The Sanskrit Inscriptions of Pedjeng: a case study of the utility of Sanskrit epigraphy in the study of Bali's socio-religious history

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ABSTRACT

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Sophia Van Zyle Warshall

Balinese religion—from the medieval period onward—is generally categorized as a mixture of Hinduism, Buddhism and indigenous animism. However, how and to what extent various aspects of these and other traditions were incorporated into Balinese life, as well as how Balinese religion evolved over time, are not well explained. This lack of understanding is due in part to historiographic biases emphasizing the importance of influence from the Indic subcontinent and in part to the socio-political labeling of Bali as the unchanging stronghold of pre-Islamic Indonesian norms.

The Sanskrit inscriptions of Pedjeng were discovered in the early twentieth century by W.F. Stutterheim. This thesis presents partial translations and analyses of a subset of that corpus: two Buddhist *mantras* inscribed on clay plaques encased in small *stūpas* and fragments of two inscriptions carved on stone blocks. Through the case study of these specimens, this thesis argues that further research into the Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali will provide data key to gaining a more complete understanding of Bali's early medieval religious life.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION & HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

Bali is a small island[1] within the Indonesian archipelago. It lies between the island of Java to its west, Lombok to its east, the Bali Sea to its north and the Indian Ocean to its south. Through archaeological, manuscript and ethnographic studies, scholars have shed light on the history of Bali. Many questions still remain unanswered, however, especially in relation to Bali's pre-modern religion. Bali's later-medieval and modern religion—from the advent of the Majapahit Empire at the beginning of the fourteenth century to the present—has attracted significant attention among colonial and modern scholars, but earlier periods have not enjoyed similar attention. My focus is on these earlier times.

This thesis is the first step in a larger research plan to gain a more complete understanding of Bali's medieval religion through the epigraphy. I suggest that much can be learned regarding Bali's religious history by examining its Sanskrit inscriptions. This proposition will be supported by a case study focusing on fragments of Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in the early twentieth century at Pedjeng in southeast Bali which date from approximately the eighth through eleventh centuries CE. By demonstrating the value of Sanskrit inscriptions as a primary source in the study of Bali's medieval religion, this thesis provides a

[1] 5633 square kilometers.

foundation for one vein of the socio-religious analysis of Bali's inscriptional record which I will undertake in the future.

The religion of Bali—particularly of the medieval era—is a frequently discussed but poorly understood phenomenon. It is generally characterized as a mixture of Śaivism, Mahāyāna Buddhism and indigenous animism, taking shape through a period of fundamental cultural redefinition between the third and fourteenth centuries.[2] What exactly this transition entailed, how and why it occurred, and how the resultant religious tradition has since changed, however, are still unsettled issues, sometimes contentious and often oversimplified. In the modern era, Bali's position as a "Hindu" island in predominantly Muslim Indonesia has further given rise to an over-stylized view of Bali's religion as a static preserver of pre-Islamic, Indic norms, discouraging the critical examination of its religious history. This thesis constitutes a preliminary stage of my proposed response to this state of the field and strives to fill what I perceive as a gap in knowledge relating to the complexities of Bali's pre-modern religion.

Medieval Balinese inscriptions are written in three languages: Sanskrit, Old Balinese and Old Javanese. The earliest extant specimen of Balinese epigraphy dates from the eighth or ninth century. Inscriptions prior to the tenth century are predominantly written in Old Balinese, those after in Old Javanese (Creese 1997,

[2] Within the Indonesia context, the period focused upon in this thesis is generally identified as part of the "classical" (or kelasik, in Indonesian) period. This era, stretching from the fourth to the sixteenth centuries, commences with the advent of Indic artistic forms and ends with the establishment of Islam in a position of power in Java and much of Sumatra(Miksic 1980, 43).

3). Sanskrit inscriptions represent a small percentage of Bali's total inscriptional record. The only Balinese Sanskrit inscriptions currently recognized by the wider academic community are those collected by the Dutch scholar, Willem Frederik Stutterheim. He published his findings in two texts: his 1929-1930 book, *Oudheden van Bali* ("Monuments of Bali") and the short 1934 article, "A Newly Discovered Pre-nāgarī Inscription on Bali." The collections of Stutterheim provide us with one bilingual—Sanskrit and Old Balinese—inscription from Sanur on the southern coast of Bali known as the *prasasti blanjong* ("Blanjong Pillar"), and a collection of inscriptions from Pedjeng in southeast Bali, which include: (1) A large trove of small inscribed plaques from within small reliquaries, and (2) three multi-fragment inscriptions on stone blocks. All of these Sanskrit inscriptions date from approximately the eighth through the eleventh centuries; issues of dating will be discussed in more detail in relation to each example.

Minimal research has been done into these Sanskrit inscriptions. What studies do exist provide only tangential commentary on Bali's early medieval religion, instead focusing upon issues of philology, dynastic dating and trade.[3] It is the contention of this thesis that these Sanskrit inscriptions provide an untapped resource for the study of the religious history of Bali. In order to demonstrate this point, in the coming chapters, I will present and analyse my

[3] For example, the work of R. Goris, L.C. Damais and W. F. Stutterheim which will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.

translations of a subset of these Balinese Sanskrit inscriptions, emphasizing the genre of data found therein and its applicability to socio-religious investigation.

To lay the groundwork for this study, I will first present a brief overview of Bali's early history and the major trends in research into Bali's early medieval history. In chapter two, I will present my own methodology, contextualized within a discussion of practices common in the study of the Sanskrit inscriptions of other parts of South and Southeast Asia, and of how those practices may (and may not) be applied to the Balinese case. In chapter three, I will present partial translations of four of the Sanskrit inscriptions found by Stutterheim at Pedjeng, and analyze their socio-religious content. Finally, this thesis will conclude in chapter four with a discussion of this material, demonstrating the usefulness of Sanskrit epigraphy in relation to our understanding of early medieval Balinese religion and the significance of this vein of study within larger socio-political and scholarly fields.

Historical Situation

Long before the medieval period, Indonesia in general and Bali specifically were characterised by sophisticated socio-cultural, political and economic institutions, and were actively involved in international exchange (O'Connor 1972, 14). Rouletted Ware shards found at Sembiran (northern Bali) suggest that Bali participated in exchange through its northern ports with South and

Southeast Asia as early as the final centuries BCE.[4] This active trade participation continued well into the Common Era (H. Ray 1989, 51; Christie 1998, 245).

It is not likely, however, that trade passed in a significant way through Indonesia during the early centuries CE. Much of the trade of this era linked India and China, following a combined land and maritime route, passing largely through the kingdom of Funan (circa the first to fifth centuries CE) in what is presently Vietnam. Around the fifth century, Southeast Asian trade routes began to shift south, using maritime paths to a much higher degree and passing goods through the Straits of Malacca, between the southern part of the Malay Peninsula (modern Singapore) and Sumatra. With this relocation of trade to the seas, island Southeast Asia gained greater economic and political power, with some regions (e.g. Sumatra under Śrīvijaya rulers) displaying religious identifications and characteristics that reflected significant Indian influence (Wolters 1983, 53-54).

One such power was the Śailendra dynasty of Java. This line of kings came to power in the eighth century and is remembered for its support of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is often suggested that Bali was largely influenced by the culture of Java and specifically the Śailendra dynastic culture, particularly from the tenth

[4] It is also interesting to note that excavations at Sembiran provide the earliest extant examples of Indic script in Bali. For further information on the archaeological finds of Bali, see: Ardika and Bellwood (1991), 221-232; Ardika et al. (1993), 101-109; Creese (1997), 3; Lansing et al. (2004), 288, 291; Magee (2010), 1044; Pringle (2004), 37; Supomo (2006), 317.

century onward (Creese 1997, 3).[5] The inscriptions discussed in this thesis date from this era of increased influence from newly-powerful Southeast Asian empires with close trading ties with the larger Asian trading community.

Although Bali was influenced by outside groups during this period, it was an independent political body. From the early tenth century until the end of the eleventh century (or twelfth century depending how one defines dynastic boundaries), it was ruled by the Varmadeva dynasty. The founder of this dynasty, Kesari Varmadeva, is also the first Balinese ruler to be mentioned by name in an inscription, specifically in the p*rasasti blanjong* at Sanur (Pringle 2004, 45-46). Several other figures are known from this dynasty, including a co-ruling couple (Śrī apriyadharmapatnī and Sang Ratu Maruhani Śrī Dharmodayana Varmadeva, more succinctly and specifically as Mahendradattā and Udayana) whose marriage bound Bali further to Java and under whose rule Bali's royal decrees and inscriptions underwent the linguistic transition from Old Balinese to Old Javanese (Briggs 1950, 284-285; Coedès 1911, 403-404; Creese 1997, 3; Pringle 2004, 47). During the ninth to eleventh centuries, Bali's political elite ruled their island independently but held increasingly strong ties to Java. It is also during

[5] Although considerable research has focused on the religious history of Java, Bali's close neighbour, this thesis makes limited use of this material. Partially, this decision is one of practicality. It is not within the scope of this project to take into full account all the potential streams of influence running into and through Bali. Second, although I do recognize the necessity of taking into account the surrounding regions in order to produce a complete image of Bali's religious history, one would need to examine not only Java but also other parts of South and Southeast Asia to properly establish the impact of these multiple cultural centres.

this period that we begin to see evidence of the adoption of Indic norms and forms of expression.[6]

The period surrounding the end of the tenth century was an era of great change within Southeast Asia as a whole, as groups struggled to maintain or gain power within the productive trading networks. In the eleventh century, traders from the Middle East began to gain increased presence in the routes of the Indian Ocean, and the Cōḷa dynasty strove to defend their own position by asserting power over the trade centres of Southeast Asia (Hall 2004, 216). Also, during the eighth through thirteenth centuries, Chinese traders began to take a more active role in the transportation of goods.[7] During this time, Bali seemingly turned its gaze from the north, where its ports of trade faced increasing competition, to the south and its fertile agricultural land, expressing new cultural norms—largely identified as Indian in origin—through various activities within this new socio-political organization (Creese 1997, 3).

Bali enjoyed long-standing, direct contact with people from throughout South and Southeast Asia from the beginning of the Common Era. However, during the early medieval period, this interaction waned, supplanted by indirect

[6] For example, that couple's son, Airlanga, envisioned himself a descent form (avatar) of Viṣṇu, often being depicted in statues and images astride u's eagle mount (Heine-Geldern 1942, 22-23). Similarly, Dharmavaṇśa Tĕguh Anantavikramottuṇgadeva (Airlanga's uncle, the brother of his mother and the previous ruler of much of Java and possibly Bali) is remembered as supporting the translation of excerpts from the Mahābhārata into Old Javanese for the first time (Creese 1997, 4). In the modern era, and it is assumed in previous eras as well, this divine status of rulers was further achieved through the inclusion of gods (e.g. Gaṇeśa) within the royal family tree(Stutterheim as cited by Dowling 1992, 133).

[7] This is discussed in the Chinese "notebooks" (pi-chi). See Wolters (1983), 50.

contact with the outer world through Java. It is during this period, informed by centuries of contact with South and Southeast Asian society but during a time when Bali enjoyed self-rule, that we find the production of the Sanskrit inscriptions discussed in this thesis.

Medieval cultural change in Bali

Looking back at roughly the eighth to the thirteen centuries, many scholars have identified a significant shift in the cultural norms of Bali, often associated with the "adoption of Indian religion and civilization" (Pringle 2004, 41). This shift is generally referred to as Indianization, Sanskritization or Hinduization. This phenomenon is identified in many other areas of South and Southeast Asia, the Balinese case being simply one example of a larger shift of political and cultural organization that was experienced across Southeast Asia from the third to the fourteenth centuries CE (Lansing 1983, 410). As was pointed out by Hermann Kulke, the perceived Indianization of Southeast Asia occurred roughly simultaneously with the appearance of these same cultural norms in the Indic peninsula itself. In other words, what scholars have seen as evidence of the advent or transfer of Indian ideas ("Sanskrit inscriptions, Hindu temples, social stratification and the spread of intensive wet-rice agriculture") to surrounding areas can be seen as the parallel evolution of related ideas across the geographic regions (Kulke 1991, 21; Ali 2011, 7).

This long-standing practice of viewing the cultural norms of Bali as an adopted and slightly modified form of Indian norms, however, has diverted critical investigation away from Bali's medieval religion. Similarities with Indic practices were too often accepted at face value, leading to assumptions of unproven equivalencies as well as the devaluation of local ingenuity. This situation, I argue, has led to subsequent inclinations to view Bali as an untainted and unchanged bastion of pre-Islamic Indonesian religion, assumed to be largely Indian in nature. For example, in modern scholarship, we commonly see statements to the effect of "it [the composite Indian-style religion of medieval Southeast Asia] is still intact among the Balinese … of Bali and Lombok," or describing Balinese as the "inheritors of the traditions of pre-Islamic East Java" (Sanderson 2003-04, 351, 373). This thesis is presented in response to these misconceptions and in support of the idea that further investigation into the epigraphy of Bali may help to correct this view.

In this project, one key challenge is the fact that we hold very little information regarding Balinese culture from before the medieval period. It is difficult to clearly delineate a transition without knowing what the *before* state looked like. In Bali, stone sarcophagi and jars used in human burials have been discovered from 2400 years ago (Atkinson 1983, 685). Comparing these to those found in other parts of Indonesia, it has been argued that these artifacts suggest that during the final centuries BCE, Balinese society was characterized by hierarchical social organization, the primary importance funerary practices, the

veneration of ancestors, and possibly human sacrifice (Pringle 2004, 32-33). Around the beginning of the Common Era, the advent of megalithic structures (generally interpreted as dwelling places for deities or significant ancestors) suggests that Bali was organized politically into chiefdoms, inter-related by family ties. The existence of many large-scale structures dating from the earlier portion of the Common Era (e.g. those at Besakih) imply that these leaders controlled significant numbers of people and amounts of wealth (Lansing 1983, 416).

