: Tekst van P. de Kat Angelino; ’s Gravenhage.
1923. id., Mubus auf Bali, Hagen im Westen und Darmstadt.
1924. Kleen, Tyra de, Mubus, the ritual handshakes of the Buddhists priests and the Shiva priests of Bali, with an introduction by A. J. D. Campbell, London and New York.
1925. Kraemer, Dr. H., Repliek op ’Bali en de Zendings’, Djama 13, 40-77.
1967. Raghuvira, Prof. Dr., Siva-samyacca (a classical Indian Compendium of high ideals), I.A.I.C.
1957. Sharada Rani, Sādhanā, an Old Javanese didactic Text, I.A.I.C.
1961. id., Wadisakti, a Sanskrit text on ascetic discipline with Kanni exegesis, I.A.I.C.
1975. Soewarto Santoso, Satuama, a study in Javanese Wargayana, I.A.I.C.
1956. Stutterheim, Dr. W. F., Studies in Indonesian Archaeology (with list of his works in English, French, and German), The Hague.

Sudarshana Devi, Wīhara-pattana, an Old Javanese philosophical text, Ph. D. thesis Utrecht, I.A.I.C.

1958. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, Ganapati-sattva, an Old Javanese philosophical text, I.A.I.C.

1962. id., Tatukipana and Mahakipana (two Kawi philosophical texts), I.A.I.C.


1986. id., Introduction (pp. 1-76) to Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual [1], The Hague.


1932. id., Der Tempel auf Bali, Stuttgart. [reprint 1956].


1958. id., Studien zur Geschichte des Śivasismus II, I.A.I.C.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

BKI = Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, edited by the Koninklijk Instituut (in Dutch).

b = bottom of the page.
c = centre of the page.
I.A.I.C. = International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, India.

KRBNW = Konst Balinese-Nederlandsch Woordenboek door Dr. H. N. van der Toek, Landsdrukkerij, Batavia, 1897-1912.

1 = left (side of the page).
m = middle (of the page).
ms. = manuscripts.

r = right (side of the page).

RIMA = ‘Review of Indonesian and Malay Affairs, publ. by the Dept. of I & M Studies, the Univ. of Sydney, etc.

1 = top (of the page).

TBI = Tijdschrift van het Balinese Gesenacht etc.

ORTHOGRAPHY

With regard to the spelling of the Balinese words and those Old Javanese ones which are common in Balinese the following rules have been observed. The spelling is as much as possible that of modern Balinese, except for the use of ć for the palatal c and ćh. With regard to the a definite distinction is made: s represents the shwa ("moot", e, as in top), ě represents the short e (as in doli); and ě represents the long e (as in ged).

Those Old Javanese words which were not regarded by the author as having been borrowed by Balinese follow the spelling of Old Javanese. However, no distinction has been made between long and short vowels, as this practice is hardly applicable to the Old Javanese found in Bali.

The spelling of Sanskrit words has also been adapted to modern Balinese orthography, as far as these words are part of the common vocabulary. Thus Sanskrit bhūta-yadnya becomes bhūta-yaḍnya. The three Sanskrit sibilants are all written as s (Siwa, Watau, etc.). Only when a Sanskrit word is used with reference to its Indian background is the original Sanskrit romanization maintained (e.g. ilīpa-līṭma).

H. I. R. Hinzler
THE SOURCES OF THIS BOOK

Three or four fine-pen drawings come from a collection made by Professor V. E. Korn, the well-known Bailologist, who bequeathed his books and other material to the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Stationsplein 10, Leiden.

A considerable contribution is due originally to the Kirya Lisfranc-Van der Tuuk (now Kirya) Foundation [for written and printed cultural documentation of Bali and Lombok], Singaraja, Bali. Before the Pacific War my helpers made typewritten copies for me. One copy remained at the Kirya, one was given to the Bali Dénpasar Museum, one to the Java-Instituut at Jogjakarta, one to what is now the Perpustakaan Pusat, Jakarta, and one to the University Library of Leiden. The letter K stands for this group of copies.

Observing that Balinese manuscripts were being lost in an age when they found a ready market with countless tourists, in 1971 I launched a new scheme for copying by typewriter, details of which can be found in Archipel, Paris, 1973, 33-41, and more recently in Spectrum, Essays presented to Sutan Tadik Alijahana on his 70th birthday, Dian Raksas, Jakarta, 1978, 213-214. Copies of these 'Z-Mss.' are likewise available in the Kirya and at Leiden, but also in Berlin (Preussische Staatsbibliothek), London (the British Library, v/o the British Museum), New York (Cornell University), and Sydney (University Library). To this 'Z-Collection,' and in particular to the valuable and constant help of my friend I Gusti Ngurah Kuti Sangka, of Puri Gdè, Krambitan (Tabanan) I am indebted for the majority of the illustrations in this book.

Since the number of places of availability is as restricted as the number of those conversant with Balinese writings, I have thought it better to restrict the source references to a scientific minimum. In the following list of the 36 sections the numbers of the manuscripts have been given, but not the lemper, or palm-leaf, since the writings are as a rule short and the illustrations thus easily found. New sections begin on new lines numbered 1-36. Then come the page numbers followed by a colon, the K and Z numbers, and a vertical stroke before the next page. Where the K or Z category is continued over the Section, no K or Z letter is repeated.

2. [21]: K 965-1621 / [22]: Z 1001.
4. [28]: Z 2-919 / [29]: Z 1286 / [30]: Z 1286 / [31]: K 1355.
5. [32]: Z 2173 / [33]: Z 2177 / [34]: Z 2171-2173 / [35]: Z 2173 / [36]: Z 2173 / [37]: Z 2173.
6. [38]: Z 1456-1766 / [39]: Z 2074-2171-2173 / [40]: Z 996-1216.
10. [55]: Z 1877 / [56]: Z 1877 / [57]: K 1350 / [58]: K 1588.
11. [59]: Z 568 / [60]: Z 568 / [61]: K 47-304 Z 1286.
12. [63]: Z 1373 / [64]: Z 1373.

[XIII]
INTRODUCTION

This book does not concern itself with the close relations between religion and magic, which have been covered by so many competent authors. It concentrates on magic, as a universal human effort to procure safety, love, welfare, victory, etc. by enlisting supernatural forces against facts of nature and of man. My reasons for compiling it may be headdled under eight distinct heads, like the first eight 'directions' so important in Balinese thinking:

1. Though the formal aspects of Balinese religion are getting better and better known, the same cannot be said of the complementary magical aspects.

2. Magic has a visible and important place in every Balinese household.

3. The literary aspect of magic has been dealt with only partially and one-sidedly.

4. The Balinese has been portrayed as a witch-doctor rather than a magician.

5. Balinese plastic art is well-known, but the black-and-white graphic art is known only imperfectly.

6. The recent book of Berthier and Sweeney, 'Bali, l'art de la magic' is charming but not exhaustive.

7. It is hoped that publication of Balinese material will be a challenge to research workers in other parts of Indonesia.

8. Comparison may enable us to distinguish aboriginal from Hindu elements more fully.

The Balinese directions do not stop at eight but go on to ten, and eleven. Let the author too add a ninth, or nova-saga, reason to his list, namely the immense pleasure he takes in this material, drawn with so much greater care than the Balinese literary material on which he has worked, with interruptions, for the best part of forty years.

In the following pages these points will be elaborated as far as necessary. Next will follow an explanation how the task and its fulfillment have been seen, the difficulties that have been met with and the solutions offered in trying to do as much justice to my readers as to the subject. I much regret that in trying to explain the drawings I have only too often had to fall back on the 'playful minds' and 'inexhaustible fancies' of the Balinese.

1. Though the formal aspects of Balinese religion are getting better and better known, the same cannot be said of the complementary magical aspects.

The fact that Bali represents the only surviving relic of the pre-Muslim Hindu civilization, which during some ten centuries penetrated the most densely populated part of Indonesia, at an early stage attracted the attention of students to the island.

C. Lekkerkerker (1920) dealt with the literature up to the end of 1919. But his book today would be difficult to get hold of. For religion and magic Dr. R. Goria is helpful. But his article 'Overzicht over de belangrijkste literatuur betreffende de cultuur van Bali over het tijdvak 1920-1935' ('Comopspectus of the most important literature on the culture of Bali during the period 1920-1935'), in Mededelingen van de Krijna Liefrink-van der Tisk, 5, Singaradja-Solo 1937, pp. 15-44, would again be difficult to find and is moreover 40 years
INTRODUCTION

out of date. So it did seem time for a new bibliography, however incomplete, dealing mainly with religion and magic.

I am aware that my own work is that of a historian, even to some extent of an ar-
chaeologist, whereas in any real account of Balinese religion the emphasis must be on
intelligent participation. Patient excavation and scrupling of texts, followed by their com-
parison and restoration so as to give a written account of them, may produce something of
scholarly significance and fundamental value. But real insight and understanding can be
expected only from those who are able to participate completely, to evaluate from a
distance and describe their experiences.

In addition to internal feelings, the external means of approach to their gods available to
the Balinese have three elements: mantra, madu, and yadnya, or formulas, hand and finger
postures, and offerings. Quite recently a first book on The Art of the Balinese Offering has
appeared from Stuart Fox and may stimulate research in this attractive and almost totally
neglected field. There is one side of Balinese magic about which we are well informed by
the collaborative work of Tyra de Kleen and De Kat Angelino, the meaningful gestures
practised mainly by brahman priests, the padanda. For those conversant with Buddhist
sculptures and the meaning of their hand postures it is not difficult to understand the
entirely magical character of the madu. It is only necessary to go carefully through the
Buddhist daily ritual to realize that when the officiating priest has provoked a dangerous
state of affairs by calling up the harmful spirits he brings them under control by a hand
pass with his double wajra. An ultimate weapon is to stick out the tongue, jilam, in San-
skrit prajñālīha, as illustrated in a Balinese ritual handbook (my BBB, l, p. 31, with oral
accompaniment). In daily practice this expressive gesture is now a thing of the past, as I
found to my regret.

Apart from the critical moments of supreme effort in withstanding the hostile forces, in
conquering and annihilating them, the whole padanda ritual is a concatenation of magical
procedures. In the introductory sections of my books on the daily worship of the padanda
Siwa and the padanda Buddhas I have devoted a few pages to a sketch of the methods used
by the officiating priest to dispatch the unfavourable forces. He then situates them on his own body, first materially then magically purified, and in this way becomes able to serve as a receptacle for Siwa, the god of the sun, or of Buddha. This acquired divinity enables him to prepare the holy waters craved by the Balinese for preventive and curative uses.

What we have been discussing then is the cult of the gods and the magical preparation of
only two kinds of holy water, taya pangkalan for exorcism and taya pahreohan for cleansing.
The Balinese religion is now called Agama Hindu Bali, Balinese Hinduism, but until recent-
ly called itself Agama Tirtha, religion of holy water(s). Rightly so, for in the course of the
very elaborate and absorbing labours of the brahman priest to 'ship' a dead person's soul
over to the hereafter, he uses further kinds of holy water. One has to be prepared secretly
soon after midnight, a second takes its name from having to be thrown lengthwise over the
corpse (or whatever represents it) just before incineration. The decisive and final water is
the taya pongglenta, the 'water for shipping over'. Here we are bound to be reminded of the
ships for transporting the souls of the dead known from drawings and statues of several
Indonesian islands where there is otherwise no tradition of Hindu influence. It is all these
waters which during pita-yadnya, the cult of the dead, perform the magical act of reshaping

INTRODUCTION

the imperfect soul of a frail human being into an (imperfect) state of divinity—a most
laborious and supreme act of magic.

