

Following the Cap-Figure in Majapahit  
Temple Reliefs

Verhandelingen van het  
Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-,  
Land- en Volkenkunde

*Edited by*

Rosemarijn Hoefte  
KITLV, Leiden

Henk Schulte Nordholt  
KITLV, Leiden

*Editorial Board*

Michael Laffan  
Princeton University

Adrian Vickers  
Sydney University

Anna Tsing  
University of California Santa Cruz

VOLUME 280

# Following the Cap-Figure in Majapahit Temple Reliefs

A New Look at the Religious Function  
of East Javanese Temples,  
Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

*By*  
Lydia Kieven



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON  
2013



This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-NonDerivative 3.0 Unported (CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0) License, which permits any noncommercial use, and distribution, provided no alterations are made and the original author(s) and source are credited.

Shortly before the printing of this book, Suryo Prawiroatmojo has passed away on 8 May 2013. As an activist in environmental and cultural affairs, he initiated the 'Budaya Panji' ('Panji Culture') and strongly supported my research over the years. All the more he made me apply my expertise on the Panji theme in his educational activities on revitalizing the Javanese ancient culture. His ashes were buried at Candi Kendalisodo on the slopes of Mount Penanggungan the fascination of which both of us shared. He would have loved so much to hold this book in his hands. I dedicate this work to him.

*Cover:* samgobin.nl



**KITLV**

The realization of this publication was made possible by the support of KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies).

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013943621

ISSN 1572-1892

ISBN 978-90-67-18388-8 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-25865-5 (e-book)

Copyright 2013 by Lydia Kieven

This work is published by Koninklijke Brill NV. Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.

Koninklijke Brill NV reserves the right to protect the publication against unauthorized use and to authorize dissemination by means of offprints, legitimate photocopies, microform editions, reprints, translations, and secondary information sources, such as abstracting and indexing services including databases. Requests for commercial re-use, use of parts of the publication, and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill NV.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

# Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	IX
TECHNICAL NOTES	XI
LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES, AND PLATES	XIII
<b>I INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>introducing the subject</i>	2
<i>previous research</i>	5
<i>methodology</i>	11
<i>outline</i>	15
<b>II NARRATIVE RELIEFS AND PANJI STORIES</b>	<b>19</b>
<i>narrative reliefs and literary traditions</i>	19
<i>panji stories</i>	25
<i>the literary genre</i>	25
<i>previous research</i>	31
<i>symbolism of the panji stories</i>	38
<i>narratives, panji stories, and performing arts</i>	47
<b>III ICONOGRAPHY OF THE LATE EAST JAVANESE TEMPLE RELIEFS</b>	<b>51</b>
<i>iconographical conventions in the late east javanese temple reliefs</i>	51
<i>types of characters</i>	52
<i>types of postures</i>	56
<i>types of place</i>	58
<i>the cap-figures</i>	60
<i>the term 'cap'</i>	60
<i>iconography and classification</i>	62
<i>the kadeyan: gambyok relief and grogol statues</i>	66
<i>the gambyok relief</i>	68
<i>the grogol statues</i>	71
<i>further kertolo statues</i>	73

<b>IV</b>	<b>TEMPLES IN CONTEXT OF RELIGION AND POLITICS</b>	<b>75</b>
	<i>architecture of the majapahit period</i>	75
	<i>the religious belief systems: saivism and buddhism</i>	78
	<i>tantrism</i>	82
	<i>religious practices in majapahit temples</i>	93
	<i>the politics of majapahit</i>	96
	<i>temples in the ‘unity of the realm’</i>	103
	<i>the decline of majapahit – mountain sanctuaries</i>	107
	<i>water and mountain in ancient javanese mythology and art</i>	113
<b>V</b>	<b>TABLE OF DEPICTIONS OF CAP-FIGURES IN MAJAPAHIT ART IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER</b>	<b>123</b>
	<i>selection of case studies</i>	137
<b>VI</b>	<b>CANDI JAGO: THE CAP, A NEW FASHION OF HEADGEAR</b>	<b>143</b>
	<i>layout and architecture</i>	144
	<i>history and function</i>	144
	<i>reliefs with cap-figures</i>	145
	<i>tantri stories</i>	145
	<i>angling dharma story</i>	147
	<i>kunjarakarna story</i>	150
	<i>sudhanakumara-awadana story</i>	152
	<i>conclusion</i>	154
<b>VII</b>	<b>CANDI PANATARAN: PANJI, INTRODUCING THE PILGRIM INTO THE TANTRIC DOCTRINE</b>	<b>161</b>
	<i>layout and architecture</i>	161
	<i>history and function</i>	166
	<i>iconography and interpretation of the reliefs with cap-figures</i>	171
	<i>the outer bathing place</i>	171
	<i>the pendopo terrace (C)</i>	173
	<i>analysis of the symbolic meaning of the reliefs on the pendopo terrace</i>	201
	<i>the naga temple (E)</i>	210
	<i>the small pendopo terrace (F)</i>	214
	<i>the dwarapala in front of the main temple</i>	218
	<i>the main temple (G)/(H)</i>	221
	<i>the inner bathing place (I)</i>	229
	<i>conclusion</i>	232

VIII CANDI SUROWONO: SIDAPAKSA, A NOBLEMAN WITH A CAP	241
<i>layout and architecture</i>	241
<i>history and function</i>	242
<i>iconography and interpretation of the narrative reliefs</i>	244
<i>the sri tanjung reliefs</i>	244
<i>the arjunawiwaha reliefs and the bubukshah reliefs</i>	248
<i>cross-references between the three narrative relief series</i>	251
<i>conclusion</i>	262
<i>addendum: further cap-figures</i>	267
IX CANDI MIRIGAMBAR: PANJI, THE IDEAL LOVER AND WARRIOR	271
<i>layout and architecture</i>	271
<i>history and function</i>	272
<i>iconography and interpretation of the narrative reliefs</i>	273
<i>conclusion</i>	289
X SANCTUARIES ON MOUNT PENANGGUNGAN: CANDI KENDALISODO, CANDI YUDHA, AND THE PANJI STATUE FROM CANDI SELOKELIR – THE CLIMAX	293
<i>geographical situation and layout of the sanctuaries</i>	293
<i>history and function of the sites</i>	296
<i>candi kendalisodo</i>	301
<i>candi yudha</i>	310
<i>the panji statue from candi selokelir</i>	316
<i>conclusion</i>	323
XI CONCLUSION: PANJI AND THE CAP-FIGURE AS INTERMEDIARY CHARACTERS ON THE PATH TO TANTRIC RITUALS	327
APPENDIX: PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE SINGLE CASE STUDIES	339
GLOSSARY: JAVANESE AND OLD JAVANESE TERMS	345
BIBLIOGRAPHY	349
INDEX	387



## Acknowledgements

This book is the product of my long-term interaction with temples in Java and many people from various countries who inspired and supported me. It is based on my PhD dissertation, completed in 2008 at the University of Sydney, which I reworked and expanded by rearranging and illuminating various points and by adding more recent findings.

I am indebted to the University of Wollongong for granting me a one-year scholarship and to the Faculty of Arts at the University of Sydney for granting me a follow-up scholarship for another year and a half. These grants enabled me to finalize a study I had started earlier, but which I had never worked on continuously due to my critical financial situation.

I am most grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Adrian Vickers, for making it possible for me to cross the water from my home country Germany to Australia. Our discussions were enormously helpful in giving me inspiration and motivating me, even more so because of his own enthusiasm for the Panji subject. I am deeply indebted to my associate supervisor, Prof. emer. Peter Worsley, for letting me share his broad and deep knowledge on the material and for his commitment to giving me illuminating guidance in polishing the 'cap' ever brighter. I thank both supervisors for their support and encouragement.

I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Peter Pink for his guidance through the first steps in my thesis during my affiliation with the University of Cologne in Germany, and to my associate supervisor at the University of Wollongong, Prof. Diana Wood Conroy.

I wish to thank the libraries and the librarians at Fisher Library at the University of Sydney, the library at KITLV in Leiden, and the Kern Institute in Leiden for providing me with immensely important books, articles and photographic material from the Dutch Archaeological Service. I am grateful for the assistance I received at the Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala (BP3) and the museum in Trowulan, the Museum Nasional in Jakarta, and the library of the faculty of arts at ITB Bandung (Institut Teknologi Bandung).

I wish to thank my colleagues, who have accompanied and helped me throughout the years: Prof. Marijke Klokke, Pauline Lunsingh-Scheurleer, and in particular my examiners, Prof. Helen Creese, Dr. Jan Fontein, and Prof. John Miksic, whose comments on the thesis have contributed in a fundamental way to the shaping of this book. I feel indebted to Tom van den Berge of KITLV Press for initiating this book to be published, and to the whole staff of KITLV – Harry Poeze, Rosemarijn Hoefte, Ellen Sitingjak, Hanneke Teunissen, and the anonymous ‘Indonesia Specialist’ for their support and for the meticulous work of editing the manuscript.

I feel deeply indebted to Ki Padmapuspita almarhum from Universitas Gajah Mada who gave me the initial idea of searching for Panji. I would like to thank my Indonesian colleagues Bapak M. Dwi Cahyono from Universitas Negeri Malang, who was an invaluable source for finding many of the reliefs depicting cap-figures, even in very remote sites, Prof. Dr. Agus Aris Munandar from Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta for discussions about Panji, and Bapak Aji Damais for helping to find the Panji sculpture in Bandung. My special thanks to Bapak Suryo Prawiroatmojo from Trawas for his inspiring discussions about Panji. Also to the staff of the PPLH Seloliman for housing me during my fieldtrips. I am deeply grateful to Mas Agus Bimo Prayitno for his patience, motivation, inspiration, and support as a companion in our visits to temples and sites in East Java and for all the discussions which opened my eyes and heart to a deeper understanding of the temples. I am also grateful to all the *juru kunci* (temple guards) who opened doors for me in both the practical and figurative sense, particularly Mas Bondan in Candi Panataran, and Bapak Paidan who guided me several times on Mount Penanggungan. My thanks also go to all the people in Java who helped me, by bringing me by car or by foot to remote sites, by providing me with hot coffee, by allowing me to take a bath in holy water places, and in many other ways.

I wish to thank my friends and relatives in Germany, my friends in the Netherlands, in Indonesia and in Australia for their support and for motivating me to go on and finish the thesis and the book. My special thanks to my parents, who were very patient with me while I was far away doing this ‘crazy’ research, and to my aunt.

Last but not least I want to express my deepest thanks to the creators of the beautiful temple reliefs which have attracted and inspired me over and over again, and to Panji who taught me never to give up.

## Technical notes

Words in languages other than English – that is, Indonesian, Javanese, Old Javanese, and Dutch – are written in italics. The Indonesian and (Old) Javanese terms are explained separately in the glossary at the end of this book.

Sanskrit words and names have been transliterated according to the Javanese spelling system which renders ‘v’ to ‘w’, as in ‘Wishnu’. No diacritics are used. For the letters ‘s’ and ‘r’, I keep to the following conventions:

- s – *Ardhanariswara*, Saka, Sakti, Siwa, *sraddha*,
- *pradakshina*, *rshi*, Wishnu,
- r – *amerta*, Kertanagara, Krishna, *Nagarakertagama*, *rshi*.

The Javanese language has two different spellings for the vowel ‘a’: ‘â’ / ‘o’. I follow the usual and current Indonesian spelling, writing, for example, Janggala (not: Jenggolo or Jenggala), Kertolo (not: Kertala), Kendalisodo (not: Kendalisada), Surowono (not: Surawana), ‘Singasari’ for the historical kingdom, and ‘Singosari’ for the temple. Other specific spellings are: *kadeyan* (not: *kadehan*) and *panakawan* (not: *punakawan*).

To indicate the plural of Javanese and Indonesian words, I do not add the English plural-s; for example, *candi* means ‘temple’ or ‘temples’, depending on the context.

Some particular abbreviations are used in the text:

- AD - years in modern era
- AW - *Arjunawiwaha*
- Awj. - *Arjunawijaya*
- Nag. - *Nagarakertagama*
- OD - Oudheidkundige Dienst (Dutch Archaeological Service)
- Par. - *Pararaton*
- Sut. - *Sutasoma*

| *Technical notes*

Instead of the name *Desawarnana*, I use the name *Nagarakertagama* due to older convention.

Photographs and maps of temples are provided by myself. Otherwise the sources are indicated. I make use of photographs by Ann Kinney (2003) and by the Kern Institute in Leiden. In the descriptions of reliefs and photographs, ‘right’ and ‘left’ refer to the viewer’s perspective.

## List of figures, tables, and plates

### **Frontispiece**

Detail of fig. 7.28 (left part of panel 80 of the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran)

### **Chapter I Introduction**

Fig. 1.1 Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir (fig. 10.13a); Candi Panataran, Pendopo Terrace, panel 4 (fig. 7.6); Candi Panataran, Pendopo Terrace, detail of panel 54 (fig. 7.21); Candi Jago, *Kunjarakarna*, initiation of Purnawijaya; Candi Jago, *Tantri* story (detail of fig. 6.5)

### **Chapter III Iconography of the late East Javanese temple reliefs**

Fig. 3.1 Panji with a crescent-moon shaped cap on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran  
Fig. 3.2 Servants with a half-moon shaped cap on the Main Temple at Candi Panataran  
Fig. 3.3 Commoner with a beret-like cap on Candi Jago  
Fig. 3.4 Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir  
Fig. 3.5 Relief from Gambyok  
Fig. 3.6 The Grogol statues

### **Chapter IV Temples in context of religion and politics**

Fig. 4.1 The system of the *cakra*

### **Chapter VI Candi Jago**

Plate 6.1 Groundplan of Candi Jago  
Fig. 6.2 Candi Jago, west front  
Fig. 6.3 Candi Jago, north side of first terrace at west projection, 'Crocodile and bull'  
Fig. 6.4 Candi Jago, north side of first terrace at west projection, 'Monkey and ungrateful man'

- Fig. 6.5 Candi Jago, west side of first terrace at west projection, 'Palmwine tappers judge between monkeys'
- Fig. 6.6 Candi Jago, south side of first terrace, *Angling Dharma*
- Fig. 6.7 Candi Jago, first terrace, left part of east side, *Angling Dharma*
- Fig. 6.8 Candi Jago, first terrace, right part of east side, *Angling Dharma*
- Fig. 6.9 Candi Jago, north side of first terrace, *Kunjarakarna*, Kunjarakarna's initiation
- Fig. 6.10 Candi Jago, west front of the belt, *Kunjarakarna*, parade of the sinners
- Fig. 6.11 Candi Jago, north side of the belt, *Sudhanakumara-Awadana*

## **Chapter VII Candi Panataran**

- Plate 7.1 Groundplan of Candi Panataran  
(based on Bernet Kempers 1959:91, fig. 10, with numeration by Kieven)
- Fig. 7.2 Candi Panataran, entrance to the temple compound
- Table 7.3 Inscriptions found in the precinct of Candi Panataran
- Fig. 7.4 Outer Bathing Place, relief fragment
- Plate 7.5 Groundplan of the Pendopo Terrace
- Fig. 7.6 Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 4
- Fig. 7.7 Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 9-10
- Fig. 7.8 Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 13-14
- Fig. 7.9 Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 15-16
- Fig. 7.10 Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 19
- Fig. 7.11 Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 24
- Fig. 7.12 Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 26
- Fig. 7.13 Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 33-34
- Fig. 7.14 Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 36-38
- Fig. 7.15 Pendopo Terrace, north side, panel 43
- Fig. 7.16 Pendopo Terrace, north side, panel 44
- Fig. 7.17 Pendopo Terrace, north side, panel 46
- Fig. 7.18 Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 49
- Fig. 7.19 Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 51

Fig. 7.20	Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 53
Fig. 7.21	Pendopo Terrace, west side, panels 54-55
Fig. 7.22	Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 56
Fig. 7.23	Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 59
Fig. 7.24	Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 61
Fig. 7.25	Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 65
Fig. 7.26	Pendopo Terrace, west side, panels 70-71
Fig. 7.27	Pendopo Terrace, south side, panel 75
Fig. 7.28	Pendopo Terrace, south side, panel 80
Table 7.29	The elements of the narrative plots on the Pendopo Terrace and their placement
Fig. 7.30	Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 56
Fig. 7.31	Naga Temple in the second courtyard, view of south side
Fig. 7.32	Naga Temple, panel on southeastern corner
Fig. 7.33	Small Pendopo Terrace in the third courtyard, to the southwest of the Main Temple
Fig. 7.34	Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on west side
Fig. 7.35	Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on south side
Fig. 7.36	Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on east side
Fig. 7.37	Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on north side
Fig. 7.38	<i>Dwarapala</i> on the right side of the left staircase of the Main Temple
Fig. 7.39	Back of the <i>dwarapala</i> on the left side of the left staircase of the Main Temple
Fig. 7.40	Main Temple in the third courtyard, view from northwest
Fig. 7.41	Main Temple, first terrace, east side, <i>Ramayana</i> , plate 189
Fig. 7.42a/b	Main Temple, second terrace, west side, <i>Krishnayana</i> , panel 5 and detail
Fig. 7.43	Main Temple, second terrace, west side, <i>Krishnayana</i> , part of panel 21
Fig. 7.44	Inner Bathing Place, corner on the south side
Fig. 7.45	Inner Bathing Place, left side of the northern corner, female figure
Fig. 7.46	Inner Bathing Place, right side of the northern corner, male figure

## **Chapter VIII Candi Surowono**

- Plate 8.1 Groundplan of Candi Surowono
- Fig. 8.2 Candi Surowono, north side, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 7
- Fig. 8.3 Candi Surowono, south side, from right to left: panels 2, A12, A13, A15, A16
- Fig. 8.4 Candi Surowono, south side, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 1
- Fig. 8.5 Candi Surowono, south side, right corner, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 3
- Fig. 8.6 Candi Surowono, east side, left corner, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 4
- Fig. 8.7 Candi Surowono, north side, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 5
- Fig. 8.8 Candi Surowono, north side, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 6
- Fig. 8.9 Candi Surowono, north side, *Sri Tanjung*, left: panel 7; right: panel 8
- Fig. 8.10 Candi Surowono, north side, *Sri Tanjung*, left: A4; right: panel 9
- Fig. 8.11 Candi Surowono, seen from the west
- Fig. 8.12 Candi Surowono, south side, porch, A15 with Niwatakawaca and cap-figure
- Fig. 8.13 Candi Surowono, small panel on lower range of wall: north side, under panel 5
- Fig. 8.14 Candi Surowono, small panel on lower range of wall: east side, under A2

## **Chapter IX Candi Mirigambar**

- Plate 9.1 Groundplan of Candi Mirigambar
- Fig. 9.2 Candi Mirigambar, seen from the west
- Fig. 9.3a/b Candi Mirigambar, figures to the left and right of the staircase
- Fig. 9.4 Candi Mirigambar, west side, left of staircase, panel 1
- Fig. 9.5 Candi Mirigambar, north side, panel 2
- Fig. 9.6 Candi Mirigambar, north side, panel 3
- Fig. 9.7 Candi Mirigambar, north side, panel 4
- Fig. 9.8 Candi Mirigambar, east side, panel 5
- Fig. 9.9 Candi Mirigambar, east side, panel 6
- Fig. 9.10 Candi Mirigambar, south side, panel 8
- Fig. 9.11 Candi Mirigambar, south side, panel 9

Fig. 9.12 Candi Mirigambar, south side, panel 10

Fig. 9.13 Candi Mirigambar, south side, panel 11

## **Chapter X Sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan**

Fig. 10.1 Mount Penanggungan, seen from Trawas, from the south

Plate 10.2 Topographic map of Mount Penanggungan

Fig. 10.3 Candi Kendalisodo, view from northwest

Fig. 10.4 Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*, first terrace, left of staircase, panel 1

Fig. 10.5 Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*, first terrace, right of staircase, panel 2

Fig. 10.6a Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*, second terrace, right of staircase, panel 3 (photo 1996)

Fig. 10.6b Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*, detail of panel 3 (photo 2010)

Fig. 10.7a Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*, second terrace, left of staircase, panel 4 (photo 1996)

Fig. 10.7b Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*, detail of panel 4 (photo 2010)

Fig. 10.8 Candi Kendalisodo, *pertapaan*, Bhima relief

Fig. 10.9 Candi Yudha

Fig. 10.10 Candi Yudha, first terrace, right side of the staircase

Fig. 10.11 Candi Yudha, first terrace, left side of the staircase

Fig. 10.12 Candi Yudha, panel on the third terrace, depicting Sugriwa and Hanuman

Fig. 10.13a Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir

Fig. 10.13b-d Details of the Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir

## **Chapter XI Conclusion**

Fig. 11.1 Cap-figure in panel 3 at the Pendopo Terrace of Candi Panataran

Fig. 11.2 Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir, view from the top



## Chapter I

### Introduction

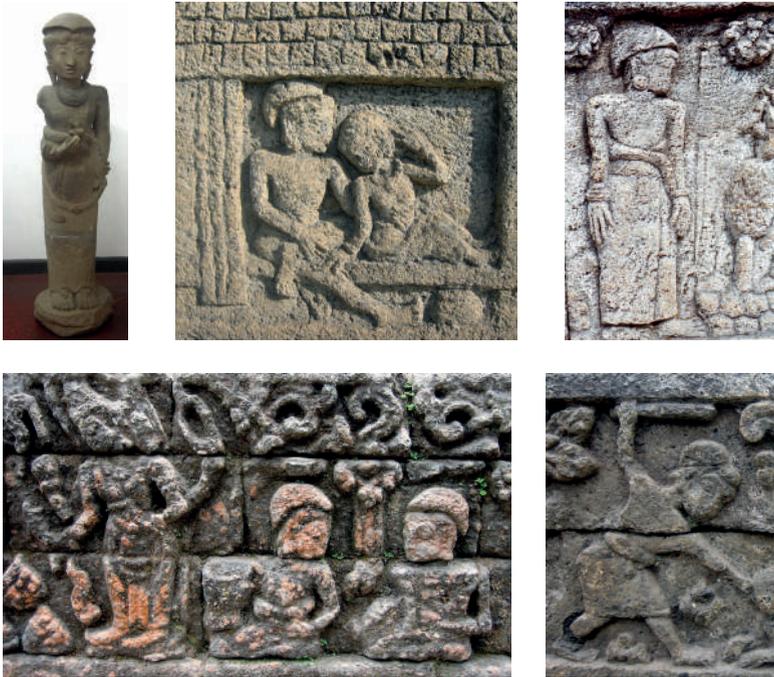


Fig. 1.1

Upper row from left to right:  
Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir (fig. 10.13a); Candi  
Panataran, Pendopo Terrace, panel 4 (fig. 7.6); Candi Panataran,  
Pendopo Terrace, detail of panel 54 (fig. 7.21)

Lower row from left to right:  
Candi Jago, *Kunjarakarna*, initiation of Purnawijaya;  
Candi Jago, *Tantri* story (detail of fig. 6.5)

## INTRODUCING THE SUBJECT

The object of my study is a figure wearing a cap depicted in reliefs at East Javanese temples during the Majapahit period (ca. AD 1300-1500). I call this special figure the ‘cap-figure’ (fig. 1.1). The cap-figure constitutes one of many new features which were created in East Javanese art and were distinct from earlier Central Javanese art. In particular it represents an example of the richness and beauty of the Majapahit art.

Majapahit was the last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Java before the arrival of Islam. Centred in East Java, it was the last of a sequence of major dynasties which made up the East Javanese period of Javanese history after the centre of power had shifted from Central Java. The majority of the temples are scattered in an area roughly within a range of 100 kilometres to the west, south, and east of the former capital of Majapahit, located at the present-day town of Trowulan, around 70 kilometres south of Surabaya. Most of the East Javanese temples are of a rather small scale in comparison to the earlier Central Javanese temples. I have visited these temples over several years and have always been fascinated by their beautiful relief carvings and by the atmosphere of the temples.

Initially I became interested in the depictions of the cap-figures and, particularly, of the Panji stories when my teacher of Old Javanese, the late Mbah Padmapuspita in Yogyakarta, one day showed me a picture of one of the panels from Candi Kendalisodo and explained to me that it depicted a scene from a Panji story. Panji, the hero of the story, wore a cap as a specific type of headgear. Mbah Padmapuspita advised me to research this topic at some point in the future. When a few years later, in 1996, I visited Candi Kendalisodo on the slope of Mount Penanggungan I was reminded of his advice. Originally I had climbed the mountain to look at the reliefs in this site, which contained scenes from the *Arjunawiwaha*, a topic which I had researched before (Kieven 1994). However, the scene with the temptation of Arjuna, which I only knew through photos of the Dutch Oudheidkundige Dienst (Archaeological Field Survey Department), had disappeared, as had the scene with a depiction of the *Bhīmasuci*.<sup>1</sup> My attention shifted from the character of Arjuna to the character of Panji, depictions of whom were still extant

<sup>1</sup> During my last visit in 2010, the panel depicting the *widadari* (heavenly nymphs) adorning themselves had also vanished.

in four beautiful relief panels. Since then I have systematically collected information about other depictions of Panji in East Javanese temples. From this I learnt that it is not only Panji who is depicted wearing a cap; other characters, such as simple commoners, also wore this headgear.

Investigation of the particular figure wearing a cap, be it Panji or another character, has never been carried out in a coherent and comprehensive manner. That the cap-figure is not only a minor element in the reliefs of the Majapahit temples, but did in fact have an important meaning and function, is evident through the frequency of its depictions. In this book I present the results of my studies, which have yielded new insights into the meaning of the cap-figure in narrative temple reliefs, and beyond this, of the Majapahit temples in general.

Since 1996 my research has led me to well-known sites such as Candi Jago, Candi Surowono, and Candi Panataran, but also to remote sites such as Candi Selotumpuk, Candi Gajah Mungkur, Candi Yudha on Mount Penanggungan, and Candi Penampihan on Mount Wilis, where relief panels were stolen but were documented in photos by the Dutch Archaeological Field Service Department. Eventually I also found the well-documented Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir on Mount Penanggungan, which is kept in the art library in the ITB University in Bandung.

At the beginning of my research, I considered this cap simply to be an interesting new fashion of the time, and I was fascinated by the variety of the depictions and by the range of narratives in which the cap-figure appeared. Increasingly, my interest was directed to the various meanings of this figure, and to the question of its meaning and function within the particular narrative being depicted. In a broader sense, I became intrigued by its meaning and function in the very temple or sanctuary itself. Finally, the question arose as to why this figure appears only in the temples of the Majapahit period and not in earlier periods.

These questions are informed by the approach that I took in my earlier study of the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs, which I discussed in the context of their symbolic meaning and function within the temples and within the historical time period. A statement by Stuart O. Robson referring to Old Javanese literature reflects this approach: ‘A fundamental assumption is that a poem expresses ideas *indirectly*, that is “a poem says one

thing and means another” (Robson 1983:299, quoting Riffaterre 1978).<sup>2</sup> This statement can be applied to objects of visual art, such as I discuss, to the narrative reliefs with cap-figures. In this sense, rather than only representing a contemporary fashion of headgear, the cap-figures tell us more about the culture of Majapahit. The interconnection between the literary and the visual form of art as two different kinds of medium for conveying a certain message is in fact crucial in my understanding of the ancient Javanese narrative art.

My approach stands in the tradition of earlier scholars who have investigated narrative reliefs on ancient Javanese temples, for example Willem F. Stutterheim in the early twentieth century and, in more recent times, Kathleen P. O’Brien, Marijke J. Klokke, and Peter J. Worsley. They drew on the fact that the narrative reliefs were carved not only to decorate the temple or to entertain the pilgrims, but also to convey a certain symbolism. Based on an iconographic analysis we can, taking into account the broader context of art, religion, mythology, history, and politics, draw conclusions about the symbolic meaning of the reliefs.

All ancient Javanese art and literature bears a deeper symbolism, and this deeper layer, this symbolism, is even today the basis of traditional Javanese culture. Myths, such as those performed in *wayang kulit*, are considered to have a deeper meaning in the teaching and understanding of *ngelmu* (mystic knowledge). P.J. Zoetmulder (1971:88) expresses this perception when, referring to the *Serat Centhini*, he describes the audience of a *wayang* performance: they ‘are not beguiled by outward appearances but see through them to what is hidden behind these stories of human events’.<sup>3</sup> Thus Robson’s statement on Old Javanese literature, mentioned above, also holds true for the medium of *wayang*. Further on Zoetmulder observes: ‘perfect insight, the deeper meaning of the wajang, the innermost truth and reality, which remains hidden to the common man, [...] reveals itself to the initiate only’. The same is true for the temple reliefs: only the initiated was able to penetrate to their deepest meaning. The belief that magic power does exist in ancient sites still today leads many Javanese people to visit these sites. From this living tradition, and from sources in Old Javanese literature, we can understand that this belief is

<sup>2</sup> This statement stands in the tradition of Barthes’ theories of analysing texts. See my paragraph on methodology below.

<sup>3</sup> See also Mangkunegara VII 1957.

deeply rooted in the Javanese culture. In a way, my research attempts to contribute to a greater comprehension of these roots.

I am particularly happy that my interest and my research results are much appreciated by people in Java, and that my work has been able to contribute to their efforts of revitalizing their old traditions.<sup>4</sup> Panji has become an icon of the specific cultural identity of East Java, which points to the long tradition of the ‘Panji culture’ rooted in this region. This development has to be seen in the larger context of retraditionalization against the background of western globalization and Arabization.<sup>5</sup>

I need to take into account that I, as a person who is remote, in culture and in time, in relation to my research object, can only to a certain degree attempt to understand the deeper meaning of ancient Javanese art. However, my detailed and broadly acquired knowledge and analysis allows me to propose an argument. ‘Harus berani’ (‘You need to have courage’), as a Javanese friend said to me.

My interests as outlined above have led to the following research questions: What is the symbolic meaning of the cap-figure in the narrative relief depictions? What is the function of the cap-figure in the whole temple? Why was the cap-figure depicted frequently and exclusively in the Majapahit temples?

#### PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In the early research on ancient East Java carried out mainly by Dutch scholars, the historical and religious developments as well as the art forms were seen in relation to India. In the title of N.J. Krom’s (1931) overview of Javanese history, *Hindu-Javaansche Geschiedenis, nomen est omen*. The term ‘Hindu-Javanese’ has been used for many decades and has only in more recent times been replaced by names such as ‘classical Javanese’ or ‘ancient Javanese’. The tradition of looking at Javanese

<sup>4</sup> An important initiator has been the environmentalist Suryo Prawiroatmojo from Trawas. The shared enthusiasm of several cultural groups led to a number of festivals, workshops, seminars, and performances. The first event, featuring academic lectures and performances, was held in Malang and Trawas in September 2007. Follow-ups have been held and are planned to be continued in the future. In this context the term ‘Budaya Panji’ has been created. It represents a revitalization of the Panji theme and is embedded in the broader context of retraditionalization. Articles and treatises on this theme, partly being published, attest for an increasing interest and importance. See for example Nurcahyo 2009.

<sup>5</sup> Throughout recent years forms of retraditionalization have developed, not only in Java, but also in other parts of Southeast Asia; these have become subject of sociological/ethnologic research.

history in the context of India was later transferred to the concept of the ‘Indianization’ of Southeast Asia. Georges Coédès (1968) created the term ‘Indianized states’, focusing on the impact of Indian culture instead of focusing on Southeast Asian culture for its own sake. This view provoked a long-lasting discussion about Java’s position in this process of ‘Indianization’. This discussion was to a large extent carried out in the field of art and religion, particularly in relation to the later phase of ancient Javanese history, before Islam took over in Java.

It was a commonly held opinion that East Javanese art, with its many new features which differed from earlier Central Javanese art, represented a degeneration within the development of classical art, caused by the gradually lessening influence from India. This position was certainly due to the training of the scholars as Indologists: they compared Javanese art and religion with the Indian model. While Central Javanese art was very close to the genuine Indian model, East Javanese art was considered a deviation from the Indian original which represented a loss in value. F.D.K. Bosch (1920) in his ‘Een hypothese omtrent den oorsprong der Hindoe-Javaansche kunst’ can be seen as an important proponent of this position. The outstanding scholar Stutterheim stands as a major counterpart to Bosch, in objecting to the idea of degeneration. In his publication on the *Ramayana* reliefs, Stutterheim (1925) explores the versions of the *Ramayana* depicted in the various temple reliefs in Java, particularly in the temples of Prambanan and Panataran, which constitute the two major examples of Central and East Javanese art and architecture, respectively.<sup>6</sup> In comparing the elements and the styles of these depictions, he concludes for the East Javanese art: ‘There can be no question of degeneration here and this is shown by the efflorescence of magicism in East Java. An art, in which such a process can be depicted, is not degenerate’ (Stutterheim 1989:171). He refers here to the frequent emergence of magic elements in the *Ramayana* reliefs at Candi Panataran, such as depictions of ghosts in the shape of clouds and spirals, which he interprets as indicators of a magic symbolism.

Since the rejection of ideas of degeneration, a crucial new question arose concerning the development of religious life and art in the East Javanese period. Were there really new elements developed and created, independently from the earlier period, or was it just that old indigenous

<sup>6</sup> This book, first published in 1925 in German, was later (1989) published in English.

elements emerged again when the Indian influence was weakening? The focus of discussion was specifically on the fifteenth century, since this period presented the changes in forms of art and religion in a most conspicuous way. In contrast to the former, derogatory idea of degeneration, this meant an acknowledgement of the specificity of the new styles and elements in ancient East Javanese culture. The resurgence of indigenous styles and elements became a major topic of discussion. Stutterheim (for example, in his 1936a publication) advocates this position, arguing that the new styles were based on the traditions of megalithic culture and of ancestor worship. In a further development of this position, H.G. Quaritch Wales (1951:11, 1974:138) coined the term 'local genius' of Java. Ancestor and mountain worship and the megalithic tradition would have re-emerged in the process of loosening ties with India, particularly during the Majapahit period between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The increased establishment of mountain sanctuaries during the late phase of Majapahit's rule would have been rooted in these ancient and prehistoric traditions. S. Supomo (1972:292) is one of a number of scholars who rejects this position. He argues that the worship of the sacred mountain had been common during the whole period of Indianization and not particularly in the era of Majapahit. In recent times Agus A. Munandar (1990b:6-8) and Hariani Santiko (1998), in their discussions of mountain sanctuaries, also oppose Quaritch Wales through their interpretation that these sanctuaries were meant for the worship of a certain god rather than for worshipping ancestors. The terraced sanctuaries on the slopes of Mount Penanggungan figure as major examples in these discussions. Thomas Hunter (2001) raises another issue in proposing that during the fifteenth century there was a revival in Java of Indian culture and some of its features, an example being the increased use of Sanskrit. All these various positions are crucial elements for my discussion of the mountain sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan.

Claire Holt (1967:72) rejects both ideas, of a 'degeneration' and of a 'resurgence', arguing convincingly that the 'art styles of East Java were a creative response of its architects, sculptors, and designers to the cultural climate of their time'. I see my discussion and analysis of the cap-figure and its symbolism in late East Javanese art as example and proof of this statement. My investigation will demonstrate the way in which the cap-figure is a part of this creative response, and what it tells us about the

new developments in Javanese religion, culture, society, and politics of the Majapahit period.

O.W. Wolters (1982:52-3) has introduced terms such as ‘localization’, ‘adaptation’, and ‘synthesis’, which are certainly more appropriate expressions for what occurred during the process of Indian influence in societies which had already developed their own ‘local genius’ in the pre- and proto-historic time. Wolters’ newly created terms ‘soul stuff’ and ‘men of prowess’ as elements of this local genius have since then become part of the vocabulary of literature on the history of early Southeast Asia. Such elements correspond to the Hindu concepts of ascetic practice and spirituality as important qualities to justify leadership.<sup>7</sup> This ascetic tradition continued to play a major role in the religious practice of the Majapahit period. Further discussion on the concepts of ‘localization’ and ‘local genius’, stressing the uniqueness of the ancient Indonesian culture, was carried out amongst Indonesian historians and archaeologists.<sup>8</sup> Edi Sedyawati (1990:100) describes the process of Indian cultural elements being ‘absorbed into a preexisting Indonesian culture, and remolded to conform with local needs’. This view provides another platform for my approach.

Investigations into ancient Javanese antiquities and art had, in early scholarly research, mainly consisted of inventories, descriptions, and regional surveys. Authors such as H. Hoepermans (1913), J. Knebel (1908a, 1908b), and P.J. Perquin (1915, 1916), who published in the early Dutch journals; Th. van Erp (1931) and Krom (1931), with their description of the Borobudur; and Krom (1923), in his accomplished survey of the antiquities: all completed outstanding work in this field, which provided the material and data for future studies.

Research on narrative reliefs began by taking as a model descriptive studies. The emphasis was placed on identifying the narrative reliefs with extant literary narratives. This can be seen in P.V. van Stein Callenfels’ (1924, 1925a, 1925b) works on the *Krishnayana* at Panataran, on the *Sudamala* and *Mintaraga* reliefs, and also in J.L.A. Brandes’ (1904) monumental book on Candi Jago. These authors were either able to read manuscripts of the original texts themselves, or they made use of the

<sup>7</sup> Wolters 1982:101-4. In the revised edition, Wolters (1999:18-20, 93-5) elaborated further on this issue.

<sup>8</sup> See Ayatrohaedi 1986. This remarkable publication contains the proceedings of a conference on this topic. Sedyawati’s article in these proceedings was later published in English (1990).

translations and editions by philologists such as R.M.Ng. Poerbatjaraka (1926a, 1926b, 1931, 1933, amongst others). Again, these publications are very valuable for the studies carried out later.

Stutterheim's research is based on descriptive and iconographic studies, but goes beyond this by being dedicated to an analysis of the antiquities by offering suggestions for their symbolism. Thus, his approach denotes a new way of working in the studies of the East Javanese art. His interpretations provide the basis for his conclusion that East Javanese art does not represent a degeneration of the earlier Indian dominated art, but, rather, displays new features with their own value.<sup>9</sup> At a higher level, the interpretation of the symbolic meaning of certain elements in a sanctuary led him to the interpretation of the all-encompassing meaning of this sanctuary. This can be seen in his investigation of the Bhima depictions at Candi Sukuh, where he argues that Candi Sukuh was 'a sanctuary where the salvation of the soul constituted the main purpose of worship' (1935a:119). From his broader iconographic studies of the Bhima theme, Stutterheim concludes that Tantric sects must have existed in ancient Java.<sup>10</sup> His interpretations of the Panji theme are of interest with regard to my specific object of research: Panji depictions. After the discovery of the Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir, Stutterheim observed that the character of Panji stands closer to the people than do Rama and Arjuna in the old Indian epics (1936b:333).

Stutterheim's approach has been taken up by authors such as Bosch (1948), by A.J. Bernet Kempers (1959:42-5, 1981b), and by several authors investigating the symbolism and esoteric meaning of the Borobudur.<sup>11</sup> A major change in the perception and interpretation of the ancient Javanese *candi* was initiated by R. Soekmono's (1995) innovative research. He concludes that the *candi* was not meant to be a tomb monument of a deceased king – a belief that had characterized generations of research on the antiquities – but rather a commemorative shrine.<sup>12</sup> It therefore became necessary to drop the older concept that the deity, who was considered to be incarnated as the king, would be embodied in the

<sup>9</sup> Examples are found in his discussion of the symbolism of Mount Meru in East Javanese art (in his article 'Oost-Java en de hemelberg' (1926)), and his interpretation of magicism as constituting one of the newly created features in art (in his book on the *Ramayana* reliefs (1989:164-5).

<sup>10</sup> In his article 'An ancient Javanese Bhima cult' (1935a).

<sup>11</sup> For example, Stutterheim 1956:1-62, and a number of articles in the book about Borobudur edited by L.O. Gómez and H.W. Woodward (1981).

<sup>12</sup> The publication from 1995 is the English translation of the original Indonesian book from 1974.

corporeal remains of the king in the *candi*, and consequently replace it with the idea that the deity would be incorporated into the portrait image of the king (Soekmono 1995:12).

Research in the field of narrative temple reliefs has taken a major new turn in more recent times. These studies specifically consider the reliefs within the layout of the temple, referring to their selection, order, and placement in a temple, and analyse their symbolic meaning in this context. This way of analysis has yielded new insights into the symbolic meaning of ancient Javanese temples. Outstanding examples are Worsley's (1986, 1996) and Klokke's (1995) discussions of Candi Surowono and the seemingly disordered placement of reliefs in the temple.<sup>13</sup> Other studies in this vein have been completed by O'Brien (1988, 1990, 1993) on Candi Jago, who concludes that this temple represents a *mandala* in the context of Tantric Buddhism;<sup>14</sup> by Klokke (1993), in her interpretations of the Tantri reliefs at Javanese temples as expressions of the ideal kingship; by myself (Kieven 1994), with studies of the ascetic ideal in *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs; and by Jo-Anne Sbeghen (2004), on the religious function of Candi Sukuh.<sup>15</sup> Klokke (1995), in her analysis of the orientation of temples, explains that the rear side of a *candi* is usually dedicated to the sacred sphere and that the relief depictions which emphasize sacredness are placed on this side. The significant results to emerge from these studies are that the specific selection, order, and placement of reliefs in the layout of the temples constitute a certain message within the function of the temple.<sup>16</sup>

Other investigations carried out on a larger scale are also relevant for my research. These are, amongst others, the presentations by Judith Patt (1979), on the symbolism of water in ancient Indonesian art; by Hariani Santiko (2000), on the religious functions of narrative reliefs; and by Edi Sedyawati (1994), in her broad investigation on the Ganesha statuary and its symbolism.

I see my own research as standing in the tradition of the approach outlined above. In my case this is the task of interpreting the symbolic role of a particular figure in narrative reliefs and, through its role, to

<sup>13</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter VI.

<sup>15</sup> See my discussion of Candi Sukuh in Chapter IV.

<sup>16</sup> Compare McGowan 2005:249.

come to an interpretation of the religious symbolism and function of the respective temple.

Depictions of cap-figures and particularly of Panji stories have generated some scattered interest, but have never been systematically investigated on a wide scale.<sup>17</sup> The interrelation between the literary and the visual aspects of the Panji topic has only marginally been a subject of research. Some incoherent identifications of Panji in reliefs and sculpture have been provided. For example, in his reports on the explorations on Mount Penanggungan, Stutterheim (1936a, 1936b) documents the Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir and depictions of Panji stories in mountain sanctuaries. He bases his studies only on the cap as the typical headgear of Panji. His explanation (1935b) of the relief scene from Gambyok as a depiction of a scene from a Panji story was followed on by Poerbatjaraka (1940a:367, 1968:408), who identifies this story as the *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang*.<sup>18</sup> The interpretations by the two scholars allow Satyawati Suleiman (1978:23-4) to conclude that the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran display Panji stories. Satyawati Suleiman's work is the first discussion of Panji stories in a broader range, and the first examination of the symbolic meaning of the Panji depictions. Other studies on the symbolic meaning of depictions of Panji stories have been conducted by Agus A. Munandar (1990a, 1990b), in his investigation of the religious life on Mount Penanggungan. Elsewhere I present a tentative interpretation of the reliefs at Candi Kendalisodo to depict a certain Panji story (Kieven 1994). Furthermore, others have pointed to possible symbolic functions of the Panji figure in East Javanese art; for example, Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (2000:200-1), who ascribes to the Panji sculpture from Selokelir the status of a deity.

## METHODOLOGY

The theoretical framework for my research subject is that of art history. It is based on the understanding that art is an expression of its cultural background, or, as the German art historian Erwin Panofsky (1975:41)

<sup>17</sup> Klokke (1993:64) mentions that the topic of cap-wearing figures is still an open field for research.

<sup>18</sup> He discovered this story in Cohen Stuart's manuscripts: Coll. Cohen Stuart No. 125. See the summary of the story in Poerbatjaraka 1940a:1-36, 1968:3-43. I will discuss the relief and this story in Chapter III.

phrases it: 'Ein Kunstwerk ... [ist das] Symptom von etwas anderem' ('A work of art is the symptom of something else'). With this view, Panofsky dissociates himself from the Swiss art historian Heinrich Wölfflin (1915), who had developed a theory of the perception of aesthetic art forms based on the core term 'reines künstlerisches Sehen' ('pure artistic vision'). This refers to a merely immanent perception of the work of art which does not consider it in its broader cultural context.

With his iconological method, Panofsky (1975:38-40) establishes three phases in the interpretation of the work of art:

1. In a pre-iconographic phase, the depicted forms and objects are identified as motifs.
2. In an iconographic phase, the motifs are seen as carriers of a meaning and thus are considered as images.
3. An iconological phase proceeds to further account for the all-encompassing meaning or the symbolic meaning of the work of art. In this iconological phase, the work of art is considered in the context of the 'Grundeinstellung einer Nation, einer Epoche, einer Klasse, einer religiösen oder philosophischen Überzeugung' ('principle attitude of a nation, of an era, of a class, of religious or political convictions') (Panofsky 1975:40).

Ernst H. Gombrich's approach (1985:7), which states that there are 'fitting subjects for given contexts' goes a step beyond Panofsky. This concept is based on the understanding that a given context bears certain implications. This applies to the concept that, within a particular temple, the symbolic meaning of the narrative reliefs reflects the meaning and the function of that very temple. The cap-figure in particular is depicted because it fits a certain purpose and function of the temple in its historical and religious context.

My object of art, the cap-figure, is not a single object; rather, it is embedded in several layers of context which determine its mythical or symbolic meaning. It can be part of a relief series, part of a combination of relief series, part of a building with a particular layout, part of the function of this building or complex, or part of a broader concept of religious buildings and religious practices within a certain time.

Thus, I make use of the iconological method in a modified and more detailed way in five steps, whereby steps 3, 4, and 5 constitute different meta-levels of Panofsky's 'iconological phase'. My first step (1), corresponding to Panofsky's 'pre-iconographic phase', is to identify the motif

of the cap-figures as certain characters, based on the iconographical conventions of the time.

The second step (2), complying with the ‘iconographic phase’, is an interpretation of the meaning of the cap-figure within the very scene. This will lead to a suggestion of an identification or interpretation of the narratives being depicted. In some cases the narrative is known, such as the *Sang Satyawana* story on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran, but in other cases I can only give a tentative explanation of the narrative.

The third step (3), then, is to decipher the symbolic meaning of the whole series of narrative scenes featuring cap-figures. An important aspect is the fact that, in the visual medium, only a selection of scenes of the narrative can be presented. This selection emphasizes certain elements of the story while omitting others, and this restriction is crucial to constituting the symbolism of the depiction. A well-known example is the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs (Kieven 1994). In some sites, these reliefs illustrate the ascetic ideal by accentuating scenes of the meditating Arjuna, for example at Goa Selomangleng near Tulungagung; in other temples, the warrior ideal is emphasized through numerous scenes with Arjuna fighting, as in Candi Surowono. It is not only the deliberate selection of certain scenes, but also deviations from the known literary origins which contribute to the symbolism.

In the fourth step (4) I proceed to an interpretation of the function of the narrative reliefs with cap-figures within the context of the temple, going beyond their immanent symbolic meaning. This includes an integration of the symbolic meaning of the particular stories and scenes with other depicted narratives, as well as the symbolic meaning of the specific placement of the reliefs within the temple layout. A major issue is the seemingly ‘out of order’ placement of relief scenes in some temples, which deliberately contributes to the symbolic meaning and the function of these reliefs within the temple. Here I need to take the broader context into account: religion, history, literature, art, and architecture.

The fifth step (5) goes beyond the particular temple under research and yields conclusions relating to the symbolic meaning and function of the cap-figure within the religious system of the time, that is, the Majapahit period. I have focused my research on the religious meaning and function of the temples rather than their position in the political system of the time. One reason is that this reflects my personal priorities; the second reason, that an analysis of both aspects would go beyond the

scope of this work. However, I will discuss the political meaning of the temples and the narratives to a certain extent where appropriate.

I will investigate a sample of temples. Proceeding along the five steps for the respective temple I aim to answer the following two research questions: ‘What is the symbolic meaning of the cap-figure in the narrative relief depictions?’, and ‘What is the function of the cap-figure in the whole temple?’. Moving on from this analysis, the final step will then enable me to answer my third research question: ‘Why was the cap-figure depicted frequently but exclusively in the Majapahit temples?’

Taking into account the interrelation between the literary and the visual medium, I can make use of the symbolic meaning of narratives in their literary form and try to apply it to the visual forms. In some cases we are familiar with the symbolism of certain narratives which have been investigated and interpreted, such as the *Sri Tanjung* story which has exorcist symbolism. In many other cases, though, the narrative depiction has not been identified and I am not able to identify it either. I will offer suggestions for the symbolic meaning of the depictions by interpreting the obvious; for example, water as a symbol of purification. Or I will compare the depictions with those in an identified narrative; for example, the posture of a man sitting with one leg stretched out and the other placed on the thigh – as found in the depiction of the mourning Sidapaksa in the *Sri Tanjung* story – symbolizes longing and mourning.

For my object of research it is not necessary to give conclusive identifications of the narratives because, as my analysis will show, it is the narrative theme which is fundamental to my interpretations and not the story identified wholly and thoroughly. The theme itself carries enough information to justify an interpretation of the symbolism of the depictions. I am aware of the pitfalls of over-interpretation, as warned for by Brandes (1902a) in his frequently quoted article on the danger of explaining unidentified temple reliefs; however, cautious analysis will lead to warrantable interpretations. I will show in particular that the cap-figures symbolize an intermediary character as a kind of ‘religious guide’ between the mundane world of the pilgrims and the sacred sphere of the temple.

From a discussion of the literary form of Panji stories, I will conclude that variations of this genre of stories were indeed depicted in many reliefs, featuring Panji as a cap-figure. The typical narrative preoccupations of Panji stories are love between a man and a woman; their

separation and reunion; the crossing of water; and meeting with hermits. Particularly scenes representing the two latter topics are more dominant in some of the Panji reliefs – for example, on the Pendopo Terrace at Panataran – than they are in the literary forms of the Panji stories, reflecting the aforementioned interrelation between the visual and the literary medium.

It would go beyond the scope of this study to analyse all 20 sites with depictions of cap-figures in the same detailed way. I have therefore selected some exemplary *candi* and a sculpture for particular scrutiny.

#### OUTLINE

In the first part (chapters II-IV) I will outline the context of my research object, the cap-figure in specific narrative reliefs: the relevant factors in art, literature, religion, and history. This gives the contextual basis for the second part of the book (chapters V-X). This is the core part of my study which, following the method of five steps explained above, discusses a selection of sites with reliefs depicting cap-figures. This discussion draws on relevant contextual elements presented in the introductory chapters. From my detailed analysis of six temples and one sculpture, I develop my new ideas of interpreting the symbolic meaning and the function of the cap-figures within the narratives, within the temples, and within the belief systems of the Majapahit period.

The contextual chapters (II-IV) lay the foundation for an understanding and further discussion of the research object. There is no one single thread that runs through the arguments of these chapters; rather, they are interwoven with each other in a complex web. I present these points in several distinct sub-chapters.

Chapter II presents the concrete material on the research object. I will discuss the visual medium of the narrative reliefs – particularly the cap-figures – and the different ways in which their symbolic meaning is expressed. This leads to an exploration of the narratives themselves, and of the literary traditions in East Javanese culture, such as *kakawin* and *kidung* literature. The differing character of these two kinds of literature is a crucial issue in my research. The Panji stories, constituting the major narratives under investigation, are a specific genre in *kidung* literature

which includes depictions of cap-figures. An interpretation of the visual depictions of Panji stories requires knowledge of their literary form.

Chapter III provides verified knowledge and facts about the iconographical conventions in the relief depictions within East Javanese art. I focus mainly on the iconography of the various types of cap-figures. The character of Panji, the major cap-figure, is often depicted with a companion, or *kadeyan*, whose iconography will be the topic of a special sub-chapter.

Chapter IV deals with the correlation between temple architecture, religion, and politics, based on the fact that a temple has a certain function within the contemporary religious and political system. We need to consider the architecture, the layout, and the geographical position of the temples with their features and styles newly created in the East Javanese period: the terraced structure of the temples, the orientation of the temples, and the arrangement of a mundane sphere and a sacred sphere within a temple. A distinction has to be made concerning the various functions of the temples – as places for the worship of a god or of a deceased king, as hermitages, water sanctuaries, or mountain sanctuaries. Temples serve as places for rituals and other kinds of religious practice. However, these rituals and practices are no longer tangible. Information from art and Old Javanese texts help to construct an image of the religious practices and belief systems. On a broader level, I will present relevant facts about Hinduism and Buddhism as well as the specific blend of Saivism and Buddhism that was practised in Majapahit. A particular orientation in both religions was Tantrism, which will be discussed in its various forms since this is a major topic in my investigation of the reliefs. Drawing on these discussions, I can then present information and data on the religious beliefs and practices which were observed in the Majapahit temples.

The political conditions are the other major factor shaping the function of the temples. The political importance of the temples, which constitutes their other contextual dimension, will be discussed in Chapter IV. This raises the question of how political issues were related and connected to belief systems, and the way in which they manifested in the temples. I will first provide some basic and relevant facts about historical Majapahit and its politics. The Majapahit kings corroborated their claim of power and authority with certain religious and ritual practices which found their manifestation in the particular temple system and religious

administration. A special issue of interest is the concern in Majapahit politics to affirm and sustain the unity of the realm, as expressed in the *sraddha* ritual, which was practised in a temple.

The fifteenth century represents a crucial time in the political as well as the religious development of Majapahit. This time of political decline yielded an increase in the number of mountain sanctuaries which frequently display depictions of Panji stories. The connection of the Panji stories to religious practices as having major importance in the late Majapahit period will be the subject of another sub-chapter. Furthermore, the symbolism of the mountain in ancient Javanese mythology is significant for an understanding of this development. Related to the mountain is the symbolism of water, which is an important element in the symbolism of the relief depictions under research. I will provide an extensive discussion on the mythology of water and mountain.

The second part of this work first presents an overview in a table containing data on all existing depictions of cap-figures and of Panji stories. This serves to demonstrate the popularity and dominance of this motif in the Majapahit temple reliefs. Based on this information, I will present the reasons for the selection of certain temples for closer scrutiny in the following chapters.

The core part (Chapters VI-XI) will then comprise the detailed discussion and analysis of six selected sites and one sculpture. Overviews of the previous research on each single site and sculpture are presented in an Appendix at the end of this book. The investigation of the case studies follows the historical chronology of the sites' establishments: Candi Jago, Candi Panataran, Candi Surowono, Candi Mirigambar, Candi Kendalisodo, and Candi Yudha. The analysis of each site follows the method explained above, making use of the interwoven aspects of the context demonstrated in the first part of the book. Finally I will interpret the sculpture from Candi Selokelir, which will, at a higher level than the relief depictions, yield a concise understanding of my research topic. The all-encompassing ensemble of these conclusions will then yield a chronological development in the symbolism of the cap-figure and will allow me to answer my research questions.



## Chapter II

### Narrative reliefs and Panji stories

#### NARRATIVE RELIEFS AND LITERARY TRADITIONS

The narrative temple reliefs are generally based on contemporary literary narratives, be they of written or oral form. In order to understand the symbolism of narrative reliefs, which is the task of this study, we need to take a look at the specificity of the literary and of the sculptural traditions in ancient Java and their interrelation.

The perception of stories and myths as conveying a mystic knowledge has a long and strong tradition in Javanese culture, which is still alive today in the practice of the *wayang* performances. Narratives can be understood on various levels. They can be considered to merely entertain or, on the other end of the scale, to convey a message on the level of mystic/spiritual knowledge. This applies to various presentations of narratives: in literature, in the visual medium of relief depictions, as well as in types of performances. The understanding of the narrative will correspond to the particular background of the viewer or the audience and his/her stage of spiritual knowledge. It is for the initiated viewer that the narratives and, particularly, the narrative reliefs impart a spiritual message on an utmost level.

Based on my earlier studies of Javanese temple reliefs, I consider the functions of narratives – both in the literary and in the visual medium – to be comparable.<sup>1</sup>

Teeuw et al. (1969:45), referring to the *kakawin Siwaratrikalpa* highlights

<sup>1</sup> Within a theoretical approach, this corresponds to the parallel between analysing a literary work and an art work, as for example discussed by Olsen (1991). A compilation of papers in Fontein 2000b thematize the interrelation between visual and literary forms of art, in particular Fontein's introduction in this book.

the close relationship between the literary and visual arts of ancient Java. In the past they have often been treated as separate matters, whereas they are not only complementary studies but can be of great assistance in the comprehension one of the other. [...] wish to emphasize here the importance of a knowledge of ancient Javanese art for that of literature, and the fruitfulness of co-operation between these two fields of study.

Old Javanese poetry in form of *kakawin* has, among others, the function to create rapture, *langö*, which is intended by the poet as a means, a *yantra*, to unify with the Divine. Zoetmulder (1974) explains this poetical process in his extensive studies of Old Javanese literature.<sup>2</sup> The means to create *langö* is the description of beauty, be it beauty of nature and landscapes or of women. I consider that on the level of beauty the literary and the visual medium both operate in the same way: the beauty of the narrative depictions in temples implies the same kind of rapture as aroused by the Old Javanese *kakawin* (Kieven 1994:117). The creators of the narrative reliefs intended to arouse rapture by depicting scenes applying to the senses, such as erotic scenes or scenes depicting beautiful landscapes, and by the beauty of the reliefs itself. The reliefs become a *yantra* for the viewer to unify with the Divine. The reliefs with cap-figures which are discussed in this study contribute in their own specific way to inducing *langö* in the viewer.

Narrative reliefs at ancient Javanese temples display a variation of styles. While Central Javanese sculptural art is characterized by a naturalistic style, the art of the East Javanese period shows a stronger stylization. Scholars have coined various names for the different styles.<sup>3</sup> I do not go into detail concerning these terminologies since they are not relevant to my object of research, which lies outside of the question of styles. Within the art of the East Javanese period, I follow Klokke's (1993) classification of early East Javanese art as characterized by a more naturalistic style until the late thirteenth century – Kediri and Singasari period – as opposed to late East Javanese art of the late Singasari and Majapahit

<sup>2</sup> See also Zoetmulder 1957. For state-of-the-art discussions of Old Javanese literature in a broad scope see the articles in Van der Molen 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Major research has been carried out by Van Stein Callenfels (1924, 1925a, 1925b); Holt (1967); Stutterheim (1989); Klokke (1993). These authors discuss the various styles and label them using specific terms.

period, which has a stronger stylized way of depictions.<sup>4</sup> The ‘cap-figures’ represent one special iconographic creation of this late East Javanese art.

The specificity of the cap-figure has to be seen in the context of the many other new elements which were developed in East Javanese art, and particularly in late East Javanese art, as distinct from Central Javanese art. They reflect the creativity in East Javanese art, expressing the ‘local genius’ which we can observe in architecture, in literature, and in the religious practices of the time period. They also reflect the fact that there was an open climate in cultural affairs which was certainly stimulated and supported by the contemporary political conditions and leaders. Here I present a few examples to show the variety and richness of these new features.

On the level of architecture the East Javanese temples display a linear layout, in contrast to the concentric layout of the Central Javanese temples. While the Central Javanese *candi* was ritually circumambulated in the clockwise direction *pradakshina*, the East Javanese temples often feature the counterclockwise *prasawya* direction. We can recognize the direction from the postures of the figures depicted in reliefs. In several cases, *pradakshina* and *prasawya* are even combined; for example, in Candi Surowono and in the Main Temple of Candi Panataran. This has led to various interpretations, which I discuss in the respective chapters of my case studies. The *panakawan*, still today an important character in *wayang*,<sup>5</sup> is a typical East Javanese element in narrative reliefs which does not appear in Central Javanese art. The reliefs at Candi Jago provide the first known depictions of *panakawan*.<sup>6</sup> The *kala*-head above the *cella* entrance, a common feature in both Central and East Javanese architecture, displays in the latter a stronger demonic character with a lower jaw, big fangs, and raised fingers in contrast to that in the former, which lacks a lower jaw and features a less fierce expression. A specific example is the depiction of the huge *kala*-head on the back of the Ganesha statue

<sup>4</sup> An interesting opinion shared by several scholars is that different local traditions, produced by different princes acting as principals, yielded the different styles (Satyawati Sulciman 1978:41; Stutterheim 1938:29).

<sup>5</sup> Testimony of the practice of *wayang* in the eleventh century is found in the *kakawin Arjunawidaha* (Canto V.9). The *kakawin Ghalotkacasraya* from the mid twelfth century is the first text to mention the *panakawan* (Van Stein Callenfels 1925a:171; Zoetmulder (1974:547 note 56).

<sup>6</sup> Galestín (1959:14, 16-8) argues that an earlier depiction of servant figures in the reliefs at Candi Jolotundo (AD 977) does not represent *panakawan* in the *wayang* style. The *panakawan* in Candi Jago has the shape of the *panakawan* figures in Javanese and Balinese *wayang*, for which reason Galestín refers to it as the *wayang* style.

from Boro. Stutterheim (1989:171) refers to this *kala*-head when he, in discussing the question of degeneration of East Javanese art, coined the expression ‘magicism’ as a new characteristic in this art. Based on a comparison with the magic art of ‘primitive people’, he interprets the magic elements in East Javanese reliefs as having the purpose of warding off evil influence (Stutterheim 1989:164-5). Other examples are the numerous depictions of clouds and spiral motifs, extant for example in the *Ramayana* reliefs at Candi Panataran, which in some cases look like ghost-heads. Lunsingh Scheurleer (2000) additionally points to a generally increasing appearance of demonic features in East Javanese art. Another typical feature is the growing dominance of certain characters in sculptural art, such as Bhima, Hanuman, and Garuda, and the associated change of their meaning and symbolism.<sup>7</sup> The emergence of Panji in sculptural art has to be considered in this context.

It is mainly two different genres of literature that are displayed in the reliefs. One genre is comprised of the *kakawin*, the Old Javanese poem, based on the Indian epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. Examples are the *kakawin Arjunawiwaha* and the *kakawin Krishnayana*; except for the Old Javanese *Ramayana*, all of them were composed during the East Javanese period. Other narrative reliefs depict stories, composed independently of Indian sources during the East Javanese period, which became very popular in this time, among them the *Bubukshah* story and particularly the *kidung* poetry, such as the *kidung Sri Tanjung*. Also the Panji stories belong to the genre of *kidung*.

It must be considered that Indonesia, particularly Java, has a strong oral tradition. Still today the medium of oral transmission is widely preferred to the written medium. The fact that several manuscripts with slightly differing content exist for some Old Javanese texts attests to a creativity in composing new versions which yielded a broad variety of forms. From this we can conclude that even more variations existed which were not written down, but orally transferred and which might even not be known to us. The outstanding example for this tradition is found in the Panji stories which exist in sheer incalculable numbers. The oral tradition is also manifest in the relief depictions, which may display various deviations from narratives.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer 2000; Duijker 2001, 2010; Klokke 2006.

<sup>8</sup> Worsley (2006, 2009) discusses such vernacular traditions on the example of the *Ramayana* reliefs at Prambanan.

The dichotomy between the two genres *kakawin* and *kidung* has been a standard point of discussion between experts in Old Javanese literature.<sup>9</sup> The *kakawin*, the Indian-based stories, are composed in an Indian metre and written in Old Javanese. Gods and priests play an important role in their interaction with the heroes, such as Arjuna and Krishna in the *Arjunawiwaha* and the *Krishnayana* respectively. The *kidung* stories are composed in a metre independent from Indian poetry and use the so-called Middle Javanese language. This language was, contrary to its misleading name, used contemporaneously with the language of the *kakawin*.<sup>10</sup> Similar to *kakawin*, *kidung* are set in a court environment, but they have a stronger Javanese setting. I will return to this issue in more detail in the discussion on the Panji stories in the following sub-chapter.

The dichotomy between *kakawin* and *kidung* can be transferred to the visual medium. It corresponds to Forge's (1978:13) terminology, which classifies the two genres of stories depicted in traditional Balinese paintings. He refers to the stories based on the old Indian epics as 'mythological stories'. Stories 'covering the adventures of romantic heroes, past kingdoms, folk heroes', particularly the Panji stories, are called 'post-mythological stories'. In the Balinese paintings depicting mythological stories, the heroes, such as Krishna or Rama, appear in full gala attire, and particularly with the crab-claw shaped headgear called *supit urang*. In the depictions of 'post-mythological' stories, the heroes, among them Panji, are characterized by simple dress. The same two differing kinds of iconography apply to the depictions of heroes in East Javanese narrative reliefs. The heroes of the *kakawin*, such as Arjuna and Krishna, are depicted with the *supit urang*, while Panji and in some cases also other *kidung* heroes, such as Sidapaksa in the *Sri Tanjung* story, are characterized by the cap. The way the headgear resembles those of the Balinese paintings and the Balinese *wayang* puppets, can be understood to be a continuation of the East Javanese prototypes.

The visual medium of the reliefs makes use of the different connotations of literary genres in order to convey a certain symbolism. Furthermore, the visual medium allows for more criteria to be applied for inducing the intended message. The symbolism of narrative reliefs is conveyed in four ways:

<sup>9</sup> Amongst others Zoetmulder 1974:24-36, 143-51, 407-9; Robson 1979; Vickers 2005:159-67.

<sup>10</sup> The term 'Middle Javanese language', for example, is discussed by Zoetmulder 1974:25-6.

1. by the selection of the depicted narrative;
  2. by the selection of particular scenes of the narrative;
  3. by the specific combination of several narratives;
  4. by the placement of the narrative reliefs in the religious site.<sup>11</sup>
- 
1. Certain narratives which carry a specific symbolic meaning were chosen for depiction. For example, the *Sudamala* and the *Sri Tanjung* are known to have an exorcist symbolism (Zoetmulder 1974:433-6). They were selected to be depicted in temples that emphasized the spiritual liberation of the soul. Beyond this, the visual medium of the depictions can produce its own deviations or use existing deviations or oral versions of the narratives.
  2. Furthermore, the visual medium allows the exposure of, or emphasis on, a symbolic meaning that differs from the original narrative by making a deliberate selection of depicted episodes. Through this selection a specific intended message is conveyed.<sup>12</sup> An example is the *kakawin Arjunawiwaha*, which features the ideal of Arjuna as a *kshatriya*. Depictions of the temptation scene of the *Arjunawiwaha* are numerous (Kieven 1994). In some sanctuaries this scene is the major one, such as in Goa Selomangleng in Kediri and in Goa Selomangleng in Tulungagung,<sup>13</sup> and places the focus on the aspect of asceticism. In other sanctuaries, such as Candi Surowono, this scene is combined with other episodes of the text which focus more on the *kshatriya* ideal. Both the asceticism and the *kshatriya* ideal have a different function, each of which corresponds to the function of the sanctuary itself.
  3. The combination of depictions of certain narratives with others within the one sanctuary enables the creation of more complex symbolic meanings. This is demonstrated through the combination of episodes of the *Arjunawiwaha* with the *Sri Tanjung* and the *Bubukshah* story at Candi Surowono, or through the large number of different narratives depicted in Candi Jago.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> O'Brien (1988, 1990), Klokke (1993), Kieven (1994), Worsley (1986, 1996), and Sbeghen (2004) discuss certain temples and narrative reliefs in the context of these four aspects. The book by Kinney (2003) displays excellent photos of many narrative reliefs on East Javanese temples.

<sup>12</sup> Klokke (1992) gives many examples of the various iconographical traditions, favouring selections of depiction in East Javanese art.

<sup>13</sup> These are two different cave sanctuaries having the same name.

<sup>14</sup> I will discuss the interrelationship of these narratives in chapters VI and VIII on Candi Jago and Candi Surowono.

4. The specific placement of the depictions within the sanctuary is another component that contributes to their symbolic meaning. Earlier investigations (O'Brien 1988, 1990; Klokke 1995; Kieven 2008) have shown that on the higher levels of a terraced temple and on the rear side of a temple the depictions are more connected with the divine and sacred world, while on the lower levels and the entrance part the depicted narratives have a stronger affiliation to daily life. Generally speaking, the depictions of the Indian-based *kakawin*, or the so-called 'mythological stories', are confined to the upper levels and the rear and thus to the sacred sphere, while 'post-mythological stories', such as the *kidung*, appear on the lower levels and the entrance part and thus belong to the mundane sphere. This hierarchical arrangement of narrative reliefs within a temple actually draws upon the Central Javanese temples, first of all on the Borobudur with its vertical progress from the *kamadhatu* (the level of deeds) via the *rupadhatu* (the level of forms) up to the *arupadhatu* (the level of the formless void).<sup>15</sup>

The cap-figure under research, as a particular iconographic element, presents a specific means for expressing the intended symbolism. It does so by being part of a selected narrative, part of a selection of scenes, part of an interrelation with other narratives, and through its depiction in certain places within the layout of a temple. My investigation into certain examples of depictions of cap-figures in my case studies will yield interesting results on their symbolic meaning.

To sum up: the deliberate combination of the three media – the literary narrative, the visual depiction, and its placement within the temple architecture and layout – conveys a specific message. It is this message that I will decipher in the later examples.

## PANJI STORIES

### THE LITERARY GENRE

Among the narratives whose depictions show cap-figures, Panji stories are those most frequently visualized. Panji stories were very popular during the Majapahit period. This is demonstrated by their setting in the

<sup>15</sup> These three levels correspond to the concept of *bhurloka*, *bhuwarloka*, *swarloka* – world, atmosphere, heavens – foot, body, upper structure of the *candi* (Stutterheim 1937a:245; Soekmono 1995:96, 105).

historic Majapahit court culture, and by the many depictions of Panji stories in narrative reliefs at Majapahit temples. Following the extension of Majapahit's power, seen for example in the conquest of Bali in AD 1364, the Panji stories spread to other areas in the archipelago of present-day Indonesia. They even came to be known in Mainland Southeast Asia and thus became an indicator of Majapahit's wide political, economic, and cultural influence.<sup>16</sup>

This genre of literature has attracted scholarly attention across various disciplines such as philology, history, anthropology, and in more recent forms of art. The Panji theme in ancient Javanese art, however, still represents a gap in scholarly research. My analysis will provide a contribution to fill this gap.

The Panji stories, with their strong oral tradition, exist in a broad range of variations. Their written versions were composed in *kidung* form. The *kidung* genre was popular during the Majapahit period. In Bali the tradition of composing *kidung* poetry, as with *kakawin* poetry, has been maintained throughout the centuries.<sup>17</sup> The most popular Balinese Panji story is the *Malat* (Vickers 2005). In the Malay world Panji stories were created in the Malay language, for example the *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang*. In Java famous poets, such as Ranggawarsita or the Sunan Pakubuwana IV of Surakarta, composed many new Panji stories, such as the *Jayakusuma*, which formed part of the flourishing literature of Surakarta at the beginning of the nineteenth century. All these variations, be they from Bali, the Malay world, or from Java, have a Javanese setting.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> There exists in Thailand and Cambodia, for example, the popular story of Inao and Bussaba which is a Panji story; the name Inao corresponds to the name Inu or Ino which is frequently used to denote Panji in the Javanese stories. See Poerbatjaraka 1940a, 1968; Robson 1999. The PhD thesis by the Thai scholar Davisakd Puakson (2008) discusses the perception of Java as reflected in the Thai Panji stories.

<sup>17</sup> According to Zoetmulder (1974:28-9), no *kidung* can be exactly dated. Most of them were written in Bali, but 'we can safely assume that *kidung* literature in Bali was a continuation of a literary form which had its origin in Java'. Berg (1928:67) states that the *Wikir Polaman* mentioned in the *Pawaraton* belongs to the end of the thirteenth century and might be the oldest Javanese *kidung*. This opinion has been maintained by Robson (1979:306), who mentions the earliest extant *kidung* to be the *Panji Wijayakrama-Rangga Lawe*, dated to AD 1334 (drawing on Damais 1958).

<sup>18</sup> Manuscripts in the different languages are kept in many parts of the world, amongst others in Java, Bali, Leiden, all throughout Southeast Asia, and even in Sri Lanka.

The Panji stories relate the adventures of Prince Panji in regaining his betrothed, Princess Candrakirana.<sup>19</sup> ‘Panji’ is a title, used preceding a proper name.<sup>20</sup> In modern Javanese it means ‘flag’ or ‘banner’ (Horne 1974:423). In the stories Prince Panji – in Javanese language ‘Raden Panji’ – has various names, for example Panji Jayengtilem, or Panji Wangbang Wideya. The princess also appears with different names, such as Raden Sekartaji or Raden Galuh. Panji is from the kingdom of Janggala/Kuripan while Candrakirana is a princess from Daha/Kediri. These kingdoms correspond to historical kingdoms which played an important role in the Majapahit politics, as I will explain in Chapter IV.

The titles of the Panji stories often refer to the name of Prince Panji in the respective story: *Panji Jayakusuma*, *Panji Ngronakung*, *Panji Jayengtilem*, *Panji Asmarabangun*, *Panji Ande-Ande Lumut*, *Panji Waseng Sari*, *Panji Malat*. The story *Panji Angreni*, edited by Karsono (1998), is very popular in *wayang topeng* and refers to Angreni, a second woman loved by Panji. Many of these single stories exist in a variety of manuscripts. For example, twelve manuscripts of the *Panji Angreni* story are known to exist (Karsono 1998:3).

The continuing popularity of Panji stories until recent times is manifest in their multiple forms of presentation and expression in art forms such as *wayang beber* and *wayang topeng*. *Wayang beber*, with depictions of scenes on paper scrolls, is nearly extinct and only very rarely performed in the area of Pacitan on the south coast of East Java, where two sets are still extant.<sup>21</sup> *Wayang topeng* is a form of dance-drama with masked dancers, still performed in the area of Malang in East Java and in Cirebon on the north coast of West Java.<sup>22</sup> Both *wayang beber* and *wayang topeng* are supposed to have already been performed in Majapahit time. *Wayang gedhog* is a specific form of the Javanese *wayang kulit*, performing

<sup>19</sup> The name ‘Panji’ is in some stories replaced by ‘Inu’. The complete title is usually ‘Raden Panji’ or ‘Raden Inu’. ‘Raden’ denotes a person of superior status, be it male or female.

<sup>20</sup> Zoetmulder 1982:1270. The name ‘Panji’ was common as a title for aristocrats. Proof is given in Old Javanese literature, for example in the *kakawin Bhomakawya* (81.29) dated in the Kediri period which means before AD 1222, and in inscriptions (Buchari 1968, 1965:58-9) The title was obviously used since the Kediri period. The *kidung Harsa Wijaya* (4.75a), which relates the story of Kertarajasa, the founder of Majapahit, was probably only composed in Bali in the nineteenth century, but it is remarkable that here Kertarajasa is referred to as ‘Panji’ or ‘Raden Ino’ (Berg 1931a:2).

<sup>21</sup> Kant-Achilles (1990) has described and investigated these two sets in a very elaborate way. They are held in the villages of Gelaran and Gedempol and are assumed to date from about 1700-1735 (Kant-Achilles 1990:24). See also Sayid 1980.

<sup>22</sup> For *wayang topeng* see Onghokham 1972; Lucas 1973. A few photos of *topeng* in Jessup 1990:179-82.

Panji stories, and nearly extinct.<sup>23</sup> In Bali the popular *gambuh* dance and traditional Balinese paintings present the *Malat* story, a Balinese version of a Panji story (Vickers 2005; Forge 1978).

All the various Panji stories have a major plot in common. Each single story creates its own individual variation on this plot. I quote Zoetmulder's (1974:428-9) synopsis of the Panji stories:

There are four kingdoms whose kings are brothers: Koripan or Kahuripan (= Janggala = Keling), Daha (= Kadiri = Mamenang), Gegelang (= Urawan) and Singhasari. The marriage between the crown prince of Koripan and the princess of Daha is the main theme of all the Panji stories. The prince is generally called *raden* Panji or *raden* Ino, but bears one or more other proper names besides [...]; the princess is commonly designated by the name *raden* Galuh [or Candrakirana, L.K.] [...]. At the beginning of the story they are already betrothed, but the princess vanishes and Panji leaves the *kraton* to go in search of her. Both assume different names. Those of Panji generally indicate his irresistible charm in love: Malat Rasmi, Waseng Sari, Wideya [...], and these are used as titles for the various poems. Often he lives unrecognized in the vicinity of his love. It may also be the princess whose identity remains long unknown. The stories invariably end with recognition of the partners, general rejoicing and a wedding. Panji's great love for the princess of Daha does not prevent him from getting involved in other amorous escapades. On the other hand he proves his valour in battle when on his search he roves about with his band as a *ksatriya* from a foreign country, destroying one enemy *kraton* after the other, or when he comes to the assistance of the king whose hospitality he enjoys, if the latter is attacked by the ruler of another country whose request for the hand of the princess has been rejected.

Typical in the Panji stories are the companions of the principal personages. They are sons and daughters of court *mantris*, who are brought up together with the prince or the princess as their companions and trusted friends, go on confidential errands and give them advice. In their often humorous comments on the various situations they are the exponents of common sense, and in their reactions they show themselves to be less inhibited than their masters by the rigorous norms of aristocratic conduct.

<sup>23</sup> For *wayang gedhog* see Noto Soeroto 1911. The aforementioned 'Panji Festivals' and other activities held during the last years in East Java and planned for the future deliver important contributions to revitalizing such performances – *wayang beber*, *wayang topeng*, *wayang gedhog* – in the Panji tradition.

[...] The women who surround the princess are named Bayan, Sanggit, and, in a more modest role, Pangunengan and Pasiran. Panji is invariably accompanied by Jurudeh, Punta, Prasanta, Kertala and occasionally a few others. They are indicated by the common name of *kadehan* [...].

In addition to this synopsis, further features of specific Panji stories should be mentioned. The hermitess Kili Suci, Panji's aunt, plays a distinctive role in some stories. The so-called 'Angreni-motif' is another recurrent feature, in which Panji wants to marry the girl Angreni from a lower status although he is betrothed to Candrakirana. In response, Panji's mother, or in some stories Kili Suci, kills Angreni so that the story can go on.<sup>24</sup>

The main elements of Panji stories will be a platform for my later discussion of the relief depictions in the case studies:

- separation and longing between Panji and Candrakirana
- Panji journeying together with his companions in search of Candrakirana
- Panji becoming involved in war
- Panji engaging in love-affairs with other women
- Panji acting as a musician or poet
- Panji retiring for meditation
- reunion of Panji and Candrakirana

The character of the Panji stories has to be considered in the context of the different characters of the *kakawin* and *kidung*, as well as their binary opposition. The *kakawin* stories have a sacred, holy connotation: the heroes are to a major degree involved in episodes connected to the gods or their demonic opponents, or are engaged in ascetic practices. In many cases they use the Indian setting in referring to the original Indian names, such as 'Lengka' in the Old Javanese *Ramayana*. *Kidung* stories have a more 'down to earth' character (Robson 1971:19). They display a clear Javanese setting, referring to Javanese names of persons and geographical places, such as Janggala and Panjalu.

*Kakawin* and *kidung* do, however, also have a lot in common. The *kidung* genre and particularly the Panji stories have, like the *kakawin*, a court setting and thus form part of the court literature canon (Robson 1971:11). However they also reflect other aspects of social life in Majapahit Java,

<sup>24</sup> A similar episode is displayed in the Balinese *Malat* where Nawang Rum commits suicide after Panji refuses to marry her because she is not appropriate for him (Vickers 2005:20-1).

and in comparison to the *kakawin* the *kidung* texts are more characterized by a setting of daily life. Another important difference between the *kakawin* and the *kidung* lies in the social status of the protagonists. The heroes of the *kakawin*, such as Rama, Krishna, and Bhima, are kings or kings-to-be or belong to the Pandawa brothers, and therefore have already accomplished their status. On the other side, the heroes of the *kidung* are young princes who are involved in struggles to become king.<sup>25</sup> Both *kakawin* and *kidung* deal with beauty and love-making, which in the case of *kakawin* is known as a means to evoke *langö*, the rapture that induces the unity with the Divine. In this way *kakawin* have a strong spiritual character. *Kidung*, however, when indulging in erotic scenes and beautiful nature, do this more on a superficial level appealing to the senses and the emotions. *Kakawin* ‘go “beyond the realm of the senses”, they touch on the [...] unmanifest world [...] while *kidung* are still concerned with the manifest world of sensuality’ (Vickers 2005:164). While love-making in *kakawin* always happens between a married couple, the king and the queen, in the *kidung* it is mostly between a prince and his betrothed or another lady. In all these respects *kidung* have a kind of preparatory character. They thematize the unaccomplished status in preparation to proceed to an accomplished one.

In the Panji stories, as a particular type of narrative within the *kidung* genre, Panji’s behaviour and activities show a strong link with folk literature. This can be seen in descriptions of Panji walking through the countryside and meeting with rural people, of taking part in warfare, of courting women. Vetter (1984:42), in her broad survey of the Panji theme states: ‘Originally a part of folk literature, perhaps in the form of an oral *kidung* or in folk drama, they grew in popularity and were adopted by court poets and artisans.’ This statement raises an open question which needs further investigation. Were the Panji stories initially created as folk literature and then adopted by court literature, or vice versa: were the Panji stories originally created as court literature and then adopted by folk literature? Robson (1971:19) seems to believe in the first alternative: Panji stories were ‘essentially narrative tales with a strong flavour of the ballad [...] when the time came for such *kidung* material to be written down, it naturally had to be cast in the literary form favoured at court, the centre par excellence of literary activity.’ This also raises the

<sup>25</sup> See my later discussion on the subject of the life crisis of a young royal and the reference to Hunter 2007.

corresponding question concerning the depiction in reliefs: were sacred matters transferred to a medium of folk culture, or were folk traditions transferred to a sacred medium?

Perhaps more so than in the form of literature, alternative forms of presentation of the Panji theme in art and in ritual did display this folk character. Examples are performances in the various *wayang* forms which I will discuss further down in this chapter. Last but not least, the temple reliefs themselves display the folk character of the Panji stories. This will become apparent through my discussion of the case studies.

#### PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Synopses of Panji stories have been provided by W.H. Rassers (1922), Poerbatjaraka (1940a, 1968), Sulastin Sutrisno et al. (1983).<sup>26</sup> Not many Panji stories were translated and edited, perhaps due to the large size of the texts. Robson translated and edited two stories in English: the Malay *Hikayat Andaken Penurat* (1969) and the Middle Javanese *Wangbang Wideya* (1971). Margaret Fletcher (1990) translated and edited the Middle Javanese *Wargasari*. The Bale Pustaka translated several Panji stories in 1933 into Indonesian, which in 1979 were published by the Indonesian Department of Education and Cultures (DepDikBud). Other stories have been translated into Indonesian, but have not yet been published. Most of the Indonesian works stand in the philological tradition, which focuses on a textual criticism of manuscripts and their contexts rather than proceeding to a metalevel of analysing texts.<sup>27</sup>

Various aspects of Panji stories have been the subject of studies. In the early years of research this was mainly in relation to their origin and historicity. Rassers was the first to discuss these two aspects of the Panji stories intensively. In his doctoral thesis ‘De Pandji-roman’ from 1922<sup>28</sup> he undertakes an anthropological structuralistic approach to the mythological background of the Panji stories in order to extrapolate the essence of the story – ‘de eigenlijke kern van de Pandji-roman’ (Rassers

<sup>26</sup> There is no information about the number of the extant written versions of Panji stories, but from the publications we can conclude that they number in the dozens.