We see the emergence from this context of new, "Indianized" social systems in the medieval period. Schoenfelder identifies the advent of Indian religion in Bali as commencing around the ninth century CE (Schoenfelder 2004, 399). Indian religion is understood as being tied to particular political formations, the emergence of the *negara* state or "Indic Kingdom." Stephen Lansing describes this process of Indianization as,

> ...when a Southeast Asian adopts a Sanskrit or Pali vocabulary; when he begins to describe himself and his world in the idioms of Hindu/Buddhist thought; when he creates works of art or architecture that express a Hindu/Buddhist worldview, in a style that shows some continuity with the sources of those traditions (Lansing 1983, 410).

Evidence of such a transition is found in the artistic expression of Bali, with the appearance of images depicting traditional Indic narratives produced in Indic artistic styles, (Hobart 1990, 47; Lansing 1983, 411; Lee 1957, 217-222) in the adoption of Indic honorific names by royal figures (Pringle 2004, 46-47), and in

the acceptance of a parallel relationship between microcosmic and macrocosmic levels of reality, mirrored in the organization of political institutions (Heine-Geldern 1942, 16). Kings—holding the right to rule based upon their divine associations—were envisioned as descent forms of Indic deities, Buddhist, Hindu and Jaina (Heine-Geldern 1942, 16; Dowling 1992, 120).

As we sum up Bali's medieval cultural evolution, it is important to note that the process of so-called Indianization did not transform Bali into a miniature India. As Schoenfelder writes, "Only portions of the Indian religious pattern were introduced to Indonesia, and those that made the journey were added to and changed by interactions with other ideas in their new home" (Schoenfelder 2004, 399). For example, although Bali adopted a *varṇa* (there, *warna*) system, a renunciatory tradition and the idea of transmigration, all reminiscent of those found in India, they are not exact replicas thereof (Howe 1991, 446). Similarly, although Indic influence is visible in the legal texts of Indonesia, much is altered (Hooker 1978, 211-213; Creese 2009).

Even if a unified Indic culture could be identified within the remarkable diversity of that subcontinent, no pre-fabricated whole culture was planted in Bali (van Leur 1955, 467). Many scholars have refuted this India-focused view of Balinese history, and we will address this and other scholarly perspectives shortly. What can be said is that by the ninth century, we find evidence (partly in the form of inscriptions) of a new form of social organization in Bali very unlike what little we know of the period prior to the fourth century. This new Bali is

characterized by large-scale kingdoms, led by rulers who use inscriptions, sometimes including Sanskrit language, to aggrandize their power and delineate reciprocal relationships, expressed through religious imagery often derived from Hindu or Buddhist traditions (Schoenfelder 2000, 43).

Why Balinese society changed: literature review

Debates over why Bali (and other parts of Southeast Asia) changed culturally during the medieval period have provided the foundation for much of the socio-historical academic discussions in recent centuries. Theories on the Indianization of Bali have attributed causative influence to three groups: Indian invaders, Indian traders and local Balinese rulers in contact with Indian religious elites (Lansing 1983, 409).

Most contemporary scholars commenting of the topic have fallen in the third category, putting primary emphasis on the active role played by the Balinese themselves. This theory argues that Balinese rulers recognized in Indian culture an opportunity to further their own political goals. They invited *brāh a* advisors and ritual specialists from India to Bali in order to create a ritual framework to bolster their power in the same way as was done by Indian rulers. Among those who take this approach, some have suggested that Indianization was only superficial in that the words and images were adopted for what they could be used to achieve, not as a result of a complete adherence to a new ideology or a fundamental conversion of belief (Christie 1964, 53-62; Mabbett

1977, 144). Others, however, have argued that meaning as well as form were transferred (de Casparis 1990-1992, 29). This theory that changes were the product of the active and informed activity of the Balinese themselves is classically associated with J.C. van Leur (van Leur 1955, 467).

More recently, scholars have often used the concept of syncretism in this context, arguing that by incorporating outside elements, the Balinese produced a hybrid tradition. However, this approach tends to obstruct further investigation, encouraging observers to simply accept that somewhat independent portions of pre-existent traditions coexisted in a kind of patchwork as the dominant features of Bali's medieval religion. What we would wish to know, however, is how precisely the various cultural and religious elements interacted, comingled and reinvented one another, and currently we lack the detailed knowledge necessary to trace these processes.

Some scholars have taken the central role of the Balinese one step further, arguing for the primary formative role of the Balinese themselves, suggesting that Indianization was rather the result of the development of local customs. For example, O.W. Wolters argues that what has been seen as the devotional Hindu practices of *bhakti* in Bali were in fact the maturation of an earlier Balinese emphasis on the worth of powerful or skillful individuals (e.g. in the worship of deceased rulers and ancestors in classical Bali) (Wolters 1999, 9; Ali 2009, 13.) The ornate images of Indic themes can be seen not as an opulent representation of Indic artistic forms, but rather a revival of earlier, Indonesian aesthetic standards

(Wales 1948, 18). In other words, the transition within Balinese culture of the early medieval period can be seen as not the Balinese becoming Indian, but rather as either the informed utilization of foreign forms by elite or the more grass-roots development of previously existent Balinese practices and thought systems.

Another challenge of the theory of a top-down adoption of Indic norms found in many of the theories of Indianization comes from a reconsideration of the advent of wet-rice agriculture in Bali by several scholars, including J. Stephen Lansing (Lansing et al. 2009, 112-133; Lansing 1983) and John Schoenfelder (Schoenfelder 2000, 35). Previously, it was assumed that Bali's famously complex irrigation systems—and the complex social systems that support them—were associated with the imposition of Indic religious and political norms (Lansing 1983, 416). Lansing and his co-researchers, however, have suggested that these systems could have emerged in less than a decade if farmers simply adopted the practices of their more successful neighbours. Thus it is argued that the economic, ritual and political systems of post-Indianized Bali were the result of internal developments, not the product of external impositions, even if the language used to express this new order was borrowed from sources outside Bali (Schoenfelder 2000, 39, Lansing et al. 2009, 112-133, Lansing and Kremer 1993, 97).

The diversity of perspectives on the social history of early medieval Bali is apparent. Some have argued that Bali was transformed by outside agents; others

have suggested that these changes were in fact the result of indigenous actors, elite or common. Most likely, both internal and external factors contributed. Through a more detailed study of Bali's inscription, I believe a more complete understanding of the socio-religious landscape of early medieval Bali can be uncovered, including the multitude of forces at play upon the religious sphere therein.

Previous studies of Pedjeng's Sanskrit inscriptions

Since the start of the twentieth century, beginning with such figures as the Dutch artist W. O. J. Nieuwenkamp, westerners have visited Bali and collected archaeological, epigraphic and literary data (Kempers 1991, 81-83). In 1901, the Dutch established the Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera ("Commission in the Dutch East Indies for Archaeological Research on Java and Madura"). However, it was with this body's successor, the Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië ("Antiquities in the Dutch East Indies")—otherwise known as the Archaeological Service—established in 1913 that Bali began to receive direct attention. Academic leaders in this organization included such names as N.J. Krom, F.D.K. Bosch and P.V. van Stein Callenfels. In 1919, van Stein Callenfels noticed that an earlier work by J.L.A. Brandes suggested the existence of many undiscovered inscriptions and decided to set out to collect as many as possible, resulting by 1921 in the collection of approximately 50 copper-plate inscriptions, half of which

can be found in his 1926 edition, *Epigraphia Balica I* (Kempers 1991, 85). This collection, however, does not include Sanskrit specimens.

Stutterheim, who collected the inscriptions I examine in this thesis, was a member of the Archaeological Service. After receiving a commission from that organization in 1924, Stutterheim dedicated his efforts to finding and recording archaeological data from the Pedjeng Kingdom of southeast Bali, located between the Pakerisan and Petanu rivers. Together with his photographer J.J. de Vink, Stutterheim travelled to Bali three times between 1925 and 1927, collecting a mass of data on the "antiquities" of that island. The results of this study, including the great majority of the known Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali, can be found in *Oudheden van Bali*, published in 1929-30 (Kempers 1991, 83-86). These inscriptions, together with that of Sanur (also discovered by Stutterheim but slightly later, see Stutterheim (1934)) remain the only known Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali.[8]

In 1928, Roelof Goris, the author of a book published in 1926 on the theology of Java and Bali, was sent by the Archaeological Service to Bali to study its religion and to examine the Old Javanese inscriptions and literature (Kempers

[8] This thesis relies upon the transcriptions of the Sanskrit inscriptions published by Stutterheim and subsequently by R. Goris. However, these scholars used a transliteration standard different from that which is currently popular within the wider fields of Sanskrit and South Asian studies (e.g. *w* as opposed to *v*, *ç* as opposed to *ś*). Many works focused on Southeast Asian studies use a transliteration standard closer to that of Stutterheim; however, the texts of these transcriptions in this thesis have been modified to adhere to the most common modern transliteration standard. This choice was made to allow this preliminary study a more general audience. The fundamental meaning – i.e. the underlying Sanskrit characters referenced – has not been modified.

1991, 87). Goris later published a collection of inscriptions, translations and commentary in 1954 under the title, *Prasasti Bali*. Within this work, he included the Sanskrit inscriptions discovered by Stutterheim, simply reprinting the content from Stutterheim's *Oudheden van Bali* with some additional commentary. In 1951, Louis-Charles Damais published an article discussing the Sanskrit inscriptions discovered by Stutterheim, focusing largely upon issues of dating and correcting what he saw as errors in the interpretations of his predecessors (Damais 1951, 121-140).

This is, in outline, the general state of affairs for scholarship on the Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali under investigation in this thesis. This thesis will pick up where these scholars left off, specifically focusing upon what the Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali can say about the religious life of Bali surrounding their creation between the eighth and eleventh centuries.

Conclusion

Bali possesses a longstanding tradition of interactions with surrounding regions of South and Southeast Asia. Within this larger history, the period of the ninth to thirteenth centuries marks a time of cultural, religious, and political changes for Balinese society. Some of these changes seem to reflect parallels with Indian culture, but how, why and the exact nature of these changes remain unclear. Specifically in terms of lived religion, what elements from foreign traditions were adopted, what indigenous elements maintained importance, and

how these various elements related with one another and were altered are still unclear.

This thesis marks a beginning in the response to this bevy of questions and aims to show the possibilities that the inscriptions of Bali offer for such an investigation. This thesis will function as a case study into the Sanskrit epigraphy of Bali. Preliminary translations of segments of the Sanskrit inscriptions will be used to highlight the potential use of these sources in the reconstruction of lived Balinese religion of the medieval period. This project sets the stage for my plan of future research into the wider field of Balinese epigraphy as a means to better understand medieval Balinese culture.

Chapter two will present a discussion of the methodological concerns associated with the use of inscriptions. I will explain why epigraphy is chosen as the medium of research for this project, and discuss the methodological challenges associated with that choice. I will draw upon the lessons learned in the field of South Asian epigraphy, while making note of the issues of specific importance to the Balinese case.

In chapter three, I will discuss a set of four Balinese Sanskrit inscriptions (two complete and two fragmentary), all of which were discovered at Pedjeng in the southeastern portion of Bali and which date from approximately the eighth to eleventh centuries CE. Original partial translations will be presented and examined; particular emphasis will be put on identifying what evidence these

sources provide relating to the lived religion at the time at which they were produced.

Finally, chapter four will synthesize my findings and suggestions will be presented regarding the potential role of Balinese Sanskrit inscriptions in the future study of Balinese medieval religion. I will discuss how the types of knowledge found in my preliminary case study of Sanskrit inscriptions complements the gap in our understanding of medieval Balinese religion. By highlighting the relevance of the genre of information present in these sources, together with the specific strengths offered by epigraphy as a source genre, I will argue for the utility of further research on Balinese inscriptions.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Building upon the historical overview presented in the previous chapter, this chapter will discuss my own methodological choices and dilemmas, together with the academic traditions that inform them. In this thesis, I argue that new attention to the inscriptional record of Bali can add complexity to our understanding of Balinese religious history. In other words, I suggest that within Bali, as in other parts of South and Southeast Asia, moments of religious activity and religious sensibility are reflected in the enduring physical record of inscriptions (Schopen 1997, 13). This chapter will discuss the methodology of the use of inscriptions as historical sources in detail, and provide an account of how I have come to regard these sources as central to my project. Specifically, I will review (1) how I approached the preliminary study of Bali's Sanskrit inscriptions, (2) commonly accepted lessons of epigraphic study that informed this choice as garnered from previous epigraphic study in South and Southeast Asia, and (3) challenges specific to the Balinese case.

My methodology

This current project represents an initial step in a larger venture aimed at providing a more detailed picture of Bali's religion of the eighth to fourteenth centuries through the study of Balinese inscriptions. Balinese inscriptions from

this era—written in Sanskrit, Old Javanese and Old Balinese—constitute an understudied body of data, and the Sanskrit inscriptions represent a small but significant subset of this corpus. The goal of this thesis is to set the stage for a full study of the Sanskrit segment in a future, comprehensive investigation of the inscriptions of medieval Bali as a whole.

In order to realize this aim, I prepared preliminary translations of the Sanskrit inscriptions collected by Stutterheim during the early twentieth century at Pedjeng and published by him in *Oudheden van Bali*.[9] Translations of four of these inscriptions are discussed in this thesis. Given the deterioration of some of these inscriptions, together with the need for significant future study of the wider epigraphic record, these translations are not meant to present definitive conclusions. Rather, it is my goal at this juncture to demonstrate the usefulness of this data in the pursuit of a better understanding of lived religion as experienced in medieval Bali.

At this preliminary stage, my focus rests primarily on the sources as texts, while recognizing that inscriptions also have a non-textual physical reality. This orientation arises from the current strength of my epigraphic deciphering skills, as well as the practical difficulties of gaining access to the original inscriptions engraved on clay, copper and stone. In my future research, I hope to have more direct encounters with Bali's inscriptions. I have had the opportunity to see some

[9] These translations were prepared using Monier Monier-William's Sanskrit-English dictionary (Monier-Williams 1964).

of Bali's inscriptions—at archaeological sites, in museums and in published photographs—and knowledge gained from these experiences has informed my analysis.