Then there is bhuta-yadnya, the tendance of the evil spirits, that is, the symbolic or
magical process of invoking them as the inevitable followers of the benevolent gods, of
giving them their share, of contributing to their expenses on the journey home and inviting
them to stay there quietly henceforth, each in his own quarters according to the Direc-
tions. There are several different grades of bhuta-yadnya according to need. One of them
witnessed when a village was feeling very uneasy after a case of suicide. Seated
many metres lower than a padanda preparing the holy water, a snggala, or exercising priest,
was officiating, unhindered and probably even helped by the loud noises which his assistants
elicited from his cult instruments, conch, hand-drum, and nine-bell shaker (de Kleen).
Pieces of bamboo were continually exploded, a gong (ganola) was not playing a tune but
making as much noise as possible to frighten the bhuta-kala. First, however, they had been
regaled with liquor, thrown on the ground as a libation, or with blood, for cockfights had
been held. Since this was still thought insufficient, a man dressed in black with a red head-
scarf appeared. In one hand he grasped the hind legs of a medium-sized piglet, in the other
he held a large sharp knife with which he decapitated the animal and let its blood flow to
the ground. Earlier cockfights had been organized for the same purpose.

This was only a minor, limited act of magic, aimed at the pacification of local or
regional evil spirits. The highest possible in this field is the Kshe-dasa-Rudra ritual, aimed at
the supreme spirit of evil, in the eight directions, with the nadir, zenith, and centre, eleven
in all. Grader (170) and my BBB (second part) deal with this huge ceremony, as perform-
ed in 1963, and reputedly only once a century, with the aim of purifying the entire com-
munity of Bali. Besides an abundance of symbolic and magical proceedings such as I have
described, an unbelievable number and variety of animals were sacrificed under the eyes
of the Buddhist priest. The victims were informed in advance of the improved conditions
which awaited them in their next rebirth, as human beings, that is. It is very regrettable
that no author was present to describe this act of magic. It took many months of prepara-
tion and at its conclusion congregated thousands of believers and plane-loads of guests and
tourists on one hectare of temple precinct, the whole being followed by devastating
volcanic eruptions of the very mountain on whose slopes this spectacular, perhaps un-
precedented, act of magic was laid out. In 1978/79 this ritual was repeated, this time
observed by a competent researcher.

The preceding sections have made clear, I hope, how inseparable magic is from
Balinese religion, and how essential a part of it it is in the general understanding. The
reader must take it from me that extraordinarily little has been written on bhuta-yadnya,
though the absence of material is difficult to establish.

2. Magic has a visible and important place in every Balinese household.

Rather than 'in every Balinese household' perhaps we might better say 'in the daily life
of every Balinese girl and wife'. When a Balinese young man takes an Indonesian bride
from Java, her unacquainted fingers have first of all to be taught to handle offerings
with appropriate gestures. Every day she must prepare the grains of rice and petals of
chosen flowers for the gods, to invoke and appease them, to satisfy the demons and keep
INTRODUCTION

they at a distance. At meal times we must be aware of the four ‘elder siblings’ who are every person’s companions from birth until death and after, that is, until the soul has definitely been shipped across (cf. my CaG). They are easily satisfied, one or two grains of rice being sufficient to secure their cooperation and protection, a simple act of worship. A person may then feel safe, but not if they are ignored, for then they take revenge.

The household shrines must have its share of attention, as must the gate giving access to the courtyard. Those who live near a cross-roads do well to lay their tokens of worship, some rice grains, a petal on a leaf, on the ground beside it, to prevent disasters. Kala, the god of time and evil, and the lesser kala’s habitually haunt mankind, though luckily at definite times and places. The preferred places are cross-roads and deserted courtyards, the times are the moments of noon and sunset and throughout the night. You should avoid leaving home at these moments, or if you cannot, take a talisman with you to counter-magic. In Dutch, ‘to take your friends with you’ means to take some money. In Bali the phrase pengizi abak, ‘what to wrap in your loincloth’, means the talisman. It is the name also of a piece of writing containing scores of them. Though young children wear only a tiny medallion containing a small dried piece of their umbilical cord to protect them, no young mother will neglect the small offerings and auspicious objects necessary for the welfare of her baby, to be placed in a graceful hanging tray above its usual sleeping place. For her they are ‘the means’, pakasak, which again is also that of a piece of writing in which dozens of them are assembled. For us they are charms, magic, and counter-magic.

This introductory section was incidental to our main subject of study, which must be the manusa-yadnya, the ritual procedures to be followed for a person’s welfare from before birth until marriage, preferably by the brahman priest. (The elaborate and absorbing rituals for the dead, which are of such overwhelming importance for the Balinese, belong to a separate group, the pada-rupya). For the dieu-yadnya and bhuta-yadnya, as we have seen in the preceding sections, the corresponding texts and descriptions of rituals have been made accessible. But of the manusa-yadnya, despite its attractiveness owing to the youth of those who are its centre of attention and the unexpected and bizarre actions performed for their well-being, hardly any description was available before that of Jeanne Cuisinier, 1965.

Beginning with the seventh month of pregnancy, Mme Cuisinier witnessed the gift to the expectant mother of a sort of conical inverted basket containing an oil which could easily escape by the hole underneath—a suggestive and playful symbol designed magically to influence the forthcoming confinement. An evening devoted to the recital and paraphrase of an ancient improving text, organized by her husband in the woman’s presence, was not, I realized, directed, like the previous rite, so much to the welfare of the mother-to-be as to her husband’s aim of implanting and promoting in the child yet unborn a literary career. It was the husband himself who provided Dr. Weck with manuscripts on magical healing and helped the new Faculty of Arts read and interpret its lenar palm leaves.

Some years later, when the child reached school age, the father will doubtless have taken it to a padaqda to have its tongue inscribed with the syllabic sign OM, a compound of A (Brahma), U (Wiwaha), and AM (Jiwana), the apex of all force and wisdom. The instrument would have been a blade of lalang, the prairie grass used to wreath the padaqda’s head during the ceremony and also the vessel containing holy water, as a sign of their purity and devotion to ged. The ‘ink’ with which the sign was inscribed on the tongue would have been madhu, honey, the most valued element in the madhuvaka offering which so frequently occurs in padaqda rites. Comment would be superfluous!

Some of the numerous manusa-s and drawings used to alleviate pregnancy and ease birth-giving will be shown on p. 79-84.

On the fifth day of a baby’s life its umbilical cord, if not yet severed, will be so, for this is a favourable day. After drying it is then put in a small silver locket to be worn an amulet by the child. Seven days later a second favourable day occurs and is the occasion of elaborate offerings, each of the numbers 5 and 7 being the number of days in one kind of week. An even bigger occasion is the arrival of the 92nd day (5 x 7 + 7 = 42) of the baby’s life. The parents being more concerned with the passage of weeks than of years ensure its celebration with appropriate spectacle. If it is a boy aockered is assigned to him as a companion, if a girl a young hen. Both are denoted by the word cholog, ‘stealing’, for they should have been stolen from under a mother hen, and also from their rightful owners. The element of thieving is known also in Javanese folklore but authors disagree about the magical significance of the poultry themselves. There is no doubt, however, that when bamboo is exploded here too it is to frighten off evil spirits. (In Tabanan they have a bajang cholog, but that is rather different.)

Jeanne Cuisinier makes no mention of puppets, which are perhaps confined to the Tabanan kabapati. There in a ritual witnessed more than once in Krambati they are manipulated in some way near running water and subsequently left to float or ‘drown’. Such rites and playful ceremonies differ from place to place. No parent, however, ought to neglect the 105th day (3 x 5 x 7), on which the baby’s feet should touch solid earth for the first time. The principal celebrations of this rite in Bali were found, however, in feudal circles. The Satria Balu describes how a royal baby from Kalimantan on such an occasion was required to put its foot on the head of a living man, of a dead man, of a live water buffalo, of a dead water buffalo, and finally on iron before setting it on the ground.

The magical sequence prescribed for a child destined to be a ruler is as easily understood as the single observance recorded from Bali, where a child this time (twice as old (210 days = 6 x 5 x 7 or one stonen) has its hand guided to a vessel full of water containing an object of gold, in the hope that by catching hold of it will it one day become rich.

Another ceremony is harder to understand. Here neither the baby’s own mother nor father are allowed to handle it. It is taken onto her lap by a young girl who still has her first teeth, seated over a hole in the ground on a stone. Over their heads a basket is moved up and down three times. The explanation given was that the ceremony signified the first contact of the baby with Sang Hyang Perthiwi, the Goddess Earth.

No explanation could be given by the participants and I myself have none to suggest for a third stonen ceremony, this time involving two puppets, called Malipa and Malipi. As the endings show, they are male and female. Both about one metre in height, Malipa has a penis as thick as an arm and a profusion of ‘pubic hair’ made from palm leaf husks, and Malipi equally conspicuous female attributes. In Krambati they were frequently observed not only during the six ‘month’ celebration but at that of three ‘months’, always beside a running stream, and must certainly have had magical significance.

Of other picturesque magical practices associated with manusa-yadnya I mention last the tooth-filing. This rite of puberty, frequently postponed because of the cost of the offerings,
INTRODUCTION

is commonly explained by the Balinese as ensuring that a young man, not benefitting from this operation in his present life, will be provided at his next rebirth with the fangs characteristic of an evil spirit, a bhuta.

From these examples we see not only how magical practices dominate everyday life but also the importance attributed to the different cycles or periods of days. Moreover, each individual day, in the year of 210 days, has its own character and significance, and a person during the whole of his or her life is made aware of the fate of having been born on a bad or a good day. For one action or another there are favourable and unfavourable days, the magical effects of which have to be counteracted in the second case by offerings to the malevolent forces.

The Western mind sometimes has difficulty in distinguishing whether a ritual procedure is magical, symbolic, or simply play. When a person is to be rid of impurity and resulting misfortune, some grains of rice are pasted on to the bare breast and there speedily devoured by a chicken or duck held by a priest or his assistant and addressed by him as 'Garuda' (the bird-vehicle of the god Wisnu). Less pleasant is the frequent spectacle of a priest in his struggle with the evil powers that have caused or may cause a road accident tearing off first the head of a live pullet and then one by one its legs and wings.

But these are only a few of the sights which a Balinese is used to from early childhood and will himself initiate, partly because he does not want to stand out from his environment by ignoring them, partly because he wants to show that he can afford the expense, or does not want to be a spoil-sport, or likes to show off his hospitality if that is involved, or because he thinks 'you never know', or last but not least because he believes in the magic with which Balinese life is saturated.

It is only fair to conclude this section with a reminder of the ritual of initiation where the syllable OM is written on the tongue of a child starting school, or the ceremony of pungdepan performed on J. Ensink (1967) and written up by him, recalling Korn’s description (1928) of the consecration of a brahman priest. Such examples assure us that magic in Bali is in most of its aspects a serious affair.

3. The literary aspects of magic in Bali have been dealt with only partially and one-sidedly.

The ceremonies performed by brahman priests, the temple priest, the exorcist, and the dalang, or ‘puppeteer’, so far as they have been made accessible in text and translation, have been shown to contain extensive magical elements. It cannot be denied that all the different rituals, for the living and the dead, form an important part of Balinese writings. Moreover, not all the priests have yet been dealt with here. Neither the balian, for instance, nor the once very important dukuh, or hermit, have yet received sufficient notice. Moreover ritual is not the only occasion for the use and application of mantra-s.

The Balinese poem Baser deals with black magic and its elimination through the services of an old balian, 'witch-doctor'. The poem mentions a score of mantra-s by name but the poet must have thought it superfluous to give any further details, just as it is enough for us to say 'the alphabet' without further specification of its individual letters. That is my first point: any Balinese reading or singing the Basar, hearing it recited or seeing it staged, would understand the captions. He would know the words of the corresponding mantra, vaguely if not with total recall, and the results to be expected from them.

INTRODUCTION

But I, not having grown up in that society, had to look them up. As I had in my study transcriptions of the majority of the Kirtiya Manuscripts and all those of the Z collection, this was possible. I went through 1517 of my Kirtiya Manuscripts and found that 410 of them, that is 27.7 per cent, consisted wholly or partly of mantra-s. The counting was not maintained with the Z manuscripts, though their content may have even more folklore characteristics, so that it may be safely asserted that some thirty per cent of Balinese manuscripts contain mantra-s or consist exclusively of magical material.