<sup>27</sup> I was able to collect several Indonesian translations of Panji stories from colleagues at the University Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, for example *Panji Angreni*, *Panji Jayakusuma*, *Panji Jayengtilem*, *Panji Sekar*. I am grateful to Bp. Padmapuspita, Bp. Subalidinata, Bp. Suwandi.

<sup>28</sup> Not to be mixed up with Rassers’ *Panji, the culture hero* (1959), which in spite of the title does not deal much with Panji at all, but with the Javanese traditions of performances.

1922:129). For Rassers (1922:163), this essence is ‘het schaken, veroveren of tegen een aanval verdedigen van een prinses’ (‘the kidnapping, capturing or the defending of a princess’, LK). Furthermore, he attempts to locate the origin or prototype of the Panji stories. Based on an analysis of the Malay *Hikayat Cekelwanengpati* in comparison to ancient pre-Hindu Indonesian beliefs he argues that Panji is the symbol for the sun, and Candrakirana – literally translated meaning ‘moonbeam’ – the symbol for the moon. Panji also represents the waning moon, while his rivals represent the waxing moon. Rassers (1922:214-5) explains the sun-moon motif as an indigenous, originally Indonesian motif and interprets it as a symbol for the structure of the ancient tribal society consisting of two exogamous groups. He regards Panji and Candrakirana as representatives of these two groups and thus as the ancestors of the Javanese people. Moreover, Rassers (1922:179, 210-1) declares a myth from North Celebes – the myth of *Kalangi* and *Manimporok* – to be the prototype of the Panji stories. This whole line of argumentation is highly speculative. A remarkable point in Rassers’ line of reasoning about the sun-moon motif is that Panji, in representing the waning moon, is the shy chaste young man, and as a representation of the sun he makes many princesses satisfy his sexual desires (Rassers 1922:200). Although not specifically expressed by Rassers, this point raises the significance of the development of a young man into adulthood, which I will discuss further on.

Rassers’ approach provoked scepticism in the scholarly world.<sup>29</sup> One point of criticism, for example, was that Rassers had largely based his investigation on a rather recent Panji story (Poerbatjaraka 1940a:348, 1968:386). Fifty years after Rassers’ publication, J.J. Ras (1973), still refusing the aspect of ancient tribal mysticism, looks from a new perspective at some parts of Rassers’ argumentation and further elaborates on them. I will present these ideas below. Still today, the origin of the genre of Panji stories has not yet become evident (Robson 1971:12, 15). This question does not, however, add substantially to our understanding of the Panji stories, which may be the reason why it has not evoked further scholarly research.

The other major question concerning the Panji stories is their historical background, which yielded a large number of different, complex, and even quite confusing opinions, which were discussed in a lively dispute

<sup>29</sup> See the concise discussion of the scholarly positions in Vickers 2005:80-3.

among Rassers (1922), Poerbatjaraka (1940a, 1968), and Berg (1954). Rassers raised the suggestion of historical connections between the Panji stories and the life of King Airlangga, the ruler in East Java in the early eleventh century. Airlangga had divided his kingdom among his sons into the two parts of Janggala and Kediri, which correspond to the home-kingdoms of Prince Panji and Princess Candrakirana, respectively. The separation and the struggle of the two protagonists of the Panji stories to find each other again and their final reunion reflect the historical process from the times of Airlangga up to the struggle of Majapahit in unifying the split parts of the kingdom.<sup>30</sup> This historical correspondence between Majapahit policy and the Panji stories might have been a reason for the popularity of the genre in the Majapahit period.<sup>31</sup> Rassers (1922:132-6) points to another connection between the Panji stories and Airlangga: according to Javanese tradition told in the *babad* (dynastic chronicle) of the seventeenth century, Airlangga's daughter remained unmarried and led an ascetic life. She would have been the aunt of Panji. This aunt is in several Panji stories – for example, the *Serat Kanda* and the *Panji Jayakusuma* – known as the female hermit Kili Suci who lived in a hermitage at Mount Pucangan.<sup>32</sup> Following this theory Airlangga would be the grandfather of Panji. Indeed, there is a tradition which refers to Airlangga as Panji's grandfather with the name 'Resi Gentayu' (Rassers 1922:134). As if this was not enough, Rassers (1922:140-8, 152-8) discusses still other possible historical connections: Ken Angrok, the founder of the Singasari kingdom, and also Raden Wijaya, the founder of Majapahit, could be prototypes for Panji.<sup>33</sup> Eventually, however, Rassers rejects an origin of the Panji stories in history, arguing that the character of Panji cannot be identified with just one historical person.

Poerbatjaraka (1940a:363, 1968:408-9) argues that the Panji stories were first created in the heyday or even in the post-heyday of Majapahit in Java, that is, the middle of the fourteenth century or later, and then gradually spread to other regions in Southeast Asia. He bases his study on a compilation of synopses of Panji stories from Java, Sumatra,

<sup>30</sup> See also Schrieke's (1957:21) discussion of this issue.

<sup>31</sup> See also Agus A. Munandar 1992. I will return to this topic in Chapter IV in the sub-chapter 'Politics of Majapahit'.

<sup>32</sup> Rouffiac 1909:182; Rassers 1922:132-6; Poerbatjaraka 1940a:334-5, 1968:370-1; Krom 1931:245, 269. Mount Pucangan has been identified with Mount Penanggungan (Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:239; Kern 1917:113). See Chapter X on the sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan.

<sup>33</sup> Berg (1931) claims the *kidung Harsa Wijaya* to be a Panji story referring to Raden Wijaya.

Cambodia, and Thailand, comparing them with one another.<sup>34</sup> He presents a new suggestion in the speculations about the historical prototype for Panji: King Kameshwara from the twelfth century kingdom of Kediri would be this prototype. In his argumentation, Poerbatjaraka (1919:478, 1968:XIII) refers to the *kakawin Smaradahana*, which was composed in the twelfth century in honour of King Kameshwara from Kediri and his wife Kirana, a princess of Janggala. He identifies Kameshwara with Panji, and Kirana with Candrakirana, considering the vice versa positions of Kediri and Janggala in the Panji stories and in the *Smaradahana* to be unimportant within his line of argument.<sup>35</sup> A lively discussion between Poerbatjaraka (1940a:362-4, 1968:403-5) and Berg ensued about these issues, particularly in regard to the date AD 1400 as a fixing point in the creation of the Panji stories. In an earlier article Berg (1928) had expressed the belief that the spread of the Panji stories had occurred between 1277 and c. AD 1400, and that the original versions of the stories must have been created long before that time. However, in 1954 he argues that Panji stories were composed after AD 1400 (Berg 1954:191). Furthermore, he opposes Poerbatjaraka in claiming that King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit (AD 1350–1389) was the historical figure behind Panji. He bases this on the *Kidung Sunda* where the name ‘Prince of Koripan’ is used for Hayam Wuruk’s father (Berg 1954:194, 305). Among all the different references to Airlangga, Ken Angrok, Raden Wijaya, Kameshwara, and Hayam Wuruk, the historical connections to Airlangga as the ‘separator’ and to Hayam Wuruk as the ‘unifier’ are the most realistic without a need to establish a historical person as a prototype for Panji.

A pertinent issue in the discussions on the historicity relates to the names of four kingdoms and their synonyms which are found in the Panji stories. Besides (1) Janggala/Kuripan and (2) Daha/Kediri/Mamenang as the home kingdoms of Prince Panji and Princess Candrakirana, the kingdoms of (3) Singasari/Tumapel and (4) Gegelang/Urawan/Wengker feature in most versions of the Panji stories. In the stories these kingdoms are connected with each other in a complex network of kinship. It is a matter of common knowledge that these names of kingdoms

<sup>34</sup> The stories are the Malay *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang*, the *Serat Kanda*, the *Panji Angron Akung*, the *Panji Jayakusuma*, the *Panji Angreni* from Palembang, the *Panji Kuda Narawangsa*, the Balinese *Malat*.

<sup>35</sup> This identification has been maintained in present-day popular Indonesian literature about the Panji theme.

correspond to historical kingdoms.<sup>36</sup> Kediri and Singasari were the predecessors of Majapahit. The pair Janggala and Kediri played key roles in the division of the realm after Airlangga, and subsequently in the unity of the realm, which was a major political concern throughout the whole East Javanese period. The names of all four kingdoms are mentioned in various inscriptions, and also in the *Nagarakertagama*, the panegyric of King Hayam Wuruk dated AD 1365.<sup>37</sup> The *Nagarakertagama* gives evidence that the names Kuripan, Singasari, Daha, and Wengker form part of the titles of rulers or princes/ses who were members or related to members of the royal family (*Nag.* 1.4-6.4).

Thus the network of kinship displayed in the Panji stories corresponds to a similar network in the historical situation of the Majapahit royalty, while the four kingdoms of the Panji stories parallel the actual Majapahit system of petty kingdoms. Therefore, the Panji stories 'were a major part of the political thought of the court of Majapahit' (Vickers 2005:269). There are still other names of principalities that attest to the parallel between the Panji stories and historical facts. For example, Matahun, Paguhan, Pamotan, Keling, and Lasem occur in the *Kidung Sunda* and the *Pamancangah*, and also in the *Nagarakertagama* (Berg 1954:195-205). Another remarkable parallel to historical names is found in the titles of various protagonists of the Panji stories, such as Kebo, and Lembu, which also occur in inscriptions of the Majapahit period and were perhaps titles of members of the *kshatriya* class (De Casparis 1981:148).

Fundamental to an understanding of the Panji stories is that their essential issue, the separation of the two protagonists and their eventual reunion, has an indisputable historical correspondence to the division of the realm into two kingdoms, Janggala and Kediri, and their later union. However, all attempts to identify Panji with a historical person seem futile and do not add to our understanding of the stories. In this respect

<sup>36</sup> See my discussion of the names Janggala and Kediri in Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Unity of the realm'. Poerbatjaraka (1940a:335-8) and Berg (1954:192-3) try to localize the names Gegalang/Urawan/Wengker when referring to the *Parwatan*, which mentions these names several times. Berg explains that Gegalang, Urawan, and Wengker are synonyms.

<sup>37</sup> The *Nagarakertagama*, written in *kakawin* form, figures as the major literary source of Majapahit history. This text will be discussed later in Chapter IV. I use the name '*Nagarakertagama*' instead of the term '*Desawarnana*' due to older convention, although the latter has become the preferred term in scholarly reference recently.

I agree with Rassers (1922:164), who, as mentioned above, questions the possibility of a coherent historical background for the stories.

Ras, leaving the question of historicity aside, discusses Rassers' approach to the mythological context of the Panji stories.<sup>38</sup> He pays special attention to Rassers' point, that the Panji stories are marital stories (Ras 1973:434-9). He calls the Panji story a typical 'wedding-story', referring to the *Hikayat Cekel Wanengpati*, where the adventures of the two protagonists are 'enacted on the stage during the solemn celebration of their own marriage' (Ras 1973:438). That the Panji stories indeed have a strong association with performing practices, will be the topic of discussion further down. Ras establishes an interesting and convincing argument: since the Panji stories have a court setting, they were very suitable for being performed at royal weddings. The frequent practice of performances had the effect of producing variations of Panji stories, in the sense that the plot of the performed story was possibly changed each time according to the special situation or circumstances.<sup>39</sup> Ras further argues that in many Panji stories Panji and Candrakirana are incarnations of the deities Wisnu and Sri respectively. I will return to this issue in my later discussion of the symbolism of the Panji stories.

Robson's (1971) translation and edition of the *kidung Wangbang Wideya*, a Panji story written in Bali in the second half of the sixteenth century, marks a major new direction in the discussions of the Panji stories. Robson rejects the idea of the existence of an original Panji story or its prototype: 'there does not exist one ideal or basic Panji story but many, all more or less related' (Robson 1971:12). However, he does raise the question of an existing 'Panji theme'. For Robson, each of the many Panji stories represents 'an independent treatment of a fixed theme' (1971:12). In addition, the Balinese *Wangbang Wideya*, written in Middle Javanese, reflects the situation of the Javanese Majapahit court. Robson (1971:12-3) gives an even denser synopsis of the main theme of the Panji stories than the one by Zoetmulder, quoted above:

<sup>38</sup> In contrast to Poerbatjaraka, who reproaches Rassers for his focus on the Balinese *Malat*, Ras (1973:435) points to the fact that Rassers bases his analysis of the Javanese Panji stories on a non-Javanese Malay Panji story. Both critics issue an admonition to Rassers for using a version from outside of Java.

<sup>39</sup> Ras (1973:439) expresses his opinion that 'it is this social function of the Panji drama as the conventional stage-play for royal weddings in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries rather than its deeper religious meaning which explains the large number of existing Panji stories'. However, though rather convincing, this is a speculation since he does not give concrete evidence in the form of a reference to *kakawin* or the like.

In Java, where the story is set, there are two kingdoms, Kuripan and Daha (various alternative names also occur), of which the former is the senior. The prince of Kuripan is betrothed to the princess of Daha but, before they can marry, a complicating factor (or combination of factors) intervenes. (For example, the princess may be lost, or be carried off, and have to be found, or a foreign king may attack and have to be defeated.) When the problems have been solved by the prince, in disguise and using an alias, then he can finally reveal himself and claim the princess. With their marriage the world returns to its former settled state. Such is the lowest common denominator of the Panji theme, although this frame can be expanded to include a great variety of episodes, elaborate descriptions and repetitions.

In 1983 a UNESCO regional conference on the hero in Southeast Asian classical literature was held at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta.<sup>40</sup> The authors of the Indonesian team, basing their analysis on five Panji stories,<sup>41</sup> discussed the Panji theme as well, particularly the heroism of the character Panji within Indonesian culture. With this they contribute an analysis of the present-day perception of Panji stories by the Indonesian people.<sup>42</sup> The compilation of Panji's qualities produces the ideal hero: Panji has a charming and handsome appearance; a simple lifestyle, despite being a member of the court; a strong will; a well-developed sense of aesthetics, with many artistic skills like poetry-writing and playing music; a good character and attitude towards other people; an ultimate loyalty in love for his betrothed in spite of his love affairs with other women. Panji moreover shows obedience to the gods and practises meditation as a means to contact the gods. He is also a successful warrior, who displays many survival skills along his journeys through jungles and countryside (Sulastin Sutrisno et al. 1983:241, 266-82). Although this analysis is based on rather recent versions of Panji stories, the aforementioned qualities hold true for the more ancient versions as well.

Vickers (2005) in his comparative study of the Balinese *Malat* in literature, dance, and art gives a critical outline of the scholarly positions

<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, a publication of the 309-page manuscript (Sulastin Sutrisno et al. 1983) of the papers presented in this conference is not known to me.

<sup>41</sup> These five stories are the Javanese *Serat Panji Jayakusuma*, the Balinese *Malat* and the *Geguritan Pakang Raras*, the Malay *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang* and the *Hikayat Galuh Digantung*.

<sup>42</sup> It must be noted that today the knowledge of the Panji stories by the younger Javanese generation has strongly faded away.

and discussions on the Panji theme to date. He pays special attention to the relationship between ‘text’ and ‘history’ and particularly to attempts to classify Panji stories as ‘fact’ or ‘fiction’. An example is the *kidung Harsa Wijaya* which Berg (1931) claims is a story with a Panji hero related to the historical life of Raden Wijaya, while others, for example Vickers (2005:82-3) interpret it as a fictive story.<sup>43</sup> His discussion of the correlation between the presentations of the *Malat* in text and in the visual medium of paintings has been important in giving me direction for my analysis of the relief depictions of Panji stories.

*Kidung* poetry on a more general level has generated rather few particular studies. Robson (1979:307) considers a reason for this neglect to be ‘the fact that kidungs are not held in the same awe as kakawins’.<sup>44</sup> Robson (1979:302-3) highlights the topic of aesthetic and erotic enjoyment which occurs equally in both *kakawin* and *kidung*, the aesthetic enjoyment in *kidung* frequently being aroused by scenes of playing music and singing. Hunter (2007) has presented a study on the *kidung* as related to the role of young royals during the Singasari period, focusing on the *kidung* as symbols of the struggle of the young aristocrats in becoming an accomplished *kshatriya*. All these studies are very useful for our understanding of the Panji stories as particular types of *kidung*.

#### SYMBOLISM OF THE PANJI STORIES

##### (a) *Panji stories symbolizing eroticism and sexual union*

The Panji stories have a strong erotic character, which must be seen in the larger context of Old Javanese literature, that is, *kakawin* and *kidung* poetry. For the *kakawin*, this issue has been the subject of broad scholarly research both in the field of Old Javanese and Balinese literature. The most relevant studies are delivered by: Zoetmulder (1974), who discusses *langö*, that is, the rapture yielded by the description of beauty and erotic situations; by S. Supomo (2000), who elaborates on the role of the God of Love in *kakawin*; by Raechelle Rubinstein (2000), who touches on the issue of eroticism in her discussion of the Balinese ritual of composing *kakawin*; by Helen Creese (2004) in her study of marriage and sexuality

<sup>43</sup> The *Harsa Wijaya* was written in Bali in the nineteenth century. In his later work Berg (1954) accounts for ‘the possibility of a text allegorizing history’ (Vickers 2005:82).

<sup>44</sup> Robson (1979:306) points to the fact that the Majapahit period with compositions of a large number of *kakawin* also ‘saw the rise of the *kidung*’, an issue which deserves further appreciation and research.

in *kakawin*, where eroticism is the crucial feature. Though not as much research has been done on the *kidung* genre so far, we know that the erotic connotation of the *kakawin* texts finds its parallel in the *kidung* and the Panji stories. In both kinds of poetry erotic enjoyment of great diversity is expressed, and the sexual encounters are frequently described in a very romantic and realistic way. While erotic episodes and particularly the consummation of marriage in *kakawin* poetry happens between the married couple, in *kidung* poetry it does so between the unmarried partners (Vickers 2005:163). Still, the effect created for the reader who can share the emotions of the heroes of the story is the same, though in the case of *kakawin* this should eventually yield *langö* on a high spiritual level, and in the case of *kidung* it stays on a more superficial level. I argue the union of Kama and Ratih in the *kakawin* (Supomo 2000) to in fact parallel the union of Panji and Candrakirana in the Panji stories, each on its own level of spirituality. The latter acts as a kind of preparation for the former. I will refer to these issues in my later elaboration on Tantrism.

I hold Vickers' (2005:173-4, 180-1) discussion of the erotic character of the *Malat* to be transferable to Panji stories in general. The description of erotic scenes or behaviour, of emotions, of desire, of wishes and longing, of sexual love, all are intended to have a 'love-arousing effect' on the audience. Thus, while listening or watching a Panji story or play, the audience would be filled with erotic emotions. Being guided through a long line of such emotions during the course of the story eventually there is always the happy ending in the union and the marriage of Panji and Candrakirana. This makes them the typical wedding story as Ras (1973:438-9) pointed out, and which he considers to be the reason for its frequent performance at wedding ceremonies.

An example of an erotic scene in a Panji story can be located in the *Wangbang Wideya* (Robson 1971:227, Canto 3:157a-158b):

When they had gone into the fragrant bed-chamber he murmured fondly to her while holding her on his lap,

With words as sweet as sugar, 'Oh lady who are the embodiment of the full moon of the month of Kartika, your sweet charms are overflowing with loveliness. Come, grant me the favour of enjoying your delights on the bed.' The girl, though, hung back shyly, but he persisted, and she

was overcome. When the *tapih*<sup>45</sup> was opened her slender waist made him weak with emotion.

Eagerly he carried out his desires – he squeezed her breasts, and sure enough the woman’s anger subsided; she was won over in his act.

When they had now been united he took the beautiful one on his lap and with kind words tried to draw out her affection.

This quotation demonstrates a recurrent fact that the woman often was taken by the man with violence. I want to point out the particular term mentioned in the last verse, saying that he took her ‘on his lap’, in the original text, ‘*pangkwan*’ (lap; Zoetmulder 1982:1262). In an earlier study (Kieven 2003), I investigated this term and drew parallels to depictions in reliefs; I will later make use of these insights in my interpretation of the reliefs.

The similarity of descriptions of erotic scenes in a Panji story and in a *kakawin* is demonstrated in a verse in the *kakawin Sumanasantaka* (Canto CIII, 2; Hunter 1998:57), where Prince Aja courts the beautiful Indumati:

Here, good lady, be seated on my lap,  
so long have I been pining for you  
who comes to me like a rain cloud,

You who are cool mist to my burning longing,  
rumbling thunder to my desire,  
lightning that illuminates the darkness of my heart.

We can imagine and maybe still experience ourselves that both the *Wangbang Wideya* and the *Sumanasantaka* arouse emotions for the reader.

*(b) Panji stories symbolizing fertility*

Within Javanese mythology Panji and Candrakirana are considered to be incarnations of the Hindu gods Vishnu and his consort Sri, who in their union symbolize fertility (Ras 1973:437-9, 442). In India, Vishnu’s consort more commonly has the name ‘Lakshmi’. She is regarded as the deity of fortune, prosperity, and wealth, as well as the creative energy

<sup>45</sup> A *tapih* is a garment worn by women around the lower part of the body (Zoetmulder 1982:1948).

of Wishnu.<sup>46</sup> The origins of the transferral of the name and symbolism of the Indian Sri to Indonesia are quite blurred. N. van Setten van der Meer (1979:102) cautiously states that ‘the name Sri is said to have been borrowed from an Indian goddess’. Quaritch Wales (1951:94) considers Sri to have her origin in the Bengal rice spirit Dewi, while M. Appel (1991:28) refers to her as ‘Schutzgottheit des Reisanbaus’ (‘protective goddess of rice-cultivation’, LK).

Weatherbee (1968:501-2) in his discussion of the ‘Indonesian Sri’ points out that her ‘chthonic nature as the goddess of rice seems clear’. In asking if this manifestation should be seen as ‘isolated from her Indian namesake’, he suggests that ‘the role that she plays seems to be if not indigenous at least an indigenous emphasis of her chthonic features.’ As mentioned earlier, the interrelations between Javanese and Indian culture must be seen as a ‘creative response’ by Java to Indian influences. Based on the fact that rice cultivation was already practised in Java since the Austronesian expansion before 1000 BC (Bellwood 1992:114), and also on evidence for wet-rice cultivation since the early Christian era (K. Hall 1992:188), we may conclude that an indigenous pre-Hindu concept of the rice-goddess in Java was adapted to the concept of the Indian goddess Sri/Lakshmi.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, the concept of the Indian goddess was adopted by the Javanese and assimilated into their older beliefs. It is in fact not necessary to look at the origins of the meaning of Sri in India; rather, one should look at her meaning in the Javanese context. In Java as well as in Bali, Dewi Sri was, or, partly, still is, venerated as the goddess of rice and of fertility. Depictions of Dewi Sri from the classical Javanese period show her with a rice ear.<sup>48</sup>

The correlations between Panji-Candrakirana and Wishnu-Sri are complex, and also correspond to another Javanese myth, that of Sadono-Sri. Several variations of the myth of Sadono and Sri are known by different names, such as the *Manik Maya*.<sup>49</sup> The essence of these myths is that the brother and sister Sadono and Sri love each other, but are

<sup>46</sup> For further information about the Indian context, see Pintchman 1994:156-8.

<sup>47</sup> According to Wissemann Christie (2007:236, 245-6) the earliest information about an established knowledge of wet-rice agriculture in Java is given in inscriptions of the late first millennium AD.

<sup>48</sup> Krom (1923, II:281) mentions a sculpture which was found near Panataran. Plate 108 in Krom 1923, III depicts a bronze figure.

<sup>49</sup> See Kats 1916; Hidding 1929. The cult of Sadono and Sri has been continued into the present day via the tradition of placing a pair of wooden figures, called Loro-Blonyo, male and female, in front of the ritual wedding bed of the Javanese aristocracy. A photo of Loro-Blonyo figures from Surakarta can be found in Jessup 1990:fig. 183.

of course not permitted to marry each other. However, they do not want to marry anyone else. Instead, they leave home individually and then search for each other and in the end meet again. In his discussion of the Sri-Sadono myth with a focus on the *lakon* for the *wayang* play, K.A.H. Hidding (1929:117) states that the end of the myth leaves open whether Sri and Sadono do indeed get married.<sup>50</sup> On this point he opposes Rassers (1922:336), who interprets the marriage between the two siblings to be the actual end of the story. Be they married or not, is however less important than the fact that they are reunited in some way at all. In these myths, Sri is often associated with rice. For example, in the *Manik Maya* story, Sri, under her other name Tiksnawati, dies and her corpse produces the rice-plants, amongst others (Kats 1916:178). The fact that in Sanskrit the name Sadono is another name for Wishnu, has been discussed by several authors.<sup>51</sup> After questioning if this identity can be transferred to the Javanese tradition, Hidding (1929:122) concludes that the siblings Sri and Sadono can be compared with Panji and Candrakirana as incarnations of Wishnu and Dewi Sri, which seems rather convincing to me.

The *lakon Sri-Sadono* and its variations used to be performed in connection with agricultural ceremonies, as documented around one hundred years ago by A. Kruijt (1903), G.A.J. Hazeu (1901), and Kats (1916), and later discussed by Rassers (1959:7-29). In more recent times Van Setten van der Meer (1979), G. van der Weijden (1981), and Appel (1991) have investigated rice myths in Java.<sup>52</sup> Appel points out that in West Java, Central Java, and East Java the various myths have common traits: Dewi Sri – or, as she is also known, Dewi Pohaci, Nyai Pohaci Sanghyang Sri, Tiksnawati – dies and her body then changes into rice and other cultivation plants (Appel 1991:32). Another aspect is the parallel between the processes of rice-growing and pregnancy, which is displayed in the rice ceremonies (Appel 1991:89-91). The night before harvesting the rice a *wayang* performance is given with the *lakon Sri-Sadono* (Van der Weijden 1981:34; Appel 1991:13). In the harvest one bunch of rice ears, the so-called *penganten* (bridal couple), is cut and kept separately,

<sup>50</sup> Hidding refers to both Kats 1916 and to Rassers 1922.

<sup>51</sup> Hidding 1929:114; Rassers 1922:336; Kats 1916:189, referring to Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balinesch Nederlandsch Woordenboek* 1897-1912. Pigeaud also refers to the meaning of a Sanskrit name Sadhana for Wishnu. He has highlighted a few interesting instances in the *Nāgarakertagama* which, according to him, demonstrate a relation to the couple Sri and Sadono (Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:319, 328).

<sup>52</sup> See also Ismani 1985, Wolbers 1993.

symbolizing Sri and Sadono. In her conclusion Appel (1991:92) states: ‘Es bestehen vielfältige Zusammenhänge zwischen der Fruchtbarkeit des Menschen und der Fruchtbarkeit des Reises’ (‘There exist manifold connections between the fertility of mankind and the fertility of rice’, LK).<sup>53</sup>

Van Setten van der Meer (1979:102) also considers the Sri-Sadono myth to be important in rice-ceremonies, with Sadono being another name for Wishnu. In her investigation of *sawah* cultivation in ancient Java, she compares religious rice ceremonies from Lombok and East Java around 1900 with contemporary ceremonies. Be it in Lombok or Java, they use the Old Javanese language and do not appear to have major differences. She comes to the reasonable conclusion that these rice ceremonies are ‘very ancient indeed, probably handed down through countless generations of rice farmers in Java’ (Van Setten van der Meer 1979:111). She describes the symbolic process of the rice growing:

Sri, as the rice seed, meets Visnu, the water. [...] She becomes incarnate in the rice by the process of dying, and as the seed grain she is buried in the earth. There she meets with Visnu, himself reborn in the water, and their marriage takes place, the joining of the rice seed and the water, the ovum and the semen. Thus begins the life cycle leading ultimately to the yellowing grain after which it enters the earth again and the never-ending cycle continues.

(Van Setten van der Meer 1979:103)

Ras (1973:445-56), in comparing the Panji stories with the Ngayu Dayak creation myth, elaborates on quite interesting interrelations. He interprets Panji as an incarnation of Wishnu symbolizing the sun and, at the same time, the water, and Candrakirana as an incarnation of Sri symbolizing the earth. Panji is equated with the tree of life, which itself is another symbol of the *lingga* of Siwa which ejects the semen and fertilizes the *yoni* of Siwa’s consort. It is water – Wishnu – symbolized by the semen which fertilizes the earth – Sri. I will later come to a similar interpretation of the identity of *lingga*-semen-*amerta* in my discussion on Tantrism.

<sup>53</sup> It must be noted that many of the ceremonies described by Appel and Van der Weijden have been diminishing in recent years (Van der Weijden 1981:35), due to the ‘Green Revolution’ which is more attentive to effective productivity than to maintaining the old traditions. I owe this information to peasants I met in East Java in September 2007, and to Pak Suryo Prawiroatmojo, who collected information amongst peasants in the area of Trawas/East Java in 2006.

There are actually not many Panji stories which explicitly mention Panji and Candrakirana as incarnations of Wishnu and Dewi Sri, or Sadono and Sri. However, as discussed above, especially with reference to Hidding and Ras, the interrelations are evident and have been part of tradition. Weatherbee (1968:477), in discussing the various rice myths and the Panji stories, expresses these interrelations in a simple, but striking way: ‘The mythic identification of Panji and Candra Kirana or Sekartadji with the godheads Visnu and Sri can be considered as well established both through the explicit terms of the various stories making up the so-called “Panji cycle”, the interpretations of the European students of the narrative complex, and the belief of the Javanese themselves.’

I give a few examples of Panji stories which have the topic of Wishnu-Sri or Sadono-Sri. They were all written in relatively recent times; however, given the fact that many Panji stories are supposed to be written versions of previously existing oral versions, we may assume that the core of the stories – that is, Sadono and Sri being incarnations of Wishnu and Dewi Sri, respectively – is derived from such earlier versions.

- The Javanese *Babad Daha-Kediri* of the seventeenth century, as quoted by Ras (1973:437), refers to Panji and Candrakirana as incarnations of Wishnu and Dewi Sri.
- The Javanese *Serat Kanda*, written around 1700, speaks of Wishnu who incarnates in the prince of Janggala, and about Sri, who incarnates in the princess of Kediri (Poerbatjaraka 1940a:90-1, 1968:92).
- The Javanese *Panji Jayakusuma*, written around 1800,<sup>54</sup> recounts the story of the siblings Sadono and Sri who are themselves incarnations of Wishnu and Sri. Sadono and Sri are then incarnated into Panji and Sekartaji (Poerbatjaraka 1940a:103-57; 1968:123-30; Sulastin Sutrisno et al. 1983:39).
- Ph. van Akkeren (1970:17-8) speaks of a specific story with Panji and Sekartaji as the incarnations of Sri and Sadono.<sup>55</sup>

Although these texts are more recent than the Majapahit period, I still consider them to be valid for application to the Panji stories of that

<sup>54</sup> The story was written in the times of Pakubuwana IV and Yasadipura I and II. Yasadipura I died in 1803 (Sulastin Sutrisno et al. 1983:37).

<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately Van Akkeren does not mention the name of this Panji story.

period. I base this interpretation on the arguments quoted above by Weatherbee (1968:477) and by Van Setten van der Meer (1979:111) where they consider the identification of Panji and Candrakirana with Wishnu and Sri to be very ancient.

From my discussion I conclude that the Panji stories in fact have an association with agricultural fertility, and particularly with rice ceremonies. Thus one of their functions is to be a symbol for the agricultural fertility in Java.

The interrelation between the symbolism of eroticism and of fertility is evident. The final marriage of Panji and Candrakirana produces, as a natural result of the union of woman and man, fertility. Thus, there were two major occasions to perform Panji dramas: both agricultural ceremonies and wedding ceremonies.

(c) *Panji stories symbolizing political union*

From the discussion of the historical aspects of the Panji stories it becomes clear that, although no specific historical figure can be determined to be the origin for the character of Panji, one aspect of their symbolism lies in their reflection of the struggle for the unity of the realm. Since this struggle was the central political issue of the Majapahit period, it most likely increased the popularity of the Panji stories during the Majapahit period.<sup>56</sup> This topic is beyond the scope of my study. However, a specific aspect in the political context is of interest to my later investigation, and I wish to discuss this aspect here as a single kind of symbolism.

(d) *Panji stories symbolizing the political struggle of a young royal*

That *kidung* stories and particularly Panji stories reflect the struggle of a young royal within the political hierarchy has been identified by Hunter (2007). The aim of the heroes of the *kidung*, usually young princes, is to become a king or an accomplished *kshatriya*. As a precondition for this final goal they have to struggle to find the right and appropriate woman for marriage.

Kingship itself is not the subject of *kidung* and Panji stories, but rather, the preparation for kingship. In the *kakawin*, in contrast to the *kidung* stories, the heroes are already settled in their position as a *kshatriya* or a king. Worsley (1991:173, 180-1) argues, based on the example of the

<sup>56</sup> See further discussion in Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Unity of the realm'.

*kakawin Arjunawijaya*, that a king needs a consort for his legitimization. In the quest for fitting partners, social status was an important point. Creese (2004:89), in her discussion of the issue of marriage in *kakawin*, states: ‘Marriage was of immense political significance in mediating relationships among elite families [...]. At the same time, [...] individual love [is] the overriding force in determining the choice of life partners.’<sup>57</sup> Both Worsley and Creese refer to *kakawin* literature with a setting in Majapahit society, which allows to apply their arguments to the Panji stories set in Majapahit society as well. The marriage between Panji and Candrakirana from the two competing kingdoms Janggala and Panjalu expresses the political significance of the issue of the union of these two kingdoms, which had a historical base in the Majapahit struggle for the unity of the realm. At the same time, romantic love is an element in the politically important union of the two lovers.<sup>58</sup>

The struggle which Panji undergoes to find his beloved reflects the process of a young man becoming an adult, that is, the life crisis of a young man.<sup>59</sup> In his preparations to become an ideal man, Panji must demonstrate his qualities in practices of art, in warfare, in love-making, and in ascetic practices. As a prince, Panji is only sufficiently accomplished to become a king after he has married a woman of his status. Thus the Panji stories reflect the political and status struggle of a young royal-in-progress within the royal hierarchy. This struggle of young royals took on an even stronger importance within the politically unstable situation of the Majapahit decline in the fifteenth century, which may also have provided the reason for the increased popularity of Panji stories during this time period.<sup>60</sup>

I remind the reader of Rassers’ point considering Panji’s two different characters: the chaste young man and the sexually fully active adult man. Ras (1973:432-3) further develops Rassers’ arguments and com-

<sup>57</sup> In Chapter IV (sub-chapter ‘Politics of Majapahit’) I will discuss in more detail the issue of arranged marriages, particularly cross-cousin marriages as a political instrument in Majapahit time.

<sup>58</sup> Boon (1977) comments that the element of romantic love in Panji stories functions as a counterpart to the theme of marriages between cousins.

<sup>59</sup> This theme of life crisis is actually equally valid for both the man (Panji) and the woman (Candrakirana). However, in the literature on the Panji stories, only Panji’s struggle has been considered. As my research object is the male cap-figure, often representing Panji, I restrict myself in my discussion to the male life crisis.

<sup>60</sup> The historical background will be discussed in Chapter IV, sub-chapter ‘Decline of Majapahit’.

compares the process of becoming an adult with a series of initiation rites which are held by totemistic Australian tribes, for example. After having married the particular woman who was destined for him from the beginning, Panji passes his initiation and is fully accepted as an adult. This flow of the story corresponds to the scheme and terminology established by Van Gennep (1960:10-1), who distinguishes three different rites of passage in the lifetime of an individual in any society: rites of separation, transition rites, and rites of incorporation, the latter one determining the marriage.<sup>61</sup> This take on the Panji stories parallels Vickers' (2005:171) approach to the Balinese *Malat* when he asks the question: 'how is [the *Malat*] tied to notions of the self and transitional phases in life, as people moved from adolescence to that married state which in Bali constituted adulthood?'

By way of conclusion to the four kinds of symbolic meanings of Panji stories discussed above, I want to refer to Weatherbee (1968:518), who presents a remarkable statement: 'The union [of King and Queen] was necessary for and guaranteed agricultural prosperity and well-being.' Thus, the Panji stories express the aspiration of an accomplished royal couple after their struggles, and, at the same time, the related desire for agricultural fertility. I conclude that the symbolic levels of eroticism, fertility, political union, and political struggle are all interconnected. The Panji stories thus have a wide range of importance in mythology, in ancient Javanese literature, in the genre of romantic love stories, in fertility cults, and in Majapahit politics, which all account for their popularity in the Majapahit period.

#### NARRATIVES, PANJI STORIES, AND PERFORMING ARTS

An aspect which has been rather neglected in research on temple reliefs is the question of the interrelation between performing art, literature, and visual art. I consider this aspect to be relevant for the discussion on Panji stories and their visual depiction, and for the understanding of their interrelation.

Robson (1983:316), from the perspective of *kakawin* poetry, points to the fact that the question of recitation and of performance of poetry

<sup>61</sup> See also Turner 1969.

did not get much attention so far. He hits the point when he states that the ‘poem is the sum-total of all three [...] aspects, which can be given the names “narration”, “imagery”, and “music”.’ Sedyawati (1993:175), looking at the same issue from the perspective of art, raises the question

whether there was some kind of relationship between the different forms of art, namely the narrative art in stone, oral literature, written literature, and the performing arts. We know that today in Javanese art there is a close relationship between the visual and the performing arts, especially concerning the presentation of stories.

At one point in my research I came across the description of the relief panels at Candi Mirigambar by the Dutch archaeologist Knebel in the year 1908. He quotes the words of the village head who had guided him to the temple and had told him with a kind of ‘dalang-voice’ the story of *Angling Dharma* represented in the reliefs (Knebel 1908b:220). Knebel and later Krom, as did I, doubted the interpretation of the reliefs as the *Angling Dharma*. Nevertheless, I was struck by the idea of a *dalang* accompanying the visitor and conveying the narrative in a lyrical way, just as a *dalang* does in *wayang kulit*. Even more similar to the visual medium of the relief depictions is the visual medium of *wayang beber*, where a *dalang* tells or, better, sings the *lakon* of the story which is depicted in the painted scrolls.<sup>62</sup> It is supposed that *wayang beber* and also *wayang topeng* were already practised in Majapahit time.<sup>63</sup>

Vickers’ (2005) discussion of the *Malat* and the several ways of its performance pointed me in the same direction: its written form, the danced form in *gambuh*, and the spoken/sung form during the *gambuh* dance. All three forms are part of the one process: to convey the message of the *Malat* story.

The performing arts did in fact have an important role in ancient Javanese culture, as is illustrated in inscriptions and in Old Javanese liter-

<sup>62</sup> I have actually practised forms of such performance art myself: I have presented slides of relief depictions while reading passages from corresponding stanzas of Old Javanese literature and singing appropriate *macapat* songs, with the whole presentation accompanied by *gamelan* music. The combination of these three mediums made the content of the stories more lively and comprehensible. [The only form of art performance that was missing was dance.]

<sup>63</sup> For general information on the *wayang beber* see Kant-Achilles 1990; Van Hoof 1991.

ature.<sup>64</sup> For example, the *Nagarakertagama* speaks of dance performances, even with the king himself as actor (*Nag.* 91.4-8). That music, dance, and drama performances were held in high esteem at the royal courts, is attested to by the position of a special master of ceremony, the *demung*, who had the function ‘to care for and entertain the King (with) everything that gives him pleasure’ (Robson 1979:301-2). Another position referred to in inscriptions is the *widu*, who sings songs and poetical texts and probably also performed a kind of drama; Robson (1983:293) suggests that the *widu mawayang*, mentioned in the Old Javanese *Rayamana*, belongs to a specialist group of ‘lowly practitioners wandering the countryside’.

The performance tradition has been maintained throughout the centuries in Java as well as in Bali, and is still an important medium of entertainment and of conveying spiritual and mystic knowledge. The various kinds of *wayang* – *wayang orang*, *wayang topeng*, *wayang kulit*, *wayang golek* – attest to this. Such performances act both in a court environment and in a more rural setting, for the latter case still more explicit in performances such as *jatilan* and *reog* which bear an exorcist character.<sup>65</sup> We may in fact assume that these long-lasting traditions go back to the times of ancient Java.

Particularly in the case of the Panji stories, the performance tradition also seems to have been enacted both in a court and in a rural environment: as discussed above, there is high evidence of their performance in royal marriage ceremonies and in agricultural ceremonies. Satyawati Suleiman (1978:43), referring to a comment by Poerbatjaraka, states that the Panji stories ‘have origins among the common people and started as a drama enacted by travelling troupes of village people’. This again raises the question to which I referred earlier: does the Panji tradition have its roots in folk or in court tradition? A similarly circular question is: can we determine if the dramatic form of the stories existed prior to the literary form? Both questions in fact are not essential for our understanding of ancient Javanese art and culture. More important is the interrelation

<sup>64</sup> Edi Sedyawati (1993) dedicates an article to this issue in her iconographical analysis of the dance scenes in the *Ramayana* reliefs on the Prambanan temple. Dwi Cahyono (1996) has written an interesting paper on the social levels of performing artists in ancient Java, based on information from inscriptions and Old Javanese literature. This author presented another paper (2010) on the topic of *wayang topeng* (mask dance) performing Panji stories in the Majapahit period. Here he suggests that the term *raket*, mentioned in Old Javanese texts, denotes the Balinese term *gambuh*.

<sup>65</sup> Pigeaud (1938) and Clara van Groenendaal, V.M. (1995) have elaborately presented and discussed such popular forms of performance.

and intercontextuality: in both folk and court tradition Panji stories were presented in forms of literature, of performance, and in visual art.

The fact that the village head in Candi Mirigambar told a story which obviously had little to do with the relief depictions suggests that the interpretation of a relief series by the local community may have changed over the course of time.<sup>66</sup> Such changes reflect the broad vernacular tradition in literature.<sup>67</sup> We may imagine that even throughout the times of the ritual use of the temples during the Hindu-Buddhist period the original symbolism had passed into oblivion or had seen alterations. Still, we can only speculate that such changes did not happen without any reason, but that they reflect a possible change in the spiritual needs of the community.

What makes the issue of performance even more pertinent within the subject of my study is the fact that Panji in the Panji stories himself is known as a talented *gamelan* player, poet, and presenter of lyrics, thus he is figured as a performing artist. In my discussion of the Panji reliefs I will raise the suggestion that in the same way as a *dalang* or a priest explained the reliefs in the temple, Panji also ‘acted’ as a guide to an understanding of the function of the temple. That Panji was particularly suitable for this task can be implied from his own quality as a performing artist, and from the performance tradition of the genre of the Panji stories.

Whether a story depicted in reliefs was additionally performed in situ in other media: by a *dalang*, by a singer, or by dancers is still an open question. These questions will form a part of future investigations, which I only marginally touch on here.

<sup>66</sup> In Chapter IX on Candi Mirigambar, I will identify another such story in the relief depictions.

<sup>67</sup> Hunter (2000) proposes a version of the *Angling Dharma* (remarkable enough that it is the same story as in Candi Mirigambar!) to be depicted in Candi Jago, which was told to him by the *juru kunci* (temple guard). See Chapter VI on Candi Jago.

## Chapter III

### Iconography of the late East Javanese temple reliefs

#### ICONOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS IN THE LATE EAST JAVANESE TEMPLE RELIEFS

The narrative reliefs on the East Javanese temples are characterized by new styles and iconographical conventions, related to but distinct from those in the earlier Central Javanese period.<sup>1</sup> During the late East Javanese period, art develops even more specific new features. The cap-figure is one such new iconographical feature, another one the *kadeyan* type. Knowledge of iconographical conventions in the narrative depictions provides the basis to identify the motifs and to interpret the narrative scenes.

The characters in temple reliefs and their social status are defined through iconographical detail. The shape of the body and the body language, the clothing, and, particularly, the headdress are the main features for this evaluation. In general this holds true for the temple reliefs of the whole classical period. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a comparison of the iconography of the East Javanese narrative reliefs and Balinese paintings reveals a parallel in the terminology coined by Forge (1978:13): the distinction between the ‘mythological stories’ and the ‘post-mythological stories’. In both East Javanese and Balinese art the actors in ‘mythological stories’ wear elaborate attire, and the principle male hero, such as Rama or Krishna, is depicted with the crab-claw hairstyle called *supit urang*. In Balinese paintings the main actors of the ‘post-mythological stories’, such as Panji and other noblemen, have costumes which ‘correspond more or less to what was actually being worn at

<sup>1</sup> I do not wish to go deeper into the topic of styles here. A separate investigation would be required to explore and present the continuity and changes between the sculptural art of both ancient Javanese periods. For a short discussion of the different styles within the East Javanese period, see Chapter II.

court in Bali in the last few hundred years' (Forge 1978:17). I argue that the cap as a specific headdress appearing in the relief depictions of the late East Javanese period, and whose iconographical forms I will discuss in detail, corresponds to contemporary attire in Java in the period of the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth century. It designates a range of distinct characters determined by other iconographical details, such as various forms of clothing.

The most comprehensive survey of iconographical conventions of the late East Javanese narrative reliefs so far has been provided by Klokke (1993:61-9), who in her book on *Tantri* reliefs gives a detailed presentation which includes the most important elements and which I mainly draw upon. I will also make use of Satyawati Suleiman's (1978:26-39) survey of the main characters in her discussion of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran, and of the overview of religious types provided by Jo Sbeghen (2004:77-81) in her PhD thesis on Candi Sukuh. A systematic scholarly overview of the iconographical conventions has, however, never been carried out. Beyond the aforementioned sources I also draw upon my own intensive and repeated observations of the narrative depictions.

## TYPES OF CHARACTERS

### COMMONERS OF LOWER SOCIAL STATUS

Commoners of lower social status, men or women, wear different kinds of loincloths (*kain*). The men, especially when depicted in action such as walking or fighting, have short loincloths or a tucked-up cloth. The loincloths of the women, who usually act in a more refined way, are long, reaching down to the ankles. The male *kain* is simply wrapped around the waist, held up by a waistband with loose ends hanging down in front of the body. The loincloth for women falls in pleats, and often one corner of the cloth is put over the arm or shoulder. The women of lower status have their breasts uncovered. Both men and women can wear a similar hairdo, namely a knot at the back of their heads. In some cases men of commoner status wear a small cap.

## SERVANT FIGURES

Servant figures act as servants of the aristocracy or of deities. Their appearance marks the high social position of the king or deity.<sup>2</sup> Male servants are often depicted with short hair, such as in some scenes of the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the Main Temple of Panataran, and in several cases they wear a cap. They often appear in a pair, holding a betel box and a spittoon for their master, indicating his high status.<sup>3</sup> However, the literary texts which correspond to these narrative depictions do not specifically mention the servants, thus they can be understood as an element peculiar to visual representations.<sup>4</sup> As signs that they themselves belong to a higher status, most are adorned with a little jewellery, such as earrings and bracelets, and also wear a long *kain*. They are definitely not members of the lower class, as this would not be appropriate for serving a king or a deity.<sup>5</sup> The same holds true for the female servants of the aristocracy, who usually have their breasts covered with a *kemben*, which suggests a more polite and refined attitude than the uncovered breast of the commoner female. The female servants are often adorned with jewellery such as bracelets and a necklace. They frequently wear their hair in a particularly large bun on the upper back head, a feature which is also found in the Majapahit terracotta figurines.<sup>6</sup>

A special kind of servant character is the *panakawan*: the male *panakawan*, often Semar, and the female *panakawan* often named as Nini Towong. These figures, usually accompanying their masters, are depicted with a grossly deformed body which can be large or of a dwarf-like size. In many scenes they repeat or caricature the behaviour of their masters. They are only known from the reliefs on the late East Javanese temples,

<sup>2</sup> This is a common feature continuing the Central Javanese tradition.

<sup>3</sup> The tradition of betel accessories as regalia of the royalty has continued over the centuries. See the beautiful examples of precious golden sets from the nineteenth century given in Jessup 1990:figs. 123, 124.

<sup>4</sup> Still, the *Sumanasantaka*, a *kakawin* composed in the early thirteenth century, mentions that servants of Princess Indumati are carrying regalia. I am grateful to Peter Worsley, who is at present working on the translation and edition of this Old Javanese text in cooperation with S. Supomo (Worsley et al. forthcoming), for providing this information. The *Sumanasantaka* is however not depicted in any reliefs.

<sup>5</sup> This tradition still holds true today for the *pengabdi dalem*, the servants in the *kraton* of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, who are highly respected by the Javanese people.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Muller 1978:32-4. The bun may have its continuation in the *sanggul*, a hair bun still worn today as a traditional hairdo by Javanese women. See also Soemantri 2003.

first appearing on Candi Jago.<sup>7</sup> They seem to be the predecessors of the *panakawan* of present-day *wayang*. The presence of the *panakawan* in East Javanese reliefs has been considered as an indication that a *wayang* tradition was already in existence in ancient Java (Brandes 1902a:xli).<sup>8</sup> The *panakawan* as companions of the heroes appear in most narrative depictions, but they are not mentioned in the corresponding literary texts, as in the aforementioned case of the pair of servants of royal personages or deities. However, in the *kidung Sudamala* Semar is mentioned as a *panakawan* and plays an important role (Galestin 1959).

#### ACTORS OF ARISTOCRATIC STATUS, KINGS AND QUEENS

Actors of aristocratic status, royals, kings, and queens are characterized by their elaborate and rich clothing, jewellery, and hairdo. We can distinguish two types of aristocratic male personages, each with a distinct style depending upon whether they appear in the ‘mythological’ or the ‘post-mythological’ stories. The first type that appears in the narratives based on the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* has the *wayang*-style head-dress – the crab-claw-like *supit urang* – and they are richly attired with sashes, jewellery, and, often, a castecord. In contrast to his younger Pandawa brothers, who are depicted with the *supit urang*, Yudhishtira has a simple hair bun on the back of the neck (Klokke 1993:65). In some cases, this headgear is found in the depiction of other kings, for example in the *Sudhanakumara* reliefs on Candi Jago.

The male aristocratic type of the ‘post-mythological’ stories – such as Sidapaksa in the *Sri Tanjung* story, or Panji – wears the cap-like headgear. Usually this character wears a long *kain* with a waistband. In most cases he has one or two bracelets on his arm and around the ankles and sometimes around his upper arms, as well as round earrings.<sup>9</sup> I will return to

<sup>7</sup> According to Galestin (1959:14) these are the first *panakawan* in the *wayang* style. Servants with the same function, but not depicted in the *wayang* style, are already known from the reliefs of Candi Jolotundo (tenth century).

<sup>8</sup> Another indicator for an early existence of the *wayang* at least since the eleventh century is the verse in the *Arjunawiwaha kakawin* (AW 5.9) mentioning the play of the *ringgit* (*wayang*). The *Ramayana kakawin* (RY 24.112) supposed to be composed in the late ninth century, already mentions a *widu mawayang*, who is a *wayang* player or dancer (Zoetmulder 1982:2229, 2263, 2264).

<sup>9</sup> These earrings are similar to those of the Bhima statue of Candi Sukuh which Sbeghen (2004:121) calls ‘tamarind pod earrings’ and which, according to Goris (1927:111), symbolize ‘clear insight’. I am not sure, however, if the earrings of the aristocratic cap-figures are actually such tamarind-pod earrings. See for example the depiction of a cap-figure on the Pendopo Terrace of Panataran (panel 55).

details of the iconography of this type in the later sub-chapter on the cap-figure.

Royal females differ only slightly from their maid servants: they are adorned with more jewellery, usually wear more elaborate garments, and their breasts are covered by a *kemben*. Royal females as well as their maid servants often wear a second cloth beneath the outer one. Young women have their hair loose, which is a sign of youthfulness, and also may be a sign of erotic and longing mood. I will call this type of woman the 'young noblewoman'. Older women have their hair in a bun. Widows and nuns wear a particular kind of turban, which I describe in the next sub-chapter. Thus, the older and more distinguished the woman, the more 'tamed' is the hair.

There is a special male figure which is often depicted together with the noble cap-figure and a *panakawan*. This character, called *kadeyan*, displays attributes of a nobleman, but is usually of a somewhat stouter appearance. He wears a long *kain*, which he often tucks up so that one or both of his legs are visible. His curly hair is bound in a bun on top of the head. Examples of the group of *kadeyan*, noble cap-figures, and *panakawan* appear on the Pendopo Terrace at Panataran, on the Gambiyok relief, and in the Grogol statues. I will discuss these figures in a separate sub-chapter below.

#### RELIGIOUS ACTORS

Religious actors may represent priests (*brahman*), sages, hermits (*rshi*), and Buddhist monks. They are usually distinguished by their elaborate turban-like headdress (*ketu*) which is often combined with a moustache and a long beard. They wear a long loincloth with a long-sleeved jacket, and they often have a round protruding belly. Other religious actors may only wear the *ketu* as the specific indicator for their status and besides this are quite slim and clad in the usual *kain*. Still another type has a bald head, or his hair is cut short or flat across the head, and he wears simple clothes. Klokke (1993:63) states that the 'less head-hair and clothing the younger and less experienced [the hermit figure] seems to be. The one wearing a jacket seems to be highest in the hierarchy'. The reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace of Panataran display depictions of such men with bald head or short/flattened hair. I will argue that in these cases they represent Panji as a novice, or in preparation for becoming a novice, who has taken off his cap for the encounter with a hermit in order to show his respect

towards the hermit who will be his teacher, and in respect towards the anticipated teaching. In a similar depiction at Candi Jago in the *Angling Dharma* reliefs, a bald-headed man accompanying a hermit seems to express his respect towards the latter by wearing this specific hairstyle.

Female hermits or nuns (*kili*) also wear a turban-like headdress. This kind of turban is squarer and more vertical in shape than those worn by the men. Such figures appear in the Pendopo Terrace reliefs and are also found in the *Parthayajna* reliefs on Candi Jago.

#### GODS AND GODDESSES

Gods and goddesses usually stand or sit on a lotus cushion, have more than two arms, and may have a halo around the body. This corresponds to images of deities in freestanding statues. Their individual attributes identify them as specific gods; for example, the fly whisk (*cemara*) for Siwa in the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs at Candi Surowono. Their headdress is a kind of crown, while the clothing is much more elaborate than those worn by human beings, including rich jewellery, sashes, and the caste cord (*upawita*). Other heavenly beings such as nymphs (*widadari*) are distinguished by their many sashes and jewellery.

#### DEMONS

Demons have a large body and head, bulging eyes, protruding teeth, and often wild curly hair. The demon-king Rahwana in the *Ramayana* however is, although a demon, characterized as a king with a crown, as is his brother Kumbhakarna, for example on Candi Yudha and possibly also on the Main Temple of Panataran.<sup>10</sup>

#### TYPES OF POSTURES

The various characters are, depending on what they are doing, depicted in different postures: standing, sitting, lying, walking, running, or fighting. It is typical of late East Javanese reliefs that the trunk of the body of high-ranking characters is frontally depicted while the body of lower-ranking figures is usually displayed in profile or at a three-quarter angle. The direction of the movement is indicated by the position of the feet

<sup>10</sup> The headgear of Kumbhakarna at Candi Panataran is damaged, but still shows traits of a crown (Stutterheim 1989:plate 209).

and the head. This direction also indicates the way to read the reliefs, be it clockwise (*pradakshina*) or counterclockwise (*prasawya*).<sup>11</sup>

The social status of a character is expressed by specific postures. Characters of lower status and demons are often depicted in running, fighting, or in other postures signifying violent action. Characters of higher status are displayed in more refined postures. For example, the legs of standing lower-status figures are placed more widely apart, while the feet of more refined figures are closer to each other, postures which still today in Javanese society respectively signal *kasar* (rough) and *halus* (refined) attitudes. The refined position of the arms is close to the body, while the rough position is with arms more outstretched.

There are also postures with a very specific meaning. A man sitting with one leg stretched to the ground and the other leg placed on the other thigh usually denotes his longing for a beloved. A couple in a romantic context is often depicted with the man in the described pose and the woman sitting on his lap. This posture of the couple corresponds with many *kakawin* stories, which describe a man taking a woman on his lap. This posture symbolizes the sexual act both in the *kakawin* and in the relief depictions. In these romantic situations, the woman usually wears her hair loose, holds her head in a tilted position to the side and touches her head with one hand. If the woman is alone and longing for her beloved, she is depicted with the same features and with her body in a bent pose.<sup>12</sup> All these described postures frequently occur in the depictions of Panji stories and other stories with the subject of love and longing, and they will be crucial for my investigation and interpretations.<sup>13</sup>

A man can be signalled as working or as walking quickly by his tucked-up *kain*, so that one or even both legs are visible. This may however also signify an erotic mood,<sup>14</sup> especially for a nobleman whose 'normal' attitude is supposed to denote refinement by covering his legs. When he shows a bare leg this is an indication that he is ready to expose his body for a sexual encounter. Usually when adopting a posture of longing, the man's legs are bare as well.

<sup>11</sup> These rules draw on the Central Javanese tradition, for example in the reliefs at Candi Mendut and Candi Borobudur.

<sup>12</sup> I discuss these positions of love and longing in greater detail in an earlier article (Kieven 2003).

<sup>13</sup> See also Mrantasi 1989 on erotic scenes in Javanese temple reliefs.

<sup>14</sup> According to Satyawati Suleiman (1978:27), 'showing his leg is also a sign of eroticism'. Examples are found in the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace of Candi Panataran, on Candi Mirigambar, on Candi Surowono.

Whenever persons of lower rank are in the presence of a high-status person – royal or divine – the former usually kneels or crouches in front of the latter, who is often depicted sitting on a pedestal. The lower-ranking person may also place the palms of his hands together in a gesture of greeting or worship (*sembah*). A horizontally stretched arm, sometimes reinforced by stretched forefinger and middlefinger, is an act of menacing. Claspng a hand or both hands in front of the chest may be an expression of feeling cold or of politeness.<sup>15</sup>

#### TYPES OF PLACE

##### LANDSCAPES

Large parts of the narrative reliefs illustrate landscapes or elements of landscapes. A single tree may separate one scene from the other, as in some of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace at Panataran. A tree or a group of trees may indicate a forest hermitage, as in the Pendopo Terrace panel 5, or a forest, as in the *Parthayajna* reliefs at Candi Jago. Many trees can be botanically determined, such as pandanus tree, coconut palm, and sugar palm. Through their naturalistic way of depiction they signify the specific Javanese setting.<sup>16</sup> A tree with a twisted trunk is frequently depicted in the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace, found usually on a quadrangular pedestal. From the fact that this tree often appears in connection with the depiction of aristocratic buildings, I conclude that, even without such buildings, the tree alone can indicate a *kraton*-like environment.

A complete landscape can be represented by hills, mountains, fields, water places, and roads. These landscapes are usually depicted in bird's-eye view. Examples are numerous: the reliefs at Candi Jawi, Candi Kendalisodo, the so-called Candi Menak, Jingga panels, amongst others.

Depictions of landscape can have various functions and symbolism. They may indicate a certain environment, such as mentioned above.

<sup>15</sup> In his description of the Gambyok relief Stutterheim (1935b:140) interprets this gesture of crossing the hands in front of the body as an expression of feeling cold. Satyawati Suleiman (1978:10) interprets it as a sign of politeness. The gesture also appears in a few depictions of the *Krishnayana* at the Main Temple of Panataran, but has not been mentioned in the descriptions of these reliefs by Van Stein Callenfels (1924) nor by Klokke (2000b). In the depictions of the *Krishnayana* I do not recognize a clear meaning in the gesture (panels 6b, 8, 12). The interpretation of this posture deserves some further research.

<sup>16</sup> This corresponds to the naturalistic description of indigenous Javanese flora in Old Javanese literature (Zoetmulder 1974:196-202).

They may symbolize the demonic aspect of nature, for example in the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs at Candi Surowono. They may refer to the king's power in guaranteeing the cosmological order by shaping the landscape. I have identified another important function of the depictions of nature in their comparison to descriptions of beautiful nature in Old Javanese literature: same as in *kakawin*, landscape can be a medium to convey beauty and contribute to the intended *langö*.<sup>17</sup>

#### BUILDINGS

The architectural environments found in depictions include palaces, hermitages, temple complexes, and bathing places. A specific, frequently occurring type of architecture is the *pendopo*: an open hall on a basement with wooden pillars supporting a roof. The richer the owner, or the higher the status of the environment, the more pillars are depicted.<sup>18</sup> Galestin's (1936) complex investigation of the wooden constructions depicted in the East Javanese reliefs provides comprehensive information on this topic.

#### WATER

In the narrative reliefs, water is a frequent motif. It is depicted in the form of small waves, sometimes with fish and with small boats.<sup>19</sup> Water can indicate a lake or pond, a river, or an ocean. It can also form part of the depiction of a holy water place, in which case it is then usually combined with water spouts. Water may be a part of the depicted landscape to enhance its beauty, or it may represent an essential element of the narrative episode with a specific meaning, such as Sri Tanjung crossing the water in the underworld. In the sub-chapter on water, I will discuss the various symbolic meanings of water.<sup>20</sup> For example, the depiction of crossing water can be a symbol of progressing to the understanding of Higher Knowledge.

<sup>17</sup> For further discussion of the issue of landscape, see Day 1994, particularly pp. 185-202. Compare also Worsley (2005), who discusses distinct categories of lived environment in Old Javanese texts.

<sup>18</sup> The depiction of a large palace ground is known from the Candi Jawi reliefs (Stutterheim 1941).

<sup>19</sup> There are frequent depictions of a specific type of fish which, however, cannot be zoologically identified. It has two strings hanging out of its mouth which might be little jets of water or are a physical part of the fish's body (for example in panels 30, 50 on the Pendopo Terrace of Candi Panataran). I definitely do not agree with Suleiman Satyawati (1978:10,13) who identifies them as dolphins.

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Water and mountain'.

## THE CAP-FIGURES

### THE TERM 'CAP'

The topic of my research, the cap, has been denoted by various terms. Most of the early Dutch scholars used the term 'Panji cap' ('Panji petje; hoofdtooi' in Dutch). As the word indicates, it refers to a cap worn by Panji; thus, this expression contains an inherent interpretation of the meaning of the cap. Since my research explicitly consists of investigating the meaning of the various kinds of the cap, I do not want to make use of this term as it carries a preconceived interpretation.

Another Javanese expression, *tekes*, has been used by a number of scholars to designate this same cap. Stutterheim (1936a:198 note 4) first introduced the term as a synonym for the 'Pandji-hoofdtooi'.

In Modern Javanese the term *tekes* is not used in a uniform way. The Modern Javanese dictionaries state that it is 'a wig made of coarse palm fibres, worn in a certain dance' (Horne 1974:601), or 'a kind of wig or tall cap of woolly hair (as a headdress for topeng performances), or of the fibre of areca-palm bark, worn in the shape of a two-cornered hat by clowns to play Satan' (Gericke and Roorda 1901, I:624; translated from Dutch into English by LK). These definitions do not seem to have anything to do with the cap being researched here.

When, during my fieldwork, I asked people in Java about the meaning of the word *tekes*, I received various answers. There are people who translate *tekes* as *ikat kepala*, which means a head-cloth, as well as those who see the present-day *blangkon* of the traditional Javanese men's attire as a development of the older *tekes*. I was told that '*ikat kepala adalah tanda bahwa mau mengikat sendiri*' ('the *ikat kepala* is a sign that someone wants to bind himself'), which means that someone wearing the *ikat kepala* is ready to get married.<sup>21</sup>

In Old Javanese, according to Zoetmulder (1982:1979), a *tekes* is '1. a certain type of head-dress or hair-cover (esp. for religious persons?)', or '2. a particular role in a (topeng?) performance (wearing the *tekes*?)'. An example for the first definition is given in the Old Javanese text *Nitisastra*, where the *tekes* designates the head-cover of a priest (Poerbatjaraka 1933:76). The *Nagarakertagama* provides an example of the second defi-

<sup>21</sup> Communication with the late Mbah Karimoen in Pakisaji, Malang, 19-4-2002.



Fig. 3.1. Panji with a crescent-shaped cap on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran



Fig. 3.2. Servants with a half-moon shaped cap on the Main Temple at Candi Panataran



Fig. 3.3. Commoner with a beret-like cap on Candi Jago



Fig. 3.4. Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir

dition, in its description of a festivity held in honour of the king of Majapahit with a splendid meal and performances. The king himself is asked to perform:

(...) the nobles desired to watch him perform *raket* –  
‘Ah!’ was all he said, and went back to make an improvisation.

Prince Kretawardhana acted as *panjak* for him in the meantime;  
There in the hall in the centre it was hastily arranged.  
His Sori was a singer, and Tekes was Rahajeng –  
Seeing that it was for the sake of amusement, it simply aroused mirth.

The King was exceedingly handsome, in his full costume,  
And he had eight Tekeses who, being his minor wives, were truly beautiful.

(Nag. 91.4c–91.5b; Robson 1995:92)

According to these verses, the term *tekes* designates a character in a dance or theatre, representing, in this case, King Hayam Wuruk himself and his retinue (Stutterheim 1933:272-7). The term *raket* has been variously interpreted as both a masked and an unmasked dance.<sup>22</sup> The words *sori-tekes-raket* are often mentioned together in the same context, as in the above verses quoted from the *Nagarakertagama*.<sup>23</sup>

To sum up, the meaning of the word *tekes* is not clear and does not definitively denote the cap. Since the cap shows a wide range of iconographical types and is not only the headgear of the character Panji, the term 'Panji cap' is not appropriate either. Thus I have chosen simply to use the word 'cap' to designate the specific headgear I am dealing with in this book, using this term to refer to the wide range of its forms and its functions.

#### ICONOGRAPHY AND CLASSIFICATION

The cap exists in a wide range of shapes: it has a helmet-like form, and appears mostly in a crescent-moon shape. Examples are the caps of the noblemen on the Pendopo Terrace of Panataran (fig. 3.1) or those of the servants of Wairocana in the *Kunjarakarna* reliefs on Candi Jago. In other cases the cap has a half-moon shape, for example the caps of the servants of Krishna in the *Krishnayana* reliefs (fig. 3.2) on the Main Temple of Panataran. The crescent-moon shaped cap can be quite large, as in the cap-figures on Candi Mirigambar, covering part of the neck and leaving a few curls of hair visible on the forehead and around the ears. The ears always remain uncovered by hair or the cap. Sometimes curls of hair are also visible on the neck, as in the depictions of Sidapaksa on Candi Surowono. The half-moon cap is usually quite small and is placed on top of the head, so that a lot of the hair is visible around the edge of the cap. Another type, a rather small and flat beret-like cap which is placed on top of the head, is usually worn by commoners, as in the *Tantri* reliefs at Candi Jago (fig. 3.3), where the men are depicted engaged in vigorous physical action. It seems that the lower the status of the person, the smaller his cap.

<sup>22</sup> Overbeck 1927, 1932; Pigeaud 1938:350-1; Vickers 2005:108-9; Robson 1969:102, 136-7. See also the aforementioned unpublished paper by Dwi Cahyono (2010) who identifies *raket* with the Balinese *gambuh*.

<sup>23</sup> Pigeaud 1938:350-1, and see many other pages referred to in his index.

There is also a difference in the way the cap's edges are depicted. In many depictions the cap has a very sharp and definite edge, as in the depiction of Sidapaksa on Candi Surowono and in the Panji figures on the Pendopo Terrace. In some cases it seems that a ribbon borders the edge on the inside of the cap, which serves to hold the cap tightly to the head, as in the cap-figure on Candi Mirigambar. An extraordinary three-dimensional example of the latter is the sculpture of Candi Selokelir (fig. 3.4) where the narrow ribbon is clearly visible. This statue allows us to see the sharp-edged cap in a detailed way from all sides, whereas the two-dimensional reliefs only provide us with the profile. In the freestanding sculpture we see that this cap actually has a pointed tip at the front and at the back; in this sense it is a segment of a geometrical sphere. The cap-figure from Candi Gajah Mungkur on the slopes of Gunung Penanggungan, carved in high-relief, demonstrates another style of crescent-moon cap without the pointed tip, but it is not clear if there is a ribbon. The cap with the sharp edge and large crescent-moon shape is usually worn by princes and noblemen.

Other depictions provide examples with varying degrees of a blunter edge. This includes the small beret-like caps of the commoners, but there are also examples of larger caps for noblemen which have a softer edge, as in the cap-figure in Candi Kendalisodo. In some depictions where the edge is very imprecise, it is even unclear as to whether a cap or simply a short-cut hairstyle was intended by the carvers. This is the case for the reliefs at Candi Jawi and at Candi Menak Jinggo. I could not decide, even after close investigation and touching the stone in situ, whether the figure in question is depicted either with a cap or rather with a short hairstyle. In some cases the edge may be soft due to weathering. Thus, I have left these figures out of my investigation, but listed them in the table in Chapter V below.<sup>24</sup>

My observations allow me to draw the following conclusions: The larger the cap, the sharper its edge; also, the more clearly defined the crescent-moon shape, the higher the status of the cap-figure. The half-moon or the beret-like shape with the soft edge seems to indicate a lower status. The various types of caps correspond to other indicators of status which I discussed above, such as clothing, jewellery, posture, and environment.

<sup>24</sup> The reliefs of Candi Jawi and of Candi Menak Jinggo would deserve particular investigation.

There is a broad range of ways in which the cap-figures are depicted to signify their status: depictions with a long loincloth (*kain*) and jewellery, standing or walking in a refined manner; in other cases without jewellery and with a short *kain* and acting roughly. It seems that the *kain* and the jewellery are the most significant features, which leads me to classify the different types of cap-figures in the following way. I will refer to this classification in Chapter V, where I present the table of cap-figures.

- (S1) a man with a small cap, wearing a short *kain*, without any jewellery
- (S2) a man with a small cap, wearing a short *kain*, with jewellery
- (S3) a man with a small cap, wearing a long *kain*, without any jewellery
- (S4) a man with a small cap, wearing a long *kain*, with jewellery

The small cap usually has a half-moon or beret-like shape and has a soft edge.

- (L1) a man with a large cap, wearing a short *kain*, without any jewellery
- (L2) a man with a large cap, wearing a short *kain*, with jewellery
- (L3) a man with a large cap, wearing a long *kain*, without any jewellery
- (L4) a man with a large cap, wearing a long *kain*, with jewellery

The large cap usually has a sharp edge and has the shape of the crescent-moon or the half-moon. In some cases, however, this kind of cap has is slightly smaller, but still it has the typical features of crescent-moon shape and a sharp edge, for example in the Gambyok relief.

The cap-figure may represent:

- a commoner (S1, S2): for example a palmwine tapper, or a hunter carrying or beating animals
- a servant of a royal, or a deity (L3, L4): depicted together with a hero or a deity figure, in several cases carrying a betel box
- a warrior (L2): fighting or being ready to fight
- a musician (S3, L3): playing the *reyong* instrument
- a nobleman (L4): in a romantic situation with a woman, standing or walking next to each other, or him holding the woman on his lap; sitting alone in the ‘longing position’; together with a *panakawan* and/or another companion

Describing the life in Java, the Chinese source *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* of AD 1433 mentions that the ‘people of the country, both men and women, are all particular about their heads’ (Mills 1970:88). This observation suggests that Javanese considered the head as a part of the body which was to be given special attention. This could mean that the head should not be touched by anyone,<sup>25</sup> something which still holds true for the people in Java and in Bali today.<sup>26</sup> It might also indicate that generally the Javanese, and particularly the rural people, wore a specific type of headgear. The attitude of being ‘particular about their heads’ is also reflected in the relief depictions, which display the diverse types of headgear designating the specific characters. The importance of wearing the proper headgear has continued to be represented in *wayang* iconography and symbolism.<sup>27</sup> In my analysis of the cap-figures in the various temple reliefs, I will argue that the cap was originally worn by commoners and later developed as a type of headgear for noblemen, in a kind of upgrading from lower to higher status. In fact, were the Chinese referring to this very cap as a type of headgear of the country people who were ‘particular about their heads’?

The tradition of the cap being Panji’s headdress has been carried on in *wayang beber* (Kant-Achilles 1990:figs. 2, 3), in the Balinese traditional paintings of the *Malat* cycle (Vickers 2005:63), and in the *gambuh* theatre based on the *Malat*. In all of these cases Panji and other noble characters are depicted with the crescent-moon shaped hairdo called *tetanggalan*. This *tetanggalan* represents long hair shaped into a backward-bent loop (Vickers 2005:30-1).

Two questions remain unsolved – and in actual fact have never been asked or discussed before: a. What is the origin of the cap? b. What is the material and how was it made?

- a. We cannot answer this question, as there are no hints about the cap neither in depictions earlier than the Majapahit depictions, nor in inscriptions, or even in other contemporary texts. Javanese people

<sup>25</sup> This theme can already be observed in the *Karmawibhangga* reliefs at Candi Borobudur. I am grateful to Jan Fontein for this information. Personal communication, 8-4-2009.

<sup>26</sup> Touching a child’s head, however, can be an expression of affection and care.

<sup>27</sup> In traditional Javanese dress status is still today characterized by different headgears, for example *blangkon*, *peci*, *mahkota*.

today have suggested that the cap may have been a headgear for Muslim men imported by Islamic traders.<sup>28</sup>

- b. The cap in the relief depictions seems to be made of a solid material. The only comparable headgear which exists today is the *blangkon* in traditional Javanese dress of members of the *kraton*. The *blangkon* has a half-round form and is made of a solid material, to which a batik textile is attached. Nowadays the solid part of the *blangkon* is made of cardboard, but in former times it was made of the dried fibre of the banana trunk, which was stiffened by a glue produced from the powdered starch of a kind of sweet potato.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the cap was made from a similar material.<sup>30</sup> Another possibility might be that dried leather was used in the manufacture of leather *wayang kulit* puppets.

#### THE KADEYAN: GAMBYOK RELIEF AND GROGOL STATUES

Two figures with specific iconographic features, often depicted together with Panji, are the *kadeyan* and the *panakawan*. As companions of Panji they mark his status. They are also major actors in the literary forms of the Panji stories.

In many literary versions, Panji is usually accompanied by his four friends, most often called Jurudeh, Punta, Prasanta, and Kertolo, and occasionally by a few other companions, all of them commonly called *kadeyan*. Also the *panakawan* Semar may appear as an actor. Candrakirana is joined by her faithful maid servants Bayan and Sanggit. These companions and servants can be regarded as an equivalent of the European medieval ‘pages’. They reflect the importance that royalty in all of Southeast Asia attached to a retinue, and are an indicator of high status.

<sup>28</sup> This suggestion was given to me by several friends, for example Mas Suryadi and Mbak Wulan. It has, however, no academically proven background.

<sup>29</sup> I am grateful to my friend Suryadi from Prambanan, who kindly provided me with this information in a text message (5-10-2008): ‘*lem dari pati kanji (ketela)*’.

<sup>30</sup> In this case the starch would, however, have been produced from another plant, since cassava (*ketela*), coming from the New World, did not reach Southeast Asia until the sixteenth century. I am grateful to John Miksic for this information.

In the relief illustrations the *kadeyan*, as companion of Panji, appears alone or in a pair, as displayed on the Pendopo Terrace of Candi Panataran (panels 48, 54, 75). The *kadeyan* is typically depicted at the same size as Panji and is similarly dressed with some jewellery. He is therefore also of a noble status. The main difference between the *kadeyan* and Panji is the hairstyle, as *kadeyan* usually have curly hair bound in a knot on top of the head. Furthermore, a *kadeyan* often has a moustache, and the body language is stronger and rougher, while Panji appears to be more refined. The East Javanese tradition is continued through the Balinese paintings of the *Malat* cycle, where Panji is commonly accompanied by a *rangga* and an *arya*, both with a slender, refined body and with variations of the crescent-moon hairdo similar to Panji's. In addition, two *kadeyan* with a curly hair knot and a coarser body belong to the retinue.<sup>31</sup> In this Balinese tradition the *kadeyan* represent extensions of Panji and complement him.<sup>32</sup> Only in a few cases the princely *kadeyan*-type is represented in relief depictions. I know of the Gambiyok relief discussed further down, where we can discern different hairstyles of the four companions: while one of them has a similar headgear to Panji himself and another one has curly hair in the crescent-moon-like shape, the two others have the typical knot. The two former represent the princes, while the latter depict Panji's other *kadeyan*. We find another example of the depiction of the prince-like type in the reliefs of Candi Yudha, as discussed in Chapter X.

Panji may also be depicted with one or two *panakawan* as companions, and sometimes additionally with a *kadeyan*. If Panji is accompanied by only one *panakawan*, then the latter may in fact have the role of a *kadeyan*, as for example in the relief panels of Candi Mirigambar and of Candi Kendalisodo. The *panakawan* is usually depicted with a grossly shaped and small body, but he may also be the same size as Panji.

<sup>31</sup> 'Rangga' and 'Arya' were titles of a court official and of a noble, respectively, as the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 10.1d, 10.3d) and inscriptions of the Majapahit period attest. The title 'Rangga' is discussed by Weatherbee (1968:169) as a kind of bodyguard of the king. A *patih*, together with four lower officials – *demang*, *kanuruhan*, *rangga* and *tumenggung* – are also attested in the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 69.2, 70.1, 72.2, 72.5) and in inscriptions (Weatherbee 1968:168-170, 174). The *patih* was the highest within the hierarchy of the royal administration. There seems to be a parallel between this administrative structure at the court of Majapahit and the group of Panji with the *demang*, *tumenggung*, *rangga* and *kadeyan* in the *Malat* (Vickers 2005:41-2, 56).

<sup>32</sup> Compare Vickers 2005:211-2. Previously, Stutterheim (1935b:139-43) also pointed to the fact that depictions of Panji, *kadeyan*, and *panakawan* are a frequent feature in Balinese *Malat* paintings. From this he concludes that the Balinese paintings constitute a continuation of the East Javanese reliefs.



Fig. 3.5. Relief from Gambyok

Below I discuss two typical examples of depictions which feature *kadeyan*: in the relief of Gambyok and in the statues of Grogol. Stutterheim (1935b), Poerbatjaraka (1940a, 1968) and Satyawati Suleiman (1978) have discussed the two depictions in relation to each other. I will also refer to some other examples of so-called Kertolo statues. These examples will help in identifying similar depictions at Candi Panataran, Candi Mirigambar, and Candi Yudha.

#### THE GAMBYOK RELIEF

Gambyok is a village to the northwest of the town of Kediri. The relief (fig. 3.5) found there was documented and described by Stutterheim (1935b), who, when comparing it with the dated sculptures of Grogol (AD 1413), dates it to about AD 1400. Photos taken by Claire Holt in the year 1934 (Kern Institute Photo Archive nr. 28052/28054) show the relief standing in front of the remains of a *candi* next to its entrance. However, this photo does not provide any information about the original placement of the relief within the *candi*. Today the relief stands on top of a pedestal in front of a fenced graveyard containing two graves of highly venerated Muslim teachers.<sup>33</sup> Only a few stones behind the relief are reminiscent of the *candi* wall. Still, the relief panel is in very good condition.

<sup>33</sup> During my visit to the site in 2007, I was told by neighbours that the graves are not real graves for the deceased, but rather function as memorials for Syeh Ali Syamsudin and Syeh Hasan Malik. The site is today called 'Sarasehan' (symposium). Stutterheim (1935b:139) seems to refer to this place when he states that the relief was found on the site of a Muslim graveyard.

Stutterheim (1935b:139-42) provides a detailed description of the relief and identifies the main character with the cap as Panji and the four other figures in the relief as *kadeyan*. Poerbatjaraka (1940a:367) identifies the scene as part of the *Hikayat Kuda Panji Semirang* which he discovered amongst Cohen Stuart's manuscripts. Satyawati Suleiman (1978:23-4) makes use of the discussions of Stutterheim and Poerbatjaraka to compare the Panji-*kadeyan* depictions with some of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace (panels 48, 54, 75). This provides a major argument for her to conclude that Panji stories have indeed been carved on the Pendopo Terrace.

The relief panel shows a carriage on the right without horses or bulls to pull it. A man with a cap sits on the front edge of the carriage in a 'longing position', one hand pointing towards the left side of the panel. In front of him squats a big *panakawan*. The front of the drawbar is decorated with a deer-head on top of a serpent-like shape. The bow with two deer-headed ends, which appears in several East Javanese reliefs, has been interpreted by Stutterheim (1989:155, plate 151) as a 'symbol of supernatural heroism', and by Bosch (1931:486-7) as the symbol of an auspicious rainbow. A stone relief from Mount Penanggungan shows this motif.<sup>34</sup> This is interesting since the Panji stories are strongly associated with this mountain.<sup>35</sup> Thus there might exist a connection between the deer-head motif and the Panji stories.<sup>36</sup> That only a part of the bow with one deer-head is depicted, as in the Gambyok relief, is not common.<sup>37</sup> I cannot deduce if in fact any symbolic meaning was intended by the carvers of the deer-head motif in Gambyok, or if it was merely a common element in the decoration of a carriage.

To the left of the carriage, seen from the viewer's perspective, stand four male figures with their feet directed towards the carriage. The two front figures, facing to the right, wear a long *kain* and jewellery and display the aforementioned princely hairstyle; thus, they can be deduced to be of noble status. The first figure wears a kind of cap with a soft edge as

<sup>34</sup> In October 2006 the stone relief, which has the shape of a backslab of an altar and does not display any narrative depiction, was still extant in the sanctuary Candi Sinta (XVII following Romondt's nomenclature of the Penanggungan sites); compare Van Romondt 1951:22, fig. 22.

<sup>35</sup> See Chapter X.

<sup>36</sup> I am grateful to John Miksic for this suggestion (27-4-2009).

<sup>37</sup> Vickers (2005:270) points to the fact that in Bali the ornamental deer-head is considered a symbol of Majapahit. Today, Balinese people still have the deer-head symbols in their houses, and deer-head motifs additionally feature in paintings (personal information by Adrian Vickers 9-9-2008; see also Goris 1984:379 fn. 4).

headgear, while the one standing behind him has curly hair in the shape of a crescent moon. Both of them hold one hand in front of their chest, which may be an expression of feeling cold (Stutterheim 1935b:140). The two other characters in the left part of the panel face each other as if talking to each other. They are of a stouter and rougher appearance, and their long *kain* are tucked up so that their naked legs are visible. They wear jewellery and snake-shaped upper-arm bracelets. Their curly hair is bound in a knot, and they have a moustache. Comparing the reliefs with Balinese paintings, the two princely characters would likely be *rangga* and *arya*, and the two in the left part the *kadayan*.

Poerbatjaraka (1940a:366-8, 1968:407-8), referring to Stuart Cohen's manuscript,<sup>38</sup> claims the depiction is a scene from the *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang*, dated AD 1832, where Panji waits in the night to bring his first beloved, Martalangu, from the forest village to the town.<sup>39</sup> The gesture of feeling cold as displayed by the two characters next to the carriage supports Poerbatjaraka's interpretation of the scene happening in the night. He identifies these figures as the two princes Brajanata and Pangeran Anom, and the two characters in the left part of the panel as the *kadayan* Punta and Kertolo, which corresponds to my comparison above between the Balinese paintings. I cannot judge if Poerbatjaraka's identification of the story is correct, especially considering the recent date of the *Panji Semirang*. Still, we may assume that it refers to a much older version. This identification would also depend on how many versions of Panji stories exist that have the specific feature of a carriage.<sup>40</sup> In any case, the sitting position of Panji shows that he is longing for love, which matches Poerbatjaraka's interpretation. The tucked-up *kain* of the two *kadayan* may either signify that they are walking, or that their mood is erotic. In the latter case they may be expressing their empathy for the mood of their friend and master Panji, who is waiting for his be-

<sup>38</sup> Collection Cohen Stuart No. 125.