The translations and analysis found in this thesis are based upon the transliterated transcriptions as available in published texts: Stutterheim's *Oudheden van Bali* and Goris' *Prasasti Bali.* I re-transcribed the inscribed texts to adhere to modern Sanskrit transliteration standards (although I did not modify the text, leaving the repeated letters, potential errors and other quirks of epigraphic orthography). Partial translations were then compiled; this thesis presents only those aspects of my translations of particular interest to the study of Balinese religion. The results of this case study into Bali's Sanskrit epigraphy suggest that further research into these sources will further our understanding of medieval Balinese religion.

Dating

Establishing the date of creation for a given inscription is of central importance to its contextualization and successful analysis. Balinese inscriptions generally include direct statements of date, but these markers are often lost when inscriptions become chipped and fragmented. Dates are commonly given at the beginning of inscriptions and in terms of the "Śaka Era," and are often precise to the month if not the day. The Śaka dating system commences in the year 78CE (Kempers 1991, 35). Some dates are delineated with the use of *candraseṇkala* or

"chronograms," linguistic or pictorial representations of dates that require specialized knowledge to decipher (Kempers 1991, 78). In either case, establishing dates is relatively straightforward. Should, however, the date marker of the inscriptions be lost—as is often the case in Balinese inscriptions—scholars are reduced to drawing comparisons between scripts and phrasings found in other, datable inscriptional specimens. We will see this practice in chapter three. A detailed discussion of the issues of dating related to these specific inscriptions is found in the works of Stutterheim, Goris and Damais (Stutterheim 1929-30, 53-67; Goris 1954, 108-115; Damais 1951, 121-140). In this thesis, I will accept the dates suggested by these scholars. Further research into Bali's epigraphic record, however, may shed new light upon these issues as individual examples will gain further contextualization.

Why did I choose to investigate Sanskrit inscriptions?

I have chosen to focus this study around the analysis of Sanskrit inscriptions because I believe that they contain an untapped perspective on the religious life of pre-modern Bali. More specifically, a few features of their identity drew my attention, including their position within the larger corpus of Balinese inscriptions, their association with the larger genre of Sanskrit writing and their particular nature as inscriptions in relation to the facets of life I wish to better understand.

a. Why Sanskrit?

Although my larger research plans include the study of Bali's full inscriptional corpus (Sanskrit, Old Javanese and Old Balinese), this thesis focuses exclusively on Bali's Sanskrit epigraphy. This choice was made for several reasons. On a purely practical level, I require further language training prior to tackling texts written in Old Balinese and Old Javanese. Sanskrit is a more accessible language in modern Western academic circles, making it the logical starting point for this research project. Second, given my interest in the medieval period, it is logical to choose a source genre found uniquely within that era.

Third, the Sanskrit epigraphy of Bali represents a significant, rare and largely unstudied subset of the corpus as a whole. Compared with the epigraphic corpora of many parts of South and Southeast Asia, Bali does not offer a large number of inscriptions in any language. As of 2010, only approximately 200 Balinese inscriptions were known (Beratha 2010, 1).[10] The limited number of Balinese inscriptions has discouraged widespread scholarly attention to them and means that Stutterheim's six Sanskrit inscriptions represent a not insubstantial proportion of the total corpus.

Some academic attention has been given to the non-Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali. Examples of such studies can be found in the work of D. Ali, M. M. S. K. Atmodjo, N.L.S. Beratha, J.L.A. Brandes, R. Goris, H. Kulke, J. Schoenfelder and

[10] Other inscriptions may be recognized at a local level or may be discovered in the future.

I.G.M. Suarbhawa, among others. These studies of non-Sanskrit Balinese inscriptions have provided significant data regarding the social, cultural and political realities of eras past. Less attention has been given to Bali's Sanskrit inscriptions and to what inscriptions in general can tell us about Bali's historical religion. Just as Balinese epigraphy is used to elucidate other features of Balinese cultural history, I believe that it may lead us to a deeper understanding of Bali's religious history.

Finally, the Sanskrit language is commonly associated with religion. Although taking this as a starting point is of debatable relevance, it is a point worthy of consideration. In any discussion of the relation between the use of Sanskrit and the expression of religion, many think immediately of the work of Sheldon Pollock. Pollock suggests that Sanskrit is not a language—even an elite language—like others. Other languages used in privileged settings were vernacular tongues, gaining power based upon the ascendency of their native or adoptive human populations. Sanskrit, on the other hand, is seen as a perennial high language, likely never used for ordinary communication but employed as a means to impart some power perceived as inborn to itself as a result of its earliest use in religious spheres (Pollock 2004, 62).

Pollock argues that for a significant portion of South and Southeast Asian history, Sanskrit was the language used by authors wishing to access inter-regional, cosmopolitan political prestige, both in terms of topic and audience (Pollock 2004, 75). For example, in the case of Bali, Schoenfelder suggests that the

Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali were used to convey as fact "*statements of inequality* and *statements of affiliation*," i.e. concepts of primary importance to an elite, spread-out population (Schoenfelder 2004, 401; italics in original). Such segments of society—i.e. those active in this arena of multilateral socio-political power across the whole of South and Southeast Asia—are participants in what Pollock refers to as the Sanskrit *cosmopolis*, elite groups overlapping with the royal courts, and the same population responsible for the majority of Sanskrit inscriptions (Pollock 2004, 118).

The Sanskrit language was not adopted for use in inscriptions in South Asia before the third century CE (Pollock 2004, 84). Within centuries of its first appearance in South Asia, however, Sanskrit epigraphy is found across South and Southeast Asia, having spread remarkably far and fast in the middle and late periods of the first millennium CE (Pollock 2004, 108; Pollock 1998, 10-11). Pollock argues that the spread of Sanskrit was due to a large system of political copycatting, a grammatical, moral and visual structure which provided political legitimacy to its users (Pollock 1998, 13-15). Across South and Southeast Asia, Pollock imagines the blossoming of a system of expression, formed with the linguistic building blocks of the Sanskrit language, with which aspiring leaders could create and cement their elite positions. As with every cultural trend, however, this too passed. The widespread transnational use of Sanskrit across South and Southeast Asia at the elite political level came to an end between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries with the increased use of vernacular languages

(Pollock 1998, 6). In this interim period, however, Pollock suggests that elite of South and Southeast Asia actively chose to write their important messages in Sanskrit in order to imbue them with a certain sense of truth, to reach a certain audience, and to link them with a high level of prestige. Bali's adoption of Sanskrit for use in inscriptions during the medieval period was, seemingly, part of this larger phenomenon.

Pollock's perspective, however, is far from uncontested. Others have argued that the choice to use Sanskrit is not as simple as one might assume, refuting the oft-suggested linguistic "division of labour" view in which Sanskrit serves as the language used for political self-representation while vernacular languages are employed to give details of prosaic local arrangements. It is very common to find examples of multiple languages used within a single inscription. Sometimes, a single inscription is divided by section or even word, with multiple languages interwoven. In other cases, entire inscriptions are provided in multiple languages (e.g. the Sanskrit-Old Balinese inscription at Sanur), causing the same data to be presented in multiple languages.[11] Both Leslie Orr in her treatment of Tamil inscriptions and Daud Ali in his study of the inscriptions of Indonesia, have noticed that Sanskrit and vernacular languages are intermingled, both being used for both high and low topics (Orr 2010, 22; Ali 2009, 24 n. 65). Furthermore,

[11] It is worth noting, however, that some scholarly discussion does exist relating to the purposes of various inscriptional languages within Bali, often in relation to the bilingual inscription at Sanur. For example, see Lansing (1983).

in the specifically tenth century Balinese case, Sanskrit does not appear to have been the favoured language for elite writing and the statement of power. Both Old Balinese (pre-tenth century) and Old Javanese (tenth century onwards) were used for similar purposes (Schoenfelder 2004, 403).

Such findings blur the line drawn rather starkly by Pollock between Sanskrit and the vernacular, problematizing the application of this analytical framework. Thus, although the work of Pollock informs my decisions, I do not wish to assert *a priori* that the Sanskrit epigraphy of Bali can tell us something about Bali's religious history because it is in Sanskrit. Rather, it is on the basis of the close examination of specific cases of Bali's Sanskrit inscriptions that I will make this argument.

b. Why epigraphy?

I chose to focus this thesis upon the study of Bali's epigraphy because I believe that these sources provide a perspective on Balinese culture as yet untapped. This choice is largely informed by previous studies based on the inscriptions of other parts of South and Southeast Asia. This scholarship both suggests the potential usefulness of Bali's inscriptions as a source and recommends various methodological approaches. Each situation is unique, and it is therefore analytically unwise to transplant a methodology from one location to another. It is useful, however, to be aware of more established, related fields of study in order to try to avoid some common methodological pitfalls. I will

therefore now present a brief overview of the scholarly traditions of the study of South Asian epigraphy, followed by a discussion of issues of particular importance to the Balinese case.

There is a long-standing tension within modern academia between the use of texts and the use of physical remains in the study of human history.[12] Both kinds of sources provide important information, but each can be seen as contributing to particular areas of knowledge. Epigraphy, however, finds its place in some ways between these two kinds of evidence, thereby providing several important advantages. I chose to focus this thesis and my larger research plan upon Balinese epigraphy in part due to this distinctive nature of inscriptions.

In South Asian historiography, priority was given during the early colonial era to written, literary sources. Texts were thought to allow the scholar deeper insight into the psyche of the ancient; objects could only be observed from the outside while texts provided their own first-person, insider commentary. For example, literary works, such as the classic *purāṇa* and epic literature, were erroneously equated with western, post-Enlightenment historical records (Trautmann and Sinopoli 2002, 495-496). This prioritization of literature within colonial scholarship is widely suggested to have stemmed from the Post-Reformation, Protestant emphasis on the power of the written word as a source of Truth (Schopen 1997, 13).

[12] For a more complete discussion of this topic, see Trautmann and Sinopoli (2002), and Schopen (1997).

Archaeology, however, was not totally ignored. Especially since the mid-nineteenth century, scholars of South Asia have paid considerable attention to the remains of buildings, coins, inscriptions and other material objects as historical data (Trautmann and Sinopoli 2002, 497). In modern scholarship, some argue, South Asian archaeological evidence is most commonly used to corroborate findings derived from the study of literary traditions, even as the confidence in texts like the *purāṇas* as straightforward historical sources has faded (Trautmann and Sinopoli 2002, 499). Others, however, have argued that given the colonial historiographer's view that India failed to produce history as a literary genre, archaeology—including epigraphy—became of central importance at it was seen as a means for western scholars to have direct access to historical data, untainted by the poetic and mythological constructions of Indian literature (Ali 2000, 166-169).

Modern academia currently validates the use of inscriptions in the study of the lived realities of South and Southeast Asian politics, economics and religion. The type of information we hope to find in relation to medieval Bali has been found in other regions through the study of local inscriptions.[13] These studies based on South and Southeast Asian epigraphy shed light on social structures, worldviews, ethical codes and religious practices, all of which are critical to the understanding of lived religion. As we shall see in the coming chapter, even

[13] For examples of the use of epigraphy in the study of South and Southeast Asian socio-religious history, see the collective works of D. Ali, G. Coedès, K. Hall, J. Heitzman, H. Kulke, D. Lorenzen, L. Orr, V.S. Pathak, J. Schoenfelder and C. Talbot, among many others.

based upon a preliminary examination, these types of issues are expressed in the Sanskrit epigraphy of Bali.

Part of the debate about the relative worth of literary and archaeological sources is predicated upon assumptions about the sponsors and aims of each genre. For example, textual sources are seen as being produced by an elite and likely to be more prescriptive than descriptive in nature. As Pollock points out,

> The authorization to write is not, like the ability to speak, a natural entitlement. It is typically related to social and political privileges, which mark literature in the restricted sense as a different mode of cultural production and communication from so-called oral literature (Pollock 1998, 8).

Archaeology is often seen as presenting a less elitist vision of the past, since all humans interact with physical objects.

In recent years, as academic focus shifts from the grand histories of kings and conquerors to the localized stories of individuals and the subaltern, a greater diversity of sources (especially sources that supposedly speak to all levels of daily life) have gained popularity (Trautmann and Sinopoli 2002, 510). The utility of the physical object as evidence, and also the use of both physical and literary sources, therefore has been championed.

Epigraphy—although an elite product—is useful in this situation, given its dual nature. Being both written and physical, inscriptions do not fit neatly with the binary approach to data appraisal: literature vs. archaeology. Insofar as they are elite creations, requiring substantial funds and expertise for their production,

inscriptions resemble high literature, removed from the realities of daily non-elite life. This high, literature-like status is further bolstered in the modern world by the fact that scholars most commonly view inscriptions in the form of texts. We interact with inscriptions through manuscripts and in published texts, copied into legible script, transliterated into a Latinate alphabet, and translated into any number of modern languages. It is the words and their meanings—i.e. the key elite elements of the whole inscription—that are identified as important, not their form. As Orr notes,

> Publication also involved (and still involves) the abstraction of the texts of inscriptions from their physical being as parts of monuments, not only stripping the inscription of a context that would be useful for its interpretation, but effacing the "look" and "feel" of the inscription: the script is different, white paper substitutes for the texture and colour of stone or the weight and cool touch of copper, and the breakages or later architectural elements that interrupt the text are replaced by a series of dots (Orr 2008, 9).

Although unintentional, this modern scholarly approach works to further pigeon-hole inscriptions as elite literary productions, causing individuals to adopt potentially unhelpful methodologies and analytical frameworks suited to that status.

It is not altogether unjustified to view Balinese inscriptions as literary texts as there is some evidence that inscriptions in that context were meant to be read (e.g. Old Balinese inscriptions are often said to be composed in an informal, conversational style) (Hauser-Schäublin and Ardika 2008, 219). Other scholars

argue that inscriptions—and especially Sanskrit inscriptions—were likely not meant as forms of simple communication, since it is unlikely that the general population was literate in epigraphic languages, Sanskrit or otherwise (Supomo 2006, 319). Bilingual inscriptions complicate the debate. What use is it, for example, to write an inscription in both Sanskrit and Old Balinese (as found in the *prasasti blanjong)* unless some benefit—prescriptive, communicative, or otherwise—would be gained through the use of each? However, I would suggest that viewing Balinese inscriptions as simply another genre of literature is far from justified.