4. The balian has been portrayed as a witch-doctor rather than a magician.

Weck (1937, 1976) has dealt with the medical aspects of the witch-doctor’s function and as we might expect from a doctor of medicine emphasized his treatments of bodily ills. There is no census to tell us the number of practising balia-s, but to judge from the number of different usada-s (medical handbooks) in the K and Z collections, the Balinese manuscripts they must be numerous. The usada général ('big' usada) is a general handbook. Otherwise each usada usually deals with a specialized topic: the usada babai contains prescriptions against these invisible and horrible little creatures; others deal with skin diseases (ia sukuh dadi), smallpox (kuchacher), horses (kudu), children (lori), goitre, menak (child-bearing), misadha (ill-will), children again (mesekanda), rice-growing (pari / sawah), internal ailments (parbhabu), symptoms (patuh), children again (patah and nor), eruptions (nastun), ‘three kinds of essentials’ (ari), all kinds of animals (varna adat), the babai again (sawah), ricefields again (sawah), children again (sawah), poisons (Siwa wa-m / parba), general medication (para). Many, such as the usada pungung tawa, consist only of mantra-s; the usada tantri lists mantra-s introduced by the story of the Tantri (cf. my 1929 work), so does the usaha usada Tantri (usaha preceding pasepengen, pagambuhan, and here usada means 'the mantra-s one should know before practising wayang, gambuh, 'medicine').

There are further usada-s concerned with ‘calamities’ (tatempan or tawatawang), symptomatology again (tagenger = 'tokens'), ‘disaster’ (tawang, gout (ajuh), the adult (tudu), poisons again (ajuh), and 'the murmerings of the supreme doctor, the god Wisnu. Then there is a 'complete' handbook (usada tegg), while usada teg is another variant of the usaha usada, of which there are many—for instance the Kaliususada = 'the great medicine of the goddess Kali'. Weck used no less than 256 different medical manuscripts with a great variety of names.

These numberless writings found in the possession of balia-s and padanda-s have at least three characteristics in common: a) they use more generally intelligible language than is found in other Balinese technical works; b) they aim at the elimination of sickness and suffering; c) of the means they recommend a preponderant when not exclusive role is assigned to mantra-s. The usada, of which Weck as a private hobby collected 256 in a few years, are hitherto almost unexplored storehouses of mantra-s and magic. Some at least of the illustrations of this book were found among them.

5. Balinese sculpture is well-known, but the black-and-white graphic art is known only imperfectly.

At Balinese cross-roads there are frequently statues of the dreaded goddess Durga. They must have an apotropaic function at these danger-points. Entrances to temples are pro-
INTRODUCTION

tested, and adorned, with guardian monsters, no doubt with the idea that they are the best defence against like monsters. All these statues no doubt have a magical purpose. It would nowadays be misconceived to think of statues in temples as cult accessories or objects of worship. That is a thing of the past.

There are many colourful paintings of Brahma-Wisma-Siwa and Agni-Indra-Rudra-Yama, to mention only the most frequent. It looks as if less attention has been paid to the black-and-white drawings on ordinary sheets of paper or those, necessarily minute, on the narrow native lontar palm leaf. The Royal Institute for Philology, Geography, and Ethnology in Leiden has a considerable collection of Balinese children’s drawings which seem to have remained unnoticed, but the museum of Indonesian material culture, Nusantara, in Delft, organised an exhibition of them in the spring 1979.

On going through my Kirya copies in search of Bawor-matra-s I was made aware of the large number of miniscule lontar drawings reproduced there. And when I continued my search in the Z copies I found a number of larger-scale drawings. In some cases this may have been due to the fact that the original was a manuscript on paper, in others that the manuscript in which it occurred allowed the copist to scale his drawing up to paper size, in others again that the copist did this deliberately. So far as I could check, the drawings had not always gained by their enlargement, though the original seemed in each case to have been meticulously followed. It is my privilege in this book to present, I think for the first time, specimens of these magical drawings on a larger scale than that of the palm leaf.

I am thus enabled not only to contribute to our knowledge of Balinese magic but also to fill a gap in our knowledge of Balinese practical draughtsmanship.

6. The recent book 'Bali, l’Art de la Magie' is charming but not exhaustive.

This book was published at the end of 1976 by Marie-Thérèse Berthier and John Thomas Sweeney at FVMJ Voyages, Paris. The authors lay no claim to academic qualifications. But they are deeply interested and in all seriousness have done their best. Their task was enormous, to cope with several languages (Indonesian, Balinese, Javanese, Sanskrit), several different kinds of priest, their own limited knowledge and its errors. The result is an eminently readable, attractively illustrated, well balanced and well indexed book, based on the combined information of two competent native informants, five lontar manuscripts, and about the same number of Western books. From the lontar books they borrowed the charming small-scale drawings on the margins of more than thirty of their own pages. The authors confess that they started with a minimum of experience of the languages involved. They were thus able only to reproduce faithfully the mistakes together with the correct information from their helpers, whom, moreover, they may sometimes have misunderstood. Their useful and attractive book is not a codex to swear by but an indispensable introduction, incomparably more many-sided than my Bawor, which I myself subtitled 'An Introduction to Balinese Magic'. Their book makes it possible for me to concentrate on the drawings found in the K and Z collections (for Z, cf. Archipel 6, 1973, pp. 33-41). And as the authors in their enthusiasm conceived a passion for the Balinese notions of favourable and unfavourable days and the corresponding series of drawings in the lontar books, they have excused me from including more than a page of them and enabled me to aim at representing the different aims, motives, and means of Balinese magic.
revisit Bali, and thinks himself excused from doing so. On the other hand he has at his disposal material found only in two other places on earth, the library of Leiden University and the library of the Krtya of Singaraja. Having considerably more drawings available than he can find room for in this book he feels himself justified on both moral and scholarly grounds in compiling it.

The ideal situation of course would be to develop a relation of confidence and friendship with one or more witch-doctors, practitioners of white and black sorcery, to learn from them, and perhaps be initiated in their profession. The authors of the charming French book had the best of introductions, spent considerable time and effort on their work, but cannot tell of any instance of healing they witnessed nor of exorcist practices though they took care to visit a man of this profession.

I do not expect that a Balinese man will be disposed to take a non-Balinese as his disciple. For such a study a Balinese student will have to submit himself to the discipline of a witch-doctor, a course of learning in which the practical ability should be of more importance than blood relationship. Medicine and witchcraft handbooks never cease to assure their readers that the divulging of their mantra-s will make them ineffective. Yet this has never prevented their being copied over and over again. They are only 'forbidden', 'sacred', 'holy' for those unwilling or unable to master the difficulties of the languages concerned.

How to arrange the abundant material? I cannot deny that for a short while I made enquiries about the methods which a social anthropologist would use. The results did not satisfy me, and I was encouraged by the words of my compatriot J. van Baal. In his introduction to Mannen in het Draagert by S. Hylkema, O.F.M. (1974) he writes: 'I consider it a privilege to be allowed to introduce this book. Not because it is the work of an author who has given a good account of a culture despite his lack of training in cultural anthropology, but because the non-professional, in this case a missionary, has in certain respects surpassed the professional.'

Though I ask myself in what other professions and disciplines such wonders can be wrought, so long as no indignant outcry or refutation from this profession has reached me, I feel secure in the protection of Van Baal and develop my own system. The division into black and white magic is too simple. A division into three, defined by motive, i.e. 'well-being', 'protection from danger', 'safeguard against enemy attack', though workable, is still too comprehensive. Fortunately the Balinese themselves in their constant preoccupation with magic and the innumerable purposes for which it is used have a considerable array of terms. Most of them are word formations of the noun *agents* type; e.g. 'procurer', 'aggresor', 'guardian', 'watchman', 'soothsayer', 'defender', for which the Balinese language uses the prefix *pa-*, sometimes appearing as *pan-, pan-*, or even *pi-. I made a list of them containing nearly five hundred different words. Some are preservative, as *panungen*, *pangnokoa*, 'guardian', 'watchman', others with a 'cancelling' function, as *pandawar*, *panak*, 'neutralizer', 'paralyser'. A greater display of force is indicated by *panulak*, 'one who throws back', and still greater by *panulik* and *pangnilk-uh*, 'one who causes an action to recoil on its initiator'.

As is only to be expected, a majority of the five hundred words are synonymous with one or more of the rest. Even so, the variety of strictly different categories is considerable. Taking at random, in alphabetical order, ten of the most frequent, we have 'anony', 'bewilder', 'damage', 'frustrate', 'hurt', 'kill', 'neutralize', 'poison', 'scourge', 'wound'.

INTRODUCTION

A further complication is that hardly a single drawing is confined to one object. Nearly all have multiple aims. One drawing may cure a man's own suffering but also end an enemy's life, another inspires love but also fear. The most frequent are those to promote recovery from illness and security from those who threaten our life or possessions. There are several, however, with six or even seven objects, which can be given no other name but *panasa*.

An author has to keep a watchful eye on his material, the knowledge and patience of his readers, and the limits set by his publisher. The objects of the texts and their frequency in the list quickly suggested the threefold division I have mentioned, but it soon became obvious that subdivisions were required and the number of headings quickly increased. In my final arrangement I have put them in the order of the Latin alphabet. The fact that so many of the *nomina agentis* begin with *pa-* suggested the inclusion, with more regard to spelling than etymology, of the categories *panasa*, *paraisa*, and *paunak*.

A few observations are needed to conclude this introduction.

The forces of evil, fortunately, are often unintelligible and move in straight lines. Hence they can be expected to pass directly through the gate leading to an inhabited courtyard. Thus to keep them out it is sufficient to erect an *aling-aling*, or wall parallel with the road outside, one metre inside the gate, to keep them out of the courtyard, since after passing straight through the gate they are dashed to pieces harmlessly against the wall.

Without exception Balinese books begin with the words *Om, awangnam astu*—'May there be no hindrance'. Like the *aling-aling* this line, immediately at the entrance of book or manuscript, has the purpose of averting from the contents all damaging influences. It is magic.

When Dr. P. Voorhoeve published his *Batak Manuscripts*, being Part I of the Catalogue of Indonesian MSS, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, 1975, he was able to announce on the first page that 'the subjects of the texts in the bark books are divination, magic, and medicine'. The Balinese in the course of a thousand years of familiarity with the art of writing have developed a many-sided literature. When the collection of palm-leaf manuscripts in Singaraja was founded in 1928, those in charge systematized the nature of the writings to be collected and printed their system in the first issue of *Mededeelingen van de Krtya Liitrich-Van der Tuuk*. On going through its categories and subdivisions we at once find 'medicine', and 'divination' can be recognized under the heading *awang*, but *mantra* and 'magic' are looked for in vain. It would be making too much of it to speak here of a 'difficulty' or a 'problem'. It is enough to observe, as a simple consequence of the statistical observation that some 30 per cent of Balinese writings consist partly or wholly of *mantra-s*, that magic has permeated Balinese culture and literature, 'life, thought, and ritual'. In Bali the Sanskrit words *para* and *astra* have come to mean 'magic' and 'witchcraft'. The Balinese *pahela*, 'instrument', becomes 'magical instrument', and *kaurahan*, 'knowledge', becomes 'magical knowledge'.

The concatenation of subjects appearing in the Table of Contents will, it is hoped, be found acceptable and workable. But it is still awkward in places. In section 26 (the *tumbal*, 'amulet', avoids the much-feared *desir*) drives them away and 29 (mentions them again as *asak*, a word of the common Balinese language. Courtyard and stable find their protection (in 22) and 27). Defence against thieves is offered by 27 (30), and 34. As the captions to the drawings show, they usually serve more than one useful purpose.
INTRODUCTION

More than once again we find the observation: *Nihao tingkah ing mengengang pangua wiyadi panenyang, same juga kramanyang, or ‘this is the method of dealing with left-hand magic and right-hand magic; they are handled in the same way’ (Z. 2027; cf. Illustrations, Z. 1204.4). lest we forget.

One statement should not be overlooked: *Brahmana, kusuma, wiyana - ika weng anganggi [muadra Aji Tantung Mau]; yan wong suhwa, sara weng wiyanggi; misi tulah phalatana (Z. 2027, 10b), i.e. the Tri-Wangsa, the three upper castes, are allowed to use the mantra Aji Tantung Mau, but it is forbidden to suda-sara, on pain of death, as for sacrilege.