<sup>39</sup> 'Vergelijken wij de voorstelling op het bedoelde relief met een onbetwistbaar oude episode uit Cohen Stuart's PS [Panji Semirang, LK], dan klopt de zaak geheel' (Poerbatjaraka 1940a:367, 1968:408). Within his summary of the story, Poerbatjaraka (1940a:10-1) relates how Inu, alias Panji, and his friends – Prince Brajanata, Prince Anom, Punta and Kertala, and the attendant Semar – want to take Panji's beloved Martalangu into town during the night by using a carriage. The depiction on the relief shows the scene when the four men and Semar are waiting for the moment to meet Martalangu.

<sup>40</sup> It is interesting to look at the still existing tradition of using carriages by the sultans in Java, for example by Hamengkubuwono X from Yogyakarta on the occasion of his inauguration ceremony on 7 March 1989. Also, there exist famous carriages in the *kraton* of Surakarta and of Cirebon. For the Cirebon-carriage from the sixteenth century, see Jessup 1990:fig. 166.



Fig. 3.6. The Grogol statues  
(Brandes, ROC 1902c:11, plate 5)

loved. The depiction of the two *kadayan* in the left part of the panel very much resembles the figure depicted on the right side of the entrance of Candi Mirigambar, which I also take to be a *kadayan* conveying an erotic attitude. The depiction of the *arya*-like character with the curly crescent-moon-like headgear resembles a figure on Candi Yudha.

#### THE GROGOL STATUES

These three statues (fig 3.6) were found in the area of Sidoarjo, south of Surabaya, and are about 60 centimetres high. They have the characteris-

tic features of – from right to left – a *kadeyan*, Panji, and a *panakawan*.<sup>41</sup> All wear a long *kain*. The Panji statue has a sharp-edged cap in the crescent-moon shape, with hair typically visible around the edge. From the two different photos of the frontal and the profile view we can recognize that the cap is very similar to that of the Panji statue from Selokelir.<sup>42</sup> The *kadeyan* figure displays features similar to the two *kadeyan* figures in the Gambyok relief and the aforementioned *kadeyan* in Candi Mirigambar. He has a somewhat stouter appearance than Panji and lifts a part of his *kain*. He also wears snake-shaped upper-arm bracelets and has a moustache. Fortunately, the pedestal of the Panji figure is inscribed with a date which reads Saka 1335 (AD 1413) (Stutterheim 1935b:141-2). Stutterheim refers to the *kadeyan* figure as Kertolo, an interpretation which has been retained by other scholars who have discussed this group of statues.

We do not know if originally there were other figures which belonged to this group. However, it seems that the depiction of Panji with one or two *kadeyan* and with a *panakawan* was typical of Panji illustrations around AD 1400. This is for example demonstrated in depictions on the Pendopo Terrace (AD 1375) and at Candi Mirigambar (end of the fourteenth century). Another example is the depiction of the two pairs of Panji-like and *kadeyan*-like figures at Candi Yudha (mid fifteenth century).

The Panji figure from Grogol and the one from Selokelir are the only known existing three-dimensional images of Panji. It is worth mentioning the impressions of some early archaeologists concerning these two Panji sculptures. In his caption to the photo of the Grogol statues, Brandes (1902c:11) writes: ‘Javaansche man, vrouw en volgeling’ (‘Javanese man, woman, and companion’, LK), which means he identified the Panji figure as a woman. This is based on the soft forms of the body. The same incorrect interpretation is also given by Stutterheim (1936b:330) in a first impression of the Selokelir statue.

<sup>41</sup> Only the statues of the *panakawan* and of Kertolo are still extant and are kept in the National Museum of Jakarta. The whereabouts of the Panji statue are not known. Both Stutterheim (1935b:139-43) and Poerbatjaraka (1940a:366) discuss the Grogol statues in the context of the Gambyok relief. Stutterheim (1935b:fig. 6) provides a photo showing the front view of the statues.

<sup>42</sup> I will discuss the Selokelir statue in more detail in Chapter X.

#### FURTHER KERTOLO STATUES

Other statues, or parts of statues, have been identified as depictions of Kertolo. There is a statue, kept in the National Museum in Jakarta, which has been said to represent Bhima, but which Jan Fontein (Fontein et al. 1971:147, plate 20) identifies as Kertolo. The figure, at 68 cm high, indeed resembles Bhima in his typical appearance, with a stout body and bare legs. However, the other features of this figure, such as the snake-shaped upper-arm bracelets, the moustache, and particularly the hairstyle with the hair knot are specific features typical of Kertolo depictions, while Bhima is usually depicted with a crab-claw hairdo in the *wayang* style.<sup>43</sup> Thus this statue more likely represents Kertolo than Bhima.

Also kept in the National Museum and documented by Fontein (Fontein et al. 1971:147-8, plate 21) is the head of a man which Fontein identifies as belonging to a temple guardian figure. Depicted with earrings, moustache, and curly hair bound in a bun, the head is very similar in appearance to the Kertolo statue from Grogol. I conclude that the head also depicts Kertolo.

There is a figurine in the Historisches Museum Bern (Historic Museum of Bern) in Switzerland which is labelled as ‘Panji’s friend’.<sup>44</sup> It was found before 1914 on Mount Semeru, which is located to the east of Malang in East Java. It is a small sculpture wearing a necklace, bracelets, and earrings, which has a long *kain* covering the legs. The hairstyle consists of a high knot and curls on the forehead. However, this knot is more reminiscent of the *ushnisha* (the protuberance on top of the head as a symbol of Buddha’s enlightened status) of Buddha than of the curly Kertolo hair knot. Furthermore, the physiognomy lacks the typically fierce expression, and the body lacks the strength and sturdiness of other Kertolo depictions. Therefore, I have reservations about the identification the Museum of Bern gives, but I myself cannot come to a conclusion about its identification before viewing it.

<sup>43</sup> A comprehensive overview on Bhima depictions in Majapahit Java has been presented in M. Duijker 2010.

<sup>44</sup> I am grateful to Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, who brought this image to my attention and generously provided me with information about it (August 2006).

A terracotta head (Muller 1978:38, plate 66) also displays the features specific to Kertolo.<sup>45</sup> However, Muller believes the head resembles ‘an Apollo from Gandhara rather than an inhabitant of Java’. There are indeed similarities to the Gandhara style, but as the hair knot is so characteristic of Kertolo and the terracottas are typical of Majapahit art, I argue that it is actually a Kertolo head.

Based on my discussion of the relief from Gambyok, the statues from Grogol, and the other Kertolo depictions, I conclude that the depiction of one or more companions of Panji came into being throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and became very popular during this time. It parallels the literary form of the Panji narratives, in which Panji is usually accompanied by four *kadayan* who mark his noble status. The *panakawan* also often accompany Panji in the depictions and may actually serve the same role as the *kadayan*. The appearance of a *panakawan* continues the tradition of depicting the heroes of the ‘mythological stories’ with a *panakawan*, thus reinforcing Panji’s status as a hero. A major difference between the *kadayan* and the *panakawan* is that the former is mentioned in the literary form of the Panji stories, while the latter only appears in the visual depictions and not in the texts. I conclude that the *kadayan* functions to designate Panji as a nobleman, and that the *panakawan* serves to signify Panji as a hero in the tradition of the *kakawin* heroes.

<sup>45</sup> Pauline Lunsing Scheurleer brought this head to my attention. She also interprets it as a Kertolo head. The head is kept in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden.

## Chapter IV

### Temples in context of religion and politics

#### ARCHITECTURE OF THE MAJAPAHIT PERIOD

The Javanese temples in general symbolically represent the mythical Mount Meru, the seat of the gods.<sup>1</sup> The ways that this concept was incorporated into an architectural shape differed in Central and East Javanese art. While Central Javanese architecture has a concentric layout, East Javanese architecture displays a terraced and linear layout.<sup>2</sup> The best example for Central Java is the Borobudur. This temple has been interpreted as a *mandala*, which is a concentric geometric structure.<sup>3</sup>

For the East Javanese period it is the Majapahit period which yielded the architectural characteristics in a most conspicuous way. The terraced structure is most obvious in the small-scale mountain sanctuaries, the layout of which follows the linear ascent of the mountain slope, such as Candi Kendalisodo and Candi Yudha on Mount Penanggungan. Most of these sanctuaries consist of a *pemujaan*, a place for worship, which is built in several terraces. In front or next to this structure there are often one or more small altars. Temple complexes such as Candi Panataran

<sup>1</sup> Major publications in the field of ancient Javanese architecture are Krom 1923; Stutterheim 1931; Bernet Kempers 1959; Dumarçay 1986a, 1986b, 1993; Soekmono 1995. The issue of Mount Meru has been discussed by several authors, for example by Stutterheim (1931:13) and Bernet Kempers (1959:20-1).

<sup>2</sup> Beyond the marked difference in layout it seems to me that there is also a difference in the size of East and Central Javanese temples, respectively. My impression is that most East Javanese temples are of a rather small scale compared to those in Central Java. Though beyond the scope of my study, it would be interesting to investigate the size and also the number of temples in East and in Central Java in comparison to each other. From this we might perhaps draw conclusions about the religious and political function of the temples. For Central Java, such an inventory has already been worked out by Degroot (2009).

Compare the remarks by Wiseman Christie (1983:26-7), who points to the shift from large-scale temples to smaller ones as reflecting a shift from the king as the most important donor to officials of lower rank.

<sup>3</sup> See discussions of this interpretation in Gómez and Woodward 1981; Lokesh Chandra 1980.

and Candi Sukuh are divided into three separate terraces, arranged in linear ascent with three large courtyards. Candi Panataran, the largest temple in East Java, represents the most elaborate form of this linear schema. The terraced structure also applies in the layout of freestanding temples such as Candi Jago and the Main Temple of Candi Panataran. These consist of several receding terraces with the rear part arranged in a near-vertical structure while the front-entrance section features large platforms on each terrace, yielding the impression of a mountain slope. These terraces constitute the temple foot. The temple body, most of which is no longer extant, contains the *cella* in which originally one or several sculptures of a deity were placed. It has been suggested that such freestanding *candi* had roofs with several storeys in the style of the *meru* of present-day Balinese temples (Soekmono 1990:83). Mountain sanctuaries do not have a *cella*, although the uppermost terrace in many cases carries an altar and originally may also have featured a sculpture.<sup>4</sup> Still another structural characteristic of East Javanese architecture is the so-called tower temple, a high and slender structure, such as Candi Kidal, Candi Singosari, and Candi Jawi. These temples usually have one or more *cella* containing sculptures of deities.

The layout of a temple is organized according to a hierarchy of graduating degrees of sacredness. The vertical spatialization follows a hierarchy in ascending from the more mundane sphere on the lower levels of a multiple-terrace temple to the higher ones, the sacred character increasing and reaching its climax in the *cella*. In the case of mountain sanctuaries, which usually have no *cella*, the climax is reached in the altar. This schema was already known in Central Javanese architecture, primarily in Candi Borobudur. The horizontal layout of the temple displays a similar principle: the rear side is the most sacred part of the temple while the entrance side is dedicated to the more mundane sphere. These hierarchies also apply to narrative reliefs, which are arranged and placed according to their character and symbolism. This refers to the aforementioned difference in the character of ‘post-mythological stories’ and ‘mythological stories’. While the former are depicted in the lower part or the entrance of the temple, the latter appear in the higher or rear part.

<sup>4</sup> Hariani Santiko (1998:245) argues that no sculptures were placed in the mountain sanctuaries because the pilgrims worshipped God Siwa seated on the mountain peak, represented by the terraced sanctuaries. I do not concur with this opinion, as indeed statues of deities have been found on Mount Penanggungan (see the inventory by Van Romondt 1951).

The East Javanese temples are usually oriented towards a mountain (Klokke 1995). The rear of the temple faces in the direction of the mountain, which causes the visitor, when entering the temple, to also face the mountain on a linear axis. This is particularly evident in the mountain sanctuaries, but is also true of freestanding temples in the plains.<sup>5</sup> For example, Candi Surowono is oriented towards the Kawi-Arjuno mountain complex. There is also a preference for an east-west axis of the temple, the entrance being located in the west. This corresponds to the setting sun and is associated with darkness, while the rear side faces towards the rising sun.<sup>6</sup> In other cases, it is not the cardinal direction ruling the layout, but only the orientation to the mountain; Candi Jawi, for example, is oriented to the northwest facing Mount Penanggungan.<sup>7</sup>

Both principles – the terraced and linear layout, and the orientation towards a mountain – signal the importance of worship of the mountain in religious practice in East Java.<sup>8</sup> The same principles dictate the layout of the *pura* in Bali, which is partitioned into three courtyards, as is Candi Panataran. The most sacred courtyard is at the rear of the temple. The schema of Balinese temples can be seen as part of a continuum from the East Javanese to the Balinese concept of religious architecture.<sup>9</sup>

The sanctuaries and temples had different functions:<sup>10</sup>

- a temple for the worship of a god
- a commemorative temple for the worship of a king
- both for the worship of a god and a king

<sup>5</sup> Degroot (2009:110) observes a few sanctuaries from the Central Javanese period, for example Candi Ijo, which follow the principle of being oriented towards a mountain and thus prefigure ‘what was to happen in East Java’.

<sup>6</sup> Christian churches follow the same principle, which originated in the European Middle Ages: the altar, the sacred space, is situated in the east, facing towards the rising sun, while the western part includes the tower and is often decorated with demonic figures to avoid and keep out bad influence.

<sup>7</sup> As the landscape of Java is dominated by a chain of volcanoes, there is always a mountain available towards which a temple can be oriented. Klokke (1995:84) suggests that the orientation of a large number of the temples towards the east is primarily determined by the geographical position of Mount Sumeru, the highest mountain in Java, which lies to the east of the homeland of Singasari and Majapahit. I believe, however, that in many cases it was rather Mount Penanggungan that was considered to be the holy mountain and served as the major orientation point. This question still requires further investigation.

<sup>8</sup> Central Javanese architecture also displays the worship of mountains, but the East Javanese do this with more significance, as I will discuss below.

<sup>9</sup> Sockmono 1995:104-5. The Balinese *pura* are oriented towards either the most sacred and highest mountain, Gunung Agung, or to Gunung Batu Karu (Stuart-Fox 2002:1-6).

<sup>10</sup> In Indonesian, all kinds of ancient sacred sites are commonly called *candi*.

- a hermitage
- a holy bathing place

There is no obvious correlation between the function of a temple and its style as either a terraced structure or a tower structure. However, in the case of the commemorative temples, their size and scale seem to correspond to the status of the particular king or royal personage who was enshrined here.<sup>11</sup> For example, the large-scale Candi Jago and Candi Jawi are commemorative temples for a king, Wishnuwardhana and Kertanagara, respectively.

There are three components which determine a sanctuary: its geographical location, its function, and its scale. These will form part of the criteria for my selection of case studies. The investigation of these case studies will yield interesting correlations between the symbolism of the reliefs and these components.

#### THE RELIGIOUS BELIEF SYSTEMS: SAIWISM AND BUDDHISM

Temples served the community to practise their religion and rituals. These religious practices and the underlying belief systems constitute another major field where new orientations and structures were developed during the Majapahit period. An overview of the major religious belief systems – Saiwism and Buddhism – in this chapter will be followed by a discussion of the specific doctrine of Tantrism.

Both Hinduism and Mahayana-Buddhism, imported from India, had been practised in the Central Javanese period and continued to be the principal religions during the East Javanese period. The fundamental belief of both Hinduism and Buddhism is that a being is subject to the cycle of rebirth (*samsara*), and that its goal is to achieve the deliverance of the soul from this cycle, called *moksha* in Hinduism and *nirwana* in Buddhism. In Hindu mythology the cycle is represented on a cosmic level by a pantheon of gods. The main gods are Brahma, the creator, Wishnu, the maintainer of the world, and Siwa, who simultaneously destroys and sets the stage for a new creation of the world. Their female

<sup>11</sup> For the issue of the deified kings, see the later sub-chapter 'Religious practices'.

consorts are Saraswati, Sri/Lakshmi, and Prtiwi/Sakti, respectively. The latter can also be manifest in the demonic form of the Goddess Durga.

The Buddhist doctrine teaches that a human being can reach *nirwana* by following the ‘eightfold path’ which leads to the elimination of desire, the cause of all suffering. Mahayana-Buddhism includes the concept of the Bodhisattwa, a being who is in the state to achieve *nirwana*, but refuses to enter this final stage in order to help other beings with his wisdom. The pantheon of Buddhas and Bodhisattwas and their female counterparts are often imagined arranged in a *mandala* comprising the five transcendental or Jina-Buddhas, with Buddha Wairocana at the centre. A Buddhist *mandala*, literally meaning ‘circle’, is a two- or three-dimensional square form with entrances on each of the four sides.<sup>12</sup> All Jina-Buddhas have consorts; for example, Wairocana’s consort is Locana.

The gods of the Hindu pantheon, as well as the transcendental Buddhas and the Bodhisattwas, were enshrined in sculptures and worshipped in temples. While in the early East Javanese period within Hinduism the emphasis was placed on God Wishnu as the object of worship, in Majapahit God Siwa became the centre of worship. The kings, who saw themselves as an incarnation of a specific god, accordingly chose Wishnu in the early East Javanese period while the Majapahit kings chose Siwa or Buddha as their specific god.<sup>13</sup>

From the end of the Singasari kingdom at the end of the thirteenth century and throughout the Majapahit reign, Saiwism and Buddhism merged in a special way. Several Old Javanese texts refer to this amalgamation. The text that is best known and quoted most in this respect is the *kakawin Sutasoma*, which was composed by Mpu Tantular in the fourteenth century; it coined the expression ‘*bhinneka tunggal ika*’,<sup>14</sup> which translates as: Buddha and Siwa are two, but at the same time they are one.<sup>15</sup> The differences between the two religions blurred even more in

<sup>12</sup> *Mandala* were created in India during sixth to twelfth centuries. Many were preserved in Tibet and further developed in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism (Rawson 1993:175).

<sup>13</sup> In historiography a tripartite classification is usually made between the ‘Central Javanese period’ until the early tenth century, the ‘early East Javanese period’ – Kediri and Singasari kingdoms - until the end of the thirteenth century, and the ‘late East Javanese period’ with Majapahit until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

<sup>14</sup> *Sutasoma* Canto 139; Soewito Santoso 1975:81; Zoetmulder 1974:341. This expression has become the national motto of today’s Indonesia.

<sup>15</sup> The merging of Buddha and Siwa is also a subject of the *kakawin Arjunawijaya* from the same author (*Atj.* 27). Supomo (1977) provides a translation and an intensive discussion of this text.

the Tantric forms which were further developed during the East Javanese period.

However, this was not a new syncretistic belief mixing the two religions, as it has been commonly interpreted in a long scholarly tradition. More recent research on the subject has rejected the old term 'syncretism'. Other terms have been suggested which are more appropriate and better reflect the situation. Haryati Soebadio (1971:57), referring to Gonda (1970), uses the term 'coalition', where both Saiwism and Buddhism would have existed and been practised alongside each other.<sup>16</sup> Following De Casparis and Mabbett (1992:328-9), 'there was no true syncretism but a more complicated and more interesting relationship between those two religions'. Hariani Santiko (1994:60), following Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:3-4), uses the term 'parallelism' to describe the relation between the two religions.<sup>17</sup> The goal, namely the deliverance of the soul, was the same for both religions; the ways it was reached were similar though different in some respect. Also their pantheons of gods are comparatively similar to each other.<sup>18</sup> The co-existence of the two religions is for example apparent in the relief depictions of both Buddhist and Hindu narratives at Candi Jago, a temple from the early fourteenth century. From circa the end of the fourteenth century onwards, there seems to have been a gradual decline in the significance of Buddhism (Teeuw et al. 1969:19).

It is not clear which religion Hayam Wuruk, the principal king in fourteenth-century Majapahit, and his successors adhered to. The *Nagarakertagama* gives no definite answer, although in the introductory verses Hayam Wuruk is said to be Siwa and Buddha. In some passages about his journey with the king, the author Prapanca states that he himself, a Buddhist, is visiting Buddhist monasteries and sages on his own while the king stays at royal compounds (*Nag.* 17.11, 35.2, 38.3). This might be understood as a sign of the monarch's low esteem for

<sup>16</sup> The fact that the last Singasari king, Kertanagara, was called 'Siwa-Buddha' (*Nag.* 43.5) has often been quoted as proof of the so-called syncretism, but according to Haryati Soebadio (1971:56) 'the king as the highest principle in the country quite logically would have been identified also with the highest principles of the religions found in his country'. Therefore, the name 'Siwa-Buddha' does not contradict the idea of a coalition. For the issue of 'Siwa-Buddha' see also Mantra 1991.

<sup>17</sup> Hariani Santiko (1994:58-62) presents a concise overview of the scholarly discussions of the term 'syncretism'. See also Hariani Santiko in Miksic 1993:55-70.

<sup>18</sup> Pott (1966:table II) demonstrates the parallelism of the two pantheons in a graphic way.

Buddhism and of the royal authority's preference for Saiwism.<sup>19</sup> This preference can also be deduced from the dominance of narratives with a Hindu background in the depictions on temples from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards; from the numerous sculptures of Saiwite deities and the Siwa-*lingga* images; and from inscriptions from this time.<sup>20</sup>

An indication relating to Buddhism as the major religion is, however, conveyed in the story *Bubukshah and Gagak Aking*. The popularity of this narrative, which was written in the middle of the fourteenth century, is evident from several relief depictions at the temples of Panataran and Surowono, amongst others.<sup>21</sup> The plot of the story tells of two brothers training themselves in asceticism, one taking the Buddhist and the other the Saiwite path. In a test the Buddhist Bubukshah proves himself to be superior to his brother. Thus the story contains two messages: both religions exist side by side, but the Buddhist religion is considered to be better. However, it is remarkable that the reliefs at Candi Surowono depict another version, which favours the Saiwite Gagak Aking. It is also significant that the depiction at Panataran is the only one with a Buddhist connotation in this temple amongst the great number of narrative reliefs with a Hindu background.

During the East Javanese period, religious worship developed cults of special heroes which were also reflected in literature and art. Within Hinduism Bhima, one of the Pandawa brothers of the *Mahabharata*, attained cult status, which is attested to by sculptures and by myths such as the *Bhimasuci*, where Bhima searches for the Highest Knowledge (Stutterheim 1935a; Duijker 2001, 2010). Another Pandawa, Arjuna, is the hero of the often-depicted *Arjunawiwaha* story; in this story, Arjuna meditates with the aim of obtaining a mystical weapon from God Siwa. Also, Hanuman was transformed to an object of worship, as can be seen, for example, in the *Ramayana* reliefs on the Main Temple of Candi Panataran (Klokke 2006; Kieven 2011); likewise, Garuda was portrayed as the bearer and protector of *amerta* in the temple complex of Candi Sukuh (Sbeghen 2004:147-67). The liberation of the soul was a major topic in these cults and was obviously an important function of the reli-

<sup>19</sup> Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:106) argues that 'the Buddhist clergy, forming a small minority compared with the Shiwaites and the friars, indeed was on the verge of indigence'.

<sup>20</sup> Hariani Santiko 1994. Old Javanese texts from the late Majapahit period such as the *Korawasrama* and the *Tantu Panggelaran* display a clear Saiwite, not a Buddhist background (Zoetmulder 1965:277-8).

<sup>21</sup> Zoetmulder 1965:270-1; Rassers 1959:65-91.

gious sites. It is also attested by the popularity of stories such as the *kidung Sudamala* and *Sri Tanjung*. Within Buddhism the *Kunjarakarna* story relates Kunjarakarna's search for deliverance of the soul under the guidance of Buddha Wairocana.

#### TANTRISM

Both Hinduism and Buddhism developed paths or ways that have been called Tantric. The terms 'Tantric' or 'Tantrism' are derived from the *tantra* texts. In their earliest Hindu forms, these texts were compiled prior to AD 600 in India (Rawson 1993:22), before they were adopted and transformed by Buddhism. With increasing Indian influence in Southeast Asia, versions of *tantra* seem to have been adopted in Java. It is the nature of Tantrism that its practices and its written texts are very secret, thus it is not always easy to find its manifestation in history, art, and literature.

In simple terms, the concept underpinning Tantrism is that macrocosm and microcosm are one and find their manifestation in each other. The central goal is the union of the individual soul with the cosmic soul, which means the liberation of the 'self' from all worldly illusion and from all passion. The way that leads to this is the path of yoga. The secret knowledge of this path is traditionally transmitted by a teacher (guru) to the pupil (*yogin* or *sadhaka*).<sup>22</sup> It is assumed to be dangerous for the adept to go the Tantric path alone without guidance; only an experienced guru can give this necessary guidance.<sup>23</sup>

According to tradition, four hierarchical levels of Tantric texts are distinguished, with the *yoga-tantra* and the *anuttarayoga-tantra* being the highest. The latter includes the most secret and advanced knowledge. Within a number of different Tantric yoga paths the two main ones are the 'right-hand' and the 'left-hand' path.<sup>24</sup> The former, with an ascetic

<sup>22</sup> For further literature on Tantrism, see Pott 1966; Avalon 1973; Doniger (O'Flaherty) 1973; Gupta, Hoens and Goudriaan 1979; Khanna 1994.

<sup>23</sup> Besides its esoteric purpose, Tantrism has also been practised with the aim of achieving *sakti* for relatively mundane purposes, in particular for a king to stabilize his reign. An example in ancient Java was the last king of the last Singasari king, Kertanagara, who was known for his Tantric practices carried out for this reason.

<sup>24</sup> In my synopsis of these paths I follow discussions by Pott (1966:6-27) and Gupta (1979). Pott bases his discussion on Avalon 1973, which was originally published in 1919.

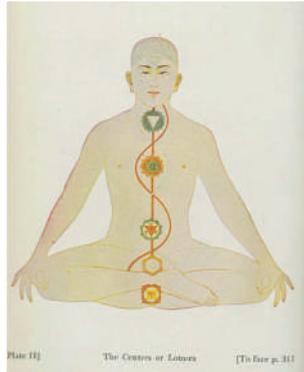


Fig. 4.1. The system of the *cakra* (Avalon 1973: Plate II)

approach, finds the way to liberating the ‘self’ by suppressing the operation of the senses, while the ‘left-hand’ path, in a highly erotic approach, goes the way of experiencing and mastering the sensual temptations. The physical sexual union between a male and a female is an important means in this latter path. Another element can be indulging in mystical-demonic rites, which are often practised on burial grounds and may include the drinking of blood and the worshipping of demons as an expression of the destruction of the ‘self’.<sup>25</sup> The *tantra* texts state that the ‘left-hand’ path should be taken only after the ‘right-hand’ path has been completed.

Fundamental to both paths is the imagination of a ‘subtle body’ which represents the microcosm and corresponds to the macrocosm. A specific way of the ‘left-hand’ path is the Kundalini yoga (Gupta et al. 1979:177-8). Following this concept, the subtle body is marked by six, in some traditions by seven, *cakra* vertically arranged points or nodes in the body, which start at the lowest point in the *Muladhara* between the anus and the genital organ, ascending via the *Anahata-cakra*, the so-called heart-*cakra*, and finally arriving in the crown-*cakra*, the *Sahasrara*, which is positioned above the head (fig. 4.1). Another node is situated just below the *Anahata*: the *Anandakanda-padma*. The *cakra* are each visualized in the form of a lotus with different numbers of petals. For example,

<sup>25</sup> See Pott 1966:17, 139, in particular his Chapter 4; also Rawson 1993:112-39.

the *Muladhara* has four petals, the *Anahata* twelve, the *Anandakanda-padma* eight, and the *Sahasrara* 1000 petals. A *naga* lies coiled at the base of the *Muladhara*; this *naga* represents Kundalini, the Goddess Sakti, or female energy. Her consort, Siwa, resides in the *Sahasrara*. It is the goal of the Tantric yoga practice to arouse Kundalini and lead her up through the *cakra* and, eventually, to experience her union with Siwa. This ascent follows the vertical streams in the body. The central one, called the *Susumna*, follows the spine, while the other two major streams, which spiral to the right and left of the *Susumna*, are the *Ida* and the *Pinggala*, respectively. The final union of the female with the male principle generates the experience of Supreme Bliss by the *yogin* and is symbolically expressed by *amerta*, the mystical fluid which then flows down the body along all the *cakra*.<sup>26</sup> A certain yoga tradition upholds the system of three *granthi*, nodes in the body along the *Susumna*. These obstacles have to be overcome for the ascent of the Kundalini (Gupta 1979:175, 178). A symbolic achievement of the union of Siwa and Sakti can also be experienced by the *yogin* in the sexual act itself. This form of Kundalini yoga, also called Laya yoga, 'recognizes the value of sexual acts' (Gupta 1979:183). This is to say it is in fact a human experience to go beyond the mundane perception and sphere in the sexual act.

The *Anandakanda-padma* plays an important role in the 'left-hand' path (Pott 1966:14-9). It is regarded as both the seat of the 'self', or human soul, and the seat of the *ishtadewata*, the personal protective deity of the individual being.<sup>27</sup> The human soul and the *ishtadewata* are one in essence and their union 'is realized and experienced in yoga' (Pott 1966:16). Further following Pott, in the second part of the practice the *yogin* brings Kundalini down to the *Anandakanda-padma* in the region of the heart and leads the *ishtadewata* down to the *Muladhara*, where he lets them both rise through the body again. The union of the *ishtadewata* with Kundalini leaves the body from the uppermost *cakra*, the *Sahasrara*, and is projected in the *pranapratishtha* ceremony into a *yantra*.

In several *tantra* texts in Indian literature the *Anandakanda-padma* is described as a lovely place, with reference to the sea; for example, texts describe it as a 'sea of nectar and in the middle of this sea an island of jewels' or as a 'gem-island' (Pott 1966:15). Thus water plays a prominent

<sup>26</sup> 'In this way Kundalini unites with the Supreme Siva. There in ultimate harmony, she is saturated with amrta, bliss' (Gupta 1979:178). Pott uses the term *soma* instead of *amerta* to denote the mystical fluid.

<sup>27</sup> See also Zoetmulder 1974:183.

role in the visualizations of the *Anandakanda-padma*. While we do not know how widely these Indian texts were known in ancient Java, there is an interesting parallel in the Old Javanese *Dewaruci* story, also called *Nawaruci* or *Bhimasuci*.<sup>28</sup> This story can be understood as the implementation of the Tantric path into a myth: it tells of Bhima, who is ordered to search for the holy water *amerta* on Mount Meru. After failing to find it there, he enters the ocean and encounters the dwarf Dewaruci at the bottom of the ocean. Dewaruci, in fact the divine form of Bhima himself, teaches him the way to achieve *amerta* and the Highest Knowledge in oneself. In this myth the top of Mount Meru can be regarded as a parallel to the *Sahasrara* and the ocean as a parallel to the *Anandakanda-padma*.<sup>29</sup> Thus, *amerta* plays a double role in the Kundalini concept: it symbolizes Supreme Bliss as well as the *Anandakanda-padma*.

We have no clear knowledge about the way or ways in which Tantrism was practised in ancient Java and the forms of the Indian tradition which have been adopted and/or were further developed. We gain, however, insight from Old Javanese texts, in both prose and poetic forms. Prose texts such as the *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan*, *Wrhaspatitattwa*, *Ganapatitattwa* and *Jnanasiddhanta*<sup>30</sup> reveal a high level of esoteric religious knowledge. Zoetmulder (1965:255) considers these works as *tantra* texts which are a kind of handbook for the practice of searching for unification with the deity.<sup>31</sup> In his analysis of Balinese *tutur* texts,<sup>32</sup> composed in Old Javanese and partly in Sanskrit, and by taking the aforementioned prose texts into consideration, A. Aciri (2006) works out traces of Indian

<sup>28</sup> See translations and synopses of the *Dewaruci/Nawaruci/Bhimasuci* story by Prijohoetomo (1934, 1937) and by Poerbatjaraka (1940b). Stutterheim (1940) re-dates the story to the first half of the fifteenth century, after Poerbatjaraka had dated it to the first half of the sixteenth century. Stutterheim bases his opinion convincingly on the depiction at Candi Kendalisodo of Bhima entering the ocean, dated to ca. 1450. For the Tantric aspect of the *Bhimasuci*, see Pott 1966:122-4.

<sup>29</sup> I will apply this symbolism in particular to my interpretations of Candi Panataran and Candi Kendalisodo.

<sup>30</sup> Published translations and editions of these texts as follows. *Kamahayanikan*: Kats 1910. *Wrhaspatitattwa*: Sudarshana Devi 1957. *Ganapatitattwa*: Sudarshana Devi 1958. *Jnanasiddhanta*: Haryati Soebadio 1971. Hooykaas (1962) discusses these texts in the context of Saiva-Siddhanta.

<sup>31</sup> The Tantric character of the Old Javanese prose texts *Bhuwanakosa*, *Bhuwanasamksepa*, and *Tattwa sang hyang Mahajñana* has been discussed by Ziesenis 1939. Goudriaan has contributed major studies in the field of Indian *tantra* and refers to their connections with Old Javanese texts (for example Goudriaan 1981). Nihom (1994) places the Old Javanese Buddhist text *Kunjarakana Dharmakathana* in the context of the Yogatantra-tradition.

<sup>32</sup> *Tutur* is the term denoting didactic literature for dogmatic instruction (Haryati Soebadio 1971:3-4). There exist a large number of Balinese *tutur* many of them presumably drawing on ancient Javanese sources, but so far they have not been edited. The Old Javanese prose texts mentioned above, such as the *Jnanasiddhanta*, are considered as *tutur*.

*tantra*. His article gives a comprehensive review of the scholarship of Tantric studies which refer to Old Javanese literature. Acri concludes that esoteric Indian teaching had in fact a long tradition in ancient Java, particularly during the East Javanese period.<sup>33</sup>

Poetic Old Javanese literature delivers evidence of Tantric concepts in multiple ways.<sup>34</sup> In his analysis of the mystic meaning of the *kakawin*, Zoetmulder (1974:172-85) compares the process of composing a poem with the Tantric yoga practice and calls it the 'literary yoga'. A *yantra* is an object which is meditated upon by the *yogin* as a tool within the Tantric yoga practice to achieve the final mystical union with the Divine Being. In the introductory stanzas of the *kakawin*, called *manggala*, the poet usually describes his own goal in composing the poem to be the union with the Divine. Thus, the *kakawin* itself becomes a *yantra* for the poet as well as for the audience. The Divine Being is in everything that yields *langö*, that is, the feeling of beauty and rapture achieved through aesthetic experience. The poet is 'so obsessed with beauty that at the moment of his aesthetic experience nothing else exists for him' (Zoetmulder 1974:172). By creating *langö* the poet achieves the mystical union with the *ishtadewata*.<sup>35</sup> In many *kakawin* the god of love and beauty, Kama, is invoked by the poet as the *ishtadewata* (Supomo 2000).

Through the process of creating *langö*, the poem becomes a receptacle for the god.<sup>36</sup> In this way the poem has the same function as the *candi*, which itself is considered as a receptacle for a god. This concept corresponds neatly with the fact that the poet himself in many cases compares the process of writing a poem with the process of erecting a *candi* (Zoetmulder 1974:185). The poem is at several times called a '*candi bhasa*' ('temple of language').<sup>37</sup> The concept of *langö* in literature can also be applied to the narrative reliefs, as I have already mentioned earlier. The beautifully carved narrative reliefs in a temple, particularly the depictions of erotic episodes, evoke *langö* in the pilgrim as a means

<sup>33</sup> Other authors have discussed elements of Tantric doctrine as imparted in the Borobudur temple, for example Snodgrass 1985. It has become common opinion that evidence for Tantric Buddhism only becomes prominent during the East Javanese period and particularly during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries (Klokke 1996:200; Supomo 2000:279).

<sup>34</sup> Amongst others the *Sutasoma*, *Arjunawijaya*, *Sīvaratrikalpa*, *Sumanasantaka*.

<sup>35</sup> Zoetmulder 1974:181. The same is expressed in a nice way by Worsley (1991:166): *langö*, the ecstatic rapture, 'is a truly yogic experience'.

<sup>36</sup> Zoetmulder (1974:180-1) refers to the *Anandakanda-padma* as the seat for the *ishtadewata*, this means: *shila*.

<sup>37</sup> Supomo 2000:266. The term is mentioned for example in the *Arjunawijaya* (*Atj.* 1.2b).

to unify with the Divine (Kieven 2003:341-2, 345). Thus the reliefs, like poems, become *yantra* in the Tantric path, and consequently the whole *candi* becomes a *yantra*.

*Langö* can be experienced in the beauty of nature through description of the woods or the ocean shore, as well as through description of the beauty of a woman and of love-making. However, it is not only the process of creating *langö* which yields the mystic union with the Divine as the goal of Tantric yoga for both the *kawi* and the reader: Tantric yoga is also practised by the protagonists of the *kakawin* themselves. Concrete episodes relate sexual encounters as connected with yogic experience. This finds a parallel in the two seemingly contradictory characters of Siwa, namely asceticism and eroticism.<sup>38</sup> There are many examples in *kakawin*, beautifully and very poetically composed, demonstrating this aspect which has been comprehensively discussed by Creese (2004). For a long time, the issue of sexuality was treated as taboo by scholars of ancient Javanese art and literature, such that only in recent years have translations and editions been made available.<sup>39</sup> Creese (2004:201) has coined the term ‘yoga of love’ to denote the integration of asceticism and eroticism as expressed in *kakawin*. Referring to the *Arjunawijaya*, Worsley (1991:175) states that love-making between the two lovers is in several instances ‘associated with the motif of ascetic meditation and the ensuing experience of blissful enlightenment’. The same is expressed by Rubinstein (2000:122-3) in her work on the Balinese *kakawin*: ‘[...] sex is a yogic path.’<sup>40</sup>

I quote three examples: two from the *Arjunawijaya* and the *Sutasoma*, both composed by Mpu Tantular in the late fourteenth century, and one from the *Sumanasantaka*, composed by Mpu Monaguna in the early thirteenth century:<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> O’Flaherty (1969a/b, 1973) has elaborated broadly on asceticism and sexuality in the mythology of god Siwa in the Indian context, much of which can be transferred to the Javanese context.

<sup>39</sup> Supomo (2000) and Rubinstein (2000) have also dealt extensively with the subject of love and love-making in *kakawin* literature and have demonstrated the Tantric character of sexuality. Hunter (1998) has published translations of passages of *kakawin* which describe situations of love and beauty in a lively way.

<sup>40</sup> An example of an erotic Balinese text is the *Dampati Lalangon* (Bhadra and Hooykaas 1942), which is also depicted in paintings, cf. in Creese 2004:208, ill. 5.2. The text itself is the object of a study by C. French (1976).

<sup>41</sup> The *Arjunawijaya* has been edited and translated by Supomo (1976); the *Sutasoma* by Soewito Santoso (1975). The translation and edition of the *Sumanasantaka*, composed by Mpu Monaguna in the early thirteenth century, will be published soon (Worsley et al. forthcoming); see also a short discussion of the *Sumanasantaka* by Juynboll 1899. Quotations from these *kakawin* in Creese 2004:201-7.

It would take too long to describe their great delight in love-making. [...] he fixed his mind on *smaratantrayoga* to produce potency in the enjoyment of love. (*Aw* 38.1, 2; Creese 2004:188.)

[...] Let us describe the princess, the flower of the court who was indeed like the jewel of the abode of Smara [and] the result of the *mantram Madanatantra* in the bridal chamber [...]. Like a goddess from the abode of Indra was she [...]. (*Sut* 58.2; Soewito Santoso 1975:306.)

You, who are like a mountain, I wish to reside in you like a hermit forever; I will settle in your beauty, where my passion and love for you will be inspired. May I find ascetic perfection on my couch when I slip under your fragrant covering cloth. (*Sum* 87.3; Creese 2004:205.)

Supomo (2000:273) points to the two different ‘erotic moods’, the ‘love-in-enjoyment’ and the ‘love-in-separation’, which are based on Sanskrit poetics and expressed in *kakawin*; both, not only the ‘love-in-enjoyment’, are an expression or an evocation of *langö*. Many *kakawin* have elaborate descriptions of the suffering and longing of the lover for his/her beloved. Thus, not only indulgence in fulfilling erotic desire, but also indulgence in suffering and longing functions as a means in the Tantric path. As mentioned earlier in Chapter II, the erotic connotation in experiencing *langö* in the *kakawin* has its parallel in *kidung* texts.

The second example mentioned above visualizes another frequent issue in *kakawin*, that is, the comparison between the lovers and divine incarnations. ‘It is possible for lovers to achieve union not only with each other but also with the divine. [...] Underpinning is the belief that at the moment of sexual congress, the divine primal couples become manifest in human lovers’ (Creese 2004:201). Thus sexual intercourse yields the aim of Tantric practice. In their union the male and female protagonists in the *kakawin* stories are even referred to as *Ardhanariswara*.<sup>42</sup> This form

<sup>42</sup> Examples are given in the *Sumanasantaka* 17 and 95.1. In *Nag.* 43.6, Kertanagara and his wife Bajradewi are described as *ardhanariswara*. A large statue from East Java, formerly kept in Berlin-Dahlem (its present home is unknown), has been discussed as presenting Kertanagara and his wife. Amongst a few other depictions of *Ardhanariswara*, the statue in the National Museum in Jakarta (No. 104a), is well known. Literature about the *Ardhanariswara* in connection with Kertanagara can be located in Moens 1919, 1933; Krom 1923, II:167; Stutterheim 1932, 1936c:250-5; Holt 1967:80-1; Klokke 1994:186.

– the half-male and half-female manifestation of the union of Siwa and Sakti in one body – represents the supreme deity of Tantric practice.

The union of female and male is also a significant issue in the context of the ideal kingship. The king and queen are symbolized in Siwa and Sakti or in Wishnu and Sri. In the same way that the power of the god is incomplete without the female energy, the power of the king is incomplete without the queen.<sup>43</sup> ‘The king’s sexual contact with his queen activated his royal energy in the same way as the goddess, the god’s *sakti*, activated the god’s divine creative power through sexual contact with him’ (Worsley 1991:181-2). The *Arjunawijaya* is an example which expresses these ideas: the enemy of the king in the *Arjunawijaya* story, the demon king, lacks a queen and thus also lacks royal authority while ‘Royal authority [...] resides not in the king alone but rather in the royal couple’.<sup>44</sup> In her study of the *kakawin Sutasoma*, O’Brien concludes as well that the ideal of kingship and Tantrism in ancient Java are closely connected.

The *kakawin Sutasoma* has been the special object of a comprehensive study by O’Brien.<sup>45</sup> Based on the evidence that Tantric Buddhism continues to be practised today in Tibet and Nepal, she develops suggestions for a transfer to the understanding of Old Javanese Tantric practices. Although I cannot judge if these comparisons and parallels are always justified, they remain possible interpretations of ancient Javanese practice.<sup>46</sup> In the Tibetan tradition, the fundamental concept is the union or fusion of the ‘Perfection of Means’, symbolizing the male part, with the ‘Perfection of Wisdom’, symbolizing the female part. This fusion can be practised in an imagined way, that is, in a celibate or ascetic way which will lead to the liberation from all passion, but only in the moment of the physical death. However, when this fusion is practised in reality with a partner in sexual union, then liberation can be reached immediately.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Weatherbee 1968:404-5. In his, sadly unpublished, PhD thesis the author analyses the political structures and symbolisms in Majapahit Java.

<sup>44</sup> Worsley 1991:173, referring to the *Arjunawijaya*.

<sup>45</sup> She investigates Tantric Buddhist rulership of the East Javanese period in several publications: on the *Sutasoma* (1989, 1991), on Candi Jago (1988, 1990), and intensively in her PhD thesis (1993) and its publication (2008).

<sup>46</sup> O’Brien transfers the concept of a *mandala*, which in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism is used as a *yantra*, to the structures of both the temple Candi Jago and the *Sutasoma*. See also the critical discussion by Klokke (1993:144-7). Furthermore, compare the cautious statement of Zoetmulder (1974:180) concerning the Indian and Javanese forms of Tantric yoga.

<sup>47</sup> Here, O’Brien (1993:22) is referring to the class of Tantra texts called *Guhyasamaja*. The *Guhyasamaja* (secret assembly) Tantra is part of the *anutarayoga-tantra* class of texts being taught in Tibet.

The correspondence between this Buddhist concept and that described above as the ‘yoga of love’ in the Old Javanese *kakawin* tradition is evident.

Another of O’Brien’s (1989, 1991) interpretations of the *Sutasoma* is relevant for my purposes. She considers the story as a sequence of two *mandala*. In the first *mandala*, or the first part of the story, Sutasoma ascends Mount Meru, and in the second *mandala* he descends from the mountain and meets with his partner Candrawati on an island in a lake. In the centre of this island is a crystal hall in a pleasure garden (O’Brien 1991:113). This recalls the gem-island to which the *Anandakanda-padma* is often compared. Here they make love and remember that they have made love before in other lives as Wairocana and Locana. It is the final goal of Sutasoma and Candrawati to be unified. This narrative sequence has a parallel to the Kundalini practice. Another parallel with the *Dewaruci* story is found when Bhima climbs Mount Meru and then descends to the water, where he achieves Supreme Wisdom. In the narrative *Sutasoma* I consider linearity to be more important than the concentric structure of a *mandala*. This linearity is also the crucial feature of the East Javanese temple layout in contrast to the concentric layout of the Central Javanese temple, a topic I have discussed above. Correspondingly, I place the emphasis on the linear movement reflected in the practice of the yoga path with the Kundalini energy ascending through the subtle body, instead of a concentric approach within a *mandala*, as in Tibetan Tantric practice.<sup>48</sup>

The *kakawin Nagarakertagama* is another invaluable source of concrete indications that Tantrism was indeed known and practised in ancient Java. Particular attention is given to King Kertanagara – the last Singasari king, who died in 1292 – who according to cantos 42 and 43 followed esoteric rites.<sup>49</sup> Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:130-2) explains these passages as an articulation of Tantric ideas.<sup>50</sup> Particularly verse *Nāg.* 43.6c mentions an image depicting the union of Wairocana and Locana in the form of the *Ardhanariswara*, which refers to the union of Kertanagara with the queen. In the *Nagarakertagama* ‘there is little doubt that we are dealing with the

<sup>48</sup> The concentric layout and the linear layout of the temples may well correspond to a difference between Buddhist and Saiwite Tantrism, respectively. This is an open question for further research.

<sup>49</sup> Different translations and interpretations of these passages have been provided.

<sup>50</sup> Robson (1995:121) does not specifically mention Tantrism in the comments on his translation.

more esoteric levels of tantra'.<sup>51</sup> Further on the *Nagarakertagama* mentions names which are known as key terms in the descriptions of the subtle body in yogic Tantrism: one sister of King Hayam Wuruk is compared to 'Pingala' (*Nag.* 6.1d), another sister to 'Ida' (*Nag.* 6.2d), and the wife of the king is compared to 'Susumna' (*Nag.* 7.3d).

No Old Javanese text in fact explicitly mentions or refers to the practice of Kundalini yoga. The three names mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama*, however, indicate that presumably these terms were familiar at the time and that this practice was in fact known. Taking into consideration my elaborations about the concept of Tantric yoga in *kakawin*, it is not far-fetched to conclude that Kundalini yoga was practised during the East Javanese period. My discussion further on corroborates this hypothesis.

A major reference to Tantrism in the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 64-7) is made in the elaborate description of the *śraddha* ritual for the Rajapatni, the deceased grandmother of King Hayam Wuruk. Buddhist Tantric priests, *wiku boddha tantragata*, and the drawings of *mandala* are mentioned in *Nag.* 64.3.<sup>52</sup> Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:170-84) claims this ritual is a ceremony in a Tantric Indian tradition.<sup>53</sup> In the climax of the *śraddha* ceremony in the *pratishtha* ritual (*Nag.* 64.5c), a flower-effigy is placed on a throne and the soul of the Rajapatni is believed to materialize in this effigy.<sup>54</sup> This ritual has a parallel in the *pranapratishtha* described by Pott (1966:20), where after the rise of the Kundalini the adept brings the union of his soul with the *ishtadewata* out of his body by breathing into flowers. These flowers are regarded as a *yantra* and are worshipped by the adept. An interesting parallel is also given in M. Stephen's (2010) discussion of the principle of Kundalini Tantra inherent in the Balinese cremation ritual *pitra yadnya*, which in many aspects parallels the *pranapratishtha* ritual. Given the fact that in many cases Balinese ritual and spiritual

<sup>51</sup> O'Brien 1993:58. O'Brien (1993:55) translates verse *Nag.* 43.2d as follows: 'The eminent (/primary) texts on *tarika* and *wyakarana* were studied by the prince, being perfectly accomplished.' In her discussion of this translation she explains the Old Javanese/Sanskrit terms *tarika* and *wyakarana* to mean Wisdom and Means and their fusion.

<sup>52</sup> These priests 'seem to form a climax, so that Tantrism is represented as the spiritually most exalted stage of priesthood' (Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:180).

<sup>53</sup> Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:171) links the term *śraddha* to the Modern Javanese '*nyadran*', a term denoting the pilgrimages to the family-graves once a year in the Muslim tradition. According to him '*nyadran*' is a corrupted form of '*śraddha*'. In Bali there also exists a post-cremation ritual, called *ligya*, which may have a correspondence to the Old Javanese *śraddha* tradition (Vickers 1991:85). All these rituals may also have their origins in the intense ancestor worship which is widespread throughout the Indonesian archipelago.

<sup>54</sup> Another *śraddha* is described in the poem *Banawa Sekar*, which also features flower offerings (Zoetmulder 1974:365-6, 506-7).

practice draws back on Old Javanese practice, the Kundalini concept in the *pitra yadnya* may support the idea of a Tantric character in the *sraddha* ritual.

Visual art of the East Javanese period provides several examples conveying Tantric ideas. The increase of demonic features in sculptures, for example the Bhairawa depictions, has been highlighted by Lunsingh Scheurleer (2000). The frequent depiction of Durga, the Tantric aspect of Siwa's consort, in temple reliefs is another element in this Tantric tendency.<sup>55</sup> I consider this development to be an expression of the 'left-hand' path of Tantrism in its mystic-demonic variation.<sup>56</sup> The increased emergence of *wajra* as ritual objects, or their depictions in temple reliefs and in sculptures since the early East Javanese period is another indicator of an increase of Tantric concepts.<sup>57</sup> An early example of an East Javanese temple displaying Tantric ideas is Candi Jago with its depictions of the *Kunjarakarna*.<sup>58</sup>

An outstanding example is Candi Suku, which displays several features with a Tantric connotation.<sup>59</sup> The *lingga-yoni* relief in the entrance and the 1.82 metre high *lingga* sculpture are depicted in a very naturalistic way. In addition there are several demonic sculptures with their genitals exposed. The *lingga-yoni* is a common element throughout all ancient Javanese art with a Saiwite background. However, in Suku the naturalistic way of its display differs from other known, more abstract forms. The *lingga-yoni* images from Suku are closer to the human imagination, which makes them more applicable and transferable to Tantric rites.<sup>60</sup>

Another topic of discussion has been the Suku relief with the depiction of a dancing elephant in a smithy.<sup>61</sup> *Nag.* 43.3d mentions the

<sup>55</sup> Durga plays an important role in the depictions of the narrative *Sudamala*, for example in Candi Suku and in Candi Tigowangi.

<sup>56</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer (2000:202) herself, however, argues that Tantrism was not the cause for the demonization, but rather that 'Tantrism fitted in well with local ideas of demonic, aggressive and powerful deities', which means that demonization would have developed for other reasons.

<sup>57</sup> Klokke 1996:201. See also my interpretation of Hanuman's *wajra* in the reliefs on the Main Temple at Candi Panataran (Kieven 2011:244-5).

<sup>58</sup> See the study by Nihom 1994. For the *Kunjarakarna* see Teeuw and Robson 1981. See also Chapter VI.

<sup>59</sup> S. O'Connor (1985) discusses such Tantric features. Sbeghen (2004) in her, unfortunately unpublished, PhD thesis on Candi Suku provides a comprehensive study of the temple.

<sup>60</sup> De Casparis and Mabbett (1992:317) also mention that 'at Suku the cult of the linga of Siva, though always characteristic of Saivism, was more pronounced than elsewhere'. Sbeghen (2004:144) points to the fact that so far no typology of the Javanese *lingga* has been undertaken.

I will delve deeper into the subject of *lingga-yoni* in Suku in the sub-chapter 'Water and Mountain'

<sup>61</sup> Fontein (1990:175-6) gives an overview of the research on this relief.

'*Ganacakra*'. Following Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:131) and Poerbatjaraka (1924:238-9), the *Ganacakra* is a Tantric ritual in which Gana (= Ganesha) and a dog play a role. S. O'Connor (1985:60-3) associates the *Ganacakra* with the relief in Candi Suku where Ganesha is depicted in a dancing position and holding a dog, and he concludes that a Tantric character is expressed in this scene. According to Sbeghen (2004:115), the elephant represents Ganesha 'who initiates individuals into the sacred mysteries'. She does not, however, explicitly interpret Suku as a Tantric temple. Concerning the elephant relief, I have developed my own interpretation: Ganesha is dancing in an ecstatic ritual to the rhythm created by the hammering of the smith and the synchronic pushing of the bellows which are depicted in the relief. It is very possible that this dance was the part of a Tantric ritual, fully indulging in all senses. If you have ever been in a smithy in Java, you can understand the kind of ecstasy that is produced by the fire and the heat, by the rhythms which are created by the bellows, and by the usually threefold (clack-clack-cluck) hammering of three smiths or assistants.<sup>62</sup> In fact, Candi Suku has an outstanding position and presents a climax in the visualization of Tantric aspects.

I conclude from the various sources in literature and art discussed above that Tantrism was indeed practised in ancient Java, particularly in East Java. This statement provides an important base for my later analysis of the reliefs in the case studies.

#### RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN MAJAPAHIT TEMPLES

It is not only true for the Tantric context, but also in a more general religious context, that the Old Javanese texts do not provide substantial information on the religious practice in the temples. An important source, however, is the elaborate description of the *sraddha* ceremony in the *Nagarakertagama*. We can draw conclusions from the existence of bronze paraphernalia objects such as bells, vessels for holy water, incense burners, and lamps, which were used for *puja* in the temples and courts

<sup>62</sup> I was able to visit a smithy in Delanggu in Central Java in the early 1990s.

and also for religious practices at home.<sup>63</sup> Some were found in isolated places like caves, which provides evidence that these objects were used by hermits. Depictions of rituals in temple reliefs deliver some further information on rituals. Our knowledge is to a large degree limited to the context of court culture. We know very little about how religion spread to rural society. In societies nearer the periphery, the influence and the persistence of the indigenous beliefs was probably still strong (De Casparis and Mabbett 1992:311).

We do not know which community used a particular temple with its specific function.<sup>64</sup> There is scattered evidence in texts such as the *Nagarakertagama*, other *kakawin*, the *Bujangga Manik*, and inscriptions.<sup>65</sup> From this, we can conclude that people of different communities came to the temples. The king with his retinue visited many temples and hermitages; worshippers and pilgrims came to the various sanctuaries seeking religious teaching. We may suppose that the commemorative temples were visited in particular by the royal class to pay homage to the deceased kings. Through this worship they would also gain spiritual merit and release for themselves. By visiting the commemorative temples King Hayam Wuruk manifested his own position within the dynastic genealogy and legitimized his power. At the same time, the temples visited by the king were sanctified, they accumulated his *sakti* (magic power),<sup>66</sup> which then could be incorporated into other visitors and pilgrims. Visitors of temples for the worship of a deity would connect to this particular deity with the purpose of purifying themselves, to become a part of the divine bliss and to achieve *sakti* for the struggles in their lives. Sbeghen (2004:235) concludes that this concept held true particularly for Candi Sukuh as a place for rituals ‘associated with the process of purification and spiritual empowerment undertaken by members of the ksatria class of Javanese society’. The purpose of this community was to use one’s empowerment for the ideal of maintaining the world order.

<sup>63</sup> The large number of paraphernalia found in recent years in shipwrecks attest to their importance in trade. I am grateful to Horst Liebner for detailed information per email and in personal communication; see Horst Liebner 2010. See as well the catalogue of a large exhibition of objects found in the so-called Belitung shipwreck: R. Krahl (2010).

<sup>64</sup> As mentioned earlier, these functions are: commemorative temples for the worship of a king or queen in a deified form, temples for the worship of a god, hermitages, and holy bathing places.

<sup>65</sup> I will later provide information on these two texts: the *Nagarakertagama* in the sub-chapter ‘Unity of the realm’, and the *Bujangga Manik* in the sub-chapter ‘Decline of Majapahit’.

<sup>66</sup> For the concept of the *raja sakti* see Ras 1991.

The cult of deifying kings and queens was a major theme in religious practice,<sup>67</sup> as inscriptions and the texts *Nagarakertagama* and *Pararaton* show. The kings were venerated as gods after their deaths. A statue of a god would be erected in a temple after the death of the king, representing a receptacle for the god to whose abode the soul of the king had returned.<sup>68</sup> It was supposed that the specific god who was incarnated as the king would descend and be incorporated into this statue. In the later East Javanese period this god was Siwa, a transcendental Buddha, or a Bodhisattwa.<sup>69</sup> Wishnu, who was the major god chosen by the kings of the early East Javanese period for their incarnation, later became less important.<sup>70</sup>

The temples with a deification image have in a long scholarly tradition been interpreted as a mausoleum for the deceased king, since the pits below the central sculpture usually had an urn (*pripih*) filled with precious stones and ashes. However, Soekmono (1974, 1995) made clear that these ashes only consist of vegetable or animal remains and not human ones. Since then the interpretation of a temple as mausoleum or burial place has been dropped and commonly replaced by the term ‘commemorative temple’.<sup>71</sup> In the *Nagarakertagama* the commemorative temples were called ‘*dharma*’, and the act of erecting a *dharma* for a king was called ‘*dhinarma*’ (Soekmono 1995:14-6).

The temples did not only serve for worship, but were also places for religious teaching. In the case of Candi Panataran, this is attested through descriptions in the *Bujangga Manik*, and we can conclude that this function also applies to other temples. Of course religious teaching was a major function of the hermitages; this will be discussed further down.

<sup>67</sup> See a synopsis of the scholarly discussion by De Casparis and Mabbett (1992:326-8).

<sup>68</sup> See for further discussion on this subject the articles by Stutterheim 1936c and by Klokke 1994, 1998.

<sup>69</sup> Examples of the late Singasari era and of the Majapahit period are: King Anushapati (mid thirteenth century) as Siwa; his son King Wishnuwarddhana as the Bodhisattwa Amoghapasa; his follower Kertanagara as Siwa-Buddha. King Kertarajasa (the first Majapahit-king, beginning of the fourteenth century) was represented in two different sculptures as a transcendental Buddha and as Siwa; his son Jayanagara as both Wishnu and the transcendental Buddha Amoghasiddhi (*Nag.* 41-47).

<sup>70</sup> It has long been believed that Airlangga, the king of the earlier Kediri period, had himself depicted as God Wishnu on Garuda in the well-known statue (kept in the Museum Majapahit in Trowulan), which was supposed to be from Candi Belahan. A recent article by Lunsingh Scheurleer (2009) questions this assumption and may yield new interpretations of the history of Airlangga and the function and symbolism of Candi Belahan.

<sup>71</sup> The *pripih* itself has been interpreted as a container of elements symbolizing the material world (Miksic 1996:59). Strangely enough, however, there still exist publications, mostly non-academic ones, which mention the mausoleums and the buried ashes of the deceased kings.

My study yields that religious teaching was in fact a crucial function of the temples.

#### THE POLITICS OF MAJAPAHIT

After the shift in power from Central Java to East Java in the beginning of the tenth century, the kingdoms of Kediri and, later, Singasari were established. Majapahit emerged as a product of a long-lasting rivalry between these two kingdoms, which ended with the complicated events of AD 1292. Kertarajasa, alias Raden Wijaya, founded the place of Majapahit, which became the name of the new kingdom. The original site of Majapahit is supposed to be the Trowulan area of today, 10 kilometres south of Mojokerto, approximately 55 kilometres southwest of Surabaya.<sup>72</sup>

Majapahit was actually the genealogical continuation of the Singasari dynasty, as Kertarajasa was married to four daughters of Kertanagara, the last Singasari king.<sup>73</sup> The most important wife was the Rajapatni (wife of the king) who later played an important role in the politics of her grandson Hayam Wuruk.<sup>74</sup> Supported by Prime Minister Gajah Mada, King Hayam Wuruk, with the royal name of Rajasanagara, presided from 1350 until 1389 during the heyday of Majapahit. During this time, the kingdom claimed hegemony over most of insular and peninsular Southeast Asia and also expanded its influence in Mainland Southeast Asia.

The most valuable contemporary source for the historical, religious, and social situation in Majapahit is the *Nagarakertagama*, also called *Desawarnana*,<sup>75</sup> which was composed as a *kakawin* by Mpu Prapanca in

<sup>72</sup> These events have been narrated in Old Javanese texts and discussed by many scholars. The *Nagarakertagama* provides only a very superficial account (*Nag.* 44; Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:135). The *Pararaton* contains more detailed information (*Par.* 18-24; Brandes 1920:78-123). The Chinese sources also record the events (Groeneveldt 1960:20-8). The nineteenth-century *kidung Harsa Wijaya* relates the life of Raden Wijaya, alias Kertarajasa, in a poetic form (Berg 1931b).

<sup>73</sup> This topic has provoked a broad scholarly discussion, for example Berg 1957:263-5; Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:137-8. Treatises on Majapahit on a general scale are numerous; to mention but a few: Weatherbee 1968; Djafar 1978; Dinas Pariwisata 1993; Miksic 1995. Special chapters in books on early Southeast Asian history, such as D. Hall 1981; Tarling 1992; Reid 1988, 1993; Milton 2004.

<sup>74</sup> The semi-historical and semi-fictional novel by Earl Drake (2012) presents a lively picture of Rajapatni's (Gayatri) life. The English version of the Indonesian book is in print.

<sup>75</sup> Following the older convention, I will use the term *Nagarakertagama*. Several translations and editions of this text exist: Kern 1919; Pigeaud 1960-63; Slametmulyana 1979; Robson 1995.

AD 1365. Prapanaca was the superintendent of Buddhist affairs in the Majapahit religious administration. The poem is a panegyric on King Hayam Wuruk. It legitimizes Majapahit by tracing the genealogy of this king back to the preceding kingdom of Singasari.<sup>76</sup> His greatness is conveyed in multiple ways: the poet describes his journey with King Hayam Wuruk through the core region of the realm, where they visit temples and hermitages; further on, he portrays the administrative and religious structure of the Majapahit kingdom, the areas which belonged to the realm and were tributary to Majapahit, and a number of ritual events.

The political structure and the geographical spread of the Majapahit kingdom has been discussed over the decades. According to Wolters (1982:27) it should be understood as a *mandala* of overlapping kingdoms with each remaining an independent polity.<sup>77</sup>

All the princes of Java who each have their own capital  
Dwell together in Wilwatikta, holding the King in their lap.  
(*Nag.* 6.4; Robson 1995:28)<sup>78</sup>

In a broader sense this structure can be applied to most islands of the archipelago which today form Indonesia,<sup>79</sup> and some countries in Mainland Southeast Asia which are listed in the *Nagarakertagama* as being ‘subject and obedient’ (*Nag.* 13-15.1; Robson 1995:33) to Majapahit. The vassal kings acknowledged King Hayam Wuruk as their sovereign and the ‘symbol of totality’ (Weatherbee 1968:144), but still maintained a kind of autonomous position.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> The *Puratanon* (Brandes 1920; Padmapuspita 1966), although only written in 1613, provides further details about the Majapahit history; however, some points are contradictory and less reliable than the *Nagarakertagama*.

<sup>77</sup> This concept was discussed in an article by Wiseman Christie (1986). Kulke (1986:7-12) tends to apply the *mandala* concept not to an ‘imperial kingdom’, such as Majapahit, but only to the ‘early kingdoms’ of Kediri and Singasari. See also Wolters’ (1999:141) reactions to and discussions of these authors in the second edition of his book.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Wilwatikta’ is the name used in many old sources for ‘Majapahit’.

<sup>79</sup> The term *nusantara* (*Nag.* 79.3), denoting the outer or other islands, has been retained until today as the Indonesian name for the whole Indonesian archipelago.

<sup>80</sup> Evidence of the presence of Majapahit in Sumatra is given through Majapahit-period earthenware and stone artifacts (for example Miksic 1995:199); also through the name ‘Kota Jawa’ of a settlement in North Sumatra with Majapahit artifacts.

The members of the Javanese principalities were intermarried with the members of the royal family (*Nag.* 2.2-6.4). As many of the married partners were cousins, this produced a complex system of kinship in the genealogy of Majapahit.<sup>81</sup> The names of the principalities are: Jiwana (= Janggala),<sup>82</sup> Daha, Wengker, Singasari, Lasem, Pajang, Matahun, Paguhan, Mataram, and Pawwan-awwan. It seems that the two main parts of the realm were those of Kahuripan/Tumapel (= Janggala/Singasari) and Daha/Wengker (= Kediri/Wengker), which was represented in a ‘bipartism’ (Weatherbee 1968:155) in Majapahit administration. The Panji stories reflect these historical facts of Majapahit by featuring Janggala and Daha as the home kingdoms of the two protagonists in the stories – Panji and Candrakirana, respectively; some stories also mention the other names of the historical principalities. Moreover, the historical, complex web of kinship is paralleled in the Panji stories.<sup>83</sup>

A broad spectrum, with on one end the concept of ‘Great Majapahit’ as conveyed in the *Nagarakertagama*, and on the other end a ‘largely rhetorical’ claim of its hegemony, has been discussed over the decades. It is the question to what extent Majapahit’s political hegemony over countries outside of Java was effective, or if in reality Majapahit was of much smaller dimensions.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, on a cultural level Majapahit did in fact have a strong influence and impact far beyond Java, as is evident in the spread of the Panji stories across Mainland Southeast Asia.

Majapahit based its power on the economic wealth it accumulated in international trade relations. Information on the economic situation is provided through the corpus of stone inscriptions in East Java, and to a much larger extent through reports by traders, such as the Chinese *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* by Ma Huan, compiled in 1433 (Mills 1970), the *Suma Oriental* from 1512-1515, by the Portuguese trader Tomé Pires (Cortesao 1944), and the Malay *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* (Hill 1961:161). From many other Chinese sources (Groeneveldt 1960), we learn that the Majapahit kings and the Chinese emperors maintained complex diplomatic rela-

<sup>81</sup> Berg (1953), Weatherbee (1968:141-53), and Noorduyt (1978:250-1) intensively discuss the genealogical complexities.

<sup>82</sup> The name ‘Jiwana’ as a synonym for Janggala is mentioned in *Nag.* 68.1b.

<sup>83</sup> I will return to this issue in the sub-chapter ‘Unity of the realm’.

<sup>84</sup> Berg (1956, 1957); Bosch (1956); Wolters (1982:26); Taylor (1992:179). See also Supomo (1979:184-5). New historical and archaeological findings will deliver new insights.

tions.<sup>85</sup> Marco Polo, who came from a rich Venetian trading family, had already reported in the early 1290s, just before Majapahit was founded, that East Java's wealth was based on the spice trade.<sup>86</sup> Monopoly of the spice trade in the region was in fact the economic base for Majapahit's wealth.<sup>87</sup> In exchange for Moluccan spices, Majapahit exported rice, and in trade with India and China, precious cloths and fine ceramics were imported, respectively (Robson 1981a:264-5). Majapahit was therefore both an agrarian and a maritime kingdom.

The records of foreign traders depict a lively picture of the Majapahit ports, the market, and the royal city. The main port was probably situated in Tuban, about 60-70 kilometres to the west of the Brantas delta, and the commercial centre Canggu was located several kilometres inland on the banks of the Brantas river (Mills 1970:91; K. Hall 1985:235). Traders from China and from the west, amongst them Muslims who were migrants from western kingdoms (Mills 1970:93-4), lived in both ports and inland. The *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* mentions that the 'people of the country, both men and women, are all particular about their heads' (Mills 1970:88), an issue to which I referred in Chapter III.

The king legitimized his position and consolidated his base of power not only through the economic wealth of Majapahit, but also through ancestral power. These efforts were manifested in the erection of temples for deceased kings and queens, and in the rituals carried out for their worship. A complex network of temples and religious institutions both reflected and strengthened the king's power. This power and his status was of a strongly ritual nature.<sup>88</sup> The king manifested his rulership in ceremonies such as enacting the *sima* grants, temple inaugurations, court ceremonies, as well as in his own consecration. It was mostly through indirect actions that the king exercised his influence; for example, he rarely

<sup>85</sup> The recent establishment of a website with the Chinese Ming annals is an invaluable source: see <http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/>.

<sup>86</sup> Marco Polo believed, as did many other traders, that the spices – cloves, nutmeg, and mace – which they bought in the ports of East Java, were also produced there (K. Hall 1992:208). However, these spices grew exclusively in some of the present-day Moluccan Islands, and a few centuries later they became the object for European colonialists' interest.

<sup>87</sup> Compare K. Hall 1985, particularly pp. 242-50. See also Lombard 1990.

<sup>88</sup> Geertz 1980. See also the discussion by Wiseman Christie (1986:68-9).

controlled irrigation projects directly, instead initiating them through tax incentives.<sup>89</sup>

An important instrument in this religious and ritual structure was the taxation system supplementing royal income. It had already been developed in the beginning of the eleventh century under King Airlangga and was further refined during the Majapahit period, as is demonstrated by a whole body of inscriptions. Royal grants, the so-called *sima*, given to a political authority, played an important role. A *sima* ‘was a demarcated area freed from certain taxes and obligations to the state’ (Wisseman Christie 1983:38).<sup>90</sup> *Sima* tax collectors with the title *mangilala drawya haji* had a special social status outside of the village society as well as outside of the *kraton* community, which was not unproblematic (De Casparis 1986:59; Wisseman Christie 1983:20). The social background of the tax collectors seems to have changed throughout the centuries.<sup>91</sup> During Airlangga’s reign they were port merchants and foreigners, while in the Majapahit period they were state ministers (K. Hall 1992:222), which reflects the increased importance of the *sima* in Majapahit politics.<sup>92</sup> The recipient of the *sima* expressed an oath of fidelity and loyalty to the king. The importance of such alliances for the stability of the king’s authority is reflected in the elaborate ceremony and the erection of an inscribed stone accompanying the act of granting a *sima*. In most cases the profit of the grant was assigned for the support or benefit of religious foundations.<sup>93</sup>

The righteous king was supposed to fulfil the conditions of the *asta brata* – the eight qualities of a king creating order and welfare in the realm – as determined in the *Ramayana*. Following this patrimonial principle, the ruler had to guarantee peace and welfare; at the same time, it

<sup>89</sup> Wisseman Christie (2007:248) discusses the inscription of Waringin Saptia (AD 1477) which relates direct royal action. For a discussion of ritually, politically, or economically based kingship see Vickers 1986:173-4. See also Ras 1994.

<sup>90</sup> Wisseman Christie has dedicated much research to the issue of taxes and particularly to the analysis of *sima* charters in her various publications, for example 1986, 1991. K. Hall (1992:213) defines the *sima* as ‘all or a denoted portion of the income rights due to a superior political authority from designated land’.

<sup>91</sup> The figures in depictions in the so-called Menak-Jinggo reliefs may possibly represent such tax collectors; see the table of cap-figures in Chapter V. These relief panels still deserve closer investigation.

<sup>92</sup> K. Hall 1992:222.

<sup>93</sup> See the list of the 27 royal sanctuaries in *Nag* 74.2. I will discuss this issue further below in the subchapter ‘Unity of the realm’.

was believed that ‘to serve the ruler was to earn spiritual merit’ (Wolters 1982:21).

The kings, rulers, and other royals represented the class of *kshatriya*, which made up part of the caste system adopted from India. It seems, however, that this caste system was not transferred to Java with the strict divisions and implications which it had in India.<sup>94</sup> The *brahmana* held the functions of priests, while the *sudra* formed the majority of the inhabitants, the rural population. The *waisya* class is not clearly defined for Java. Weatherbee (1968:263) speculates that this class was represented by the *mangilala drawaya haji*, who did not only include the ‘tax collectors’ but a whole class of ‘provisioners of the royal households, artisans, magicians, medical practitioners, actors, musicians, and dancers, as well as both foreign and local traders’ (Wiseman Christie 1986:71). This throws light upon the relatively high esteem of artists and artisans, among them the architects and stone carvers who worked in the temples.

The largest sector of the Javanese population lived in rural settlements, as scarcely any cities existed. Even the ports as urban centres seem to have had a rather small population of fewer than 2,000 people (Wiseman Christie 1991:24). The capital of Majapahit, the administrative and political centre, was the main urban settlement.<sup>95</sup> Excavations during recent years in Trowulan, the supposed capital of Majapahit, have yielded evidence of a large city with a dense population. The outstanding status of the king had its equivalence in the size and the wealth of this capital, which also included the king’s palace. We can imagine the impression and effect of this wealthy and lively city on traders and the rural population, even if they only knew about it from hear-say.

The lengthy description of the palace of Majapahit in the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 8-12) has been interpreted in various ways.<sup>96</sup> The layout of the palace seems to have been comparable to today’s *kraton* of Yogyakarta or Surakarta, surrounded by a wall with several progressive courtyards and entrance gates leading to the heart of the palace, the

<sup>94</sup> See De Casparis and Mabbett 1992:305; Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:259-60; Weatherbee 1968:249-63. There are indeed references to this system in Old Javanese texts like the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 81.3) and in inscriptions, attesting to the fact that it was known and practised. Not enough research has been undertaken on this subject to produce a complete picture of the situation.

<sup>95</sup> This capital was distinct from the trade settlements of the ports (Wiseman Christie 1991:30). See also Miksic 1998 on the topic of urban settlements in early Southeast Asia.

<sup>96</sup> Stutterheim 1948; Miksic 1995:19-28; Aoyama 1994. Excavations over the last few years may provide new knowledge. See for example Gomperts et al. 2008.

royal compound. The fact that the palace has a similar layout as the Majapahit State Temple Candi Panataran with the core at the rear, may reflect the sacral character of the palace. This again demonstrates the ritual character of king and state. The location of the dwellings for princes and princesses, court officials, and ministers outside of the palace clearly delineates the social hierarchy.

The social divergence and hierarchy between the rural areas and the political centre of Majapahit are also manifest in the names and titles of officials: on the village level most names were indigenous ones, while the titles of royal and other high functionaries were mostly Sanskrit-based. Moreover, the higher in rank, the more elaborate were the names.<sup>97</sup> De Casparis (1981:141) goes so far as to say that at the village level there are hardly any traces of 'Indianization'. In the course of time, from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, the hierarchical system at both the bottom and the top of Javanese society expanded, indicated by an increase of titles.<sup>98</sup> De Casparis (1981:148) highlights an interesting phenomenon which occurred since the Kediri period: in front of the proper names of members of the *kshatriya* class, titles were used which designate animals, such as *gajah* (elephant), *kebo* (buffalo), or *lembu* (cow). Such names often appear as titles of personages in the Panji stories.

Majapahit's wealth and power was the basis for its high self-esteem and became manifest in the development of specific political, economic, and religious structures. Consequently, this led to the creation of cultural features independent from the Indian heritage of previous times. Thus, this creativity was an attestation to Majapahit's new strength, and at the same time a support of it.

The cap-figures in the narrative reliefs and the Panji stories in literature are examples of this creativity. As laid out earlier, in Chapters II and III, I consider both the Panji stories and the depictions of the cap-figures to have a folk connotation. Thus I find particularly remarkable that the Majapahit polity approved and supported folk culture to play an important part in sacral life, as is manifest in the Panji reliefs on temple walls. By acknowledging folk culture and integrating it within the prevalent Indic-oriented sacral culture, the kings showed their respect and appreciation of the common people as a means to consolidate their power. On

<sup>97</sup> De Casparis (1981, 1986) discusses the issue of names and titles of officials from the Kediri period onward; see also Wisseman Christie 1983:34.

<sup>98</sup> Wisseman Christie 1983, 1986, and in particular 1991:36.

the other hand, the stable power of Majapahit was a necessary precondition to allow the creative development of folk culture. Thus, folk culture and political power supported each other.

#### TEMPLES IN THE 'UNITY OF THE REALM'

During the whole East Javanese period and particularly during the Majapahit period, the unity of the realm was one of the main political concerns.<sup>99</sup> It is reflected in the establishment of the specific system of temples and associated rituals. The issue of the unity of the realm had its origins in the time of Airlangga (1019-1052), who in AD 1052 divided his realm into two parts, Janggala and Panjalu, as related in the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 68.1-3).<sup>100</sup> The priest Mpu Bharada, who was requested to divide the land, marked the boundary with water poured from a pot.<sup>101</sup> A certain place on this boundary was called Kamal Pandak. Janggala's capital was Kuripan, and Panjalu, which was also named Kediri/Kadiri, had the capital of Daha. According to one tradition, at the end of the twelfth century, Janggala moved its centre of power to the region of Tumapel, the later Singasari. When Ken Angrok conquered Kadiri from Tumapel/Singasari in the year 1222, this was regarded as a reunion of Kadiri and Janggala.<sup>102</sup> Kamal Pandak was later chosen by Hayam Wuruk as the place for the erection of a sanctuary, through which he claimed to have ultimately unified a divided Java. The two ter-

<sup>99</sup> Following Kulke's (1986:9) terminology, Majapahit was the first 'imperial kingdom' in Java uniting the 'early kingdoms' of Airlangga: Kediri and Singasari. However, in the later Majapahit period competition between parts of the realm emerged again and eventually became one reason for the end of Majapahit.

<sup>100</sup> The date 1052 is a recent addition by Robson (1995:74, 134). The older editions of the *Nagarakertagama* (amongst others Pigeaud 1960-63) had a 'missing line' here; Robson (1995:vii) was able to use a recently found MS. Airlangga's life and rule, the partition of his realm, and the question of its historicity has evoked long-lasting disputes; compare: Krom 1931:272-9; Stutterheim 1934; Berg 1953; Moens 1955; Bosch 1956; Schrieke 1957:24; Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:201-4; Buchari 1968:1-9, 20-1; 1990; Coëdès 1968:144-7; Robson 1995:134; Jordaan 2007.

<sup>101</sup> A. Gomperts (2011, 2012) presents interesting new findings related to Mpu Bharada and the dividing boundary. He argues that the sculpture popularly called 'Joko Dolog', erected by King Kertanagara and so far having been identified as an Akshobhya image, in fact portrays Mpu Bharada. The original location of this statue, today in a public park in Surabaya, was the hermitage-cemetery Lemah Tulis close to Bharada's dividing line, not far from Majapahit's capital. According Gomperts, the location of Kamal Pandak can not be determined; however Hadi Sidomulyo (2005) argues the location of Kamal Pandak to be identical with Lemah Tulis; see for this reference Hunter 2007:39-40. See for an earlier discussion of the Akshobhya image Poerbatjaraka 1917a.

<sup>102</sup> Krom 1931:281, 285; compare *Nag.* 40.4.

ritories Janggala and Panjalu play a crucial role in the Panji tales: Prince Panji is from Janggala, and Princess Candrakirana is from Panjalu. The struggle for the unification of the realm and the eventual re-union is reflected in Panji's search for Candrakirana and their final marriage, which may also have been a reason for the popularity of the Panji theme during the Majapahit period.

Hayam Wuruk manifested his claim to be the unifier of the realm in his journeys through the country, through the erection of temples, and through specific rituals.<sup>103</sup> Simultaneously, he displayed himself as the ruler who took care of the realm. The *Nagarakertagama* praises the glory and magnificence of the king by mentioning a large number of sanctuaries by their names. The temples served to support and manifest the king's power.

A particular sanctuary was erected for the Rajapatni, Hayam Wuruk's grandmother, who was regarded as 'the symbol of the unity of the realm' (Schrieke 1957:321 fn. 32). In choosing the legendary Kamal Pandak at the boundary between Janggala and Kadiri as the place for the Rajapatni's sanctuary, Hayam Wuruk displayed his claim.<sup>104</sup>

And so a sanctuary was built, so that the land of Java should be one again,  
Should be stable with a king of the whole country, and so that the people  
might know it in future without having any doubts [...].

(*Nag.* 68.5; Robson 1995:75)

Another important ritual was the *sraddha* ceremony for the Rajapatni (*Nag.* 64-67), a ritual held for a deceased personage 12 years after their death. The elaborate way of describing both ceremonies in the *Nagarakertagama* and the fact that the king attended them highlights the political importance of these religious acts. Politics and religion were absolutely connected.

The king also exercised his authority over religious affairs, which were structured in a specific system of religious foundations and in the reli-

<sup>103</sup> Hadi Sidomulyo (alias Nigel Bullough) followed the journeys of Hayam Wuruk and identified many of the locations mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama*. In his book *Napak tilas perjalanan Mpu Prapanca* (2007), he describes these journeys in a detailed way and provides a lively impression of the East Javanese countryside. See also Soebadio 2000.

<sup>104</sup> Given that Gomperts' (2011) interpretation, mentioned before, is true, the location of Mpu Bharada's statue would have been not far from Kamal Pandak. This neighborhood would have enhanced the importance of Rajapatni's sanctuary.

gious administration. Three religious groups were distinguished according to several Old Javanese sources including the *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 81.1-4) and the *Arjunawijaya* (Aej. 28.1c, 30.1-2): Saiwites, Buddhists, and *rshi* (hermits). The religious groups form a kind of unit, often being mentioned as ‘*rshi – saiwa – sogata*’, and sometimes including a fourth category of clergy, the Wishnuite Brahmans.<sup>105</sup> All three religious groups had their own royal superintendent who looked after the relevant domains: the Saiwite, the Buddhist superintendent, and the so-called ‘*Mantri-her-haji*’ for the *karshyan* (the hermitages of *rshi*) (Nag. 75.2).

Religious foundations were divided into three classes: *dharma dalem/haji*, *dharma lepas*, and *karshyan*.<sup>106</sup> The *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 73-78) and the *Arjunawijaya* (Aej. 28) allow us to recognize a well-structured administration of these foundations. The first class, *dharma dalem/haji* (Nag. 73.2a, 73.3a, 74.2a, 75.1b; Aej. 28.2a), included all religious foundations reserved for the royal family. Amongst them are domains for deified kings, such as ‘Tumapel’ and ‘Jajagu’ (Nag. 73.3-74), which can be identified with Candi Singosari for King Kertanagara and Candi Jago for King Wishnuwardhana, respectively. The second class, *dharma lepas* (Nag. 75.2a; Aej. 28.1a, 31.3b), are the free domains. They were bestowed by the king on poor Saiwites, Buddhists, and *rshi* for their subsistence and for their offerings to the deities. According to the *Arjunawijaya* (Aej. 28-29) it is the religious duty of the king to establish both *dharma haji* and *dharma lepas* by which he gained merit.<sup>107</sup> The third class, *karshyan*, the hermitages, belonged partly to the *dharma lepas*; the *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 78.1) mentions seven of them, amongst them Pawitra and Pucangan.<sup>108</sup> Each of the three classes of religious foundations adhered to one of the three religious groups, either Saiwites, Buddhists, or *rshi*.