Inscriptions have a status that is both literary and archaeological. Inscriptions are elite—by definition containing only ideas important enough for someone to have taken the time, funds and effort to record them in stone, metal or plaster—but they simultaneously present a glimpse of actual lived existence in a particular time and place. Medieval South and Southeast Asian inscriptions, unlike most contemporary written texts, are not generally commented on, allowing modern observers more directly access to their "original" form. Similarly, and in contrast to other physical remains, inscriptions include a linguistic statement or explanation from their makers. Inscriptions therefore provide more direct comment upon the circumstances of their production, both as physical evidence and first-hand witness.

Challenges

Inscriptions are not, however, unchanging, clear windows opening directly into the past. Although it is tempting to view inscriptions as records of actual historical activity, it is often the case that inscriptions are prescriptive representations guided by personal and political agendas (Kempers 1991, 85). The linguistic content of inscriptions—which one might consider as providing insight into the specific psyche of the creator—is often not unique. Common themes or sets of events are repeated across several inscriptions, even within the small collection of extant Balinese Sanskrit inscriptions. Epigraphic texts are often also found in the manuscript tradition of Bali, preserved on palm leaves (*lontars*) in addition to their solid-substance edition in stone, metal, etc. (Beratha 2010, 5). This situation makes the personal importance or meaning to its author or sponsor of each appearance of the text less obvious.

In addition, epigraphy presents difficulties as a source since inscriptions are often tampered with by both natural elements and human action. Compared with South Asia and other parts of Southeast Asia, Bali provides only a small corpus of inscriptions.[14] It is difficult to gauge to what extent this material dearth is due to non-creation as opposed to subsequent destruction.

Within the Balinese case, the potential for destruction is high. Solid materials, especially stone, do not survive well in Bali. The native stone of Bali, used as the

[14] Unlike many parts of South and Southeast Asia, inscriptions do not adorn the walls of modern Balinese temples. Thus Bali's larger number of temples does not translate into a large corpus of inscriptions.

basic construction medium for buildings and inscriptions in the medieval period, (*paras* or "Balinese tuff") disintegrates through contact with air. Craftsmen often covered stone items in plaster to preserve structures. This practice, however, encouraged the frequent repair of older structures, and structures were often replaced altogether. Both plastering and renovation destroyed original inscriptions and other ornamentation (Kempers 1991, 67).

In addition, Bali contains two active volcanoes (Batur and Gunung Anung) and experiences significant volcanic activity (Kempers 1991, 4). Eruptions have destroyed a great number of structures, both in the past and in the modern era (Kempers 1991, 67). Such natural disasters are only compounded by the destructive actions of human groups. W. O. J. Nieuwenkamp, a Dutch artist visiting Bali in 1906, recounts how the Dutch actively strove to rid the island of temples and other objects which they saw as representing political power and supporting local hegemony, destroying many inscriptions along the way. As a result, objects in Bali are often better preserved—from the standpoint of archaeology—in the form of rubble, forgotten and overgrown (Kempers 1991, 68). It is in such a state that the inscriptions under discussion in this thesis were found.

With such deterioration, it becomes increasingly difficult to discern the original intended form of inscribed objects. As difficult as interpreting the words and symbols of another is at the best of times, it becomes harder when half those clues are lost, further reducing the contextualizing data. As we shall see in

chapter three, reading fragmented inscriptions is difficult as individual letters may be interpreted in various ways and as the larger missing portions could contain any number of words, letters or phrases, greatly influencing the meaning of the remaining portions. In other words, when dealing with damaged inscriptions, even when words or phrases appear to be legible, precise interpretation of their significance is generally impossible.

Balinese inscriptions become even less accessible to outside scholars due to the practice of concealing such objects. In response to their perceived value, metal objects, including those containing inscriptions, are often hidden from sight by Balinese people (Kempers 1991, 68). Even non-metal inscriptions are often concealed based upon their status as relics bearing "magic" and often dangerous power (Beratha 2010, 4). This identification of power or great worth as attributes of these inscribed objects has led them to be purposefully hidden from view and from outside attention. As part of their private use, inscribed objects may be ritually bathed or receive other treatment that might hasten their physical degradation (Schoenfelder 2004, 401-402). Taken together, these factors reduce the number of inscriptions available for study in Bali.

Even among those inscriptions that do exist and to which scholars have access, preservation and collection is a further issue. Few scholars spend the majority of their time looking directly at the original inscription. Imprints are made, photographs are taken, content is transcribed and text is published or held in manuscript collections. Despite the pitfalls of this process discussed above,

this process of transfer is useful as it allows more widespread access to data, encouraging a greater diversity and volume of scholarly attention. It also is an effective means of preserving some aspects of the epigraphic record, even as the original inscribed objects may continue to degrade, disappear or be hidden from view. Bali, however, has not enjoyed longstanding scholarly interest in its epigraphy.

Within the South Asian context, a large-scale and concerted effort to record as many inscriptions as possible has been underway since the end of the nineteenth century (e.g. the Epigraphy Office, led by Eugen Hultzsch) and continues today (Orr 2008, 6). The relatively large numbers of South Asian epigraphic records encouraged scholars to employ these sources for historical study. In the Balinese case, however, we find a much more meagre record. In the colonial era, travellers and scholars such as F.D.K. Bosch, J.L.A. Brandes, L.-C. Damais, R. Goris, Krom, P.V. van Stein Callenfels and W.F. Stutterheim, collected data. In more recent years, others (e.g. M. Atmojo, A. Griffiths, J. Schoenfelder, etc.) have and continue to collect further epigraphic specimens from the island. Some others (e.g. G. Coedès, L.-C. Damais, J.G. de Casparis, R. Goris, A.J.B. Kempers, J.W. Stutterheim, and J.S. Lansing, among others) have even commented upon the Sanskrit inscriptions, but as noted in chapter one, these treatments focus either on purely philological issues or on efforts to construct political and trade chronology. The collection and examination of Balinese epigraphy is still in its nascent stages.

In particular, the Sanskrit epigraphy of Bali has been ignored more so than its Old Balinese and Old Javanese counterparts. Although the totality and complexity of reasons is impossible to pin down at this time, a few compounding factors may be suggested. First, western academia is not a generally conducive environment for the study of Southeast Asia, least of all non-mainland Southeast Asia. To properly broach the topic of Balinese inscriptions, one must possess knowledge not only of Sanskrit, but also of the other languages widely used in the inscriptions of Bali: Old Balinese and Old Javanese, as well as more modern research languages, Indonesian and Balinese. Training in these languages is not readily available. Second, as scholarly fashions changed and it seemed increasingly inappropriate for scholars to discuss the *Indianization* of Bali, the study of sources so directly reminiscent of Indic influence, such as Sanskrit inscriptions, also fell from favor.[15]

This combination of factors has discouraged recent academic interest in the epigraphy of Bali. This lack of attention has led to a gap in our critical understanding of Bali in the medieval period, surrounding the creation of these sources. At the same time, epigraphic study conducted successfully in other parts of South and Southeast Asia suggests that there is considerable potential in

[15] There has since been somewhat of a reversal of this perspective. In reaction to the "indigenous agency" theories put forward by scholars such as Wolters, others (e.g. Pollock) have argued that it is equally simplistic to view the cultural changes of Southeast Asia as the product of Southeast Asian activity as it is it to attribute uniquely South Asian influence. It is, therefore, becoming more acceptable within the field of academia to say that Southeast Asia was influenced in some way by South Asia, that Sanskrit does in fact exist in Southeast Asia and that it (along with other facets of culture) arrived from the Indic peninsula (Ali 2009, 15).

taking such an approach. This thesis and its associated larger research plan is thus constituted as a response to (1) a perceived gap of knowledge relating to Bali's medieval lived religion and (2) a history of successful epigraphic study in other parts of South and Southeast Asia.

Conclusion

This thesis is a case study in the Sanskrit epigraphy of early medieval Bali, constituting a preliminary step towards the larger goal of learning more about the religious life of eighth to thirteenth century Bali. The Sanskrit epigraphy of Bali was chosen as the focus for this pilot project due to my belief in the potential for those inscriptions to elucidate that topic. This perspective is in part informed by the lessons learned by scholars studying other parts of South and Southeast Asia, while corroborated and sometimes tempered by the specifically Balinese case. Although the experiences of others encouraged my original choice, my subsequent research—the translation and preliminary analysis of the Sanskrit epigraphy of Bali to be presented in chapter three—supports the central hypothesis of this thesis regarding the efficacy of epigraphy in the study of Bali's early medieval religious history.

CHAPTER 3: SOURCES

This chapter is dedicated to the presentation of the source materials for this case study. The inscriptions discussed in this thesis are a subset of those discovered by Stutterheim at Pedjeng, Bali and identified by him as written in Sanskrit. Pedjeng (alternatively, Pejeng) is a town located in the southeast of the island of Bali, near Ubud in the Petauan River Valley. Stutterheim studied the archaeological record of this area in the early twentieth century. The legible Sanskrit inscriptions he discovered were published in a special section entitled "Inscripties in Het Sanskrit" ("Inscriptions in Sanskrit") of his book, *Oudheden van Bali* ("Antiquities of Bali") in 1929-1930. These texts were then reprinted by Goris in *Prasasti Bali* ("The Stone Inscriptions of Bali") in 1954.

Stutterheim presents his Balinese Sanskrit inscription in two categories: "Buddhist" and "non-Buddhist" (Goris 1954, 108).[16] In the Buddhist section, we find four entries—S1(a), S2(b), S3(c) and S4—two of which we will discuss in more detail shortly. The non-Buddhist section contains a less coherent collection of fragments, carved onto stone chunks of what appear to have been one or more larger blocks. Stutterheim suggests that these fragments were originally

[16] During the nineteenth century, there was a growing emphasis in the western study of South Asian history on Buddhism and the discovery of its past glory and political might (Orr 2008, 4-5). It seems likely that Stutterheim's Buddhism-focused categorization of inscriptions grew out of this movement.

segments of three larger inscriptions—S5, S6 and S7—although the exact relationship between various fragments is often unclear. In this thesis, I will discuss S1(a) and S3(c) from the "Buddhist" inscriptions, as well as multiple, larger fragments of S5 and S7 from the "non-Buddhist" inscriptions. I will not discuss the whole corpus of Sanskrit inscriptions discovered by Stutterheim at Pedjeng; rather, I will focus on particularly salient and legible portions of the selected inscription segments, commenting upon their significance in our discussion of the potential future use of Sanskrit epigraphy in the study of Bali's religious history.

To some degree, my interpretations are based upon linguistic associations with texts and ideas found in other parts of South and Southeast Asia. Assuming direct equivalency is neither analytically useful nor logical. However, these similarities are interesting and have encouraged other observers to identify the process of *Indianization* within Bali of this era. It is not the goal of this thesis to follow in this stream of thought, but I do not wish to ignore commonalities found between Bali and India. Recognition of elements in the inscriptions of Bali that resonate with Indic features is a logical first step in this preliminary analysis. Future research will allow for a more locally-informed interpretation.

Transliteration form & Inscription numbering

I have here presented the transliterations of these inscriptions as collected and published by both Stutterheim and Goris, but the transliteration style has

been modified to reflect more popular (if less Indonesian) Sanskrit transliteration norms. Following Stutterheim, dashes are used to indicate illegible gaps. The exact length of these gaps is generally unknown as it is often unclear how various fragments fit together. In my discussion of translation, I sometimes utilize dashes to clarify my parsing, not to suggest missing letters. Letters that are unclear but presented as conjecture by Stutterheim are presented in the transliteration in parentheses—(). In my own discussion, when letters are conjectured for missing segments of text, these portions are presented in square brackets—[].

Throughout this chapter, we will be referring to various inscriptions using the nomenclature begun by Stutterheim (who assigned letters to fragments) and further developed by Goris. Goris kept Stutterheim's fragment-lettering but expanded it into a more precise naming formation: S+[inscription number]+[fragment letter]. The number refers to the larger whole inscription to which scholars attribute a fragment; the lower-case letter indicates the specific fragment. For example, S5b refers to the *b* fragment of Stutterheim's inscription number 5. When a given physical fragment contains inscription on multiple sides, each side is indicated by a further letter. We see this in the case of S7m which is made up of sides *a*, *b*, *c* and *d*.

Pedjeng's Buddhist inscriptions: S1(a) and S3(c)

An avalanche in 1925 uncovered a huge trove of small reliquaries or *stūpas*, made of unfired clay and shaped like bells with rounded bottoms (See appendix 1, figure 2). *Stūpas* are containers, generally used to hold relics or other objects of power associated with the Buddha. Objects of veneration, they are generally used as a means to access the power or expediency related to the Buddha and his teachings. Bosch describes these particular *stūpas* thus,

> Each stūpa, at the level of its base, appeared to contain two clay tablets facing each other with their inscribed surfaces and concealed from view by a roughly shaped lump of clay put under the stūpa's base. Apparently, these objects were made from molds of different sizes and afterwards dried in the sun; a light shock suffices to break them open and make the two tablets fall out (Bosch 1961, 179).

The *stūpas* range in size from four to twenty centimeters in height, created using bronze seals to print the texts. These stamping tools—containing characters in Early or Pre-Nāgarī script—likely originated in the Indic peninsula (Kempers 1991, 36). Dating of these inscriptions is slightly problematic. Goris places their creation at around 778CE based upon similarities of script and the content as compared to dated inscriptions on *stūpas* at Kalasan in central Java (Goris 1954, 108). These markers, however, point more to the creation of the original stamp than the individual inscribed product. The bronze stamps used to create these inscriptions likely came from the late 8th century, but individual clay imprints may have been made later (Kempers 1991, 96).

Unlike the tools used in their creation, these reliquaries and their contained inscriptions were made out of a form of clay native to Bali, suggesting that these artifacts were the product of Balinese action. As local products, it is more logical to argue that these artifacts held local significance as compared with imported objects. Decisions regarding form and content were seemingly made by local Balinese, encouraging our search for information of Bali specifically therein.