Hand-positions, *muadra, are only exceptionally added to the performance of a *muadra, and of these we give a special account among the *padanda’s rituals. Material accessories or appliances, *sara, are frequently mentioned together with ‘drawings’—our present subject. The Pangasa collection, Z. 2027, seems to be the only one in which the sorcerer’s own circumstances are dealt with as relevant.

It is not an easy matter to reproduce Balinese palm-leaf strip drawings in a Western book of such a different shape. A palm-leaf strip (cf. RIMA 9/1, 1975) measures between 35-40mm. and 300-450mm. Most drawings extend horizontally 200-400mm. but there are several vertical drawings. Thus the longer ones are not so easy to reproduce on pages of our size, though an example was set by the British Museum in its production of the Bagus Umbars (London, 1968). I have tried so far as possible to give them true to size, with a small reduction only in exceptional cases.

In the Manuscripts a drawing is often accompanied by the instruction to make it on one of several possible metals, on a water pot, a flying pan, or fruit, or on paper. In this last case the measurements may be repeated to be those of an exercise book, since in Bali the most current size for all mimeographed pamphlets, too, is half foolscap. Dr. V. E. Korn, author of the authoritative work on Balinese customary law, bequeathed more than forty beautiful Balinese drawings to the Royal Institute (above), and they were done on ordinary foolscap account paper, with red and blue vertical lines! Fortunately it was possible to re-draw them perfectly.

Most drawings are of enviable craftsmanship, but high though Bali standards were, we cannot expect every witch-doctor to be an accomplished draughtsman. He has worries about health, safety, vengeance, and so on. The consequence was that proportionately more pages of rust and sometimes rather crude quality had to be included in this book to be representative of the Balinese material.

Small drawings originating from different manuscripts and thus by different hands, from different pens and pencils, with ease of manner or high seriousness, for practical purposes had still to be assembled on one page, governed by a common aim. Sometimes these incongruities could be overcome by the draughtsman of H. I. R. Hinzler, to whom my hearty thanks. In a few other cases there has been no re-designing, and here the author and publisher apologize to those readers who may find them hard to follow. * * *

P.S. Just after finishing this book I happened to find in my own library among the writings collected before the war the following well-informed pages. The author,
INTRODUCTION

only due to a change of facial expression: the face is swollen, the eyes are distended and
glowing with a fixed gaze. They appear only during day-time, exert themselves to stab
their enemies into the stomach with a knife hidden in their hand (nujuk ithak or  iath); 3. their
shape is only to be seen indistinctly, partly visible, partly invisible, often as a shadow-
figure wanting to strangle his victim (trangana). They appear during the day as well as
during the night.

However, the ithak is also capable to harm his enemy by thought-transference only when
need be with the help of a papaungen but without any change of appearance. It may
happen that he wants to attack a person who is a ithak himself. Then there will be a fight, a
battle between the two ithaks, measuring their strength one against the other. During the
fight they feel the ‘stabs’ they are inflicting one upon another and it is said that during the
night these wounds are visible but that they have disappeared the next morning. The one
who has lost the fight, however, will show mortal symptoms (spitting of blood) and is
doomed to death.

There are many descriptions of events related with the appearance of ithak. In-
umerable Balinese report to have seen one and there is a general belief in their existence,
although it is admitted that ailing and nervous people as well as those who are absolutely
convinced of ithaks’ existence see more often such apparitions than sceptics do.

The transformation is quite easy for a trained babar: having concentrated sufficiently
upon the shape of the animal he is going to change into, he is transformed immediately
after the utterance of the proper magical formula, just as this is undone by another
magical charm. The ithak is considered to be a low kind of creature since his food consists of
corpses and everything putrefied. He mistakes foul smell for fragrance and perfume so that
e.g. he takes a dead dog for a ‘cooked mangga fruit’

Formerly the provision of an old law permitted to prosecute the ithaks and to condemn
them to death or exile. Nowadays however the authorities require evidence and as this is
hard to obtain, the belief in ithaks is on the wane.
The supreme god Guru (right) in one of his four arms holds a placard with the words: asigala
atu nama Staaya (may there be no hindrance, homage to Siwa), followed on the second line by: Am
Um Mam Putaka Padth Brahma-Winsu-Laswaa, the 'white book', i.e. 'white' or 'right-hand' magic.
The Devil to the left, also with four arms (so that he may be Kala, the son who escaped Siwa)
handles the Putaka Cemeng, the black book, standing for black, or 'left-hand' magic. The drawing
is accompanied by a text showing that we have the Lessons of Wisdom revealed by the god Rwa-
Bnawla (i.e. the twin 'embelos' or 'kernels' which though divided belong together, like Am-Ah,
Life-Death, Black-White, god-devil).

1. Sakir busii manfi, a supernatural power of great strength.
2. Am-Um-Mam-Om, representing Brahma-Winsu-Siwa invoked by Om.
3. Am-Brahma-world, Um-Winsu-world, Mam-Siwa-world, together Om.
4. The word uralk is here used twice—not ordinary knowledge, but the art of sorcery.
left: The saviour Ganéśa, fortified by letters, to be worn as an amulet.
right: Another drawing of the twin-god Rwa-Bhiméla, as used by the faélie, or witch-doctor.

top: The ‘kings of black magic’, of enormous power.
centre left: To be drawn on an arm, against evil influences.
centre right: To be drawn on the stomach against stomach-trouble.
bottom centre: To be drawn on the foot, against evil influences.
bottom right: To be drawn against mouth trouble.
2. VARIOUS PRIESTS, THEIR UTENSILS, MANTRA-S, AND MUDRA-S

It is the brahman priest whose daily duty is the worship of Siwa or Buddha. For this he prepares the holy water, tiur or tirthe, which plays such an important part in Balinese life. His hand and finger postures, the mudra, at once call for study, and there are hooks to explain their magical functions. The a-bhayas, for instance, induces freedom from fear. From them too we learn of the importance attached to the double aupa, which only a priest of the Buddhist order can operate. By its means, in combination with the simple aupa which surmounts his bell, he acquires the supernatural power of putting to flight the most terrifying devils, which threaten himself and his rites. The exorcist priest, or sanggah, has a number of indispensable helpers who compound a deafening noise from a couch, a complicated set of bells, and a small drum, such as no devil can withstand.

His mantra-s enable the priest to purify himself so completely and absolutely as to be fit to receive the god whom he invokes and indeed; and to compel to descend into him. Priests of other orders, the penangsa or temple priest, the sanggah or exorcist, the balan or witch-doctor, the dalah or ancestor, and the dalang or shadow theatre puppet-master, all as a rule belonging to the fourth caste, also have some share in the brahman’s panoply of magic weapons.

Mantra-s and mudra-s during the past half century have been studied by scholars. Not so the drawings. Perhaps no order of priests is so conversant with them as the balan, and it is his hand or inspiration which has furnished nearly all the drawings in this book. It is evident from Paul Wier’s book on the care for the dead with its many drawings that the ability to write an elegant script and a fine gift of draughtsmanship are an essential part of the highest-ranking Balinese priest’s qualifications for his function. The script, the letters of which are called a-bua, ‘indestructible’, was referred to in the preceding section. Here follow some of the numerous drawings.

The figs. extreme left and right were drawn on shrouds of the pasul group of the pre-Hindu nobility, which has not yet been studied. They are frequently mentioned in connection with the dalah, or ancestor priests, once rather influential but now almost extinct, and make themselves known in more than one publication.

[20]

Human figure: Bangkl Maung, drawing on copper for a dead person; bottom: Ulantre, pinched into a stick of bamboo standing in holy water and cremated together with the corpse to function as guide for the soul.

The snake adorns the shrouds of members of the old feudal groups of balieta and pasul; bottom: a pripah of gold or sandalwood, to contain the tiur pangnetas, or holy water for ‘shipping’ the dead person’s soul over to the desired hereafter from the unwanted here and now.

[21]
2. VARIOUS PRIESTS, THEIR UTENSILS, MANTRA-S, AND MUDRA-S

3. AKU STRONGER THAN ANY GOD OR DEVIL

There is good reason to assemble a number of drawings and mantra-s under this head, which might equally well have been entitled "BOASTING" (the ritual bombast of a hero before a battle or any violent deed). The drawing above is called Sang Hyang Meyes Siluman, "God Unassailable". Whoever pronounces it is promised invisibility during his enterprise. *On sang hyang meyes siluman!*

Thus enterst my body, resides in ME. When I am directly facing my enemy he does not see me, only when I am at a distance does he become aware of me. Wind has taken possession of me, my ghost now is visible, now invisible. Now I can be big, now very small. I have three eyes and four arms [like Siwa]; when I stamp my feet in the Centre, all my enemies are destroyed." (three times).

The offerings prescribed to accompany this powerful mantra are substantial. (Such offerings need special study.)

---

left and right: Aji Kamanang: "My voice of thunder fills the Universe, like the roar of the Ocean, filling with terror whoever hears it".

centre: Maa Kusambung, for use by women: "Suppose that I am God of the Wind clad in the finery of the Goddess Pearl of the World. My appearance is like the Moon. My power is unsurpassable. My splendour and my ornaments appear as puppets of gold and pearls. I am invisible as I fly through the air. I sate on Indra's lap. I drink of the Moon's Potion of Immortality. I mix with the Gods. I sit on a mountain of fragrance and absorb all kinds of sweet scents. Gods love me. Red, white, black, and many-coloured vampires pay ME homage. The whole world is filled by ME. Fire spouts from MY eyes into the spheres. No being that breathes can maintain its breathing."
Left-hand Magic. ‘Lord Siwa-Fire’ consisting of a drawing of Durga, to be made on the graveyard, using an ad for altar of bamboo stalks, killing a ‘red’ chicken, and pronouncing the following mantra:

“When I turn to the East, fire blazes from MY skull. When I turn to the South, fire blazes from MY eyes. When I turn to the West, fire blazes from MY nose. When I turn to the North, fire blazes from MY mouth. When I turn to the Centre, fire blazes from MY body blazing to heaven. When I put on the ornaments of the Goddess Durga, MY flames consist of hearts, MY earrings consist of horns, MY ear-juices consist of spines, MY ornaments consist of eggs. I am accompanied by male and female devils, male and female blue-paics. I go as regard to the earth, rivers are non-existent, streams are non-existent, crows and deers are non-existent, snails are burned.” (three times)

The Supreme Power of Water-Wisnu: ‘I can become a great lake. When I fly to the mountain tops, they see ME as a great mountain. When I stride along the great roads I become a big flood. When I fly over the rice terraces they see ME as a waving sea. Nobody can equal my powers.”

This serves to protect you in battle and against all your enemies.
3. AKU STRONGER THAN ANY GOD OR DEVIL

right: A supremely potent spell, granted by the Padasana of Rangkan, either his own composition or passed on by him. It is Black Magic, called Chandi Kusuma, for use before the domestic shrine. You offer fragrant unguents, fragrant oil, and white flowers. Then you concentrate and recite the following mantra:

[26]

4. THE HELP RECEIVED FROM THE 'FOUR OLDER SIBLINGS'

A Balinese is never alone but is accompanied throughout life by the four ‘concomitants of physical birth’, i.e. the annastic fluid, the blood, the semen causa, and the after-birth. They are called bnaa-raja ‘Four Older Siblings’, though the afterbirth shows by its name that it must have been considered a younger sibling. They are the subject of detailed treatment in my Cenay and Crenam. They help if used with respect, harm if neglected. Their influence extends not only throughout life but up to the final stage of tendance of the dead.

Imagine that I am the Essence of the Yellow Flower; the Eightfold Jewel in MY body, father and mother the sphere, diamonds and pearls together in a small bag, seen all at once (three times), ‘(the) door(s) of my body. I fly to the East. I penetrate the Divine Sun. I appear as fire, one above the other, in eleven tiers. MY flames leap upwards. I circulate in all spheres. I penetrate the three-forked roads. I go to the Great Mountain, there is MY home.