The large number of *dharma lepas* listed in detail in the *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 76-78.1) far exceeds the 27 *dharma haji* (Nag. 73.3-74.2). We may assume that the *dharma lepas* were of smaller size than the royal temples. Dumarçay states that the modesty of these temples is probably the result of a charter issued by Kertanagara in 1269 ‘which declares that

<sup>105</sup> Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:258. See also Hariani Santiko 1998:240-2 for a deeper discussion of the subject. These three groups were already known in the times of Airlangga (Krom 1931:268).

<sup>106</sup> Hariani Santiko (1990, 1998) discusses these structures in her investigations of the life of the *rshi* in Majapahit. Compare also Supomo’s (1977:63-8) discussion of the respective verses in the *Arjunawijaya*.

<sup>107</sup> See also the interpretation of the Aej. 28-29 by Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:223, based on a paper by Bosch 1918.

<sup>108</sup> I will later return to these names in my discussion of the sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan.

the priesthood would have complete charge over the religious domain, without interference from either royalty or layman'.<sup>109</sup> It seems that the quantity of sites for ritual practice was considered more important than their grandeur and quality.

The hermitages, called *karshyan*, *kadewaguruan*, *wanasrama* (*Awj.* 30.2b), *patapan* (= *pertapaan* in Indonesian) (*Awj.* 1.15a), and *mandala* (*Nag.* 78.7a), had multiple statuses.<sup>110</sup> Seven *karshyan* are mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 78.1) as being under royal authority, while other *karshyan* were completely independent (*swatantra*) (*Nag.* 78.3c-d). Hariani Santiko (1990, 1998) comes to the conclusion that the religion of the hermits was basically Saiwite and that they led their lives of retreat in isolated places, either alone or in a community. They followed Tantric doctrines which, by their nature, have a character of secrecy. This caused the secluded hermitages to become centres of exclusive religious education. Supomo (1977:67-8) analyses the structure of the *kadewaguruan* from several Old Javanese texts – *Arjunawijaya*, *Nagarakertagama*, *Sutasoma* – and concludes that the geographically highest level was the place for the spiritual leader; on a lower level were the buildings for the other kinds of hermits, and still further down buildings for other members of the community. Agus A. Munandar (1990b:340-2) discusses the same issue. He has shown, that the group of *rshi* played a minor part compared to the other two religious groups, the *saiwa* and *sogata*. This is not surprising for a group which withdraws from worldly affairs; in addition, only a minor initiated group of adepts would have sought the esoteric teaching by the *rshi*. Agus A. Munandar (1990b:340) argues that the hermitages (*karshyan*) were divided into two kinds: the *karshyan pratista sabha* and the *karshyan lingga pranala* (according to his interpretation of *Nag.* 78.1c). The first was meant to be open for the public, so that common people could practise their worship. The second was a place with a permanent guru and was assigned to adepts seeking religious teaching.<sup>111</sup> We find this structure in the Penanggungan sanctuaries.

<sup>109</sup> Dumarçay 1996:119. Dumarçay is probably referring to the copper-plate edict of Sarwadharmma found at the site of Penampihan on Mount Wilis (see Krom 1931:326-7). I am grateful to John Miksic for pointing this out (personal communication, 27-4-2009).

<sup>110</sup> Compare Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:93, 241, 247; Supomo 1977:66-7; Agus A. Munandar 1990b; Hariani Santiko 1986, 1998:240.

<sup>111</sup> This interpretation is actually not supported by the translations and editions of the *Nagarakertagama* by Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:238) or Robson (1995:80). Still I think that the essence of this interpretation corresponds to Supomo's (1977:67-8) argument.

## THE DECLINE OF MAJAPAHIT – MOUNTAIN SANCTUARIES

The late phase of Majapahit saw an increase in the construction of mountain sanctuaries. The possible reasons and factors for this development have been largely discussed from a political, a social as well as a religious point of view. After the heyday of the Majapahit power under the rule of Hayam Wuruk in the fourteenth century, the fifteenth century saw a decline in Majapahit's political power. By the end of the fourteenth century Majapahit had already been shaken by internal disputes. At the same time Malakka had risen as a new Muslim centre of trade and power and was threatening Majapahit's hegemony in the spice trade. The third important factor that accelerated the decline was the increasing penetration of Islam in the ports on the north coast of Java.<sup>112</sup>

This decline, which eventually led to the end of Majapahit in 1527, has produced varying opinions concerning its causes. Noorduyn (1978) has reworked these discussions,<sup>113</sup> mainly basing his position on his new analysis of inscriptions, in particular the Waringin Pitu charter, dated to the year AD 1447.<sup>114</sup> It is commonly accepted that there was a civil war between 1405 and 1406. According to Noorduyn, there were not several competing dynasties in Java, as had been believed so far, but rather two distinct branches of the same royal family. The competition between the two parts of the family seems to have led to another civil war between the years 1478 and 1486. This demonstrates that the issue of the unity of the realm continued to be relevant in the later Majapahit period. A major factor in the discussion about the two competing family branches is a Chinese report from 1377 which mentions a second independent king with his own *kraton* in the eastern part of Java, who kept his own diplomatic connections with the Chinese emperor (Noorduyn 1975:479-82). This eastern king has been identified by Aoyama (1994) as Prince Wijayarajasa of Wengker (died AD 1388), an uncle of Hayam Wuruk who held a high rank within the royal family. He had particular respon-

<sup>112</sup> Noorduyn (1975, 1978) discusses the supposed internal political problems of the kingdom. Robson (1981a) discusses the interrelation between the declining power of Majapahit and the increasing Islamic influence. The early Islamic states in Java, established just after the fall of Majapahit, are the subject of a publication by De Graaf and Pigeaud (1976).

<sup>113</sup> He refers to Krom 1931; Schrieke 1957; Berg 1962; Cœdès 1968. See also Noorduyn 1975 for an analysis of the situation of the 'eastern kings in Majapahit'.

<sup>114</sup> This charter has only been known since 1937, but for a long time it was neglected or even incorrectly interpreted. See further discussion of the Waringin Pitu charter by K. Hall 2001b:277-8, 2001b:309.

sibilities within the royal administration, referred to for example in *Nag.* 4.2a, 12.2a, 12.3b, and in inscriptions (Noorduyn 1975:480-1). In the capital of Majapahit, the Prince of Wengker and his family occupied a palace to the east of the king's palace (*Nag.* 12.2a). Aoyama (1994) concludes that the '*kraton* in the eastern part in Java', as mentioned in the Chinese report, was the eastern palace in the capital itself, and not a kingdom in the eastern part of Java as was believed before.<sup>115</sup> The western *kraton* was the one for the Majapahit king himself. The two competing branches of the family were thus the family of the Wengker prince and of the Majapahit king, and each had their own palace within the capital.<sup>116</sup> What was first a conflict within the family later developed into a civil war (AD 1406), but only between the two palaces and not between two kingdoms.

Muslim traders from India and from China had already been active in the ports on the north coast for centuries. This is verified by one of the earliest Muslim tombstones, found in Gresik west of Surabaya and dated AD 1082 with an inscription in Arabic letters (Damais 1968:571; Uka Tjandrasasmita 1993:278). Since Islam had become dominant in international trade centres, Javanese members of the trading communities gradually converted to Islam (Robson 1981a:277). An increasing number of Muslim tombstones from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries indicates the growing impact of Islam in East Java during the Majapahit period. The *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (Mills 1970) reports that the Muslims who lived in the Majapahit port and inland were of mixed descent, originating from India, Arabic countries, and China.<sup>117</sup> The Muslim gravestones in the area of Trowulan, with the earliest stone dated AD 1376 (Damais 1957:411), attest that already prior to 1400 wealthy Javanese had converted to Islam. Some were perhaps even members of the royal family (Damais 1968:573; Uka Tjandrasasmita 1993:280).

<sup>115</sup> With this interpretation Aoyama contradicts the older theory by Schrieke (1957) and Krom (1931), who refer to a western and an eastern kingdom within the Majapahit realm.

<sup>116</sup> The structure of a main king and a second king is a common feature in other countries in Southeast Asia, such as Thailand. I am grateful to Adrian Vickers for this information. The issue of Wengker will be raised in my analysis of Candi Surowono in Chapter VIII.

<sup>117</sup> For a detailed outline of the spread of Islam in Java, see De Graaf and Pigeaud 1974 (in Dutch); for a summary in English, see De Graaf and Pigeaud 1976. Damais (1957) presents lists of the early inscribed Muslim tombstones in Java. For a recent, concise account of the history of Islam in Java, see Ricklefs 2006:11-32. Legend holds that one of the earliest important Muslim teachers (the so-called *wali songo*, or nine saints) in East Java, Sunan Ngampel in Surabaya, was Chinese. A gravestone from the second half of the fifteenth century attests to his importance. See also A. Perkasa 2012.

Ports with trade centres on the north coast of Java which had been allies of Majapahit developed independent commercial activities during the fifteenth century, enhanced by the conversion of the commercial population and the local kings to Islam (De Graaf and Pigeaud 1974:27). K. Hall (1985:253-4) argues that this development might have weakened the maritime trade position of Majapahit and caused its stronger concentration on the agrarian production in the hinterland. I propose that the focus on the rural economy may be considered as a factor in the increase in the building of mountain sanctuaries during the fifteenth century, with the mountains in the inland acting as counterparts to the shores of the ocean.

Since the new, autonomous Islamic centres in the ports now held the major positions in international trade, one of the outstanding foundations of Majapahit's power was erased. Thus, it was the combination of economic, political, and religious developments which caused the gradual decline of Majapahit (K. Hall 1985:235). Demak, one of the ports on the north coast, developed into the most important Muslim centre. It has the earliest Javanese mosque, probably built in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (De Graaf and Pigeaud 1974:47). In the year 1524, the ruler of Demak, Trenggana, adopted the Islamic title 'Sultan'. Javanese tradition, based on the *babad* (dynastic chronicle) of the seventeenth century, holds that in AD 1478 Muslims from Demak attacked the capital of Majapahit. However, as De Graaf and Pigeaud (1974:53-6, 1976:8) have discussed, it was only in AD 1527 that Majapahit perished after a final successful attack against Majapahit on which occasion the Majapahit king disappeared, and after which Sultan Trenggana was regarded as his successor.

The story *Bujangga Manik*,<sup>118</sup> written in the last phase of Majapahit in the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, narrates the journey of a Hindu-Sundanese hermit through Majapahit Java and his visits to hermitages and sacred sites. It demonstrates that ascetic practice was held in high esteem during this time.<sup>119</sup> This is also shown by the extant remains of many hermitage caves, most of them located on the slopes of the mountains and being built in the fifteenth century. It was evidently a large group of *rshi* who practised asceticism and retired from worldly bonds. Small sanctuaries for worship, the *pemujaan*, were

<sup>118</sup> Translated and edited by Noorduyn 1982; Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006.

<sup>119</sup> See also Ricklefs 2006:11.

often built alongside or in the neighbourhood of the hermitages. The slopes of mountains such as Mount Wilis, Mount Arjuno, and Mount Lawu have sacred sites built in the fifteenth century. From inscriptions on Mount Penanggungan we know that particularly during the fifteenth century there was a significant increase in the building of sanctuaries on its slopes. In Java, this mountain had already been a long-lasting object of worship.

The evident increase of mountain sanctuaries during the fifteenth century has evoked complex discussions amongst scholars. Political as well as religious reasons, or a combination of the two, have been taken into consideration. A major argument is that the increase of the mountain sanctuaries was due to the politically unstable situation during the late Majapahit period. Schrieke (1957:76-88) presents an argument based on the concept of *kaliyuga*. The *kaliyuga* is the last of the four periods of the world after which the world is going to be destroyed and then completely and newly recreated. During the fifteenth century the world was considered to have entered *kaliyuga*, as is expressed for example in the Old Javanese prose text *Agastyaparwa* – of unknown provenance, but certainly of pre-Islamic date – and in the *kakawin Nitisastra* from the fifteenth century. Young princes with their followers withdrew from the mundane world to follow the guidance of hermits in the study of the sacred doctrine. Cœdès (1968:242) raised another opinion, arguing that with the advance of Muslim power during the fifteenth century the Javanese Hindus retreated into the mountains. Quaritch Wales (1974:156) opposes this opinion, as Majapahit power was still dominant until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In many of his publications Quaritch Wales (amongst others 1951, 1953, 1974:155-7) argues that the frequent occurrence of mountain sanctuaries in the late East Javanese period with their simple altars represents a resurgence of the indigenous megalithic culture. With this assertion he drew on Stutterheim, who discussed the issue of the megalithic culture in a large number of essays.<sup>120</sup> According to Stutterheim and Quaritch Wales, the location of the sanctuaries on the mountains would stand in the tradition of the indigenous ancestor cult and the worship of the mountain, which regarded the spirits of the dead ancestors as having their abode on top of the mountain. The architecture of the moun-

<sup>120</sup> These essays have been summarized by Soekmono (1995:8-10).

tain sanctuaries, many of them displaying simple megalithic structures, would have drawn on prehistoric, indigenous megalithic-like culture. Supomo (1972:292), who disputes Quaritch Wales' opinion, argues that the worship of the sacred mountain had been common in all Javanese history and was not specific for the Majapahit period. In more recent years the ideas of a resurgence of megalithic culture and ancestor cult have been questioned.<sup>121</sup> Hariani Santiko (1998) considers the mountain sanctuaries in their terraced form as symbols of Mount Meru, and thus as having served for the worship of God Siwa and not for the worship of the ancestors.<sup>122</sup>

Daud Aris Tanudirdjo (1986) also argues that ideas of a resurgence of the ancestor cult have been adopted too easily. Based on the concept of 'millenarism' and further developing Schrieke's theory of the *kaliyuga*, he offers a new, reasonable interpretation for the increased constructions of mountain sanctuaries during the fifteenth century, particularly on Mount Penanggungan. Due to the chaotic and unstable political situation in Majapahit following Hayam Wuruk's reign, there was a strong wish and longing for a restorer of peace and order, causing each new king to present himself as a messiah. The heroes of the Indic stories, such as Rama in the *Ramayana*, Arjuna in the *Arjunawiwaha*, Bhima in the *Bhimasuci*, and also Panji, symbolized such a messiah, which accounts for their frequent depiction in reliefs and sculptures. All these heroes are involved in struggles to bring the disturbed world order in balance again. As a means to achieve this goal, they search for spiritual power by retiring out of worldly affairs for a period of time. These heroes provided a model for young princes who were preparing to become king and to be able to fight the competing princes within the Majapahit court.<sup>123</sup> They retired to remote sites to practise asceticism in order to enhance their mystic power. This led to the creation of the large number of mountain sanctuaries and, particularly, the hermitages.

Hariani Santiko (1990, 1998) and Agus A. Munandar (1990b) argue that the community of the *rshi*, who had already been an important factor in religious life since the times of Airlangga, played an even more

<sup>121</sup> Miksic 1998:75. In recent years whether the theory of a prehistoric, indigenous megalithic culture is valid at all has been questioned (Bellwood 1997:287).

<sup>122</sup> Sbeghen 2004:14-5 gives a short review of the recent scholarly discussions on the issues of megalithic culture and ancestor worship. Since the case is not solved yet, I will still use the term 'ancestor worship' when referring to the function of mountain sanctuaries.

<sup>123</sup> Compare Hunter 2007, and my discussion of his article in Chapter II.

prominent role in Majapahit religiosity and social life. The places for ascetic practice, for rituals, and for teaching esoteric knowledge were the hermitages located in remote sites, preferably on the mountain slopes. These hermitages each formed part of a group of sanctuaries, the so-called *mandala*, consisting of *pertapaan* and *pemujaan*. These were places for ascetic practice, for teaching, and for the worship of God Siwa. In her investigation of Candi Sukuh, a mountain sanctuary on the slopes of Mount Lawu, Sbeghen (2004) concludes that this temple was intended for a community of *rshi* and for members of the *kshatriya* class, the latter of which sought teaching and advice from the former. I propose that this interconnection between two classes holds also true for many of the East Javanese sanctuaries on the mountain slopes.

All these assertions still demand further evidence, and they do not allow the conclusion that a single one was the reason for the increase of mountain sanctuaries. We may consider a combination of the different political and religious aspects. I think that the menace of political instability was in fact an important reason for young members of the *kshatriya* class to withdraw from worldly affairs to seek and follow the spiritual guidance of hermits in isolated places and to prepare themselves through ascetic practice ‘for the struggle to purify the existing order of things’ (Schrieke 1957:79). This tendency corresponds to the symbolism expressed in the Panji stories, namely their representation of the struggle of a young royal within the political hierarchy. The depiction of Panji stories and of Panji as a model for the young royals was thus a fitting object for the given circumstances.

Another remarkable phenomenon which occurred in the fifteenth century was a revitalization of Indian culture. Hunter (2001) raises this issue in his discussion of the *Wrttasancaya*, an Old Javanese *kakawin* from the middle of the fifteenth century. In this text, author Mpu Tanakung draws on Indian sources. It is not known whether he actually visited India, or whether Indian material was available in Java at the time. However, since the other important composition by Mpu Tanakung, the *Sivaratrikalpa*, also shows traces of Indian literature, there is strong support for the opinion that the author indeed travelled to India himself.<sup>124</sup> Hunter (2001:90) argues that the ‘Sanskrit Cosmopolis’ suggested by Pollock (1998) for Southeast Asia with AD 1300 as the upper limit, holds

<sup>124</sup> This hypothesis was earlier suggested by Teeuw et al. (1969) in the edition of the *Sivaratrikalpa*.

true for Java only two centuries later. Can we conclude that the depiction of the *vina*, a musical instrument originating from India, which is found in the reliefs at Candi Kendalisodo and in no other reliefs elsewhere in ancient Java, is an indicator of this Indian revitalization?

#### WATER AND MOUNTAIN IN ANCIENT JAVANESE MYTHOLOGY AND ART

In addition to the meaning and function of mountain worship in ancient Java as outlined above, the concept of the mountain holds multiple symbolic meanings in mythology, which contribute to its significance. The mythological symbolism of the mountain is deeply interconnected with the symbolism of water. Water is and has been the crucial element in Javanese agriculture, specifically in its wet-rice-cultivation. Inscriptions prove that by the ninth century, irrigated rice fields were already well established in Java.<sup>125</sup> The geography and climate of Java provide excellent conditions for this agriculture which are absent in many other parts of Indonesia (Geertz 1963:38-46). These conditions are: lowlands or gradually sloping mountains to create fields; numerous volcanoes ejecting basic and fertilizing minerals; many sources of rivers on the slopes of the volcanoes transporting the volcanic mud; and a humid climate and monsoonal rainfalls. This prominence of water in agriculture, geography, and climate is reflected in the many myths featuring the subject of water. With its qualities of giving and protecting life, of fertilizing, and of purifying, water has multiple symbolic meanings in ancient Javanese mythology. That water also had great importance in religious practices is evident from the existence of paraphernalia associated with water such as the water pitcher (*kendi*) and various water containers, and from depictions in temple reliefs.

The most important symbolism of water is as *amerta*,<sup>126</sup> the mythical elixir of immortality and the water of life. It features in several Old Javanese myths where the *amerta* is a precious item kept in safe custody by

<sup>125</sup> Wisseman Christie 2007:236. Wisseman Christie (1992, 2007) has produced several studies concerning irrigation and agriculture in ancient Java and Bali. Geertz (1970:28-37) and Van Setten van der Meer (1979) also discuss this subject. For a broader context of the significance of water in ancient Java see Rigg (1991) and Boomgard (2007).

<sup>126</sup> Deriving from Sanskrit, according to Zoetmulder (1982:69) *amerta* has the meanings 'immortal; revived; nectar; holy water'.

the gods. In the *Bhimasuci*, Bhima is in search of the *amerta* to achieve the liberation of the soul and Higher Wisdom.<sup>127</sup> In the *Garudeya*, Garuda seeks the *amerta* to release his mother Winata from a curse.<sup>128</sup> Another story, the *Bhimaswarga*, which is very popular in Balinese *wayang*, relates a similar theme: Bhima requests the *amerta* to free his father Pandu and his wife Madri from hell (Hinzier 1981; Pucci 1985). All these stories have an exorcistic character, with the *amerta* serving as the means for purification and salvation which leads to the spiritual achievement of Higher Knowledge.

The creation of *amerta* is related in the *Samudramanthana*, the story of the ‘churning of the ocean’, in connection with the mythical mountain Mahameru (Mount Meru), the seat of the gods.<sup>129</sup> Two versions of this story are known. In the Old Javanese version of the *Adiparwa*, the first section of the Indian-based *Mahabharata* (Phalgunadi 1990:63-9), the *amerta* emerges out of the Milk Ocean after it has been churned using the Mahameru as the churning stick, while the mountain was supported at the base by a tortoise.<sup>130</sup> In the much later Javanese *Tantu Panggelaran*, relating the transport of Mount Mahameru by the gods from India to Java,<sup>131</sup> the *amerta* is said to emerge out of the mountain during the churning of the ocean. Thus, within the change from the Indian-based to the later Javanese myth there is a shift from the ocean to the mountain as the source for the holy water.<sup>132</sup> The myth of Mount Meru as the source of the *amerta* reflects the geographical context of Java with its dominance of mountains and its water sources on their slopes. The mountain becomes the symbolic centre of the universe and of life-giving powers. Furthermore, God Siwa instead of God Wishnu becomes the

<sup>127</sup> The *Bhimasuci* is depicted in Candi Kendalisodo (see fig. 10.8).

<sup>128</sup> The *Garudeya* forms part of the *Adiparwa*. See Phalgunadi 1990:81-3. It is depicted in Candi Kidal, in Candi Kedaton, and in Candi Sukuh.

<sup>129</sup> The symbolism of Mount Meru in Hindu mythology is intensively discussed by Mabbett (1983).

<sup>130</sup> Zoetmulder (1974:96) attributes the Old Javanese *Adiparwa* to the end of the tenth century.

<sup>131</sup> Pigeaud 1924:135-7. Pigeaud (1924:50) dates the *Tantu Panggelaran* between ca. AD 1500 and 1635. However, many of its sub-stories and episodes were probably already known as popular myths before they were written down (Patt 1979:445).

<sup>132</sup> It is interesting that the *Adiparwa* version sticks to the Sanskrit original with the ‘milk-ocean’, while the *Tantu Panggelaran* completely omits the milk, which has no tradition in Javanese food. Another difference between the two stories is that in the *Adiparwa* there are other items that emerge out of the ocean, such as the goddesses Sri and Lakshmi and a horse, while in the *Tantu Panggelaran* only the *amerta* and jewels emerge from the mountain (Pigeaud 1924:66, 137). The *Samudramanthana* is also mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 65.5) in the description of the *sraddha* ritual; Stutterheim (1926:341), in his discussion of the symbolism of the mountain in ancient Java, is undecided as to which of the two versions is valid here. Compare also Patt 1979:450.

central figure in the Javanese version of the *Samudramanthana*, reflecting the dominance of the worship of Siwa in the later East Javanese period. Through his magical power God Siwa changes the originally poisonous water into *amerta*.<sup>133</sup> In both versions a huge *naga* serves as a rope around the base of the mountain. In the *Adiparwa*, the rope is pulled by gods and demons; in the *Tantu Panggelaran*, by all heavenly beings and no demons.<sup>134</sup> A peculiar feature of Mount Meru is its shape: one top peak is surrounded by four lower hills and on a deeper level by four further hills, which yields the '8+1'-shape, an important configuration in both Hindu and Buddhist mythology. This shape of Mount Meru is exactly mimicked in Mount Penanggungan.

The importance of the Mahameru-*amerta* theme in East Javanese mythology is manifest in a large number of temples and objects, providing evidence of the popularity of this theme.<sup>135</sup> The fountain from the bathing place of Jolotundo, with water emerging from a form which symbolizes Mount Meru, is an outstanding example of the symbolism of *amerta*.<sup>136</sup> The Naga Temple in Panataran, with a *naga* body arranged around the temple symbolizing the serpent wrapped around the base of Mount Meru, features the *Samudramanthana*.<sup>137</sup> The same seems to be true for Candi Tikus featuring a temple structure erected in a water basin, and for Candi Jawi, which is surrounded by a moat. Candi Penampihan on the east slopes of Mount Wilis stands as another example with a *naga* body surrounding the temple and the remains of a huge turtle body in stone as the base of the temple foot.<sup>138</sup> A water source close by continues to be venerated today as the emerging *amerta*.<sup>139</sup> A relief on Candi Kesimantengah depicts demons on one side and the gods on the other

<sup>133</sup> Pigeaud 1924:65, 135. Stutterheim (1926:341) compares this act by Siwa to the ritual by the Balinese priest, who also changes water into holy water in a kind of *wijwatermachine* (a machine for making holy water).

<sup>134</sup> For the *Adiparwa*, see Phalgunadi 1990:63; for the *Tantu Panggelaran*, Pigeaud 1924:64, 135.

<sup>135</sup> Patt 1979:451-68. In Khmer art, depictions of this topic still far exceed the number of the Javanese ones.

<sup>136</sup> Stutterheim (1937a) comprehensively discusses the Jolotundo spout. It is today kept in front of the office of the Archaeological Service in Trowulan. For further information and literature on Jolotundo, see Kinney 2003:51-61. Two other spouts are known to exist from Sirah Kencong, near Blitar, and from Ampel Gading, east of Malang. Some further examples also exist in Bali. Bosch (1961, 1965) published outcomes of extensive investigations of Candi Jolotundo.

<sup>137</sup> I will return to the Naga Temple in Chapter VII on Candi Panataran.

<sup>138</sup> Candi Penampihan is described by Krom (1923, II:366-72), referring to other publications, for example Noordziek 1856 and Knebel 1908b.

<sup>139</sup> Personal communication by the *juru kunci* (temple guard) at Penampihan and personal inspection of the water source, in September 2007. Offerings (*sesajen*) and incense sticks were put at the source.

side pulling a rope wrapped around a small mountain on top of a huge turtle.<sup>140</sup> Candi Sukuh, situated on the west slopes of Mount Lawu, is another outstanding example for the symbolism of *amerta*. The fact that most of the aforementioned temples and objects are located on the slopes of a mountain, in many cases with natural water sources nearby, corresponds to the theme of the *amerta* emerging from Mount Meru in a direct way. It is remarkable that a significant number of sites are situated on the slope of Mount Penanggungan – Jolotundo or, not far away from it, Candi Tikus, Candi Jawi, Candi Kesimantengah – so that this mountain is visible from the site.

I discuss Candi Sukuh in more detail as it conveys the major symbolic aspects of *amerta* in a prominent way, although this temple is not part of the case studies of this book. I will later make use of my elaborations, particularly in the discussions of Candi Panataran and Candi Kendalisodo. Candi Sukuh (mid fifteenth century) has been the object of many studies performed since the times of Raffles (1817) and evoked a multiplicity of opinions which still continue to diverge and develop today.<sup>141</sup> The Main Temple, in the third courtyard of the terraced temple complex, is, due to its peculiar pyramid-like shape and several waterspouts (*jaladwara*) on top of it, understood to symbolize Mount Meru and the emerging *amerta*.<sup>142</sup> The original position of the huge *lingga* from Candi Sukuh, kept in the National Museum in Jakarta, is unknown and has produced much speculation.<sup>143</sup> The *lingga* is very naturalistically shaped in its upper part, and it has four large balls attached below the glans.<sup>144</sup> The four balls can be interpreted as one level of four hills surrounding the peak of Mount Meru. In ejaculating semen the *lingga* is thus a symbol of Mount

<sup>140</sup> This temple is located in Pacet near Trawas to the southeast of Mount Penanggungan. A short description of the temple and its reliefs is given by Krom (1923, II:298-300).

<sup>141</sup> The most recent studies are an article by S. O'Connor (1985), a book by the Indologist V. Fic (2003), and the unpublished PhD thesis by Jo Sbeghen (2004) which yields major new insights for our knowledge and understanding of Candi Sukuh. See also my discussion above in the sub-chapter 'Tantrism'.

<sup>142</sup> The symbolism of this Main Temple has yielded much discussion (Sbeghen 2004:139-42).

<sup>143</sup> It was found by Raffles in broken parts, lying in the third courtyard of Sukuh (Sbeghen 2004:143)

<sup>144</sup> There has been discussion of a possible meaning of the four balls as relating to rituals practised by the Dayak in Borneo, where four small pins are inserted into the penis below the glans (Compare footnote 52 in Sbeghen 2004:146; she refers to A. Reid 1988:150). We cannot exclude that knowledge of this practice influenced the creators of the Sukuh *lingga*, also considering that Sukuh has several sculptures of nude demons which display such a penis with four balls. However, the symbolism of the Meru/*amerta* story is not affected by this issue.

Meru and the emerging *amerta*.<sup>145</sup> I have developed my own opinion concerning the original position of the *lingga*, namely that it was placed on top of the Main Temple, which has a pyramidal shape, and that this combination actually represents a huge *lingga-yoni*.<sup>146</sup> I base this on the fact that the height of the *lingga* (nearly 2 metres high) and the estimated size of the main temple being about 5 metres high would match very well together.<sup>147</sup> If you stand in the third courtyard and look towards the Main Temple, you would see the *lingga* on top of it. This *lingga-yoni* denotes the union of Siwa and Sakti, during which the semen of Siwa emerges as *amerta*.<sup>148</sup> Thus the Main Temple with the *lingga* symbolizes both the *Samudramanthana* story and the union of Siwa and Sakti, with the *amerta* emerging from the mountain and the *lingga*, respectively. In Candi Sukuh, the *lingga-yoni* motif is also displayed in a relief on the floor of the entrance gate, which emphasizes the importance of this motif in the symbolism of the temple. I have already indicated the Tantric character of Candi Sukuh. The *lingga-yoni* motif symbolizes the ultimate goal of the Tantric path, the experience of the union of Siwa and Sakti. The *amerta* flowing down over the *lingga* is at the same time the mystical fluid symbolizing the Supreme Bliss which is experienced by the *yogin* in his Tantric practice and then flows down his body.

That the symbolism of water as displayed in Candi Sukuh had a persistent tradition during the whole East Javanese period, is evident through the waterspout of Candi Jolotundo (AD 977) as an example of the early East Javanese period. The waterspout from Jolotundo features 8+1 spouts, each in the shape of a *lingga*.<sup>149</sup> In mimicking the geographi-

<sup>145</sup> Stutterheim (1926:341, 1937a:242-3), Patt (1979:452), and Sbeghen (2004:145) have also highlighted this parallel.

<sup>146</sup> This opinion is also presented in a paper by Hariani Santiko delivered at the twelfth conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, September 2008, in Leiden.

<sup>147</sup> I conclude this estimation from interpolating a photo of the Main Temple and one of the *lingga* in a scale corresponding to each other. In this interpolation it is conspicuous that both the Main Temple and the *lingga* fit together very well and make a coherent ensemble. Sbeghen (2004:141) also mentions speculations about this possible position in her thesis, referring to Van der Vlis 1843:43-5, though she herself does not come to a conclusion.

<sup>148</sup> The *lingga* from Sukuh has an inscription in vertical arrangement saying '*laksana purusa sari ning raf*', meaning 'sign of manhood/manliness is the essence of the world' (Kinney 2003:268). As presumably ejaculated semen is depicted above this inscription it seems clear that this semen symbolizes 'manhood'. Even if this relief structure above the inscription does not represent a string of semen, in its vertical order the whole inscription itself may be a visualization of such a string. For a discussion of all inscriptions of Candi Sukuh, see Muusses 1923.

<sup>149</sup> Also the *pripih* from Candi Jolotundo, kept in the National Museum in Jakarta, displays the characteristic structure of one hole in the centre surrounded by eight holes (Kinney 2003:61).

cal shape of Mount Penanggungan and the shape of the mythical Meru, this waterspout signifies both Mount Meru and Mount Penanggungan. The water that emerges out of the nine *lingga* of this waterspout symbolizes the semen of God Siwa, just as in the Sukuh *lingga*. Thus, the same symbolism of water = *amerta* = Siwa's semen is displayed.

The dyad water and mountain, be it Mount Meru or Mount Penanggungan or another mountain, is at the same time a symbol of fertility: corresponding to the real situation of fertilizing water flowing down the mountain, through his semen Siwa creates new life. Even more specific for Java is the fact that these mountains are volcanoes which frequently eject lava. Lava is destructive at the same time that it provides fertility, thus corresponding to the same qualities of God Siwa: destroying and regenerating. The lava therefore becomes another symbol of Siwa's semen. The worship of the mountains in Java as associated with the worship of Siwa becomes evident in a twofold way.<sup>150</sup>

As mentioned before, the emergence of the *amerta* from the mountain represents the bliss experienced in Tantric practice. Can we thus conclude that the Tantric doctrine is in fact inherent in the geographic conditions in Java: mountain and water, or volcano and lava, respectively? Can we then conclude that the Tantric doctrine is embedded in the terraced structure of the temples and their orientation towards the mountain?

Mount Meru as a symbol of God Siwa has also been an issue in discussions on the term 'Lord of the Mountains' in the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 17.5). It has been explained that the Lord of the Mountains (read: Mount Meru) is a symbol of God Siwa.<sup>151</sup> Supomo (1972:292) argues that the 'Lord of the Mountains' of the *Nagarakertagama* is Siwa-Buddha, the Supreme God, and is at the same time King Hayam Wuruk himself.<sup>152</sup> He further explains that Mount Penanggungan was considered as the holiest of the mountains, as the 'Lord of the Mountains' (Supomo 1972:290).

<sup>150</sup> Compare also the discussion of the importance of the mountain, particularly the volcano, and its worship in ancient early Java by Wiseman Christie 2008.

<sup>151</sup> Krom 1923, II:281; Stutterheim 1923:345, 1989:151; Bernet Kempers 1959:90; Supomo 1972.

<sup>152</sup> I will discuss this issue at greater length in Chapter VII on Candi Panataran.

In the Old Javanese texts water is also known as *tirtha*.<sup>153</sup> Still today in Bali, this term commonly denotes holy water.<sup>154</sup> It is also used in Java as a name for the holy bathing places.<sup>155</sup> The meaning of *tirtha* as ‘passage’ and ‘descent into the water’ alludes to the purifying quality of water. In entering or passing water an adept is purified and proceeds to a spiritually higher level. This connotation is also well-known in Buddhist teaching where the crossing of water is a symbol for achieving Wisdom. Many myths and depictions in temple reliefs display scenes with people crossing the water which I interpret as the purifying passage to achieve Wisdom. This concept is for example implemented in the depiction of the *Sang Satyawana* story on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran, where Sang Satyawana teaches his wife the *dharmā*, illustrated by Sang Satyawana leading his wife through water.<sup>156</sup> Another example is the *Bhimasuci*, where Bhima descends into the ocean and undergoes a ‘transmutation process, affected by yoga and meditation, which an ascetic must endure to reach the ultimate goal of liberating his soul in his present lifetime’ (Sbeghen 2004:118); this process is correlated to the Tantric character of the *Bhimasuci* discussed earlier in this chapter. Thus, water – here with its connotation of *tirtha* – is again an indication of the Tantric path.

The holy-water place *tirtha* has the symbolic function of spiritual purification. The basin of the *tirtha* is usually filled by water from a natural spring.<sup>157</sup> Examples of such *tirtha* are found in temples built between the late ninth century and the fifteenth century, such as Songgoriti, Belahan, Jolotundo, Tikus, Panataran, and Sukuh.<sup>158</sup> In East Java, the holy bathing places are situated on the foot or on the slope of a mountain, or are connected to a temple or a hermitage.<sup>159</sup> In practising the ritual of entering or using the water, the worshipper purifies himself or herself prior to climbing the mountain and visiting sanctuaries on the mountain, or

<sup>153</sup> The Sanskrit root of *tirtha* means ‘passage, way, road, ford; descent into the water, bathing-place, shrine or sacred place of pilgrimage; any piece of water; a sacred preceptor, guru’ (Zoetmulder 1982:2019).

<sup>154</sup> As the *tirtha* has a dominant role in the religious practices of Bali, Hooykaas labels the Balinese religion *agama tirtha*, which became the title of his book about the Balinese religion (Hooykaas 1964).

<sup>155</sup> Patt 1979:478. Holy-water places are also called *petirtaan* in Indonesian, or *patirthan* in Balinese.

<sup>156</sup> See Chapter VII on Candi Panataran.

<sup>157</sup> Patt (1979:8) lists and describes many of these places. She gives references to Old Javanese *kakawin* and inscriptions of the ninth to eleventh centuries which mention a *tirtha*. Zoetmulder (1982:2019) also provides examples, for example *Ramayana* 24.214, *Arjunawijaya* 10.22, and *Sutasoma* 29.7.

<sup>158</sup> Candi Panataran has even two *tirtha*.

<sup>159</sup> Old Javanese texts such as the *Arjunawijaya* testify to the connection between a *tirtha* and a hermitage (*Atj.* 10.22).

entering the sacred sphere of a temple. The specific geographic location of many of the *tirtha* in remote areas with beautiful views is remarkable.<sup>160</sup> Since the beauty of a site evokes *langö*, which leads to achieve union with the Divine, the choice of such stunning locations enhanced the purpose of the *tirtha*. The *tirtha* in Candi Sukuh, a temple located in a beautiful setting, is a conspicuous example. It is surrounded by stone slabs with depictions of the *Sudamala* story, which is an exorcist, or *ruwat*, story (Sbeghen 2004:172-84). An inscription from AD 1439 combines the words *tirtha* and *sunya* (void).<sup>161</sup> By entering and passing the purifying *tirtha* the worshipper would enter the void, the deliverance of the soul.<sup>162</sup>

Above I have discussed the meaning of the *Anandakanda-padma* as the seat of the *ishtadewata* in the Kundalini path. In the *tantra* texts the *Anandakanda-padma* is often described in association with water. This correlation produces a special interpretation of *tirtha*, as I will show in the cases of Candi Panataran and Candi Kendalisodo. In this context I also want to underline the topic of the *naga*, which has a multiple symbolic meaning associated with water. The *naga* is the shape of the Kundalini symbolizing Sakti, the consort of Siwa. It appears in many myths as an aquatic animal. In the *Samudramanthana* the *naga* is the snake which is wrapped around Mount Meru to serve as the churning rope. In temple architecture waterspouts are often shaped as *naga* heads.<sup>163</sup> *Naga* are also considered as deities associated with water and ‘are believed to control the flow of water, but they are also guardians of the sacred water in the celestial realm’ (Sbeghen 2004:141). I will return to these symbolic meanings in my discussion of *naga* depictions at Candi Panataran. A further study of the topic of the *naga* and its symbolism is still required.

<sup>160</sup> Patt 1979:482. This subject features particularly in her article about the aesthetics of ancient Javanese temple sites (Patt 1982).

<sup>161</sup> This inscription ‘*padamel rikang bukutirta sunya*’ was first discussed by Muusses 1923:506, and in more recent times by Sbeghen 2004:170-1, 245.

<sup>162</sup> The purifying quality of the *tirtha* in the quest for *moksha*, the liberation of the soul, is also exposed by Roxas-Lim (1983) in her investigation of caves and bathing places in ancient Java. She deals with Belahan, Simbatan Wetan (both East Java), and Sendang Sanjaya (Central Java). She points to possible connections to Tantrism, specifically in the cases of Belahan and Simbatan Wetan because of their depictions of female deities, with their breasts serving as waterspouts, and because Tantrism ‘stressed the female element, *sakti*’ (Roxas-Lim 1983:143).

<sup>163</sup> For example, in Candi Sukuh. The *naga* in the East Javanese temples is a development of the *makara*, which is so common in Central Javanese temples and derives from Indian architecture. The *makara* represent water animals which are a mixture of serpents, crocodiles, and other imaginary beings. See Stutterheim 1929; Bosch 1960:20-2, 29-34.

Besides their ritually purifying symbolism, the *tirtha* may also, in some cases, have had the function of irrigating and thus fertilizing fields. Examples are Candi Sukuh, Candi Jolotundo, and Candi Belahan.<sup>164</sup> The question of whether other temples also served for the practice of fertility cults or expressed a symbolism of fertility still needs further investigation. Several inscriptions refer to constructions of water channels and dams as part of water temples; other inscriptions mention water dams and weirs for irrigation of the fields (Wissemann Christie 1992:21, 2007:244-8). This may be an indication of a connection of the religious and irrigation purpose of these *tirtha*.<sup>165</sup> The drainage and water supply of the *tirtha* was an extraordinary task.<sup>166</sup> These efforts of labour elucidate the importance of the ritual practices undertaken in the *tirtha*. It is amazing that today Jolotundo still functions well and that the water still permanently runs from the spouts and fills the water basins.<sup>167</sup>

In sum, the topics of water and mountain are inextricably linked to each other in ancient Javanese mythology, art, and ritual. Water in the sense of *amerta* symbolizes the Supreme Bliss produced by God Siwa; in the sense of *tirtha*, it symbolizes purification and passing to a higher stage of esoteric knowledge. The essence of this twofold meaning is expressed in the *Bhimasuci*, where Bhima descends into the ocean – the *tirtha* – to get the *amerta*.

<sup>164</sup> Van Setten van der Meer 1979:131; Patt 1979:174, 229 (referring to Stutterheim 1937a).

<sup>165</sup> Roxas-Lim (1993/94) also asks this question, but does not provide clear answers to it.

<sup>166</sup> The issue of technical problems did not get much attention in research yet. A recent research project has been undertaken by the Indonesian university of Yogyakarta (Universitas Gadjah Mada). Personal communication with Dwi Cahyono from Universitas Negeri Malang in May 2006.

<sup>167</sup> Renovation work was done by the archaeological service in the early 1920s and in the 1990s (Kinney 2003:54, 61 fn. 6), but the water-supply system was still extant.



## Chapter V

Table of depictions of cap-figures in Majapahit art in  
chronological order

Candi/ Name of object	Date (AD)	Function of the <i>candi</i> /antiquity; religious back- ground	Location and orientation of the site	Classification and context of the cap-figures	Kind of - cap - clothing - jewellery	Identification of the scene/ narrative	Placement of the cap-figure in the <i>candi</i>	Whole corpus of narrative reliefs in the <i>candi</i>	Major references; photos; notes
C. Jawi	End of 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Commemorative temple for King Kertanegara (†1292); probably built during his lifetime; Saivite and Buddhist	Southeast of Mt. Penanggungan, oriented NW towards mountain; entrance SE	<b>Noblemen:</b> Several figures with unclear caps, maybe due to weathering	- Large, but unclear cap - long <i>lain</i> , - jewellery not clear	Unidentified; perhaps Pajji story. Many scenes of woman with man: separating, longing positions, and meeting	On temple foot, cap-figures scattered over all sides	No others	Brandes 1903; Krom 1923, IE: 38-50; Stueterheim 1941; Klokke 1993:83; Kinney 2003:127-35
C. Jago	Architecture: 1288/1280  Reconstruction and reliefs: c. 1350	Commemorative temple for King Wisnuwardhana (†1268); Buddhist (+ Saivite?)	Plains, oriented towards Tengger Massif in the E; entrance W	(a) <b>Commoners:</b> 1. in rough action; 2. sinners  (b) <b>Panadkawan:</b> with king  (c) <b>Servants:</b> 1. of Watocana 2. hell guardian 3. of royal persons	(a) small cap, short <i>lain</i> , no jewellery  (b) large cap  (c) large cap	(a) 1. <i>Tantri</i> stories 2. <i>Kanjankarna</i>  (b) <i>Anging Dharna</i>  (c) 1. <i>Kanjankarna</i> 2. <i>Kanjankarna</i> 3. <i>Sudhanakarna</i>	(a) first terrace 1. first terrace 2. belt of second terrace  (b) first terrace  (c) 1. first terrace 2. belt of second terrace 3. belt of second terrace	First terrace: <i>Tantri</i> stories, <i>Anging Dharna</i> , <i>Kanjankarna</i> Belt: <i>Kanjankarna</i> , <i>Sudhanakarna</i> Second terrace: <i>Parthayipna</i> Third terrace: <i>Ajimatwicatha</i> Fourth terrace: <i>Krishayama</i> .  all in <i>prasatya</i>	Brandes 1904; Krom 1923, II:95-136; O'Brien 1988:3, 20-1; Klokke 1993: 81-3; 206-13; Hunter 2000; Kinney 2003:95-125; Kieven 2008

C. Panataran	Function: State temple of Majapahit; Saiwite	Geographical position: On lower slopes of Mt. Kehnd, 15 km to its peak. Oriented to E, entrance W	Major references: Krom 1923, II:245-284; Van Stein Callenfels 1924; Stutterheim 1925/1989; Satyawati Sulciman 1978; Klokke 2000a; and others.
<b>Dates of inscriptions at the various buildings and objects at Candi Panataran</b>			
Inscribed stone of King Srengga at S-side of Main Temple			1197
Lintel at gate between 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> courtyard			1318
Two small <i>dicanpala</i> at the gate between 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> courtyard			1319
Two large <i>dicanpala</i> at main entrance			1320
A lintel next to Dated Temple			1323
Four large <i>dicanpala</i> in front of Main Temple			1347
Dated Temple			1369
A lintel near Main Temple			1373
Pendopo Terrace			1375
Two lintels			1379
Inner Bathing Place			1415
A dated stone			1454

<i>Candi</i> Name of object	Date (AD)	Function of the <i>candi</i> / antiquity; religious back- ground	Situation and orientation of the site	Classification and context of the cap-figures	Kind of - cap - clothing - jewellery	Identification of the scene/ of the narrative	Placement of the cap- figure in the <i>candi</i>	Whole corpus of reliefs in the <i>candi</i>	Major references; photos; notes
<b>C. Panataran:</b> • Main Temple ( <i>Dwarapata</i> )	1347	1 of 4 guardian figures in front of the Main Temple	in third court- yard	<b>Commoner:</b> hunter with turtle and deer	- half-moon shaped cap - short <i>kain</i> - no jewellery	<i>Tantri</i> story	Lower back of the northern- most <i>dwarapala</i> figure	On the other <i>dwarapala</i> : <i>Tantri</i> reliefs or animal depictions	Klokke 1993:232
<b>C. Panataran:</b> • Main Temple ( <i>Ramayana</i> )	1323 (architecture) 1347 (reliefs)	Symbol of Mt. Meru, at most sacred place in temple complex	in third court- yard	<b>Warrior:</b> one monkey with cap	- half-moon shaped cap - long <i>kain</i> - carrying bracelet	Monkey in the army of Hanuman in <i>Ramayana</i>	Temple foot, first terrace E-side right  <i>prasasaya</i>	<i>Ramayana</i> ; (first terrace) <i>Krishnayana</i> (second terrace)  <i>Ramayana</i> in <i>prasasaya</i> <i>Krishnayana</i> in <i>pradaksina</i>	Stutterheim 1989:150, plates 182, 184, 189
<b>C. Panataran:</b> • Main Temple ( <i>Krishnayana</i> )	Dito	dito	in third court- yard	<b>Servants:</b> betelboys-carriers with Krishna  <b>Warrior:</b> battle scene: Krishna with warriors	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> - jewellery  - small cap - short <i>kain</i> - jewellery	Krishna hides behind the sage Mucukunda  Krishna's fight against Rukma's army	Temple foot, second terrace W-side left  Second terrace W-side middle  <i>pradaksina</i>	<i>Ramayana</i> ; (first terrace) <i>Krishnayana</i> (sec- ond terrace)  <i>Ramayana</i> in <i>prasasaya</i> <i>Krishnayana</i> in <i>pradaksina</i>	Klokke 2000a:panel 5  Klokke 2000a:panel 21

<i>Candi</i> / Name of object	Date (AD)	Function of the <i>candi</i> ; antiquity; religious back- ground	Situation and orientation of the site	Classification and context of the cap-figures	Kind of - cap - clothing - jewellery	Identification of the scene/ of the narrative	Placement of the cap- figure in the <i>candi</i>	Whole corpus of reliefs in the <i>candi</i>	Major references; photos; notes
<b>C. Panataran: Pendopo Terrace</b>	1375	Basement of open hall ( <i>pendopo</i> ), may be place for offerings	in first court- yard	<b>Noblemen:</b> in longing posi- tions, walking, encounter with hermit, union with woman <b>Musician:</b> <i>remping</i> -player	nobleman: - large cap - long <i>kain</i> - jewellery musician: - cap with vague edge - long <i>kain</i> - no jewellery	<i>Sang Sejawan, Sri Tanjung</i> , unidenti- fied Pajiji stories	All around the terrace wall	<i>Sang Sejawan, Sri Tanjung</i> , unidenti- fied Pajiji stories; <i>Babakshah</i> story; <i>Tamiri</i> stories and other animal stories (upper board)	Van Sicin Callenfelds 1925a; 140-52; Suryawati Suleman 1978
<b>C. Panataran: Naga Temple</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	Treasure or med- itation place?	in second court- yard	<b>Commoner:</b> man in front of a well	- small cap - long <i>kain</i> - no jewellery	Folkstory/ <i>Tamiri</i> story?	Beneath the 9 deity figures; E-side left	Other single scenes and possi- bly <i>Tamiri</i> scenes.  Other panels with unclear caps	Panambong- Stutterheim 1947; Klokke 1993:85, 231
<b>C. Panataran: Small Pendopo Terrace</b>	?	Basement of open hall ( <i>pen- dopo</i> )	SW of Main Temple	<b>Noblemen:</b> in 4 single panels; on fish, 2x with woman, <i>sambal</i> in front of deity	- large cap, - long <i>kain</i> - jewellery	Love story?	Single panels in the middle on each side assumably <i>panataraya</i>	Panels to the right and left of the cap-panels; floppy-eared animals	
<b>C. Panataran Outer Bathing Place (<i>Petirtaan luar</i>)</b>	14 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)	Purification	Several hundred metres NW of temple complex	Unclear fragment of two men's heads, assumably one with cap, the other a <i>kadayan</i>					Krom 1923, II:282; Pat 1979:393-9
<b>C. Panataran Inner Bathing Place (<i>Petirtaan dalarn</i>)</b>	1415	Purification, sancification	SE of 3 <sup>rd</sup> court- yard	<b>Nobleman:</b> Cap unclear, man standing half in the water	- short <i>kain</i> , - earring	Inviting to enter the water, accompanied by a woman and by a <i>kadayan</i> (?)	At the corners of the Bathing Place	<i>Tamiri</i> reliefs	Pat. 1979:418; Klokke 1993:232-8

<i>Candi</i> / Name of object	Date (AD)	Function of the <i>candi</i> / antiquity; religious back- ground	Situation and orientation of the site	Classification and context of the cap-figures	Kind of - cap - clothing - jewellery	Identification of the scene/ of the narrative	Placement of the cap- figure in the <i>candi</i>	Whole corpus of reliefs in the <i>candi</i>	Major references; photos; notes
<b>C. Jabung</b>	1354	Commemorative temple for a member of the family of Hayam Waruk	Near the coast 130 km east of Surabaya, near Kraksaan, entrance W	<b>Nobleman:</b> Sidapaksa	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> (walk- ing), and short <i>kain</i> (sitting) - jewellery - unclear	Sidapaksa in <i>Sri Tanjung</i> story (similar scenes as in Candi Surowono)	Top register of temple foot	<i>Sri Tanjung</i> ; animals; tall male figures	Galustin 1999a;155; Krom 1923,II:196- 203; Kinney 2003:220-3
<b>C. Surowono</b>	1350-1365	Maybe commemorative temple for Bhre Wengker (†1388); Saiwite	In the plain, oriented towards E, entrance W	(1) <b>Nobleman:</b> Sidapaksa  (2) <b>Commoner:</b> obscene scene  (3) <b>Warrior:</b> small figure holding weapon in fight against Niwatakawata	(1) - large cap - long <i>kain</i> - jewellery  (2) - small cap - short <i>kain</i> - no jewellery  (3) - large cap - short <i>kain</i> - earring?	(1) Sidapaksa in <i>Sri Tanjung</i>  (2) unknown folk- story  (3) <i>Arjunaawaha</i>	(1) Main register; at corners  (2) Lower register N-side  (3) Main register, west part of south side  combination of <i>prasaya</i> and <i>pradaksina</i>	Main register: <i>Arjunaawaha</i> ; <i>Sri Tanjung</i> <i>Babakshah</i>  Lower register: <i>Tamri</i> stories and erotic scenes of folkstories  <i>Arjunaawaha</i> ; <i>pra- sayu</i> ; <i>Babakshah</i> ; <i>pradaksina</i> ; <i>Sri Tanjung</i> com- bination	Krom 1923,II:209- 16; Worsley 1986, 1996; Klokke 1993:88; 1995; Kinney 2003:229- 37

<i>Candi</i> / Name of object	Date (AD)	Function of the <i>candi</i> / antiquity; religious back- ground	Situation and orientation of the site	Classification and context of the cap-figures	Kind of - cap - clothing - jewellery	Identification of the scene/ of the narrative	Placement of the cap- figure in the <i>candi</i>	Whole corpus of reliefs in the <i>candi</i>	Major references; photos; notes
<b>C. Gajah Mungkur</b> (= Site XXII Penanggungan)	1360?	Ancestor/ Siwa worship (?)	Upper slope on S-side of Gajah Mungkur hill/ Mt. Penanggungan	<b>Nobleman?</b> cap-figure (figure cut out of relief) holding weapon (?) in hand  <b>Nobleman?</b> cap-figure with companion and woman	- large cap - short <i>kain</i> , - jewellery un- clear; carrying?  - large cap - short <i>kain</i> - earring, neck- lace?	Panji story?  Style similar to Candi Wayang (site VIII)	Right and left of stair that leads to altar	Van Romondt 1951:22-3, fig.24; Bernet Kempers 1959:plate 325  (see below: Museum Majapahit in Trowulan)	
<b>C. Wayang</b> (= Site VIII Penanggungan)	1360? (perhaps origi- nally connected to site XXII)	Ancestor/ Siwa worship (?)	Upper slope on S-side of Gajah Mungkur hill, below site XXII	<b>Nobleman?</b> One cap-figure, accompanied by 5 female figures, 2 warriors, 2 <i>panahawan</i> , and 1 small figure	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> - jewellery un- clear	Panji story?  Style similar to site XXII	Left of stair	Van Romondt 1951:19, fig.28; Stutterheim 1936a:198	
<b>C. Tigowangi, side temple</b>	after 1388	Side-temple within com- memorative tem- ple complex for Bhre Matahun († 1388)	In the plains, temple com- plex oriented towards E, entrance W. Side temple SE of main temple	<b>Commoner:</b> Male figure hold- ing an unidenti- fied small object in left hand	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> - earring?	Daily-life story?	Rear (E) of the building	Commoner figures without cap (long <i>kain</i> , earring) in other panels depicting daily-life stories	Krom 1923, II:216-22; Bernet Kempers 1959:95; Kinney 2003:237- 44
							unclear direction		Bhre Matahun: brother-in-law of Hayam Wuruk;

<i>Candi</i> Name of object	Date (AD)	Function of the <i>candi</i> / antiquity; religious back- ground	Situation and orientation of the site	Classification and context of the cap-figures	Kind of - cap - clothing - jewellery	Identification of the scene/ of the narrative	Placement of the cap- figure in the <i>candi</i>	Whole corpus of reliefs in the <i>candi</i>	Major references; photos; notes
<b>C. Rimbi</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	Commemorative temple for Queen Tribhuwana († 1372)	In the plains, oriented to- wards mountain (Weirang) in the E, entrance W	<b>Noblemen?</b> Male figures on a journey, in encounter with a woman. In one of the last panels the woman holds a child in her arms.  <b>Musician:</b> playing <i>rempang</i> with clear cap	- very vague cap - long <i>kain</i> , - jewellery?	<i>Sang Salyawana</i> story? Panji story?	Lower wall of temple foot.	<i>Ganadhyo?</i>	Krom 1923, IE:167 (identifies Tribhuwana with Keramatara's daughter)  Klokke 1993:86-8  <i>rempang</i> -player: Kunst 1968:fig.52 (compare fig.47)  Tribhuwana: daughter of Keratarajasa, reigned 1329-1350
<b>Panels from <i>Candi Menak</i> Jinggo</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 14 <sup>th</sup> c. (?)	Not known	C. Menak Jinggo forms part of the monuments of Trowulan, in the plains. Not definitely clear if in fact C. Menak Jinggo is original place of panels.	<b>Nobleman/ administrator?</b> A man walk- ing through the countryside with <i>panakaasan</i> , in some cases kind of writing pad in left hand	- in some cases clear, in other cases vague caps - long <i>kain</i> , - no jewellery	Administrator visit- ing the country and checking the prop- erties of the king?	Not known		Krom 1923, IE:186-8; Bernet Kempers 1959:plate 288; Lansingh Scheuker 1985:plate 181; Klokke 1993:84  Kept in different museums (see below)

<i>Candil</i> Name of object	Date (AD)	Function of the <i>candil</i> antiquity; religious back- ground	Situation and orientation of the site	Classification and context of the cap-figures	Kind of - cap - clothing - jewellery	Identification of the scene/ of the narrative	Placement of the cap- figure in the <i>candi</i>	Whole corpus of reliefs in the <i>candi</i>	Major references; photos; notes
<b>C. Mirigambar</b> (= C. Gambar)	1388, 1399	Not known	In the plains, oriented to the E, entrance in the W	<b>Nobleman:</b> Male figure, with <i>panakawan</i> , and woman <b>Nobleman?</b> A standing figure (head unclear) left of stair, <i>kain</i> tucked up A fragment of a head with cap on corner next to stairways	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> - bracelet, neck- wrinkles (like Selokelir figure) - long <i>kain</i> - jewellery	Assumably the Panji story <i>Wasang</i> <i>Sari</i>	On temple foot	Many panels de- stroyed or stolen, documented in photos OD Standing figure right of stair: both parts of <i>kain</i> tucked up, maybe a <i>kadayan</i> In upper register remains of possi- bly <i>Tambir</i> - stories	Krom 1923, II: 334-9; Klokke 1993:80
<b>Gambyok</b> relief	c. 1400	Not known	In a village NW of Kediri, in the plains	<b>Nobleman:</b> Cap-figure in a longing position, with <i>panakawan</i> and 4 companions	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> - bracelet	Panji + 4 <i>kadayan</i> want to bring Panji's lover Maralangu from a forest village into town	Single panel only, unknown context of placement in temple	Stutterheim 1935b: 139-41, fig.4; Poerbajaraka 1940a:366-8; 1968:406-8; Agus A. Munandar 1990b:115 fn.17	

<i>Candi</i> / Name of object	Date (AD)	Function of the <i>candi</i> / antiquity; religious back- ground	Situation and orientation of the site	Classification and context of the cap-figures	Kind of - cap - clothing - jewellery	Identification of the scene/ of the narrative	Placement of the cap- figure in the <i>candi</i>	Whole corpus of reliefs in the <i>candi</i>	Major references; photos; notes
<b>Panji Figure Grogol</b>	1413	Sculpture with unknown context	Village near Sidoarjo, south of Surabaya	<b>Nobleman:</b> Standing male figure	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> - neck-wrinkles like Selokelir figure - earring, other jewellery un- clear			3 statues of Panji + Kertolo + <i>panakawan</i>	Stutterheim 1935b:fig. 6; Poerbatjarka 1968:408  Kertolo and <i>panakawan</i> are kept in National Museum in Jakarta; place of Panji statue unknown
<b>C. Gambar Wetan</b>	1410, 1438	Not known	Lower slopes of Mt. Kelud, oriented to NE, entrance W	<b>Nobleman?</b> One cap-figure; besides that, only fragments	- large cap - short <i>kain</i> - jewellery	Not identified	N-side to the very left	<i>Babakshah</i> story on wall of side- temple	Krom 1923, II:343
<b>C. Selokelir (= Site XXIII Penanggungan)</b>	1434, 1442	Ancestor/ Siwa won- ship? Terraced structure	On the slopes of Sarah Klopo hill/ Mt. Penanggungan	<b>Nobleman?</b> Relief fragment: head with cap	- small cap - obviously with ear ornament	Not identified	Not known	Fragments of reliefs showing walking feet with long <i>kain</i> ; <i>Tantri</i> relief	Krom 1923, II:399-401 Klokke 1993:88
<b>Panji Figure from Selokelir</b>	c. 1450	Sculpture from Candi Selokelir	On the slopes of Sarah Klopo hill/ Mt. Penanggungan	<b>Nobleman:</b> Cap-figure with soft facial features, holding a lotus in the hand, standing on lotus cushion	- large cap with very sharp edge - long <i>kain</i> - rich jewellery, - neck-wrinkles, - caste cord	assumably Panji with traits of a deity	Not known		Stutterheim 1936b; Van Romondt 1951:23-5; Bernet Kempers 1959:99, plate 321 kept in ITB Bandung

<i>Candil</i> Name of object	Date (AD)	Function of the <i>candil</i> antiquity; religious back- ground	Situation and orientation of the site	Classification and context of the cap-figures	Kind of - cap - clothing - jewellery	Identification of the scene/ of the narrative	Placement of the cap- figure in the <i>candil</i>	Whole corpus of reliefs in the <i>candil</i>	Major references; photos; notes
C. Kendalisodo (= Site LXV Penanggungan)	c. 1450	Place of worship ( <i>panjagan</i> ) next to hermit- age ( <i>perjajagan</i> )	On upper slopes of Bekel hill/Mt. Penanggungan, N-side	<b>Nobleman:</b> Romantic scenes: cap-figure with woman, maid servant, and <i>panakawan</i>	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> - earring	Panji story	Four panels on the terraced structure	Panji story on the <i>panjagan</i> ; <i>Ajmanawadha</i> and Bhimasuci on the <i>perjajagan</i>	Terwint-de-Loos 1971; Kieven 1994, 2000
C. Suku	1416-1457	Various inter- pretations	On the slopes of Mount Lawu, oriented to E, entrance W, layout of three courtyards with main temple in the rear yard	(1) <b>Warrior:</b> Carrying ban- ner, in running position (2) <b>Rider:</b> On elephant, on horseback	- particular kind of cap with ribbon below the edge - short <i>kain</i> - earring cap and whole headdress not clear		(1) Back of a panel whose front side depicts Semar with Gong; third courtyard (2) Panels in 2 <sup>nd</sup> courtyard to the left	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sudamala</li> <li>• Gamdeya</li> <li>• animals, demons</li> <li>• others</li> </ul>	Krom 1923, II:371-81; Beret Kempers 1959:325-34; Kunst 1973:113 (gong as starting sign for war); Pudmapuspita 1988a; Kinney 2003:265- 76; Sbeghen 2004 (comprehensive study)

<i>Candi</i> Name of object	Date (AD)	Function of the <i>candi</i> ; antiquity; religious back- ground	Situation and orientation of the site	Classification and context of the cap-figures	Kind of - cap - clothing - jewellery	Identification of the scene/ of the narrative	Placement of the cap- figure in the <i>candi</i>	Whole corpus of reliefs in the <i>candi</i>	Major references; photos; notes
<b>C. Yudha</b> (= Site LX Penanggungan)	Mid 13 <sup>th</sup> century	Pemujaan	Upper slope of Mt. Penang- gungan NW- side	<b>Nobleman:</b> Standing male figure facing panel with narrative relief	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> - jewellery	Intermediary figure introducing the onlooker to the nar- raives	Two terraces, with 2 relief panels each. The panels on the lower terrace framed by a cap-figure to the right and left side each; the outer figures with curly hair possibly <i>kauleman</i>	Lower terrace: <i>Alpanasawaha</i> <i>uidadari</i>  Upper terrace: <i>Rangayana</i> : Rama with Sugriwa and Hanuman; Kumbhakarna scene	stolen; OD-photos; Stutterheim 1936a, fig. 4; Stutterheim 1938, plate XII ab; Van Romondt 1951, fig. 26; Bernet Kempers 1959:plac 323
<b>C. Planggatan</b>	Not known	Not known	On W-slope of Mount Lawu, half-an-hour walk from Sukoh	<b>Warrior:</b> One horse rider, due to weathering not very clear	- large cap - rest not very clear	War scenes	Long stretched wall		Author's photos
<b>C. Selotumpuk</b>	Not known	Not known	On top of Batok hill in Blitar district, Kecamatan Kesamben	<b>Nobleman?</b> Twice faces of two men facing each other; one of them each with large cap (frag- ments only)	In both cases: large cap with curls of hair and earring	Not known			Author's photos

MUSEUMS / PUBLICATIONS	Date	Original place	Function	Description	Kind of cap	Notes, references
National Museum Jakarta	?	?		(1) Loving Couple in typical position: she sitting on his lap (No 464c)  (2) Labelled as 'Fragment of Panji Story' (No 433a), no clear cap visible  (3) Some panels from C. Menak Jingga (see above)	(1) - large cap - <i>kain</i> not clear - jewellery   (3) - large cap - long <i>kain</i> - no jewellery	(1) very rough carving  Author's photos    (3) Eggebrecht 1995:plate 147 A-C
Museum Majapahit Trowulan	?	?		A few panels from C. Menak Jingga (see above)  Cut-off figure from C. Gajah Mungkur (see above)	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> - no jewellery	Milksic 1995:132-3  Author's photos
Museum Mpu Tantular Surabaya	?	?		A few panels from C. Menak Jingga (see above)	- large cap - long <i>kain</i> - no jewellery	Author's photos
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam	?	?		A few panels from C. Menak Jingga (see above)	Cap unclear	Lansingh Scheutfer 1985:plate 181

MUSEUMS / PUBLICATIONS	Date	Original place	Function	Description	Kind of cap	Notes, references
H.R.A. Muller: <i>Javanese terracottas</i>	Majapahit	Trowulan?		- Plate 52: single head - Plate 94: Panji + woman? (stamped disk) - Plate 134: Palmwine tapper (in terracotta relief) - Plate 171: Panji + woman (decoration of pillar)	- large cap - large cap, long <i>kain</i> , jewellery  - large cap, short <i>kain</i>  - large cap, rest fragment	Muller 1978:33, 49, 75, 89; Lunsingh Scheutleer 1985:plate 171
'700 tahun Majapahit'				Panji head from terracotta	Large cap	Dinas Panwisata Daerah Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Jawa Timur (ed.), <i>700 tahun Majapahit</i> , Surabaya, p. 239
Museum Nusantara Delft	14 <sup>th</sup> /15 <sup>th</sup> c.			Bronze horsrider, toy; short <i>kain</i> ?	Small cap, rest unclear	Lunsingh Scheutleer and Klokke 1988:plac 108
Lindennuseum Stuttgart				Bronze horsrider, toy; short <i>kain</i> ?	Small cap, rest unclear	Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1984:plac 140
Jaap Kunst: <i>Hindu-Javanese musical instruments</i>	c. 1200 Kediri?			Stone relief: cap-figure playing <i>ronang</i> ; unclear if sitting or standing position	Large cap, rest unclear	Kunst 1968:fig 47

#### SELECTION OF CASE STUDIES

The second, core part of this book describes and discusses various case studies, consisting of selected depictions of cap-figures. Investigating all temples and objects listed in Table 1 would go beyond the limits of this book. Moreover, certain patterns reoccur in the different temples, a fact which renders a discussion of all existing objects redundant. Thus, I present a representative selection of exemplary temples and sculptures. Single objects with depictions of cap-figures, such as relief panels kept in museums, will not be further scrutinized, since their context is unknown and these objects therefore do not contribute to an understanding of their function. An exception is the Selokelir statue, which will be examined because it is a major and outstanding example and allows for interesting conclusions.

I have not included Candi Jawi, Candi Rimbi, and Candi Sukuh for closer consideration. Although they display several reliefs with possibly cap-figures, it is not clear if really caps or a similar style of headgear are depicted. To answer this question, further research is required.

I will investigate each case following my methodology. Thus, first the iconography and meaning of the cap-figures will be discussed in the context of the narrative sequences. This will be followed by an analysis of the symbolic meaning of the cap-figures in the context of the narrative depictions, and of the temple with its specific layout and function. The discussion of a representative range of cases provides a basis from which I can draw conclusions about the symbolic meaning and function of the cap-figures in their specific contexts. After the analysis of these case studies, I will be able to draw conclusions about the symbolic meaning and the function of the cap-figures in the broader context of Majapahit religion. This will enable me to answer my question: ‘Why was the cap-figure depicted frequently and exclusively in the Majapahit temples?’

This approach is based upon specific criteria determining my selection of the case studies. The significance of particular criteria and questions only emerged during the process of investigating the depictions with cap-figures. Thus, in a way, some criteria already anticipate the results of my analysis. Each criterion includes a number of different features which have to be considered in order to draw conclusions about

the symbolism and function of the cap-figures in correlation with these features. The criteria are as follows:

- 1) Iconographic classifications of the cap-figures:  
the cap-figures appear as commoners, servants of royals or deities, warriors, musicians, noblemen, and Panji.
- 2) The two different genres of narratives:  
the cap-figures appear in depictions of the ‘mythological stories’ and ‘post-mythological stories’. The question arises whether the cap-figure has different functions in each of them.
- 3) The combination of different narratives in the depictions on a temple:  
the specific combination contributes to the symbolic meaning of the depictions.
- 4) The specific selection of scenes depicted at the temple:  
in particular, in the assumed depictions of Panji stories and other love stories with noblemen as cap-figures, I must investigate whether typical elements of Panji stories appear, and, if so, which ones. These typical elements, as discerned in my discussion of the literary genre of the Panji stories, are: the separation of Panji and Candrakirana; the search for each other; the union of the two lovers; Panji as the ideal warrior; Panji in love affairs with other women; Panji acting as a musician or poet; Panji retiring for meditation.
- 5) The specific placement of cap-figures within the temple layout:  
the different placements of the scenes convey a specific symbolism.
- 6) Chronologically representative selection:  
the selection of the sites and objects has to range from the early until late Majapahit period in order to be able to conclude whether the meaning of the cap-figure has shifted over the course of time, as is assumed.
- 7) Different functions of the temples:  
the question arises if there is a correlation between the depictions of cap-figures and the function of that particular temple. As noted, temples can have different functions: they can function as a commemorative temple; a temple for the worship of a deity; a hermitage; a bathing place; a state temple.
- 8) The geographical situation:  
in the plains, on the foot of a mountain, on the slopes of a mountain, in remote areas.

- 9) The size and layout of a sanctuary:  
small sized sanctuaries up to large temples, single buildings, temple complexes.
- 10) Free sculpture:  
from only two known examples, the most outstanding needs to be examined.

These criteria lead to the selection of the following sanctuaries and a sculpture.

Candi Jago:

- 1) depicting commoners and servants
- 2) cap-figures in 'post-mythological stories'
- 3) other extant narrative reliefs at the temple; several 'mythological' and 'post-mythological stories'
- 4) cap-figures in scenes of daily life and with royals or deities
- 5) cap-figures depicted on lower terraces only
- 6) early Majapahit period
- 7) commemorative temple
- 8) situated in the plains
- 9) single building of rather large size with three terraces

Candi Panataran:

- 1) various classifications of cap-figures
- 2) cap-figures in both 'mythological' and 'post-mythological stories'
- 3) several other narrative depictions; major narratives being the 'mythological stories' *Ramayana* and *Krishnayana*
- 4) Panji stories and other love stories featuring the issues of separation, reunion, hermits, and water
- 5) placement in various buildings and parts of the buildings; placement of most cap-figures particularly in the entrance section of the temple complex
- 6) buildings constructed in different periods, with core construction activities in the heyday of Majapahit
- 7) state temple; single buildings with different functions – hall for offerings, temple for worship of a god, holy bathing place, and others
- 8) lower slope of a mountain

- 9) temple complex with three courtyards and various buildings, largest temple in East Java

Candi Surowono:

- 1) noble cap-figure
- 2) cap-figure depicting Sidapaksa in the 'post-mythological story' *Sri Tanjung*
- 3) in combination with other narratives: *Arjunawiwaha*, *Bubukshah*
- 4) features themes of separation, reunion, hermits, and water
- 5) panels of all narratives scattered in seeming disorder; dichotomy between symbolism of front and rear side of temple
- 6) c. AD 1400
- 7) commemorative temple
- 8) in the plains oriented towards a mountain
- 9) single building of medium size; one terrace

Candi Mirigambar:

- 1) noble cap-figure
- 2) 'post-mythological' story, probably Panji story
- 3) the major narrative on the building; two additional three-quarter-carved figures: a cap-figure and a *kadeyan*
- 4) scenes of separation, search, union, and of Panji as ideal warrior
- 5) placement of the Panji story all around the building
- 6) last quarter of fourteenth century
- 7) unknown function
- 8) in the plains
- 9) perhaps part of former complex, building of rather small size with one level on temple foot

Sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan:

- 1) noble cap-figures
- 2) cap-figures in 'post-mythological stories'
- 3) combination with 'mythological stories'
- 4) various selected scenes
- 5) different placements
- 6) middle of fifteenth century
- 7) worship; connection with hermitage
- 8) small terraced mountain sanctuaries

- 9) on the mountain slope in remote area, oriented towards the peak of mountain

Candi Kendalisodo:

- 1) noble cap-figure
- 2) 'post-mythological story'
- 3) combination with *Arjunawiwaha* and *Bhimasuci*
- 4) Panji story with elements union, journey, prospect of separation, water
- 5) Placement in first part of the sanctuary
- 6) AD 1450
- 7) worship and hermitage
- 8) on slope of Mount Penanggungan
- 9) mountain sanctuary, consisting of two parts

Candi Yudha:

- 1) noble cap-figures
- 2) probably referring to character of 'mythological story'
- 3) two single cap-figures without context of narrative, together with two *kadayan*-figures framing panels with narrative reliefs (*Arjunawiwaha* and *Ramayana*) featuring 'mythological stories'
- 4) no context of narrative
- 5) placed on lower terrace with *Arjunawiwaha*; on upper terrace *Ramayana*
- 6) unknown
- 7) worship
- 8) on slope of Mount Penanggungan
- 9) small mountain sanctuary, one terraced building

Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir/ Mount Penanggungan:

- 1) noble cap-figure with features of a deity
- 6) middle of fifteenth century
- 10) one of the two known freestanding sculptures of Panji



## Chapter VI

### Candi Jago: The cap, a new fashion of headgear

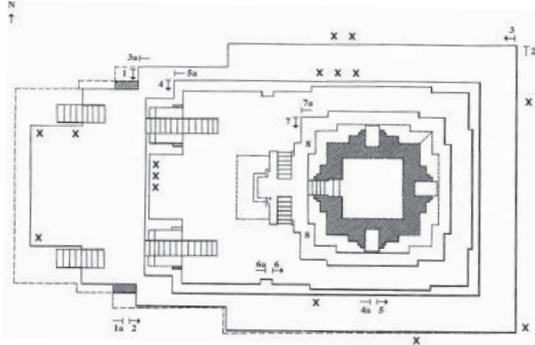


Plate 6.1. Groundplan of Candi Jago (based on Bernet Kempers 1981a: plate 44, with numeration by Kieven)

First Terrace:	(1) Start of <i>Tantri</i> stories;	(1a) End of <i>Tantri</i> stories
	(2) Start of <i>Angling Dharma</i> ;	(2a) End of <i>Angling Dharma</i>
	(3) Start of <i>Kunjarakarna I</i> ;	(3a) End of <i>Kunjarakarna I</i>
Belt:	(4) Start of <i>Kunjarakarna II</i> ;	(4a) End of <i>Kunjarakarna II</i>
	(5) Start of <i>Sudhanakumara</i> ;	(5a) End of <i>Sudhanakumara</i>
Second Terrace:	(6) Start of <i>Parthayajna</i> ;	(6a) End of <i>Parthayajna</i>
Third Terrace:	(7) Start of <i>Arjunawiwaha</i> ;	(7a) End of <i>Arjunawiwaha</i>
Temple Body:	(8) Scenes from the <i>Krishnayana</i>	

(x) marking the positions of the cap-figures on the first terrace and on the belt



Fig. 6.2. Candi Jago, west front

## LAYOUT AND ARCHITECTURE

Candi Jago is situated in the village of Tumpang, 22 kilometres to the east of Malang. The building is a terraced structure with four levels, all of which are decorated with reliefs (fig. 6.1). The superimposed temple body is nearly completely in ruins. Between the first and second terrace there is another architectural element, which Brandes refers to as the ‘beugel’; this has been translated into English as ‘belt’. The quadrangular-shaped temple building has a projection on the west side which incorporates the principal approach to the temple via two parallel staircases (fig. 6.2).

All the relief series are arranged in the counterclockwise direction *prasawya*.<sup>1</sup> When circumambulating the temple to look at the reliefs the visitor will not be able to pass along the belt, as this terrace is very narrow. This means that the relief series on the first terrace and those on the belt will be viewed at the same time in one process of circumambulation. The second terrace with the *Parthayajna* reliefs is broad enough to walk upon. The third terrace with the *Arjunawiwaha* is very narrow. As these reliefs are placed on the lower border of the terrace, the visitor is forced to crouch in order to look at the reliefs, especially since they are not visible from the second terrace below.

## HISTORY AND FUNCTION

Candi Jago has been identified with the name ‘Jajaghu’, which is mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama*. The verses *Nag.* 41.4 tell us that the temple was the enshrinement of Wishnuwardhana as a Buddhist divinity. He is also said to be enshrined at ‘Waleri’ as a Saiwite image.<sup>2</sup> Based on this text, it is widely accepted that Candi Jago was founded as the commemorative temple for King Wishnuwardhana (died AD 1268), the father of the last Singasari king Kertanagara.<sup>3</sup> The construction was probably completed in the context of the *sraddha* ceremony held 12 years after the death of the king, that is, at the end of the thirteenth century. Opinions

<sup>1</sup> Brandes (1904) makes a mistake and reads the reliefs in the clockwise *pradakshina* direction. The correct reading becomes clear from the main action in the reliefs, which is directed towards the right.

<sup>2</sup> The location of Waleri is not known.

<sup>3</sup> The commemorative temple for the father of Wishnuwardhana, King Anushapati, is Candi Kidal; this temple is also situated in the region, approximately four kilometres south of Tumpang.

differ concerning the date of the relief carvings and the sculptures found in the temple. Stutterheim (1936c:274-97) argues that they were created in the context of a rebuilding of the temple in the middle of the fourteenth century. Evidence for a reconstruction or extension is given by two inscriptions, dated AD 1343 and AD 1351, respectively, found at Candi Jago. In her analysis of the *Tantri* reliefs at Candi Jago, Klokke (1993:81-2) opposes Stutterheim; she argues, based on stylistic comparison, that the sculptures date from the end of the thirteenth century, while for the reliefs she agrees with the dating of the mid fourteenth century. I follow this opinion. The original construction of Candi Jago was thus prior to the Majapahit period, but the extension or rebuilding and the decoration of the temple was conducted in the time prior to or around the beginning of the reign of Hayam Wuruk.

Candi Jago served both the Saiwite and the Buddhist community, and is a major example of the special blend of these two religions in the Majapahit period. This is demonstrated by the different religious backgrounds of the narratives depicted at the temple. While the *Kunjarakarna* is a Buddhist story highlighting the importance of the Jina-Buddha Wairocana, the *Parthayajna* and *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs display a Saiwite character.

#### RELIEFS WITH CAP-FIGURES

Cap-figures appear on the first terrace and on the belt, notably in the relief series depicting *Tantri* stories, the *Angling Dharma*, in both parts of the *Kunjarakarna* on the first terrace and the belt, and in what has been conjectured to be the *Sudhanakumara-Awadana*. They do not appear on the walls of the second or third terrace – in the *Parthayajna* and *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs – nor on the fourth terrace with the few remains of the *Krishnayana* reliefs.

#### TANTRI STORIES

*Tantri* reliefs are depicted on the first terrace along the western projection, and on the left part of the south side. According to Klokke (1993:203-22), fourteen different *Tantri* stories are depicted. Three of them contain illustrations of cap-figures.



Fig. 6.3. Candi Jago, north side of first terrace at west projection, ‘Crocodile and bull’

‘Crocodile and Bull’: located on the first terrace, on the north side of the west projection (Klokke 1993:206-7, no. 57 a-c; Brandes 1904:plate 72 left). The series, consisting of three scenes, tells the story of a bull that helps the crocodile to return to water by carrying the crocodile on his back. However, the bull is then held captive by the crocodile. The third scene depicts three men attacking the crocodile (fig. 6.3). All of them wear small and rather flat, beret-like caps. Their iconography characterizes them as men of lower status: being bare-chested, wearing a short *kain* or a long, tucked-up *kain*, without any jewellery.

‘Monkey and ungrateful man’: located on the first terrace, north side of the west projection (Klokke 1993:207-10, no. 58 a-c; Brandes 1904:plate 72 right, plate 71). This narrative consists of five scenes. It tells of a hunter who is helped by a monkey when he is attacked by a tiger (fig. 6.4). After the tiger leaves, the hunter is ungrateful and kills the monkey’s young and the monkey mother to eat their meat. The hunter in these scenes wears a small and flat cap.

‘Palmwine tappers judge between monkeys’: located on the first terrace, southern part of the west projection (Klokke 1993:212-4, no. 61 a-c; Brandes 1904:plates 68, 67). The story, consisting of three scenes, narrates the story of two palmwine tappers who adjudicate between two quarrelling monkeys and then kill one of them (fig. 6.5). The male characters wear flat caps.

The palmwine tappers and hunters in these *Tantri* stories all have the iconography typical of their social status as commoners. They have evil characters, and behave wickedly and in a rough way. The other *Tantri* stories without cap-figures display a mixture of examples of good and bad behaviour. The stories all impart teachings in moral conduct.



Fig. 6.4. Candi Jago, north side of first terrace at west projection, 'Monkey and ungrateful man'



Fig. 6.5. Candi Jago, west side of first terrace at west projection, 'Palmwine tappers judge between monkeys'

These reliefs are placed on the base of the *candi* on the west projection next to both entrance stairways, such that no visitor of the temple can avoid passing by these depictions before ascending the stairs. In this way the *Tantri* stories stimulate the visitor to reflect on his/her own moral conduct, preparing the visitor to progress into the sacred sphere of the temple.

#### ANGLING DHARMA STORY

The *Angling Dharma* reliefs start at the western part of the south side of the first terrace, and continue on the east side up to the northeastern corner (Brandes 1904:plates 60-37). The first episodes of the relief series correspond to the *Tantri* story 'Understanding the language of the animals' (Klokke 1993:143, 218-22); however, the original narrative of the sequel cannot be determined with any certainty. The whole relief series, including the first episodes and the sequel, has been interpreted

by Hunter,<sup>4</sup> based on an unpublished manuscript by Bambang Soetrisno, the former temple guard (*juru kunci*) of Candi Jago. Hunter argues that the narrative is a Buddhist version of the Modern Javanese *kidung Angling Dharma*. It relates the story of King Angling Dharma or Aridharma, who has been given the gift of understanding the language of the animals. After the death of his wife he meets her reincarnation, Ambarawati, and seduces her. The king undergoes various tribulations and receives instruction by Wairocana, the central and highest of the five Jina-Buddhas, before he finally marries Ambarawati. Whether or not this interpretation by Hunter is correct, the issue of the union of a man and a woman in the depictions is beyond doubt, as is the identification of the god-like figure as Wairocana: the iconography of this figure is exactly the same as in the depictions of this Jina-Buddha in the following *Kunjarakarna* reliefs. He is depicted with four arms, adorned with jewellery and sashes and stands upon a lotus throne. This identification of Wairocana is important for my investigation and for the development of my argument, as will become clear later.