Each *stūpa* contained two stamped tablets, sandwiched together with the inscribed sides facing inwards, towards each other (Stutterheim 1929-30, fig. 3). See appendix 1, figure 1 for images of these tablets. Many of these containers were broken open by accident as they were transported by scholars, allowing observers to inspect the contained inscriptions. Among the debris, three content types were discovered which Stutterheim published in the Buddhist section of his 1929-30 book. I will address two out of these three.

The physical characteristics of these inscriptions are well worth discussing. Existing inside the *stūpa* walls, these inscriptions were hidden from sight.[17] In other words, they could *not* be read. This is reminiscent of the practice mentioned in the previous chapter of concealing inscribed objects in order to protect others from their power and vice versa. In addition, the fact that these texts were printed using a seal imported from outside Bali opens the possibility that Sanskrit literacy was not present (or present only very minimally). This further encourages the idea that this form itself was endowed with a non-

[17] This practice of placing inscriptions within reliquaries is not unique to Bali (Bosch 1961, 180).

linguistic power. This is not to say that the words held no significance but rather that it was not through reading them in a modern western sense that the power of these inscriptions would be accessed. Although simple communication is rarely scholars' first choice when ascribing purpose to inscription, in this instance, modern textual communication is taken off the table entirely. Rather, the decision to inscribe something hidden from sight using specifically Sanskrit words suggests that Balinese may have recognized formative power in the Sanskrit language, using it in instances where they wish to create rather than communicate reality.

Although the exact role of these inscriptions and their associated containers is unclear, we can posit a few ideas. First, given that the time was taken to inscribe them, encapsulate them on culturally significant objects and collect them in a single place, it is probable that these words were seen as containing or embodying some form of power. Second, it is possible—given the small size of these objects—that at least some were meant to be carried as amulets, although the fact that these *stūpas* were then left at the trove site argues against this point. Some scholars have suggested that this group of multiple small *stūpas* was the professional property of a Buddhist monastic or "witch doctor," ready for dispersal among future clients (Kempers 1991, 36). The idea that this trove was a ritual specialist's storehouse does not, however, seem very plausible. Third, and to the contrary, these *stūpas* may have been placed at the find location not to be stored, but because their own power was enhanced by being at that particular

site. Finding so many similar—and apparently sacred or significant—objects in one place, according to Bosch, is evidence that the specific location was held to be potent to the local population. It is possible that people would deposit these small containers at this location as a form of prayer (Bosch 1961, 180). Pilgrimage is commonly practiced in modern Balinese religion, and the trove of *stūpas* at Pedjeng could suggest that this practice dates back to the medieval period. This interpretation hints at similarities with Indic notion of *tīrtha*. Not only are water junctures often seen as *tīrthas* in India, but within Bali specifically, water and water flow are of extreme importance and organized into complex systems of ritual organization, concepts that have been highlighted by many scholars (most notably, Lansing). The location of this find, therefore, at the confluence of two rivers, bolsters the notion that it was the location itself that encouraged the deposit of these inscription-filled objects.

Similar troves of small *stūpas* are found at other Buddhist sacred sites in South and Southeast Asia. As Schopen describes,

> Everywhere in the Indian Buddhist archaeological record, the exact spot at which the former presence of the Buddha was marked had a clear and pronounced tendency to draw to it other deposits… Crowded in a jumbled mass around a central point of the site, the exact point of former contact, are hundreds and thousands of small stūpas of various sizes…. [and] exactly the same configuration occurred around stūpas containing relics (Schopen 1997, 118).

It is likely, therefore, that the location of these *stūpas* was associated with the Buddha, either through the presence of an (undiscovered) central reliquary or

the belief that the Buddha visited that location. In either case, the small *stūpas* would have been brought to reside as close as possible to the central location, perceived as a point of enhanced access to the Buddha, his teachings and power (Schopen 1997, 119-122, 131-132).

At the time of his initial discovery, Stutterheim recognized only one text, reiterated on the majority of the visible plaques and consisting of a mantra. This text, S1(a) reads as follows,

> ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgato hy avadat teṣāñ ca
> yo nirodhā[18] evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ
>
> (Stutterheim 1929-30, 35; Goris 1954, 108)

This is a famous Mahāyāna Buddhist mantra, commonly referred to as the *ye te* mantra, seen as a summary of the Buddha's teachings and identified as a summary statement of Buddhist belief (Bosch 1961, 179). The basic translation of this text is, "Whenever phenomena (dharmas) arise from a cause, the cause of them the Tathagata [*sic*] has taught, as well as the cessation thereof. Just so has the great ascetic declared" (R. Ray 2000, 55). Although teaching Buddhist ideology with its meaning, the significance of this object in the present case appears to have been in its form as a representative of the Buddha and his Dharma. In other words, since no one could effectively read the text, this was not meant as instructive literature. Rather, it is likely that some aspect of the

[18] Sic. Likely *nirodho*.

Buddha's power or blessing was believed to be conveyed by the words' physical presence within the *stūpa*.

In addition to the *ye-te* mantra, Stutterheim also found one instance of a second legible mantra in a pile of shards from the Pedjeng *stūpa* trove (Stutterheim 1929-30, 39). This second Buddhist text, S3(c), reads as follows,

> namaḥ traya(va)sarvatathāgata tadapagantaṃ jvalajvaladha
> madhā āla saṃhara saṃhara āyussaṃsādha āyussaṃsādha
> sarvasatvānāṃ pāpaṃ sarvatathāgata samantāṣrī(th)a
> vimalaśuddha svāhā
>
> (Stutterheim 1929-30, 38; Goris 1954, 109)

Stutterheim—as evinced by his parsing utilized above—suggests that this inscription is a mantra meant to be efficacious against sickness and to bolster life (Bosch 1961, 179). The text, according to Stutterheim, puts forward the idea of removing venom or poison (*āla*), burning heat or flame (*jvalajvaladha*), giving vitality or life (*āyussaṃsādha*), and ridding people of illness through the purifying power of the Buddha (*Tathāgata* meaning more precisely, the "thus-gone one," suggesting one who can show others the correct path and a common epithet for the Buddha) (Stutterheim 1929-30, 39).

Although an interesting interpretation, if one compares this mantra to others, it is conjecturable that one ought to read this inscription as a series of vocative and imperative statements, asking the Buddha to perform various actions. This reading is apparent with slight modifications to the parsing suggested by

Stutterheim and a few instances of postulating a miss-reading of the text.[19] From this perspective, one can read this mantra as follows,

> namaḥ traya [e](va) sarvatathāgata tadapagantaṃ jvala jvala dha[r]madhā[tu] saṃhara saṃhara āyus saṃsādha āyus saṃsādha sarvasatvānāṃ pāpaṃ sarvatathāgata samantāṣrī(th)a vimalaśuddha svāhā

From this re-reading of the inscription, one can interpret the meaning in this way: "Obeisance to the Triad alone, oh all Buddhas. Burn, burn tadapagantam! Destroy, destroy the universe! Give, give life to all living beings! Oh Buddha! … evil. Oh Stainless Pure One! Hail!" The meanings of two portions of this inscription remain only conjecturable: *tadapagantam* and *samantāṣrītha*. However, the overall sense of this text can be appreciated. Whether we rely on Stutterheim's interpretation or the new reading presented above, this inscription is of clear religious significance, placing the Buddha as an efficacious helper in the struggles of existence.

The presence of both these Buddhist inscriptions in locally-created form presents significant implications for the surrounding religious life of Bali. The fact that the inscriptions themselves were likely composed and cast into moulds

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[19] For example, one could conjecture that Stutterheim's *dhamadhāla* was in fact *dha[r]madhā[tu]*. The lexigraphic differences between these two phrases are minimal, constituting only the addition of a small dash for the 'ra' and the re-interpretation of the 'la' as a 'tu', the writing of which is often quite similar.

Thank you to Shaman Hatley for suggesting this rereading of the text.

outside of Bali does temper one's ability to assume local significant. Still, the fact that these inscriptions in this form were reproduced locally suggests that they did hold some local import. From a very basic level, we see the presence of Buddhist ideology (at least in name) and the acceptance of that institution (or some aspects thereof) as an effective power source, capable of aiding one in overcoming hardship. Further, use of such terms as v*imalaśuddha* ("stainless pure one") and *pāpam* ("inauspicious," "evil," "bad," etc.) suggest a framework in which action—its quality and results—is of great importance, reminiscent of Indic ideals of *karma*. We can further posit the practice of asking for assistance from supernatural beings at various life junctures, the Buddha being a helpmeet in the effort to overcome various ills. Finally, the content and grouping of these inscriptions could be interpreted as suggesting that life, death and what comes next (potentially rebirth)—again reminiscent of Indian ideas of *karma* and *samsāra*—were sources of stress within medieval Balinese society.

These two inscriptions found within the small *stūpas* at Pedjeng give clear indication of some aspects of medieval Balinese religion. We see the presence of Buddhism in some form and suggestions of an underlying Indian-religion-like metaphysics. We see the possible existence of ritual specialists, at least one important geographic site, mantras, reliquaries, pilgrimage and physical donations. Little may be said definitively at this juncture. However, the Buddhist inscriptions as presented by Stutterheim do provide us data on the religious history of Bali. Both belief and practice are visible in the textual content and

physical realities of these records, supporting my argument that such Sanskrit inscriptions are useful sources in the study of Bali's religious history.

Pedjeng's "Non-Buddhist" inscriptions: S5 & S7

Stutterheim also identified a set of Sanskrit inscriptions which he classified as non-Buddhist. This collection is made up of multiple fragments, presumed to be the remains of three large inscriptions engraved on large square stone blocks. In some cases, inscriptions are written in plaster spread on top of the stone (Goris 1954, 109; Stutterheim 1929-30, 53). The level of deterioration (due partially to time and nature, and partially to destruction occurring when scholars attempted to move the stone blocks to photograph them in the early 20th century) makes it difficult to gauge definitely how these various fragments fit together (Stutterheim 1929-30, 53). Stutterheim argues that the content of these inscriptions is largely religious, or at least more religious than political, although much of his reasoning is predicated upon the presence of images of animals on the blocks, an analytical leap he fails to explain in detail (Stutterheim 1929-30, 53). In this next section, we will discuss a set of fragments from two of the three non-Buddhist inscriptions identified by Stutterheim: S5 and S7.

S5(d,f,g,h)

The exact date of inscription S5 is unclear as the extant portions provide no direct markers of the date. Stutterheim notes that the script shares elements with eighth century Javanese inscriptions and suggests that it dates from first half of

the ninth century (Stutterheim 1929-30, 59). He therefore places this text within the context of Javanese influence from the predominantly-Buddhist Śailendra Dynasty. This inscription presents what he identifies as a largely Brahmanic Śaivite worldview, suggesting that the two traditions were present in Bali around this time, either simultaneously or successively (Stutterheim 1929-30, 60-62). However, I believe that significantly more may be posited about the religious life of Bali through a closer examination of this inscription and others like it.

S5d

The first fragment (*d*) of this large inscription is made up of 27 lines, written in Old Middle Javanese script. See appendix 1, figure 3 for image. The portions missing on the right and left of each line are of uncertain length; the preserved portion is from somewhere in the middle of the inscription.

1. -(su) –
2. –śaha-
3. –dhimātra-
4. –(v----)ttarthāṣṭava-
5. –(tra)lamprayerṣṣya-
6. –(ta)śubhāśubhavidarśśa.(ta)-
7. –ti. kṛtaṃyena . nāyi(ta)-

8. –rttyaṃśūnākṛtvāśrāthāḥ(gra)-

9. –(bh)ām . yatnaṇkarotisa-

10. - thākarotyanudinam.-

11. –(tha)ḥkarotyanudinaḥ . loka(v)i-

12. –arthiṣṭapakṣapātaḥsvaviṣaya-

13. –krṣi(m)aśunope . jyāddhyayanukusī-

14. –(m)aivaśū(ddh)onaki --- --- --- --- ntri(bh)yaḥ-

15. –(m)pavanti(ṣ)una(ḥ) --- --- --- manuśāsanānusā-

16. –mamu(kurmmada)jāvi(pa)tiḥprajāta(ga)-

17. –ktaṃ. manuśāsanaman(u)gacche . ttyiti-

18. –kvādo(v)ā(pa-i)jā --- --- --- svavṛttini-

19. –svāmīsvāṇga(v)a --- --- --- --- svayajñaharttāsva-

20. – nuśāsana(ki)tyukte. nāstika-ddhi-

21. –tt(r)a---deśamātra . m(y)i --- --- npramattojano-

22. –(grā)hye . manassthiratvānnalipyete(p)āpaiḥdu-

23. –vivarañcādritantṛṇairupari . tadvibhavaca --- (ai) –

24. –ddhy---nnākaṇyatev(ac)osaditi . vatunidṛṣṭe(s)a-

25. –(jam)enakrot(t)i . prāyaśśa(r)iv(e)nta . śśubhama-

26. -mpratī(ta)-e-(dda)m . śubhalakṣaṇa - i-

27. –(-riyatu) --- --- --- --- --- --- (bhava) --- --- --- rtmārtham . tatra-

(Stutterheim 1929-30, 54-55; also see Goris 1954, 109-110)

A large portion of this inscription is spent describing an individual's wonderful qualities. The subject of this idolization is likely the person who commissioned this inscription. Given the emphasis on martial and political greatness, and similarities with other such inscriptions across South and Southeast Asia, this benefactor appears to have been a king. This form of royal eulogy is common in medieval Southeast Asia and has often been identified as a marker of the Indianization of such areas (Sanderson 2003-04, 352). Within this description, we learn much regarding what was seen as proper action, comportment and belief.

In line 6, we see the compound *śubhāśubhavidarśśa,* meaning "one who is blind to the distinction between good and bad, pleasant or unpleasant." This interpretation suggests that Balinese may have accepted ascetic ideals, including a rejection of traditional worldly binaries. We would suggest this passage be read as *śubhāśubha-vidarśa[na]* or *śubhāśubha-vidarśa[ka]* "one who perceives the difference between good and bad/evil." These latter options are of interest as they are established epithets for a wise ruler used within Indian tradition.