Wisdom of the Divine Three-World: Imagine ME to be the Divine Heaven-World-Underworld. I descend on Chandi Kusuma, MY one foot on the Fanged One, MY other foot on the White Garuda. In front of ME the powerful Snake, with śati-s for my companions. I represent the One God, pacifying the whole world. I am incarnate Brahma-Wisnu-Iswara, functioning as the life of the whole world. Though powerful men do exist, I escape all mishaps and disasters, magic and sorcery, for I am the powerful Threefold Universe, incarnation of Brahma-Wisnu-Iswara. Brahma pacifies śati-s, Wisnu pacifies gods, Iswara pacifies human beings, so that śati-s and dina-s are pacified and love ME, in MY courtyard. May MY mantra be powerful.”

[27]
4. THE HELP RECEIVED FROM THE 'FOUR OLDER SIBLINGS'

Left: When engaging in battle the Four should be invoked, under the titles Anggapati, Mrapati, Banapati, and Banaspati-Raja, and this drawing made, in order to be rightly guided and escape difficulty and disaster. No mantra or offerings are mentioned.

Right: When a man has been robbed of his daughter or his other possessions he should make this drawing and prick out both eyes, both arms, both legs, and the navel. There follows a very long mantra in which the four are placed East, South, West, and North, with the respective colours white, red, yellow, and 'dark'.

[28]

At left, right, top, and bottom, are portrayed respectively Sang Suratma, Sang Jogor-manik, Sang Dorakala, and Sang Mahakala, the figures whom the soul on its way to judgment, and much to its dismay, meets after death in the underworld. Against them the soul should invoke the help of the Four Older Siblings.

[29]
4. THE HELP RECEIVED FROM THE 'FOUR OLDER SIBLINGS'

Two more drawings of the Four Older 'Life-Companions', this time suffering from neglect and closely watching the 'ma', in his state of rage-prana or 'contended mind'.

Magical weapons, partly connected with the Four Older Siblings.
left: The Wisdom of the Bhuta Afterbirth. Drawing on paper to be tucked in the girdle, to promote goodwill, obliteration of ill feeling, affection from others previously ill-disposed, and to turn all poisons to water.

right: Baridapi, to disperse epidemics, to make bhuta and kala of goodwill.

left: Gana, a means to turn all kinds of evil, pests, and plagues to good,
right: Bhagawan Wisma-murti, spell against pests and plagues.
left: Bhagawan Siva-murti, inspirer of love. Those disappointed in love feel encouraged once more after making this drawing on tin and tucking it in their girdle.
right: The one who induces goodwill in kula, kala and all who put compulsion on me. Not to be forgotten are four complete asana offerings and 2707 coins—one less would spell disaster.

left: Love spell for the disappointed lover. Drawn on paper and tucked in the girdle it operates as a proposal of love. On the inside of a coconut shell it has a strongly tranquilizing effect.
right: The god Puntang-Panting, inducer of love; counteracts ills and poisons; procures goodwill of enemies, protects life; amulet of "white iron", i.e. paper.
left: Inducer of goodwill, called ‘True Love’, on paper or tin; promotes good looks, popularity, averts illness and plague; tuck it in the girdle.

right: ‘Demon-from-the-Forest’ (Bhuta king alas Gudak), who helps in winning favour with all; either consume (i.e. drink the water in which the amulets-drawing has lain) or tuck it in the girdle.

[36]

‘Divine Fivefold Illusion’ on ‘white iron’: turns enemies to goodwill and devotion, controls epidemics.

[37]
left: The god Lalat Asih, who inspires the love of those in authority and of enemies.
right: The Goddess Ayu Narawati, who inspires the love of superiors.
6. PANGASIH, A MEANS OF WINNING POPULARITY

*Left:* Love spell Mara-pangageng or Lulut-Asih; on paper or silver.
*Right:* Drawing in combination with long mantra acts as universal love spell.

[40]

7. TO WIN RESPECT, OBEIDENCE, SUBMISSION, FEAR

*Left:* The god Lingga Akasa (Token of the Sky), protective amulet engraved on tin, procuring the respect of ill-doers, the homage of enemies, and popularity everywhere.
*Right:* The god Bajra Bayu, on gold, overcomes the supernatural power of an enemy and procures popularity.

[41]
left: Amulet engraved on copper, to be worn in the girdle by brahmans and princes. Makes diseases loving, bhuta-kala-digam-ba afraid of you; to be accompanied with a short mantra and substantial offerings.

right: The god Urang-Aring (name of a medicinal plant, Pimesia indica Gaud, of the Nettle family), specific against chest complaints, antidote against poison, and deterrent of criminals.

[62]

top left: Drawing of a great killer, requiring a long mantra and other elaborate accompaniments.
bottom left: Another great killer.
bottom centre: Should be above bottom left.
top centre: The goddess Durga, universally feared.
bottom right: Should be below centre.
top right: The Supreme and Only Fear-Inspirer, to be drawn on a new cooking pot, a payak.

[43]
7. TO WIN RESPECT, OBEDIENCE, SUBMISSION, FEAR

8. THE WINNING OF SYMPATHY, TENDERNESS, LOVE, INFATUATION

left: The goddess Ayu Rasih, goddess of love, working love for those who are too tongue-tied to declare themselves. Make the drawing on a suitable betel leaf and eat it to make anyone like you. Engrave it in silver and wear it as an amulet and people will love you tenderly.

right: Guza Ayu Wiefua—she who has supernatural charm. An unusually long menstru exults her power over sky of all colours and directions and her command over supernatural forces (gun) of all directions and regions and the love with which she inspires them.
left and right: Called Surinng Aji Jaran Guyang, love-workers.

Top left: Silver amulet to put fear into your enemies.
Centre (both together): To inspire awe.
Top right: To circumvent your enemies and even put fear into them.
Bottom: Bajra Nara-singha (Man-Lion), to put fear into all forest-dwellers.
8. THE WINNING OF SYMPATHY, TENDERNES, LOVE, INFATUATION

Top left and right: Drawn on copper (silver also permissible) to inspire love and give supernatural force in war.

Top centre: To give protection against evil-speaking; may also be used to inspire love.

Centre left and right: Both love-workers.

Bottom: Both the same.

All these drawings are to procure sympathy and love.
left: Chakra-Taya, to avert or 'reverse' bad or nefarious Ta-s-Taya-tuja, Taya-thuh, Taya-taranjana (cf. p. 170).

right: Chandu-Sakti, a supreme force of good.

The god Chintya Anglayang, the Unfathomable, to be engraved on tin.
The "weapons" or emblems of the gods of the eight directions and the centre. Note that the Balinese put the East, not the North, at the top. A valuable paper on "The Dikpalakas" (protectors of the directions) 'in Ancient Java' by Professor Dr. J. E. van Loonzen de Leeuw in *BKI* III, 1955, pp. 356-385, is very helpful. Her chart VI, pp. 372-373 (from Lombok, colonized by the Balinese) gives us the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Mount</th>
<th>Emblem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Irawan</td>
<td>goh (bull)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Mahākara</td>
<td>singha (lion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>viṣṇu (tiger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>Rudra</td>
<td>aśi (elephant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Mahādeva</td>
<td>gādāra (donkey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW</td>
<td>Śoṅgarasena</td>
<td>mṛnda (ram)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Wisnu</td>
<td>gurudha (sun-eagle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE</td>
<td>Sumbhū</td>
<td>warada (touar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Śiva</td>
<td>pīsaccha (demon)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Our Balinese drawing in the SW has another trident, in the N the chakra, wheel.

Left: Batara Wisnu with Bhuta Ngadu-Ngada (instigator, liar).
Right: Batara Mahadevā following Bhuta Ucīg Basul (a most dangerous individual, cf. my book *The Balinese Pemecah, An Introduction to Magic*).
10. THE GODS WITH THEIR INEVITABLE RETAINERS

Left: Bhatarin Perthawi (Earth) with Bhuta Gadebag (stray dog or worse).
Right: Bhatarin Iswara and Bhuta Tiba Kechen.

[56]

The god Wisnu, who subdues all conceivable vampires and evil creatures.

[57]
The god Brahma, who subdues all conceivable pests and vampires.

[38]

Left: The god Great Fire, with strong apotropaic powers (provided a long mantle is used).
Right: The goddess Durga Wulung (note her indispensable bit of cloth).

[59]
Horse, tiger, huta lima keper and huta mingmung; amang-amang.

Feelings of orientation and location seem to be more strongly developed among the Balinese than with many other Indonesians. To lose the directions is said to be very disagreeable to them. To be wrongly located, as for instance when a brahman priest has his griya between the houses of saba-s or maha-s, or vice versa: when a maha is living between two griya-s, it creates an uneasy situation of kapitan and something has to be done about it.

The day of an undertaking, too, is a thing to be careful about. The day of your birth (out of the 5 × 7 days, the compound of the 5-day and 7-day weeks) must never be forgotten. It may be unfavourable and need magical treatment, especially in the case of young children. The Manuscript from which these drawings are taken bears the title Pandawa One, 'expiation' for the day of birth. Each set of seven week-days has two pages of drawings.

The composition of the family is important for the Balinese. For instance, if five brothers are born consecutively, the gods may regard it as a presumptuous encroachment on the uniqueness of the five Pandawa brothers of the Mahabharata epic. I have found no drawings to illustrate it, however, though obviously propitiatory offerings are needed.

1. Constellation, 'the Hole in the Bush': betokens misfortune and liability to illness.
2. Constellation, 'the Road': betokens ill health in youth, happiness and riches in age.
3. Constellation, 'the Goose on her Eggs': betokens losses and misfortune.
left: Karapa Tree; Jangiang Bird; Shadow Puppet Tidu (with several bad characteristics).
right: Ambula Tree, with unspecified bird; Shadow Puppet Goleng (with a pleasant appearance).

[64]
A clear sky is needed for a performance of the wayang kulit, the shadow theatre, held at night with flat leather puppets, often with magical significance and powers of exorcism. Besides the necessary mantra and ritual accompaniments, a number of drawings are made, some purely zoological, others merely letters, or both combined.

Left: For this drawing a long mantra is needed, invoking Rhatara Yama and describing him as all-powerful in heaven, though also he is usually thought of as the judge of souls in the after-life.

Right: Bina, the middle one of the Pandawa brethren, known for his physical and mystical strength and recognizable by his long nail.

Each of these drawings, accompanied by its short mantra, promises a clear sky. Either the round one, bottom centre, or the square one, bottom right, are enough on their own.
mp: Singambara, the Flying Lion; each little separate drawing can clear the sky.

Each of these little drawings on its own can help to clear the sky.
Living as they do in the belief that a clear sky can be procured by the making of drawings and the mumbling of mantras, it is only to be expected from an agrarian population like the Balinese that they will use their best magic to provoke the blessing of badly needed rain. The Hindu gods are portrayed with this in view, central figures from the Mahabharata and Ramayana, and fortunately too another set of simpler figures.

left: Bhurara Guru.
right: A Great Snake swallowing the sun.
top left: Earth, Sky, Lake; top right: World-Melter; left centre: Firmament; centre: Sea.
bottom: The god Demung Dodokan, who works in the sea, the earth, the sky, and makes rain.
[72]

left: Toad.
right: Sky god Arna-Hētu. Both these give rain.
[73]
All these nine figures, each in its own way and with the appropriate mantra, make rain.

[74]

The god Gana-Esaka destroys enemies of all kinds, kills any forest-dweller; makes you invincible and proof against illness. To make a drawing of this god is a kind of 'panacea'.

[75]
15. PANACEA: MEANS TO ENCOMPASS ANY AIM

Top left and right: When drawn on the left hand grants any wish.
Bottom left: The god Singha Siluman, in Lion disguise, gives help in love and in calamity.
Bottom right: The same god can grant any wish, an effective 'panacea'.

[76]

15. PANACEA: MEANS TO ENCOMPASS ANY AIM

Left: Durga Srawen, a protection against all weapons and ailments.
Right: Bhuta Ganggo repels evils of all kinds.

[77]
left: The god Tutang Bhawana procures your escape from illnesses, dangers, vampires, poisons, weapons of all kinds.
	right: The god Tuset Jawa repels all illnesses.