On the south side, in the episode of the story relating Aridharma's attempt to seduce Ambarawati (Hunter 2000:81-5) a *panakawan* is depicted, wearing a cap (fig. 6.6; Brandes 1904:plate 48). The position of Ambarawati, sitting on the lap of Aridharma, symbolizes the sexual act.<sup>5</sup> The two *panakawan*, as companions of Aridharma, sit close to each other, one holding the other at the waist and in this way seem to make fun of the protagonists' behaviour. Only one of the two *panakawan* depicted here wears a cap; this is the only representation of a *panakawan* with a cap known to me. The large crescent-moon shaped cap is clearly depicted in profile.<sup>6</sup> According to Galesin (1959:14), the reliefs in Candi Jago provide the first known depictions of *panakawan* in the *wayang* style.<sup>7</sup> The fact that in no later depictions of *panakawan* is a cap portrayed as headgear, may be an indication that in this earliest depiction at Candi Jago the iconography for the *panakawan* was not yet conventionalized. In any

<sup>4</sup> Hunter first presented this interpretation in a seminar paper in 1989. Challenged by Klokke's (1993:143) doubts on this interpretation, Hunter defends his position in his article in 2000.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – types of postures'

<sup>6</sup> In the preceding scene, where Aridharma approaches Ambarawati, he is accompanied by a *panakawan* whose headgear is unclear. In case this is a cap, this would be a second example of a *panakawan* wearing this headgear.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – servant figures'.



Fig. 6.6. Candi Jago, south side of first terrace, *Angling Dharma*



Fig. 6.7. Candi Jago, first terrace, left part of east side, *Angling Dharma*



Fig. 6.8. Candi Jago, first terrace, right part of east side, *Angling Dharma*

case, in later depictions the cap was not considered to be an appropriate headgear for the *panakawan*.

In the continuation of the *Angling Dharma* reliefs on the east side of the first terrace there are two scenes with depictions of cap-figures (Brandes 1904:plates 46, 38/39) which are very similar to each other. In both scenes Wairocana is accompanied by two servant figures (Hunter 2000:78), each wearing a cap and sitting cross-legged. One of them

holds a betel box and the other a spittoon.<sup>8</sup> They wear long *kain* and ear ornaments, signifying they are personages of high status. The crescent-moon shaped cap, of large size and with a sharp edge, is another indicator of high status. The first scene is located at the left end of the east wall and illustrates the scene where a *brahmana* priest, who has the task of helping Aridharma and Ambarawati to find their way together, makes a *sembah* before Wairocana (fig. 6.7). In the second scene at the far right-hand end of the east wall the *brahmana* again sits in a *sembah* gesture in front of Wairocana (fig. 6.8). This time the priest is accompanied by a character with a bald head or short-cut hair whom Hunter interprets as Aridharma. The bald head of Aridharma is perhaps an expression of his respect towards the *brahmana*.<sup>9</sup> This scene is placed next to the last scene of the *Angling Dharma* story where Aridharma and Ambarawati prepare to get married.<sup>10</sup>

The cap-figures appear in scenes which are crucial to the progress of the story: the love scene between Aridharma and Ambarawati, the *brahmana*'s plea to Wairocana, and the worship of Wairocana by the *brahmana* and Aridharma. Wairocana in particular is a central figure in this narrative and will play a fundamental role in the following *Kunjarakarna* reliefs. This pivotal position of Wairocana already seems to be indicated by the cap-figures in the *Angling Dharma* reliefs.

#### KUNJARAKARNA STORY

The *Kunjarakarna* reliefs start on the first terrace on the left side of the north wall, and continue to the *Tantri* reliefs on the west projection (called *Kunjarakarna* I). They carry on along the belt of the second terrace (called *Kunjarakarna* II).<sup>11</sup> This relief series tells the story of Kunjarakarna and

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – servant figures'. Compare with the servants of Krishna in the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the Main Temple of Candi Panataran.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – religious actors'.

<sup>10</sup> O'Brien (1988:43 fn. 34) questions whether the last scene on the east side actually depicts the meeting of Aridharma and Ambarawati before they enter the *kraton* to get married, or if they are separating. However, I think that Hunter is right in his interpretation of this scene as symbolizing the marriage, though it is not depicted.

<sup>11</sup> The *Kunjarakarna* story exists in two literary forms, as a *kakawin* and in a prose version. The prose version was edited by Kern (1901, 1922). The *kakawin Kunjarakarna Dharmakathana* is translated and edited by Teeuw and Robson (1981); in the same book, Bernet Kempers (1981a) discusses the reliefs at Candi Jago. Which version of the text has been illustrated here is irrelevant to the topic under discussion. For this question, see Bernet Kempers 1981a and Zoetmulder 1974:378-81.



Fig. 6.9. Candi Jago, north side of first terrace,  
*Kunjarakarna*, Kunjarakarna's initiation

his friend, King Purnawijaya, who receive instruction and initiation from Wairocana, the highest teacher of the Law (*dharma*). Purnawijaya has to undergo punishment in hell because of his former bad deeds. Only after this is he ready to meet his wife again. The purification attained through the process in hell and the reunion with his wife are the prerequisites to eventually receive the Highest Teaching by Wairocana. The *Kunjarakarna* story has a didactic purpose in the teaching of religious knowledge (Zoetmulder 1974:374). According to Nihom (1994), this story stands in the Tantric tradition.

The depiction of the first part of the story on the first terrace contains two scenes with cap-figures (Brandes 1904:plates 29-28), situated in the middle of the north side. These scenes represent the initiation of Kunjarakarna by Wairocana (fig. 6.9), and the initiation of Purnawijaya (fig. 1.1).<sup>12</sup> In both cases a pair of servants with sharp-edged large caps in the crescent-moon shape and adorned with jewellery hold a betel box and spittoon and sit next to Wairocana. These scenes, and particularly the depictions of the servant figures, are very similar to the scenes with Wairocana and his two servants in the *Angling Dharma* reliefs discussed above.

In the depiction of the parade of sinners in hell, found on the belt at the west facade, there are eight sinners approaching a cauldron (fig. 6.10; Brandes 1904:plates 122-119). The figure on the far left clearly wears a cap with a sharp edge and jewellery, in contrast to the other seven, who wear a less stylish cap. I interpret the very left figure to be a guardian,

<sup>12</sup> Bernet Kempers (1981a:207) and Zoetmulder (1974:379) differ on whether these scenes should be attributed to the *kakawin* or to the prose version.



Fig. 6.10. Candi Jago, west front of the belt, *Kunjarakarna*, parade of the sinners

with the sharp-edged cap indicating his higher status, and the other figures as low-ranking sinners.

In the continuation of the story in the belt on the south side there is another scene featuring two cap-figures as servants of Wairocana, holding betel box and spittoon (Brandes 1904:plate 105). This scene portrays Purnawijaya with his wife and their retinue, who are presenting offerings to Wairocana after Purnawijaya has undergone his punishment in hell.

Again, the cap-figures appear in crucial scenes of the story: three times they signal Wairocana to be the major character who is worshipped, before and after the punishment and purification of the protagonist in hell. The scene in hell with the sinners' parade is emphasized as an important element of the story through the depiction of the cap-figures.

#### SUDHANAKUMARA-AWADANA STORY

The reliefs which are assumed to depict the *Sudhanakumara-Awadana* are still subject to investigation. O'Brien (1988:50-3) suggests the following interpretation:<sup>13</sup> Briefly, Prince Sudhana marries the *kinmara* princess Manohara,<sup>14</sup> but her father does not accept his son-in-law before he has passed several tests. The relief series spreads along the east and north sides of the belt.<sup>15</sup>

One episode on the north side includes cap-figures. It depicts a male figure in royal attire sitting on a pedestal in the 'longing position', and a woman kneeling before him making a *sembah* (fig. 6.11; Brandes 1904:plates 84-83). His hair is bound in a knot, in the style typical of

<sup>13</sup> This interpretation resembles the *Sudhana* story depicted on Borobudur (Miksic 1990:77-81).

<sup>14</sup> *Kinmara* are half bird/ half human beings.

<sup>15</sup> The figure who presumably represents Sudhana in the reliefs may also be wearing a cap. However, due to weathering the headgear is unclear to the extent that I must leave it out of my discussion.



Fig. 6.11. Candi Jago, north side of the belt, *Sudhanakumara-Awadana*

Yudhishtira and of other kings.<sup>16</sup> In his left hand he holds a *lontar* (palm leaf) letter. To the right of the woman are seated two male servant figures wearing sharp-edged caps, though they lack betel accessories. On the left side behind the royal figure sits another male figure with a less sharp-edged cap holding a large betel box (Brandes 1904:plate 84). It seems that these cap-figures are servants of the royal figure. According to O'Brien's (1988:53) identification, this scene can be interpreted as the *kinnara* king arranging the tests for Sudhana. This interpretation of the royal figure as a king is supported by his hairstyle, and his status is emphasized by the betel box carrier. The woman might be his daughter Manohara, who brings Sudhana into the palace and in obeisance towards the king receives a letter with the tests for Sudhana. The 'longing position' of the *kinnara* king, sitting with one leg stretched and the other leg placed on the thigh,<sup>17</sup> could express his empathy for the great love between his daughter Manohara and Sudhana. That illustrations of empathy are a common feature can be concluded from other depictions; for example, in the Gambyok relief two *kadeyan* display an erotic posture which I interpret as a sign of empathy for the longing mood of their master.<sup>18</sup> I will provide further examples when discussing the Pendopo Terrace of Panataran which support this interpretation of empathy.

<sup>16</sup> Compare Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – royal actors'.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – postures'.

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Kadeyan'.

## CONCLUSION

The iconography of the cap-figures demonstrates characteristic differences. The cap-figures in the *Tantri* stories and the sinners in hell in the *Kunjarakarna* reliefs, wearing flat and less sharp-edged caps, represent commoners of a lower social status. The cap-figures in the *Angling Dharma* and *Kunjarakarna* and in the supposed *Sudhanakumara*, who represent servants of Wairocana or of a king, and the guardian in hell have a large sharp-edged cap in the crescent-moon or the half-round shape. They are of higher status.

It becomes obvious from these diverse examples that the cap was a popular local headgear in the early Majapahit period. The cap was worn by people of lower status in the flat, beret-like shape, and it was worn by people of a higher serving status in the half-round or crescent-moon shape with the sharp edge. As I have argued elsewhere (Kieven 2008), the cap-wearing figure appears to be an indigenous Javanese convention, and the 'fashion' of the cap was first presented at Candi Jago.<sup>19</sup>

It is notable that the cap-figures only appear on the two lower levels, and within these, their numbers diminish as the bas-reliefs rise vertically in the temple. The first terrace has eight scenes with cap-figures: three in the *Tantri* reliefs, three in the *Angling Dharma* reliefs, and two in the *Kunjarakarna* I reliefs. The belt of the second terrace has three scenes with cap-figures: two in *Kunjarakarna* II, one in the *Sudhanakumara* reliefs. The upper three terraces – with *Parthayajna*, *Arjunawiwaha*, *Krishnayana* – feature no cap-figures at all. These latter narratives are based on the Indian epic *Mahabharata* and relate episodes of the heroes Arjuna and Krishna. They belong to the 'mythological stories' following Forge's terminology. The narratives with cap-figures – *Tantri*, *Angling Dharma*, *Kunjarakarna* – are based on Old Javanese texts which were created independently of known Indian sources. I consider the *Tantri* and the *Angling Dharma* stories as 'post-mythological stories'.<sup>20</sup> The lower the placement of the narratives, the closer their contents to the morality of everyday life, which is to say that they are more connected with the phenomenal world. The

<sup>19</sup> In my article on the cap-figures at Candi Jago (Kieven 2008) I present an interpretation which, in this book, I have developed to some deeper extent.

<sup>20</sup> The *Tantri* reliefs, based on the Old Javanese *Tantri Kamandaka* text, are an exception in so far as this text is related to Indian *Pancatantra* texts (Klokke 1993:25-32). However, their daily-life content gives these stories the character of 'post-mythological stories'.

higher the placement, the more sacred are the stories and the closer are their contents to the world of the gods and the 'old' Indian tradition. The *Kunjarakarna*, which is actually a religious text, also conveys concrete aspects of moral conduct and shows features of a 'post-mythological story'. It represents a link between the mundane and sacred.

As mentioned above, the two lower rows of relief series can only be viewed together in one process of circumambulation, which emphasizes their connection with each other and the fact they belong to one sphere: the mundane sphere. To enter the more sacred world, the visitor will circumambulate the following levels separately, with the relief series of the *Parthayajna* being easily accessible, while the *Arjunawiwaha* is more difficult to look at. This might indicate that the process to Higher Knowledge is a difficult path. Candi Jago is, in fact, an example *par excellence* for the typical vertical progress within a temple from the mundane to the supra-mundane world.<sup>21</sup>

Considering the placement of the cap-figures within the horizontal layout of the building, we can distinguish the lower-class cap-figures and the ones in hell on the west projection, while all the servant figures of higher status only appear on the south, east, and north sides. Thus we can recognize the well-known dichotomy between the mundane sphere in the front part of a temple and the more sacred sphere at the rear.

My interpretations relating to the vertical and the horizontal arrangement correspond to O'Brien's (1988, 1990) understanding of Candi Jago as a *mandala* and as reflecting the Wheel of Existence. O'Brien bases her understanding on how the reliefs on the west projection are deliberately separated from the formal *mandala*, which is restricted to the main quadrangular form of the *candi*. The most essential points in her interpretation of Candi Jago are the attribution of the five Jina-Buddhas to the four sides and the centre of the temple, and the vertical arrangement of specific main themes in the narrative reliefs. The five Jina-Buddhas are, according to the *Wajradhatu mandala* of Mahayana-Buddhism, traditionally allocated to the four cardinal directions and incorporate certain themes. In this schema Wairocana, the embodiment of the Highest Wisdom, occupies the central position. The four main themes in the narrative depictions on the four walls of Candi Jago correspond to the characteristics of the other four Jina-Buddhas (O'Brien 1988:23-4):

<sup>21</sup> The Borobudur is the outstanding model in Central Javanese art for this schema.

benevolence and charity on the south side (Ratnasambhawa); rejection of the senses on the east side (Akshobhya); the gift of living without fear on the north side (Amoghasiddhi); meditation and yogic practice on the west side (Amitabha).

In her second article, O'Brien interprets the depictions on the west front as illustrations of the six realms of existence. I cannot fully concur with this interpretation. I offer an alternative analysis of the western facade. I consider the narratives on this side to be an illustration of the major themes of the whole temple, and their vertical order from the lowest register to the uppermost to be a reflection of the devotee's path. The prominent placement of these reliefs on the west facade confronts the visitor immediately with the essence of the message of the temple. On the lowest level, there is the representation of wrong and right behaviour in connection with lower beings and animals in the *Tantri* reliefs. Along the belt this is followed by the scene from the *Kunjarakarna* with Purnawijaya's punishment in hell. The *Tantri* reliefs with the cap-figures illustrate bad behaviour, and the hell scene with the cap-figures represents the consequences of this behaviour. This vertical progression portrays the law of *karma*, or cause and effect. The cap-figures on both levels are part of the phenomenal world of karmic deeds and serve as indicators of the karmic effects. On the next level, in the *Parthayajna* narrative, Arjuna watches the gods Kama and Ratih making love. He himself is filled with desire; however, he is not allowed to satisfy it because he is on his way to practise asceticism.<sup>22</sup> As O'Brien states convincingly, this scene symbolizes the mystical union of Siwa and Sakti and can be interpreted as a Tantric practice. 'It is notable that from the front of the temple, this panel would have probably been the most prominent feature of the terraces, if not the whole shrine' (O'Brien 1988:22). The original, now vanished, scene in the next register from the *Arjunawiwaha* depicted the meditating Arjuna being tempted by the heavenly nymphs.<sup>23</sup> This temptation scene, with its erotic component, also has a Tantric aspect, which I will further discuss in the context of the same scene in the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs at Candi Surowono. Thus, the theme of both registers is the connection between eroticism and asceticism, which both are dominant subjects in the other narratives on Candi Jago, with the excep-

<sup>22</sup> Arjuna's posture – one leg stretched, the other leg bent with his weight on the stretched leg – expresses his desiring mood.

<sup>23</sup> Galestin (1938:11) shows evidence that the temptation scene was indeed depicted here.

tion of the *Tantri* stories. Another fragmented scene in the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs shows Arjuna's defeat of the demon Niwatakawaca, placed on the northern part of the west projection.<sup>24</sup> This theme is continued in the uppermost terrace, with the *Krishnayana* reliefs representing the triumph of Krishna against the evil king Kalayawana with the help of the sage Mucukunda. Both scenes portray an important aspect of the ideal king, namely that he is ready to keep all evil away from the realm and is capable of restoring order in the world. He is only able to do so after having gone through purification (*Tantri* stories and hell scene of *Kunjarakarna*), which prepares to receive the teaching of the Tantric path (*Parthayajna* and *Arjunawiwaha*). This teaching yields an awareness of the necessity of having a queen to be a fully acknowledged king, which corresponds to the concept of *Ardhanariswara*.<sup>25</sup> The cap-figures on the lowest terraces act as the basic guides for introduction into this schema. They meet the visitors on the level of daily life and prepare them for their encounter with the religious teaching.

The west facade thus represents all the aspects of a righteous king and at the same time provides an introduction into the teaching of the *dharma* in its Tantric form.<sup>26</sup> This *dharma* is further illustrated in the other narrative depictions at the temple.

Klokke (1993:147), in referring to O'Brien, also interprets the narratives at Candi Jago as having the ideal kingship as their subject: 'The higher on the temple the more perfect the divinely authenticated king (or prince) becomes'. The *Tantri* reliefs on the lowest level are 'a mirror for kings', because it belongs to the tasks of a king to distinguish between reliable and unreliable people. Ideal kingship as a major aspect of the symbolic meaning of the reliefs on Candi Jago fits well with its function as a commemorative temple for a deceased king.

The cap-figures appear not only on the west facade, but also on the three other sides in the two lowest registers. Here they are portrayed as the servants of the predominant characters: the *panakawan* with the

<sup>24</sup> Gaestén (1938:12-6), in his reconstruction of the relief fragments, which are shown in Brandes 1904:plate 221, suggests that these depict the fight and the defeat of Niwatakawaca. He compares this scene with a similar scene of the *Krishnayana* reliefs at Candi Panataran, where Krishna's army is fighting his enemy. See also O'Brien 1988:56.

<sup>25</sup> Compare O'Brien's (1989, 1991, 2008) analysis of the *Sutasoma kakawin*, which she puts into relation with Candi Jago. The *Sutasoma* conveys the same ideas of ideal kingship through purification, yogic practice, sexual reunion, and defeat of a disturber of the world order.

<sup>26</sup> It is remarkable that the arrangement on the west front does not predominantly refer to demonic or fighting aspects, which are often a characteristic element on the west wall at other temples.

cap accompanies King Aridharma, in three scenes the pair of capped servants accompany Wairocana, and in one scene they serve the king. They are located at regular intervals: once in the middle of the south side and the north side each, and once near both corners on the east side each. This regularity may have been deliberate to keep the visitors alert by acting as a kind of guide through the stories. O'Brien (1988:24) mentions that on these two lower levels the main themes of the narratives 'appear more diffused and dispersed' than on the other levels. I interpret the cap-figures as bringing some order into this diffusion by indicating who plays the important role in the respective narrative. In this way they assist in understanding the essence of the message of each narrative. The fact that Wairocana is depicted three times with the cap-servants holding betel box and spittoon provides evidence that Wairocana, as the central Jina-Buddha who teaches the religious doctrine, is the most essential character in Candi Jago. In two other scenes, the cap-figures indicate the subject of love and union between man and woman as another essential theme.

I conclude that the cap-figures in the reliefs at Candi Jago have the function of pointing at the essential messages of the respective narrative reliefs, and thereby at the symbolic meaning of the reliefs. As the cap is a familiar fashion of headgear of the time, cap-figures appeal to the visitor and act as intermediary characters between the familiar mundane world from which the visitors come, and the sacral sphere of the temple. This intermediary character is specifically conveyed by the fact that the cap-figures represent the classes of commoners and servants and that they only appear on the two lowest levels, which mainly deal with moral conduct in the mundane world. In contrast, the upper levels – without depictions of cap-figures – are confined to the themes of ideal kingship, including the ideal of asceticism, and are more connected with the divine world. On the west side, which houses the entrance, the cap-figures, mostly commoners, are placed in such a way that the visitor will see them directly and will be confronted with the law of the *karma* and in particular with the effect of bad behaviour. Here the cap-figures provide an introduction to the symbolism of ideal kingship and to the symbolism of the Tantric doctrine. On the other sides of the building, cap-figures of higher status point to the important characters of the narratives, who are kings in the context of love with a woman, or Wairocana. Wairocana's outstanding position as the central Jina-Buddha who teaches the Tantric

*dharma* is emphasized by his frequent accompaniment by servants with caps.

In Candi Jago the figures wearing the cap, which was a local fashion of the time, represent the class of commoners and high-ranking servants. They belong to the mundane world of the visitors and as such directly appeal to them. By signalling the essential messages embedded in the whole corpus of narrative reliefs on the temple walls, they introduce the visitor to an encounter with these symbolic messages, which belong to the supra-mundane world. In this sense, they act as intermediaries between the mundane and the sacred world. The analysis of cap-figures in the following chapters will explicate this role as intermediaries in more detail.



## Chapter VII

### Candi Panataran: Panji, introducing the pilgrim into the Tantric doctrine

Candi Panataran, considered to be the State Temple of Majapahit and dedicated to the worship of Siwa, is the largest temple complex in East Java. Its significance in Majapahit religious practices and politics was continuously developed throughout the building activities in the temple during the fourteenth and beginning of fifteenth century. Narrative reliefs with cap-figures are scattered over several buildings: in two bathing places and in all of the three courtyards of the temple complex. Candi Panataran provides the largest number of depictions of cap-figures in comparison to other East Javanese temples.

#### LAYOUT AND ARCHITECTURE

Candi Panataran lies about 12 kilometres to the northeast of the town of Blitar on the lower slopes of the active volcano Mount Kelud.<sup>1</sup> It is a temple complex with an oblong layout consisting of three courts stretching from west to east. The ground levels of the three courtyards slope gently upwards from west to east, the axis of the whole complex being oriented towards the east. Mount Kelud, whose peak (1730 metres) lies at a distance of about 15 kilometres from Panataran to the north-north-east, is visible on clear days; the temple axis is, however, not oriented towards this mountain. It is possible that Candi Panataran's orientation is directed towards Mount Semeru (3676 metres), the highest mountain

<sup>1</sup> Mount Kelud erupted eight times during the Majapahit period (Sartono and Bandono 1995:43-53). During the last centuries, this volcano was again active and erupted frequently with different measures of destructiveness. The last activity is reported for the year 2007.

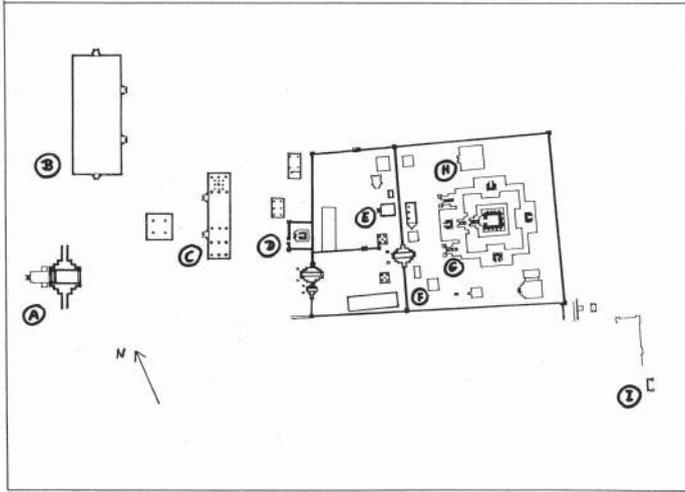


Plate 7.1. Groundplan of Candi Panataran  
 (based on Bernet Kempers 1959:91, fig. 10, with numeration by Kieven)

- (A) Main entrance, (B) Pendopo Agung, (C) Pendopo Terrace,
- (D) Dated Temple, (E) Naga-temple, (F) Small Pendopo Terrace,
- (G) Main Temple, (H) Main Temple body, (I) Inner Bathing Place



Fig. 7.2. Candi Panataran, entrance to the temple compound

in Java, situated about 80 kilometres to the east.<sup>2</sup> Walls between the courtyards and surrounding the whole compound are no longer extant; only a few remains in the ground indicate their former location. The courtyards of the temple are separated from each other by low thresholds. The entrances to each courtyard are still marked by large guardian figures. The first courtyard is much larger than the two that follow. The temple complex contains some well-preserved constructions as well as some foundations of former buildings. The length of the whole temple compound measures about 180 metres, and it is 60 metres wide (Krom 1923, II:273). Today the compound is surrounded by a fence.

The layout of Candi Panataran (fig. 7.1) has striking similarities to the present-day Balinese *pura* (temple), which is also characterized by three courtyards in a line, the forecourt having a profane use for preparations, the second court adopting a sacred status during temple ceremonies, and the third courtyard being permanently sacred.<sup>3</sup> Soekmono (1990:83) even states that Candi Panataran ‘may be seen as a direct precursor of the Balinese temple of today’. The functions of the different parts of the *pura* have been used to explain the functions of the various buildings in the Panataran compound. These comparisons will be useful for my analysis.

It is also worthwhile comparing the arrangement of the courts of Candi Panataran with the palace of Majapahit, although the latter is a secular complex. Stutterheim (1948:3-4, 11-2), based on the descriptions given in the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 8), explains that in the first court of the palace there is a *pendopo*. One progresses further towards the *dalem*, the inner area which is the most secluded part of the palace and the space reserved for the king.<sup>4</sup> The tripartite layout of Candi Panataran is an outstanding example of one of the typical features of East Javanese temple architecture: the terraced structure of the temples, with the most sacred place situated in the rear side of the temple which, in the case of the linear layout of Panataran, is the third courtyard.

<sup>2</sup> This would support Klokke’s (1995) suggestion that all East Javanese temples are oriented towards the east because of the location of Mount Semeru, the highest and most sacred mountain.

<sup>3</sup> This similarity has been noted by several authors, amongst them Krom 1923, II:250; Bernet Kempers 1959:90-1; Holt 1967:85; Soekmono 1995:105. For more information on the Balinese temple, see Goris 1938 (this Dutch version was in 1984 published in English).

<sup>4</sup> The Majapahit palace has been the object of new investigation during recent years; see Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2008.

I provide a more detailed description of the temple layout. A few hundred metres to the northwest of the temple complex is the so-called Outer Bathing Place<sup>5</sup> which has a natural source. It contains two water basins enclosed by high walls. In front of the actual *tirtha* stand the remains of a small architectural structure with some relief fragments. This *tirtha* probably formed part of the ritual procession to the proper temple complex of Panataran (Patt 1979:395, 487) and had the function of purifying the pilgrims.

The entrance to the temple complex (A) and the western courtyard is marked by two huge *dwarapala* figures (fig. 7.2). In the northwestern part of this first large courtyard is a large terrace, the so-called Pendopo Agung (B), adorned by only a few decorations. The Pendopo Terrace (C), right in the centre of the first courtyard, is dated to Saka 1297 (AD 1375):<sup>6</sup> it is assumed to have been the base of an open hall (*pendopo*), as pillarbases, once supporting a roof, still stand on top of it. The Pendopo Terrace has a rectangular shape with the longer side stretching from north to south. Its walls are carved with narrative reliefs running in the counterclockwise *prasawya* direction. Satyawati Suleiman (1978:3) interprets the Pendopo Agung, in accordance with the still extant Balinese tradition, as a place for gatherings and meals during temple ceremonies, while the Pendopo Terrace served for the preparation of offerings.

The border towards the second courtyard is marked by the so-called Dated Temple (D), with the Saka date 1291 (AD 1369) carved on the lintel above the door. South of this building, two *dwarapala* figures flank the entrance to the next courtyard. A little more to the east and to the right of the two *dwarapala* stand two more, slightly smaller, guardian figures, flanking the remains of a small second gate next to the main gate.

The second court has the undated Naga Temple (E) in its northern part and a few brick remains, which probably belong to basements of former buildings. The Naga Temple is decorated with sculptures and a few decorative and narrative reliefs. I follow Klokke (1993:85) in her dating of this temple to the second half of the fourteenth century. Krom (1923, II:271), again comparing this Naga Temple with Balinese tradi-

<sup>5</sup> In Indonesian, it is called *petirtaan luar*.

<sup>6</sup> For this date and all the following dates of Candi Panataran, compare Krom 1923, II:245-83 and Stutterheim 1989:150. See also plate 7.3 with the chart of dates.

Another invaluable source of descriptions of Candi Panataran from the early times of archaeological survey are Van Stein Callenfels' publications and articles: see bibliography titles 1914-1925a.

tions, interprets its function to be a place where the treasures belonging to the gods were kept. Various conjectures about the symbolism of the Naga Temple will be discussed in the respective sub-chapter.

The entrance to the third courtyard is marked by two *dwarapala*. It is remarkable that this entrance, like the two other entrances with *dwarapala*, is not situated in the centre of the wall to the next courtyard, but in its southern part. The so-called Main Temple dominates the centre of the third, easternmost courtyard. A small rectangular base, decorated with reliefs, is situated to the southwest of the Main Temple; I call this the Small Pendopo Terrace (F). Comparing it with the two *pendopo* structures in the first courtyard, it seems that this base had a preparatory function as well; perhaps it was a place where offerings would be consecrated by a priest in a final step before entering the Main Temple. Two major parts of the original Main Temple are extant: the temple foot (G) and the temple body (H). The former stands at its original place while the latter, which originally stood on the foot of the temple, was reconstructed and placed on the north side of the building. Following convention I call the temple foot the ‘Main Temple’. It consists of three well-preserved terraces. The lower two terraces are decorated with beautifully carved reliefs, those on the first terrace depicting scenes of the *Ramayana* in the counterclockwise *prasawya* direction, and those on the second terrace portraying the *Krishnayana* in *pradakshina*. The third terrace is decorated with winged lions and *naga*. The two stairways on the west side of the Main Temple are both flanked by two huge guardian figures whose backs are decorated with narrative reliefs. The body (H) of the Main Temple is decorated with ornamental and figural sculptures, amongst others with Garudas and winged *naga*.<sup>7</sup> The statues of gods, which were originally placed in the temple niches, have disappeared. A Vishnu and a Brahma figure were still extant in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and a Siwa figure was confirmed to exist at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup> Within the whole temple complex the Main Temple was obviously

<sup>7</sup> Soekmono (1990:83) provides a nice impression of this situation: ‘One can imagine how the whole *candi* [the Main Temple], when it was still standing, may have looked as if it were floating in the air.’ Probably Soekmono draws on Dumarçay (1986a:78), who finds that ‘the winged snakes [...] seem to carry the temple in the air’.

<sup>8</sup> Krom 1923, II:267; Kinney 2003:183. Soekmono (1995:108) proposes that the *cella* of the Main Temple never contained a deity image, following the *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 78.2), which lists ‘Palah’ amongst the sanctuaries without an image of a deity (*pratishtha*).

a symbol for Mount Meru, the holy mountain and seat of the gods, and particularly the seat of God Siwa.

At the southeastern corner of this highest courtyard is a gate with the fragment of a wall which may have been a part of the original enclosure of the third courtyard. Behind the gate, steep stairways lead down to a lower level outside of the proper compound. On this lower level is the so-called Inner Bathing Place (I),<sup>9</sup> which is fed by underground water and whose enclosing walls are carved with narrative reliefs.

#### HISTORY AND FUNCTION

Found scattered over the whole temple complex were several inscriptions with dates ranging from Saka 1119 to 1376 (AD 1197 to 1454), many of them still being in situ.

The monuments of Candi Panataran were built over a period of approximately 250 years. The earliest inscription on a stone at the south side of the Main Temple, dated AD 1197, states that King Srengga of Kediri dedicated a temple called Palah to Lord Bhatara (Krom 1923, II:246).<sup>10</sup> However, it was more than 100 years until further building activities commenced. The largest number of inscriptions date from the time between AD 1318 and 1415, a period spanning nearly 100 years. This corresponds to the period from the early generations of Majapahit rulers – King Jayanagara (1309-1328), Queen Tribhuwana (1328-1350) – throughout the heyday of Majapahit under King Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389), and up to the beginning of the decline of Majapahit. The core part of construction seems to have taken place during the reign of Hayam Wuruk, between 1369-1379. This is attested by four inscriptions. If Candi Panataran was in fact the State Temple of Majapahit, then we can assume that the king himself ordered the construction and commanded the artists who carried out the concept.

We must keep this long period of development in mind when investigating and analysing Candi Panataran. The temple complex was not planned and constructed from the beginning as a unified whole. As the earliest inscription from AD 1197 of the Srengga sanctuary was issued more than 100 years before the main building project commenced, this

<sup>9</sup> In Indonesian, it is called *petirtaan dalam*.

<sup>10</sup> This large and impressive stone is still in situ.

Large stone at the south side of the Main Temple [King Srengga] <sup>1</sup> (Krom p. 246)	AD 1197	Saka 1119
Lintel near the gate between the second and third courtyard (Krom p. 271; Perquin p.5)	AD 1318	Saka 1240
2 <i>dwarapala</i> at the gate between the second and third courtyard (Krom p. 271)	AD 1319	Saka 1241
2 large <i>dwarapala</i> at the main entrance (Perquin p. 6; Krom p. 273) <sup>2</sup>	AD 1320	Saka 1242
Lintel next to the Dated Temple (Perquin p. 6; Krom p. 273)	AD 1323	Saka 1245
4 large <i>dwarapala</i> in front of the Main Temple (Krom p. 247, 267)	AD 1347	Saka 1269
Dated Temple (Krom p. 247)	AD 1369	Saka 1291
Lintel near the Main Temple (Hoepermans p. 357)	AD 1373	Saka 1295
Pendopo Terrace (Perquin p. 4; Krom p. 247)	AD 1375	Saka 1297
2 lintels (Krom p. 247)	AD 1379	Saka 1301
Inner Bathing Place (Krom p. 247)	AD 1415	Saka 1337
Dated stone (Krom p. 247)	AD 1454	Saka 1376

Table 7.3. Inscriptions found in the precinct of Candi Panataran  
(sources in brackets referring to Hoepermans 1913b;  
Perquin 1916b; Krom 1923, II)

sanctuary can certainly be ignored in the analysis of a presumably coherent concept for the entire temple complex.

The chronology of dates provides evidence that the entrance gates to the first and to the third courtyard, and particularly their *dwarapala*, belonged to the first set of constructions in the early fourteenth century. The date AD 1323 on the lintel next to the Dated Temple in the first courtyard does not offer useful information, as this lintel was found amongst other fragments which derive from the Naga Temple in the second courtyard. Therefore, this lintel may have been a part of a building in any of the three courtyards. Remains of an older construction, found during the restoration within the walls of the Main Temple, suggest a

prior main sanctuary existed in this place. It is commonly agreed that the actual Main Temple is an extension of this sanctuary (Krom 1923, II:266). This early sanctuary may be the one referred to in the Srengga inscription from AD 1197, since this inscribed stone was found at the side of the Main Temple. The extension and its relief carvings were presumably constructed at the same time as the four large *dwarapala* (AD 1347) in front of this temple.<sup>11</sup> In chronological order the next major architecture is the Dated Temple (AD 1369), built against the wall dividing the first and the second courtyard; it was shortly after this temple that the Pendopo Terrace (AD 1375) was built. The Inner Bathing Place was only constructed 40 years later, after the primary construction projects of the fourteenth century.

Thus we get a picture of a building process that started with the creation of the layout of the temple through marking off the three courtyards with gates and *dwarapala*; this was followed by a rebuilding or an extension of the Main Temple with its guardian figures. Most likely, the Outer Bathing Place was also built in this period (Patt 1979:398). I conclude that an all-embracing concept for the temple compound was already in existence at the time when its layout was determined by the three-courtyard structure, and that the Main Temple, as the core building of the complex, was the linchpin or the basis for this concept. The Outer Bathing Place as a ritual purification site was already part of this initial concept, which was then expanded and transferred to the construction of the other buildings in the compound. The Pendopo Terrace in the front courtyard figures as a part in this expansion. The Inner Bathing Place was finally added as a climax of this development, either to enhance the given concept or to express a variation of it. As the Bathing Place is on the spot of a natural well of underground water, it is possible that this well was already in use and considered to be a holy place long before the very construction of a *tirtha*. Perhaps the well's geographical location even constituted the reason for choosing this site for the Srengga sanctuary in AD 1197 and, subsequently, for the construction of the whole temple.

To summarize, I conclude that the concept of this important temple complex was not developed at random. Rather, there is a high probability there existed an underlying theory of its function and symbolism, which

<sup>11</sup> See my discussion of the issue of dating the Main Temple further down in this chapter.

was further developed through the successive steps of each extension. I will argue that in its final, complete stage this concept was determined by the Tantric doctrine, which was embedded in the larger religious and political context.

The understanding of Candi Panataran as the State Temple of Majapahit is based on several facts: the visits by King Hayam Wuruk and his worship in the temple as mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama*; its size – it is the largest of all East Javanese temples; and its constructions and extensions over the long period of reigns of no less than five kings and queens. The function of a state temple differs from that of the other temples in East Java, which were commemorative temples, temples for the worship of a god, hermitages, small sanctuaries, or a combination of all of these. This function of state temple, however, has not been sufficiently investigated and analysed, and it still needs further research.

It is commonly agreed that the name ‘Palah’ in the Srengga inscription (AD 1197) is another name for Panataran.<sup>12</sup> The *Nagarakertagama* mentions ‘Palah’ three times, once in the list of freeholds (*Nag.* 78.2) and twice when Hayam Wuruk’s visits to this temple are recorded.<sup>13</sup> Every year after the cold season the king travelled through the country and visited several places,<sup>14</sup> amongst them

[...] he goes to Palah to come into the presence of the divine Lord of the Mountain with devotion and reverence  
(*Nag.* 17.5a; Robson 1995:36).

In Saka ‘three-bodies-suns’ (1283, AD 1361) in the month of Wesaka,  
The King went to worship at Palah with his followers  
(*Nag.* 61.2; Robson 1995:68).<sup>15</sup>

If indeed Panataran/Palah was the State Temple, we may actually wonder why it was only mentioned three times in the *Nagarakertagama*, and why Hayam Wuruk’s visits and worship were not more extensively de-

<sup>12</sup> Krom 1923, II:246; Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:163-4; Supomo 1972:290-4.

<sup>13</sup> In both of these latter verses Blitar is mentioned in the travel route of the king, which supports the identity of Palah with Candi Panataran.

<sup>14</sup> In Java the ‘cold season’ corresponds to the dry season: in July/August the nights can become quite cold.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Wesaka’ is the name for the month April/May (Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:163; Robson 1971:129). Obviously this verse refers to another tour than the one mentioned in *Nag.* 17.5, which started in September.

scribed.<sup>16</sup> However, the term ‘Lord of the Mountains’ (‘Hyang Acalapati’ in *Nag.* 17.5) indicates the temple’s major importance; this is still enhanced by its connection to the term ‘Parwatanatha’ as a name for King Hayam Wuruk in *Nag.* 1.1, which also means ‘Lord of the Mountains’. This term has evoked broad scholarly discussion and has been a special object of research by Supomo (1972). In his re-investigation of the various opinions, Supomo discusses further names denoting ‘Lord of the Mountains’, as mentioned in other *kakawin*; these are Girindra, Giripati, Girinatha, Rajaparwata, Parwataraja, and Parwatarajadewa. Supomo (1972:285, 293-4) argues that the equivalence between the ‘Lord of the Mountains’ and Siwa, which is assumed by several authors,<sup>17</sup> cannot be correct. He concludes, however, that the ‘Lord of the Mountains’ of the *Nagarakertagama* is ‘both the Supreme God and the Great Ruler of the Realm; he was neither Siwa, nor Buddha, but, in Prapanca’s words: Siwa-Buddha’. This deity is ‘some sort of national god’ of Majapahit, who was worshipped in Candi Panataran (Supomo 1972:293). This means that ‘Rajasanagara’s visit to Palah had something to do with mountain worship’ (Supomo 1972:291). In this temple, the Supreme God was worshipped. As King Hayam Wuruk himself was meant to be the Lord of the Mountains, his visit to Palah was ‘thus an act of yoga, leading to a mystical union between the micro-cosmic and macrocosmic Lord of the Mountains’ (Supomo 1972:292).

Soekmono (1995:108) has pointed to the fact that Palah/Panataran was listed in the *Nagarakertagama* as one of the *dharma lepas* (freehold), and not of the royal *dharma haji*, as one would expect.<sup>18</sup> The *dharma lepas* was ‘a gift of land by the king to his subjects (primarily the priests) to be used for offerings to the gods and their own subsistence’, while the ‘yield of a *dharma haji* benefited the king and his family’. Soekmono does not further elaborate on the application of this issue to the function of Candi Panataran. However, we may conclude that the temple’s status as a *dharma lepas* indeed confirms that its function is to worship the gods. In case future discussion of Candi Panataran will impart to abandon its interpretation of State Temple, its outstanding importance in Majapahit religious and political policy still cannot be refuted.

<sup>16</sup> Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:163) also wonders about the only casual mention of Palah in Prapanca’s poem.

<sup>17</sup> See for example Krom 1923, II:281, Stutterheim 1989:151, and Bernet Kempers 1959:90.

<sup>18</sup> Soekmono refers to Bosch 1918.

The long-lasting importance of the temple is evident from the mention of ‘Palah’ in the *Bujangga Manik* story, written around AD 1500. The pilgrim narrates that on his journey to sacred places in Java he stayed for a year in Palah, and that during this time he read two texts, the *Darmaweya* and the *Pandawa Jaya*. According to Noorduyn (1982:431), the latter was obviously a Javanese version of the *Mahabharata*, and the first one might stand for ‘knowledge of the law’. This means that Bujangga Manik was studying the *dharma*, the religious doctrine. He gives us a lively image of the activities in the temple compound: ‘I could not stand the continuous noise, of those who came to worship and offer gold, who paid homage without interruption’.<sup>19</sup> Bujangga Manik’s report makes clear that Palah was both a place of worship and of study. My investigation of Candi Panataran supports the idea that the study and teaching of the *dharma* was indeed a major function of the temple, beside its function to worship the gods.

For the time being, the first known source which mentions the name ‘Panataran’ is the nineteenth-century *Serat Centhini*, while the last source using the name ‘Palah’ is the *Bujangga Manik*. This means we do not know at precisely when and why the name was changed between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>20</sup>

## ICONOGRAPHY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RELIEFS WITH CAP-FIGURES

### THE OUTER BATHING PLACE

The so-called Outer Bathing Place lies a few hundred metres to the northwest of the temple compound next to a river. It consists of two basins, each provided with a spout, which were originally fed with water through conduits from a nearby source. This source seems to have simul-

<sup>19</sup> Noorduyn 2006:264. In the *Serat Centhini* (Canto 20.29), Candi Panataran was said to be visited by the protagonists of the story, showing that this site was still highly esteemed in the nineteenth century in circles where Islamic mysticism was practised in Java. There exist several publications of the *Serat Centhini*, for example Amengkunagara III 1985. For a very recent study of the *Serat Centhini*, see Soewito Santoso 2006:40-1 with reference to Panataran. Further publications during the last years in Indonesian language on the *Serat Centhini* attest to an increased interest and a revitalization of this outstanding work of Javanese literature (Elizabeth Inandiak 2004; Djoko Dwiyanto 2008).

<sup>20</sup> Dwi Cahyono, historian at Universitas Negeri Malang, mentioned in a personal communication (12-6-2010) that he is conducting research on a possibly earlier use of the name ‘Panataran’.

taneously fed another bathing place, 650 feet away to the north, as demonstrated by a few remains found in the early twentieth century.<sup>21</sup> The former, well-preserved and restored Outer Bathing Place is also called the *Ngetos* Bathing Place by the local people. Patt (1979:398) concludes on the basis of stylistic comparisons that it was constructed during the extension works of Candi Panataran in the fourteenth century.

Referring to early Dutch sources, Patt (1979:393-6) mentions an image of a goddess standing in front of a backslab, whose original location was most likely on the wall of one of the basins. In opposition to Dutch interpretations of this image as an image of Sri, she concludes from its attributes, such as a fly whisk, that it represented Parwati. She also argues that the second basin would have had an image of Siwa. No traces of any of these images are extant in the present day.

During my visit in 2006, a fragment of a relief (fig. 7.4) was visible in front of the actual *tirtha* on the remains of a small structure.<sup>22</sup> This fragment displayed two male heads facing each other. Although quite weathered, it seems that both faces have a moustache. The right one has flattened hair, and on the head of the man on the left side the edge of a cap is visible. Each of them wears an earring, which suggests they are of noble status. These heads are strikingly similar to those of the standing figures at the Inner Bathing Place (see below), and are also of the same size. It seems probable that the faces were originally part of standing figures, comparable to those from the Inner Bathing Place. The foot visible on the fragment of another carved stone, at the time of taking the photo placed on the left-hand side of the fragment with the heads, seems to have formed part of the standing figures.

In ancient times, the *Ngetos tirtha* was probably located on the road that led to Panataran, just as it does today, so that we may assume it served as a place of ritual purification prior to entering the actual temple compound. Patt concludes from the remains of the other *tirtha*, which seems to have been more modest, that perhaps this second *tirtha* served as a public basin, while the *Ngetos tirtha*, with its two basins and the two statues, ‘was only for the use of the sovereigns and perhaps their retinue’ (Patt 1979:399), which is quite convincing. Furthermore, she suggests

<sup>21</sup> Patt 1979:393. These remains, buried in the *sawah* grounds, are no longer visible today.

<sup>22</sup> During my last visit in September 2007, this fragment was not in situ any more. In October 2006 I still was able to document it in a photo. Patt does not mention either the structure or the relief fragment.



Fig. 7.4 Outer Bathing Place, relief fragment

that the two basins imply this *tirtha* was used by men and women separately in their respective basins.<sup>23</sup>

I propose that the figure with the cap, together with his companion, may have been intended to introduce pilgrims to the bathing place and invite them to purify themselves in one of the two basins. Afterwards they would be ready to go on their ritual way through the temple compound.<sup>24</sup>

#### THE PENDOPO TERRACE (C)

The whole terrace, with its rectangular ground plan, is at its foot encircled by the carving of a pair of intertwined bodies of snakes (*naga*). In the corners of the building these snakes converge to form one single head.<sup>25</sup> While the eastern wall is divided into three parts by two other snakes' raised heads (fig. 7.8), the west side of the terrace is divided into three parts by two stairways. Next to each stair a small *rakshasa* is placed. The reliefs cover the whole expanse of the walls between the architectural separating elements (plate 7.5).

A profiled ledge and a decorated cornice above form the upper border of the wall. The ledge has several inscriptions (Satyawati Suleiman 1978:18). The cornice is decorated with spiral, floral, and some small narrative motifs at irregular distances from each other. Many of these motifs present parts of *Tantri* stories, which are discussed by Brandes (1902b) and have been further identified by Klokke (1993:225-9). Other motifs are floppy-eared animals, which have been interpreted as symbols of divine kingship (Klokke 1993:150). The north side has no such depic-

<sup>23</sup> This is also still the practice today in the *tirtha* of Jolotundo with its two separate basins.

<sup>24</sup> Compare Patt 1979:399, 487.

<sup>25</sup> The snake's head on the southwestern corner is missing and replaced by a plain stone.

tions at all, however it contains a few inscriptions. I will pass over the inscriptions and cornice decorations since after having looked at them, they seem to add no substantial data to my argument.<sup>26</sup>

All the reliefs are to be read in the ritual direction *prasawya*, which we can detect from the postures of the depicted actors. My description of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace is based on Satyawati Suleiman's (1978) monograph about these reliefs, and I will further develop her interpretations.<sup>27</sup> Following Satyawati Suleiman, three narratives have been identified: the *Satyawan*, the *Bubukshah*, and the *Sri Tanjung*, while the others are still unknown. It is not clear where the relief series actually begins. I will argue that the starting point is on the northwestern corner. Nor is it clear how many narratives are depicted and where exactly each begins and ends. Through my investigation of the reliefs, I have concluded that nine narratives, including the three mentioned above, are depicted, and that they are self-contained and internally coherent. In most cases the depictions allow us to identify the plots of these narratives. It is not my aim to provide absolute identifications of the depicted stories. My argument is based on the identification of the major themes of the plots to arrive at an understanding of the symbolic meanings of these stories. These major themes are: the frequent and repeatedly illustrated scenes of the separation of two lovers; their search for each other; a meeting with hermits; the crossing of water; the final reunion of the two lovers.

Some iconographical recurrent features shall be presented. Many scenes are separated from each other by the depiction of a tree, a building or by some curly ornaments which mark the depicted scenes as a coherent episode. The major architectural divisions of the terrace also separate the scenes. A tree with a twisted trunk seems to indicate that the scene takes place in an environment of higher social status, as can be deduced from the other motifs in these scenes. The principal male protagonist is a figure wearing a cap. This figure is a type of nobleman. He always has a bare chest and usually wears a long *kain*, with a sash bound around the waist. He wears a bracelet around each of the lower arms, and it seems that in most cases he wears earrings, although sometimes the reliefs are too weathered to be sure of the details. The large cap has the typical crescent-moon-like shape with a sharp edge and some curls of hair visible on the forehead. Besides this slender nobleman, there is also

<sup>26</sup> They would, however, deserve investigation in an encompassing monograph on Candi Panataran.

<sup>27</sup> Referring to my Chapter III on iconography, I will here describe the main characters and elements.

another figure, who is quite stout and a bit shorter, but otherwise has the same iconographic features of a nobleman. Other frequently depicted men are: a hermit (*rshi*) with turban-like headdress (*ketu*); a *panakawan* with either a small or large and, sometimes, a fat body shape; a man of the *kadeyan* type with a sturdy body and crinkled hair in a bun and mostly wearing a short *kain*; a man with short-cut or flattened hair of the novice type. In several scenes a man is depicted tucking one part of his long *kain* up so that one knee is visible. I have earlier interpreted this posture as signifying an erotic mood. The two major types of women are the young noblewoman with her hair loose, and a maid servant with her hair in a bun. In several reliefs we encounter the depiction of a hermitess (*kili*) or widow with the specific turban-like headdress. Other characters will be described when discussing particular reliefs.

There are several specific situations which occur repeatedly in the illustrations:

- (a) Longing and separation: the man and woman sit in the typical postures of longing for love
- (b) Journey of the cap-man together with a *panakawan* or a *kadeyan*
- (c) Union between a man and a woman in the typical posture of sexual union
- (d) Meeting with hermits
- (e) Crossing of water

All these features are typical of Panji stories when we compare them with the core plot of this literary genre I presented earlier. The features (a)-(c) represent the most essential ones in this core plot. The features (d) and (e) only occur in some versions of Panji stories, but through their frequent and dominant depiction in the reliefs they are given prominence and importance in this visual medium. On the other hand, particular Panji stories which have features (d) and (e) as major elements may deliberately have been chosen for the depictions. My analysis of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace will show that indeed most of the series depict Panji stories. In most cases I identify the noblemen with a cap as Panji. After my exploration of the entire corpus of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace, I will discuss and confirm this hypothesis. Satyawati Suleiman (1978:24) also concludes that Panji stories are represented on the Pendopo Terrace. In the following descriptions and interpretations

of the reliefs, I will, where applicable, use the name ‘Panji’ for the noble cap-figure, hence anticipating the confirmation of my hypothesis.

In my description I follow Satyawati Suleiman (1978) by referring to her panel numbers, which run from 1 to 80, starting from the southeastern corner.<sup>28</sup> I will only show a selection of photos of the most significant relief panels, in order not to go beyond a reasonable scope for this book. Photos of all reliefs are provided in Satyawati Suleiman 1978. In a few cases, the joints between two panels do not really fit. Thus I am not sure whether the arrangement of the relief stones is still in the original order. I will discuss this further down.

#### THE SANG SATYAWAN STORY

Panels 1-18 have been interpreted as the *Sang Satyawan* story.<sup>29</sup> I do, however, only identify panels 1-13 with part of this story. The story speaks of the heavenly being Sang Satyawan who comes down to earth to the palace of King Yayati where he is promised the hand of the king’s daughter, Suwistri. They marry; however, soon afterwards Sang Satyawan leaves her to practise asceticism. Suwistri goes and searches for him. During her journey she passes an area where hermits are working in the fields, who are attracted by her beauty and fight over her with one another. In the end, Suwistri finds her husband, who has become a hermit. He has changed his name to Cilimurtti and teaches her the *dharmā*, which is elaborately described in the text. Suwistri becomes a hermit like her husband and changes her name to Kili Brangti. She becomes one with Cilimurtti. Finally the parents of Suwistri, Yayati and Dewayani, in search of their daughter arrive at Cilimurtti’s hermitage. Cilimurtti tells them that actually he is Sanghyang Wenang, that is, the Highest Being, and he orders them to go into retreat to Mount Meru and separately practise asceticism there for one year. In the end they are united in one being.

<sup>28</sup> In my descriptions of the scenes I will only in significant cases give the exact page reference to Satyawati Suleiman.

<sup>29</sup> Van Stein Callenfels 1925a:140-52; Satyawati Suleiman 1978:6-9. Klokke (1992:83) doubts the identification, since in too many points the reliefs deviate from the text. The story, a *kidung*, was composed by a nun, probably in Banyuwangi at the eastern tip of Java; the date is not known. In the ‘Banyuwangi school’ the *kidung* of *Sudamala* and *Sri Tanjung* were also created. This ‘Banyuwangi school’ actually reached its peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in a period when the rest of Java was Islamized, but Banyuwangi itself remained Hindu (Zoetmulder 1974:433).

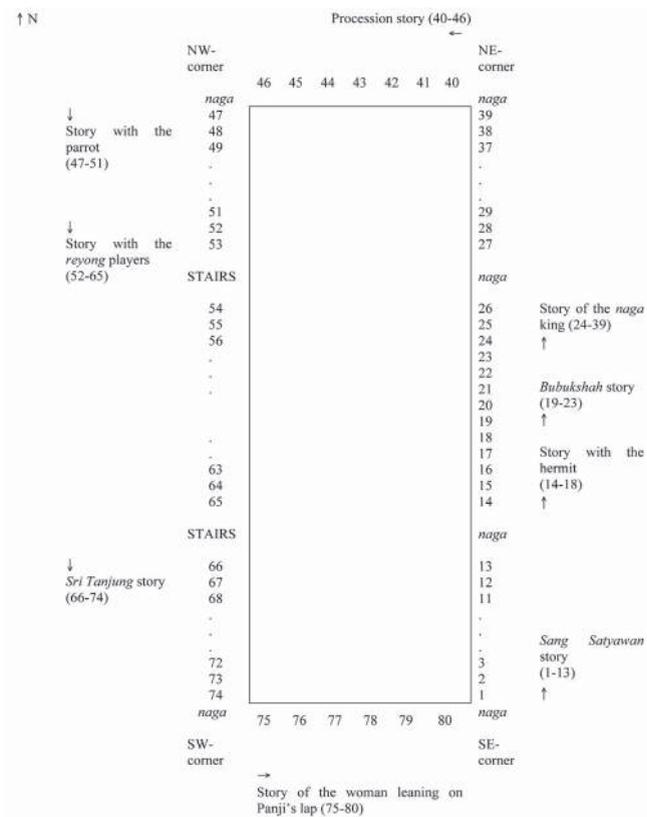


Plate 7.5. Groundplan of the Pendopo Terrace, with location of panels as mentioned in the text, the numbers following Sulciman's (1978) numeration



Fig. 7.6. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 4

Panels 1-2 depict an empty *pendopo* with a curtain. In front of it sits a young noblewoman in a longing posture, accompanied by a maid servant. The next scene shows the maid servant alone. In panel 3 (fig. 11.1) a slender noble cap-figure, accompanied by a *panakawan*, stands in front of a tree and a gate. The following scene (panel 4) shows the cap-figure and the noble young woman sitting together in the *pendopo*, the curtain pulled aside (fig. 7.6). They are in the typical posture of consummating marriage or making love. In panels 5-6 the nobleman from before, no longer wearing a cap, sits beneath a tree, and the young noblewoman stands looking towards him. These six panels illustrate Suwistri longing for Sang Satyawawan and setting out to meet him, leaving her maid behind. Sang Satyawawan himself approaches Suwistri, finally meeting her and consummating his marriage with her. Sang Satyawawan, after having become a hermit to practise asceticism, has removed his worldly headdress.

The following panel, panel 7, shows a flying serpent and a dog. The poem describes a test which Sang Satyawawan sets for his wife by sending a serpent and a white tiger. Satyawati Suleiman and Van Stein Callenfels (1925a:148) interpret the dog to be the white tiger. However, as will be obvious from the *Bubukshah* reliefs, the artists knew very well how to carve a tiger. The dog appears in several panels on the Pendopo Terrace, and I conclude that the dog is a sign of loyalty or faithfulness towards a beloved one.<sup>30</sup> The depiction of the dog in the *Sang Satyawawan* scene may be a deliberate deviation from the original story, or it may follow an oral or unknown written version. Panel 8 depicts two men fighting with each other; according to Satyawati Suleiman, they are the hermits who work in the fields and fight with each other over the beautiful Suwistri.

In panels 9-10 the slender man with the short hair, his *kain* now tucked up, holds a woman by the hand and leads her through shallow water. The woman, her hair in a bun, also holds her skirt tucked up to prevent it from getting wet. They are then portrayed walking through deep water, the man looking back to her and pointing in front of him as if explaining something to her (fig. 7.7). I follow Van Stein Callenfels' (1925a:148-9) interpretation of these scenes as Cilimurti teaching his wife, who has become a nun. The crossing of the water is not mentioned in the text and

<sup>30</sup> The loyalty of a dog occurs as well in Indian/Old Javanese mythology in the final sequence of the *Mahabharata*, where a dog follows Yudhishtira on his way up to Mount Meru and to the gate of heaven. Maybe we can also consider the analogy of the loyalty a dog shows towards its owner, a symbol which is also known from European art.



Fig 7.7. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 9-10

thus again follows another version and has deliberately been depicted. Following my earlier discussion of the symbolism of water, I interpret these two scenes of crossing water, in the meaning of *tirtha*, to symbolize the progression to the teaching of the *dharmā*, which is demonstrated in the way they become more deeply immersed in the water.

Panels 11-12 depict two stout men sitting, each in front of a plate of food, with rain pouring down around them. To the right of them two men in short *kain* are portrayed in running positions (panel 13). These men have been interpreted by Satyawati Suleiman and by Van Stein Callenfels as visualizations of the teaching of the *dharmā* which Cilimurti imparts to his wife: the path that leads to the overcoming of greed and desire, illustrated in the longing for tasty food, the distaste of getting wet from rain, and the anticipation of possessing attractive objects.

The large number, four, of scenes which are connected with the teaching of the *dharmā* illustrate the importance of this religious teaching within the reliefs. The *Sang Satyawān* reliefs contain all the elements (a)-(e) mentioned above which are typical for the depictions of the Panji stories. The feature (d), though not expressly depicting a hermit, is symbolized through the visualizations of the teaching of the *dharmā*. Thus, although not a Panji story itself, the same message is embedded and expressed in the depictions of the *Sang Satyawān* story.

#### THE STORY WITH THE HERMIT

Panels 14 to 18, starting beyond the sculpted *naga* head, seem to illustrate another coherent story (figs. 7.8 and 7.9). The first three panels each portray a hermit sitting opposite a guest, gesturing with his hands



Fig. 7.8. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 13-14



Fig. 7.9. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 15-16

in explanation. The first guest is a stout nobleman with flattened hair, accompanied by a servant; the next guest, a stout nobleman wearing a cap, accompanied by a dog; the last, a young noblewoman with a maid servant. These scenes, according to Satyawati Suleiman (1978:8) and Van Stein Callenfels (1925a:145-6), represent Cilimurti, the protagonist from the *Sang Satyawati* story, now as a hermit, first receiving a messenger and then King Yayati and his wife, who are in search of their daughter.

In panel 17 the stout nobleman with a cap faces the noble young woman with long hair. Panel 18 shows the nobleman with the cap, accompanied by a small dog, and a woman with short hair or a bun, both walking. According to Satyawati Suleiman and Van Stein Callenfels, this would signify the king and the queen together walking up the mountain to their retreat before separating to go to their respective places of meditation.

However, I would rather suggest another interpretation. It is not common to depict a king with a cap; a nobleman with a cap is usually a young man or a prince. As the body of the cap-figure in panels 15, 17, and 18 has a round belly and is much stouter than the body of Sang Satyawati in the preceding panels, it seems that two different characters are represented. Moreover, it would be quite astonishing for an adult woman like the wife of King Yayati to have loose hair. In panels 17 and 18 a part of the *kain* of the cap-figure is tucked up as he walks, which I interpret as the expression of an erotic mood. I argue that a new story is depicted in the panels 14-18. A prince, perhaps Panji, seeks advice from a hermit and as a sign of reverence has taken off his cap. He then visits the hermit again, this time wearing the cap, and he is ready to search for his beloved, as emphasized by the dog as a sign for Panji's faithfulness towards her. His beloved also seeks advice from the hermit, and finally the two lovers meet. He expresses his erotic mood by lifting the *kain*. He then, still in this mood, follows her, though she has changed her attitude in preparation for becoming a nun. In either interpretation of panels 14-18, it is remarkable that three scenes have been dedicated to the visits of the hermit, thus highlighting the topic of religious teaching, just as in the *Satyawan* reliefs. I call this series the 'story with the hermit'. The elements (a), (b), (d) are depicted.

#### THE BUBUKSHAH STORY

Panels 19-23 illustrate the *Bubukshah* story.<sup>31</sup> The two brothers Bubukshah ('greedy guts') and Gagak Aking ('dry stalk')<sup>32</sup> live as ascetics on Mount Wilis, each of them following his own style of asceticism (fig. 7.10). While the latter is a strict vegetarian, the former eats everything that he finds in his trap, even human beings. Bhatara Guru tests them to see if they are ready for *moksha*, liberation or salvation from earthly bonds, and sends God Kalawijaya in the form of a white tiger to them. The white tiger wishes to eat Gagak Aking, who says that his body will not provide much food for the tiger as he is so skinny, and that the tiger should better approach his fat brother. This demonstrates that Gagak Aking is not yet

<sup>31</sup> Satyawati Suleiman 1978:6-7, 9; Van Stein Callenfels 1919:348-60, 1925a:146. This story is also represented at Candi Surowono.

<sup>32</sup> In the context of the *Bubukshah and Gagak Aking* story, *gagak aking* is usually translated as 'dry stalk', *aking* meaning 'dry' and *gagak* meaning 'stalk' (Van Stein Callenfels 1919:352). However, the Old Javanese translation of *gagak* is 'crow' (Zoetmulder 1982:473). Maybe 'stalk' can be understood as a figurative interpretation of a crow?



Fig. 7.10. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 19

ready for *moksha*. Bubukshah, however, is ready to serve as food for the tiger. Thus, the tiger offers to take him to heaven.<sup>33</sup> Bubukshah pleads his brother's case, and Gagak Aking is allowed to join them on the path to heaven. There Bubukshah is given all happiness, while his brother only receives some of it. Bubukshah represents the ideal type of a Buddhist priest and plays the role of an intercessor.<sup>34</sup> The panels depict the following episodes: the two brothers sit next to each other, the tiger first approaches Gagak Aking and then Bubukshah; Bubukshah rides on the back of the tiger towards heaven with his brother holding on to the tail of the tiger. Finally, the two brothers follow God Kalawijaya in his heavenly form. In this relief series, no cap-figure is depicted.

The *Bubukshah* story is in a way a symbolic continuation of the 'story with the hermit'. The characters Bubukshah, the fat one, and Gagak Aking, the slim one, correspond in my view to the depictions of Panji with a stout body, and his beloved with a slender body, as shown in the previous panels 15-18. This would explain the fat body of Panji and his erotic mood, which both are signs that he does not refrain from his senses. The slim body of his beloved, who prepares to become a nun, is the equivalent of the ascetic Gagak Aking. In the 'story with the hermit' the cap-figure signals the issue of asceticism and thereby prefigures the *Bubukshah* story, which thematizes this same issue.

It is intriguing that the borders between the *Bubukshah* reliefs and both the preceding and the following stories are not very prominent, but

<sup>33</sup> A very similar episode is narrated in the *Sutasoma kakawin* where Sutasoma is undergoing tests by the gods.

<sup>34</sup> Van Stein Callenfels 1919:348-9; Satyawati Suleiman 1978:7; Rassers 1959:74.



Fig. 7.11. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 24

rather small ornamental frames. This conveys the impression that the *Bubukshah* story is just interpolated and that actually there is a continuous flow from one story to the next.

#### THE STORY OF THE NAGA KING

The long series of panels 24-39 stretches along the whole northern half of the east wall up to the corner. In panel 24 (fig. 7.11) a man of higher status, his hair in a bun, sits on a pedestal in a 'longing position'. A servant presents him a bowl, or perhaps a spittoon. A servant and a nobleman with a cap kneel before him, the former making a *sembah*, the latter clasping his hands in front of the chest, which may be a sign of feeling cold and thus indicates the situation to happen in the night,<sup>35</sup> or it may be a sign of humbleness (Satyawati Suleiman 1978:10).

The next panel (25) shows the cap-figure standing and holding a *tumpang*-shaped offering.<sup>36</sup> In front of him are a few parts of ghost figures. Panel 26 (fig. 7.12) shows the cap-figure kneeling, making a *sembah*, together with his servant in front of a huge deity figure in a threatening stance with the offering placed in front of her. A large ghost head and trees in demonic shapes surround the deity figure.

My interpretation is as follows. Since the cap-figure is more slender than the one in the 'story with the hermit', and his hair is differently arranged, a new story with another nobleman is depicted. The man sitting on the pedestal brings to mind the depiction of the king in the *Sudhanakumara* reliefs at Candi Jago, who sits in the same posture wear-

<sup>35</sup> See above (Chapter III) in the description of the Gambyok relief.

<sup>36</sup> A *tumpang* is a cone-shaped rice dish that serves a ritual purpose.



Fig. 7.12. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 26

ing the same kind of hair bun and to whom a betel box and a spittoon are also presented. Above I interpreted the ‘longing position’ of the king in Candi Jago as a sign of empathy with the great love between his daughter and a prince. Here, at Panataran, a similar empathy might be expressed with the young Prince Panji, who in the continuing panels will be depicted as being involved in a love story. I interpret this scene to portray Panji taking leave from a royal person who gives him orders to pay homage to the Goddess Durga before he will be able to progress further on his journey. This journey will be continued in the following panels. Thus, Panji visits the cemetery, the dwelling place of Durga, and presents offerings to her.<sup>37</sup>

To the right of the wall-dividing *naga* head the story carries on in panels 27-39. The same cap-figure as before is the main character in these scenes. In panel 27 he stands facing a maid servant in front of a small *pendopo*. A tree between them with a twisted trunk indicates an aristocratic context. In the next scene (panel 28), a young noblewoman sits in the longing posture at the rear of a larger *pendopo*. In the front part of the *pendopo* sit a nobleman with short hair and a woman. The cap-figure stands facing the *pendopo*, accompanied by a dog. An entrance gate, which is a sign for a royal compound, encloses the scene. In both scenes the cap-figure again crosses the hands in front of his breast.

<sup>37</sup> The image of Durga and the whole scene in the cemetery is very similar to the one in the depiction of the *Sudamala* reliefs at Candi Tigowangi from the end of the fourteenth century. The carvers of the Tigowangi relief might have relied on the Pendopo relief. The same motif, though in a different style, is also depicted at Candi Sukuh, from the middle of the fifteenth century. For the *Sudamala* story and depictions see Van Stein Callenfels 1925a.



Fig. 7.13. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 33-34

My interpretation of these scenes is that the cap-figure, Panji, asks permission from a maid servant to gain access to the compound of the family of his beloved. He is then allowed to proceed through the gate to meet the parents of the young woman, who is longing for him. The dog is a symbol of his love and faithfulness. However, Panji and the young woman are not yet given permission by her parents to meet each other. He must first complete a task, which will be depicted in the following panels. Panji's gesture of crossing the hands in front of the breast may visualize his politeness, or instead indicate that the three scenes take place in the night. Whichever interpretation is correct is, however, not important for the understanding of the story plot.

Behind the gate in panel 29, the cap-man now stands together with a *kadeyan*-like man. Both of them expose one leg by opening the *kain*. Then (panel 30) the same two men sit in a small boat on the water. In panel 31 the cap-man is nearly drowning in the water. In panel 32 we see the cap-figure kneeling in *sembah* in front of a god-like figure with an animal head and tail representing the *naga* king (Satyawati Suleiman 1978:10). Panel 33 (fig. 7.13) illustrates the cap-man, now sitting on a dolphin in the water and holding a box.

My interpretation of this sequence is: Panji and a *kadeyan* go out to the sea to complete the task ordered by the young woman's parents. The erotic attitude in their postures is associated with the longing of Panji for the young woman. Panji falls into the water and travels to the bottom of the ocean where he meets the *naga* king. He worships the king and asks him for something, perhaps a jewel since in Javanese mythology the *naga* king is known as the keeper of a precious jewel. Obviously Panji receives

this jewel, which he holds in a box when he continues his journey riding on the fish.

Panels 34-35 depict the cap-figure sitting alone in a small *pendopo* and watching a young noblewoman and a maid servant standing outside. Then (panel 36) the maid servant appears alone, followed by a scene (panel 37) in which the young noblewoman sits on the lap of the cap-figure in the *pendopo*, while the maid servant watches them from outside panel 38) (fig. 7.14). In the last panel (panel 39) the cap-figure and the young woman stand close to each other, as the cap-figure tucks up his *kain* and shows his bare leg. In panels 34-39 Panji is depicted with a more slender body than before.

I interpret these scenes as the preparation for the meeting, followed by the union of the young woman with Panji and their love-making, an act which is spied upon by the maid servant. Eventually the couple walk together as an acknowledged couple. The spying maid has the role of a *sang manawing* (someone spying behind a wall) who witnesses the consummation of marriage, as is often mentioned in *kakawin* texts (Zoetmulder 1982:1966-7; Supomo 2000:273-4; Kieven 2003:345). The *pendopo* illustrates the 'fragrant bedroom' which frequently features in poetical descriptions of love-making, both in *kakawin* and in *kidung* texts. The motif of the *pendopo* scene resembles very much the earlier scene in panel 4.<sup>38</sup>

I argue that the whole series of panels 24-39 depict a continuous story. The young Prince Panji, who is in search for his betrothed, Princess Candrakirana, receives the task from an aristocratic authority to first pay homage to Durga. Candrakirana's parents then give him another task, and Panji crosses the water to meet the *naga* king and returns with a grant given to him by the *naga* king. After having completed all the tasks, he achieves the status of a grown nobleman, which is indicated by his more slender and refined body shape. Finally, he is allowed to meet his beloved and consummates his marriage with her, after which they officially become a couple. I call this story 'the story of the *naga* king'.

It seems once again that this story has a deeper symbolic meaning. The meeting with Durga is depicted in detail as the world of death and ghosts. In the *Sudamala* and the *Sri Tanjung* stories an encounter with the Goddess Durga in a cemetery is spiritually purifying, that is to say,

<sup>38</sup> Kieven 2003:345. Compare, for example, the *Wangbang Wideya* Canto 1.23b, 1.24a, 126b, 3.111b (Robson 1971:68-71, 207).



Fig. 7.14. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 36-38

it is an exorcist act, which seems also to hold true for the depictions.<sup>39</sup> The fact that Panji crosses the water, drowns, and receives a grant from a deity in the ocean, bears striking resemblance to the episode of the *Bhimasuci* story where Bhima, in search for *amerta*, goes to the bottom of the ocean, whereupon he finally discovers *amerta* and Higher Wisdom. Panji obviously also searches for something sacred, expressed by his devoted attitude towards the *naga* king, and the grant he receives from this deity may symbolize, just as it does in the *Bhimasuci* story, the teaching and the following insight into Higher Knowledge. This prepares him for the union with his woman. So in the end, after having undergone the necessary teaching, the union of the male and female is consummated. Once again the crossing of water, depicted twice, plays an important role in the process of the story. This whole sequence of panels 24-39 has the typical elements of a Panji story, (a)-(c), in this case the element (d) being represented by the meeting with the *naga* king who acts as a teacher.

#### THE PROCESSION STORY

On the north side panels 40-46 run along the whole wall. Panel 40 portrays a maid servant in a forest, holding a knife and a long leaf. The woman has cut a *pudak* (pandanus flower), a common writing material, as *kakawin* attest. In panel 41 she holds the *pudak* in her hand, accompanying a cap-figure and a noblewoman. This woman, bending her body in love, wears a cone-shaped hat and has a little dog next to her. The hat of the

<sup>39</sup> Compare Chapter VIII on Candi Surowono, and Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Tantrism'. Concerning the *Sudamala*, see Van Stein Callenfels 1925a; concerning the *Sri Tanjung*, see Prijono 1938.

noblewoman may illustrate her married status.<sup>40</sup> The married couple go on a journey, their loyalty to each other symbolized by the dog. The maid provides the *pudak* so that the husband can write romantic verses. Panel 42 depicts four small figures moving and jumping around a tree and rocks, and one of them climbing a tree. This appears as a comic intermezzo featuring *panakawan*.

Panel 43 (fig. 7.15) pictures another group of people. On a terrace sit the noblewoman with the cone-shaped hat and a hermitess. The capman stands left of the terrace next to the noblewoman, and to the right stands a hermit wearing a large *ketu*, beard, and earrings. Two small hermit figures present fruit and palmwine.<sup>41</sup> I interpret this scene as the married couple visiting a high-ranking hermit couple to seek religious advice.

A procession of thirteen people is depicted in panels 44-45 (fig. 7.16). In the middle of this group, a young noblewoman in a posture of love or longing sits on a sedan chair, which is carried by two commoners. Below the sedan a big dog is visible. Two maid servants walk behind. Both the young noblewoman and the taller of the maid servants look back, as if towards a short-haired nobleman behind them. He is accompanied by a *panakawan*-like servant. In front of the sedan chair the hermitess walks, accompanied by a group of servants. The last panel (fig. 7.17) on the northern wall (panel 46) shows the man with short hair, with some curls visible on his forehead. He is accompanied by a *panakawan* and faces the maid servant, who points to a gate in front of them. Perhaps the group has passed the gate, leaving the man and the maid servant outside.

I call this story ‘the procession story’. A young couple is on their journey to pay a visit to a hermit couple in order to get religious advice. After this visit they abandon their secular status, and the young woman is guided by the hermitess to a retreat, the high status of the hermitess indicated by her many servants. The young woman has taken off her hat, her hair is half loose and half in a bun, which might illustrate her abandoning her former position as a princess or a married woman and following the hermitess. She is still in love with, and longing for, her hus-

<sup>40</sup> Besides the reliefs at the Pendopo Terrace, such a cone-shaped hat is only known to me from a depiction at the Naga-temple at Panataran.

<sup>41</sup> Satyawati Suleiman (1978:12) interprets the two hermits as a retired king and queen, because of their elaborate jewellery and clothing. The palmwine can be detected from the two bamboo containers, still today a common way of storing palmwine.



Fig. 7.15. Pendopo Terrace, north side, panel 43



Fig. 7.16. Pendopo Terrace, north side, panel 44



Fig. 7.17. Pendopo Terrace, north side, panel 46

band. Her husband, who may represent Panji, with short hair, has taken his cap off, either as a mark of respect for the hermitess or because he wants to follow the group to the retreat. In the end the woman and the hermitess have left Panji and the maid servant behind. Thus, Panji and his wife are separated from each other.<sup>42</sup> The story has again many of the typical elements of the Panji stories: (a), (b), (d). However, the reunion – (c) – and crossing of water – (e) – are not depicted.

#### THE STORY WITH THE PARROT

Panels 47-53 run along the northern part of the west wall. In the first scene, a nobleman with a cap stands behind a maid servant. Behind a tree with a twisted trunk a young noblewoman lies as though sleeping, accompanied by a hermitess and a maid servant. A female *panakawan* and a small dog are visible beneath the young woman. This episode may be a continuation of the preceding story, the cap-man now wearing his cap again in order to stress his secular status. He wants to see his beloved, who has followed the hermitess. The maid servant asks if he can be admitted to the women's quarter, but obviously this is refused. The situation is given an ironical twist by the way the *panakawan* plays with the faithful dog, which is to say the group of women toy with the loyalty of the husband.

Panel 48 depicts the cap-figure who is followed by a *kadeyan* and a *panakawan*. Then (panel 49; fig. 7.18) the cap-figure sits under a tree in the 'longing position' and holds a *lontar*. The *panakawan* passes the *lontar* to a huge parrot, which is standing in front of a hermit. The parrot flies (panel 50) over water, holding the *lontar* in its beak. In panel 51 (fig. 7.19) the parrot offers the *lontar* to the young noblewoman, who is portrayed in a 'longing position' and is accompanied by the hermitess and the maid servant.

Obviously the nobleman, Panji, has not gained access to the woman's room and is unable to meet his beloved. Panji, together with a *kadeyan* and a *panakawan*, then wander around in search of her. He writes a love

<sup>42</sup> The story plot could be considered as a continuation of the 'story of the *naga* king', now featuring the married couple – Panji and his wife – who would go on a journey to visit a hermitage. However, as the iconography of the protagonists differs from each other in the two series, I conclude that a new story has started here. We see in the other reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace that there are obviously several different stories with the depictions of the same characters, so that we cannot conclude from the appearance of the same cap-figure or the same maid servant that they are characters in only one story. They are just typical characters in the various Panji stories.



Fig. 7.18. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 49



Fig. 7.19. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 51

letter which a parrot carries across a broad water or sea to his beloved, who is also longing for him. It seems that the parrot is in the service of the hermit who stands on the shore of the water. The combination of the hermit and the water may function to point once again, just as in former episodes with water – panels 9-10 and 30-31, and 33 – to a connection with some kind of esoteric teaching. The parrot is in Hindu mythology known as the *wahana* (vehicle) of God Kama (Schleberger 1986:165), thus the parrot may here act as a messenger of the god of

love.<sup>43</sup> This indicates that Indian mythology was well known at the time of constructing the Pendopo Terrace. It is conspicuous that the theme of a bird – not necessarily a parrot – presenting a love letter to a woman was quite common in ancient Java, as we can conclude from some other examples of ancient Javanese art objects displaying similar depictions (Hinzel 2001:181-2). The bird acts as the messenger of love.

Panel 52 depicts a hermitage with an altar and a building. A hermit with a large *ketu* – larger than that of the hermit in panel 49 and thus indicating that they are two different hermits – is accompanied by a *panakawan* wearing a *ketu* and sits opposite a young noblewoman. They both play a *gambang* each, a kind of xylophone still used nowadays in Balinese and Javanese *gamelan*. Panel 53 (fig. 7.20) shows the hermit now holding the woman on his lap and grasping at the bare breast of the woman, who bends back as if refusing. The set of two *gambang*s fell apart through the hermit's rough treatment. To the right of the scene, a couple of *panakawan* are being very physical and erotic.

The scene speaks very much for itself. The hermit, teaching the young woman to play a musical instrument – perhaps as part of a religious teaching – is overwhelmed by his own desire, grasps at the young woman, and adopts an intimate position with her. The *panakawan* caricature the behaviour of their master or emphasize it by exaggerating it.<sup>44</sup> I can only speculate about the connection of this episode to the preceding ones. Maybe the hermit is the husband of the hermitess in panel 51 who is taking care of the young woman, and he just follows his desire for the young woman. Following another interpretation, Panji has entered the stage of a hermit and meets his beloved again. He displays his musi-

<sup>43</sup> Parrots are not native to Java but rather belong to the species of birds from the eastern part of the archipelago beyond the so-called Wallacea. Wallacea is the region around the Wallace-line, which runs between Bali and Lombok and between Borneo and Sulawesi, respectively. To the west side of this Wallacea, animals of the Asiatic fauna are predominant, while to the east of it there are many examples of the Australian fauna, for example parrots. It is possible the parrot symbolizes that Panji and his beloved are separated by great distance, such that it can be deduced that one of them is on a remote island far to the east of Java. In several Panji stories, Panji or Candrakirana go to Borneo, Bali, or other islands. In both cases – the parrot interpreted as Kama's vehicle, or as indicating a separation of the lovers by a great distance – the parrot acts as the messenger of love transporting the love letter. The inscription 'jaruman atat' (= the parrot as the messenger) on the border above the depiction with the bird flying over the water refers to this scene (Sulciman Satyawati 1978:13).

<sup>44</sup> This *panakawan* scene is very similar to the depictions of *panakawan* in erotic attitudes in the various illustrations of the *Arjunawiwaha* where the meditating Arjuna is tempted by the heavenly nymphs, for example at Candi Surowono. Exaggerating the behaviour of their masters is still a usual feature of the *panakawan* in present-day *wayang kulit* performances.



Fig. 7.20. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 53

cal talent, for which he is well known, and then reunites with his woman through the act of love-making.<sup>45</sup> Regardless of the interpretation, this whole episode, together with the *panakawan* scene, has a comic character and may have been placed here as a sort of entertainment to attract the viewer.

I call this narrative the ‘story with the parrot’. It is perhaps a continuation of the ‘procession story’, or else it constitutes a separate, independent story. The elements (a), (b), (d), and (e) are present.

#### THE STORY WITH THE REYONG PLAYERS

I recognize a coherent story in panels 54-65, which stretch between the two flights of stairways; this may, however, be a continuation of the preceding story. Panel 54 (fig. 7.21) portrays a ship on the water and three figures – Panji, a *kadeyan*, and a *panakawan* – who look the same as the ones in panel 48, walking towards the right. The next panel (55) shows the noble cap-figure watching a group of men playing *reyong*. *Reyong* is an instrument still in use in present-day Bali, consisting of two small metal kettles attached to the outer edges of a wooden drum-like bar, with sound emerging by beating the gongs with sticks (Kunst 1968:59-65).

<sup>45</sup> This interpretation was told in a private conversation by Dwi Cahyono (12-06-2010). However, I doubt this interpretation, since the hermit behaves quite roughly towards the woman, grasping at her breast, which is not common in other depictions of love scenes. Still, in *kakawin* and *kidung* texts we read such explicit behaviour.

The musicians playing the *reyong* all wear caps.<sup>46</sup> A maid servant watches them and holds her arms in a dance-like pose. Obviously the three men have come ashore after having crossed the water, and Panji is welcomed by the musicians and the – maybe dancing – maid servant. A tree with a twisted trunk indicates an aristocratic environment.

The original placement of the next panel (panel 56; fig. 7.22) is open to question.<sup>47</sup> It depicts a maid servant with her hands in *sembah* position, standing behind the cap-figure. They face the young noblewoman who sits on a pedestal in a longing posture with a dog beneath her at the foot of the pedestal. The cap-man has set one leg on a step approaching the pedestal, with a part of his *kain* tucked up so that his knee is visible.

I interpret this scene as Panji asking his beloved to come to sit on his lap. A verse in the *Sumanasantaka* (Canto CIII.2; Hunter 1998:57) where Prince Aja courts the beautiful Indumati, corresponds neatly to the situation depicted in this panel.