Further along, we see discussion of this individual's actions and effort. In line 9, we see *yatnaṃ karoti* meaning "he makes an effort or attempt" or "he takes pains for…" Line 10 describes how "everyday" (*anudinam),* "he acts" *(karoti).* The nature of his actions can be interpreted either positively or negatively, from a grammatical point of view. On the one hand, one could read "he does not act" (*na...karoti)* "wantonly" or "in vain" (*vṛthā*). Conversely, these words could be read in a positive sense if we pair the negative *na* with *vṛthā* rather than with the verb, causing the meaning to shift to "he acts not in vain." This latter reading may be more likely as it aggrandizes the subject's efficacy most directly. In line 12, the subject is referred to as *arthiṣṭa-pakṣa-pātaḥ* ("one who takes the side of the most afflicted") and does so in some relation to "his own country" *svaviṣaya* (although it is likely that this reference to his realm belongs to the second half of this line and possibly ought not to be read directly with the preceding). Line 14 gives us a potentially direct reference to a connection with royalty and court if we interpret *–ntri(bh)yaḥ-* as *[ma]ntribhyas* ("king's counselor or minister"). Together, this passage gives us a glimpse of the moral aspects of medieval Balinese politics, in which rulers were expected to protect their subjects, strive for proper action, be morally discerning and receive counsel from royal advisers. By describing himself in this way, it appears that the ruler in question desired to be seen as a good ruler as defined in a Brahmanic sense, concerned with action (*karma*) as defined by his role (*dharma*).

After this preliminary eulogizing of the benefactor, this inscriptions then transitions into more explicitly religious themes. Line 15 contains mention of the *manuśāsana* (i.e. *manusmṛti*) or doctrine of Manu (i.e. the first man of Hindu mythology and the ascribed author of a law text of central importance to many conceptions of Hinduism). It cannot, however, be assumed that simply because the proper name of a given textual tradition is mention that its specific philosophy was espoused by the surrounding population (Sanderson 2003-04, 358). This term can also be interpreted in a more general sense, not specifically relating to the text of Manu but rather to the strictures of *dharma* in general or simply proper conduct. Finally, one could argue that the initial *m* ought to be parsed with the preceding segment, leaving us with simply *anuśāsana* meaning "precept" or "command." Line 17 continues this discussion—and strengthens the argument for interpreting the line 15 as *manuśāsana*—as it instructs that "one ought to follow" (*gacche*, optative) the *manuśāsana.* This inscription, therefore, appears to be encouraging (or describing) individuals—or rulers—to adhere to socio-religious codes of action associated with classical Hinduism.

Line 18 discusses individual ways of life (*svavṛtti*). This might refer to non-religious professions. Even in this prosaic interpretation, however, this section evinces a perspective on the division of labor, a topic that often has religious implications (e.g. in relation to perceptions of *dharma*, personal agency, etc.). Conversely and rather less likely, *svavrtti* could be taken in the sense of "own's

own moral conduct", "own condition." These interpretations suggest reference to ethical codes and physical practices, but also to metaphysical conceptions.

In line 19,[20] the segment *svayajñaharttā* is of interest and can be read as "ruiner of the sacrifice," a common epithet of Śiva. In addition, simply the presence of the term *yajña* is of note. Generally associated with early Vedic ritual action, this use of the term *yajña* could imply the existence of fire sacrifice in medieval Balinese culture.

Having discussed action, this inscription continues in line 20 to hint at issues of belief and specifically the existence of a diversity of belief systems, either within Bali's shores or in relation to other areas. Most strikingly, this line contains the element *āstika* ("orthodox", "believer" or "believing"), directly referencing a prioritization of belief and the existence of multiple belief systems. Even prior to this, however, we see the phrase [ma]*nuśāsana*/[a]*nuśāsana iti uktena* meaning "by having taught the dharma/precepts." This could be seen as a description regarding the definition of one who is *āstika*. In any case, we see in this line reference to the existence of specific moral codes, the presence of conflicting ethical perspective groups, the existence of specialists in a given philosophical group and the author's belief that one set of rules is the correct one.

Line 22 continues with this theme of proper vs. improper actions, possibly referring to ideas similar to the concept of mental harnessing: "on account of

[20] Line 19 also contains the segment *āṅga*, a vaguely possible reference to the Indic kingdom of that name. This connection is too tenuous to warrant further discussion at this juncture, but it is worth investigation in the future.

having a steady mind" (*manas-sthira-tvāt*) "he would not be soiled" (*na-lipyeta*) "by evil/sin" (*pāpais*). We see the idolization of an almost ascetic self-control, or at least proper view, as a means for cultivating proper action.

Line 26 also speaks to this idea of auspiciousness or purity in the compound *śubhalakṣaṇa* ("having auspicious marks", "characterized by auspiciousness"). As such, it appears that within medieval Balinese society, some group of individuals, potentially as a result of proper action and/or belief, achieve a purity of the self in some physical or metaphysical sense.

S5f

Fragment *f* of the same inscription provides some additional elements. See appendix 1, figure 3 for image.

1. –dvividh(ī)vālya-
2. –g(g)aṇapakṣaśśrutīpra-
3. –ayatasvabhaktiś(i)-t-
4. –su(saṃgaha)msopi. ddheṣako(ba)-
5. –ādharmmātpañcavikalpaṃ(gāya)-
6. –(vā)lyam . (śr)aśvisamañcakrama-
7. –(tt)āmī . kalikālakhalakala-
8. –(p)āyanamevakṛtaṃ . yena-

9. –īramātrā . tprabhurama-

10. –ṇa . prakurvva---e-

11. –ṃ . yassaku-

12. –sa--- ---dd(h)āṃ-

(Stutterheim 1929-30, 55; Goris 1954, 110)

Again, as with the previous fragment, we appear to be dealing with the eulogizing of a ruler. It is possible that these two fragments make up two incomplete halves of a whole section (Stutterheim 1929-30, 56). We will discuss this possibility further shortly.

In line 2, we see references to the existence of various groups and that someone has chosen sides ([*pṛtha*]*g*(*g*)*aṇapakṣas*, "taking the side of a group"). The context of these factions is unclear, but by taking this segment in conjunction with that which follows, one can posit that side taking contained a religious element, as the two topics are discussed in close succession.

Line 3 presents us with the term *bhakti*, a term widely associated with the devotional movements of South Asia (although it can encompass a much wider set of definitions). It has been noted that in the modern era, devotional cults are very important within Bali, and that this practice might have grown out of an earlier emphasis of the "man of prowess" (Wolters 1999, 9). Here specifically, we find it in compound (*svabhakti*), referring to one's "own devotion" to a specific

deity or other figure. As such, we find the idea that personal affiliation with a specific, powerful entity or deity is of importance within Balinese society, specifically in relation to a ruler wishing to perform his role properly and effectively.

Line 5 gives us the term *dharma*, again suggesting proper action. *Dharma* can mean a number of things, including "law", "duty", "religion" or "morality." It is the same term as was used in the Buddhist *ye-te* mantra discussed above, and it is a concept tightly associated with religious behavior and philosophy in South and Southeast Asia. Even if one does not assume transference of specific moral ideas, the term *dharma* can be seen as suggesting that the surrounding text contained ideas relating to proper conduct. In its current form of *dharmāt*, we have the ablative case, suggesting that something was done because of or for the sake of *dharman*. If we choose not to parse *dharmāt* alone but take the larger section into account, we see (*ā*)*dharmāt* which could be read as [*dharm*](*ā*)*dharmāt*, meaning "due to right and wrong/justice and injustice". In the same line, we also see the phrase *pañcavikalpaṃ* meaning "the five doubts". Taken together, we see a strong emphasis on morality and the existence of a clear line dividing the right from wrong, together with acknowledgement that identifying that where exactly that line lies may sometimes be difficult. Proper action is predicated upon the ability to discern right from wrong, something that is difficult to do and may require devotion to a deity, adherence to established codes of conduct and the cultivation of the self.

In line 7, we find reference to the *kalikāla* or "Kali Age." One could argue for parsing out the compound *kalikāla-khala* from its surrounding, giving us "the rogue of the Kali Age". Alternatively, we could supplement this fragment with an extra syllable to form *kalikāla-khala-kala[ha]* meaning "the strife of the mischievous in the Kali Age" or "the strife of the mischievous Kali Age." Although not a direct comment upon the religious actions of Bali, this terminology does give us information about the worldview prevalent at the time of—or related to—the inscription. With this reference to the Kali Age, this section implies that the concept of cyclical time was present, suggesting the presence of all associated concepts (e.g. transmigration, karma, etc.). Further, it is possible that this battle and/or the mischievous people mentioned could refer to relations with those not adhering to the accepted code of conduct, hypothetically Buddhists rejecting the *manuśāsana*.

Line 9, one could conjecture that the fragment -*īramātrāt* was in fact part of the ablative form of *śarīramātra* meaning "due to the body only." This we find in connection with *prabhu* ("ruler," "mighty", "powerful", "rich", etc.). Taking this term together with *śarīramātrāt*, we can suggest that the ruler responsible for this inscription performed some action through his own bodily power, or conversely – if we posit a missing negation – not due only to his bodily power but rather to some outside entity. In either case, we see comment upon how efficacy was deemed to be gained, whether through personal exertion and excellence, cultivation of proper understanding or devotion to a specific deity.

S5d&f

It is possible that sections S5d and S5f should be read together, as two segments of a single inscription.[21] Although some further points of translation are possible within this context, at this juncture what appears most salient for our discussion is that this combined reading presents a relatively dense and cohesive picture of an inscription dedicated to aggrandizing a ruler, focusing on qualities of proper action, proper belief and proper understanding.

S5g

Another fragment of inscription of S5 is presented by Stutterheim as section *g*. An image of this fragment is found in appendix 1, figure 5. Although of the same inscription, it is less clear how it fits with the preceding elements (Goris 1954, 111).

1. ---------- t(a)śś(a)mu(ś)-
2. –ddhe --- --- 7 . sankṛta --- ṛ --- v-

[21] This hypothesized combined inscription constitutes only the overlapping portions. We commence with line one of fragment S5d and line three of S5f, concluding with the final line of the shorter inscription, S5f.
– (su) --- --- --- --- --- --- ayatasvabhaktiś(i)---t-
–śaha --- --- --- --- su(saṃ)gahaṃsopi . ddheṣako(ba)-
–dhimātra--- ādharmmātpañcavikalpaṃ(gāya) –
–(v---)ttarthāṣṭava --- --- (vā)lyam . (śr)aśvisamañcakrama-
–(tra)lamprayerṣṣya --- --- (tt)āmī . kalikālakhalakala –
–(ta)śubhāśubhavidarśśa . (tap)āyanamevakṛtaṃ yena-
–ti . kṛtaṃyena . nāyi(ta) --- īramātrā . tprabhurama –
–rttyaṃśūnākrtvāśrāthāḥ(gra) --- na . prakurvva-e-
–(bh)āṃ . yatnaṇkarotisa --- --- --- --- ṃ. yassaku-
- --- navṛthākarotyanudinam --- --- --- --- --- --- --- sa --- --- dd(h)ām
(Stutterheim 1929-30, 56)

3. –mviśiṣṭa . ṇkimupāye-

4. –(k)amārggaścamantramārggaśca . jña-

5. –(y)atetajaiḥ --- --- paṇḍita-

6. –(v)āgvaddyārame --- --- --- --- lī(tā)ti –

7. –vakoyu(ñcaṃ) --- --- --- --- (ddh)yā 7(6)-

8. –(sayaḥ) 77 (yatpātitabā) . –

9. –jñātvāja(ṃ)gat(sv)abhāvaṃ . vītavi –

10. –(u)nya(ś)rā(l)ya (v)irīkṛtaṃyasyaci –

11. –citp(r)abhāvaṃ(ya)d(d)in(d)eccivaṣăthaṃ-

(Goris 1954, 111)

For this segment, I wish to focus only on three lines: 4, 5 and 9. In Line 4, we find reference to two interesting items. The first set of letters *-(k)amārggaś* could be interpreted as [*lo]kamārgaḥ* or "the general or universal way" or "prevalent custom," likely (given its context) associated with the prescriptions of the so-called *manuśāsana* philosophy (whatever that may entail within this context) referenced above. The next section *mantramārggaś* can be interpreted as *mantramārgaḥ* ("way/path of mantra"), a term often seen as referring to tantric traditions. It is likely that this is a reference to a form of *śaiva mantramārga*, several of which are prevalent in the textual traditions of Indonesia (Sanderson

2003, 373-374). These two terms, along with the preceding fragments and what we have seen regarding the presence of Buddhism, depict a medieval Bali actively involved in—and cognisant of the distinctions between—a diversity of Indic religious traditions.

In line 5, we see a possible reference to elite or learned segments of society in the term *paṇḍita* ("learned/wise/shrewd/clever/skilful in" or "scholar/learned/person/ teacher"), potentially referring to those teachers of the royal court holding expertise in one of the two paths mentioned above. We find, therefore, evidence of the existence of various religious paths, together with those learned in specific ones, suggesting a diverse religious environment as well as the presence of an active community of religious scholars supporting a socio-religious system of role-specialization.

Line 9 contains the phrase *jñātvā* ("having learned") (*sv)abhāvam* ("the nature"), possibly of the world (*jagat*). Metaphysical or insightful understanding, therefore, again appears of central importance and may have been seen as a necessary quality for a good ruler and/or a strong teacher. One or more specific worldviews appear to have existed, and "correct" understanding was seen as a desirable tool.

S5h

Fragment *h* is the final segment of inscription S5 we will be discussing at this juncture. An image is found in appendix 1, figure 4

1. – śivas(---)ddh-

2. – (ka) --- iddhajano-

3. – (m)mṛtiśi(ṣ)ṭokta . kriyā –

4. –dṛṣṭe . vyaṇḍagavala --- (e) –

5. –(d) ahanaihratnānāndṛśyatema – (e) –

6. –ccittārjjavatvajihmatvam . sadasa

7. –taṃ . sadasannidarśanārtha . nmantrasa

8. –(dh)armma . sdairyya(tha)liprodbapamī

9. –ddhi --- bhissvābjaiḥ 95 (v)ga

10. – ttyabjaiḥ 96 janmābdhima

11. -7 rudrā nab(r)atanave.