In contradistinction to many other drawings, which are not sufficient in themselves but need to be combined with mesta—short or long, objects or offerings to be added, sometimes even dangerous actions like burying something in the village street or in an enemy’s courtyard, these drawings apparently are adequate on their own.

[79]

I have tried to get as much as possible into this title, but do not mention the state of pregnancy intervening between the desire and the birth. What happens ‘AFTER’ birth indeed includes the ‘afterbirth’ as well as infantile ailments. The Balinese have entire treaties on this subject, Ustad Lari, but a few pages seem sufficient here.

left: The goddess Nitiyaya-Samaadihi, whose aid is invoked in pregnancy.
centre: Dharma Pitara, helping a woman with child.
right: Sang Kalu Manusia, helping a woman with child.

[79]
16. THE DESIRE FOR OFFSPRING: DIFFICULTIES AT BIRTH AND AFTER

Any one of these small drawings will ease childbirth.

[80]

Make one of these drawings to speed the appearance of the afterbirth.

[81]
Make one of these drawings to speed the appearance of the afterbirth.
[82]

Drawings to protect the baby in its very earliest stage of life.
[83]
16. THE DESIRE FOR OFFSPRING: DIFFICULTIES AT BIRTH AND AFTER

Top: Drawing to help the birth from a mother who has died before giving birth.
Center: Kala-s and monkeys embracing, to be drawn against a constantly crying baby: scribble against a baby’s vomiting.
Bottom left and right: Medicine against worms in babies.

17. SMALLPOX, THE ONCE MOST DREADED OF ALL DISEASES

Left: Protection against smallpox.
Right: Protection against recurrence of smallpox.
Drawings, individual and in groups, for the cure of the dreaded smallpox.

[86]

Smallpox prevention and cure.

[87]
17. SMALLPOX, THE ONCE MOST DREADED OF ALL DISEASES

Amulet inscribed: "Harmage to the god Taya" to be worn encircling the head against a recurrence of smallpox.

Once again, prevention of smallpox (an often lethal disease).

[88]
18. MAGICAL MEDICINE, MAINLY FOR ADULTS

Durga-Murit (Durga 'the Terrible'), with strong mustas and other magical accompaniments.
[58]

19. MAGICAL MEDICINE, MAINLY FOR ADULTS

Ten drawings to prevent and cure insanity.
[91]
Drawings against different ailments, some to be made on frying-pans.

Drawings against various ailments and diseases.
left: Against snake-bite.
centre top and bottom: Against illness.
right: Taya to help against illness.

Taya-Maya and Taya-Murri, drawings for the domestic shrine.
[95]
19. ESCAPE (LUPUT) AND RESISTANCE (TGUH) THANKS TO AMULETS

Bayu Mulksala-Murri, to be applied at the entrance to the courtyard.
[96]

Top left: The god Bhuta-Astara gives resistance and escape
top right: Escape guaranteed.
Bottom: Guru-Yoni discourages all evil beasts.
[97]
left: Calamities, vampires, weapons kept at a safe distance.
right: A nameless guardian, giving resistance and escape.

left and right: (The god Iswara-Scmar) guarantees resistance and escape.
The god Pama-Wira (Supreme Supernatural Power) offers escape.

The god Gana offers escape from disease and weapons.

The god Champa-Anggod (Flying Unattainable) offers escape from enemies and injuries of all kinds.

The god Danang is an amulet to inspire extra.

The god Daungwa (World-Coverer) offers resistance.
top left: The god Lingga Bhuvana, 'Token of the World', protects against illness.
top centre and top right: To protect the princely court.
bottom: Triple protection of the human body.

Amulets guaranteeing escape from men, enemies, evil-doers, &c.
19. ESCAPE (*LUPUT*) AND RESISTANCE (*TGUH*) THANKS TO AMULETS

*Top left:* The god Kula-Sudana guarantees both resistance and escape, and prevention of illness as well.

*Top right:* Lwara, or Semar, offers resistance and escape.

*Bottom:* Guarantees invulnerability.


Bala Sariku, to be buried in the centre of the village.
left and right: Wisnu-Mayo ("Illusion") for the protection of a capital city.

[106]

left: The god Kswting Bhuwana ("World’s Well-being"), buried in the courtyard, protects the home against any attack.

right: Lingga Bhuwana, "Token of the World", protects a residence against illness of all kinds.

[107]

left: Double figure to be engraved in a silver amulet guards life and residence, averts illness, and guarantees good living provided a long mantra is recited in honour of Kaki Langlang Bhuwana ('Grandfather Swerver on Earth'—a kind of Creator) and Ninii ('Grandmother') Kora Wilaya (?).

right: Amulet drawing on tin for the protection of a residence.

[108]

21. GUARDIANS (PANGRAKSA/PANUNGGU) FOR BODY, LIFE, AND SOUL

The god Sarasijo, protector against all mishap and sorcery. The Sanskrit saras-ja means 'born in ponds' and is a frequently used word for 'lotus.' The drawing, however, shows little affinity with this name.

[109]
21. GUARDIANS (PANGRAKSA/PANUNGU) FOR BODY, LIFE, AND SOUL

*Left:* Ambaranqlayang (suggesting ambaranqang, ‘flying through the sky’, a plausible name).

*Right:* Dukuh (‘anchorite of’). Jumapun, among the most famous of an order of holy men, much sought after in time gone by but today practically extinct (see my paper ‘The Dukuh as a Balinese Priest, a sociological problem’, in *The South East Asian Review* 17, 1976).

*Left:* The god Gana Resi (Holy).

*Right:* An anonymous ‘life-preserver’. [110]
Life-Protectors, that on the left efficacious especially at night.

Four Life-Protectors,
Four Life-Protectors, with the god Pustaka-Sari ('Essence of Writings') centre, the god Jugil Meneh (Cunning?) right, and the god White Tigesana bottom.

left: The god Siwa Sinunggal ('Sole', 'Unique') right: The god Brahma, both protectors.
21. GUARDIANS (PANGRAKSA/PANUNGGU) FOR BODY, LIFE, AND SOUL.

*left:* The god Maya ("Illusion") Kresna.
*right:* The god Mandi-Raksa ("Potent Protector").

22. GUARDIANS FOR COURTYARD, GRANARY, AND STABLE

*left:* Dakuh Sakti (= D. Suméru, the mythical first brahman priest of Bali).
*right:* An anonymous guardian-protector.
left: Aji Pangot, guardian of unirrigated rice fields.
centre: Bhuta Siddha-Pati, guardian of ‘hot’ courtyards.
right: Sang Siddha-Pati, with the same function.

[118]

top left: Protector of courtyard.
bottom left: Protector of rice-barn.
centre and top right: Guardian of Courtyard.
bottom right: The same.

[119]
22. GUARDIANS FOR COURTYARD, GRANARY, AND STABLE

*top left:* Durga Ulung, and
*top right:* Bhuta Kalika (her servant). Both guardians of the courtyard.
*bottom:* Guardians of the courtyard.

[120]

23. ACTIVE NEUTRALIZERS, WHO KEEP ENEMIES AWAY
CALLED PABANTAS, PAMATUH, PAMIAK, PAMUNAH

*left:* Dukuh Sakri, the first bringer of Hinduism to Bali. Reputed to have been the founder of Pura Besakih, the (now national) sanctuary on the slopes of Gunung Agung, the Great (and highest) Mountain of Bali, above which the gods reside.
*centre and right:* Aji Kukul Anggaasti, among the earliest to bring Hinduism to Bali.

[121]
23. ACTIVE NEUTRALIZERS, WHO KEEP ENEMIES AWAY
CALLED PABANTAS, PAMATUN, PAMIAR, PAMUNAH

Neutralizers of all unnatural and supernatural dangers.
[122]

All six of these are supremely skilled in overcoming vampires.
[123]
23. ACTIVE NEUTRALIZERS, WHO KEEP ENEMIES AWAY
CALLED PABANTAS, PAMATUH, PAMIAK, PAMUNAH

left: Settler of quarrels of all kinds.
right: Settler of quarrels between husband and wife.

[124]

Right-Hand Magic; long mantra concerning Aji Krêkkê. On seeing this drawing for the protection of the courtyard, all conceivable gods and devils of whatever name, shape, colour, or direction, will retreat.

[125]
23. ACTIVE NEUTRALIZERS, WHO KEEP ENEMIES AWAY
CALLED PABANTAS, PAMATUH, PAMIAK, PAMUNAH

24. FURTHER MAGIC OPERATIONS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER:
PAMUNGKEM, PAMUOIPUG, PAMURNA, PANGA(N)JUR,
PANGA(J)LENG, PANULAH, PANUNKUL, PANYEDEK
24. FURTHER MAGIC OPERATIONS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER:
PAMUNGKEM, PAMU(G)PUG, PAMURNA, PANGA(N)JUR,
PANG(G)ESENG, PANULAH, PANUNGKUL, PANYENGKER

left: Bhagawan Wianu Jlnem (?), the 'revered' W.J., pamarna ('rectifier') of all ills.
right: The god Nila-Kantha ('Blue-Throat'), against illness, on white cloth.

[130]

The god Nila-Soti (?), on silver. Vampires are refused entry to the courtyard and even destroyed by him.
right: The god Badawang Nalagni, 'Fiery Tortoise'; on tin. His heat can melt iron and even rub-s.

[131]
24. FURTHER MAGIC OPERATIONS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER:
PAMUNGKEM, PAMUJUG, PAMURNIA, PANGAMNUR,
PANGASENG, PANULAH, PANUNKUL, PANYENGKER

left: Raja Panulah ("The Punisher"), panyengkar ("mitigator"), against illness, vampires, rajakshetra-janas (31); an amulet to be tucked in the waist-band.
right: Kala Kudul (South), panungkai, subduer of pests; on white cloth or also paper.

[133]

25. PARALYSIS, PASINGLAR, PAYUK, PIIURUNG

In his Homo Ludens the Leiden Professor of History Johan Huizinga opened our eyes to the play element in culture. I leave it to the reader of this book to decide where in the serious business of vampire-slaying and the rest the play element enters. I have 'playfully' included the Greek word paralysis, with its fallacious pre-prefix, in the title of this section, but I have also included panaan and payuk, which means cooking-pot in Balinese, but is an object frequently provided with a magical drawing, just as a frying-pan.
left: The god Rwa-Bhinindra (twin kernels or embryos, or pole-and-antipole), an amulet to cause paralysis.
right: Anonymous, to dishearten an adversary.

[133]
left: Drawn on tin and buried in a plantation, prevents crop blights.

center: The god Wongkara-Sula, on copper, gives resistance against pests (pasinglar).

right top: The god Brahma T'guh repels enemies, poison, etc. (pasinglar).

right bottom: Averts death and fear if planted in the middle of the road.

[134]

The god Lohangkara averts weapons and vampires (pasinglar).

[135]
Kala Bang Kokah (?), to be drawn on tin, one hand's breadth long, to avert vampires and weapons (pasinglar).

Left and right: Aversion of pests and plagues of all kinds ('panacea') No mantra prescribed, but elaborate accompanying activities to ensure complete success.
All these five drawings bear the caption p(y)n(y)ung, 'frustrator'.

left: Aversion of weapons, pasinglar.

centre: The god Taya Sakala paralyzes enemies and criminals.
	right: Aversion of weapons and ailments of all kinds.

[139]
top left and top right: The god Chintya, the Unfathomable, drawn on a ṭayuk (cooking-pot) to avert unspecified ill.

top centre and bottom: Drawn on a frying-pan, when the oil acquires healing powers.

left: The god Singlar, as an amulet for aversion.

centre: Method of aversion (very frequently just one leg is drawn).

right: Frustrates enemies and confers invulnerability; eliminates mice; aversion magic (pasinglar) against vampires, poisons, etc.
The two final sections of the central and largest part of this book show drawings of tundal amulets, with their captions as in the manuscripts from which they have been chosen. A century ago the KBNW began the entry under 'tundal' in its usual way by referring to the Javanese meaning 'a magical agent (of mishap)' and continuing: 'a dagon, or spirit, conjured up by sorcery to prevent thieves from stealing, in the belief that the tundal is the owner. The thief may be deceived into seeing a wood or a sea instead of the scene of his intended theft.'