Here, good lady, be seated on my lap,  
so long have I been pining for you  
who comes to me like a rain cloud,

You who are cool mist to my burning longing,  
rumbling thunder to my desire,  
lightning that illuminates the darkness of my heart.

Panel 57 shows an empty *pendopo* with six pillars, which indicates a high status. A nobleman with short hair lifts a part of his *kain*. In panel 58 the same man, with his *kain* now held neatly together, faces a hermit wearing a large *ketu*; behind him some altars and shrines are visible (panel 59; fig. 7.23).

The man with the short hair seems to be Panji, who has now taken off his cap. Panji, still in an erotic mood, is on the way to meet the hermit and perhaps to seek his advice. The hermit may be the same one as in panel 52-53, since the *ketu* of both of them has the same round shape, and moreover the shrines and altars also look similar. Thus, we

<sup>46</sup> Other depictions of *reyong* players are known from a relief at Candi Rimbi and a stone sculpture found in Kediri. Photos of these depictions are given in Kunst 1968:fig. 52, 47. All these *reyong* players wear caps. These images date to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Kunst 1968:59).

<sup>47</sup> See my explanations at the end of the sub-chapter on the Pendopo Terrace.



Fig. 7.21. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panels 54-55



Fig. 7.22. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 56



Fig. 7.23. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 59

might conclude that Panji is visiting the hermitage where his beloved had stayed with the hermit, and that the two stories are interconnected.

The scene in panel 60 shows the noble cap-man standing and a maid servant sitting under a tree. Next to her the young noblewoman kneels in *sembah* in front of a nobleman who sits higher up (panel 61; fig. 7.24). Due to weathering it is not clear if the man wears a cap or if he has short hair.<sup>48</sup> Amongst the spiral motifs under the place where he sits there is a crab. The crab might be a sign of water.<sup>49</sup> The correct placement of this panel is open to doubt, as both edges of the stone block do not connect well with the neighbouring panels.

Unfortunately, the upper part of the next panel (62) is damaged. A woman, whose identity cannot be detected, kneels in front of a nobleman in the longing posture. His head has been destroyed, but as he displays the same features as the man in the two preceding panels we can conclude that he is the nobleman wearing the cap, or with the cap taken off. In between these two persons some carved remains resemble the depiction of a seated person's knees. It is possible that the young noblewoman was depicted here. Panel 63 shows the same man holding one side of his *kain* up, a woman, and a *panakawan* who seem to climb a hill. Although the heads of the first mentioned two figures are damaged, I think that they depict the cap-figure accompanied by the maid servant.<sup>50</sup>

Panel 64 depicts a woman, her hair in a bun and a scarf around her neck, standing next to water. In her arms she carries a girl with loose hair. To the right of a gate, in panel 65 (fig. 7.25), the woman kneels in front of the noble cap-man, who now holds the girl on his lap. They sit in the typical posture of a loving couple. However, from her size we can see the

<sup>48</sup> This scene recalls panel 10 at Candi Mirigambar (see Chapter IX), where the cap-figure is depicted sitting in a higher position and being worshipped by a woman in *sembah*. In both cases the higher position is marked by spiral motifs under the seat.

<sup>49</sup> Another symbolic function of this animal has been indicated by Sbeghen (2004:91-3), referring to crab-like depictions on the *lingga-yoni* on the ground of the entrance of Candi Sukuh. The depiction of the *limulus moluccanus* crab, endemic on the north shore of Java, is found in Majapahit art and literature (Zoetmulder 1982:1140 *mimi*, and 628 *himi-himi*). Because the male and female animal cling tightly to each other during mating, this species has been used as a symbol of the inseparability of male and female. As in Candi Sukuh, the crab in the Pendopo panel 61 might also symbolize the sexual union. I am grateful to Helen Creese for drawing my attention to Sbeghen's finding. However, since the depiction in the relief on the Pendopo Terrace only seems to display the female crab and no male, I am not sure about its meaning.

<sup>50</sup> The typical pleats of the garment of the maid servant are visible in the photo in Satyawati Suliman (1978:plates 62-65), while my photos from recent years display the garment in a rather damaged condition.



Fig. 7.24. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 61



Fig. 7.25. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 65

girl is clearly a child. A *panakawan* watches the group. The positioning of the whole episode on panels 64-65 is again uncertain, as the left end does not connect well with the preceding panel.

I provide a tentative explanation for the meaning of the last two panels. The woman, who is Panji's beloved, has become an adult, which is conveyed by her hair bun and the scarf, and perhaps also symbolically illustrated by her having crossed the water and proceeded to an adult status. In the meantime she has had a child, whom she then presents to Panji. He accepts the child and, through his loving or longing position, expresses his love to his wife and to the child. Alternatively the woman can be identified as a maid servant – however, contrary to usual habits, she is wearing an elaborate scarf. This maid servant who has nursed the offspring of Panji and his beloved, then presents Panji with the child.

It is not clear if the whole series of panels 54-65 form one coherent story or several distinct plots. I call this series 'the story with the *reyong*

players', even though I doubt that the panels are arranged correctly. Again however, they feature the major elements of Panji stories – (a)-(e) – even if perhaps they do appear here in an incorrect arrangement.

I give a tentative interpretation in connection with the preceding series 'the story with the parrot', that is, for all panels 52-65: Candrakirana became separated from Panji and was brought to an island across the ocean. Panji, in search of his beloved, crosses the ocean on a boat with his companions, is welcomed by the musicians, and meets his beloved (the questioned panel 56). However, before the intended reunion with her, he first visits a hermit to seek advice. Panji then meets Candrakirana again, who pays her respect to him who through the teaching by the hermit has achieved the status of a novice. Maybe her *sembah* gesture also indicates her asking for permission to leave him. He then shows the longing mood, and further on he walks through the countryside accompanied by the maid servant and the *panakawan*. After having crossed the water, which may symbolize an act of purification, they meet Candrakirana, who presents her child to Panji. Panji, who accepts the child with love, is reunited with his beloved.<sup>51</sup> This whole series contains all features of Panji stories (a)-(e).

#### THE SRI TANJUNG STORY

Panels 66-74 stretch from the right stairway to the southwestern corner of the building. According to Satyawati Suleiman (1978:14-22) this series illustrates the *Sri Tanjung* story.<sup>52</sup> I do not wish to repeat her description and analysis, as I agree for the most part with her interpretations. An important aspect of this story is its association with purification and exorcism. There are some major elements in the depiction of this story which are also characteristic in *Sri Tanjung* reliefs at other temples.<sup>53</sup> One is the depiction of Sri Tanjung sitting on a fish when she passes from the world of the living to the world of the dead. The other is the depiction of her

<sup>51</sup> This story might sound strange. However, we have to recall that the Panji stories commonly have a very dramatic and often confusing plot. As I know from personal communication with Javanese people (12-06-2010), there are indeed Panji stories which tell about Panji and Candrakirana having a child. This feature is also known from the unidentified relief of Candi Rimbi, which displays a woman presenting a child to a man, after they both had been separated for a long time. The reliefs from Candi Rimbi still require further investigation, same as does the topic of depictions of children in ancient Javanese art on a broader scale.

<sup>52</sup> Galesin (1939a) had already interpreted the scene with a woman sitting on a fish to be a scene from this story.

<sup>53</sup> Compare the chapter on Candi Surowono. Another depiction is known at Candi Jabung.



Fig. 7.26. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panels 70-71

husband Sidapaksa sitting and grieving on the bank of a river (fig. 7.26). Sidapaksa, with the typical iconographical features of a nobleman, wears a crescent-moon shaped cap. The *Sri Tanjung* story is not a Panji story, but it has similar traits. In this relief series we again find all the typical elements (a)-(e) of depictions of Panji stories.

#### THE STORY OF THE WOMAN LEANING ON PANJI'S LAP

The relief series with panels 75-80 runs along the complete south side of the Pendopo Terrace. They evidently form a coherent series, enhanced by the ornamental band decorating the top of these panels, distinguishing them from other parts of the Pendopo Terrace.

Panel 75 (fig. 7.27) depicts the familiar group of Panji as the noble cap-figure, with the *kadeyan* and a *panakawan*. In panel 76 Panji sits in the 'longing position' and holds a *lontar* in his hand. A maid servant makes a *sembah* towards him. Then (panel 77) the maid servant approaches a river, and, having crossed the water (panel 78), kneels before a young noblewoman who sits in the 'longing position' on a terrace and holds the *lontar*.<sup>54</sup> The young woman is accompanied by a hermitess, two maid servants, and a young woman. These latter three women appear again in panel 79, together with a female *panakawan*.

The last panel (panel 80; fig. 7.28) consists of three episodes: the same three women squat and converse with each other. The young noblewoman leans on the lap of Panji, who sits on a terrace and embraces her. Behind him sit a hermitess and a hermit, another hermitess stands

<sup>54</sup> Her posture on a higher pedestal is very similar to the one in panel 51 where the young woman also receives a letter. Obviously the artist copied one scene from the other.



Fig. 7.27. Pendopo Terrace, south side, panel 75



Fig. 7.28. Pendopo Terrace, south side, panel 80

behind them. The hermit, depicted very like the one from panel 43 on the north side, seems to be a sage of a high reputation, judged from his elaborate garment and *ketu*.

I interpret the story plot as follows: Panji, his *kadeyan*, and the *panakawan* are on a journey in search of his beloved. Panji then passes a letter for his beloved to her maid. The maid, after having crossed a body of water, delivers this letter to the young woman, who lives with a hermitess whose high status is indicated by several maids. The maids, in their role as *sang manawing* (compare panels 34-39) witness the union of a man and woman, then watch the young woman with Panji, who is about to take her on his lap. On the right-hand side their union is witnessed by the high-status hermit couple and another hermitess. I call this story ‘the story with the woman leaning on Panji’s lap’. This series features each of the elements (a)-(e).

ANALYSIS OF THE SYMBOLIC MEANING OF THE RELIEFS ON  
THE PENDOPO TERRACE

After having analysed the narrative depictions on the first and second level of my methodology, I proceed now to the third and fourth steps to discuss the symbolic meaning of the narrative depictions. I do this by discussing the issue of the Panji stories, the selection of scenes, and the placement of the series within the Pendopo Terrace. This will allow me to give a preliminary explanation of the function of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace. My explanation is preliminary because I can only come to a conclusion after having discussed all parts of Candi Panataran and having seen them in the context of one another.

At the end of the discussion of each story plot, I have mentioned the occurrence of the elements (a)-(e), as defined above. For an overview, and for the following discussion, I present a list of these scenes in the respective narrative plots (Table 7.29).

All narratives which I have presented in my descriptions and tentative interpretations – with the exception of the *Bubukshah* story – have as their main elements the separation and longing of the loving couple (a), Panji's journey and search for his beloved (b), their final reunion and marriage (c). These are also the core components of the plot of the Panji stories as a literary genre. The fourth feature which is central to the depictions – the meeting with a hermit (d) – is another important element in the Panji stories, as it is often told that Panji seeks advice from a *rshi* and that he meditates. These features, however, might be considered to be insufficient grounds to identify the narratives with Panji stories, as there exist many other texts which have these three features and yet do not belong to the genre of Panji stories.

To corroborate my hypothesis, I return to the iconography of the narrative reliefs with cap-figures. All reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace are carved in the style of the 'post-mythological stories'. This means the actors are dressed in contemporary clothes and do not have the accessories of the heroes of the 'mythological stories'. The cap-figure in the Pendopo Terrace reliefs definitely represents a nobleman, which can be deduced from the iconographic detail of wearing jewellery, the long *kain*, and his refined attitude. Given the indisputable identification of the *Sri Tanjung* story on the Pendopo Terrace where the protagonist, the noble-

placement	panels	story plot	major five elements of the story					notes
			(a) separation and longing	(b) journey/ in search	(c) reunion	(d) hermit/ teaching	(e) water	
east side left	1-13	The <i>Satyawan</i> story	x	x	x	xxx	xx	
east side left	14-18	The story with the hermit		x		xxx		
east side middle	19-23	The <i>Bubukshah</i> story				xxxx		
east side right	24-39	The story of the <i>naaga</i> king	xxx	xxxxx	xx	xx	xx	
north side	40-46	The procession story	xx	xxx	x	xx		perhaps a continu- ation of preceding story
west side left	47-53	The story with the parrot	xx	xx	x	xxx	x	perhaps a continu- ation of preceding story
west side middle	54-65	The story with the <i>reyong</i> players	xx	xxx	xx	x	xx	
west side right	66-74	The <i>Sri Jangjung</i> story	xx	xx	x	x	xx	
south side	75-80	The story with the woman leaning on Panji's lap	xx	x	x	xx	x	

Table 7.29. The elements of the narrative plots on the Pendopo Terrace and their placement

man Sidapaksa, is depicted with a cap as his headgear,<sup>55</sup> we can conclude that the cap was at the time indeed a well-known accessory in the depiction of a nobleman. This is further corroborated by the depiction of the nobleman Sang Satyawati in the identified *Satyawan* story. Both stories belong to the *kidung* genre. Thus we can conclude that the nobleman with a cap is a typical feature in the visual representation of the protagonists of *kidung* stories. The Panji stories are a particular kind of the *kidung* genre. Since the components of the story plots in the Pendopo Terrace reliefs have the typical traits of the Panji stories, and since these stories exist in a large variety, many of which are not known to us, I conclude that the protagonist of the stories depicted on the Pendopo Terrace, the nobleman wearing the cap, is in fact Panji. Thus Panji stories are depicted on the Pendopo Terrace.

Satyawati Suleiman (1978:22-4) comes to the same conclusion. She refers to Van Stein Callenfels (1919:20), to Stutterheim (1936a:198, 1935b:139-43), and to Poerbatjaraka (1940a:366-7), who argued before her that the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace depict Panji stories.<sup>56</sup> Van Stein Callenfels bases his opinion on the depiction of the *gambang*, which according to him is still today played in Bali at cremation ceremonies with melodies taken from the *Malat*, the Balinese Panji romance.<sup>57</sup> In my view, however, the connection between the *Malat* and the *gambang* does not provide sufficient evidence to conclude that the *gambang* episode substantiates this relief series to be a Panji story.

Stutterheim (1936a:198) bases his interpretation on the special head-dress, the cap, which he calls the *tekes*. He declares this cap to be typical of Panji depictions, but does not explain why. Obviously, but without his saying so explicitly, he refers to his more elaborate argumentation in an earlier article (Stutterheim 1935b:139-43), in which he discusses the Gambyok relief and the Grogol statues. There he comes to the conclusion that the character with the cap is Panji, and that the other figures represent one or more *kadayan* and a *panakawan*. Several reliefs

<sup>55</sup> This identification is corroborated by the comparison with other *Sri Tanjung* depictions which Galestin (1939a) had presented and which will be discussed in my chapter on Candi Surowono with its *Sri Tanjung* depictions.

<sup>56</sup> Also Galestin (1959:13), referring to Stutterheim and Poerbatjaraka, comes to the same conclusion.

<sup>57</sup> Jaap Kunst (1968:71-4) confirms this information on the *gambang*: it is the bamboo *gambang* which is depicted in the Pendopo-Terrace relief, and which is played by using special V-shaped sticks. The present-day *gambang* of the Javanese *gamelan*, however, is a wooden xylophone which looks a bit different and is only played by using two simple sticks.

on the Pendopo Terrace depict scenes featuring the same group: a cap-figure accompanied by a figure with curly hair (*kadeyan*), and a *panakawan* (panels 48, 54, 75). These three figures display the same iconography as the Grogol statue. Based on discussions of Stutterheim and Poerbatjaraka and the comparison with the Pendopo reliefs, Satyawati Suleiman (1978:24) concludes that ‘the Panji story is also represented on the Pendopo Terrace’. In my opinion, this conclusion, on its own, is not convincing enough. However, I consider her argument as an additional point supporting my thesis unfolded above that indeed Panji stories are depicted on the Pendopo Terrace.

When first looking at the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace in Candi Panataran, I understood them merely to be entertaining love stories. They would have been a pleasant welcome to the visitors after they had entered the temple compound. In an attempt to decipher the symbolic meaning of the reliefs, I drew on my earlier investigation of the depiction of loving couples (Kieven 2003). I had, based on Supomo (2000), come to the conclusion that the situations of longing/separation and of reunion/making love represent two different moods of *kama* (love): the ‘love-in-separation’ and the ‘love-in-enjoyment’. These moods are actually important elements in the Tantric concept as is clear in the erotic scenes of *kakawin* and *kidung* literature, discussed earlier in this book. The two moods are frequently represented in a visual way in the narratives on the Pendopo Terrace – features (a) and (c) in my terminology. The journeying of Panji/the noble cap-figure in search of his beloved – feature (b) – is another frequent topic, which enhances the mood of longing. I conclude that the relief depictions of Panji/the noble cap-figure demonstrate and visualize the Tantric practice, thus providing an introduction to this religious path for the visitor. The introductory function is enhanced by the character of the Panji stories as ‘post-mythological stories’ and as folk stories which appeal to the visitor, whereby Panji acts as an intermediary and a kind of guide to the visitor.

Feature (d) – meeting with a hermit or sage – expresses the seeking of advice from a religious person by the protagonists of the story and thus symbolizes religious teaching. The striking reoccurrence of this feature in the visual depictions, which seems far to exceed its frequency in the literary form of the Panji stories, reinforces its importance. In *kakawin* literature, however, encounters with hermits play an important role. The depictions of such encounters in the Panji stories on the Pendopo

Terrace may anticipate the more spiritual character of *kakawin* and in this way prepare for the ‘sacred’ part of the temple compound which has relief depictions of *kakawin*. In my opinion, the following message is conveyed: the visitor and pilgrim him- or herself should and can seek advice in religious teaching in the temple, either through the real person of a *rshi* or priest, or simply through ‘reading’ the narratives and through visiting the temple compound. Panji/the noble cap-figure offers an example of seeking advice through his own encounter with a hermit. This again demonstrates that Panji acts as an intermediary character. It is also remarkable that in many cases Panji/the noble cap-figure takes off his cap, which belongs to his worldly outfit as a nobleman, when he approaches a hermit or when he is about to enter religious life as a hermit himself, leaving his worldly life behind. This emphasizes his role of showing a pilgrim the way to proceed to religious teaching him- or herself.

The fifth feature – (e), the crossing of water – is another element that is frequently depicted. This element is only present in a few Panji stories of the literary genre. Thus it is evident that its recurrent depiction in the reliefs is deliberately done in order to convey a certain message. Against the background of my earlier discussion of water in the meaning of *tirtha*, it can be concluded that the crossing of water symbolizes the purification and the movement from one stage of religious knowledge to a higher one, which ultimately leads to the understanding of Higher Wisdom. This corresponds with the teaching of the religious doctrine through the hermit. Receiving instruction from a teacher can be classed as a passive act on the part of the person in search of Higher Wisdom. Compared to this, the crossing of water is an active process undertaken by the protagonist/s, in this case not only Panji, but frequently also his beloved.

In many cases in the reliefs, the protagonists are ready to be reunited after having crossed the water. The meeting with a hermit and the crossing of water can be understood as two prerequisites to start down the path of Tantric practice. This then leads to the Tantric goal, the unification with the Divine, which is symbolized on the mundane level in the union of male and female, that is, Panji and his beloved, and on the supra-mundane level in the union of Siwa and Sakti.

Thus, by the deliberate selection of specific scenes for depiction, the Panji stories and the *Sri Tanjung* and the *Satyawan* story show on a mundane level what the adept is about to undertake: to proceed along the Tantric path. Panji/the noble cap-figure and the narratives on the

Pendopo Terrace offer an introduction to this path, acting as intermediaries and taking the visitor/pilgrim/adept by the hand to signal this path. This all occurs on a mundane level and suits the location of the Pendopo Terrace in the entrance part of the temple compound which, in the architectural symbolism, is connected to the mundane sphere.

When analysing the arrangement and placement of the narratives on the Pendopo Terrace, I find that the left and middle part of the west side – featuring the ‘story with the parrot’ and the ‘story with the *reyong* players’ – have entertaining and amusing aspects which are lacking in the other reliefs. Relevant scenes include: the comic scene with a *panakawan* (panel 47); the bird flying with the love letter across the water (panel 50); the scene where the hermit is overwhelmed by desire for the young woman and the subsequent comic caricature of his actions by the *panakawan* (panel 53); the scene of the musicians (panel 55). These entertaining elements refer to the worldly sphere the visitors come from, and represent the first step into the sacral sphere of the temple ground.

Prior to this, the very first step for the visitor was to take a ritual bath in the Outer Bathing Place, then to place offerings at the large Pendopo Agung, which lies in the first courtyard to the northwest. From there the visitor would then, in proceeding towards the Pendopo Terrace, arrive at its northwestern corner and, following the given *prasawya* direction, circumambulate this terrace along the west side. I suggest that the starting point of the whole relief series actually lies on the northwestern corner with panel 47, rather than the east side with the *Satyawan* reliefs, as proposed by Satyawati Suleiman. The comic character of the scenes on the west side would fit the introductory function.

After the introduction by the first narrative sequences, the *Sri Tanjung* story then represents an act of purification before another step can be taken towards a higher level, illustrated in the following reliefs on the south side – ‘the story with the woman leaning on Panji’s lap’ – which overtly demonstrates the subject of longing and the goal of a union between male and female. The last scene of this series seems even to enhance this goal through the depiction of the three high-ranking hermits who, in watching and witnessing the union between Panji and his beloved, function to validate it. This signification of religious teaching is then continued on the east side, which depicts stories highlighting the search for Higher Wisdom: the *Sang Satyawan* story, the ‘story with the hermit’, the *Bubukshah* story, and the ‘story of the *naga* king’. The posi-

tion of the *Bubukshah* story is striking: it is carved exactly in the middle of the east side. This is the only story without the depiction of a cap-figure, and it does not belong to the genre of the Panji stories or related stories. It features the ascetic practice in the two ways of the contemporary religions, Saiwism and the Buddhism, although the latter dominates.<sup>58</sup> The ultimate goal is *moksha*. The ‘story of the *naga* king’ also symbolizes this search and the attainment of *moksha*, which prepares Panji for the final union with his beloved. That the issue of religious teaching is dominantly placed on the east side suits the usual arrangement within a temple building: while the front part imparts messages connected to daily life,<sup>59</sup> the rear part is dedicated to sacred/religious messages, which are more connected to the Divine. The relief series on the north side – the ‘procession story’ – can be considered to be a connecting link between the preceding story on the east side and the following story on the west side. In this way it re-connects the more sacred to the more mundane sphere.

A special function may also be assigned to the corners of the building. It is striking that the corner scenes either depict the separated couple or the couple in reunion, and never the other major features:

- northwestern corner: panel 46: separation / panel 47: separation
- southwestern corner: panel 74: reunion / panel 75-76: separation
- southeastern corner: panel 80: reunion / panel 1: separation
- northeastern corner: panel 39: reunion / panel 40-41: reunion

This placement seems to be deliberate and emphasizes the subjects of separation and reunion, which are the core elements of the Panji stories and are simultaneously the expressions of the two erotic moods. It therefore symbolizes the Tantric practice in a very concise way, in particular through the twofold separation scenes at the start and the twofold reunion scenes at the end of the series, given the series have their starting point at the northwestern corner.

Furthermore, the depictions of a dog are conspicuous: a dog is depicted in two panels each on the west side (47, 56), the east side (17, 18),

<sup>58</sup> This is remarkable as, following the *Nagarakertagama*, Saiwism seemed to predominate during Hayam Wuruk’s reign (*Nag.* 17.11, 35.2, 38.3). Also in relation to the presumed Saiwite character of Candi Panataran, this is remarkable. Maybe it can be considered as a means to comply with the religious blend of Buddhism and Saiwism in the Majapahit period and, moreover, with the importance of the *sogata* and the class of *rshi*, as expressed in the story of the ascetic brothers Bubukshah and Gagak Aking. Compare Chapter IV, sub-chapter ‘Unity of the realm’.

<sup>59</sup> The front side of a temple may also have depictions of fights with demons, but this is not the case on the Pendopo Terrace.

and the north side (41, 45); no dog appears on the south side. I interpreted the dog as a sign of loyalty of the man towards the woman, and vice versa. While the stories on the other sides featuring many adventures necessitate the expression of loyalty between Panji and Candrakirana, the dog is maybe obsolete on the south side, since the story plot here is more concise, without displaying many obstacles for the two lovers.

Still another salient point is the position of *panakawan* and of entertaining scenes, such as those featuring music and comic episodes. The west wall has both *panakawan* and entertaining scenes, while the north and south wall only display *panakawan*, and the east side does not feature any of them. This distribution again complies with the dichotomy between the mundane front side and the more sacred rear side.

The stories depicted on the Pendopo Terrace also illustrate the two other symbolic meanings of the Panji stories, as discussed earlier: the life crisis of a young man, and fertility. The former is conveyed through the plot of most of the stories illustrated in the reliefs, which show a young man who must undergo many adventures, tests, and religious teachings before finally regaining his beloved and, through this process, becoming an adult. In a more particular way, it is the process whereby a young prince prepares to become a king. His union with a woman then fulfils the prerequisite of having a queen, before he attains the legitimacy to become king. The fertility is symbolically represented through the recurrent depiction of the union of man and woman, which can be understood as producing fertility. Following my tentative interpretation of the ‘story with the *reyong* players’, fertility might be visualized in the actual depiction of a child as an outcome of the love between Panji and Candrakirana. The depiction of water also contains, besides the symbolism of purification and progressing to a higher stage of knowledge, the symbolism of fertility.

While dealing with the iconography and comparing the reliefs, it struck me that panel 56 (fig. 7.30) in particular does not seem to belong in its place. The edges to the right and left of this panel look like they were cut off and not joined with the neighbouring panels. Usually the artists were very skilled in camouflaging the divisions between two joining panels by continuing, for example, the depiction of a tree, a house, or an ornament from one panel to the next one. Maybe several carvers were working on this panel at the same time and not in good cooperation; maybe the panel was later added, replacing an original, damaged



Fig. 7.30. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 56

one. It may also be considered that in a later period panels would have been put into another order. However, this would have happened before the middle of the nineteenth century, since the photos made by Van Kinsbergen in 1867, as reproduced in Theuns-de Boer and Asser (2005), display the reliefs in the same order as today.

I have carefully examined all of the panels on the Pendopo Terrace again. On the western and southern sides, I found other panels whose connections are not perfect, though not as conspicuously as in panel 56.<sup>60</sup> I tried to rearrange those panels through computer programmes, but I did not come to any satisfying solution. Meticulous research and scrutiny would be necessary, which is, however, beyond the scope of my work. Nevertheless, I do not believe that these uncertainties have a strong impact on my findings. The content of the stories, even if the arrangement of a few episodes might have been in a different order, still consists of the five major elements (a)-(e). Also the significant features I outlined above, such as a dominance of entertaining or teaching or of corner themes, would not be affected.

To summarize: the Pendopo Terrace has the function of preparing the worshipper for and introducing him to the encounter with the sacred sphere, specifically for the Tantric doctrine. Panji and the other

<sup>60</sup> The breaklines between panels which show a discontinuity, are the following ones, the slash marking the relevant breakline:

- 47 / 48 / 49

- 54 / 55 / 56

- 55 / 56 / 57

- 59 / 60 / 61-63 / 64

- 71 / 72-73 / 74

cap-figures – Sang Satyawana and Sidapaksa – have a symbolic meaning as intermediary figures in the transition between the mundane and the sacred sphere. The cap-figures take the worshipper ‘by the hand’ and guide him/her to the next steps of approaching the Divine. The frequent illustration of the subject of love/longing and of union between man and woman prepares one for the Tantric path as a particular religious doctrine. To confirm, deepen, and broaden this interpretation of the Pendopo Terrace, I will now examine the depictions of cap-figures in the next courtyards and determine their symbolism.

#### THE NAGA TEMPLE (E)

The Naga Temple (fig. 7.31) is located in the northern part of the second courtyard, next to the border between the second and the third yard. Klokke (1993:85) dates the building to the latter half of the fourteenth century, based on the stylistic similarity between the *naga* on the Naga Temple and the one encircling the Pendopo Terrace. It is a square stone structure whose upper part, probably built of perishable organic material, is missing. The building consists of a base and a main body, with the body being richly decorated. On the west side is the entrance to the *cella*. The walls of the temple body are decorated with nine large, sculptured figures on the four corners, in the middle of the two side walls and the back wall, and to the right and left of the entrance. They are depicted in a standing position with their feet pointed to the left, so that we can discern a *pradakshina* direction for the circumambulation. Beneath the figures are small pedestals carved with narrative reliefs. One of them has the depiction of a figure with a clear cap, which I will discuss below.

The standing figures hold, with one raised hand, a large and long *naga* body which winds up and down along the upper edge of the temple body, giving this temple its name.<sup>61</sup> The figures are depicted in royal or divine attire similar to that of the East Javanese so-called ‘portrait statues’.<sup>62</sup> The main difference, however, is that they hold a bell in one hand, which indicates their status as priests. Krom (1923, II:272) has called them ‘gods or heavenly beings’. Pannenborg-Stutterheim (1947:261),

<sup>61</sup> Krom (1923, II:272) mentions serpents in plural, while Pannenborg-Stutterheim (1947:258) speaks of four *naga* bodies and Klokke (1993:85) of one *naga*. In situ I could not make a clear distinction of neck and tail of the *naga*, so I agree with Klokke.

<sup>62</sup> The issue of the portrait statues has been discussed by Klokke (1994).



Fig. 7.31. Naga Temple in the second courtyard, view of south side

who is the only author to have specifically done research on the Naga Temple, interprets these figures as representations of kings with a priestly attribute. To me it seems quite unlikely that nine kings are depicted in one building. I come to the conclusion that the figures, rather, represent priests of royal status.<sup>63</sup>

My intention here is not to offer a new interpretation of the Naga Temple as this would be beyond the scope of my work; rather, I aim to add to the arguments which have been published so far through my discussion of the cap-figure. Furthermore, my ideas on the function of the Naga Temple form part of my overall interpretation of Candi Panataran. Krom (1923, II:271) argues that the Naga Temple served as the treasure shrine for the ‘goddelijke eigendommen’ (properties of the gods) in correspondence to the *kehen* shrine within the Balinese *pura*.<sup>64</sup> Pannenberg-Stutterheim (1947) questions this interpretation. One of her opposing arguments is that we have to imagine the temple of Panataran as empty most of the time and used only for certain ceremonies; as such, these conditions would have been too dangerous for keeping treasures. However, according to the *Bujangga Manik*, Candi Panataran was rather busy throughout the whole year. We can imagine that when treasures were stored in this building it would certainly have been well guarded. Pannenberg-Stutterheim claims the temple was a place of meditation for the king to enhance his magic power (*sakti*), combining the purifying aspect of water with the seclusion provided by the inner room of the Naga Temple. This argumentation is, however, unconvincing: most temples

<sup>63</sup> Klokke (1993:230), referring to Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1947), who also calls them ‘priest figures’.

<sup>64</sup> The *kehen* is the place for keeping treasures in the *pura*.

have a *cella* and many temples illustrate the subject of water, but all these temples do not necessarily function as places for meditation.

The Naga Temple has been interpreted as a symbol of the *Samudramanthana*, the story of the Churning of the Ocean. As was discussed earlier, there exist two different variations of this story: the older *Adiparwa* and the later *Tantu Panggelaran*, the former featuring the *amerta* emerging from the ocean and the latter having the *amerta* emerging from the mountain. Referring to the *Tantu Panggelaran*, Pannenberg-Stutterheim (1947:258-61) argues that the large *naga* on the temple symbolizes the rope in the shape of a *naga* wrapped around the mythical Mount Meru, which is pulled by the gods to churn the ocean. Klokke (1993:152) suggests that ‘the Naga-temple simultaneously refers to the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, and to the ritual a priest performs to produce holy water, which is in fact a ritual reiteration of the churning of the ocean by the gods’. The nine priestly figures symbolize a ritual which is still today performed by priests in Bali to transform water into *amerta*.

While the *Adiparwa* mentions both demons and gods pulling the rope, the *Tantu Panggelaran* only refers to gods. Given that the *Tantu Panggelaran* was written after the construction of the Panataran temple, we could conclude that the earlier *Adiparwa* version must have provided the model for the Naga Temple. However, this would be contradicted by the absence of demons on the temple, and by the identification of the standing figures as priests instead of deities.<sup>65</sup> There may in fact have existed another version of the story which is illustrated in this temple. Stutterheim (1926) investigates the sculpture of Sirah Kencong, which he dates to the fourteenth century or earlier.<sup>66</sup> This sculpture portrays a snake wrapped around a mountain and includes depictions of deities and two priests, but no demons. From this, Stutterheim concludes that indeed a transitional version of the story of the Churning of the Ocean did exist in the fourteenth century. Be it demons and gods, or only gods, the crucial point is the production of *amerta*.

<sup>65</sup> The temple of Kesimantengah – dated before the Majapahit period by Krom (1923, II:301) – depicts both gods and demons pulling the rope. This obviously refers to the *Adiparwa* version. In Khmer art, at many temples of Angkor, the churning of the ocean is frequently depicted, and always with both gods and demons.

<sup>66</sup> Stutterheim 1926:336. In my opinion, its style is very similar to the relief of Mleri which Stutterheim (1935b:130-9) dates to the end of the twelfth century.

The other meaning of water, as *tirtha*, is also worth considering. In this sense, water symbolizes purification and the passage from one stage to a higher stage of esoteric knowledge. The second courtyard is a transitional zone between the entrance part and the sacred rear part of the temple compound. The Naga Temple would then, after the initial purification in the Outer Bathing Place, represent another place of purification and transition towards the sacred sphere in the final courtyard.

The *Tantu Panggelaran* mentions that Mount Meru contains precious stones (Pigeaud 1924:66, 137); this would again align with Krom's idea of this temple as a treasure shrine. The shape of the mythical Mount Meru is signified by the form of a *mandala*, with the 'one' in the middle surrounded by eight cardinal points, symbolizing the whole cosmos. The fact that nine priestly figures are portrayed may be related to this symbolism. However, since the actual arrangement of the figures here in the Naga Temple does itself not form a *mandala*, the symbolic significance of the '9' can only be a tentative suggestion.

The small reliefs below the feet of the priest figures have only partly been explained. Klokke (1993:229-32) proposes that three of them represent *Tantri* stories. Several of the reliefs depict situations with common people as actors. In the relief under the southeastern-corner figure (fig. 7.32) on the east side, one male figure is clearly depicted with a cap. According to Klokke (1993:231-2), this scene may represent the *Tantri* story 'Grateful animals and ungrateful man'. The story is about a man and a number of animals who have fallen into a well and are rescued by a *brahmin*. She herself doubts this interpretation, however, as only a hand is depicted coming from the well and the cap-figure does not usu-



Fig. 7.32. Naga Temple, panel on southeastern corner

ally signify a *brahmin*. The depicted cap-figure lifts a part of his long *kain*, which can be seen as a sign of eroticism, but can also denote the act of working or walking. The following panel in *pradakshina* direction depicts a single deer. In the next panel in the middle of the south side, a woman looks back towards a man in running posture. Due to weathering it is not completely clear if the headgear of the man is a cap. These two scenes may be continuations of the panel with the cap-figure described above: the deer may represent one of the animals of the *Tantri* story, and the following scene could be a continuation of the erotic theme previously conveyed through the cap-figure. The following panels are not clear enough due to weathering to give further interpretations.

It is possible that the cap-figure on the Naga Temple, representing a commoner, is part of a story about a man and a woman. In any case, this story and the other reliefs depict scenes from daily life with common people, and are therefore close to the mundane level of the visitors. They support the priestly figures who ring the bells in their ritual of transforming the water into *amerta*. At the base of the mundane world, the small relief depictions invite worshippers to look up with awe at the ritual and sacred level above. The worshippers are confronted with the subject of water in its twofold meaning and have now passed a further step of preparation in this transitional zone to encounter the final sacred stage in the third courtyard. The small reliefs function as intermediaries between the daily and the sacred life. The cap-figure plays its typical role on this transitional level.

#### THE SMALL PENDOPO TERRACE (F)

This quadrangular structure of low height, without any entrance, is situated in the third courtyard to the southwest of the Main Temple, so that a visitor first passes the former before proceeding to the latter. It may originally have served as a *pendopo* for the final consecration of offerings by a priest before they were brought for worship in the Main Temple. I refer to it as the 'Small Pendopo Terrace' (fig. 7.33). It has four small narrative panels, which are set in the middle of each of the four walls. The other parts of the walls are decorated with floppy-eared animals, the corners with winged animal or demon figures, while some other carvings seem to have vanished.



Fig. 7.33. Small Pendopo Terrace in the third courtyard, to the southwest of the Main Temple



Fig. 7.34 Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on west side



Fig. 7.35 Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on south side

The narrative on the four panels has not been identified, neither where the actual beginning is, nor if it illustrates a coherent narrative at all. My analysis will, however, yield possible identifications of the story plot. As the main action of the scenes moves towards the right, the panels seem to be arranged in *prasawya* direction. All four panels feature a nobleman with a sharp-edged cap. Approaching the terrace from the west, I start with the description from this side. The noble cap-figure sits on a large fish on water, as indicated by waves (fig. 7.34). Both fish and man face to the right. The panel on the south side (fig. 7.35) depicts the same cap-figure and a woman, both standing and facing each other, the man standing on the left side (seen from the viewer's point). The woman has her hair in a bun, and wears a dress in the *kemben* style; therefore she may be a maid servant or an adult woman. In the panel on the east side (fig. 7.36), the same two persons are depicted standing and facing each other, although this time the woman is positioned on the left. The man bends slightly towards the woman. Both of them hold their right arm in a bent position. It is not clear if this indicates that they are engaged in a lively conversation with each other or, and quite the opposite, that they are expressing their restraint towards the other. In these two latter panels a small rectangular object, perhaps an offering, is placed between the two persons. The panel on the north side (fig. 7.37) shows the cap-figure sitting, making a *sembah* with his hands and facing towards another seated figure whose head has been destroyed. This figure, adorned with a castecord, sashes, jewellery, bracelets, and parts of a necklace, sits on an ornamented pedestal. All these attributes designate the figure as a deity. Thus, it can be seen that the cap-figure is worshipping the god, who holds one hand towards the cap-figure, as if welcoming the worship.

The depiction of the cap-man on the fish is reminiscent of two depictions on the Pendopo Terrace in panels 33 (fig. 7.13) and 70 (fig. 7.26). The first, in the 'story of the *naga* king', shows a noble cap-man with the same features as the figure on the Small Pendopo, sitting on the same kind of fish. The second is the popular motif from the *Sri Tanjung* story, where Sri Tanjung is depicted sitting on a fish. We do not know if the artists intended to allude to these scenes. It is, however, remarkable that this motif occurs three times in the temple compound. In the *Sri Tanjung* story, the crossing of the water depicts Sri Tanjung's passage from the realm of the living to that of the dead as part of an exorcist process. In the 'story of the *naga* king' the cap-man, holding the grant,



Fig. 7.36. Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on east side



Fig. 7.37. Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on north side

in a rectangular shape, by the *naga* king in his hand (fig. 7.13), makes the passage from the bottom of the sea to the stage of adulthood in which he is ready to marry. I interpret both scenes of the Pendopo Terrace as typical symbols for the passage from one stage to another, higher one. From this it can be concluded that the depiction of the passage of water on the Small Pendopo is also a symbol for the change of status and stage, from a lower to a higher one. A visitor approaching the Small Pendopo from the entrance to the third courtyard would see this water scene first. This calls attention to the subject of water, here in its meaning of *tirtha*, the passage to a higher stage of spiritual knowledge. This scene thus continues the theme of water presented in the Naga Temple, a site that would have been visited before proceeding to the Small Pendopo.

The encounter of the man and the woman is highlighted through its depiction in two of the four panels. The couple are, however, not shown in such intimate positions as in the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace. In

an earlier article (Kieven 2003:346-8), I explained that the more we proceed into the sacred sphere of a temple – the rear part or the upper part – the less intimate and physical are the depictions of love scenes. For example, on the Main Temple in Panataran the scene depicting the reunion of Krishna and Rukmini shows them rather distant from each other, although in the *Krishnayana* text the description is very erotic. The depictions of the couple on the Small Pendopo Terrace follow the dictate of the sacred part of the temple and may indeed symbolize more intimacy than ostensibly expressed in the depiction. The rectangular object depicted between the man and the woman is reminiscent of the object held by Panji in panel 33 on the Pendopo Terrace.

The worship of the royal or divine figure by the cap-man placed on the north side facing the Main Temple seems to invite the pilgrim to do the same, that is, worship the deity in the Main Temple. After having crossed the water and being purified, the cap-figure can meet the woman. This is enhanced by the rectangular object as a token of his purification. As the two depictions of their meeting are placed on the south and the east side they are not immediately visible and, in a way, hidden from the viewer. This may convey the secrecy of their content, which can be understood in the Tantric context. The visitor of the temple is then prepared to worship the god and to approach the final goal of the ritual practice.

#### THE DWARAPALA IN FRONT OF THE MAIN TEMPLE

Four male *dwarapala* figures stand in front of the Main Temple (fig. 7.38). Their position is to the right and left of each of the two stairways of the building. Each of these male figures (1.90 m high) has bulging eyes in a large head, long curly hair and gross limbs, and is decorated with very fine carvings representing cloth and jewellery. One hand, on the stair side, holds a club. The other hand holds a snake which winds to the back of the *dwarapala* and becomes hidden in the draperies on the back. On this side, opposite from the club, the *dwarapala* is accompanied by a smaller, female figure which just reaches up to his hip. The two figures stand next to each other on a round platform encircled by skulls. The backs of the *dwarapala* sculptures are carved with animal stories, framed by delicate depictions of the pleats of garment, and the backs of the female figures lean against a



Fig. 7.38. *Dwarapala*  
on the right side  
of the left staircase of the Main Temple

pot with naturalistically shaped lotus plants. The pedestals of these figures are inscribed with the Saka date 1269 (AD 1347).

According to De la Porte and Knebel (1900:275), these pairs represent Siwa as Mahakala with Sakti. The authors do not give any reason for their interpretation. Mahakala is usually depicted in a pair, with Nandiswara as doorkeepers, as in the well-known example from Candi Singosari.<sup>67</sup> If we identify the snake on the *dwarapala*'s side next to the female figure as the Kundalini serpent – the Kundalini representing Sakti – this could support the Sakti interpretation by De la Porte and Knebel. However, in absence of any clear evidence, I will continue to refer to them as '*dwarapala*', the term for doorkeepers of a demon-like appearance.

The back of the northernmost *dwarapala* is carved with the depiction of a figure with a cap (fig. 7.39). Either his *kain* is short or it is tucked up, and he does not wear any jewellery, all of which marks him as a commoner. He carries a stick with a large tortoise hanging at its end; with the other hand he points in a threatening gesture towards a deer. Klokke

<sup>67</sup> They are kept in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden.



Fig. 7.39. Back of the *dwarapala*  
on the left side  
of the left staircase of the Main Temple

(1993:232-3), who explores the narrative carvings on the backs of the four *dwarapala*, interprets this scene as the *Tantri* story ‘Small animals set each other free’, which tells the story of a hunter who catches a tortoise and a deer amongst other animals, and how eventually the animals manage to set each other free.

The depictions on the three other *dwarapala*’s backs are the *Tantri* story ‘Crocodile and bull’ on the second *dwarapala* from the left, an unknown story which depicts a bird and an iguana on the third *dwarapala*, and on the *dwarapala* to the right of the southern staircase the *Tantri* story ‘Geese and tortoise’ (Klokke 1993:233-5). The three identified stories were obviously very popular *Tantri* stories, demonstrated through their frequent depiction on East Javanese and also Central Javanese temples. Furthermore, all three are associated with the subject of water.<sup>68</sup> It may be concluded that the unidentified scene on the back of the fourth *dwarapala* also depicted a *Tantri* story associated with water. Klokke (1993:152) proposes generally for the symbolism of the *Tantri* stories: ‘May we conclude that the *Tantri* reliefs were thought to be imbued with the same purificatory and salutary qualities as water?’

It is remarkable that *dwarapala* usually do not have carvings of narrative reliefs on their backs. Owing to this, the visitor will pay special attention to the *dwarapala* there when coming down from the Main Temple. I will continue my interpretation of the *dwarapala* figures after my discus-

<sup>68</sup> Patt 1979:416. These same *Tantri* stories are also depicted in the Inner Bathing Place (I).

sion of the Main Temple, and will only then discuss the meaning of the cap-figure on the back of the *dwarapala*.

#### THE MAIN TEMPLE (G)/(H)

The Main Temple (fig. 7.40) dominates the third courtyard of the temple compound and is positioned slightly to the northeast of its centre. The foot of the temple (G) consists of three terraces. The temple body (H) was placed to its north side during the restoration. The walls of the two lower terraces of the temple foot are decorated with narrative reliefs, with depictions of the *Ramayana* on the first terrace and the *Krishnayana* on the second terrace. This relief series includes a few depictions of figures with a cap. The third terrace is decorated with winged lions and winged serpents. Dumarçay (1986a:78) finds that they ‘seem to carry the temple in the air’. The upper border of the wall of this terrace formerly had a cornice which was decorated with a series of small panels depicting demon-like figures. This arrangement is visible in photos by Isidore Van Kinsbergen, published in Karl With (1922). Some of these panels have later been used to fill a few niches of the temple body, others are vanished.<sup>69</sup>

Stutterheim (1989:150) dates the Main Temple to the year AD 1347. He argues that the base platforms of the four *dwarapala*, with the inscribed date of AD 1347, form one whole with the foundations of the temple. The present pedestals of the *dwarapala* figures are, however, clearly disconnected from the temple building. Either this is an effect of the restoration, or Stutterheim’s description was wrong.<sup>70</sup> Bernet

<sup>69</sup> Krom (1923, II:265), referring to Van Kinsbergen’s photos, describes the reliefs on the cornice. He believes that these panels and other stones were heaped up here by mistake or in a wrong arrangement. It seems that no other archaeologist paid attention to this architectural element. There is a remarkable verse in the *Serat Centhini* (Canto 20.30) in the passage on Candi Panataran. It relates that the protagonist, when climbing down from the temple body, had to pass seven steep steps; he did that very slowly and cautiously to avoid tumbling down. The stairs on the Main Temple are in fact steep. However it makes one wonder, what is meant by the ‘seven steps’, since the number of the actual steps far exceeds the number of seven. Or does it mean that originally there were seven terraces? If today one counts the three terraces of the temple foot, added by another possible fourth terrace with the so-called cornice, further added by the superimposed temple body, we can conclude five terraces. In case the *Serat Centhini* is correct, there were originally two more terraces which are no longer extant today. This and other questions concerning the original architectural and decorative arrangement of the Main Temple should be part of an intensive investigation in a monograph on Candi Panataran.

<sup>70</sup> OD-photo nr. 3914, taken shortly after the restoration around 1918, shows the same situation as today. The connection between the pedestals of the guardian figures and the base of the temple has been maintained by other scholars, though.



Fig. 7.40. Main Temple in the third courtyard, view from northwest

Kempers (1959:92) attributes the big lintel with the inscription of AD 1323, found in the first courtyard near the Dated Temple, to the Main Temple,<sup>71</sup> and argues the building may have been completed by this time, while the decoration was finished only in AD 1347, the date known from the *dwarapala*. This position has been maintained so far. Klokke (2000:19) refers to the time of Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389) as the date for the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the second terrace, without providing a reference. As remains of an older brickstone building were found within the structure of the temple during the restoration, it has been concluded that the Main Temple forms an enhancement of an earlier building. Thus the question of the dating of the Main Temple is not really definite. However, it makes sense to see a connection between the erection of the temple and the *dwarapala*, so that we can assume the construction was finished in AD 1347 and the relief carvings were completed in the following years, which would place them in the time of Hayam Wuruk's reign.

While the *Ramayana* reliefs are arranged in the counterclockwise direction (*prasawya*), the *Krishnayana* reliefs follow the opposite *pradakshina*. The *Ramayana* reliefs depict one scene each in a single panel, altogether numbering 106. Alternating with most of the panels are round medallions which portray animals in ornamental carvings. The *Ramayana* reliefs start and end on the north side. They have been meticulously described by Stutterheim (1925, 1989). He analyses them to illustrate the part of the Old Javanese *Ramayana kakawin* which relates Hanuman's

<sup>71</sup> Although not expressly mentioned, perhaps his reason for this attribution is the large size of the lintel, which would fit to a large building such as the Main Temple.

campaign in Rahwana's realm and ends with Kumbhakarna's death. Klokke (2006:395, 400) focuses on the fact that Rama is not the major protagonist in the *Ramayana* reliefs of Panataran; rather, Hanuman is the central character. This should be understood within the context that Hanuman's mystical qualities were emphasized in East Javanese art. In continuing these thoughts, I (Kieven 2011) suggest a Tantric connotation of the 'Hanuman story' as depicted on the Main Temple. The reliefs on the second terrace have been identified by Van Stein Callenfels (1914, 1916, 1924) to be based on the Old Javanese *Krishnayana kakawin*.<sup>72</sup> The story, depicted in continuous reliefs, relates the exploits of Krishna, who kidnaps his future wife, Rukmini. He then must fight his rivals and in the end is united with Rukmini. The *Krishnayana* reliefs start and end on the right part of the western side, that is, the front.

The reconstructed temple body displays sculptured male and female deities in the corners and in niches, and high-carved serpent heads at the corners. Bernet Kempers (1959:92) understands the deities and the serpents to indicate that the Main Temple is a symbol for the cosmic mountain (Mount Meru).<sup>73</sup> As aforementioned, the small panels today filling some of the niches and depicting demon-like figures, were originally located on the upper terrace of the temple foot.

It is remarkable that the motif of the serpent frequently appears on the third terrace of the temple foot and on the remains of the temple body. That is to say, it is only present in the upper part of the temple, while not at all in its lower part.

A panel in the *Ramayana* reliefs on the eastern side's northern part contains the illustration of a monkey who is depicted with a sharp-edged large cap (Stutterheim 1989:plate 189; fig. 7.41). The panels on this side illustrate Hanuman's flight over the water from the island of Lengka, the place of Rahwana's palace, followed by the construction of the causeway to this island and the march of Hanuman's monkey army towards the demon king's palace. The scene in panel 189 shows the arrival of the army in Lengka. The monkey with the cap belongs to the army. In addition to the typical iconographic features for a noble person, the sash

<sup>72</sup> More recently Klokke (2000c) has revised these interpretations and added more details.

<sup>73</sup> He and other scholars suggest that the, now vanished, roof of the temple might have been built of perishable material in a multi-tiered way similar to the *meru* of the Balinese *pura*. Kinney (2003:184-5) considers that such light and airy kind of roof like the Balinese *meru* 'seem an aesthetic mismatch for the roof of Panataran's Main Temple, which was a massive stone monument'.



Fig. 7.41. Main Temple, first terrace, east side, *Ramayana*, plate 189

is longer than usual and his *kain* hangs in pleats, which indicates a very high status. In one hand, he holds an umbrella. In front of him is a taller monkey with an *ikat kepala*, a cloth wrapped around the head similar to traditional headgear still worn by men today in East Java. This monkey is depicted with rich jewellery and refined clothing, which designates him as having an even higher status. In all the panels on the east side, the monkeys with an *ikat kepala* seem to represent commanders of the army (Stutterheim 1989:plates 182, 184, 190, 194, 195) while the other monkeys without any jewellery or headdress belong to the low-ranking soldiers. The umbrella of honour held by the cap-monkey emphasizes the high position of the commander in front of him. The cap seems to indicate an intermediate position in the hierarchy of the monkeys between the soldiers and the high-ranking commander.<sup>74</sup> In the following panels on the east wall (Stutterheim 1989:plates 190-193) other commanders, as well as Hanuman, Sugriwa, Lakshmana, and Rama are depicted. I interpret the cap-figure as a marker of the heroes of the story. As the cap-figure is a monkey himself and belongs to Hanuman's army, he denotes the latter in particular as a hero. This confirms the interpretation mentioned above that indeed Hanuman is the major character and hero of the *Ramayana* depictions on the Main Temple. In my study on the symbolism of the 'Hanuman reliefs' (Kieven 2011), I argue that the focus is laid on Hanuman's accumulation of mystical qualities, in

<sup>74</sup> It is remarkable that on the north side, which depicts the battle between the monkey army and the demon army, no cap-monkey appears, while soldiers and commanders are depicted frequently.

particular by the frequent depictions of him flying and crossing water, and I suggest that in this way a Tantric theme is expressed through these reliefs. Hanuman himself acts as an intermediary, pointing to the path of acquiring Higher Knowledge.

The *Krishnayana* reliefs feature figures with a cap in two scenes, both on the west side: one (panel 5; fig. 7.42a/b) in the northern part, within the first panels of the series, and the other (panel 21) one in the southern part, belonging to the final scenes.<sup>75</sup> In the middle of panel 5 Krishna is shown together with two servants who wear caps. This scene is part of a long panel, illustrating a complicated episode depicting fighting demons, a huge fire, the sage Mucukunda three times, and Krishna twice.<sup>76</sup> Krishna and the two cap-servants are portrayed as hiding behind the sage Mucukunda against the attack of a demons' army. The servants wear half-moon shaped, large caps and are adorned with earrings; thus they are of higher status. They hold a betel box and a spittoon in front of their chest. They represent attendants of Krishna in a way similar to the cap-servants of Wairocana in Candi Jago.<sup>77</sup> In the following panels of the *Krishnayana* reliefs, Krishna is often depicted together with one or two servants holding betel accessories. In these cases the servants do not wear a cap, but are portrayed with flattened hair and two curls on the forehead. This is reminiscent of the depictions on the Pendopo Terrace where I identified the figure with the short hair as a man who has taken his cap off when seeking advice from a hermit.<sup>78</sup> Many of the scenes where Krishna is accompanied by these flat-haired servants in fact illustrate encounters with a deity or a hermit.<sup>79</sup>

I suggest the following interpretation of the cap-servants in panel 5: As this scene appears at the beginning of the *Krishnayana* reliefs and is part of a long panel with rather confusing depictions of fighting, the cap-servants function to mark the hero of the story, Krishna, so that the visitor to the temple can quickly distinguish him. In the following panels it is clear which figure represents Krishna, which renders the cap's signifying function no longer necessary. The hairstyle of the servants may indicate the reverence they and their master pay to the hermits and gods.

<sup>75</sup> In the descriptions of the *Krishnayana* panels I follow Klokke's (2000c) numbering.

<sup>76</sup> It is remarkable that the west front of Candi Jago also displays parts of this same episode, in the uppermost terrace.

<sup>77</sup> See the *Angling Dharma* and *Kunjarakarna* reliefs on Candi Jago.

<sup>78</sup> Compare the discussions of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace above: panels 5, 9, 10, 44, 57, 58.

<sup>79</sup> Klokke 2000a:panels 5c, 7, 8b, 8c.



Fig. 7.42a/b. Main Temple, second terrace, west side, *Krishnayana*, panel 5 and detail

The second cap-figure in the *Krishnayana* reliefs appears in one of the last panels in the right part of the west side (panel 21; fig. 7.43). In the battle between Krishna's army and his enemies a warrior, small in size, is depicted with a cap. He stands between Krishna's chariot and the actual fighting scene. Krishna himself, standing on the chariot, is depicted in an even smaller form. The cap-figure holds a stick or bow in one hand and has a short *kain* like the other warriors, but he is not taking any direct action.<sup>80</sup> Bracelets and earrings indicate his higher status. The other warriors, in active positions, are tall to show that the main action of the scene

<sup>80</sup> The iconography of this figure is very similar to a figure from the reliefs at Candi Gajah Mungkur on Mount Penanggungan (see Bernet Kempers 1959:plate 325), particularly concerning the detail of the bow-shaped object. This figure was cut out of its original place and is kept in the storage room of the museum in Trowulan. The original narrative is supposed to present a Panji story. See also my table of the sites with cap-figures in Chapter V. Without being able to identify or explain the bow-shaped object, its repeated depiction gives evidence of its popular use.



Fig. 7.43. Main Temple, second terrace, west side, *Krishnayana*, part of panel 21

lies in the fight. They are adorned with even more jewellery and sashes; those fighting for Krishna, with a curly hair bun, are distinguished from their enemies, who wear a particular headgear of feathers.<sup>81</sup> The more refined appearance of the cap-warrior might indicate that he is a kind of assistant of Krishna; again, the cap-figure serves to mark who is the hero of the story. The size of the cap-warrior, just between the size of Krishna and the fighters, corresponds to his position as an intermediary character.

In all of the three scenes depicting cap-figures, they mark the hero of the story, being Hanuman and Krishna, respectively. The *kakawin Ramayana* and the *Krishnayana*, dating from the ninth and twelfth century, respectively, belong to the tradition of the Indian epics, thus to the 'mythological stories' as defined earlier. These stories, with Rama and Krishna regarded as demi-gods, are suitable for depiction on the Main Temple, which is the most sacred building in the temple compound.<sup>82</sup> Hanuman graduated to a status comparable to that of a demi-god during the East Javanese period. The heroes Hanuman, Rama, and Krishna are depicted with the *supit urang* hairdo typical for the 'mythological sto-

<sup>81</sup> The same feathers as headgear are worn by the soldiers in the depiction of the army of the demon Niwatakawaca at Candi Surowono (see Chapter VIII).

<sup>82</sup> That the *Ramayana* and the *Krishnayana*, though in different variations, were very appropriate for this purpose, is also demonstrated in their depiction at the Prambanan temple in Central Java (mid ninth century).

ries', and with elaborate garments. The cap-figures on the Main Temple, with simple dress, represent characters of a lower status, but high enough to be appropriate attendants for the heroes. The cap-figures, known as commoners (as in Candi Jago) and as heroes from the 'post-mythological stories' (such as Panji), would have been recognized by contemporary visitors as characters of the mundane world. As such, these figures act as intermediaries to the sacred world.

Both the *kakawin Ramayana* and the *Krishnayana* feature the issues of love and final union of man and woman – Rama and Sita, Krishna and Rukmini, respectively. This union does, however, not form part of the illustrations in the *Ramayana* reliefs. The depictions are dominated by episodes of fighting and war, and the series ends with the death of the demon king's brother Kumbhakarna, cutting short the actual happy end between Rama and Sita. The *Krishnayana* reliefs continue the subject of fighting, and simultaneously they also demonstrate the subject of love between Krishna and Rukmini in several scenes. The final panels (Klokke 2000c:panels 22-25), which immediately follow the fighting scene with Krishna on the chariot, illustrate the union of Krishna and Rukmini. They enjoy themselves in the pleasure garden next to a lake. The very last scene depicts two *widadari* bathing under a water spout. These two scenes, marking the end of the whole corpus of narrative reliefs on the Main Temple, feature the two elements which are most dominant in the depictions in the whole temple complex: water and the union of male and female. The union of Krishna and Rukmini symbolizes the union of Siwa and Sakti/Kundalini as the ultimate goal of the Tantric path. Sitting next to the water illustrates that Krishna and Rukmini are purified by having passed the *tirtha* and are thus prepared for their union. The Supreme Bliss which emerges through the experience of the union of Siwa and Sakti, and symbolized by *amerta*, is visualized by the water spouts in the final scene. I suggest that the two depictions of water invite the pilgrim to go down from the Main Temple to the Bathing Place filled with water. Before descending from the Main Temple, the contemporary visitor would still have proceeded to the *cella* in the temple body. As we have no evidence about this *cella* and about contingent deity figures, we are not able to determine the actual function and rituals in the temple body.

Connecting my interpretation of the Main Temple to that of the *dwarapala*, I propose the following explanation for the latter. The cap-

figure guides the visitor to the *Tantri* stories depicted on the backs of the guardian figures. Through their close relation to the mundane world and their popularity, both the *Tantri* stories and the cap-figure directly appeal to the visitor. After visiting the Main Temple the pilgrims are not supposed to leave the temple compound, but must rather proceed to the Bathing Place. They need guidance to carry out this very last step in the ritual path. In pointing to the *Tantri* stories with their symbolism associated with water, the cap-figure acts as the intermediary figure in this process.<sup>83</sup> Still today, visitors miss the Bathing Place because it lies outside of the main enclosure. An indicator is in fact needed to show the way.

Let us now proceed to the Holy Bathing Place.

#### THE INNER BATHING PLACE (1)

This charming small *tirtha*, dated AD 1415, consists of a basin which is fed by an underground source. The depth of the water can vary, and in the rainy season the water feeds a tiny creek.<sup>84</sup> A stairway leads down to a platform from where one could enter the water basin.

Part of the surrounding walls of the basin above the water surface are decorated with scenes of five different *Tantri* stories (Klokke 1993:235-9). The two corners to the right and left of the basin have bas-reliefs with depictions of one-metre-high human beings. The southern corner (fig. 7.44) shows two men, each wearing a very short loincloth. The left one wears earrings, while the right one has a moustache. The upper parts of their heads are unfortunately destroyed, but it can be seen that the man standing on the left has two curls of hair on his forehead, which is typical for a man wearing a cap. The lower part of the men's legs reach beneath the water surface.<sup>85</sup> Correspondingly, on the northern corner of the Bathing Place a man and a woman are depicted as standing in the water. Both are adorned with earrings, while the woman also wears bracelets. The woman (fig. 7.45), with a hair bun, wears a garment which covers her breast and reaches down under the water surface. The man (fig. 7.46) has the same moustache as his counterpart on the southern

<sup>83</sup> The fact that the Bathing Place was constructed later than the Main Temple may shed doubt upon my suggestion. I maintain, however, that a water place did already exist on this spot prior to the construction of its enclosure. I will elaborate on this argument further down.

<sup>84</sup> Photos taken in different periods show that the water level varies.

<sup>85</sup> Depending on the varying depth of the water it can be the legs' whole part downward from the knees.



Fig. 7.44. Inner Bathing Place, corner on the south side



Fig. 7.45. Inner Bathing Place, left side of the northern corner, female figure



Fig. 7.46. Inner Bathing Place, right side of the northern corner, male figure

side, while the upper part of his head is damaged. The moustache is a typical iconographic detail for a *kadayan*. I suggest that the four figures represent a cap-figure with his *kadayan*, and the *kadayan* with a woman. Because of their large size the four figures appeal in a direct way to the visitor to identify with them. It seems that these figures invite the pilgrim to follow their example and to step into the water. In this sense, they have a task comparable to that of the figures at Candi Yudha and Candi Mirigambar, where a cap-figure and a *kadayan* invite the visitor to enter the more sacred sphere.<sup>86</sup>

As mentioned above, *Tantri* reliefs, and in particular those on the backs of the *dwarapala*, carry a symbolism associated with water. It is remarkable that, within the total of five, the same three *Tantri* reliefs on the backs of the *dwarapala* are all depicted in the Inner Bathing Place.<sup>87</sup> As this *tirtha* was constructed later than the *dwarapala*, we can conclude that the three particular *Tantri* stories were deliberately chosen for depiction in the Bathing Place to maintain the message symbolized by the narratives on the *dwarapala*. Water is present in material form in the water basin and symbolically in the *Tantri* stories, which enhances the significance of water in this place. In my overall analysis I will suggest an interpretation of the symbolism of this *tirtha* within the Tantric context.

Bathing is symbolically represented by the four figures, and it seems that part of the ritual consists in taking a bath in the water.<sup>88</sup> The bottom of the water basin is about 2 metres under the normal surface so that, when taking a bath, one is completely covered by water. The unusually small size of this *tirtha* in comparison to the Outer Bathing Place, and also to other *tirtha*, leads Patt (1979:418) to convincingly conclude that this Inner Bathing Place was ‘designed for private use by the court on their visits or by the dignitaries at the temple rather than for public use by any large groups of villagers or pilgrims’.

The stairway, leading down to the Inner Bathing Place, is today located close to the Main Temple on its southern side and leads down to

<sup>86</sup> See Chapters IX and X.

<sup>87</sup> These are: ‘Crocodile and bull’, ‘Geese and tortoise’, ‘Small Animals set each other free’ (Klokke 1993:232-8).

<sup>88</sup> Still today adherents of the traditional Javanese beliefs, *kejawen*, come to Candi Panataran to meditate and take a ritual bath in the *tirtha*. Other parts of the temple complex, in particular the Main Temple and the Dated Temple, are also visited for ritual practice.

A longer period of fieldwork, planned by the author, will yield new insights into today's ritual practices and concepts at Candi Panataran.

the broad plateau which must be crossed when approaching the Bathing Place. The photos taken by Van Kinsbergen in 1867 (Theuns-de-Boer 2005:photos 303, 304) show that, originally, stairways led straight to the Bathing Place. Thus it seems that in former times the pilgrims, coming from the third courtyard, would have approached the *tirtha* more directly.

#### CONCLUSION

I offer suggestions for an interpretation of both the symbolism of the narrative depictions with cap-figures and of their function within the religious concept of the temple. This will then allow to draw conclusions about the overall function and meaning of Candi Panataran. As explained above, it must be considered that the temple complex of Panataran was built over a long period of time under the reign of several kings and queens. In my view, a basic overall concept for the temple complex was already in existence at the beginning of the fourteenth century, as manifest in the layout with three courtyards and the respective guardian figures at the entrances to each courtyard. This concept included the progression from the mundane sphere (first yard) via the transitional sphere (second yard) to the sacred sphere (third yard). This concept was continuously re-emphasized and refined and/or re-established through the later extensions, particularly by the Main Temple (ca. AD 1350), the Pendopo Terrace (AD 1375), and the Inner Bathing Place (AD 1415).

Following my methodology, I have first, based on the iconography, identified the depicted cap-figures, and have then suggested possible identification of the narratives. This was followed by an interpretation of the symbolic meaning of the narrative depictions with cap-figures on the single buildings, which led to preliminary interpretations of the function of the cap-figures within the whole temple concept. These latter interpretations can only now be verified in an all-embracing way.

My analysis yields insight into the symbolic meaning of the cap-figures as accompaniment and guides to lead the visitor step by step from the Outer Bathing Place through the temple courtyards to the most sacred part in the Main Temple and, finally, to the Inner Bathing Place. On each building the cap-figures act as indicators of the essential theme in that building. In the Outer Bathing Place the pilgrim undergoes the initial purification before entering the temple complex. In the first court-

yard on the Pendopo Terrace the visitor is, assisted by the cap-figures, confronted on a mundane level with the major themes in the temple: the representations of love between man and woman, and the advance to higher spiritual knowledge as signified through the motifs of hermits and water. I recognize these themes to constitute major aspects of the Tantric doctrine. In the second courtyard at the Naga Temple, the worshipper is directed by a cap-figure to the importance of the symbolism of the *amerta*, in association to that of the mountain. In the third courtyard the cap-figures on the Small Pendopo Terrace again point to the symbolism of water and the relation between man and woman. On the Main Temple they denote the major heroes of the stories – first Hanuman, representing warrior and mystical qualities; then Krishna, who signifies the union of male and female. These steps reflect the process whereby an adept acquires mystical knowledge before becoming ready to reach the final goal of his practice. The cap-figure on the *dwarapala* indicates the theme of water, derived from the final *Krishnayana* reliefs. In this way he encourages the visitor to proceed to the Inner Bathing Place. There the visitor is invited to partake of the final spiritual purification.

I recognize the Tantric Kundalini path in this process. The ultimate goal of the Tantric practice is the experience of the union of the individual with the Divine, which is symbolized in the union of Siwa and Sakti. A way to reach this union is the Kundalini path: the rise of the Kundalini serpent through the body to the uppermost part above the head and the final union of the Kundalini-Sakti with Siwa. The Tantric path becomes manifest in the human body on a microcosmic level. In the same way the Tantric path is manifested architecturally in the temple complex of Candi Panataran.

That Tantra indeed was taught and practised in some way in ancient Java is proven by evidence which I presented earlier in this book. Taking this into consideration, my starting point of analysis is not the textual reference, but the visual medium of the narrative reliefs. I have attempted to decipher some of the potential meanings and intentions of the Tantric doctrines as expressed in this visual medium. The more I studied Candi Panataran and other East Javanese temples, the more it became evident to me that Tantric ideas are embedded in them. Candi Panataran provided me with the starting point in recognizing this Tantric concept.

Three elements – (1) the theme of love between man and woman, (2) religious teaching by hermits, and (3) water – are major recurrent sym-

bols in the path along the temple courtyards. The recognition of these symbolic meanings prepares the visitor for the sacred and, in particular, for understanding the Tantric doctrine. This understanding, going far beyond seeing merely the entertainment value, was only accessible to initiated adepts and those keen to learn and receive teaching from initiated persons. The three elements are unfolded *in extenso* on the Pendopo Terrace and are, in the other parts of the temple complex, emphasized individually according to the respective intended message.

(1) The frequent depictions of love stories with loving couples on the Pendopo Terrace display the theme of union of man and woman on a concrete and mundane level, particularly as the themes of the relief series are mostly chosen from the corpus of the popular Panji stories. Also, the theme of longing is frequently depicted in the Pendopo reliefs. I recognized in these two themes the two essential moods of Tantric experience: 'love-in-separation' and 'love-in-enjoyment'. These depictions, featuring the popular cap-figures, both welcome the pilgrim and act as a signal of the Tantric process. It was indeed the dominance of the subject of love and union in the depictions on the Pendopo Terrace which inspired in me the idea that a Tantric concept was embedded in these depictions. The theme of love of man and woman is then continued in the third courtyard on the Small Pendopo Terrace, again indicated by the cap-figure, and in the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the Main Temple. In this latter case the cap-figures only play a minor role.

(2) The hermits symbolize the required teaching of esoteric knowledge. On the Pendopo Terrace this subject plays a role in all nine narratives, where often the cap-figure will seek advice from a hermit. The *Bubukshah* story is part of this teaching of the *dharma* and the way to *moksha*, emphasized by its placement in the middle of the rear side. In ancient Java the *rshi* held an important religious position in the teaching of the *dharma* and particularly in the teaching of the secret Tantric doctrine. Thus, the frequent depictions of Panji and the cap-figures in combination with a hermit on the Pendopo Terrace function as a symbol for the introduction into the Tantric path. Hermits later also play a role in the reliefs on the Main Temple, particularly in the *Krishnayana* reliefs, and to a minor degree in the *Rayamana* reliefs.

(3) Water, with its multiple symbolism, is a dominant subject in the whole temple complex: in the sense of *thirtha* it symbolizes purification and proceeding to Higher Knowledge, and in the sense of *amerta* it is the

experience of the Supreme Bliss. The first thing the contemporary visitor would have done is to visit the Outer Bathing Place to clean and purify him- or herself before entering the complex proper. On the Pendopo Terrace water is depicted in six of the nine stories, which symbolizes the passage from a more mundane stage to a stage of higher religious knowledge. The Naga Temple, with its illustration of the churning of the ocean, is a symbol for the creation of the *amerta*. The depiction of a man on a fish in water on the Small Pendopo is perhaps a symbolic indication for the visitor to take another, further step into the sacred sphere. Furthermore, Hanuman's flight over the sea from India to Lengka, as depicted on the Main Temple within the *Ramayana* reliefs, symbolizes Hanuman's approach to a higher stage which eventually leads him to fulfil his task of destroying the evil by killing Rahwana's brother. The Inner Bathing Place symbolizes the final purification and the *Anandakanda-padma* as the place of the unification of the *yogi* with the *ishtadewata*.

The cap-figure, in most cases Panji, is a principal actor in the illustrations of the three elements presented: love, hermits, and water. In each case, he highlights the essential message of the story and of the very building or part of the temple complex itself. The number of depictions of cap-figures diminishes as one proceeds to the sacred part of the temple complex. This arrangement elucidates the introductory function of the cap-figures and Panji and, therefore, their intermediary character. The preparatory function of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace corresponds to the function of this building, that for preparing offerings for the temple.

Panji acts as an intermediary figure, indicating the Tantric Kundalini path, the destination of which is the final union with the Divine that will take place in the uppermost *cakra* – the *Sahasrara*. This *cakra* is symbolized by the Main Temple which represents the top of Mount Meru. The three *granthi*, obstacles which have to be overcome in this ascent through the body, are symbolized by the passing of the three gates between the courtyards in the temple and by the *dwarapala* figures which guard these entrances. The experience of the unification of Siwa with Sakti, as symbolized in the final scenes of the *Krishnayana* on the Main Temple, yields the emergence of Supreme Bliss, the *amerta*. The Kundalini energy descends to the *Anandakanda-padma*, associated with a lovely body of water, where the merging of the individual soul with the personal deity takes place. This corresponds to the descent of the pilgrim to the Inner

Bathing Place. The placement of the Inner Bathing Place in the temple complex corresponds in a striking way to this path, where the visitor descends to this lower level, which contains water, after having ascended to the highest place of the temple compound in the Main Temple.

In my opinion the location for the construction of the Inner Bathing Place was deliberately chosen. The way this *tirtha* is fed by underground water is exceptional, given that in most other cases a *tirtha* has water spouts which are fed by a source or by water conduits. The striking clarity of the water and the impression of a tiny quiet lake enhances the distinctiveness of this *tirtha*. I conclude that the Inner Bathing Place was constructed at a place which was already previously ritually used by contemporary adepts or priests. This is to say, even the concept of the *Anandakanda-padma* may have already been in existence and been practised by taking a ritual bath in the water, before the actual construction of the enclosure was completed. The addition of the relief carvings, with depictions of the *Tantri* stories and depictions of cap-figure and companions as introductory guides, would have made the intention and concept of the place more recognizable.

The *naga* is another feature in the water symbolism. It plays an important role in the whole complex of Candi Panataran. The *naga* is a symbol of water, and it also represents the Kundalini. The rise of the Kundalini through the body is paralleled in the position of *naga* in the temple compound. In the first courtyard of the Panataran complex, coiled serpents are depicted around the foot of the Pendopo Agung, which was supposed to be the first site to be visited. The foot of the Pendopo Terrace is surrounded by *naga* bodies which raise their heads at various points in the building. On the Naga Temple in the second courtyard, serpents encircle the upper border of the building. In the third courtyard, on the Main Temple, *naga* heads are depicted on the third terrace and on the walls of the superimposed temple body; hence on the upper levels of the building. Is it too far-fetched to interpret the ascending appearance of all these *naga* as the ascending Kundalini? We must however be careful with this interpretation, as the chronology of the constructions does not completely correspond to this planned symbolism.

The dominance of the water theme is also conveyed through the location of the three entrances to the courtyards. All are not centred, but, rather, located in the southern part of the borders between the courtyards and arranged in a relatively straight line from west to east.

From my very first visits to Panataran, I have had the impression that this positioning of the entrances leads straight to the Bathing Place, which is located on the south side of the temple axis as well.

The placement of the narratives within the spatial layout of the temple compound is a further important aspect contributing to the symbolic meaning of the temple. It is noteworthy that most of the cap-figures are positioned in the first courtyard on the Pendopo Terrace. The two other yards only have some depictions. This fits the common schema in temples: while in the front or on the lower levels popular narratives and folktales are common (the ‘post-mythological stories’), at the higher or rear part of a temple narrative reliefs based on the Indian epics are predominant (the ‘mythological’ stories). Many cap-figures are placed on protruding positions or at corners. In particular, the Small Pendopo Terrace and the Naga Temple occupy a corner position within the temple layout. As mentioned earlier, the corners of a temple and of a temple complex may have special meanings and have the function of indicators.<sup>89</sup> It is also remarkable that erotic depictions are more explicit on the Pendopo Terrace than in the Main Temple. This is a frequent feature in East Javanese temples, where it is a pattern that the higher the level of sacredness, on the rear or the upper part of the temple, the less explicit the depictions of erotic situations.

Besides the Tantric context, other aspects of the symbolism of the Panji stories are also embedded in Candi Panataran. So, too, is the symbolism of agricultural fertility, considering that the union of Panji and Candrakirana is the manifestation of the union of Wishnu and Sri, Sri being the goddess of rice and fertility. A Sri sculpture with rice ears was found outside the temple terrain of Panataran (Krom 1923, II:281). This may hint at the existence of a cult connected to agriculture and the irrigation of the fields. In this symbolism of agricultural fertility, the Panji stories would again have had the role of preparing and introducing the pilgrim to enter the sacred sphere of the Panataran complex. The depictions of union on the Pendopo Terrace prepare for the union of Rama and Sita, and of Krishna and Rukmini – both couples being incarnations of Wishnu and Sri – which are featured in the Main Temple in the sacred sphere of the temple compound.

<sup>89</sup> I will also elaborate on this issue in my discussion of Candi Surowono (Chapter VIII).

The fact that water is a frequent subject in all parts of the temple can also be understood, in reference to the cult of *amerta* and Mount Meru, as a symbol of the semen of Siwa.<sup>90</sup> The Main Temple is the concrete representation of Mount Meru, thus of God Siwa, and the semen flowing out of Siwa's *lingga* can be understood as the *amerta* collecting in the Bathing Place. The *amerta* cult is connected to the worship of Mount Meru and the Lord of the Mountains. This worship was performed by Hayam Wuruk during his visits to the temple, as is documented in the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 17.5a). Kingship and the cult of holy water were interconnected. By making use of the purifying and exorcist qualities of water in rituals, the king accumulates *sakti* and the world order is maintained. We may conclude that the small *tirtha* of Candi Panataran was used for such rituals in connection with sanctifying the kingship. This is supported by the small size of the *tirtha*, which allows only a small community – the royal retinue – to enter the water.

That Candi Panataran was also destined for the worship of the king himself, as stated by Supomo (1972:292), is an observation which demands further research for corroboration.<sup>91</sup> It is, however, supported by a special aspect of the Panji stories, namely, the symbolism of the life crisis of a young man, in particular a young royal. Only after much struggle is he eventually ready to marry and to become an adult fully accepted by society. In this sense, the prince needs a queen to be fully acknowledged and to become king. Thus, the appropriate place for the Panji stories within the temple complex is in the entrance part. In the final part of the temple the presentation of the ideal king, in his union with the queen, is symbolized by the union of Krishna and Rukmini. The Main Temple in the sacred area of the compound is the appropriate place for the depictions of stories of proper kings such as Rama and Krishna, who are already accomplished *kshatriya*. The Small Pendopo represents an additional indication of the struggle in achieving the final stage.

The main building activities were executed in the middle of the fourteenth century during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389). Through the extensions of the State Temple and through his visits to Candi Panataran, the king reinforced the importance of both this temple

<sup>90</sup> See Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Water and Mountain'.

<sup>91</sup> In this sense the Main Temple would then have represented a kind of panegyric of the king. Dumarçay's (1986a:78) impression of the Main Temple as a building flying in the air, which was repeated by Soekmono (1990:83), may add a further dimension to this idea.

and his own power. We can assume that the king himself ordered the constructions and arranged artists and religious specialists to implement and apply the concept. If indeed this underlying concept was the Tantric doctrine, we can provide further support for the assumption, which has been made by many authors, that some kind of Tantrism was practised by Hayam Wuruk and the religious community. The Main Temple was probably built around AD 1350, replacing and extending an older temple, possibly the Srengga-sanctuary; the Pendopo Terrace was only completed 25 years later. This chronology suggests that Hayam Wuruk may have ordered the depictions of the popular Panji stories in order to attract more pilgrims and/or to convey the teaching of the Tantric doctrine in a prominent and comprehensible way. The construction of the Inner Bathing Place 40 years after the Pendopo Terrace may be understood as a way of enhancing this doctrine, although I think it was already used as a holy water place prior to this construction. The fact that the Inner Bathing Place was built in AD 1415, and thus after the Civil War of 1409, might also demonstrate that after these events the then ruling king wanted to emphasize the power of the ritual in the State Temple Candi Panataran, by which he could accumulate *sakti* to increase his own power.

We know that Panataran was visited by a diverse community. The king (Hayam Wuruk) came to honour the Lord of the Mountains, pilgrims came for teaching of religious knowledge, and others simply brought offerings to the gods. For all of these visitors the temple meant something else, and for each of them the message embedded in the narrative reliefs offered different levels of meanings. On all of these different levels, the Panji stories and other depictions of narratives with a cap-figure welcome the visitor on a mundane level and guide him/her in proceeding through the temple with the following purpose: to worship the king or a deity, and/or to practise the religious, that is, the Tantric ritual. We may imagine that Panji's function in the temple reliefs as a 'guide' was paralleled in the temple itself by a priest who guided the pilgrims in circumambulating along the reliefs and reciting or singing the texts of the depicted narratives.



## Chapter VIII

### Candi Surowono: Sidapaksa, a nobleman with a cap

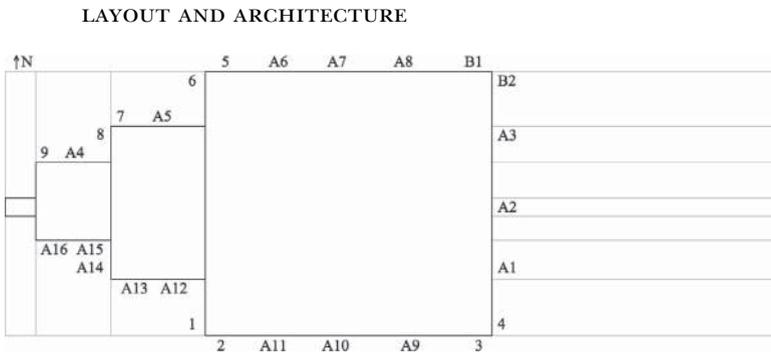


Plate 8.1. Groundplan of Candi Surowono

- A1–A16: scenes from the *Arjunawiwaha* story  
B1 / B2: scenes from the *Bubukshah* story  
1–9: scenes from the *Sri Tanjung* story

Candi Surowono is located in the village of Canggu near Pare, in the northeastern part of the district of Kediri. All that is left is the base of the temple in andesite stone. We must imagine the upper part of the temple as having a *cella* and a roof, none of which are extant. The base of the temple body measures about 8 square metres. There is a porch on the western side of the building, which extends in three landings and incorporates a stairway. The building is oriented to the east, towards the Arjuno-Welirang Massif.

The walls of the temple are decorated in two rows with well-preserved relief panels. The lower row contains small panels with depictions of folk life and of *Tantri* stories; the upper row consists of interchanging, large panels in differing sizes, with illustrations of three different stories,

which have been identified as the *Arjunawiwaha*, the *Sri Tanjung*, and the *Bubukshah and Gagak Aking* (plate 8.1).

The *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs dominate, displayed in broad rectangular panels on the north, east, and south side, with some smaller panels on the porch. The corners are nearly all decorated by small upright panels with depictions of the *Sri Tanjung* and the *Bubukshah* story. The *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs are presented in a mixed order of *pradakshina* and *prasawya*. The two *Bubukshah* reliefs are in *pradakshina* order. The *Sri Tanjung* reliefs are, with a few exceptions, arranged in *prasawya*. This confusing order of the narrative scenes has provoked much speculation and discussion, and my investigation aims to shed new light on this issue. Concerning the placement and function of the reliefs, I agree in the main with Worsley's (1986:338) statement that 'the *Sri Tanjung* and the story of Bubuksha and Gagak-Aking are subsidiary and provide [...] reflections and commentary of thematic interest to the bas-reliefs of the *Arjunawiwaha*'. In a former study about the aspect of the asceticism in the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs, I arrive at a similar conclusion (Kieven 1994, 1998), which I will further develop and modify here.