12. –(va) . (ś)ivalapata-e

13. ..... ṇ .....

(Goris 1954, 111-112)

This segment appears to be continuing the theme of describing and idolizing an individual. In line 1, we find the phrase *śivas*, most likely referring to something as "good", "happy" or "auspicious."[22]

In line 2, if we provide an "s", we can complete the word to [*s*]*iddhajanas* meaning "perfected being," potentially referring to a tantric acolyte or other advanced religious practitioner (i.e. "the Blessed"). Even if we leave the potential reference to tantric activity aside, this phrase does suggest further elements to the previously mentioned paths. By following a specific path, one could argue, individuals were believed to be able to become progressively "better" within the accepted metaphysical or ritual system. One could postulate that following said path involved elements of correct action (*dharma*), devotion (*bhakti*) and view (*manas-sthira-tvāt*).

In line 3, we find a possible reference to *smṛti*, "that which is remembered," a genre of privileged, canonical knowledge within the Indic framework. Reference to this term alone is interesting, although it could refer either to a specific set of knowledge traditionally designated as *smrti* within Indic tradition or it could be an instance of the Sanskrit term for true knowledge applied to another set of information entirely. The line as a whole is also interesting as it can be read as "the ritual" (*kriyā*) "spoken/taught" (*ukta*) "by those learned in smṛti"

[22] Given the previous suggestion that there may have been an active Śiva cult within Bali and the appearance of the term *siddhajana* in the subsequent line, it is possible that this phrase is a direct reference to that divine figure. This, however, would constitute a major assumption and would bear significant analytical consequences. At this preliminary stage of research, therefore, although I note the possibility, I have chosen not to pursue this interpretation at this time.

(*smṛtiśiṣṭa*), potentially referring to the actions (teaching or ritual) of the *siddhajana* from above.

Line 6 provides a mention of "truth and untruth" (*sadasa[d]*). In line 7, we find the phrase *sadasat-nidarśana-artha* ("for the sake of teaching/indicating both the real and the unreal/good and bad/truth and untruth"). The repeated mention of the binary distinctions between right and wrong, true and false again supports our theory regarding the importance of proper action and understanding—as both an end and a means—mentioned earlier. We also find the word *mantra*, meaning "sacred speech or formula." These letters could also indicate the beginning of a larger compound, potentially *mantramārga* again.

Line 8 contains the word *dharma* again, suggesting some underlying system of ethics or social norms based upon individual position.

Line 10 provides the phrase *janmābdhim* which can be read as "the ocean of existence/birth," a possible reference to the Indic concept of *samsāra* as the system of cyclical rebirth. Not only does this therefore suggest the presence of cyclical time again, but it also supports the idea that performance of proper action (according to *dharma*) was held as important and suggests that this importance was due to the fact that all actions (*karma*) impact life and rebirth.

Taken together, these various fragments of S5 provide significant evidence of various religious groups and structures of worldview, morality and ideals of proper action. Although not a direct exposition on religious life, within the ideas

and linguistic forms used in this inscription lie a plethora of clues relating to the medieval religion of Bali.

Pedjeng inscription S7m

Another inscription from Pedjeng is S7m, images of which can be seen in appendix 1, figure 6. I will here be discussing only one (of the recorded four) parts of this larger inscription: side *d*. Much of inscription was destroyed, due largely to rain. Based upon his reading of side *a* of this inscription, Stutterheim argues that text records the royal rebuilding of a temple destroyed by fire (Stutterheim 1929-30, 63, 67; Goris 1954, 113).[23] Although not blatantly doctrinal (and previously labeled as "non-religious" by Stutterheim), I believe that this inscription does in fact tell us much of how religion was practiced, became visible and was experienced by medieval Balinese people.

Exact dating is difficult as the textual content does not tell us anything directly. According to Stutterheim, the writing form (e.g. the shape of the letter 'ra') used is similarly to that employed in various documents and charters during the rule of Airlanga (one of the sons of Mahendradattā and Udayana) in the early eleventh century. However, it is not the case that only one script was employed during that era and those surrounding it, making a clear association less possible (Stutterheim 1929-30, 66). Damais, working upon the images and data presented

[23] Given the comparatively thorough treatment of side *a* of S7 within the work of Stutterheim, I chose not to address this section in detail within the current thesis. For further discussion of this portion of inscription S7 see Stutterheim (1929-30), 63.

by Stutterheim in *Oudheden van Bali*, argues that this inscription dates from 875 Śaka or 953 CE (Damais 1951, 134).

From this foundation of understanding, we will proceed to discuss one subsequent section. From the larger inscription (S7m), side *d* reads as follows,

1. --- --- (sa) --- --- --- --- ---r--- --- (yema)
2. --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---
3. --- (muta) --- --- --- --- --- (ni)---(raku)---(pe)
4. (rak)ṣani --- (pa)---i---iram(paṇa)---(relevi)---
5. naṃśrī(va)lipuram//Oṃ namo --- --- e--- ---
6. //śrī ayenakenavikacā
7. ryyeṇamakaravāhanapadasthitenaviravi
8. (ka)stepraśastiślokaḥ//kṛpāya(ṇ)ā
9. khyenarājacitralekhena . likhitāśce
10. ha . śivamastu //

(Stutterheim 1929-30, 63-64; Goris 1954, 114-115)

Line 4 presents the segment *rakṣa*, which could refer to something related to protection or the need to be protected, possibly of the gifted temple. It is even possible that this refers to the masculine, compound form of *rākṣasa* ("evil being

or demon"), referring to some force associated with the preceding temple destruction.

In line 5, we find reference to the effective syllable *Oṃ*. The presence of this symbol suggests the concept that words or sounds could possess a certain power. It is possible that this extant phrase "Oṃ namo…" is the beginning of an expression of respect and devotion to a deity, calling upon them for a blessing as this larger inscription comes to a close. If nothing else, this passage suggests that Indian inscriptional formulas were known within Balinese courtly society.

In this line, we also see reference to the temple itself. Although *pura* more generally refers to a house, castle or town, it is also used (in Bali) to refer to temples. As such, we see a reference to the Śri Vali temple or town, possibly referring to a location key to the inscription: its own original position, the location of the temple or the home of the sponsor, etc.

In line 6, we find named two important figures related to the production of this inscription. First we find *Śrīpunagiṇḍaya*, likely the composer or author of this text (Damais 1951, 138). He is described as being "devoted to the feet" (*padasthitena)* of "he who has *makara* as his vehicle" (*makaravāhana)* i.e. the Indian deity Varuṇa or Kāma. A (likely second) person is then named (*ākhyā*) as *kṛpāṇayaṇa,* who is the *rājacitralekha* (possibly "by the composer and scribe of the king" or the "royal engraver") who wrote down or carved (*likhita*) the "eulogy of praise" (*praśastiślokaḥ*) on the topic of "aggrandizing the hero" (*viravi(ka)ste*), likely the ruler who rebuilt the temple. The inscription then closes with a phrase

frequently used throughout South and Southeast Asia: *śivamastu,* "let it be well/auspicious."[24]

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have taken a preliminary look at the content of four Sanskrit inscriptions from Bali. Two were categorized as "Buddhist" by Stutterheim, two as "non-Buddhist." Three were previously identified as "religious" while the final one was not. However, I believe that what we have seen so far strongly suggests that much can be learned about the religious history of Bali through further study of such sources, no matter their previous classification.

Our preliminary translations have given us many hints relating to the key figures and religious practices of medieval Bali. Indic terminology was used, including both Buddhist and Hindu—even tantric and brahmanic—elements and at least two direct references to Indic divine figures. Many possible practices (e.g. the use of mantras, amulets and temples, reliance on ritual specialists, the importance of proper view and action, pilgrimage, sacrifice, etc.) are suggested. Worldview is also displayed as we see references to cyclical time, as well as the frameworks of *dharma*, *karma* and re-birth.

We will present a more synthesized discussion of our findings in relation to the larger trajectory of knowledge in chapter four. However, I argue that even at

[24] Although most of this final portion is my own translation, Stutterheim does provide a discussion of this section, including some fragments of translation. See Stutterheim (1929-30), 67.

a superficial level, the form and content of the Sanskrit inscriptions discussed above provides ample cause for the continue investigation of the Balinese epigraphy. Within this case study, we see inscriptions both as example of active religious activity (e.g. the mantras within *stūpas*) and describing religious activity (e.g. the portrayal of the gift of a temple and proper royal deportment). In both cases, the content and the form are of great importance as we strive to better understand the surrounding religious life.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS & CONCLUSION

This thesis argues that a gap exists in our current understanding of Bali's medieval religious history due to both the dearth of and the lack of critical attention given to extant sources, specifically Bali's Sanskrit inscriptions. This situation has led modern academia to leave unquestioned the complexities of Bali's religious history. This is a gap in our knowledge worth filling, and it can be filled in part through the further study of Bali's inscriptions, including those written in Sanskrit.

Other streams of research have shed light on aspects of Bali's pre-colonial and even pre-Majapahit history. We possess some archaeological evidence in the form of pottery shards, human remains and monuments. We also hold manuscripts of texts, preserved for centuries via the imprecise art of copying. Some information can be garnered, but we currently lack the breadth and diversity of data necessary to make reasonable claims, especially regarding the lived aspects of medieval Balinese religion. As discussed in chapter two, both manuscript and archaeological sources possess their own strengths and weaknesses. Epigraphy, by walking the line between these two fields of study, presents an interesting opportunity for further insight. Similarly, the utility of inscriptions as a source of information into religious life has been demonstrated in other parts of South and Southeast Asia many times over. Bali's inscriptional

record, therefore, presents a logical choice of material for the further investigation of that island's religious history.

Our understanding of Bali's religious past has been further clouded by centuries of biases within the scholarly community. Since the sixteenth century, European visitors have envisioned Bali, and all of Southeast Asia, as a cultural appendage of India, giving rise to the terminology of Indianization and Hinduization (Boon 1979, 79). Even into the 1950s, we see scholars giving primary importance in their understanding of Bali's social development to "the fact that the Indonesian sphere came to lie to the east of the mighty Indian sub-continent with its states, ports, shipping, and trade" (van Leur 1955, 90). There are many problems with this perspective. First, such India-centric terminology puts undue emphasis on the active influential role of Indian people and, more specifically, Hinduism. As discussed in chapter one, many other factors and human populations were at play (Wade 2009, 232). Second, these terms give the impression that a singular, formalized and static "Indian," "Sanskrit" or "Hindu" social formation existed and was well established in this era, something that is simply unfounded. Third, although some scholars of the modern era have begun to pursue a more critical examination of Bali's history, it is still widely believed that Bali represents a stronghold of pre-Islamic Indonesian culture, as unchanging preserver of the Indian norms held during that nation's perceived early medieval Golden Age.

This India-focused perspective has given rise to a significant proportion of the studies of Bali. As a result, our understanding of Bali's medieval religion is hazy and characterized by a heavily Indian slant. Balinese cultural elements are stamped as *Hindu, Buddhist, Indian* or *indigenous* based upon superficial similarities with forms and concepts found elsewhere. However, we lack the proof to appropriately define these components in a Balinese way or to say how they fit together.

Even within this thesis, many of the interpretations suggested in chapter three are based upon a training background in the wider field of South Asian religion. However, I hope to overcome this bias through both the open acknowledgement of it and my future plan to build a more complete frame of reference through further study of Bali's epigraphic record as a whole. In other words, although this preliminary case study appears to support the idea that Indian culture did greatly impact Balinese religion of the medieval era, at this juncture, I choose not to accept this as the final answer. This hesitancy is particularly salient when attempting to analyse individual words or phrases which do have specific meaning within the Indian context. I do not believe we have yet sufficiently analyzed the wider range of Balinese sources to make claims of equivalency between Bali and India. Until we have established a reasonable local context for understanding the Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali, we risk their miss-interpretation through the overreliance on non-local references. It is my contention that the further study of Balinese inscription can help to build this

specifically Balinese reference framework by elucidating aspects of the medieval Balinese religion which other sources fail to represent and historiographic biases have clouded.

In chapter three, we saw how the form and content of Bali's Sanskrit inscriptions provide us information regarding worldview, including the presence of divine figures, the importance of one geographic location, the emphasizing of self-perfection, the importance of proper action and understanding, the prioritization of purity, cyclical time, the benefit of devotional practices to various entities, the efficacy of ritual specialists for navigating this entire system, etc. Although often overemphasized, it is worth noting that we do also see evidence of multiple religious traditions, including clear links with Indian traditions. This genre of data, which can be used to go beyond the superficial identification of foreign elements to gain a more detailed conception of how religion was actually enacted, is precisely what is currently missing from our understanding of Bali's religious past.

Through the further study of Bali's Sanskrit epigraphy, we can learn what the people of medieval Bali believed about the world around them and how they chose to act as a result thereof. This is epigraphy's great benefit. Not only does it possess direct (if not always purely descriptive) communication, but it also actively exemplifies various aspects of social life. The physical presence, form, location and content of inscriptions present an unusual opportunity to see into the lives of the surrounding Balinese population.

Many questions that are currently glossed over may be answered. What did the world look like on a metaphysical level to medieval Balinese? What were the major moral or metaphysical concerns of the Balinese? How did Balinese enact religion? To whom did the Balinese turn in times of need? In specific circumstances? Among specific social groups? Why? In the social realm of life, death, power and wealth, what form did that religion take, how was it used, and why? These are the types of issues about which we currently know little and which inscriptions can in part explain.

Some might argue that this data source—Sanskrit inscriptions from Bali—is too small a set to be analytically useful. It is true that it would be easier to be sure of postulations if our sample size were larger. However, the rarity of these sources also suggests that they could hold some special importance, not irrelevance. The choice to write these specific texts in Sanskrit sets them apart in some way, a way that has yet to be fully unpacked within the Balinese case, but may shed new light on the wider study of the Sanskrit language and its socio-political usage. Further, not including this group of inscriptions due to their language would be analytically flawed. Mostly fundamentally, I argue that this case study teaches us that further research into this small group of inscriptions would be fruitful, allowing us to gain one more piece of the puzzle relating to Balinese religion as was lived during the pre-Majapahit, early medieval period and our understanding of the flow of socio-religious ideas in South and Southeast Asia as a whole.