The most recent attempt at a Balinese-Indonesian dictionary by a dozen Balinese, B.A.'s among them, gives only: 'object with secret power, as e.g. to protect a courtyard'. The manuscripts from the past, however, are aware of many less homely meanings, terrors of many kinds, things, creatures, situations, so that I have needed two sections for a representative display of drawings.

left-centre-right: These give protection against dus or iik (vampires).

Yama-Raja (cf. AT, Ch. 2), judge in the Other World, in this one tundal kapuk aing, an amulet against the dread kapuk tree, characteristic of graveyards, or other sinister trees, sudden deaths, and 'hot' courtyards.

right: Durga Dedeweng, to scare off supernatural powers of all kinds, aing, angler; to be drawn on paper.
left: When lek-s are amusing a sick person, this tumbal keeps them at a distance if drawn on an after-birth sprinkled with salt, turned around three times anticlockwise and buried in the courtyard.

centre: Anonymously destroyer of lek-s.

eight: Another Tumbal dikhi-bhuta-kala, to be buried in the courtyard (kunang).

left and right: The god Chandu Sakti gives protection against anything sinister.
All these drawings are to protect the irrigation floodbanks in rice fields, the mpelae.

[186]

All these six drawings are to protect against mice (biks) threatening the rice harvest. The top drawing is self-evident; for that centre-left an altar of special bamboo is needed and three-times-three ‘sharp potions’, made of fragrant oil and powder and other delicacies, and to be offered on a klines day, or perhaps also night. The man and the woman are anonymous but the making of the drawing requires the bringing of offerings. The headless quadruped should be drawn on a potsherd and burned at a cross-roads.

[187]
27. TUMBAL GRING (ILLNESS), SATRU (ENEMY), TIKUS (MICE)

*top*: Choose the correct day of the waning moon, take a new water-pot, a *pasyak*, and write on it your enemy’s name together with a drawing of these three *bhuta-kala-demon*, and both you and your courtyard (*tanah*) will be protected.

*bottom centre*: Amulet to protect a courtyard from Durga’s evil influence.

*bottom left and right*: The god Purawali and the god Pudok Samedang, sons of the god Chintya Ning ("Clear Thought"), protect the courtyard.

[148]

*top left*: This drawing protects against serious illness, gring, of different kinds.

*top right*: The god Tulak Maroga, true to his name, "averts illness".

*bottom and centre right*: Remedies against tumours and swellings.

[149]
COUNTER-ATTACK
KILLING THE ENEMY
left: We are indebted to the Revered Churêgan for this 'reverser of heat'.
right: The god Tukurung Bhurwana, 'World Coverer', 'reverses' ill-doers.

[154]

left: Durga Domba reverses vampires and mishaps.
right: The god Tekun (Stick) reverses vampires and sinister creatures and things.

[155]
Top left: Reverser.
Bottom left: Reverser of Desti.
Top centre: The god Urda-Raja, reverser of Desti, to be drawn under the bed.
Right: Sundung Nila Sati, reverser of vampires.

Left: The god Iswara, reverser of pests, mishaps, vampires.
Right: The god Bajrakaya, reverser of Durga, weapons, vampires, poison.
Bottom right: The drawing of this threefold figure is a cure for all ailments.
All averters of děstí or lěak, that at bottom left is called the god Tulah Paliar.

Top: 1. The god Taya, with stick, averts illness (gring) from children. 2. The god Tan Ana (Non-existent) dispels sickness (gring, ngga). 3. ‘reverses’ sickness. 4. ‘specialises’ in children’s ailments.

Bottom left: Reverser of lěak (vampires).

Centre: Three figures.

Right: Reverser of babai.
left: Anonymous.
right: Bhuta Siluman, reverser of grubug, or mishaps, and vampires.

left: The god Gagak Osa reverses mishaps and all kinds of weapons.
right: The god Yama, reverser of illness.
left: Bhuta Kadompol, averter of mishap or anything sinister.
right: Kaputasan Durga Bhairawa reverses mishaps and human wiles.

left: Kaputasan Jaka Tua (‘young-man-old’), in a panoply (shape of horror), overcomes mishaps and pests.
right: Bajra-Kaya in active sorcery (simhavam) against great calamities.
left: The god Lo-Chakra against great calamities.
right: Kala Braja Sindung against great calamities.

[164]

top left: The god Dana Kala Mukha reverses.
bottom left: Vampires of all kinds.
right: This anonymous figure 'sends home' vampires of all kinds.

[165]
29. TULAK (REVERSE) OF GRING AND GRUBUG, GUNA, LÈAK OR DÈSTI

Left: The god Taya reverses illnesses and mishaps.
Right: Kala Natha (Ruler of Kala-s) reverses illnesses, mishaps, vampires,

30. TULAK (REVERSE) OF SARWA-SANJATA, SATRU, TANGGUL

Bottom left: The god Pawana-Bayu ("Wind-Wind"), and
Bottom right: The god Kala Tawang (Sky), and all the other anonymous figures reverse enemies
(satru) and weapons (sanjata) of all kinds (satru).

[102]
left, top right, and bottom right: The god Tulak Tegul (or Tanggul), who reverses dangers and terrors of all kinds; this too is an amulet.

left and right: The god Tulak Tanggul, averter of dangers and terrors of all kinds, is a protector of life; amulets to be worn in the girdle.
The god Taya (centre) on a trident (trisula), (left) on Lawéan (usually a drawing of a headless trunk) with (right) Togog (usually a clownish retainer) underneath; drawn on palm-leaf to avert vampires and all kinds of ill-doers, with an exceptionally long mantra.
left: The god Angga-Sakti-Wiseha (‘body endowed with supernatural force of sorcery’), and right: The god Agni-Mayiya (‘Fire-Illusion’), reverse sorcery of all kinds.

[172]

top: The god Purwa-Mandala averts poison and treats illness brought on by poison.
bottom left: The god Sidaman reverses illness, poison, mishap.
bottom right: This figure reverses poison and vampires.

[173]
left: The god Tulak Tanggul, and
eight: The god Lingga, destroyers of poison.
[174]

The god Angkara-Tėja.  
[175]
Reversal of poison.

Reversal of a curse, to be drawn on the skin of a frog which lives in the rice swamp, then bound up with three coins by a black thread and thrown into the water.
Six 'curse-reversers'.
bottom left: Utara-Jati.
bottom right: The god Nilaspati.
[178]

Two drawings to reverse curses.
[179]
32. REVERSAL OF EVIL: PANAlK SUMPSh, PANG-ULIH-ULIH

All these drawings serve to reverse curses.

33. MEANS OF ATTACK: PASIKEPAN, PASISREP, SUSUHK

The god Padma Dewata, an amulet against illness due to vampires.
33. MEANS OF ATTACK: PASIKEPAN, PASISIREP, SUSUHUK

Pasikepan, amulets. Sikep is a word for weapon and karela sikep are common soldiers, but pasikepan (perhaps originally = armour) now means 'amulet' and even 'artistic quality'.

[181]

left: Angga-Siluman, to make an enemy sleepy (sirep).
right: Amulet.

[183]
left: Amulet against mishap.
right: Amulet against sickness and mishap.

left and right: Angga-Siluman, to make enemies sleepy or cause them to see mountains in place of the scene of an intended burglary.
All five drawings are mundak, ‘fighters of smallpox’.

[186]

Sushak again, fighters of smallpox.

[187]
left: The god Bayu-Bajra-Sakti burns his adversaries to death.

centre and right: Kala Tuwa and Gagendu Tuwa suck an enemy's blood (till he dies).

[100]

Drawings to call up vampires with fatal effect.

[183]
These drawings are fatal to rogues and thieves.
[190]

These drawings kill thieves, kidnappers, and rogues.
[191]
left: Kapituuan I Rarung, everywhere the great conqueror of dina.
centre: These two figures together destroy dark forces in the courtyard.
right: Kaki Giasi destroys evil forces in the courtyard.
35. DEATH FROM PANGALAHAN AND PANIRMAN (DECAY AND DEVASTATION)

Top: Bhuta Bhaksa Bangke, "Corpse-Devourer", a killer and drawn with that aim.
Centre: Two drawings to procure illness and death by fire.
Bottom: Ula-Raja, King of Snakes, devours his victim.

[195]
35. DEATH FROM PANGALAHAN AND PANIRNAN (DECAY AND DEVASTATION)

left, top and bottom: Bhuta devouring a human being.
right: I Sundang Baya, invoked as killer of enemies.

36. DEATH FROM FURTHER KINDS OF LEFT-HAND SORCERY;
ACHEP-ACHEP-AN, PAN(D)ESTIAN/PANGLEAKAN, PANGIWA

left: This elegant figure, pemasangan keputusan Siwa Gendu, 'sorcery by Siwa Gendu', entices victims to be devoured.
centre: The young lady, Sampaian or Selaar Mas, is another figure of black magic.
right: Blang Guyang or Jaran Guyang (cf. 35/1) causes illness and death.

[156]
36. DEATH FROM FURTHER KINDS OF LEFT-HAND SORCERY:
ACHEP-ACHEP-AN, PAN(D)ESTIAN/PANGLEAKAN, PANGIWA

Left: Bhuva Karang Suwung ('Empty Courtyard') means 'left-hand magic'.

Right: Dësi Gni Prakasar/Bajra-Gni/Kula Gni—black magic.

[188]

The menacing powers evoked by black magic against us.

[199]
36. DEATH FROM FURTHER KINDS OF LEFT-HAND SORCERY;
ACHEP-ACHEP-AN, PAN(Ö)STIAN/PANGLEKAN, PANGIWA

left: Ki Jaran Guyang (cf. Blang Guyang, 36/1) causes death.
right: Bhuta Karang Swung (cf. 36/2) and Bhuta Kalika, retainers of Chalon Arang.

36. DEATH FROM FURTHER KINDS OF LEFT-HAND SORCERY;
ACHEP-ACHEP-AN, PAN(Ö)STIAN/PANGLEKAN, PANGIWA

top: Husband and wife snakes, drawn on the sherd of a new pot and buried under a cockpit shrine
with mumu and offerings, ensure victory for your own fighting-cocks.
bottom left: King of Sorcery.
bottom centre: The god Aji Blegedoh burns enemies to death.
bottom right: Figure of another killer.