#### HISTORY AND FUNCTION

The name 'Shurabhana', mentioned twice in the *Nagarakertagama*, has commonly been identified with today's 'Surawana' or 'Surowono'.<sup>1</sup> *Nag.* 62.2b states that King Hayam Wuruk stayed overnight in 'Shurabhana'. *Nag.* 82.2b mentions the same place, located in Pasuruhan, as a religious domain which was opened up by the Prince of Wengker.<sup>2</sup> The Prince of Wengker is referred to by the name Wijayarajasa in *Nag.* 4.2b. The *Pararaton* narrates how Bhre Prameshwara from Pamotan passed away in AD 1388 and was enshrined in Manyar in a temple called

<sup>1</sup> *Shura* (Old Javanese, Sanskrit) means 'brave, hero' (Zoetmulder 1982:1861). *Bhana*, in Sanskrit, written with a long 'a' and a dotted 'n', means 'recitation' (Monier Williams 1976:752). *Bhana* without the long 'a' means 'speaking, proclaiming' (Monier Williams 1976:745), and without the dotted 'n', but with the long 'a', 'appearance' (Monier Williams 1976:751). 'Shurabhana', as mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama*, then means 'brave appearance'. We find both 'Surawana' and 'Surowono' in present-day spelling; see my technical notes.

<sup>2</sup> The name 'Pasuruhan' is also mentioned in *Nag.* 35.1 Here it seems to be identical with today's Pasuruan on the coast of the Java Sea, south of Surabaya. It is, however, not clear if the 'Pasuruhan' of *Nag.* 82 is equivalent to Pasuruan as well. Compare Hadi Sidomulyo 2007:75, 105.

Wishnubhawanapura;<sup>3</sup> the same text (*Par.* 28.34, Brandes 1920:36) identifies Bhre Prameshwara as being from Wengker. Based on this Brandes (1920:168) concludes the identity of Bhre Wengker: he is Wijayarajasa, or Prameshwara, from Pamotan.<sup>4</sup>

Krom (1923, II:209-10) concludes from these puzzle pieces that the name ‘Wishnubhawanapura’ was the inauguration name for ‘Surawana’, and that Candi Surowono was the commemorative temple for Wijayarajasa. Recent authors have aligned themselves with this opinion. We may assume that for this prince, as a member of the higher aristocracy, the commemorative temple was inaugurated in combination with the *sraddha* ritual twelve years after his death in AD 1400 (Bernet Kempers 1959:96).

The connection between Prince Wijayarajasa of Wengker and Surowono is obvious from the *Nagarakertagama*. The prince was an uncle of Hayam Wuruk and held a high position within the royal family, fulfilling several tasks and responsibilities of royal authority. We know this from a number of references to him in the *Nagarakertagama*<sup>5</sup> and from inscriptions (Noorduyn 1975:480-1). The discussions by Noorduyn (1975:479-82) and Aoyama (1994) concerning the Chinese report from AD 1377 have yielded the following historical picture:<sup>6</sup> the Prince of Wengker, as the second independent king, had his own *kraton* in the eastern part of the capital of Majapahit, and he kept his own diplomatic ties with the Chinese emperor. At the same time, however, some of the references to the Prince of Wengker confirm that he had a status subordinate to the king, thus rendering his position somewhat ambiguous. It may have been the purpose of his founding a religious domain to reinforce his prestige. The fact that he had opened up the sanctuary in the location called ‘Shurabhana’, as mentioned in *Nag.* 82.2b, implies that some kind of building must already have existed around AD 1365. That the geographical position of the temple is in the heartland of Majapahit affirms the affinity of the Prince of Wengker with the court. If ‘Shurabhana’, or ‘Wishnubhawanapura’, later became a commemorative temple for the Prince of Wengker, and if we assume that he is in fact the aforementioned Bhre Prameshwara, then it was completed and inaugurated twelve years after his death (in AD 1388) in connection with the *sraddha* ritual in the year AD 1400.

<sup>3</sup> Brandes 1920:38, 160, 168, 169, 245.

<sup>4</sup> There remains still the illogical point that Wengker and Pamotan are two different places.

<sup>5</sup> *Nag.* 4.2a, 12.2a, 12.3b, 41.4d, 59.4a, 65.4a, 76.4b, 79.2a, 82.2b, 88.2a.

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter IV, sub-chapter ‘Decline of Majapahit’.

ICONOGRAPHY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE NARRATIVE  
RELIEFS

THE SRI TANJUNG RELIEFS

The *Sri Tanjung* story speaks of Sri Tanjung, the granddaughter of a hermit, and her husband Sidapaksa, who is in the services of King Sulakrama. Desiring the beautiful Sri Tanjung, Sulakrama sends Sidapaksa to God Indra's heaven with a letter which states that Sidapaksa is going to attack heaven and that Indra should kill him. The ignorant Sri Tanjung gives Sidapaksa a magic jacket to be taken along on his journey.<sup>7</sup> Reading the letter, Indra recognizes the truth and sends Sidapaksa home. Back at King Sulakrama's palace, Sidapaksa has doubts about the loyalty of his wife and kills her. Before dying, Sri Tanjung tells him that if her blood produces a fragrant smell, this will be a sign that she was faithful. Her blood indeed has a wonderful smell, and Sidapaksa recognizes that he was wrong, and grieves. The soul of Sri Tanjung reaches the realm of the dead by crossing a river with the help of a white crocodile, but she is refused entry and sent home to her grandfather, carried by Durga's servant Kalika. In the end Sidapaksa finds her at the hermit's place, and there is a happy reunion.

The *Sri Tanjung* story was composed as a *kidung* and exists in a great variety of manuscripts. While the date of this story is not known, other depictions in temple reliefs such as on the Pendopo Terrace at Panataran (dated AD 1375) convey that it was already popular by the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

In the reliefs at Candi Surowono, Sidapaksa is depicted with a sharp-edged, crescent-moon shaped, large cap with some curls of hair being visible. He has all the iconographic features which characterize him as a nobleman: a long loincloth with a sash, bracelets, and earrings.

In my description and analysis of the panels I follow the *prasawya* order.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> This magic jacket is in the Javanese original called alternately '*antakusuma*' (II.34, 35) and '*anan-takusuma*' (II.36), which means either end-flower or endless/eternal flower. In his notes, Prijono simply presents them as alternatives.

<sup>8</sup> Other examples of depictions of the *Sri Tanjung* are at Candi Jabung (AD 1354) in 19 panels, and at Gapura Bajang Ratu (AD 1340) in four panels. See also Galestin 1939a:155.

<sup>9</sup> I refer to Prijono's (1938) numeration of the verses of the poem.

- Panel 1: Sidapaksa meets Sri Tanjung in the night and falls in love with her (I.48a).
- Panel 2: Sidapaksa takes her from her home at the hermitage of her grandfather (I.48i).
- Panel 3: Sri Tanjung and Sidapaksa separate from each other, and she gives him an object (II.32-39).<sup>10</sup>
- Panel 4: Sri Tanjung, after having been killed by Sidapaksa, stands in front of Dorakala, the doorkeeper at the realm of the souls, who does not want to let her in (V.142-151) (fig. 8.6).
- Panel 5: Sidapaksa sits at the bank of the river in a longing and mourning position, after he has smelled the fragrance of Sri Tanjung's blood (V.108) (fig. 8.7).
- Panel 6: Sri Tanjung sits in a longing position on a huge fish which helps her cross the river in the realm of the dead (V.122?) (fig. 8.8).
- Panel 7: Sidapaksa and a woman stand under a tree (fig. 8.2).
- Panel 8: Sidapaksa sits in a garden, again in a longing and mourning position, and still grieving about his deed (V.113) (fig. 8.9).
- Panel 9: Sri Tanjung is carried home by Kalika (V.129) (fig. 8.10).

The identification of most of the depictions with episodes from the story is clear. However, panels 4, 6, and 7 need special discussion.

Panel 4 (fig. 8.6) has been interpreted by Worsley (1986:341) to depict Sri Tanjung who stands in front of Dorakala, 'the doorkeeper to the world of the dead'. Klokke (1995:80) understands the scene to portray Sri Tanjung arriving 'at the gate of heaven, where she faces the guardian of the gate'. Consulting the *Sri Tanjung* text (V.142-151) does not necessarily help in determining which realm Dorakala is guarding.<sup>11</sup> The text states in the preceding verses (V.123-141) that Sri Tanjung passes the realm of Yama, the god of death, and meets several souls which are suffering from punishment in hell. Thus, I am inclined to interpret the guardian as watching the door to the realm of heaven where Sri Tanjung, after having passed the realm of the dead, is supposed to enter. This would be supported by the title 'Hyang' for Dorakala in the

<sup>10</sup> From the depiction it is not clear if this object is really a jacket; it looks rather like a letter.

<sup>11</sup> The part '*dora*' of the name 'Dorakala' may derive from the Sanskrit '*dwara*' (door, entrance). '*Kala*' means time and death and also denotes a demon. Thus, 'Dorakala' may be translated as 'entrance demon'.

text, which defines him as a divine being. However, a comparison with the Balinese *Bhīmaswarga* story provides another direction: the realm of the god of death is also situated in *swargaloka*, the realm of the gods in general, with Yama forming part of the pantheon of deities (Hinzier 1981:203-4).<sup>12</sup> I will return to this interpretation in a discussion of the cross-references between the *Arjunawiwaha* and *Sri Tanjung* reliefs.

The story states that, after Sri Tanjung has been killed, she is carried by a crocodile across the river within the realm of the dead (V.122). The fish, as depicted in panel 6 (fig. 8.8) is not mentioned, neither here nor later when she is brought back to the realm of the living. Worsley (1986:341) interprets this scene as Sri Tanjung returning from the realm of the dead to the realm of the living. Klokke (1996:80) claims only that Sri Tanjung is in the realm of the dead. Interestingly this same motif, together with the scene showing Sidapaksa on the bank of the river, also appears in the *Sri Tanjung* depictions on the Pendopo Terrace in Candi Panataran, in Candi Jabung, and in a depiction on Candi Bajang Ratu in Trowulan.<sup>13</sup> The motif 'Sri Tanjung on the fish' was obviously very popular in the fourteenth century, as it is also found in the aforementioned *candi* and on other art objects, for example a golden plaque and a zodiac beaker.<sup>14</sup> We cannot argue that the fish would have replaced the crocodile because the latter was an unknown animal, since crocodiles were often depicted in East Javanese reliefs. For example, a crocodile appears in the popular *Tantri* story 'Crocodile and bull' which also forms part of the small lower panels in Candi Surowono itself.<sup>15</sup> Thus, I assume that the fish formed part of an earlier oral or lost written version of the story, and replaced the crocodile of the better-known and later version. However, there still remains the problem of the positioning of this scene here at Candi Surowono. According to the order of events in the story, the crossing of the river should be depicted before panel 4 with Sri Tanjung standing in front of Dorakala. If, however, we interpret the

<sup>12</sup> This whole question of 'realm of the dead' or 'heaven' is ambiguous. In the Balinese *Bhīmaswarga* story Bhīma, who must complete the task of releasing his parents from punishment, goes to hell in the realm of death and then to heaven (*swargaloka*), with the former forming a part of the latter. We could conclude that Yama's realm in the *Sri Tanjung* story is regarded as a part of the heaven of gods. However, as in the *Sri Tanjung* text Yama has a negative, demonic connotation, I reject this interpretation.

<sup>13</sup> On the Pendopo Terrace the scene 'Sri Tanjung on the fish' is followed by the scene 'Sidapaksa on the bank of the river', while in Candi Jabung the order is the opposite, as in Candi Surowono.

<sup>14</sup> Fontein 1990:293-4; Galestin 1939a; Galestin 1939b; Sukawati Susetyo 1997.

<sup>15</sup> See also the reliefs at the Inner Bathing Place at Panataran. Compare Klokke 1993:206, 217, 222-3, 225, 233, 238, 241, 244-5, 247-8.



Fig. 8.2. Candi Surowono, north side, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 7

fish scene as Sri Tanjung on her way back to the realm of the living, this implies a free creation by the artists, or an element of another version of the story. Another possibility which I will confirm later is that it was deliberately misplaced to fit into the particular arrangement of reliefs, which conveys a specific symbolism.

The meaning of panel 7 (fig. 8.2) is not clear either. Worsley (1986:341) interprets the woman as a maid servant who greets Sidapaksa and is grieving about the loss of her mistress (V.114); Klokke (1995:80) only mentions that Sidapaksa meets a woman. From the iconographic elements – clothing, jewellery, coiffure – the woman looks like Sri Tanjung from panel 3. However, if indeed Sri Tanjung were depicted here then the meaning of this scene does not make sense in the progress of the panels in *prasawya* order. A resolution to this contradiction might be that Sidapaksa is imagining his wife to be alive and standing in front of him. This, however, is not mentioned in the poem. Thus, this scene would again be a free creation or part of a different version. A further possibility is that this panel was indeed intended to portray Sri Tanjung when she is having a long talk with Sidapaksa before she gives him the magic jacket. As the poem dedicates a rather large number of verses (II.32-39) to this episode of separation, it would in fact make sense that these are

depicted in two different panels.<sup>16</sup> In all of these options, the separation of male and female is the main subject, which is emphasized by the neighbouring panel depicting Sidapaksa in grief over his loss.

Thus, all these cases – panels 4, 6, and 7 – imply that either another version of the story has been depicted, or that the ‘disorder’ of the reliefs is deliberate. In his discussion of this ‘disorder’ Worsley (1986:347) concludes that ‘in the case of the Sri Tanjung, it also seems clear that the scenes have been selected and positioned so as to evoke a thematic dialogue between it and the narrative of the Arjunawiwaha’. I will later discuss Worsley’s interpretations in the context of the cross-references with the other narrative depictions and their placement in the temple.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE ARJUNAWIWAHA RELIEFS AND THE BUBUKSHAH RELIEFS

The *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs are based on the *kakawin* composed by Mpu Kanwa in AD 1035.<sup>18</sup> They seem to be placed in complete disorder all over the temple walls; there is neither a clear *prasawya* direction, nor a *pradakshina* direction. A visitor who wishes to read the narrative must start at the east side, then return to the entrance part in the west and follow the north wall, before finally reading the reliefs arranged on the southern wall. The long panels on the north, east, and south side each have three scenes, while the other, smaller panels have one scene each. I describe the scenes following the process in the narrative.

- Scene A 1: God Indra sends *widadari*, heavenly nymphs, to test Arjuna’s strength in his meditation.
- Scene A 2: The *widadari* are bathing and preparing to seduce Arjuna.
- Scene A 3: The *widadari* try to seduce the meditating Arjuna while his two servants, the *panakawan*, indulge in erotic pleasure.
- Scene A 4: The demon Muka appears in the forest in his terrifying demonic shape.

<sup>16</sup> This deviation from the text was already an issue for Galestin who, in his unpublished paper quoted in Worsley (1986:365, fn. 8), also suggests that panels 6 and 7 should have other places; see also Worsley 1986:347.

<sup>17</sup> It is interesting to compare the issue of the deliberate disorder of reliefs on the temple walls with Balinese paintings, which do not show scenes ‘in order’ either, but rather in a thematic arrangement. As the story itself is familiar to the viewer, he/she can pick out the essential aspects. I am grateful to Adrian Vickers for this information.

<sup>18</sup> Zoetmulder 1974:234-49; Padmapuspita 1988b; Kuntara 1990; Robson 2008.

- Scene A 5: Muka, now in the shape of a wild boar, approaches to attack Arjuna in the forest where he is meditating.
- Scene A 6: Arjuna and the hunter, who is God Siwa in disguise, are in dispute about who has shot the arrow at the boar and killed him.
- Scene A 7: Arjuna and the hunter get into a fight with each other.
- Scene A 8: Arjuna worships Siwa, who has taken on his deity shape again.
- Scene A 9: Arjuna and the *widadari* Suprabha are sent by Indra to the palace of the demon Niwatakawaca to find his vulnerable spot.
- Scene A10: Arjuna and Suprabha meet other heavenly nymphs.
- Scene A11: Suprabha approaches Niwatakawaca and finds out about his vulnerable spot.
- Scene A12: Arjuna carries Suprabha away from Niwatakawaca, who desires her (fig. 8.3, displaying A12-A16).
- Scene A13: Arjuna marches with an army against Niwatakawaca.
- Scene A14: Arjuna shoots an arrow at Niwatakawaca.
- Scene A15: Niwatakawaca is bleeding from his tongue, his vulnerable spot, which has been hit by the arrow. Naked demons fall to the ground. A warrior with a cap is chased out of the battlefield.
- Scene A16: Naked demons fall down on each other.

The *Arjunawiwaha-kakawin* represents two aspects of Arjuna: he is a *kshatriya*, who has to fulfil his task as a warrior, and a member of the righteous Pandawa family, and he is also a *yogi* who in his ascetic practice controls his senses and seeks Higher Knowledge. In the relief depictions at Candi Surowono, the *kshatriya* ideal dominates the *yogi* ideal of Arjuna, as highlighted by Worsley (1986:349) and Kieven (1994:91-2). Arjuna does not meditate to reach *moksha*, but, rather, to obtain a weapon from God Siwa that will allow him to succeed in the battle against the enemies of his Pandawa brothers, the Kaurawas, and thus to comply with his task of loyalty to his family. The dialogue between Arjuna and Indra as the third part of Arjuna's test during his meditation is not depicted in Candi Surowono, which can be understood as a sign that the *yogi* ideal is not intended to be a key element here.

The *kakawin Arjunawiwaha* additionally displays the issue of the union of male and female and of Siwa-Sakti in several episodes, which makes the Tantric aspect evident to me. In his marriage to Suprabha, Arjuna eventually attains the final union with the female, that is, on a divine level with Sakti.<sup>19</sup> Kuntara (1990:467-8) concludes that in the *Arjunawiwaha kakawin*, the *kshatriya* and the *yogi* are equally important ideals for Arjuna, with the *yogi* ideal aiming for the Tantric union of Siwa-Sakti. This suggestion, and also Creese's (2004) interpretation, have been strongly objected by Robson (2008:24).<sup>20</sup> Creese (2004:195-205) convincingly expounds the Tantric interrelation of *yoga* and sexuality in *kakawin*, which she labels the 'yoga of love' (Creese: 2004:201). Yoga and sexuality are complementary in the sense that both have the same aim: the union with the Divine. Moreover, it is through the sexual act itself that yoga is practised and implemented, a principle which is displayed in Siwa's form as *Ardhanariswara*.<sup>21</sup> In his meditation Arjuna controls the senses while being tempted by sexual pleasure. He does not fully accomplish his yoga practice, nor does he indulge in any sexual temptations, because he must fulfil his duty as a *kshatriya*. Also, the relief depictions at Candi Surowono stress the significance of the *kshatriya* ideal.<sup>22</sup> Even so, I recognize the Tantric aspect as being inherent to the depictions. The northern part of the temple's rear side features erotic scenes where, in their preparation to seduce Arjuna, most of the *widadari* adopt postures of longing, and some are naked (A2). The temptation scene shows two *widadari* approaching the meditating Arjuna in a very erotic way (A3). The two aspects of asceticism and eroticism allude to the Tantric character of God Siwa, who incorporates these two elements himself and who remarkably is depicted on the northern side of the temple just around the corner and is thus placed in symmetry with Arjuna's meditation scene. Through the depictions of Arjuna's non-compliance with the ultimate forms of both yoga and sexuality, the potential of eventual union with the Divine is anticipated. This union would later be performed in Arjuna's marriage to Suprabha as a manifestation of the union of Siwa and Sakti which

<sup>19</sup> Kuntoro refers to the term *sakti*, that is, spiritual power, which Arjuna gains through his meditation. Several verses of the *Arjunawiwaha* mention Arjuna as endowed with *sakti*. Robson (2008:24), however, rejects that the word *sakti* is used in the sense of 'Sakti'.

<sup>20</sup> See my discussion in Kieven 1994:33-5.

<sup>21</sup> See O'Flaherty 1969a, particularly pp. 319, 329-33.

<sup>22</sup> Arjuna's union with Suprabha can also be understood as his becoming an accomplished *kshatriya*. See Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Tantrism', particularly the context of the ideal kingship.

is, however, not materialized in the relief depictions. I conclude that the Tantric aspect is expressed in a very subtle way in the Surowono *Arjunawiwaha* depictions.

The two panels from the *Bubukshah* story are positioned on the north-east corner of the building.<sup>23</sup> They depict the following scenes:

B1: The fat Bubukshah sits next to the skinny Gagak Aking under a tree.

B2: The tiger approaches Gagak Aking.

These scenes deviate from the written version and emphasize the Saiwite character of the story (Worsley 1986:339-40). In their selection of scenes, the artists focused more on Gagak Aking, the Saiwite, than on Bubukshah, the Buddhist. The story is cut short with the approach of the tiger towards the Saiwite Gagak Aking. The artists did not depict the continuation of the story, which would have prioritized the Buddhist brother. The placement of the *Bubukshah* panels neighbouring the scene where God Siwa is worshipped by Arjuna (A8) indicates that, indeed, this corner of the building focuses on Siwa, thus supporting the idea that the depicted version of the story prioritizes the Saiwite element.

#### CROSS-REFERENCES BETWEEN THE THREE NARRATIVE RELIEF SERIES

The investigation of the specific and peculiar arrangement of the reliefs and their cross-references yields an understanding of a complex symbolism. The *Sri Tanjung* reliefs which feature the cap-figure play an important role in this symbolism. Worsley (1986:342) interprets the arrangement of the reliefs at Candi Surowono according to ‘two intersecting sets of concepts which describe the human condition’. The first is a division between the natural, on the north side of the temple, and the social, on the south side, as illustrated in the depictions of scenes in the forest (on the north side) and of scenes taking place in palaces (on the south side). The other concept is a tripartite division between ‘world renouncer’ – the meditating Arjuna, the ascetics Bubukshah and Gagak Aking – on and next to the northeastern corner; ‘world maintainer’ – God Indra – on and next to the southeastern corner; and ‘world destroyer’ – the demons

<sup>23</sup> For the story plot, compare the description in Chapter VII, sub-chapter on the Pendopo Terrace (panels 19-23). This story was quite popular during the East Javanese period, as we know from depictions in other temples, for example in Candi Gambar Wetan near Blitar.

Muka and Niwatakawaca – in the western part of the building. Worsley concludes that the placement of the proper scene is not determined by the order in the original narrative, but through the structure laid down by the aforementioned concepts. My discussions of these concepts (Kieven 1994:77-98) and those by Klokke (1995) yield similar conclusions. Still, I recognize a somewhat more simplified pattern of the concepts, which determines the order of the reliefs in Candi Surowono. The dichotomy between the rear and the front, areas which correspond to the sacred and the demonic, respectively, is the main principle which dominates over the other aforementioned concepts. The results of my new investigation support the fact of this principle's dominance.<sup>24</sup>

The front side of the Surowono temple is dedicated to the demonic aspect. This becomes evident through the dominant depiction of scenes with the demons Muka and Niwatakawaca. The rear side of the temple includes depictions of gods, ascetics, and heavenly beings, which is appropriate to the conventionally sacred character of the rear side of a temple. Thus, the dichotomy between west and east, between the demonic/animal/destructive character and the sacred/meditative character, respectively, is very explicit.<sup>25</sup>

It is noteworthy that the narrative reliefs at Candi Surowono are based on the two different genres of literary works: the 'post-mythological stories' – the *Sri Tanjung* and the *Bubukshah* story – and the 'mythological stories' – the *Arjunawiwaha*. Correspondingly, the characters in the depictions appear in simple dress in the two former stories and in full attire in the latter one. We know from the discussions of Candi Jago and Candi Panataran that the hierarchy between the folk-life character and the more sacral character of the two different genres applies to the function of the former, which prepares pilgrims for their encounter with the latter. Fitting with this schema, the *Sri Tanjung* and *Bubukshah* reliefs fulfil such a preparatory role – on the mundane level – in relation to the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs – on the supra-mundane level.

This principle of preparation is in many temple layouts manifest through an arrangement of the different genres vertically. This holds true at Candi Surowono for the placement of the daily-life scenes in the small

<sup>24</sup> I am grateful to Peter Worsley for discussing these different concepts with me on 31-3-2008.

<sup>25</sup> The placement of the demonic character on the west side cannot, however, be ascribed in a general way to all East Javanese temples. For example, in Candi Mirigambar, the west does not show any demonic features.

panels on the lower level of the walls. I have not included these reliefs for closer consideration as their content does not contribute to the major symbolism of the temple. Still, although all three major narratives are placed on the same architectural level, I recognize a way of displaying the hierarchy between the two genres. It is striking that the *Sri Tanjung* and the *Bubukshah* reliefs are both placed on corners of the building. Earlier I have pointed to a significant function of the corners.<sup>26</sup> In my view, the corner positions in Candi Surowono have the same function as the entrance or lower parts of a temple, that is, to introduce the visitor to a spiritually higher level as expressed in the other parts of the temple. This corresponds to the function I have assigned to the cap-figures and, specifically, the Panji figures in my discussions of Candi Jago and Candi Panataran. In addition, the fact that the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs as well as the *Bubukshah* reliefs all appear in pairs, with the exception of panel 9, which stands on its own, is an issue that must be taken into consideration.

The ideas I have raised will be further elucidated by the following detailed discussion. Panels 1 (fig. 8.4) and 2 (fig. 8.3 to the far right) on the south side, which depict Sidapaksa falling in love with the sleeping Sri Tanjung, and then carrying her away, are placed between the scenes of the *Arjunawiwaha* where Suprabha approaches Niwatakawaca, who desires her (A11), and where Arjuna carries Suprabha away (A12; fig. 8.3). Thus, in both pairs of panels the subject of desire, of love, and of a meeting between man and woman are illustrated. While in the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs this occurs in a beautiful, peaceful, and natural environment, the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs are densely populated with demons and characterized by a frightening atmosphere. With their themes of romantic love, the two *Sri Tanjung* reliefs are more attractive to the visitor and make it easier for him/her to encounter the scenes with the demonic character of love portrayed in the *Arjunawiwaha* depictions. Considered that this aspect of love in the demonic field is not easy to detect on first glance due to the tiny shape of Suprabha, the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs highlight that there is even an issue of love in the neighbouring demonic episodes. Through this they indicate the antithesis between the erotic depictions on the west and the rear side of the temple.

<sup>26</sup> That corners of the temples may have a special meaning was already noticed by Satyawati Sulci-man (1978:31-2), O'Brien (1988:25), and Kieven (1994:91), and would deserve further investigation. I will also refer to this aspect in my discussions of Candi Mirigambar and Candi Yudha.



Fig. 8.3. Candi Surowono, south side, from right to left: panels 2, A12, A13, A15, A16



Fig. 8.4. Candi Surowono, south side, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 1

Panels 3 and 4 (figs. 8.5 and 8.6) on the southeast corner – where Sidapaksa separates from Sri Tanjung, and where Sri Tanjung stands in front of Dorakala – are placed between two scenes featuring God Indra. Indra sends out Arjuna with Suprabha – A9 to the left of panel 3, and Indra dispatches the *widadari* from his palace – A1 to the right of panel 4. In panel 3, Sidapaksa is ready to travel to God Indra's heaven, such that he can just 'take a short step' into the neighbouring panel A9 to enter Indra's abode. This may illustrate the quality of the magic charm *antakusuma* that Sri Tanjung passes to him to complete his travel in only one day. Through the placement of these two panels, the visitor might be invited, on a spiritual level, to take the same 'short step' into the sacred realm.. Thus, the *Sri Tanjung* scene has the function of introducing and preparing the visitor for the *Arjunawiwaha* scene and, simultaneously, of commenting on it.

Above I raised the issue of the ambiguous interpretation of panel 4, with Sri Tanjung standing in front of Dorakala. To solve the question as to whether Dorakala guards the realm of God Yama or Indra's heaven of the gods, I draw upon my interpretation of the two preceding panels 3 and A9. I propose that the principle which rules this arrangement – the *Sri Tanjung* relief's function of introducing and commenting on the *Arjunawiwaha* scene – also holds true for the arrangement of panel 4 and A1. The panels with Dorakala prepare the scene in Indra's heaven, thus I conclude for panel 4 that it is Indra's heaven which Dorakala guards. This interpretation is confirmed by the aforementioned schema that determines the arrangement of the reliefs, namely the dichotomy between demonic and sacred. More specifically, the Dorakala panel is positioned on the 'sacred' side on the rear of the temple, where Yama is not supposed to reside.

The iconographic similarity between Sri Tanjung in panels 3 and 4 and Suprabha in panel A9 is also intriguing. Sri Tanjung – situated in the human world – prepares the visitor for the encounter with the sacred sphere represented by her *alter ego*, Suprabha. Worsley (1986:347) provides another explanation for panel 4. He argues in this panel there is a 'juxtaposition to the image of the virtuous world maintainer, the god king Indra', which is created by referring 'to the self-indulgence of another king, Sulakrama of Sinduraja'. This king could not withstand his desires and, as a consequence of his actions, brings Sri Tanjung to stand in front of the door of the realm of the dead. This argument is



Fig. 8.5. Candi Surowono, south side, right corner, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 3



Fig. 8.6. Candi Surowono, east side, left corner, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 4  
(courtesy of Kern Institute, Leiden University, OD nr. 3444)

very complex. I tend to a simpler, more direct explanation, but of course we do not know how a fourteenth-century visitor would have understood these allusions. I conclude that the visitor is prepared, through both panels 3 and 4, for the encounter with God Indra and the sacred rear side of the temple.

The *Bubukshah* reliefs – panels B1 and B2 on the northeast corner – are placed between Arjuna’s worship of Siwa (A8), north, and Arjuna’s temptation by the *widadari* (A3), east. Ascetic practice is the subject of the three panels B1, B2, and A3. However, while the two brothers’ aim is to reach *moksha*, Arjuna’s aim is to fulfil his duty as a *kshatriya* by acquiring a weapon from Siwa. The aforementioned dominance of the Saiwite aspect in the *Bubukshah* reliefs is emphasized in the depiction of Arjuna’s devotion towards Siwa in panel A8. Thus, as in the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs, the *Bubukshah* reliefs introduce one to and comment on the neighbouring *Arjunawiwaha* scenes, and in this way have an intermediary function.

In panels 5 and 6 (figs. 8.7 and 8.8), on the north wall, Sidapaksa sits in grief on the river bank, and Sri Tanjung sits mourning on the fish. Both Sidapaksa and Sri Tanjung sit in the typical ‘longing posture’; Sri Tanjung’s posture, moreover, is very erotic. The two protagonists of the story long for one another after he has killed her. These scenes present the erotic mood of ‘love-in-separation’. The elements symbolized here are love, separation, grief, longing, and suffering. Following the steps of the story, via their exorcism both protagonists will in the end be purified from all their suffering. The water, predominant in both panels, may in its symbolic meaning of *amerta* indicate this purifying exorcist process.

The two panels are positioned between A5, which portrays the boar approaching Arjuna in the forest, and A6, which depicts the killing of the wild boar Muka. The subject of death in the two *Sri Tanjung* reliefs parallels Muka’s death. During their separation due to her death Sri Tanjung and Sidapaksa are both somewhat lost in nature or the underworld which, in Old Javanese literature, is associated with demons. The two *Sri Tanjung* scenes signal the same wild and demonic nature that dominates the two neighbouring *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs. The series of panel A5, followed by the long panel with the three *Arjunawiwaha* scenes (A6, A7, A8), thematizes the transition from the demonic to the Divine, corresponding to the typical west-east allocation of these two qualities. The depiction of water in the two *Sri Tanjung* panels now gains another symbolic meaning additional to the *amerta* symbolism: the water marks the threshold



Fig. 8.7. Candi Surowono, north side, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 5



Fig. 8.8. Candi Surowono, north side, *Sri Tanjung*, panel 6

between the demonic western part of the temple and the sacred eastern part. Thus water acts both as a symbol of purification, or *amerta*, and in the symbolism of *tirtha*, which means the passage from the lower stage with its demonic quality to a higher stage with a sacred quality. The question raised above as to whether panel 6 depicts Sri Tanjung on her way to the realm of the dead or on her way back from it, is actually irrelevant. Rather, what is important is the issue of crossing the water in the sense of *tirtha*, which accounts for its position at this very place, that is, independent and deviating from the narrative order. That these are the only two depictions of water in the main series of reliefs emphasizes the importance of its symbolism.<sup>27</sup>

Here, it is worth remarking upon a further aspect. Panel 6, which displays Sri Tanjung on a fish, faces west so that a visitor who approaches the temple from the west cannot avoid looking at this panel. The visitor will also look at panel 1 – placed directly opposite and also facing west – on the south side of the temple, which depicts Sidapaksa visiting the naked and sleeping Sri Tanjung (fig. 8.11). Both panels display an erotic character. These scenes correspond to ‘love-in-separation’ (panel 6) and ‘love-in-enjoyment’ (panel 1), respectively. Their placement might be considered to be a means to attract a visitor’s attention, but on a deeper level the scenes symbolize Tantric ideas. Through the placement of both panels next to demonic scenes, they simultaneously indicate the exorcist character of the *Sri Tanjung* story, since exorcism also carries an element of the demonic. Their placement on corners of the building is further proof of the aforementioned symbolic importance of corner positions.

The corner further towards the west has panels 7 and 8 (fig. 8.9). Panel 7 depicts Sidapaksa facing a woman; in panel 8, he sits mourning in a garden. These panels are placed between A5 to the left of panel 7, depicting the boar Muka, and A4 to the right of panel 8, showing Muka in the shape of a demon. In panel 8 Sidapaksa again adopts the ‘longing posture’ of ‘love-in-separation’. The demonic character in the two *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs is reflected in panel 8: the story narrates how Sidapaksa went back to the graveyard Gandamayū and in his grief rolling on the ground, which in Javanese culture is considered as animal or demonic behaviour. His meeting with the woman in panel 7 could imply that Sidapaksa is imagining his killed wife to be alive and together with

<sup>27</sup> Several small panels in the lower range feature the subject of water. However, I do not recognize a specific schema determining their arrangement.



Fig. 8.9. Candi Surowono, north side, *Sri Tanjung*, left: panel 7; right: panel 8

him again, in which case both panels would again refer to the subject of death. This panel would still refer to grief, even if we take as valid one of the other aforementioned interpretations, being that panel 7 depicts a second scene of the long episode of separating from each other, or Sidapaksa meeting a grieving servant. Thus, without arriving at a conclusive identification, I recognize suffering and mourning as being the primary subjects of this scene. This whole corner is the place of death, suffering, and demons in which the *Sri Tanjung* scenes, on a human level, prepare the visitor to be confronted with the same aspects in the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs on a supra-mundane level.

Panel 9 – Kalika brings Sri Tanjung home – located at the very west end next to the entrance, is the only panel of the *Sri Tanjung* series which stands alone and not in a pair. It is placed next to A4 with the depiction of the huge demon Muka. Kalika, the servant of Durga, has been ordered by her mistress to bring Sri Tanjung home to the hermitage of her grandfather. Durga represents the demonic aspect of Siwa's consort, which consequently assigns Kalika a demonic character. This corresponds to Muka in the neighbouring *Arjunawiwaha* relief and is associated with the whole western part of the temple. Both Durga and Kalika represent a purifying quality as they bring help to Sri Tanjung, release her from suffering, and relieve her from her separation from Sidapaksa.



Fig. 8.10. Candi Surowono, north side, *Sri Tanjung*, left: A4; right: panel 9

The purification through demonic power characterizes the narrative *Sri Tanjung* as an exorcist story, a *ruwat* (Zoetmulder 1974:433). This panel enhances the exorcist qualities of the panels 5-8 and of A4-6. In contrast to Kalika's demonic qualities, the way she holds Sri Tanjung in her arms renders the scene very tender. Sri Tanjung is positioned in an erotic posture of longing and love. The scene counteracts the rude violence enacted by Muka. I think this scene has multiple functions: it provides the initial introduction to the demonic element which dominates the western part of the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs; it raises, on a mundane level, the prospect of the erotic aspect of the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs, on a supra-mundane level, in the eastern part; and, finally, it indicates that purification is possible by visualizing that through his/her visit of the temple the pilgrim him- or herself has been exorcised. The purification on the left side of the porch parallels the defeat of the demon king Niwatakawaca by Arjuna on the right side, which also represents a purification, as the threatened world harmony is established again. All these functions are configured in such a way that the *Sri Tanjung* scene can be understood as a kind of key to unlock the experience and symbolic meaning of the whole temple.

Before the story ends, Sidapaksa himself must kill the treacherous King Sulakrama before he can be purified and allowed to be unified with Sri Tanjung. This means that Sidapaksa still has to fulfil the *kshatriya* ideal. This final process is, however, not depicted at the temple. Arjuna's

accomplishment of the *kshatriya* ideal by killing Niwatakawaca, which is depicted on the right side of the porch, may be understood as simultaneously incorporating Sidapaksa's defeat of the evil king. Both Arjuna and Sidapaksa had to endure several tests, including the killing of an evil character, before they could finally be unified with their beloved. Both unions – of Sidapaksa with Sri Tanjung, and of Arjuna with the *widadari* and particularly with Suprabha – which are the final stages of both stories, are not explicitly depicted in either case. This union between male and female would actually be the precondition to be an accomplished *kshatriya*, who would then also have fulfilled the conditions to become a king. It seems that it was important to visually portray the preparation for this accomplishment in the reliefs on the walls of Candi Surowono. This process of preparation was prioritized over the actual accomplishment itself.

#### CONCLUSION

The *Sri Tanjung* reliefs featuring a nobleman with a cap interact in a specific way with the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs and the *Bubukshah* reliefs in order to convey a certain message. The Tantric doctrine of the union with the Divine is combined with a focus on the exorcist aspect of purification. In the interaction with the other relief series the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs have the function to introduce and guide the visitors to the deeper message of the temple, and to help them in their transition from the wordly sphere to the sacred sphere. They act on a level which is more closely connected to the mundane level of the visitor. Thus, the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs function in the same way the Panji stories do on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran and elsewhere at other temples. The fact that Sidapaksa in the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs is depicted with a cap, is again an expression of the function of the cap-figure as an intermediary in one's approaching the sacred sphere, as in the case of the Panji figure at Candi Panataran and other cap-figures at Panataran and Candi Jago.

I recognize in both the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs and the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs a Tantric character. In order to maintain the secret character of the teaching of Tantrism, the final goal of the Tantric doctrine – the union of Siwa and Sakti materialized in the union of male and female – was not explicitly visualized. Only the initiated adept was able to understand

this rather hidden message, which was conveyed through the particular combination of the three narrative series, the selection of depicted scenes, and their specific placement on the temple walls. In this schema the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs function as intermediaries between the mundane sphere and the esoteric Tantric sphere, the latter being embedded in the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs.

In their combination with the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs, which represent a ‘mythological story’, the *Sri Tanjung* narrative acts as a ‘post-mythological story’. The *Sri Tanjung* reliefs all feature the subject of the relation between man and woman, either as an affectionate couple or as grieving separated individuals. Such a popular love story, full of emotions, appeals to the visitors before they approach the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs, which have a deeper philosophical and sacral content. In particular the erotic scenes in the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs introduce the visitors to their encounter with the Tantric erotic aspect, which is then illustrated in the scenes of the *Arjunawiwaha* on the sacred, rear side of the temple. The *Bubukshah* story, also representing a ‘post-mythological story’, has, in comparison to the *Sri Tanjung* story, a stronger spiritual connotation through its theme of asceticism. The placement of the *Bubukshah* reliefs right between the two most esoteric scenes of the *Arjunawiwaha* depictions better suits the purpose of indicating to the visitor the message of these scenes than episodes of the *Sri Tanjung* would have. The *Bubukshah* acts as an intermediary on a higher level than the *Sri Tanjung* does.

Besides a religious meaning, Candi Surowono and its relief depictions also conveyed a political message. The reliefs would reflect the position of Wijayarajasa, the prestigious Prince of Wengker, assumed that he indeed had this temple built as a commemorative temple for himself. His status was subordinate to the king, characterized by a strong rivalry. For Wijayarajasa, the *kshatriya* ideal was certainly very important to legitimize his competing position, and he may as well have made use of the Tantric practice to strengthen his magic power (*sakti*). Thus, the major spiritual issues of the temple reliefs – the aim of the union with the Divine and the exorcist purification – also suit the political function of the temple of achieving *kshatriya*-hood as sought by the Prince of Wengker, through displaying the Tantric and exorcist ideas as preconditions and preparations for this achievement. The depictions of challenge and success in the fight against the enemy on the western part, and the depictions of potential union with the Divine through ascetic and sexual practice on

the rear part would then have highlighted Wijayarajasa's potency of a strong and reliable ruler. Thus, it is possible his efforts materialize in the illustration in the reliefs at Candi Surowono. The aspect of preparing for the accomplished *kshatriya*-hood in the depictions parallels his own actual political status. Was the deliberate omission of the fulfilment of the *kshatriya* condition – the marriage with a woman – in the Surowono depictions perhaps an expression that he did not dare to overact as a rival of the king, in an admission of his subordinate position?

The scenes of the *Sri Tanjung* story which were selected for depiction have elements typical of the depictions of Panji stories: separation between man and woman; journeying of both of them and longing for each other; situations with water; reference to a hermit (here the grandfather of Sri Tanjung); reunion or its prospect. In light of this comparison and considering the post-mythological character of the story, it makes sense that for the depictions of Sidapaksa the cap was chosen as the particular form of headgear. In all of the other known relief depictions of the *Sri Tanjung* – at Candi Jabung, at Bajang Ratu, and at the Pendopo Terrace of Candi Panataran – Sidapaksa is illustrated in the same way with a cap. I conclude that the *Sri Tanjung* story was considered as a kind of parallel to the Panji stories, which is not surprising given that both belong to the genre of *kidung* poetry. Here, I call upon an argument presented in the discussion of the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace at Panataran. Sidapaksa is always depicted with a cap and with the same iconography of Panji, which denotes a nobleman with a refined attitude. This shows that the cap indeed was considered to be an attribute marking the status of a young nobleman. Through this specific headgear the character and status of the depicted man was determined and made recognizable for the viewers. However, it was not only the status of a young nobleman which was visualized, but, even more specifically, a young aristocrat on his way to find his partner and to ready himself for becoming a fully accomplished *kshatriya*. The prince with the cap acted as a member of the contemporary society and not as a mythological hero of the Indic stories.

From my discussion of Candi Jago and Candi Panataran we have come to understand the iconographic feature of the cap as a sign indicating the essential message of a story. This corroborates with the function of Sidapaksa and the whole series of *Sri Tanjung* reliefs as being to introduce the visitor to the deeper message presented in the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs. The cap-figure Sidapaksa has the role of an intermediary in this

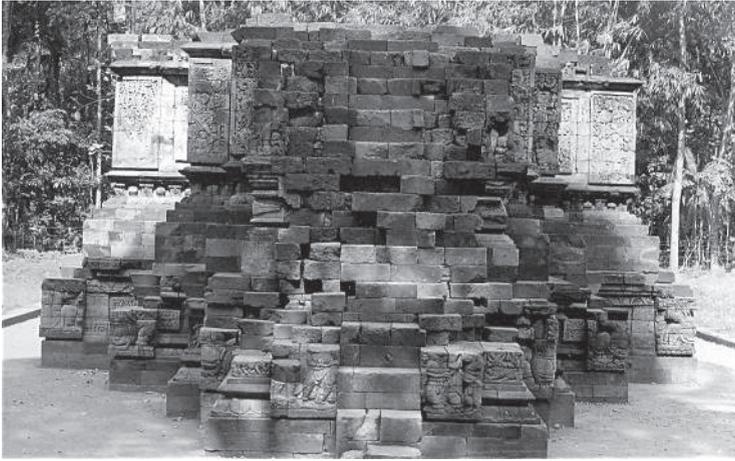


Fig. 8.11. Candi Surowono, seen from the west

introductory process. He represents a nobleman on his way to fulfilling the ideal of *kshatriya*-hood on a mundane level, while Arjuna does so on a supra-mundane level.

The ‘out of order’ placement of the relief scenes may be due partly because these reliefs illustrate a version of the *Sri Tanjung* which deviates from the text that is better known today. However, it seems to be due primarily to a deliberate placement in order to express a specific message and concept. The general schema of this placement follows the dichotomy between the demonic aspect on the western part of the temple and the sacred, meditative aspect on the eastern part. Within this arrangement, the corner positions of the *Sri Tanjung* scenes emphasize their role of direct appeal to the visitors and of pointing to the essential message, the more so as they always appear in pairs of two panels on both sides of the corners. Through this arrangement, one panel of the pair leads one out of the neighbouring *Arjunawiwaha* scene, while the second panel around the corner leads one to the next *Arjunawiwaha* scene, thus perfectly acting as intermediary.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> During my own visits to this temple, I myself experienced the depictions at the corners with the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs and the *Bubukshah* reliefs as dominant, and it was thereafter that my gaze was directed toward the ‘inner’ *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs framed by the corner reliefs.

Beyond this, there are more specific aspects which determine the deliberate placement of the reliefs. When approaching the temple from the west (fig. 8.11), your eye will be drawn by two scenes depicting erotic moods on the right and left side of the porch: Sri Tanjung sitting on the fish (panel 6) and Sidapaksa falling in love with the sleeping Sri Tanjung (panel 1). Thus, at the first glance the visitor is acquainted with the topic of eroticism. All of the scenes of the *Sri Tanjung* are placed in such a way that they introduce, reinforce, and reflect the meaning of the neighbouring *Arjunawiwaha* scenes. I call on a few arrangements with a specific significance. The positioning of the *Sri Tanjung* relief with the depiction of Kalika carrying Sri Tanjung, in the entrance part of the building next to the demonic depictions of the *Arjunawiwaha*, signals the importance of the exorcist aspect of the *Sri Tanjung* story, as this scene marks both the start of the circumambulation related to the *Arjunawiwaha* series and the end of the circumambulation related to the *Sri Tanjung* series. The placement of the two scenes with water on the north side is another element of this exorcism, demonstrated through the purifying quality of water in the sense of *amerta*. At the same time, water in the sense of *tirtha* is a means to progress from one status to a higher one, which functions here in two ways: towards the exorcism scene on the west, and towards the sacred level on the rear side. This exorcism has a twofold function: to purify the pilgrim before circumambulating the temple, and to release him/her when leaving the temple. The pilgrim would have to circumambulate the temple several times in a mixture of *pradakshina* and *prasawya* in order to follow the changing directions of the narrative sequences. Only through going forth and back, following the complex arrangement of the scenes, would the visitor understand the messages, expressed in a multi-layered interconnection between the stories. We may imagine that the help of a guide or a teacher was necessary to decipher the complex message; on the other hand, we should not underestimate the literacy of the contemporary citizens.

The purifying function which is inherent in the exorcist aspect of the *Sri Tanjung* story contributes to the preparatory character of the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs within the temple, in the same way as a holy bathing place purifies the pilgrims and thereby prepares them to enter the temple. This means that, by looking at the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs, the pilgrim is purified

and prepared for the encounter with the sacred part of the temple.<sup>29</sup> It is remarkable that the exorcist character of the *Sri Tanjung* story stands in contrast to the Panji stories, which generally do not display this character. It seems that the *Sri Tanjung* story was deliberately depicted due to its exorcist aspect – in addition to its Tantric and *kshatriya* aspects – as an important element in the symbolic message of the temple, and was therefore chosen instead of a Panji story.

It should not be forgotten that the reliefs at Candi Surowono, as at other temples, are of a high aesthetic value and yield *langö*.<sup>30</sup> The reliefs become a *yantra* for the union with the Divine, the experience of which is the ultimate goal of the Tantric yoga. In this context, the beauty of the reliefs are another means in the symbolism of the Surowono reliefs to achieve the esoteric goal.

#### ADDENDUM: FURTHER CAP-FIGURES

There are three more depictions with cap-figures beyond the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs. One small figure with a crescent-moon shaped cap appears in the *Arjunawiwaha* panel A15 (in its upper right corner, fig. 8.12) on the west porch. Worsley (1986:346) interprets this figure as Sidapaksa taking part in the battle against Niwatakawaca, based on the fact that Sidapaksa is a kinsman of the Pandawas. Thus, there would be a cross-reference again between Sidapaksa and the events in the *Arjunawiwaha*. The cap-figure might indeed have been added in this scene to allude to Sidapaksa who, like Arjuna, has to fight against an evil-doer. The killing of Sulakrama by Sidapaksa is not depicted on the walls. However, this figure might also just represent a warrior who is fighting on the side of Arjuna and thus indicates the hero. I gave similar examples of a warrior and of servants depicted with a cap in the Main Temple of Panataran in the *Krishnayana* and the *Ramayana* reliefs, these cap-figures, too, indicate the hero of the story.

Two other figures with a cap appear in the lower range on the temple walls in two small panels (figs. 8.13 and 8.14). Altogether 18 small panels are arranged in groups of six on each side. Five of them present *Tantri* stories (Klokke 1993:241-5). The two in question here have not been

<sup>29</sup> See the discussion of the issue of exorcism in Chapter IV, sub-chapter ‘Water and mountain’.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter II, sub-chapter ‘Narrative reliefs’, and Chapter IV, sub-chapter ‘Tantrism’.



Fig. 8.12. Candi Surowono, south side, porch, A15  
with Niwatakawaca and cap-figure



Fig. 8.13. Candi Surowono, small panel on lower  
range of wall: north side, under panel 5



Fig. 8.14. Candi Surowono, small panel on lower  
range of wall: east side, under A2

identified. The first, which is positioned on the north side under *Sri Tanjung* panel 5 (Sidapaksa sits on the river bank), depicts three seated persons: a woman, and two men wearing small caps; they are engaged in touching each other in obscene ways. The other panel is placed on the east side under relief A2 (the *widadari* preparing themselves for the temptation of Arjuna). It depicts two men lying on the ground, having been kick-fighting with each other. One of them wears a small cap. In both panels the male figures, either naked or only wearing a short *kain*, are of a lower social status. Because of their entertaining role, in these scenes the cap-figures act as intermediaries on a very basic level and prepare for the encounter with the sacred world depicted on the upper level on the temple.



## Chapter IX

### Candi Mirigambar: Panji, the ideal lover and warrior

#### LAYOUT AND ARCHITECTURE

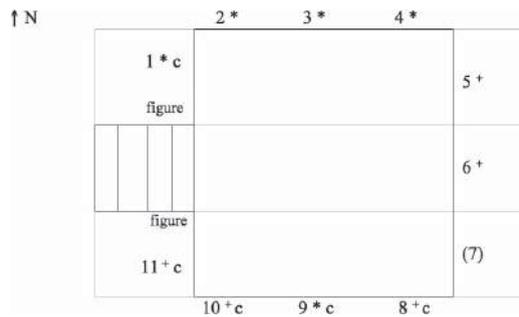


Plate 9.1. Groundplan of Candi Mirigambar

- \* – panels extant in 2006
- + – panels only known from OD-photos
- c – panels with depictions of a cap-figure
- (7) – the panel already missing in 1908



Fig. 9.2. Candi Mirigambar, seen from the west

Candi Mirigambar – otherwise called Candi Gambar<sup>1</sup> – lies in the village of Mirigambar, Kecamatan Ngunut, a few kilometres southeast of Tulungagung. It is situated on a plain, now scattered with small villages surrounded by rice paddies and sugar cane fields. Small-scale workshops produce bricks from the clay soil. That the brick production has a long tradition is evident in the fact that Candi Mirigambar was built with red-clay bricks. This is also the typical material for Majapahit buildings in the Trowulan area.

Today, only the foot of the temple, a square approximately 7 metres in length, is extant (fig. 9.1). It includes a staircase on the west side (fig. 9.2). To the right and left of this staircase are placed two figures carved in high-relief. The walls to the right and left on the west side were each decorated with a relief panel, while the other walls had three panels each. A thin belt surrounding the temple foot above the panels displayed animal reliefs, of which only a few remain.

Five of the original eleven relief panels are left today, the others were stolen.<sup>2</sup> The ones left are panels 1, 2, 3, 4, 9. Fortunately I could make use of the OD-photos which portray almost the entire series.<sup>3</sup> Although the available material is scarce, it still allows for an interpretation of the depictions.

#### HISTORY AND FUNCTION

The function and the religious background of the temple are not known. Two inscriptions, documented by early Dutch archaeologists, which were found at buildings, which were later demolished, have Saka dates corresponding to AD 1129 and 1292.<sup>4</sup> Two inscribed stones with Saka dates 1310 and, possibly, 1321 – corresponding to AD 1388 and AD 1399, respectively – were found at the site. A copperplate referring to a

<sup>1</sup> *Gambar* (Jv.) means picture; *miri* (Jv.) means candlenut or candlenut tree. In the earliest report about the site Knebel (1908b:220) called it Candi Gambar. Other archaeological remains in East Java with visual depictions are also called ‘Gambar’ by the local people, for example Candi Gambar Wetan near Blitar, *wetan* (Jv.) meaning east, perhaps relating to the location to the east of Candi Panataran.

<sup>2</sup> My last visit to the site was in 2006.

<sup>3</sup> However, no photo is provided of panel 7, as it was no longer extant at the time when the reliefs were photographed by the OD.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription of AD 1129 refers to an edict by a Kediri king.

sanctuary with the name ‘Satyapura’,<sup>5</sup> and to King Wikramawardhana (AD 1389-1429), the successor of King Hayam Wuruk, was found in the village (Knebel 1908b:222). Perhaps the plate was brought here from another place. However, since the dates of the two later stone inscriptions roughly correspond to the time period when the copperplate was issued, we may conclude that the construction of the building was indeed undertaken during the reign of King Wikramawardhana, that is, around AD 1400.<sup>6</sup> The style of the relief depictions, however, suggests they were carved at the beginning or middle of the fifteenth century.

We may conclude that Candi Mirigambar and the other former buildings belonged to a temple complex that was continually under construction from the Kediri era through the Singasari period, and up until the post-heyday of Majapahit. The reliefs may have been additionally carved, or they belonged to an extension of the temple in the beginning or middle of the fifteenth century.

The layout of the temple complex is not clear from the descriptions in the old Dutch sources, but the buildings seem to have been situated quite close to each other, as in one case Hoepermans mentions 500 steps which lead from one building to the next, and in another case only 50 steps. Legend has it that a *kraton* once stood on this location (Hoepermans 1913a:337), which is supported by the name ‘Satyapura’, referring to a palace, on the copperplate inscription. We may speculate that the whole complex comprised a temple in connection with a *kraton*.

#### ICONOGRAPHY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE NARRATIVE RELIEFS

The foot of the temple is partially intact; the whole upper part of the temple body has vanished. A few scattered carved stones have been placed on the walls or on the surrounding ground. Some of those still extant during my visit in 2000, have since then been brought into museums or have unfortunately been stolen. Some of the five relief panels

<sup>5</sup> *Satya* in Old Javanese/ Sanskrit means sincere, virtuous, good; truth (Zoetmulder 1982:1714). *Pura* means town, court, palace (Zoetmulder 1982:1451). Thus we can translate ‘Satyapura’ as the ‘palace of truth’.

<sup>6</sup> See also Klokke (1993:80), who comes to a similar conclusion of dating the temple to the end of the fourteenth century.

still existing in 2006 are partly damaged.<sup>7</sup> The few small relief carvings left on the upper border mostly represent animals and are partly identified by Klokke (1993:80) as depictions of *Tantri* stories. The pillars to the right and left of the staircase were originally decorated with carvings of winged lions on a prostrate buffalo and with *kala* reliefs and a Garuda head (Krom 1923, II:335-6) neither of which were clearly visible at the time of my visits. On the outer side of each of these pillars are depictions of squatting dwarf-like figures with the grossly-shaped bodies typical of *panakawan*. They face two larger, standing noble male figures to the right and left of the staircase (figs. 9.3a and 9.3b). The male to the left has one part of his *kain* tucked up so that his knee is visible. The man to the right, with a stouter body, tucks up both sides of his *kain*. As previously discussed, showing naked legs can express an erotic mood. The heads of both figures are partly damaged. The figure to the right, seen from the viewer's perspective, seems to have curly hair bound on the top of the head in a similar way to those found in *kadeyan* depictions. The top of the left male's head no longer exists. However, a stone was placed on the staircase pillar depicting a cap-headgear when I visited the site in 2000.<sup>8</sup> This cap was perhaps the lost part of the male's head. All these features imply that the left figure represents Panji and the right one his *kadeyan*, the former displaying the erotic mood in an appropriately more refined way than the latter. Remarkably, both figures are carved in three-quarter high relief.

The relief panels are to be read in the direction of *pradakshina*. Each panel depicts a single scene. Following the story plot which I will disclose in my interpretation of the reliefs, the series starts on the left-hand side of the staircase and ends on its right-hand side. The carving is deep and sharp, and it is the depth in particular that distinguishes these reliefs from reliefs on other temples. Krom (1923, II:338) identifies the story illustrated in the relief panels as a demon story. He refers to one particular figure which appears in several of the reliefs as a *bhuta* (demon), depicted with a large and coarse body and with bulging eyes.<sup>9</sup> However, in my opinion this figure depicts a *panakawan*, as it has the typical icono-

<sup>7</sup> The *juru kunci* (temple guard) told me in 2000 that just some years ago two panels on the south side had been stolen. This must have happened before 1985, as M. Klokke also mentions five panels only during her visit of the site in that year (Klokke 1993:80).

<sup>8</sup> By 2006 this stone had disappeared.

<sup>9</sup> He concurs with the description provided by Knebel 1908b.



Fig. 9.3a. Figure to the left of the staircase



Fig. 9.3b. Figure to the right of the staircase

graphical features of a *panakawan*. Although depictions of this character are more common in a small size, there also exist examples of tall-sized *panakawan*, for example, in panels 54 and 75 on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran. The identification as a *panakawan* is supported by the fact that, in the majority of the relief panels at Mirigambar, this figure acts as a companion of the nobleman with the cap, a role which is not adequate for a demonic figure.

Five of the ten documented relief panels depict a nobleman with a cap.<sup>10</sup> The large cap has a distinct crescent-moon shape with a sharp

<sup>10</sup> See the marked positions in the groundplan. Obviously neither Perquin nor Krom pay much attention to the iconography of the cap-figure, as they do not mention a cap although it is clearly visible.

protruding edge, with the typical curls and strands of hair visible on the forehead. The neck shows three wrinkles. This feature is remarkable, as to my knowledge it appears in East Javanese art only here at Candi Mirigambar and in the sculpture of Selokelir which I will discuss later.<sup>11</sup>

I propose the relief series at Candi Mirigambar depicts the story of *Panji Waseng Sari* (Zoetmulder 1974:430-3), or a variation of this story.<sup>12</sup> A rival, the king of Magadha, also wishes to marry Panji's betrothed, Princess Raden Galuh. He tries to kill Panji by wrapping him in tree roots and throwing him into a river so that he would drown. Panji is then discovered on the banks of the river in Daha by the princess' female servants and is saved. The servants bring him to the suite of the princess, where he lives incognito. The princess gives him the name 'Waseng Sari'. Later, helped by his companions, Panji enters the fight against the Magadha king who attacks Daha, although the princess and her attendants try to dissuade him. He succeeds in killing the king. After surviving even more warfare Panji finally reunites with Raden Galuh.

Most of the relief panels display the grossly-shaped *panakawan*. We know from other temple reliefs that this figure functions to mark the high status of his master. In two panels (5 and 6) the *panakawan* appears without the cap-figure and instead with the maid servant. I understand this to be an indicator that he acts as a messenger for his master or replaces his master.

Panel 1 (fig. 9.4) shows four standing figures.<sup>13</sup> The cap-figure, facing to the left, holds his left arm with his right hand as if closing himself off from others in the scene.<sup>14</sup> Very close to him to the left are two women who stand next to each other. A coarse-bodied *panakawan* watches the scene from the left. The woman who stands close to the cap-figure bends her head slightly towards the accompanying woman. Their iconographi-

<sup>11</sup> Stutterheim (1936b:332) calls them 'geluक्सplooiën, bekend van Boeddhabeelden' ('wrinkles of luck, known from Buddha images'). These wrinkles are in Buddhist iconography known as one of the 32 major marks (*lakshana*) of a Buddha and represent signs of beauty; they appear in Buddha depictions on Borobudur. The depictions of the women in the Mirigambar reliefs also display this feature. In addition they appear on Javanese *wayang* figures and may represent a Javanese tradition which might even go back to the figures in Mirigambar.

<sup>12</sup> I owe thanks to Adrian Vickers, who conceived this idea of interpretation.

<sup>13</sup> I describe the scenes in each single panel from right to left from the viewer's perspective following the *pradakshina* direction.

<sup>14</sup> As mentioned above in Chapter III, clasping a hand or both hands in front of the chest may also be an expression of feeling cold. This might be understood as a hint for the separation between the two lovers happening in the night. The other meaning of politeness, mentioned above, does not make much sense here.



Fig. 9.4. Candi Mirigambar, west side, left of staircase, panel 1

cal features mark them as a young noblewoman and her maid servant.<sup>15</sup> From a comparison with the depiction of the young noblewoman in the final panel (11) we can conclude that, in both cases, she represents the beloved of the cap-figure. The maid servant embraces the young woman and seems to comfort her. I interpret this scene to depict Panji with his betrothed, who is in sorrow due to the impending separation from her beloved. The process of separation is emphasized by Panji's posture.

Panel 2 (fig. 9.5) shows two *panakawan* figures, heading towards the left. The front *panakawan* holds a long stick that reaches to the ground. In the left half of the panel the maid servant is depicted holding a long horizontal object. Judging from the size and the shape, this object could be a human body wrapped in cloth. Under this body are some carved, unidentified elements. Krom (1923, II:338), in reference to Perquin, describes this left part as a woman departing in a boat, under which a big fish is visible. I have not been able to make out such a 'big fish' in the objects beneath the body. If a boat and fish were indeed intended, the carvers would certainly have been able to do this more clearly. This relief is the key for the interpretation of the depicted narrative as the *Waseng Sari* story. I suggest the wrapped body represents Panji Waseng Sari who

<sup>15</sup> Although the head of the noblewoman is damaged, the other features indicate her noble status. Unfortunately, the OD-photo from 1931 shows the same degree of damage.



Fig. 9.5. Candi Mirigambar, north side, panel 2



Fig. 9.6. Candi Mirigambar, north side, panel 3

had nearly been killed by the rival king. He is accompanied by two servants, and the maid servant of the princess rescues him from the river.<sup>16</sup>

At present, panel 3 (fig. 9.6) is badly damaged.<sup>17</sup> Perquin (1916b:143) describes a man in a half-lying position on the right side, and on the left two 'demons', one of them holding the man and trying to bite him. Again, the demons seem to represent a *panakawan*. Still visible today are part of the torso and a bent leg of a half-lying/ half-sitting man, the head of a *panakawan* close to the lap of the man, and parts of two arms holding the body of the man. This is perhaps a position in which the *panakawan* tries to help his master to recover by embracing him or by trying to put him into an upright position. From the bracelet on the arm I interpret this lying man as the Panji depicted in panel 1.

<sup>16</sup> There exists a slightly different version of the *Waseng Sari* story in Bali (De Zoete and Spies 1938:288-9), where Panji is put into a box in order to be drowned in the sea.

<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately no OD-photo exists.



Fig. 9.7. Candi Mirigambar, north side, panel 4

Panel 4 (fig. 9.7) depicts the lower parts of three bodies, the upper part of the panel being destroyed.<sup>18</sup> To the right two standing figures face each other, indicated by the position of their feet. From iconographic elements – garment and jewellery – we can identify the right figure as a nobleman and the left one as a female person. The male figure holds out a bowed item. In the left part of the panel sits a figure, facing the right side. Although it is indistinguishable in the present-day, this figure is described by Perquin (1916b:143) as a female. To the right of this figure is a damaged form which may be the lower part of another sitting person. Some elements indicate an architectural setting. It is possible this scene depicts Panji who has been brought by the maid servant to the princess' quarter, the latter perhaps accompanied by another maid.<sup>19</sup>

Panels 5, 6, and 7 on the east side are missing today, panel 7 having been missing since 1916. The descriptions by Perquin (1916b:143) and the OD-photos of panels 5 and 6 provide sufficient information for an identification. Panel 5 (fig. 9.8) depicts three standing figures: a big *panakawan* opposite a woman and, behind her, another small female figure. From the iconography and the accompanying small servant figure it can be concluded that the woman in the middle depicts the noble young woman. Panel 6 (fig. 9.9) shows the maid servant walking to the left, followed by the big *panakawan* holding a lance over his shoulder. The two panels illustrate the part of the story when Panji himself has gone to fight King Magadha, leaving behind the princess and her servants who

<sup>18</sup> No OD-photo exists.

<sup>19</sup> Perquin 1916:143 and, in concurrence with him, Krom 1923, II:338 describe this panel as a depiction of a man with a bowed object in his hand standing opposite a sitting woman. Obviously they miss a few elements of the depiction.



Fig. 9.8. Candi Mirigambar, east side,  
panel 5 (courtesy of Kern Institute, Leiden University,  
OD nr. 07916, cropped from the original)



Fig. 9.9. Candi Mirigambar, east side,  
panel 6 (courtesy of Kern Institute, Leiden University,  
OD nr. 07915, cropped from the original)



Fig. 9.10. Candi Mirigambar, south side, panel 8 (courtesy  
of Kern Institute, Leiden University, OD nr. 07914)



Fig. 9.11. Candi Mirigambar, south side, panel 9

have tried to dissuade him. Waseng Sari in mid-fight is not depicted. The fighting is, however, indirectly indicated by the lance of the *panakawan*.

Panel 8 (fig. 9.10) on the south side depicts three walking figures: again the *panakawan* with a lance, with the cap-figure and the maid servant positioned in front. Both the *panakawan* and the cap-figure stretch out their right arm as if pointing towards the place they are heading to.

Panel 9 (fig. 9.11) in the middle of the south side depicts three figures. The *panakawan* with a coarse body squats behind the maid servant, who kneels in a *sembah* posture towards the noble cap-figure who sits in a higher position and faces them. He is surrounded by spiral motifs which may indicate clouds or vegetation.<sup>20</sup> Krom (1923, II:338), referring to Perquin, describes this person as a hermit, albeit with some doubt. The cap is obviously misinterpreted as a hermit's headcover – which, however, is usually the turban-like *ketu* – and probably also due to the worshipping postures of the woman and the *panakawan*.

Panel 10 (fig. 9.12), to the very left on the south side, depicts three figures. From right to left a noble cap-figure sits facing the left part of the relief, where another cap-figure stands next to a figure lying naked and stiff on the ground. The whole scene is filled with depictions of trees and branches and spiral motifs. Perquin and Krom again describe the figure on the right as the hermit.

My tentative interpretation of panels 8 to 10 runs as follows. Panji wishes to show the attendants – the *panakawan* and the maid servant who had tried to dissuade him from the fight – the result of his fight. The two

<sup>20</sup> This scene is reminiscent of panel 61 on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran.



Fig. 9.12. Candi Mirigambar, south side, panel 10 (courtesy of Kern Institute, Leiden University, OD nr. 07912)

attendants then worship him for what he has done. The outcome of his deed is displayed: the prone corpse of the murdered king of Magadha. Why Panji is depicted twice in panel 10 may be attributed to the wish of the artist to expose Panji's importance and bravery. Alternatively, the second Panji-like figure can also be considered to depict one of his high-ranking companions – *rangga* or *arya*<sup>21</sup> – who, according to the story, helped him in the fight against the Magadha king. The spiral motifs in panels 9 and 10 may indicate the spiritual power which Panji achieved in his fight.<sup>22</sup>

The last panel, panel 11 (fig. 9.13), on the west side to the right of the staircase, depicts the cap-figure and the young woman with long, loose hair, both standing facing each other. She stands in an erotic posture, holding up her arm which is bent behind her head, which in turn is inclined towards him, as a sign of love.<sup>23</sup> He walks towards her, with his upper torso slightly bent in her direction, as if eager to meet her. This scene illustrates the final reunion of Panji and his beloved, Raden Galuh.

The depictions again display the principal elements of Panji stories: the separation, the journey, and the reunion. The two other elements which are dominant in the depictions on the Pendopo Terrace at Panataran – the meeting with a hermit and the crossing of water – are

<sup>21</sup> Compare Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Kadayan'.

<sup>22</sup> Compare De Vries Robbé 1984.

<sup>23</sup> Perquin and Krom describe her as grasping the branch of a tree with her hand, which I consider a definite misinterpretation. These authors might have been misled due to a comparison with the scene of the *Lalitavistara* reliefs on Borobudur where Queen Maya grasps the branch of a tree when giving birth to Siddharta (Van Erp 1931b:panel 28).



Fig. 9.13. Candi Mirigambar, south side, panel 11 (courtesy of Kern Institute, Leiden University, OD nr. 07909)

absent here. I conclude that on Candi Mirigambar these two latter aspects were not assigned a specific importance in the context of this temple. However, another element of the Panji stories – his bravery and being an ideal warrior – is another major subject depicted at Candi Mirigambar. This theme, featured in all literary Panji stories, is actually an important quality of Panji. However, it is rarely featured in the visual medium of temple reliefs.<sup>24</sup> I only know of two other depictions of an assumed Panji figure carrying a lance; these are located in Candi Gajah Mungkur and Candi Wayang, two sites located close to each other on Mount Penanggungan. Other extant warriors depicted with a cap do not represent Panji.

The placement of the reliefs on the temple wall shows a specific pattern. Two panels with similar themes and compositions are arranged in such a way that they lie opposite to each other on the south and north sides, respectively.<sup>25</sup> It is striking that the only two amorous situations, which depict Panji and his beloved, are both situated to the left and right of the entrance pillars where a visitor would immediately see and recognize them. These panels illustrate the main themes of any Panji story, the separation from the betrothed princess of Daha and their final reunion. Panel 2 on the north side, with the depiction of the presumably dead body of Panji, illustrates him after the attack by his opponent, while

<sup>24</sup> In Balinese paintings of the *Malat* cycle, however, depictions of fights are predominant. See Forge 1978; Vickers 2005.

<sup>25</sup> The panels featuring erotic scenes from the *Sri Tanjung* in Candi Surowono show a similar arrangement opposite to each other within the temple layout.

the opposite south-side panel 10 depicts the dead body of the Magadha king, and thus depicts Panji's retaliatory and successful attack on his opponent. The composition of both images is similar, each with the lying body in the left part of the panel. It seems that through the placement of the issues of separation, reunion, and fighting near the entrance part, the importance of these elements of the Panji story is highlighted.

Reliefs 3 and 9 (figs. 9.5 and 9.11), positioned in symmetry to each other in the middle of the north and the south side, respectively, depict the support of Panji by his *panakawan* assistant in his recovery, and the adoration by the maid servant. I see a parallel between these two panels in the fact that, in both cases, Panji is sitting and that someone is expressing devotion to him. Panels 4 and 8 (figs. 9.6 and 9.10) next to the east corners both show Panji with the maid servant walking towards a certain place. These scenes refer to Panji's journey in the search for his beloved, which is another main theme of Panji stories.

For the original three panels on the rear, I cannot decipher any symmetrical order as in the aforementioned cases. However, it is significant that the two remaining reliefs do not portray any fighting scenes, although fighting does indeed occur in the corresponding episodes of the narrative plot. This accords to the schema in the temples, within which the rear side is considered to be the sacred sphere where fighting scenes would not be appropriate. Thus, the fighting is only represented in an indirect way by the *panakawan* carrying a lance, and the depiction of a fighting Panji is omitted. Still, even though in an indirect way, this is the only temple I know which thematizes fighting on its rear side.

The two standing figures to the left and right of the entrance discussed above (fig. 9.3a and fig. 9.3b), presumably representing Panji and a *kadeyan*, warrant special investigation. The two squatting *panakawan* next to the two standing figures indicate the higher status of the latter. The figures of Panji and the *kadeyan* are comparable with depictions in two other sites: at the Inner Bathing Place at Candi Panataran this pair seems to invite the visitor to step into the bathing place; at Candi Yudha this pair marks the importance of specific narratives depicted in reliefs.<sup>26</sup> At Candi Mirigambar these two figures also appear to welcome the visitors and invite them to enter the temple. Given that Panji and the *kadeyan* are popular figures and form part of 'post-mythological stories', they act

<sup>26</sup> For Candi Yudha, see Chapter X.

on the mundane level and function as intermediaries who welcome the visitor and guide him/her through to the sacred sphere. In the depiction of the *Waseng Sari* story as a ‘post-mythological story’, Panji continues this role of intermediary.

The specific gesture of the figures, the lifting of their *kain*, is a signifier of an erotic mood. I interpret this feature in several depictions on the Pendopo Terrace at Panataran, for example in panel 56, in this way.<sup>27</sup> The fact that the *kadeyan* exposes two knees accords to his usually less refined attitude in comparison to the more refined behaviour of his master. The erotic mood of the two figures highlights the amorous depictions of the Panji story in the two panels next to them. These express the issues of ‘love-in-separation’ and ‘love-in-enjoyment’, which are major elements in the Tantric concept. Interestingly, the arrangement of these two moods is similar to Candi Surowono, where we also encounter depictions of these two moods in places where they immediately appeal to the visitor and which I interpret as expressions of the Tantric concept. I conclude that the combination of the two sculpted figures and the two relief panels at Candi Mirigambar in fact introduce the pilgrim to the Tantric path. Thus, it seems that the Tantric doctrine forms part of the religious concept of the temple.

Unfortunately we do not know how the upper body of the temple was constructed and decorated. Perhaps the upper part of the temple was originally decorated with narrative reliefs based on the Indian epics, such that the Panji story can be understood as having a signalling function. However, since no remains of relief fragments were found which would support this idea, this remains speculative. I am inclined to believe that the Panji story was indeed the major relief series on the temple walls.

However, the small relief series on the upper range above the Panji panels must not be neglected. The few remaining carved stones presumably depict elements of *Tantri* stories. In certain cases *Tantri* stories symbolize ideal kingship, as discussed by Klokke (1993:135-42). This corresponds to the subject of fighting in the depiction of the *Waseng Sari* story. The quality of a perfect warrior is, in the literary Panji genre, a major issue in Panji’s preparation to become a king. As mentioned above, this quality is not usually an element in depictions of Panji stories. It is

<sup>27</sup> Compare also Chapter III, sub-chapter ‘Iconographical conventions’.

striking that the *Tantri* stories are depicted above the Panji reliefs, while in many cases on other temples they are placed on a lower level. Perhaps this arrangement is intended to highlight the importance of the issue of ideal kingship in the function of Candi Mirigambar.

This leads on to an interpretation of the relief depictions of the Panji story on a political level. In this context, they symbolize the struggle and the preparation of a young royal to become an accomplished *kshatriya*. Two major preconditions in this struggle are presented: bravery and success in warfare, and the union with a wife. The defeat of the opponent and the final union of the prince of Kuripan and the princess of Daha may symbolize the ideal of the unity of the realm, which was a prominent issue in Majapahit politics.

While the theme of the first two panels on the left side is separation and danger, the right side is dedicated to the successful fight and the union with the woman and, thus, the ultimate restoration of the order. Loyalty and defeat of the evil are the conditions for achieving this restoration. This principle is in fact similar to the theme in Candi Surowono.

Further along, another aspect of the Panji stories – fertility as a manifestation of the union of Wishnu and Sri – may also be symbolized. Through the placement of the two panels of separation and union of Panji and Raden Galuh in the entrance part, where they are immediately visible for the visitor, the importance of the issue of the union of male and female is highlighted. However, the assumed Tantric ideas are depicted in a less erotic style than in other temples, and only in the two panels mentioned; this may indicate that in this temple the Tantric theme is less important. Thus, Panji and Raden Galuh as incarnations of Wishnu and Sri may have been given more attention. This union of the god with the goddess of the rice plant carries the connotation of fertility. Because the Tantric theme is of minor importance, the emphasis is laid on the symbolism of the warrior-ideal depicted on the other sides of the temple; this issue is discussed at length below.

The figures of Panji and his *kadeyan* next to the entrance welcome the visitor and seem to point towards the whole spectrum of symbolic aspects. They express the erotic mood related to the Tantric concept and to fertility in the union of Wishnu and Sri. They also introduce the issue of Panji as a warrior, as in his fights he is always supported by his *kadeyan*.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> It is, however, remarkable that in the depiction of the Panji story itself no *kadeyan* appears, but a *panakawan* who also acts as a companion of Panji.

The commissioner for the construction of Candi Mirigambar is not known. The political situation in Java shortly after AD 1400 was very unstable, with an increased competition for power. The theme of Panji's defeat of an opponent was an appropriate means to express the claim of a royal who was involved in this competition and who was associated with the construction of this temple. Based on inscriptions from several periods, the last one dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century, we can assume that the whole complex of buildings was constructed in several stages. King Wikramawardhana (AD 1389-1429), referred to in the inscription on the copperplate, ruled the western part of Majapahit and was involved in severe fighting against the eastern king, Bhre Wirabhumi (Noorduyn 1975:479).<sup>29</sup> We may conclude that indeed Wikramawardhana was the principal for the extension of the temple with the relief carvings. The reliefs would express his claim of re-establishing the unity of the realm. In this light Candi Mirigambar and its relief decorations can be seen as a mirror of the actual historic/political situation of the time. Perhaps the political meaning of the temple even surpassed its meaning on a religious level.

Another factor demands attention. The Panji story was maybe the major narrative depicted at Candi Mirigambar, while in most other cases which I investigated the Panji stories are depicted in combination with other narratives and have their specific function in the interaction with each other. If it is true that, besides the few scenes of *Tantri* or other animal stories which were depicted above the Panji reliefs, no other narrative series was originally placed on the temple foot,<sup>30</sup> then we can conclude that in Mirigambar the focus was laid on the Panji story with its various symbolic aspects. It was not necessary to provide and create an interaction with other narratives to express the intended symbolic meaning of the temple. The *Tantri* reliefs play a minor role. The Panji story was considered to carry a sufficiently important message to be displayed on its own. We can conclude that by the end of the fourteenth century the symbolism of depicted Panji stories was already well established in religious society, so that it could stand in its own right.

<sup>29</sup> See Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Politics of Majapahit'.

<sup>30</sup> In fact, no remains of any other reliefs have been found, neither on the building nor on the ground around them.

According to Knebel as well as Krom, the local people interpreted the story of these reliefs as the *Angling Dharma* story. Knebel (1908b:220-1) quotes the story as it was narrated to him by the village head in Javanese:

Waktoc poenika Angling-darma dados mliwis petak, ladjeng loemban ing segaran (sakilennipoen tjandi Gambar) sareng waktoc loemban ladjing katjepeng kaliaan poetri boeta nami Widata-widati [...]

(At this time Angling-darma became a white duck, then he swam in the ocean (to the west of Candi Gambar). While swimming he was caught by the daughter of a demon whose name was Widata-widati [...])<sup>31</sup>

I agree with Krom (1923, II:338-9), who mentions that in fact there is no correspondence at all between the *Angling Dharma* story and the depictions in the reliefs. Interestingly, during my first visit to the site in 2000 the *juru kunci* also told me that it is the *Angling Dharma* that is depicted. The *Angling Dharma* is a Modern Javanese version of a Middle Javanese *kidung* called *Aji Dharma*.<sup>32</sup>

The fact that a specific interpretation of the reliefs, which obviously does not correspond with the depictions, could be kept alive for at least a century has caught my attention.<sup>33</sup> I also found intriguing that, as reported by Knebel (1908b:220), the story was recited ‘*met dalam-stem*’ which means in the way a *dalang* performs his *suluk*, the text which he sings during the *wayang* performance. We can imagine that originally, in the time when the temple was still new, there was also a guide, perhaps a priest or another kind of spiritual teacher, who introduced the visitors and helped them to understand the depicted stories. This is similar to the function of the *dalang* who narrates the story in the *wayang beber*

<sup>31</sup> Thanks to Ana Zain for her help in translating from the Javanese.

<sup>32</sup> The *Angling Dharma* is a Modern Javanese version of a Middle Javanese *kidung* called *Aji Dharma*. I must provide a short summary of the *kidung* to make clear that there is no correspondence. The story tells of King Dharma, who is given the charm of understanding the language of the animals by the king of the snakes, Antaboga. The wife of King Dharma wants to know about the charm, which, however, was granted under the condition of closest secrecy. The queen throws herself into a pyre, and King Dharma, after nearly having followed her, is condemned by a divine curse to wander about for seven years. During his adventures he encounters several animals whose language he understands. And eventually he marries another princess (Drewes 1975:38-44).

<sup>33</sup> It is also remarkable that the same story, the *Angling Dharma*, was said by the *juru kunci* in Candi Jago to be depicted in a relief series which formerly had not yet been identified. See my Chapter VI on Candi Jago. Perhaps this is an indication that this story was just very popular during the twentieth century.

paintings. That the *panakawan* is very dominant in the Mirigambar panels might hint to an association between the reliefs and the *wayang*, where the *panakawan* is an important element in both entertaining and pointing out important themes in the *lakon*. In this way, the *panakawan* has a similar role as an intermediary as Panji.<sup>34</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The Panji story depicted at Candi Mirigambar presumably illustrates the *Waseng Sari* story, which features the separation of Panji and his beloved, their search for each other, the struggle of Panji in fighting and defeating an opponent, and the final union of the two protagonists. The major elements of a Panji story – the separation, the search, the final union – are depicted, but not the two other frequently depicted elements of meeting a hermit and of crossing water. However, the element of fighting in a Panji story, rarely depicted in other temple reliefs, has a dominant role in Candi Mirigambar. The selection of these aspects to be depicted contributes to the specific symbolic meaning of the reliefs.

The two standing figures, Panji and a *kadeyan*, both appearing to have an erotic mood, placed next to the entrance, emphasize the erotic aspect of the story in the union of the two protagonists. This union, displayed through the well-liked medium of the Panji theme, introduces the visitor to the union of Siwa-Sakti on a supra-mundane level, and thus points toward the goal of the Tantric path. At the same time, the Panji story may also symbolize the union of Wishnu and Sri and therefore symbolize fertility.

The dominance of episodes associated with fighting signifies the ideal warrior as an important requirement to become a successful and accomplished king. This symbolism fits the actual political instability and competition at the time.

Thus, the depicted Panji story includes multiple symbolic aspects. On a religious level it introduces the visitor to the Tantric doctrine. On a political level the ideal king is symbolized through his union with a wife, and through his success in uniting the realm to restore order and welfare after preceding chaos. The placement of the reliefs within the temple

<sup>34</sup> Compare my discussion of this issue in Chapter II, sub-chapter 'Performing arts'.

layout contributes to their symbolism, by placing the theme of separation and danger on the part left of the entrance and on the whole north side, the defeat of the danger and the reunion – that is, the restoring of order – on the part right of the entrance and the whole south side, and the indirect representation of fighting as a means to achieve the restoration of the order on the rear side.

Another important issue that emerges in the discussion of Candi Mirigambar is that the Panji story is presumably the major narrative depiction on the temple. This differs from most other temples, where a cross-reference between several narratives and, particularly, between ‘mythological stories’ and ‘post-mythological stories’ is given. The depictions of the two genres *kakawin* and *kidung* are usually clearly separated from each other through the respective selection of scenes and through their placements in the temple layout. One specific issue in this cross-reference is the allocation of the *kshatriya* theme. In the temples discussed in chapters VI, VII, and VIII, the accomplished *kshatriya* is only represented by the heroes of the *kakawin* world, and never by the heroes of the *kidung* and in particular the Panji stories. However, in Mirigambar, Panji himself, by the additional focus on him as a warrior, has the role of an accomplished *kshatriya*. This means that the different themes, usually allocated separately to the two different genres, are here integrated into the depiction of one genre only, namely the ‘post-mythological’ Panji story. I consider this integration to be an extension and even an upgrade of the function of the Panji depictions. Around AD 1400, the Panji stories seem to have developed into an autonomous literary genre and, particularly, into an autonomous visual medium capable of conveying a specific message in a temple.