On a broader scale, I believe that the study of Bali's medieval religious history is important for two reasons. First, history is a powerful tool in the establishment of modern identity, both nationally and internationally. Until recently, detailed histories were reserved for the "winners" of history. Although post-modern scholarship shifts away from this, it is still the case that undue bias exists within scholarship, placing emphasis upon more developed, internationally active or economically successful areas, and the possession of a detailed history is a marker of these things. Gaining a more clear understanding of Bali's history will contribute depth to Indonesia's historical record. On a purely ethical level, Indonesia deserves the same level of historical understanding as other parts of the world. On a more practical level, however, Indonesia is quickly growing in terms of population, GDP and international involvement, and a strong national history is needed to gain recognition for its achievements, supporting its further growth and acceptance into the global market. Further, Bali's perceived status as the preserver of Indic norms supports a wider binary view of Indonesia as a whole: Islamic vs. Hindu/Buddhist. A more complex understanding of Indonesia's religious identity and history—including that of Bali—may well ease the external ethnic stereotyping and internal sectarian violence that currently threaten Indonesia's further development and international approval.

Second, I believe that further study into the history of Bali may provide a new perspective on the idea of syncretism. In recent years, scholars such as D.

Swearer, T. Kirsch and M.E. Spiro have argued for viewing Southeast Asian religious traditions in terms of syncretic religious melting, suggesting that aspects of various distinct traditions merge to become layers or elements of a single, integrated tradition. Others (e.g. P. Kitiarsa) have argued against this perspective, suggesting that such a lens is too restrictive, over-emphasizing the existence of a set of static high traditions and providing an imprecise catch-all solution to the complexities of social change.[25] As we have seen, Bali is often analyzed using this mode of thought, designating its religion as a combination of Hinduism, Buddhism and animism. Viewing such a designation as an end rather than a beginning of research masks a great diversity of other factors and issues related to the means of implementation, extent of adoption and degree of reinterpretation that would tell us more precisely how Balinese religion functioned. Balinese religion does included factors from multiple religious traditions, but the fact of borrowing is not necessarily the more important identifier of these social elements. Truly original cultural inventions are rare if present at all. Tagging some cultures as independent, original creations and others as just amalgamations of borrowed elements creates a distinct line where none exists. As we have discussed, based upon this preliminary examination, despite elements of various recognized traditions being present within Bali, I believe that viewing Bali uniquely in terms of syncretism encourages an

[25] See Swearer (1995), 258; Kirsch (1978); Spiro (1982), 510; Kitiarsa (2005), 461-487

oversimplification of its socio-religious systems. Through the more complete study of Bali's medieval religion (especially into inscriptions with their evidence of factional interaction and activity as seen in chapter three), new insight may be shed on the utility of this analytical perspective in the specific and the general.

Looking ahead, several key areas on inquiry present themselves. First, in follow up to the themes discussed above, further questions remain regarding the location and definition of power, the nature of reality and the diversity of ritual action present within early medieval Bali. Second, there are significant questions regarding why these few inscriptions were written in Sanskrit, and why all the extant Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali were discovered in such a relatively small segment of the island as a whole. Investigation into these issues could uncover information regarding the internal division or self-definition of the island and its population, as well as comment upon the larger usage trends of the Sanskrit language, providing a Balinese response to such theorists as Pollock. Finally, another vein of potential inquiry relates to the changing dynamic of public, religious expression. In the modern era, the performative features of religion have been emphasized. As Schoenfeld observes, starting during fifteenth century and the final years of the Majapahit Empire, we see the emergence of the model of state power creation based upon public ritual and theatrical displays generally association with the "theatre state" theory of Geertz. Scholars argue that prior to that era, power was constructed not through dynamic action but rather through

the creation of permanent (megalithic) structures (Schoenfelder 2004, 410-411).[26] Further analysis of the inscriptions of Bali (including their content, construction, form and subsequent use) will provide further information regarding the location, creation and display of power during the early medieval period, again adding complexity to current understanding. Detailing this transition, clarifying its progression, and comparing the underlying metaphysical frameworks could present an interesting perspective on Bali's religious history.

Fundamental to all of these paths of discussion is the further analysis of the entire epigraphic corpus relating to Bali. It is this large collection of data—Old Balinese, Old Javanese and Sanskrit inscriptions from Bali, inscriptions from surrounding landmasses and even the parallel literary and physical traditions of the area outside epigraphy—which will provide the framework of understanding, allowing one to make defensible assumptions regarding both the contents of Bali's Sanskrit inscriptions and Bali's religious history. Building upon the results of this thesis, I will focus my future investigations on this larger body of data, specifically Bali's corpus of inscriptions in Old Balinese, Old Javanese and Sanskrit.

This thesis argues that further study into the Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali will provide data critical to our better understanding of Bali's medieval religious history. My analysis of the preliminary translation of a subset of Bali's Sanskrit

[26] For more discussion of Geertz's theory of the theatre state of Bali, see Geertz (1981).

inscriptions supports this theory. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Bali present a distinctive window into the religious history of Bali. As both elite and common, physical and literary, objects and words, local and foreign, these sources—just like religion—touch upon a remarkable breadth of metaphysical, philosophical, ritual, political and economic issues. By giving appropriate attention to these multifaceted sources, we will be able to more successfully and correctly interweave the diverse pieces of evidence we possess regarding Bali's religious history. As such, it is through the examination of Bali's inscriptional record, including its Sanskrit elements, that we will gain a more detailed understanding of Bali's medieval lived religion.

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APPENDIX 1

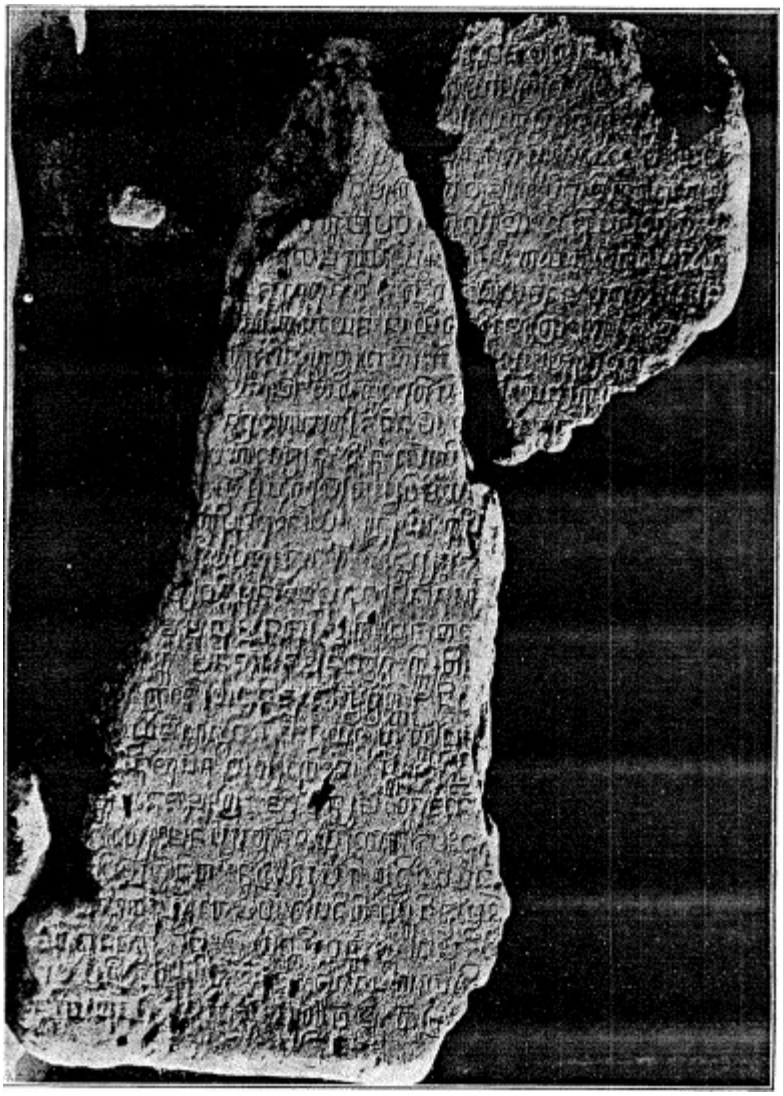
Figure 1

Buddhist Inscriptions: Tablets discovered at Pedjeng. Five small tablets containing stamped Buddha and Bodhisattva images. Four smaller tablets stamped with the *ye-te* mantra (Stutterheim 1929-30, fig. 2).

Figure 2

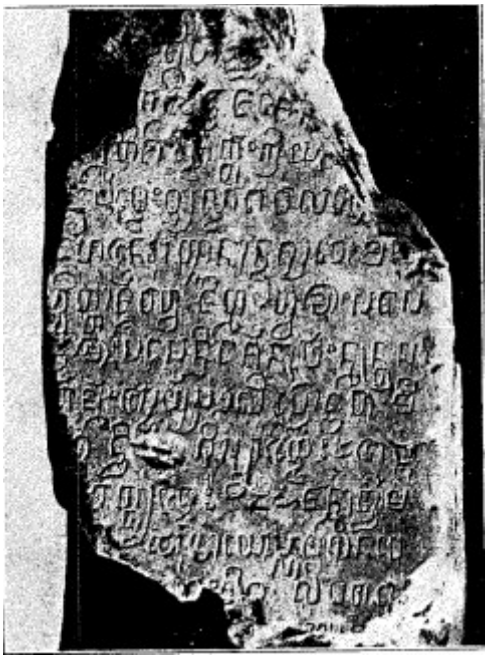
Selection of small stupas (4-20 cm tall) found at Pedjeng. Inside are found small stamped tablets like those displayed here in figure 2. These tablets would be places within these containers with the stamped sides of the two tablets facing one another (Stutterheim 1929-30, fig. 3).

Figure 3.



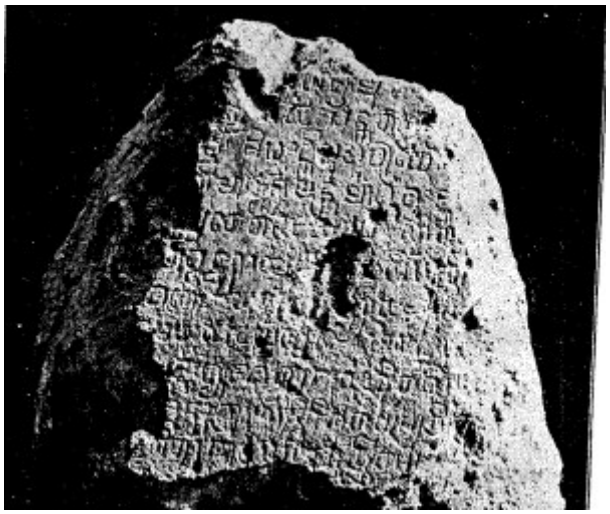
Fragments d & f of Sanskrit inscription S5. The larger block is fragment d found at Panataran Sasih temple; the smaller piece in the upper right is fragment f was found in a residential part of Pedjeng (Stutterheim 1929-30, fig. 94).

Figure 4



Fragment *h* of S5, found at Pedjeng (Stutterheim 1929-30, fig. 97).

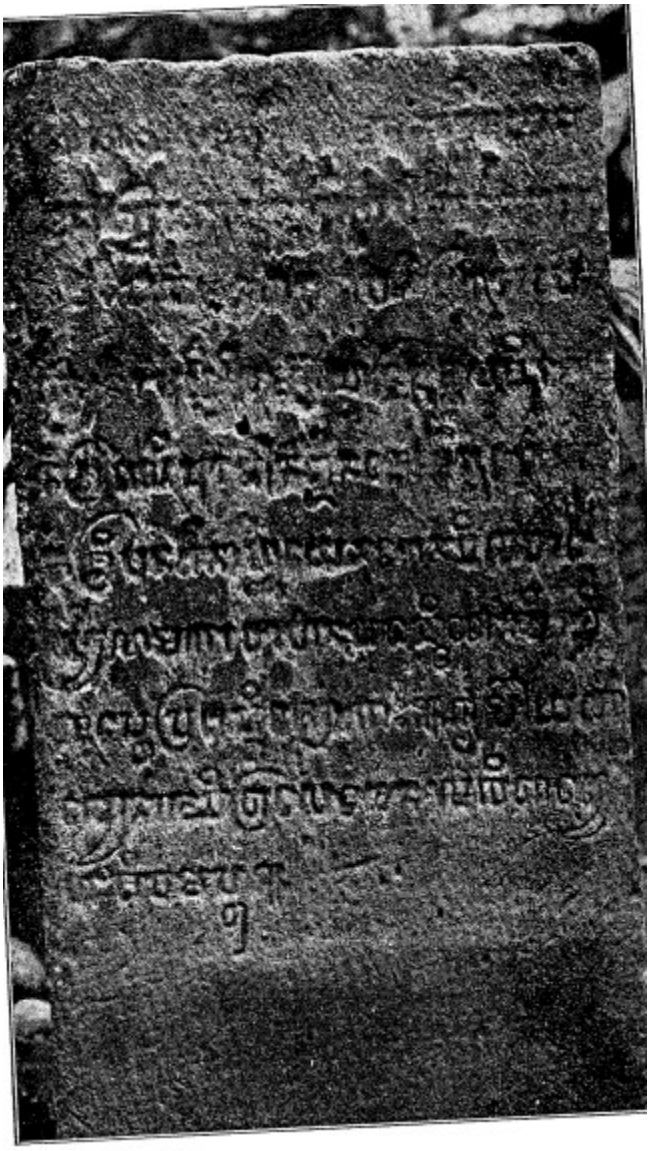
Figure 5



Fragment g of inscription S5 found at Pedjeng.

(Stutterheim 1929-30, fig. 96)

Figure 6



Side *d* of inscription S7m (Stutterheim 1929-30, fig. 104)