[200] [201]
ALPHABETICAL LIST OF BALINESE MANTRA AND THEIR FIELDS OF OPERATION

pahaktan (ka payuddhan)  what you take with you (into battle)
to procure a place of uncommon favour
"boundary mark"—an amulet to avert illness, bullets, idat, snakebite
to acquire idat or "life force"
pahangkit
pahantas
pahayon
paherisihan
(c.g. toya/tirtha p.)
pabungkenu
to prepare holy water with purifying force
to close the mouth and thus prevent its biting, prickings, speaking,
stabbing
accompaniment of chana, or chthonic offerings
amulets 'to take with you', i.e. in the girdle to give invulnerability
(name of a ritual) to make the rice good and abundant
people's evil intentions towards you
a means to provoke dislike between husband and wife
anti-miscarriage ritual for a pregnant woman
"pincers"—charm to fasten one's grip on another's force
to pacify links or promote harmony between husband and wife
"hardener"—talisman to increase one's own force and deflect the ill-
will of others
mantra to bend another to one's will and gain his or her sympathy
to make invulnerable
to forestall a renewed and stronger outbreak of illness
"guardian" or "watchman"—to ensure alertness and watchfulness
to render impotent, barren, castrated
mantra to confer influence as yet unspecified
to make invulnerable
to purify, liberate from life-long curse
to correct something wrong, ensuring security and well-being
the chana offering to bhuta-kala, to restore the courtyard to good condition
the milagam (consecration ritual for bringing about or restoring the
good condition of the house
to put (the enemy) to flight
"what has been forbidden" (and takes revenge if ignored)—a small
invisible creature or evil spirit, which some people see in their dreams
a "reverser" or counter-measure; p. nimphak, 'counter-curse', coun-
ter-magic
to heat, or burn away (sc. illness, epidemic, cholera)
to counteract (someone else's magic spell)
to bind (sc. another man's hostile force or influence)
fortifier
= pamanas, cf. above
to lengthen (the penis)
ALPHABETICAL LIST OF BALINESE MANTRA

pamapu (griya, grubug) to counteract illness, epidemic
pamargi journey, trip, to get you started on your way
cleanser, purifier, due to some ritual
pamariashruta to cause separation (between husband and wife or friends), or to expose a dead body in an open grave to sun and rain (i.e. the burial given to one dead smallpox or a woman who has died just before giving birth)
pamayu to say arya, 'to be it', (may be a curse or a blessing)
pamayu (of husband and wife, of datu-s) pacifier, normalizer
pacifier, due to some ritual
pameli to bring or restore happiness and security to courtyard and home
pameli (datu-s) to make a fanous, or elevation, raised platform, regarded as clean and suitable for making offerings
pameli (n kite) destroyer
pameli (n kite) frustrator, averter (essentially the same as pameli)
pameli (n kite) killer
pameli (n kite) to separate (husband and wife, people fighting), to wean (a baby)
operator of (a door); aperture
pameli (n kite) a darkening, obscurity; crisis
pameli (n kite) nurture to promote quick and easy childbirth.
causing deviation (especially pameli Kala = pa-bheyaka-kala, of the Evil One)
frustrator, awe-inspiring
concealer, consecration.
formula of prayers for indulgent defilements and transgressions
make grow; to use pressure on
concentrate or localize evil forces or witchcraft
neutralize (as. lopuje, magic forces)
frustrator, neutralizer
make your offerings enjoyable to gods, devils etc.
to 'cause to enter', i.e. to make to fall into a hole, into water;
'binders,' methods of binding
to 'send home', i.e. to its proper place
neutralizer or destroyer (of daks, of all kinds)‘awakener’ (used of holy water, i.e. to freshen)
‘opener’ (of the way for a baby in a difficult birth)
a means to close someone’s mouth, to prevent it biting, pricking, speaking, stabbing
‘last’, to cause somebody or something to be the last of its kind
to ‘exorcise’ (daks), i.e. to pen him in a cage or enclosure
killer
destroyer

pamarnu(n) rectifier (to convert evil-doer to benefactor)
pamatan restorer (of children who have lost their way or run away)
to accomplish, finalize
pamati to realize, realization
pamahist to make ill
pamahist, to throw off, get rid off (se. disease)
to cause sudden illness, to make someone stupid
pamahist, to cover like a hemisphere
to endow with fans (se. the fire)
to dissolve, neutralize the power (of an enemy, of illness)
to reveal, make visible (e.g. thieves)
soul-extractor—a mantra to make an enemy unconscious
become a diti, dita witch, to bewitch
seek refuge with the gods
name of a ritual for the sake of human kind
fumigate, smoke out (se. the tabia)
to buy off, redeem
to calm someone down
to serve as a support
to ‘cut down at the base’; affirmation; hastening; explanation
to strengthen, fortify
to liquidate, put an end to something
‘right-hand’ (‘white’) magic
nullifier (of the force of bad dreams), harmonizer.
to clear the sky
a means to remove something or someone
enlarge (the penis)
to liquefy
make the (penis) hard and strong
procure forgiveness
procure victory
to cross or thwart
astrological consultation about an auspicious day for an undertaking
stimulant, fortifier (of the voice)
effective means (e.g. ing rau mingi)—to recover a child lost or run away
pangalapak ‘opener (of the door)’ for woman in labour
pangalapak (ing lumaku) to ease or lighten (a departure)
to restrain, (all the waters of the earth)
to ‘shoot the bolt’ (i.e. forestall a miscarriage)
to ‘cause a standstill’ (i.e. prevent a miscarriage)
amulet (to provoke strong affection), in general
a means to placate the god of the domestic sanctuary with a temporary offering pending the complete one which has been promised;
place of such provisional offering until the final one has been prepared
alfphabellar list of-balinese mantra

Panganggur  to provoke rivalry
Pangangur  precursor
Pangangkulan (ring samudra) to "draw to the surface" (i.e. of the sea), a means to remove something
Panganteb (paengchun) to wait (an offering) to the gods—mutu-tala etc.
Pangapamuan to make a kris stick where it is planted; to make the force of a kris blend with that of its bearer
Pangaputun to bring together, collect
Pangaradhan/pangardana to invoke a deity and make it come to you
Pangasih to inspire love in someone
Pangawen to "re-charge" an amulet (restoring its hidden force)
Pangawas to sing praises, invoke
Pangawasana prayer for "stabilization" (of gods, feast in the womb)
Pangawaret to say a mantra, especially the Asta-mana, over an offering
Pangagat to invoke (this personage)
Pangas pump (baya) to harmonize, reconcile, make permanent (of energy)
Pang-as to blend two (things or beings)
Pangawak to embodiment; that which represents a body
Pangawasan to mean to see (things or beings) invisible to the eye
Pangayah to wait (the essence of an offering to the gods—mutu-tala etc.)
Panggek (jagat) to shadow, i.e. protect, (the world)
Panggejakan to catch
Panggeko to "retreat" (for three days before initiation and consecration)
Panggeko (dalas; swara, yeh) to open (a way); to strengthen (the voice); to free (the passage of water). Name of the day after the annual Mepti, when movement on the roads is free once more
Pangemimit to keep watch, to guard
Pangempet to close up, make inaccessible
Pangempu guardian, caretaker
Pangempan to "purify" or annihlate (bodily illness)
Pangesah to bend, i.e. calm, down; to lower from the magical to the ordinary sphere
Pangesut to make visible
Pangesut to "ship over" (a dead soul) from earthly to heavenly life by means of laya pangesut
Pangeng to "solidify", i.e. strengthen a position
Pangeng (ail) to "catch", "bear out" (the heart)
Pangengan incinerator, annihilator
Panggak to obstruct; to torment; to stimulate
Panggec (lare ring jro weteng) to make strong and healthy (the child in the womb)
Panggec (mutah) to cause difficulties (for the enemy)
Panggech to "try to keep at a distance", to thwart
Pangkec to ease or lighten
Panggeuh to fuse the force of the kris with that of its bearer; to make it stick where planted

[(061)]

alfphabellar list of-balinese mantra

Panggiar to attract, enchant, captivate (spectators)
Panggijar to make a child healthy
Panggiar to burn away, annihilate
Panggijar to surround, to pen (the cattle in their stable)
Panggijar to make the mind attentive, to strengthen the mind
Panggijar to keep back entry
Panggijar to prevent a recurrence
Panggijar to prevent entry
Panggijar to annihlate, destroy, kill
Panggijar to avoid, escape, dodge, cause to miss (e.g. bullets)
Panggijar to catch, tear out
Panggijar to absorb the substance of something
Panggijar to give substance to (the spirit of life)
Panggijar to turn left; to practise left-hand, or black, magic
Panggijar to refuse entry
Panggijar to cancellate retail trade
Panggijar to意味ful to the dead soul’s passage from his family and this world to the next
Panggijar to cause pallor or an ill-looking appearance; to cause to fly
Panggijar to net, licefy, annihlate
Panggijar to "apply a method" (to put an enemy to sleep)
Panggijar to set free (the souls of animals sacrificed in a religious ceremony, so that they can reach their destined heaven)
Panggijar to make powerless, to undo (magic)
Panggijar to surround with a fence, protect
Panggijar to purify
Panggijar to weaken, turn upside down (an enemy)
Panggijar to send off
Panggijar to buy off
Panggijar to protect
Panggijar to take counter-measures; to incinerate a dead body with its bones;
Panggijar to make those who have died of smallpox; to purify
Panggijar to a multi-purpose instrument, to complete, finalize
Panggijar to help a person concentrate
Panggijar to invoke a deity and make it come to one
Panggijar to cause to bow down; to stiﬁen with fear; to make a horse go faster
Panggijar a means to prevent pregnancy; to coerve
Panggijar to rob (an enemy of invulnerability); to avert (bullets)
Panggijar to means to acquire control (of another’s body)
Panggijar to destroy, mullitie (of one’s mistaken plans or acts)
Panggijar to means to make someone submische, docile, tractable
Panggijar a means to make something crumblie, crumble

[(07)]
panguhun (swara)  
a means to make (the voice) loud, to make dogs bark
pangumuk  
to make someone speak inwardly
pangunang  
to summon, invite
pangundur  
to dismiss, cause to retreat
pangungkab (swara)  
to open or strengthen the voice
pangupakalan  
to invoke as witness, to call to witness
pangupiman  
to blow into nose and ears and revive
pangureb  
to turn a vessel upside down (with the opening underneath)
pangurip(an)  
to breathe life into
pangurus  
(satu tan kawasa  
mabau kabutan)
to make (an enemy) unable to urinate or defecate; means administered to a surgery patient before an operation to empty his bowels
pangwangsuh  
cleanser, purifier
pangwangu (atma)  
to return the soul to a body which it has temporarily left
pangwiasaan  
magic, sorcery, witchcraft
pani kep  
to capture
paninimal  
substitute, deputy
paningkeb  
to turn upside down; to defend
paninih  
to inspire fear
panrang(an)  
to clear the sky and free it from clouds
panaddhian (ipen ala)  
to purify (the mind of all evil dreams)
panagraha  
to do a favour to
panalab  
to send back to its origin, to reverse
pananun  
to awaken; p. ayeh—to make water flow more freely
pananuning  
to expel
pananunggala(an)  
to unify
pananunggu  
guardian, watchman
pananungkab  
to place a cover over something with its aperture downward; to protect, disguise, mask
pananungkul  
to serve as a banner
panaranan  
subdue: a means to bend someone to one’s will; to console
panawe  
to chase away; to kill
panyadak  
(laré mati di basung)  
to abort a dead foetus
panyahak  
to anticipate the entry of smallpox into a patient’s body and drive it out at once
panyaiden  
to make impure
panyambet  
to bewitch
panyambutan (laré aping)  
to remove (a child’s illness)
panyamput (salatir nging satu)  
to treat and staunch (wounds)
panyasuh (lara ning raga)  
to cleanse (the body of illness)
panyarung (karang)  
to cover or protect the courtyard

[208]

panyawang  
to pray from afar to the god of the domestic shrine
panyengker  
to coerce
panyereg  
to ‘turn the key’ and lock or unlock the door; to ease the way
panyeseh  
to alleviate
panyikay  
to catch with the appropriate implements
panyilapan  
not to put back in its place; to combine
panyishik (sarab)  
to prevent (infantile convulsions)
panyimbah  
to adore
panywahtayan  
to revive completely
panyumpet (bag)  
to narrow (the vulva)
papahsan  
to adorn
papasan  
to adorn or beautify
papasa  
sorcery of any iminical kind
papegar  
‘to cut the tie,’ i.e. to take leave of the dead
papeteng  
to cause darkness
pasasambet  
to hurry somebody and so make him suffer
pasasanthi  
to make strong, potent
pasawakan  
to soften the heart
pasikapan  
annulet, talisman
pasilah  
indemification, medium of exchange
pasinglar  
a means of avoidance
pasiflet  
sprikler—a means to accompany the sprinkling of holy water
pasintel  
soorific—a means to induce sleep with no awakening
pasuchian  
sprikler—a means of prevention
pasuhuk/pasuwok  
to bring charms offerings for someone’s well-being
patahuran  
strengthener, fortifier
pawali (sumph)  
counter-magic; to return a curse
pawedi  
frighener
pawistrén  
to charm girls and women
pawitra  
cleanser
pigdeg  
to generate displeasure or hatred
pigemeng  
I. to charm; II. to disable
piguna  
to charm, to win over men or women, even to their ruin
piharung/piharung  
to frustrate, push aside, exclude
pinulah  
to curse
pinulak  
reverser
pinungkul  
to force to bow down, to conquer
pitali/pitwas  
to inspire tenderness, love, or pity
pivesti  
to terrify
piwurung  
to frustrate, push aside, exclude

[209]