As mentioned in Chapter VII, I know of another relief series depicting a cap-figure as a warrior in Candi Gajah Mungkur, dated AD 1360 and located on the slopes of Mount Penanggungan.<sup>35</sup> It is presumably Panji holding a weapon which is very similar to the weapon carried by the cap-wearing assistant of Krishna in the battle scene of the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the Main Temple of Candi Panataran. It therefore seems that the topic of a warrior holding such a weapon was already well known and was then applied to Panji in his role of a warrior.

<sup>35</sup> A photo of the scene depicting this figure is given in Bernet Kempers 1959:plate 325. The reliefs at Candi Gajah Mungkur have been destroyed, but in 2000 I encountered the warrior figure in the depot of the Museum Majapahit in Trowulan, the head being broken.

This means that Candi Mirigambar is unique in many aspects and displays an advanced stage in the development of the symbolism of Panji depictions.



## Chapter X

### Sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan: Candi Kendalisodo, Candi Yudha, and the Panji statue from Candi Selokelir – the climax

#### GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION AND LAYOUT OF THE SANCTUARIES

Mount Penanggungan (1,653 m), situated approximately 50 kilometres to the south of Surabaya, has a peculiar shape (fig. 10.1). It has one central peak, which is surrounded by four lower summits and four more hills on a lower level, such that it resembles a natural *mandala*.<sup>1</sup> The names of the four upper hills, starting from the one in the northeast and then proceeding clockwise, are Gajah Mungkur, Kemuncup, Sarahklopo, and Bekel (fig. 10.2). Most of the 81 sanctuaries or their remains are located on the northern and western slopes of the mountain.<sup>2</sup>

Many of the sanctuaries are grouped in such a way that their locations follow an ascending line on the mountain slope – for example, sites LXI, LXII, LXIV, LXVII, and LX on the western slope, starting from Candi Jolotundo (XXVII). Others are grouped together in close proximity – for instance, sites I, XVI, LIV, LII, LIII, LI, L, and IL on the upper western slope. Around Gajahmungkur ten sites are grouped close to each other: VII, XX, XXI, III, XIX, IX, XXII, XVIII, VIII, and LXIX.<sup>3</sup> As not all the buildings are dated, we cannot conclude that these arrangements were the result of a plan. However, the addition of new sanctuaries may have allowed paths of procession and groups of sanctuaries to develop gradually. These sanctuary groups and lines may correspond with the so-called *mandala* which are mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama*

<sup>1</sup> Compare my explanations on Mount Penanggungan in Chapter IV, sub-chapter ‘Water and mountain’.

<sup>2</sup> I use Romondt’s (1951) numbering of the sites in Roman numbers.

<sup>3</sup> I visited most of these sites during several climbs on the mountain since 1993.



Fig. 10.1. Mount Penanggungan, seen from Trawas, from the south

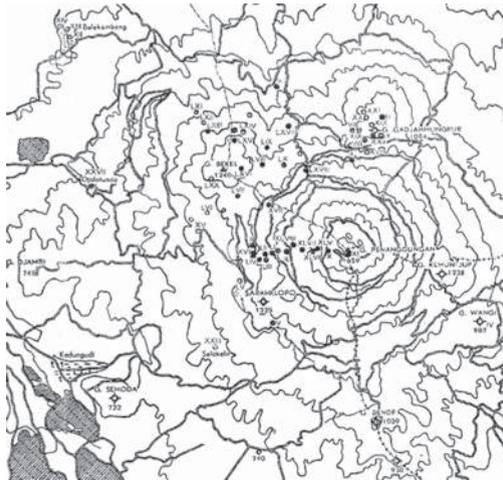


Plate 10.2. Topographic map of Mount Penanggungan  
(Van Romondt 1951, Gb.A. Peta sementara letak<sup>2</sup>  
keperbakaan di Gng Penanggungan)

(*Nag.* 32.2c, 78.7a) and which Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:93, 247) translates as ‘sacred-ring communities’.<sup>4</sup>

The majority of the sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan are of a rather small scale. The building consists of several terraces – the typical feature in the religious architecture of the East Javanese period – with a central staircase. In many cases some of the terraces are decorated with narrative reliefs; however, at numerous sites the reliefs are no longer extant. Often one or three altars were found on the upper terrace of the sanctuary, perhaps originally with a statue placed on top of or near the altar.<sup>5</sup> In front of the terraced buildings were often small shrines to be used for offerings. It may be assumed that most of these elements – reliefs, altars, and shrines – originally existed at most of the sanctuaries. Some sites consist of several small, ascending courtyards with altars and terraced buildings. The terraces follow the incline of the slope and are oriented towards either the mountain peak or the peak of the hill on which they were built. I refer to them with the Indonesian term *pemujaan* (place of worship).<sup>6</sup> The hermitages, *pertapaan* (place of meditation), consist of a natural rock-cave or are man-made constructions.

Sanctuaries with relief depictions of cap-figures are:

- Candi Gajah Mungkur (XXII) – dated AD 1360
- Candi Wayang (VIII) – probably approximately AD 1360
- Candi Yudha (LX) – probably mid fifteenth century
- Candi Kendalisodo (LXV) – probably mid fifteenth century
- Candi Selokelir (XXIII) sculpture – dated inscription from AD 1434

I have selected Candi Kendalisodo and Candi Yudha for detailed discussion because they represent two different kinds of sanctuaries (a hermitage and a place of worship) and also because their relief depictions display a different placement and arrangement. I investigate the sculpture from Candi Selokelir as one of only two known statues of cap-figures. The two other places are listed in the table in Chapter V, with brief information on their relief depictions.

<sup>4</sup> Supomo (1977, I:66-8) and Hariani Santiko (1990:163-4, 1998:240-1) discuss various names that occur in Old Javanese literature and obviously all refer to hermitage communities: *wanasama*, *asrama*, *patapan*, *kadewaguruan*, *mandala*, and *karshyan*.

<sup>5</sup> As mentioned in chapter IV, Hariani Santiko (1998:245) argues that no sculptures were placed in the mountain sanctuaries. I, however, do not concur with this.

<sup>6</sup> In Indonesian they are also called *punden berundak*.

## HISTORY AND FUNCTION OF THE SITES

Dates found in inscriptions on Mount Penanggungan range from the late tenth century until AD 1511 (Van Romondt 1951:52). The earliest dated site is Candi Jolotundo (AD 977), which is a holy bathing place located on the western foot of Mount Penanggungan.<sup>7</sup> The majority of the buildings are located on the upper reaches of the mountain and date from the fifteenth century, with the bulk dating from around the middle of the century. This implies that most were built and used during the times of conflict in Majapahit, that is, between the Civil War in 1405-06 and the attack by Muslims from Demak in 1478. Reliefs with cap-figures only appear on buildings in the mountain's upper reaches and date from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century.

Mount Penanggungan is mentioned in several ancient Javanese texts and in oral traditions. There is evidence of a special connection with King Airlangga. The Calcutta-stone inscription,<sup>8</sup> dated AD 1041, mentions that King Airlangga went into a retreat on Pucangan. The *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 58.1, 78.1) mentions hermitages at 'Pawitra' and at 'Pucangan'. That Penanggungan/ Pawitra/ Pucangan are synonyms for each other has been argued by several authors.<sup>9</sup> The term *pawitra* in Old Javanese, having its root in Sanskrit, means 'purifying; pure, free from evil, auspicious, sacred, holy' (Zoetmulder 1982:1329). This term refers to the sacredness which is ascribed to Mount Penanggungan due to its peculiar shape. The Old Javanese word *pucang* means 'areca-palm, areca-nut' (Zoetmulder 1982:1427), thus *pucangan* is the place of the areca palms. In fact 'wild areca palms were reported to have been growing on this mountain' (Rouffaer 1909:182). The name 'Penanggungan' is a name that developed more recently, which can be translated from Indonesian as 'enduring/suffering' or as 'being responsible'.<sup>10</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> Compare my discussion of this *tirtha* in Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Water and mountain'.

<sup>8</sup> So called because it was brought to the Indian Museum in Calcutta by Raffles in 1813. The inscription relates facts of King Airlangga's life. Kern (1917:85-114) translates both sides of the inscribed stone, one of which is in Sanskrit and the other in Old Javanese. These translations are also published in Kern 1885 and 1912.

<sup>9</sup> Pigeaud 1924:215, 1960-63, IV:155, 239; Krom 1931:270; Noorduyt 1982:426.

<sup>10</sup> I am, however, unsure about the meaning of these words in relation to the mountain.

I am grateful to John Miksic, who provides another interesting interpretation in his comments on my thesis (27-4-2009): 'I am inclined to think that the name derives from the sense of *langgang* which means to carry on one's shoulders. This could be a reference to the four lesser peaks which appear to sit on the shoulders of the taller peak which symbolizes the head.'

inscription on the Calcutta stone mentions that in AD 1041 the king founded a hermitage at Pugawat/ Pucangan (Rouffaer 1909:180-2; Krom 1931:259).<sup>11</sup> According to traditional folklore, it is also believed that at the end of his life Airlangga himself withdrew from worldly affairs on Mount Penanggungan (Stutterheim 1937b:406-10; Supomo 1972:289-90). The traditional belief found in later semi-historical *babad* has it that Airlangga's daughter lived in the hermitage on Pucangan. In some of the Panji stories the aunt of Panji, Kili Suci, is a hermitess on Pucangan.

The *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 58.1) relates that King Hayam Wuruk on his journey through the realm, coming from Candi Jawi, visited a hermitage on the slope of Mount Pawitra. This shows that the specific hermitage, or even the whole mountain, was so highly venerated by the king that he – probably accompanied by a large retinue – made the effort to climb the mountain, since hermitages are usually situated on a rather high level and are not easily accessible. Nag.78.1b mentions that Pucangan and Pawitra belong to the seven free domains of hermitages (*dharmā lepas karshyan*) under royal authority; these hermitages received donations from the king so that poor *rshi* could fulfil their worshipping and ascetic practices.

The *Tantu Panggelaran*, which narrates the story about the move of Mount Meru from India to Java (Pigeaud 1924:62-6, 134-7), mentions 'Pawitra' as the mountain's top which fell down to the island of Java before the main part of the mountain was set down further to the east. Mount Penanggungan's peculiar shape, which corresponds to the description of the mythical Indian Mount Mahameru, and which is that of one central peak surrounded by eight summits, as well as its geographical location to the west of Mount Semeru, the highest mountain of Java, make it clear that the 'Pawitra' of the *Tantu Panggelaran* is Mount Penanggungan.

The Old Sundanese text *Bujangga Manik* from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, describing the journey of a hermit through Java, speaks of how the main character climbed Mount Pawitra and the sa-

<sup>11</sup> The Sanskrit version of the inscription has the name 'Pugawat' while the Old Javanese one names it 'Pucangan'. Rouffaer (1909:180-2) and Kern (1917:113) explain that 'Mount Pugawat/Pucangan' are both synonyms for today's Mount Penanggungan. Very recently the identification of Pucangan with Penanggungan has been questioned, for example by Hadi Sidomulyo who suggests that the location of Pucangan is near the town of Jombang (personal communication on 24-09-2012). The issue requires further research.

cred Mount Gajah Mungkur (Noorduyn 1982:258, 414). This highlights the importance of the mountain even during later times and for pilgrims from far away. All these historical and semi-historical sources reveal the existence of a long tradition of ascetic practice associated with Mount Penanggungan and its high esteem and status as a holy place.

The sites on Mount Penanggungan had different functions and served various purposes. Most of them were places of worship. It has been argued that these sites served for the worship of the ancestors and of gods, particularly and predominantly for the worship of Siwa (Hariani Santiko 1998:246). Others served as hermitages. Several sanctuaries combined both functions, as is evident from the layout of some sites, amongst them Candi Kendalisodo, and from the location of some sites in close proximity to each other. Further evidence is provided through the use of the terms *karshyan/patapan/mandala* as synonyms in ancient texts. For example, the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 58.1, 68.2, 78.1, 78.7) indicates these were groups of buildings which served as centres of religious education, as places to retreat from the world, and for worship of the ancestors and gods.<sup>12</sup> Still other sanctuaries are holy water places, such as the two well-known and relatively early sites Candi Jolotundo (AD 977) and Candi Belahan (ascribed to the mid-eleventh century), and Candi Balekambang the remains of which bear some relief carvings.

The importance and meaning of Mount Penanggungan must be considered in the context of the cult of mountain and ancestor worship as a predominant feature in the religious practice in ancient Java. Mount Penanggungan in particular was considered as the holiest of the mountains, as the 'Lord of the Mountains' (Supomo 1972:290). On the slopes of other mountains in East Java, such as Mount Arjuno or Mount Lawu, hermitages and small sanctuaries were also built, but in far lesser numbers than on Mount Penanggungan. In a previous chapter I presented the long ongoing scholarly discussion about mountain and ancestor worship in East Java.<sup>13</sup> The major issues are the resurgence of an ancient indigenous megalithic culture; the impact of the advance of Muslim power; and the chaotic and unstable political situation in fifteenth-century Majapahit, which led to an increased tendency to practise asceticism at remote sites. As mentioned before, the 'resurgence

<sup>12</sup> Compare Agus A. Munandar (1990b:195-259); Hariani Santiko 1998. See also Chapter IV, sub-chapters 'Unity of the realm' and 'Decline of Majapahit'.

<sup>13</sup> Chapter IV, sub-chapters 'Decline of Majapahit' and 'Water and mountain'.

of a megalithic tradition' has been questioned in recent years, and I do indeed not consider this tradition to be a determining factor for the increase of mountain sanctuaries. The issue of an interconnection between the political instability and ascetic practice, however, is of particular importance and relevance for my object of research.

The principals, or donors, for the foundations of the sanctuaries were members of the wealthy or aristocratic society of Majapahit. This is suggested by the mention of 'Pucangan' and 'Pawitra' as free domains under royal authority in the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 78.1b). By commissioning architects and artists, these principals manifested their claim to be part of constituting the political order. Reality, with competitions in the aristocratic hierarchy during the time of political upheaval of the fifteenth century, was mirrored in fiction, with the struggle of Panji in the Panji stories.<sup>14</sup> The frequent depictions of Panji stories in reliefs on Mount Penanggungan, and the Panji sculpture from the middle of the fifteenth century from Candi Selokelir, should be considered against this background.

The tradition of hermits living in remote areas had increased in the late Majapahit period, and their status had risen as well. Most likely, pilgrims from all parts of society, in particular members of the aristocracy and even kings, retreated to hermitages in seek of spiritual knowledge and power. The remoteness of the mountain from the world, from the noise and distractions of daily life, attracted pilgrims who sought the silence for inspiration and to reach an understanding of religious knowledge.

This remoteness corresponds to the secrecy of the esoteric Tantric knowledge, which lies beyond the basic religious and ritual practice. The more remote or higher up on the mountain, the deeper or higher you can progress towards attaining the secret Tantric knowledge. The beauty of the site, with its nature, forest, ravines, and spectacular views was regarded and perceived as full of awesome magic and spirits. This beauty contributed to the arousal of *langö*, which is a *yantra* for the unification with the Divine. The mountain thus became a *yantra* itself in achieving this union. After having reached, on the upper slopes of the mountain, the union with the Divine, in the understanding of the Tantric doctrine, the pilgrim would descend and take a bath in Jolotundo to unify with the

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter II, sub-chapter 'Panji stories'. Compare Hunter 2007.

*ishtadewata*. This is the process of the Tantric Kundalini path: the ascent to the *Sahasrara*, followed by the descent to the *Anandakanda-padma*.<sup>15</sup>

The community of others searching for the same goal was certainly supportive of these religious seekers. The effort of climbing the mountain to reach the sanctuaries, however, means it is unlikely there were masses of people in this group, but rather that it was an exclusive community of worshippers and pilgrims.<sup>16</sup>

Water is a very important theme in the mythology of Mount Penanggungan and its sanctuaries. As elaborated in Chapter IV, water has a twofold symbolism depending on its function as *amerta* or *tirtha*. Following the *Samudramanthana* story in the version of the *Tantu Panggelaran*, Mount Penanggungan itself, as the top of Mount Meru, produces the *amerta* through the churning of the ocean. The *tirtha*, such as Candi Jolotundo, on the lower slopes of the mountain served for ritually purifying the pilgrims and, thus, for preparing them on their path to a higher stage of esoteric knowledge before they climbed the mountain. Earlier in this book I explained the symbolic identity of *amerta* and the semen of Siwa, which finds its manifestation in the *lingga* sculpture of Jolotundo, this sculpture mimicking Mount Penanggungan itself. Jolotundo comprises both meanings of *tirtha* and *amerta*: the water sources along the slopes of the mountain – manifestations of *amerta* – also have served for recurrent purification and preparation of the pilgrims in the sense of *tirtha*.

In a very practical way, water was necessary for the supply of the hermits and pilgrims with drinking water; during the rainy season, water was provided by brooks and water sources. We do not know how the situation was in the dry season, when water was scarce. There must have been people who provided the hermits and the pilgrims with food and water; and they certainly gained merit through these deeds.

Still today, some of the sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan are visited by the local people, who bring offerings or meditate there. Candi Jolotundo is particularly respected; pilgrims come to take a ritual bath

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Tantrism'.

<sup>16</sup> I am grateful to John Miksic for his comment (27-4-2000) on the number of pilgrims visiting Penanggungan: 'This mountain is not particularly high. It is only about a thousand metres to the mountain's shoulder where the majority of the shrines are located. Jolotundo is located at 500 metres, from there it is only another 500 metres to the shoulder zone.' Furthermore, Majapahit's capital Trowulan, with its population of 'at least 100,000 at its peak', and located only about 30 km from Penanggungan, would have provided a large number of pilgrims.



Fig. 10.3. Candi Kendalisodo, view from northwest  
(courtesy of Kinney 2003:260, fig. 262)

and to spend the night in meditation. On the other hand, in the course of time many sanctuaries or parts of them have been damaged or destroyed, and many reliefs stolen. During my visits to Mount Penanggungan since 1993, I was sad to find again and again that parts of the sites had been damaged or had disappeared, perhaps having found their way into the international art market so that they now in private hands.

#### CANDI KENDALISODO

This site – no. LXV – is located on the northern slope of Gunung Bekel, the northwestern hill below the peak of Mount Penanggungan, at a height of about 1100 metres. Access to the place requires a long, steep walk of three to four hours. The sanctuary consists of two parts, a terraced construction and a natural rock-cave which is closed by a man-made split gate (fig. 10.3). Both parts are decorated with narrative reliefs. All three reliefs on the gate walls have been stolen, and three of the four panels on the terraced structure have been damaged, but luckily photos

of them have been preserved by the Dutch Archaeological Service. In addition, I was able to take some photographs in situ myself.<sup>17</sup>

Candi Kendalisodo served both as a *pemujaan* and as a *pertapaan*. There are no inscriptions or dates. Stutterheim (1940:132) dates the site to the middle of the fifteenth century, as most of the sanctuaries on the upper level of Mount Penanggungan are from that time. I agree with this date, as this dating is supported by the style of the reliefs. In the following discussion of the site, I will refer to my earlier article (Kieven 2000); however, at some points in this chapter I will suggest new interpretations, which I have developed since then.

Candi Kendalisodo has the highest position in a group of five sites (LXI-LXV). The other four sites are scarcely visible. Inscriptions were found at site LXI, dated AD 1414, and at site LXIII, dated AD 1404. An inscription from site LXIV was read as AD 1410 or 1451. Site LXIII was a simple hermitage, and at LXIV the image of a *dwarapala* was found (Van Romondt 1951:36-7). These sites probably formed a *mandala* group of both *pemujaan* and *pertapaan*. Due to the fact that it occupies the geographically highest position and is the largest in size within this *mandala*, Candi Kendalisodo may have been the central and most important place in this *mandala*.<sup>18</sup> Visitors enter the small plateau, which opens to a spectacular view over the northern plains of the Brantas delta. The *pemujaan* is situated at the south side of the plateau, and the *pertapaan* at the east side.

The *pemujaan* consists of three terraces with a central staircase. The two lower terraces are decorated with four large relief panels which must be read starting on the first terrace from left to right (panels 1 and 2); on the second terrace from right to left (panels 3 and 4).<sup>19</sup> They feature a noble couple, the male wearing a cap as headgear. Due to weathering the carving of the cap is less clear in some panels, while a sharp-edged cap is visible only in panel 3. The lady, her long hair loose, has the typical features of a young noblewoman. Another couple is comprised of a

<sup>17</sup> The relief depicting Bhima and the one depicting the temptation scene of Arjuna were stolen around 1992; the relief depicting the bathing *widadari* was stolen around 1997 (information by Pak Paedan, the *juru kunci* of Kendalisodo and of other Penanggungan sanctuaries, on 16-6-2010).

<sup>18</sup> As mentioned in Chapter IV in my discussion of mountain sanctuaries, Supomo (1977:67-8), Agus A. Munandar (1990b:202-3), and Hariani Santiko (1988:240-1) point to the existence of such hierarchies within a *kadewoguruan/mandala*.

<sup>19</sup> Two of the panels have been damaged since 1996; very sadly, the upper parts of the body, including the cap of Panji, have been cut out. Luckily I took photos of the complete panels in 1996.

maid servant with the typical hair bun, and a small, dwarf-like *panakawan*. Obviously the maid servant is the companion of the noblewoman and the *panakawan* the companion of the nobleman. The cap-figure has been interpreted as Panji (Holt 1967:89; Terwen-de Loos 1971; Kieven 2000).

In my earlier article (Kieven 2000), I identify the narrative with the *Jayakusuma* story. This story was very popular in the nineteenth century in Surakarta; however, no earlier written versions are known.<sup>20</sup> It speaks of Panji and his betrothed Candrakirana who, before getting married, are ordered by his parents to visit his grandparents who live on the island of Borneo and pay homage to them. While they are crossing the ocean by boat, a storm separates them and brings him to Borneo and her to Bali. Only later, after many adventures, do they meet again.<sup>21</sup> I am less certain now that I interpreted this narrative correctly. However, the topics of crossing of the ocean and the subsequent separation of the two protagonists, both of these topics constituting crucial elements in the *Jayakusuma* story, are also to be found in several other Panji stories. Thus, maybe another unknown version served as the source material for the depiction at Kendalisodo.<sup>22</sup>

The first panel (fig. 10.4) depicts the two couples within a compound consisting of several buildings and enclosed by a wall, which suggests an aristocratic ambience. In the main building two people are pictured sleeping. The two aforementioned couples kneel while making the gesture of *sembah* towards the sleeping persons, which means they are taking leave. Obviously this happens in the night or the early morning, a time when Javanese people still today set out on a journey to avoid the heat of the day. The second panel (fig. 10.5) shows the same two couples walking in a beautiful landscape marked by rocks, trees, and a flagstone path winding through the mountains. The *panakawan* carries a *vina*, a stringed

<sup>20</sup> Poerbatjaraka (1940a:103) discusses the story, same as Padmapuspita (n.y.). A summary of the plot is also provided in Sulastrin Sutrisno et al. 1983:37. Coster-Wijnsman (1952) discusses a textile with depictions of the story in *wayang* style, kept in the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam.

<sup>21</sup> Terwen-de Loos (1971) gives another interpretation of the reliefs, which is based on the life story of Raden Wijaya, the founder of Majapahit, as told in the *Kidung Harsa Wijaya*. On many points this interpretation is not at all convincing to me. According to Terwen-de Loos, the episode in the reliefs depicts the part of the story after Raden Wijaya has fought against the Kediri attack, this fight forming an important part of the story. If it were so, then in my opinion some reference to the fight would be illustrated in the reliefs. Beyond this, Terwen-de Loos mixes up the relief panels. Thus, I cannot follow her interpretation.

<sup>22</sup> Another interesting point related to my interpretation is Sockmono's (1995:102) note, referring to Van Hoëvell (1851, II:111), that in 'popular lore, Jolotundo was a tomb prepared for the Jenggala king Panji Joyokusumo'.



Fig. 10.4. Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*, first terrace, left of staircase, panel 1



Fig. 10.5. Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*, first terrace, right of staircase, panel 2

instrument with two gourd resonators connected by a shaft, which is known in India.<sup>23</sup>

The third panel (figs. 10.6a and 10.6b), on the upper right side on the second terrace, depicts the nobleman holding the young woman on his lap and playing the *vina*.<sup>24</sup> They both have the postures of a loving couple

<sup>23</sup> The fact that the *vina* is depicted is remarkable. It is the only known depiction of this instrument in ancient Javanese art, especially in this relatively late phase of Indian influence in Java. It perhaps reflects an increased contact with Indian traders at that time. Kunst (1968:20) explains this instrument has similarities with the North-Indian *bin* and the South-Indian *vina*. I was lucky to be given the opportunity by Ernst Heins, ethnomusicologist in Amsterdam, to examine the original correspondence between Jaap Kunst and Willem Stutterheim in 1936 on this subject. A translation of a few passages from the Dutch says: Stutterheim (10-1-1936): '[...] one of the newly found reliefs of the Penanggungan on which a beautiful and clear rendering of a zither with two gourds. [...] Nice find, isn't it?' Kunst (12-2-1936): 'I would be delighted to receive a photograph of the Penanggungan-*vina* or rather *bin*, for it is the typical North Indian shape of this string instrument. [...] In the reliefs of the Bayon such double gourd *bins* are also shown.' [I am grateful for the translation by J. Fontein.]

<sup>24</sup> The upper part of the male's body has been destroyed.



Fig. 10.6a. Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*: second terrace, right of staircase, panel 3 (photo 1996)



Fig. 10.6b. Detail of panel 3 (photo 2010)

in union. The romantic atmosphere of this situation is intensified by the depiction of a lake with waterspouts where they have taken a break on their journey. The servant couple is depicted below to the right, sitting and chatting to each other.

The fourth and final panel (figs. 10.7a and 10.7b) depicts on the right the same landscape as in the two previous panels – rocks, trees, and the flagstone path – and on the left, waves, sailing boats, and huge fish, indicating the ocean. On the ocean shore kneel the servant couple; to their right stand the noble couple, the male looking back to the lady and pointing with his right hand towards the ocean.<sup>25</sup> He seems to be explaining something to her concerning the ocean.

<sup>25</sup> The upper part of the male's body has been destroyed. In both cases, in panel 3 and 4, today visitors will not easily or not at all understand the depictions, since the interaction between the nobleman and the lady remains unclear without the lost parts.



Fig. 10.7a. Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*, second terrace, left of staircase, panel 4 (photo 1996)



Fig. 10.7b. Candi Kendalisodo, *pemujaan*, detail of panel 4 (photo 2010)

Many elements in these depictions are typical for Panji stories: the prince and princess in an amorous situation, accompanied by their servants on a journey; Panji displaying his poetical and musical talents; situations with water. A separation is not explicitly shown, but if indeed the *Jayakusuma* or a story with a similar plot is depicted then the scene in the last panel and Panji's gesture towards the sea indirectly suggests the upcoming separation: when crossing the ocean the two lovers will be separated, while the original purpose is to pay homage to his grandparents on another island across the ocean. However, perhaps it is merely the theme of crossing the water which is given priority without any reference to what might actually happen.

The fact that the major elements of Panji stories are extant, and that the nobleman wears the cap, allows us to conclude that the depiction of a Panji story was in fact intended. Furthermore it has to be considered that the reliefs at Candi Kendalisodo, due to its rather late date of construction within the Majapahit period, stood in a long tradition of depictions

of Panji stories, so that the presentation of but a few selected features was sufficient enough for visitors to identify these reliefs as a Panji story.

As discussed earlier (Kieven 2000), the whole sequence may symbolically suggest the journey which visitors to this sanctuary had undertaken themselves. They also had left their family, probably in the night or very early morning; they had walked through a beautiful landscape with rocks, ravines, and woods, following a steep path on the mountain slope; they certainly took a rest, if possible at a water site at the lower slope of the mountain. They did all this in order to pay homage to the ancestors, which is one of the purposes of visiting this sacred site on the mountain. The second purpose is to seek advice and listen to the teaching of a hermit, suggested by Panji's hand indicating the direction towards the *pertapaan*.

I want to call particular attention to the motif of water in both the third and fourth panel. The depiction of the lake with waterspouts in the third panel recalls the holy water places Candi Jolotundo (on the west side), Candi Belahan (on the east side), and Candi Balekambang (on the north side) on the lower levels of Mount Penanggungan. There most likely existed other *tirtha* places in former times. Thus, from wherever the pilgrims began their ascent to Candi Kendalisodo, they would certainly pass by a water place. This is taken up in the relief depiction, thus supporting my impression that the visitors are directly addressed in the illustrations so they can identify themselves with the depicted persons. The relief thus visualizes the symbolic meaning of the Bathing Places on Mount Penanggungan: purification and preparing for the passage to Higher Knowledge. The depiction of the ocean in the fourth panel indicates the crossing of water in order to proceed to the spiritual teaching which is then conducted in the hermitage.

In a certain way, the theme of the final episode of the Panji story is carried on in the relief depictions on the *pertapaan*. The three panels depict two scenes from the *Arjunawiwaha* and one from the *Bhimasuci* story.<sup>26</sup> Two panels feature scenes in which water is predominant. To the left of the gate a panel depicted the *widadari* bathing in water, and to the right of the gate there was the popular scene in which two *widadari* try

<sup>26</sup> None of these three original panels is still extant today, the panel with the bathing *widadari* only having been stolen in recent years.



Fig. 10.8. Candi Kendalisodo, *pertapaan*, Bhima relief  
(courtesy of Kern Institute, Leiden University, OD nr. 12634)

to seduce the meditating Arjuna.<sup>27</sup> The upper left panel depicted Bhima entering the ocean, the crucial moment in the *Bhimasuci* story before he meets Dewaruci on the bottom of the ocean (fig. 10.8); there he is taught how to find the Supreme Knowledge and the *amerta*.<sup>28</sup> Bhima's headgear is a *supit urang*.

My interpretation of the site runs as follows: Candi Kendalisodo as a whole is a mirror of the gradual approach of the worshipper to the final encounter with the Divine. In this scenario, the Panji story and particularly Panji with Candrakirana function as companions and guides for the pilgrim, owing to the popularity of this story and its connection to daily life. In the *pemujaan* the worshippers first pay homage to the ancestors and proceed symbolically towards the mountain top. Along the way the depicted union of Panji and Candrakirana – in the romantic scene symbolizing the sexual intercourse – is another part of the preparation of the adept, suggesting the final union with the Divine according to the Tantric concept. The adept is then, with the depiction of the last panel, directed to go down to the water, which he/she finds back at the hermit-

<sup>27</sup> Other examples can be found at Candi Surowono, Candi Kedaton, and in a single stone from Kediri (compare Kieven 1994).

<sup>28</sup> See Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Water and mountain'.

age. There he/she can seek teaching from a living hermit. The reliefs on the hermitage walls demonstrate for the adept what he/she is supposed to do: first to clean him/herself, as depicted in the scene of the *widadari* bathing in the lake which symbolizes purification through passing *tirtha*. In a second step the adept would meditate and control the senses as does Arjuna. In a third step he/she would enter the water, as does Bhima. In this final step he/she will proceed to the Highest Knowledge – by the spiritual passage through *tirtha*, and eventually followed by achieving *amerta*. The hermit will give the appropriate advice in this process.

What I have just explained corresponds to the Tantric Kundalini path. Kendalisodo represents a quasi-concise form of this path, which we find in a more extended way in Candi Panataran. The adept follows the movement of the Kundalini in the body upwards to the *Sahasrara-cakra*, which accords the ascent to the top of the *pemujaan*. Then the adept goes down to the *Anandakanda-padma*, symbolized in the *pertapaan* in two depictions of water: the *widadari* scene and the final scene of Bhima entering the ocean. The temptation scene of the *Arjunawiwaha*, showing both erotic and ascetic qualities, displays the quintessence of this process.<sup>29</sup>

We have seen that the illustration of water at Candi Kendalisodo is a predominant feature: in two panels of the Panji story on the *pemujaan*, and in two panels on the *pertapaan* water plays a dominant role. As mentioned, the depictions of water here symbolize both *amerta* and *tirtha* in the respective panels. Furthermore, at this specific place on the slope of Mount Penanggungan water is an important topic *per se*, since it is a symbol of the *amerta* which emerges from Mount Meru.

Another form of symbolism on the political level is the struggle of young royals within the political hierarchy. As mentioned before, the increasing number of sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan during the fifteenth century may reflect the political instability of this late phase of Majapahit, when many members of the aristocracy sought advice of hermits or even withdrew from daily life to remote areas on mountains. The story of Prince Panji, who struggles to become an accomplished *kshatriya*, was a model for these royals. In identifying with him, they were here at Candi Kendalisodo introduced to the encounter with the hermit in the *pertapaan*. The frequent depictions of Panji in other sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan confirm the important role attributed to Panji.

<sup>29</sup> Compare the discussion of the *Arjunawiwaha* depiction at Candi Surowono.

In comparing the *pemujaan* with the *pertapaan* we find the typical dichotomy in the layout of a temple: that between the mundane world and the sacred world, respectively. This dichotomy is expressed in the style and the way the male protagonists of the stories are depicted. The Panji story has the typical features of the ‘post-mythological stories’, while Arjuna and Bhima belong to the ‘mythological stories’ which are based on the Indian epics. As in other sites, the Panji story prepares and introduces the visitor to the sacred sphere. Panji acts again as an intermediary.

Candi Kendalisodo maintained the highest place in the spiritual hierarchy within a *mandala* group. It makes sense that this highest place was decorated with reliefs illustrating the approach to the highest level of esoteric knowledge. The high aesthetic quality of the reliefs, with the beautiful images on the stone walls, and the beautiful scenery of the place itself formed part of this approach. The aesthetic attraction of hermitages was a common feature in Old Javanese poetry (Supomo 1977:68). The *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 32) reports on the forest hermitage of Sagara, which was visited by the king. The poet describes the beautiful scenery in detail, as well as the stone carvings on the walls. *Langö* is the means to achieve the goal of the final union with the deity and the liberation ‘from the snares in which the world keeps man trapped’ (Zoetmulder 1974:185). This can easily be transferred to the situation of the retreating seekers of truth on the mountain sanctuaries, remote from the world, who would experience *langö* by watching the reliefs and enjoying the beautiful scenery.<sup>30</sup>

#### CANDI YUDHA

Candi Yudha – no. LX – is located on the northwestern saddle between the Bekel Hill and the body of Mount Penanggungan at a height of about 1,000 metres. This sanctuary is of the *pemujaan* type, with four terraces and a central staircase. It is dated to the year AD 1486. During the time of Van Romondt (1951) the relief decorations were still in situ, and there was a small shrine in front of the temple. When I visited the place in 1996, all reliefs and the shrine had gone. However, photos by the OD

<sup>30</sup> Patt (1982) has elaborated on the natural beauty of the scenery of many sites. She reasons that the choice of such places to erect a sanctuary was in fact deliberate.



Fig. 10.9. Candi Yudha  
(courtesy of Kern Institute, Leiden University, OD nr. 12052)

from the early twentieth century provide us with excellent images of the site and the reliefs.

Candi Yudha (fig. 10.9) is part of a group of three sanctuaries, the others being the sites LXVI (Candi Naga II) and LXVII (Candi Pandawa); all three are terraced sanctuaries.<sup>31</sup> There are several ways to access Candi Yudha, but one would always start at Candi Jolotundo and follow a long line of sanctuaries on the western slope of the mountain to a certain point beyond Candi Sinta (no. XVII), where you would turn onto a sidetrack leading to the three sites. All three places offer beautiful views of the mountain peak and, through the saddle between the hills of Bekel and Gajah Mungkur, towards the plain of the Brantas River and the ocean, which is visible on clear days.

The temple is decorated with four long relief panels on the two lower terraces.<sup>32</sup> One reads the reliefs, starting on the first terrace, from the right to the left panel, and on the second terrace, from the left to the right panel.

The two lower long panels depict scenes from the *Arjunawiwaha* (figs. 10.10 and 10.11). The right panel has the scene where God Indra sends out the heavenly nymphs to seduce Arjuna. One of the *widadari* has

<sup>31</sup> Candi Pandawa, AD 1511, is the most recent of all Penanggungan sanctuaries. The relief panels at this site, today no longer extant, illustrated scenes, presumably from the *Mahabharata* (Van Romondt 1951:41-3).

<sup>32</sup> In my descriptions I will use the present tense, although the place is very much damaged today.



Fig. 10.10. Candi Yudha, first terrace, right side of the staircase  
(courtesy of Kern Institute, Leiden University, OD  
nr. 12055, cropped from the original)



Fig. 10.11. Candi Yudha, first terrace, left side of the staircase  
(courtesy of Kern Institute, Leiden University, OD  
nr. 12057, cropped from the original)

adopted an erotic posture, anticipating the encounter with Arjuna. The left lower panel depicts the scene of the seven *widadari* preparing for Arjuna's seduction, six of whom bathe while Suprabha watches them. The six bathing nymphs are all in erotic postures. Both are important scenes in the *Arjunawiwaha* story. They display similarities, concerning the depiction's composition and iconography, to the corresponding scenes depicted in Candi Surowono.<sup>33</sup> In both scenes Suprabha, who plays a principal role in the story as the most beloved by Arjuna, is depicted with a crown; this distinguishes her from the other nymphs, who have a simple hairdress. The second panel displays the six nymphs next to Suprabha in very erotic positions.

<sup>33</sup> Compare Worsley 1986: scene 15, scene 14.

The two long panels on the second terrace illustrate scenes from the *Ramayana*. On the left side of the staircase Rama teaches Wibhisana, the brother of the demon king, the *asta brata*, the eight rules for a righteous king. They are accompanied by Lakshmana, the monkey king Sugriwa, his general Hanuman, and Anggada. On the right panel the demon king, Rahwana, orders the waking up of his other brother, Kumbhakarna. On either side next to the staircase, the left pillar portrays Sugriwa with Hanuman standing behind him, while the right pillar depicts Kumbhakarna who faces the threat of the two monkeys. The third terrace has no long relief panels, but the pillars next to the staircase are again decorated with figures of the *Ramayana* story: on the left-hand side, Sugriwa with Hanuman, the latter on his way to fly across the ocean to Lengka (fig. 10.12); on the right-hand side, Rahwana, who faces the monkeys.<sup>34</sup> Thus in the depictions on the two upper terraces there is a division between the left side featuring Rama with his followers and the right side featuring the demons.

Each of the two panels on the first terrace are framed to the right and left by a standing figure in noble attire. These figures face the respective panel and hold one arm up. On the right side of the staircase they both point to the left, which is to say the outer figure indicates towards the panel, and the left figure indicates towards the staircase and at the same time towards the following panel. The two figures framing the second panel both point to the panel itself. In both cases the figures seem to invite the viewer to take a look at the episodes in the panels. The figures at the inner sides next to the staircase have a sharp-edged crescent-moon shaped cap, while the headgear of the outer figures is a kind of wig with curls of hair shaped in the form of a cap. Such a headgear is known from the depiction in the Gambyok relief (c. AD 1400) where this wig figure acts as a companion of Panji; he is a specific kind of *kadeyan*, an *arya* or *rangga* of the same noble status as Panji.<sup>35</sup> This character seems to have become popular during the late Majapahit period.

I interpret these reliefs as follows: the figure with the sharp-edged cap is Panji or else symbolizes a young royal person who has the same status as Panji. He and his companion welcome the visitors and present themselves as introducers and intermediaries between the mundane world

<sup>34</sup> The *Ramayana* reliefs have been described and interpreted by Stutterheim (1938:29), but he does not describe the relief panels of the lower terrace. See also Van Romondt 1951:35.

<sup>35</sup> See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Kadeyan'.



Fig. 10.12. Candi Yudha, panel on the third terrace,  
depicting Sugriwa and Hanuman.

(courtesy of Kern Institute, Leiden University, OD nr. 12061)

from which the worshippers come and the sacred world which they are entering. The first step into the sacred world is illustrated by the dispatch of the *widadari* by God Indra, and by their preparation and purification in water as depicted on the lower level. Panji and his companion point to this preparation. Both scenes are highly erotic and suggest, in an indirect way, the union of male and female, the goal of the Tantric path. Although not illustrated here, it is known from the *Arjunawiwaha* story that Arjuna could only consummate his marriage with the *widadari* after some struggles: several trials during his meditation, including the temptation by the *widadari*, and, finally, the successful fight against the demon Niwatakawaca.<sup>36</sup>

The upper levels contain scenes from the *Ramayana* presenting the preparation for the fight between Rama's army, under the leadership of Hanuman, and the demons. The ambiguity between loyalty to Rahwana and resistance against him is thematized in the two differing characters of Rahwana's brothers, Wibhisana and Kumbhakarna. The ideal kingship is then symbolized as the solution to this ambiguity in Rama's teaching of the *asta brata* towards Wibhisana. The emphasis placed on Hanuman, who is featured in three scenes, refers to his particular role in the late Majapahit time, when his mystical qualities were highlighted

<sup>36</sup> Compare the discussion in Chapter VIII (Candi Surowono) on the Tantric character of the *Arjunawiwaha*.

and he was upgraded to the status of a semi-deity.<sup>37</sup> The upper terraces of the temple present a parallel to the task that is waiting for Arjuna to be fulfilled: his fight against the demon Niwatakawaca. Thus the *Ramayana* scenes are a continuation of the *Arjunawiwaha* scenes. After the successful fight – Rama and Hanuman against Rahwana, or Arjuna against Niwatakawaca – the hero can proceed to be fully recognized as a *kshatriya*, thus meeting all conditions to become a king. The selection of the specific scenes places the focus on the aspects of eroticism, preparation for the practice of asceticism, and ideal kingship. The actions of Arjuna and Rama are also preparations to eventually become reunited with Suprabha and Sita, respectively.

This mythological process parallels the preparation of a young royal to ascend in the hierarchy: by being introduced to the Tantric doctrine, by being confronted with the fight against opponents, and by being taught the ideals of a righteous king, he would finally fulfil the preconditions to become an accomplished *kshatriya*.

On the esoteric level, through the erotic situations on the lower level of the sanctuary, the visitor is attuned to the Tantric path, and he/she must go along this path via many struggles in order to reach the union with the Divine. As the Tantric teaching was highly secret, it makes sense that only the preparations to the Tantric goal were depicted in the reliefs and that the final goal, the union of Siwa with Sakti – which in the two stories is symbolized in the union of Arjuna with the *widadari* or by Rama with Sita – was left to the mere imagination of the worshipper. It is highly probable that there was a spiritual teacher who provided the complete explanations so the adherent would understand. We may imagine that the final teaching was sought for in a hermitage in the vicinity of, or further up on, the mountain.

It is remarkable that here in Candi Yudha both terraces have depictions of a *kakawin* based on the Indian *Mahabharata*, as usually *kakawin* are only displayed in the upper terraces of a temple. The Panji and *kadayan* figures only appear on the lowest terrace, which accords to their usual placement within a temple. The fact that they are depicted outside of the actual narrative illustrations, and that they are taller than the protagonists in the panels, allows them to appear on the same level as the worshippers. This is comparable to the depictions of standing figures in the

<sup>37</sup> In the final panel on the upper terrace, he is ready to fly to Lengka to encounter Rahwana, who is facing him. Compare Kieven 2011, and Chapter VII on Candi Panataran.

Inner Bathing Place at Candi Panataran and at the entrance of Candi Mirigambar. They are themselves not involved in any narrative, but, rather, only act as companions and guides. In this way their function as introducers/intermediaries to the sacred world becomes clear. The four figures in Candi Yudha point with their hands to the respective panel or to the following panel. Panji himself is depicted next to the staircase, such that he is closer to the next step to the upper terraces symbolizing the more sacred sphere, while the *kadeyan* figure occupies the outside position with a stronger connection to the mundane sphere. The water in the bathing scene of the *widadari* has the purifying function of *tirtha*, just as it does in the scene on the hermitage wall of Candi Kendalisodo. Thus the pilgrim is purified and prepared for the encounter with the sacred sphere before going further in this visit of the *pemujaan*. The placement of the four figures on the corners has the same function as those at Candi Panataran, Candi Surowono, and Candi Mirigambar, where the scenes on the corners function to introduce the pilgrims to the temple's important message. The corners thus have the same function as elsewhere the lower or entrance part of a temple has.

None of the three sanctuaries – Naga II, Pandawa, Yudha – forming one *mandala* group, shows signs of having a hermitage. They are all terraced sanctuaries (*pemujaan*) for worship, with no recognizable hierarchy in their respective location or in architecture or decoration. We can imagine that the pilgrims on their way to hermitages on the mountain visited these *pemujaan*; these visits served as a preparation for their encounter with the religious teaching in the hermitages. The Yudha reliefs constitute a visualization and thus a symbol of this preparation.<sup>38</sup>

#### THE PANJI STATUE FROM CANDI SELOKELIR

This statue (fig. 10.13a) is one of the only two known three-dimensional images depicting a nobleman with a cap. The Selokelir sculpture from the middle of the fifteenth century represents the climax in the development of the Panji cult in the Majapahit period. A few features typical of the depiction of a deity characterize this Panji figure as an object of worship in a way similar to the worship of a deity, however, without

<sup>38</sup> The depictions on Candi Pandawa may have had the same function.



Fig. 10.13a. Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir

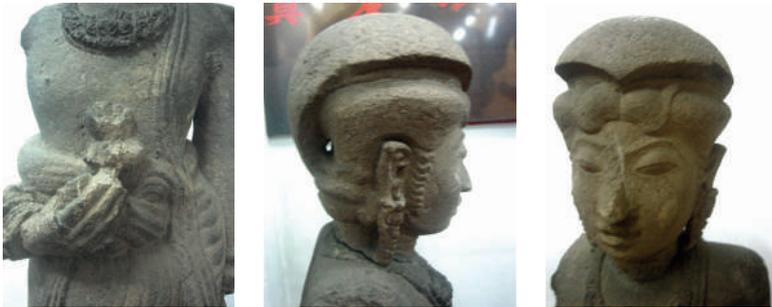


Fig. 10.13b-d. Details of the Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir

being regarded as a deity himself. This is comparable to the ascent of other heroes, such as Bhima and Hanuman, to a semi-divine status in the same time period. Based on the well-established role of Panji as an intermediary, this Panji image incorporated the same function of introducing pilgrims to the sacred world and to esoteric teaching. Displaying both human and divine features, Panji had developed to be the ideal character to act as this intermediary.

The ruins of Candi Selokelir are located on the southwestern slope of the hill Sarahklopo, which is the southwestern of the eight hills surrounding the peak of Mount Penanggungan. In 1900 the site was visited, and later documented, by the Dutch official Broekveldt (1904). The local people in those times called the site Watoe Kelir.<sup>39</sup> Broekveldt mentions the ruins of two terraced sanctuaries and of another building. He describes the place as having an extraordinarily beautiful view. This gave Rouffaer (1909:182) the idea that this site was perhaps identical with the hermitage of Panji's legendary aunt Kili Suci. Krom (O.V. 1915:2) describes six monuments which originally stood on the plateau of this site. After a recent meticulous restoration, undertaken by the Archaeological Service, the typical terraced structure of a *pemujaan*, having one central staircase, is now clearly recognizable.<sup>40</sup> Candi Selokelir was originally decorated with narrative reliefs. Duijker (2010:173, figs. 61, 167) describes a relief which was photographed by Claire Holt in 1933, depicting a scene featuring Bhima. During my visits of the site in 2000 and 2011, I could still detect a few fragments of narrative reliefs, without however being able to identify any. From some remains, such as parts of depicted legs, I could recognize the typical style of depictions of 'post-mythological stories'.<sup>41</sup>

Stutterheim (1936b) reports the discovery of two parts of a sculpture. Initially, the body was found and thought to be the part of a female image, due to the soft forms of the body. Sometime later the head was discovered, and Stutterheim recognized the completed statue as being similar to the image of the Grogol statue.<sup>42</sup> The characteristic element for identifying the Selokelir statue as Panji was the cap. Stutterheim (1936b:335) dates the figure to the middle of the fifteenth century, refer-

<sup>39</sup> *Watu* (Indonesian) or *selo* (Javanese) means 'stone'. *Kelir* (screen) refers to the screen in the *wayang* performance. Thus Watukelir/Selokelir can be translated as 'screen of stone'. The name refers to the stone basement, carved with some reliefs, which was compared to a *wayang* screen.

<sup>40</sup> During my visit to Candi Selokelir in the year 2000 only a few parts of the terraced construction of the main site were extant. In 2011 I was happy to see the well-reconstructed site. No remains seem to be left of the other five monuments mentioned by Krom.

<sup>41</sup> Same as in other remote sites, a large number of relief fragments have vanished in the course of the last years. Many stones have just been heaped up, ignoring any of the discernible connections between some relief fragments. Several fragments of narrative reliefs originating from the site are kept in the Museum Majapahit in Trowulan; they display the style reminiscent of that of Panji reliefs.

<sup>42</sup> See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Kadayan'

ring to some dated stones from the Selokelir site (AD 1434)<sup>43</sup> and to the Grogol statue of AD 1413.

The Panji sculpture is now kept in Bandung in the arts library of the University ITB (Institut Teknologi Bandung). The statue, 150 centimetres high, depicts a body, standing on a lotus cushion, with a long *kain*, bare chest, and the left arm hanging straight; the right arm, partly broken, holds a lotus bud in front of the body beneath the chest. The figure is adorned with jewellery – bracelets, necklace, long earrings, footrings – and with an *upawita*. The head is slightly bent down and gives the impression of being in a concentrated meditation. The whole body and the face have a soft, rounded shape. The neck has three wrinkles, similar to those of the Panji figure in the reliefs at Candi Mirigambar. The armpits show hair.

The hair on the head consists of some thick curls and is covered by a cap with a sharp edge. As this figure is three-dimensional, we have the rare opportunity to see the whole cap (fig. 10.13c/d).<sup>44</sup> On the front and the back the cap is pointed. Between the hair and the edge of the cap a small kind of ribbon is placed. Seen from the side, the cap displays the typical crescent-moon-like shape of caps in depictions of young noblemen in two-dimensional reliefs.<sup>45</sup>

The described features identify the image as a noble person. The lotus cushion and the *upawita* are indications of the possible rank of a deity. The Grogol statue, in comparison, lacks the lotus cushion, the *upawita*, and the rich adornments, such as bracelets, a necklace, and footrings. Both figures, though the Selokelir statue to an even larger degree, display soft forms of the body and the face which are appropriate for the refined character of Panji. Stutterheim (1936b:334) claims this soft style is typical of the art of Majapahit in the fifteenth century. This in fact becomes evident in a comparison with other examples from the fifteenth century, such as the reliefs from Candi Mirigambar and from Candi Kendalisodo, with reliefs of the fourteenth century such as those on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran, which display a stiffer style.

We do not know the exact original placement of the image. Was it standing on top of one of the sanctuaries? Was it accompanied by other

<sup>43</sup> Some inscriptions are mentioned in O.V. 1915:4.

<sup>44</sup> The Grogol statue, which would have provided another opportunity to view the cap from all sides, is no longer extant. OD-photos only display the profile.

<sup>45</sup> See the panels depicting Panji wearing a cap on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran.

statues.<sup>46</sup> The fact that the figure is freestanding like that from Grogol has led Lunsingh Scheurleer (2000:200-1) to suggest that the statue represents a deity. She presents this idea in the context of her argument that characters such as Panji and Bhima rose to the status of deities during the Majapahit period. I suggest a slightly different variation of this interpretation, namely that Panji and Bhima were worshipped in the same way as deities, but were not regarded as proper deities. I agree that Panji's being represented in a statue shows that Panji was indeed worshipped as a high-ranking character, all the more so because the Selokelir figure is depicted standing on a lotus cushion and having the *upawita*, which are common elements in the depiction of a deity.

A certain group of deity statues in the late Singasari and the Majapahit period have been investigated by Klokke (1994, 1998). These statues had formerly been considered as portrait statues of historical kings and queens. They display typical features of deity statues: four arms, standing on a lotus cushion, and having an *upawita*. Klokke comes to the conclusion that they should more appropriately be called deification images. She argues these male statues do not have individual facial features, given that most of them have a female counterpart with the same facial features. Thus they cannot portray individuals. Another aspect of the statues which must be accounted for is their hand gesture, which indicates meditation. The Old Javanese esoteric text *Jñanasiddhanta* (Haryati Soebadio 1971) and the *Nagarakertagama* provide further sources for Klokke's argumentation. The *Jñanasiddhanta* refers to meditation as a means to acquire the ultimate truth and to unify with the Supreme God. The *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag.* 40-48; Robson 1971:52-9) mentions many deceased kings who were unified with a particular god. From all these sources Klokke concludes that the images are not individual portraits, but represent kings and queens meditating in order to become unified with the particular deity, and so become deified.

The Panji statue and these deification images possess a few common features: the stiff posture of the body, standing on a lotus cushion, with a lotus bud held in the hand, and the head slightly bent downwards. However, there are many differences as well: the Panji statue only has

<sup>46</sup> During my visit in 2011 I could not detect any trace in the site which would allow me to decide what the original placement of the sculpture was. The female statue from Mojokerto (inv. no. 310), exhibited in the National Museum in Jakarta, shows iconographic traits resembling the Panji statue. Further research is required to analyse whether the two statues form an original pair.

two arms, rather than the four arms characteristic of these particular deities; Panji only holds one hand in front of the body and not both hands together in a *mudra* of meditation; the garment and adornment of the Panji statue is very simple; the statue is depicted wearing not a crown but a cap. The Panji figure has hair under the armpit, a feature not appropriate for a deity image, which assigns Panji a human status. Considering all these aspects of similarities and differences, I conclude that the Panji statue cannot represent a deity. However, the similarities to the deification images emphasize that indeed Panji had risen to a deity-like rank without being an actual divinity.

The Selokelir statue is an extraordinary example of the development of local East Javanese features, particularly within the context of the political and religious conditions during fifteenth-century Majapahit. Panji formed part of a local Javanese cult which had developed independently of the old Indian tradition, and he had become an object of worship. Traces of this cult were already found in the existence of the earlier Grogol statue and in the depiction of panel 9 at Candi Mirigambar where a woman sits in a *sembah* posture in front of the high-positioned Panji. The Panji figure of Selokelir represents the climax of this increasing rate of worship of Panji in the late Majapahit period.

Hunter (2001) argues that there was a revival of the Indian culture in Java in the fifteenth century. Heroes of the Indian epics were raised to a new, semi-divine status similar to Panji. Bhima's exorcist and purificatory qualities were intensified in myths such as the *Bhimasuci*, and Hanuman's bravery and his mystic qualities were, for example, exposed in the *Ramayana* reliefs at Panataran. They were frequently depicted in temple reliefs and in statues, and were worshipped in an even more fervent way than Panji.<sup>47</sup> In a way, Bhima and Hanuman play a similar role as Panji, that is, as intermediaries between the worldly sphere and the Divine. However, while Bhima and Hanuman act on the level of the 'mythological stories', Panji does so within the 'post-mythological stories' – visually expressed, for example, through the different kinds of headgears. I assign a more human character to Panji than to Bhima and Hanuman, which

<sup>47</sup> For the Bhima cult, see Stutterheim 1935a; Sbeghen 2004; Duijker 2010. For the Hanuman cult, see Klokke 2006, and Kieven 2011. The increase of the Hanuman worship in India at the same time is perhaps an indication of mutual influence between India and Java (Lutgendorf 1994, 1997). Besides Bhima and Hanuman, Lunsingh Scheurleer (2000) discusses other new objects of worship in East Java, such as Garuda.

makes Panji even more appropriate as an intermediary. Panji does not usually act in an exorcist way, although, interestingly, Sidapaksa does when depicted as a nobleman with a cap in Candi Surowono.

A particular element of the Selokelir statue, the lotus bud, might express still another symbolic meaning. The figure holds the lotus bud in front of the lower part of the chest (fig. 13b). This part of the body corresponds to the position of the *Anandakanda-padma*, the seat of the *ishtadewata*, in the Tantric Kundalini path, which is located beneath the *Anahata-cakra* of the heart.<sup>48</sup> The *Anandakanda-padma* is usually visually represented with eight petals (Pott 1966:34). Due to erosion we cannot decipher the number of petals of the depicted lotus flower here, so we do not know if an exact correspondence was given. However, the fact alone that the lotus was held in front of the *Anandakanda-padma* suggests that Panji is pointing to this very *cakra*, and is thus indicating the Tantric Kundalini path. This is emphasized by the meditative posture of the figure, given that meditation is an essential element in Tantric practice. Zoetmulder's findings support my argument:

We saw that the purpose of the *yogi* is to cause the god to be present within his body, so that he will be able to concentrate on him with all his faculties. The repeated mention of the lotus in the *manggalas* points in that direction, as we saw that the lotus of the heart [*anandakandapadma*] is the seat of the *istadewata*. [...] 'Although in visible form in the lotus (*panjkaja*), he [the god] is in the fullest sense and essentially immaterial.' [Zoetmulder quoting *Harivijaya* 1.1.]  
(Zoetmulder 1974:183)

[...] the meditation which concentrates solely upon the god in the heart-lotus [...].  
(Zoetmulder 1974:184)

Throughout the previous decades the cap had developed as a well-known and popular feature to characterize the depiction of a nobleman and Panji in particular; Panji was clearly connected to the mundane world. Through the widespread and frequently enacted role of Panji as an intermediary between the mundane and the sacred, the Selokelir

<sup>48</sup> Compare Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Tantrism', and Chapter VII on Candi Panataran.

statue represented this intermediary position as well as a closer affiliation to the sacred sphere, owing to its deity-like attributes. This figure incorporates both spheres at the same time: the mundane and the sacred. Thus Panji is the intermediary *par excellence*.

I found a nice correspondence in the text by Michele Stephen (2010), in which she interprets Tantric Kundalini yoga to be inherent to the Balinese cremation ceremony. She describes this ceremony as the dissolution of the material body into ether, by which the soul is set free from earthly bonds. This dissolution is a complex process consisting of three steps: (1) the material body dissolves into the subtle body; (2) the subtle body, symbolized by the *puspa*-flower piercing the sixth *cakra ajna* between the eyebrows, dissolves into the body of bliss; (3) the 'third and final body [is then] freed from all material ties, [and] the spirit returns to its origin, [...] pure spirit' (Stephen 2010:465). While the first two steps are described in Balinese esoteric texts, the final body is only known or admitted to be known by few Balinese ritual specialists (Stephen 2010:464), indicating its high esoteric and secret character. I see the correspondence with the role of Panji as follows: (1) Panji in his mundane character is a symbol of the material body; (2) Panji holding the lotus in front of the heart prepares for the *puspa* to pierce the sixth *cakra*, which means he prepares for the subtle body to dissolve into the body of bliss. Panji himself does not fully manifest the body of bliss, he only prepares for it. Neither does he represent the pure spirit of the third and final body, but he prepares the ground. Again he functions as an intermediary. Since the essence of Balinese rituals can be traced back to Old Javanese origins, I think that this comparison supports my understanding of the symbolism of Panji, as expressed in the Selokelir statue.<sup>49</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The three sites under scrutiny display different forms of the symbolism of Panji. They all have in common that Panji acts as the intermediary

<sup>49</sup> I propose an interpretation of Panji, one that goes beyond the interpretations I have developed so far. The Panji statue of Selokelir resembles the shape of a *lingga* in an anthropomorphic way, which is underlined by the cap, which looks similar to the glans. Applying the symbolism of the *lingga* as producing the life-giving *amerta* in union with the female, the Tantric principle is being signalled. This idea deserves more discussion, though it is beyond the scope of this book.

between the mundane world and the sacred world and guides the pilgrim to proceed to an understanding of the religious doctrine.

Candi Kendalisodo demonstrates in its architectural layout and its relief depictions a concise form of the Tantric path. Panji in the Panji story prepares the pilgrim, who comes from the mundane world, for his/her encounter with the esoteric teaching in the hermitage. The progress from the mundane to the supra-mundane stage, typical for the layout of the East Javanese temples, is here in Candi Kendalisodo displayed in horizontal form – first the *pemujaan*, then progressing to the *pertapaan*. This dichotomy corresponds, as in many other sites, to the two genres of the depicted stories: the ‘post-mythological stories’ – the Panji story on the *pemujaan* – and the ‘mythological stories’ – *Arjunawiwaha* and *Bhimasuci* on the *pertapaan*.

In Candi Yudha again Panji functions as a character who helps the worshipper to enter the sacred world and to prepare him for the Tantric path. While in Candi Kendalisodo the emphasis lay on the spiritual accomplishment, Candi Yudha’s focus was more on the qualities of a *kshatriya* who was able to defeat the destroyer of the world order. Although no Panji story is depicted, the well-known Panji figure acts as the intermediary person who takes the visitor by the hand and points to the essential messages embedded in the relief depictions. Panji and the *kadeyan* are sufficient to act as indicators and intermediaries.

The communities who used the sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan were multiple. There were hermits who stayed permanently in the sites and received pilgrims who sought advice in religious matters. These hermits had withdrawn from the world, many of them coming from an aristocratic background. Many pilgrims were members of the royal or wealthy families who might also have been the donors for the sanctuaries. Most likely, some of the sanctuaries were more exclusive than others. Kendalisodo seems to have been the ultimate and most exclusive hermitage within a large *mandala* of sanctuaries, and was entered only by particular seekers of Knowledge. Candi Yudha formed part of a small group of sanctuaries which functioned as places of worship and were less exclusive. The visit of this group may have prepared the pilgrim to proceed higher on the mountain to hermitages such as Candi Kendalisodo, where they received the final teaching in the religious and, particularly, the Tantric doctrine. The symbolism of the reliefs played a different role for these different categories of visitors. For the adepts willing to undergo

teaching by the *rshi*, the reliefs symbolized the Tantric path, and particularly the Panji reliefs helped in the gradual approach to the final goal of this path. For a short-term pilgrim or more common people the secrets of the Tantric path were less obviously illustrated. The highest sacred doctrine was kept secret and was only to be accessed by the initiated. This seclusion on a spiritual level corresponds with the geographical seclusion and the remote location of the sites on the mountain slopes. The adept made a strong spiritual effort to achieve the Highest Wisdom; on a concrete level the adept had to make the physical effort of climbing the mountain to access the remote sites.

That the search for religious knowledge had become more important during the late Majapahit period is reflected in the large number of sanctuaries and hermitages on Mount Penanggungan. To a certain degree this was probably due to the chaotic political situation of the time, and perhaps also due to a revival of the Hindu-Buddhist beliefs against the influences of Islam. The hermitages were centres for the retreat from the world and for religious teaching.

The symbolism of Panji differed depending on the particular function of the site. In the hermitage of Candi Kendalisodo he was a guide to the religious/esoteric sphere; in the *pemajaan* of Candi Yudha he guided young aristocrats, showing them the way to ideal *kshatriya*-hood, which included the preparation for the religious teaching. In all these cases Panji depictions welcomed the visitors on their own mundane level, and the *Arjunawiwaha*, *Bhimasuci*, and *Ramayana* reliefs belonged to the sacred sphere which the worshippers and adepts could only enter with the help of a spiritual teacher. Panji continued in the role of intermediary, a role he had played in the temples of preceding times. Panji's symbolism as an intermediary had become well established amongst the religious community and pilgrims. Panji, being a nobleman himself, would in particular have attracted members of the aristocracy, who would have compared themselves with Panji.

The large number of Panji depictions on Mount Penanggungan reflects the increased importance and popularity of this character during the Majapahit period. This came to a climax in the transformation to a cult of worship in the final phase of Majapahit, as expressed in the Selokelir statue. The fact that the practice of this cult took place on Mount Penanggungan in particular is because of the peculiar shape of the mountain, which had been considered sacred for many centuries.

Since sculptures were usually only erected to depict deities, in the Grogol statue and, subsequently, in the more elaborate form of the Selokelir statue Panji had risen to a very high status. The Selokelir statue with its deity-like shape may even have allowed the pilgrim and worshipper to entertain the prospect of becoming divine him/herself in the final release from worldly bonds and in the union with the Divine. Panji, in his half-human, half-divine appearance, was again the intermediary in this process. The Panji statue on Mount Penanggungan marks the climax of this whole process.

Mount Penanggungan itself is the sacred world to which the Panji statue points. The status of Panji as a guide is reinforced by the location of the statue on the foot of the mountain. Panji would welcome the pilgrims on this spot and guide them in proceeding higher up, to the sanctuaries placed on the upper slopes of the mountain, where they would receive esoteric teaching. Thus, the Selokelir statue represents the essence of the symbolism of Panji.

## Chapter XI

### Conclusion:

### Panji and the cap-figure as intermediary characters on the path to Tantric rituals

In my analysis, I have presented suggestions for a new understanding of the narrative reliefs with depictions of cap-figures and of Panji stories, which contribute to a new understanding of the religious practices and the function of the temples in the Majapahit period. To arrive at this understanding, I started from the iconographical analysis of the cap-figures depicted in reliefs at a representative sample of temples. From this I developed an interpretation of the meaning of these cap-figures within the context of the narrative reliefs. This then allowed me to discuss the specific selection and placement of the scenes in the temple, and the cross-references with other narrative depictions. This analysis yields the conclusion that the cap-figures symbolize intermediaries: acting in the mundane sphere, they prepare and guide the pilgrim to an encounter with the sacred sphere in the temple. The cap-figures indicate those aspects in the reliefs, which are essential for conveying the symbolic message of the narrative depictions and the symbolism and function of the temple.

The cap is a new feature which first appeared in the art of the East Javanese Majapahit period. It forms part of a large number of new elements in art, religion, and literature, created and developed during the whole East Javanese period between the tenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. These new elements, regarded by some scholars in the early twentieth century as representing a degeneration from the Indian original, in fact express the richness of the creative response of East Javanese culture to the Indian influence. The East Javanese culture was more selective in the assimilation of the Indian model than the Central Javanese culture had been: while the latter had a very strong affiliation with Indian culture, the East Javanese culture placed greater emphasis on the integration of specific aspects of the Indian model

which corresponded to local Javanese concepts. Majapahit, the last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Java before the arrival of Islam, occupied a special position in this development. The religious concepts and practices were characterized by a specific blend of Saiwism and Buddhism. The economic wealth and political power of Majapahit in the region induced a high self-esteem, which became manifest in its creativity in religious practices and art in a more diverse way than in the centuries before. The cap-figure, with its symbolism, is an outstanding example of this creativity.

The cap was a contemporary form of headgear which appeared as a new fashion in early Majapahit art. It was initially used for depictions of commoners and servants of royalty or of deities, as is evident in the earliest temple under investigation – Candi Jago. The figures with the cap depict personages from daily life, and as such they welcome the visitors to the temple. In the depictions in the successive temples the cap is still used as a headgear for commoners, for servants of the royalty, and for musicians. It is, however, also increasingly used as a headgear in depictions of the nobility, either warriors of noble status or, in a much larger number, young men of the aristocracy and princes. In particular, the nobleman with the cap frequently represents Prince Panji from the popular Panji stories. The status of the cap was gradually upgraded, finally culminating in the statue from Candi Selokelir, which represents a half-human and half-divine character.

The Panji stories, newly created in the East Javanese period, became increasingly popular during the Majapahit period. They relate the story of Prince Panji from Janggala and Princess Candrakirana from Daha, who are betrothed but become separated. Only after a long search for each other and after Panji has been victorious in many wars are they reunited and marry. Many versions of these stories exist in written form; these were widely spread across Java and other parts of Southeast Asia subject to Majapahit's political influence. Against the background of a strong oral tradition in Indonesia, there probably existed many versions which are no longer known, and even written versions which have been lost. The Panji stories have multiple symbolic meanings. The Panji stories symbolize the ideal of marital sexual union and display a lively erotic character. They may also symbolize fertility by portraying Panji as an incarnation of God Wishnu and Candrakirana as an incarnation of Dewi Sri, the goddess of the rice-plant. On a political level they reflect

the historical division of the Javanese realm in the kingdoms of Janggala and Daha, and the claims and struggles of princes and kings in reuniting these parts.

From the investigation of the case studies in which I analysed the predominant elements in the narrative depictions with noble cap-figures I conclude that, in many cases, it is Panji stories that are depicted: on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran, at Candi Mirigambar, and at Candi Kendalisodo. These predominant elements are: separation, journey in search of one another, and reunion. It has not been my aim to identify the reliefs as representing particular Panji stories; for my analysis it is sufficient to recognize and analyse the plots of the Panji stories depicted in these reliefs.

The Panji stories form part of the *kidung* poetry, which was, independently from Indian models, created during the East Javanese period, while the *kakawin*, the older poetic genre in the literary tradition of this period, are based on the Indian epics. Following the terminology developed by Forge (1978), I have used the term ‘mythological stories’ to denote the *kakawin*, which narrate tales of accomplished *kshatriya* characters and are usually related to the world of the gods. The term ‘post-mythological stories’ refers to the *kidung*, which speak of young princes struggling within the hierarchy and are more connected with the mundane world. The term ‘post-mythological stories’ also applies to other folk stories, such as the *Tantri* stories. In relief depictions these two categories are marked by the more elaborate garment and adornment, meaning they are ‘mythological stories’, and by simple dress for the ‘post-mythological stories’. The cap forms part of the iconography of the latter category. In the Panji stories – such as on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran, in Candi Kendalisodo, and in Candi Mirigambar – the cap is Panji’s typical headgear, marking him as the hero of the story. Also in the depictions of the *kidung Sri Tanjung* at Candi Surowono and the Pendopo Terrace, and in the *kidung Satyawana* on the latter building, the male protagonist – Sidapaksa, or Sang Satyawana – wears the cap as headgear. The cap may, though, also form part of depictions of a *kakawin*. Here, it is a headgear of servants of the hero and never of the hero itself; an example is found in the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the Main Temple at Candi Panataran. Still, however, as a servant, the cap-figure belongs to the mundane world rather than the sacred world represented by the heroes of the story. The heroes of the *kakawin*, such as Arjuna or

Bhima, are never portrayed with a cap; rather, they are depicted with a hairstyle called *supit urang*, another specifically East Javanese creation.

The dichotomy between the two categories of stories corresponds to the placement of the narrative reliefs within the temple. While the ‘post-mythological stories’ are depicted in the entrance or lower part of a temple, the ‘mythological stories’ appear in the rear or upper part. The placement of depictions of cap-figures, and of Panji stories or other stories with cap-wearing noblemen, follows this spatial schema. At Candi Jago the cap-figures only appear on the two lower terraces which display three categories of narratives: folk stories – *Tantri* reliefs; a *kidung* – the *Angling Dharma*; and a *kakawin* based outside of India – the *Kunjarakarna*. However, the upper terraces with depictions of Indian-based *kakawin* – *Parthayajna*, *Arjunawiwaha*, and *Krishnayana* – do not feature caps at all. I recognized in Candi Jago that the cap-figures, commoners and servants of the deity Wairocana, conveys the temple’s essential message: the preparation of a righteous king or a pilgrim on a mundane level to achieve spiritual knowledge on the sacred level. Candi Panataran displays a large number of Panji stories in the entrance part, while the rear part of the temple complex with the ‘mythological stories’ *Ramayana* and *Krishnayana* only contains a few cap-figures as servants and a warrior.<sup>1</sup> In Candi Kendalisodo a Panji story is depicted in the front section of the site, while the hermitage part located in the rear depicts ‘mythological stories’ – the *Arjunawiwaha* and the *Bhimasuci*.

Beyond this bipartite allocation of ‘post-mythological stories’ and ‘mythological stories’ in the entrance and the rear, and in the lower and upper part of a temple, respectively, my analysis yields that corner positions within a temple layout may have a similar function. In most case studies the corners display scenes which function to introduce or indicate to the pilgrim the important message incorporated in the whole series of reliefs on a building. This arrangement is found on the Pendopo Terrace, where the major elements of the stories – separation and reunion of the two lovers – are dominant at the corners. At Candi Surowono all scenes of the ‘post-mythological stories’ *Sri Tanjung* and *Bubukshah*, placed at the corners, present an introduction and comment on the neighbouring panels of the ‘mythological story’ *Arjunawiwaha*. The function of corners

<sup>1</sup> The cap-figures, presumably representing Panji, in the Small Bathing Place in the rearmost part of the temple complex have an exceptional role, which lies beyond the typical placement of post-mythological and mythological narratives in the layout of a temple.

appears also to have been utilized at Candi Mirigambar, with Panji and the *kadayan* appearing next to the entrance: they introduce the visitor to the Panji story depicted along the temple walls. In the same temple the two scenes of the separation and reunion of the two lovers are placed at corners, repeating the model of the Pendopo Terrace. The indicatory and introductory function of the corner depictions reaches its zenith at Candi Yudha , where two Panji figures and two *kadayan* figures, outside of a narrative context, point at the 'mythological stories' and their essential symbolic message.

Besides the placement of the narrative depictions, the selection of specific scenes is another important means to express a specific symbolism. Particular episodes of a story may be depicted while others are omitted. The visual medium allows for an emphasis and focus on certain aspects of a story other than those prioritized in the literary medium. In the depictions of Panji stories and other related *kidung* stories many scenes illustrate erotic situations, while episodes featuring battle and warfare, though major elements in the story plots, are hardly ever illustrated. Also, Panji's engagement in love affairs with other women is not thematized in the depictions, even though these are typically featured in the literary versions. Erotic episodes comprise the sexual union of the two lovers, and also their longing for one another. These two categories of episodes correspond to the erotic moods of 'love-in-enjoyment' and 'love-in-separation'. These moods are known from Old Javanese poetic literature where they are given a Tantric connotation. The depictions of Panji stories on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran display two further dominant themes: the crossing of water and meetings with hermits. These themes, however, are not of comparable importance in the literary versions. Thus, the visual depictions convey a message that is different from that of the written medium. These two themes symbolize the approach to Higher Knowledge and the teaching by a guru. Considering the predominance of scenes featuring erotic moods and the teaching of Higher Knowledge, I conclude that the underlying function of these depictions is to provide an introduction to the Tantric doctrine and through this differs from or even surpasses the literary form of the Panji stories or more generally of *kidung* poetry. This doctrine has as its final goal the union of the individual with the Divine, which is achieved in the experience of the unification of Siwa and Sakti. This union of the god and the goddess on the macrocosmic level corresponds to the

sexual union of a man and a woman. Thus, the practice of this sexual union is a means to achieve the final goal of the Tantric doctrine. In Old Javanese literature erotic practices are frequently described in connection with ascetic practices, both being a means to achieve the Tantric goal. In the same way, the Tantric path is symbolized in the visual medium with the reliefs depicting the two erotic moods in combination with scenes of religious teaching. This is all the more valid as Tantric knowledge requires the teaching of a guru – symbolized in the depictions of the hermit – which is usually characterized by secrecy and is only accessible to an initiated adept.

The Panji stories introduce the pilgrim on a mundane level to the Tantric doctrine, which is continuously symbolized in the sacred sphere of the temple with depictions of relevant scenes from the Indian epics. In Candi Panataran these are, at the Main Temple, the final scenes of the *Krishnayana* depicting the union of Krishna and Rukmini, which symbolizes the goal of the union of Siwa and Sakti. In the layout of Candi Panataran and in the symbolism of the relief depictions, I recognize the schema of the Tantric Kundalini path. In the practice of this path Sakti, in the form of the serpent Kundalini, rises through the *cakra* of the body and unifies with Siwa above the head of the adept, before finally descending to the *Anandakanda-padma* below the heart-*cakra*, which is symbolized by water. This path corresponds to the ascent along the three courtyards up to the Main Temple and the final descent to the Bathing Place.

This complex concept, which I discovered for Candi Panataran as if I were a detective in a novel, also holds true for other temples, although not in the same elaborate fashion. I understand Candi Kendalisodo to symbolize the same path in a more concise way. The Panji story in the front part of the site, with its erotic and beautiful scenes and a dominance of the subject of water, introduces the pilgrim to the Tantric ideas. These ideas are continued in the rear part on the hermitage, which features the subjects of asceticism and descent into water to achieve Higher Knowledge, as illustrated in scenes of the *Arjunawiwaha* and the *Bhimasuci*. By selecting only a few characteristic scenes, the essential message is conveyed in a most concise form.

At Candi Surowono, both the placement and the selection of scenes are unusual. My analysis confirmed and further developed earlier explanations of this temple and of its unusual arrangement of the narrative

reliefs on the temple walls; this arrangement seems to be ‘out of order’, but was in fact done deliberately. That some scenes from the *Sri Tanjung* and the *Bubukshah* at Candi Surowono deviate from known written versions may be due to the use of other, unknown versions, or to the deliberate creation of particular scenes. In any case the selection of the depicted scenes conveys a specific, intended message. The *Sri Tanjung* reliefs, featuring the protagonist Sidapaksa as a noble cap-figure, have a similar function as the Panji stories on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran. On the mundane level they introduce the visitor to the symbolism of the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs which, on the sacred level, display the theme of *kshatriya*-hood, which is to be achieved through asceticism and Tantric practice.

While in most temple reliefs the Panji stories are part of a larger set of narratives, in Candi Mirigambar only a single Panji story is depicted and no cross-reference to other narratives is made. Through a specific selection of scenes – particularly those incorporating the two major elements of separation and reunion of the two lovers – and through their placement on the temple walls Tantric ideas are symbolized. In addition, another focus is the theme of Panji as the ideal warrior; a theme which is very rarely depicted in temple reliefs. The selection of scenes related to fighting convey the political meaning of the Panji story.

At Candi Yudha, Panji and his *kadeyan* are depicted as single figures outside a narrative context, pointing to the *Arjunawiwaha* and *Ramayana*. Candi Mirigambar and Candi Yudha, both from the late phase of Majapahit, illustrate that by now Panji had developed into a well-known character with a specific symbolism which, even when depicted in a very concise form, was comprehensible to the visitors. Panji had become well established in his function as introductory guide to the sacred and, particularly, to the Tantric sphere, so that with this quality he could stand on his own. Although the Tantric concept in these temples is presented in a less conspicuous way than in the other case studies, Tantrism still seems to have been embedded in the temple’s symbolism, albeit in a more secret way.

The climax of this development is embodied in the Panji statue from Candi Selokelir, which portrays Panji, on a lotus cushion, with features of a deity. Panji had developed into a local cult figure and was upgraded to his highest level yet. He had proceeded to become an object of worship for Javanese people on their path to reach the union with the Divine.

The lotus flower held in front of the *Anandakanda-padma*, the seat of the union of the individual with the personal god, the *ishtadewata*, may be considered to be a particularly demonstrative expression of Panji's function. This statue represents Panji as the intermediary *par excellence* between the mundane and the sacred sphere, even more so because the image incorporates 'all in one', namely, both features of a local popular personage wearing the cap and of a deity. Panji's symbolic meaning as intermediary was sufficient to be expressed in a single statue, without the cross-reference to other depictions. Panji's worship must also be considered in the context of the worship of other mythological heroes who were raised to the status of cult figures, such as Bhima and Hanuman. We may even speak of a 'Panji cult', parallel to a 'Bhima cult' and a 'Hanuman cult'. These transformations are indications of creative developments in the religious practices in the Majapahit period.

The Panji stories also have a specific symbolism in the context of fertility, a major theme in the mythology of ancient and traditional Java which has been present in a variety of fertility rites up to the present day. In this context, Panji and Candrakirana, locally known as Sadono and Sri, are understood to be incarnations of Wishnu and Sri. These Hindu deities, like other aspects of Indian culture, had been integrated into local Javanese concepts. Sri was worshipped as the goddess of the rice plant, whose union with Wishnu was considered as a guarantee for agricultural fertility. This symbolism may also have been a concept underpinning the depictions of the Panji stories. The union of Wishnu and Sri, parallel to the union of Siwa and Sakti, is simultaneously embedded in the Tantric symbolism.

In a political context, the Panji stories carry still another symbolism. Prince Panji, as well as the protagonists of other *kidung* stories, undergoes the struggle to become an adult by finding a wife to marry to be an accomplished *kshatriya*. This accomplished status was the aim of young royals in the competitive political climate of the Majapahit period, particularly in the time following the heyday of Majapahit, which was marked by increasing civil wars between rivalling parts of the branches of the royal family. The union of Panji and Candrakirana, who originated from the historical kingdoms Janggala and Daha, respectively, reflects Majapahit's political claim to unify the realm. The popularity of Panji stories during the Majapahit period, in particular during its final phase, must be seen against this background. The importance of the union

of the realm in Majapahit politics is demonstrated by Hayam Wuruk's travels through the realm and his visits to many temples. Most notably, it is indicated by the lavish *sraddha* ritual held for his grandmother, which served as an enactment of the unification of the two parts Janggala and Daha. The erection of temples and the rituals held in them were a means to legitimize the king. The Panji stories played an important role in this process of legitimization.

In the upheaval of the fifteenth century, Panji stories and their depictions gained an even greater importance. The mountain sanctuaries, increasingly built during this time and concentrated upon Mount Penanggungan, were places for members of the aristocracy to retire to from the chaotic situation of the world and to seek advice from respected hermits. The religious teaching, comprising instructions in the secret Tantric doctrine, was also directed towards the achievement of spiritual power, *sakti*, which would prepare these aristocrats for an encounter with the challenges of the time. The Panji stories depicted here incorporate all symbolic aspects: the religious symbolism of the Tantric doctrine, the political symbolism of *kshatriya*-hood, and the unification of the separated parts of the realm. It is particularly this combination of religious and political symbolism which led to an increase in the popularity of Panji stories. In both the religious and the political context, the Panji stories served to guide the pilgrims along the way to their final goal. The character of these stories and the style of their depictions as 'post-mythological stories' helped the pilgrim to identify with the protagonists and to prepare for their encounter with the spiritual, esoteric sphere.

Panji's function as a guide may indeed have been enacted through real guides, such as priests or performers who explained the reliefs to the visitors. In the same way we still need interpreters to understand these beautiful images today. The relief depictions with cap-figures are understood in different ways by the various visitors. They can merely have an entertaining function or they may symbolize the intermediary function between the mundane and the sacred sphere; for those who are initiated, they symbolize the introduction to the Tantric path.

The fact that the cap-figure, which in most cases represents Panji or another nobleman, can be found on a large number of temple reliefs of the Majapahit period as documented in the table in Chapter V, enhances its importance. The cap, initially a local fashion in headgear, had developed into a symbol of the introduction into spiritual knowledge. For my



Fig. 11.1. Cap-figure in panel 3 at the Pendopo Terrace of Candi Panataran

third research question (‘Why was the cap-figure depicted frequently and exclusively in the Majapahit temples?’), raised in the introduction to this book, I found multiple answers. The emergence of Panji and other cap-figures became a kind of icon for the local Javanese culture of the Majapahit period.

The continuation of the Panji theme in Balinese paintings and dance, in Javanese *wayang* forms, and in what in present-day Java is called ‘Budaya Panji’ (Panji culture),<sup>2</sup> affirms its importance and ongoing popularity. The beauty of the Panji tradition in the various forms of art can perhaps still serve to create *langö* – rapture.



Fig. 11.2. Panji sculpture from Candi Selokelir, view from the top

<sup>2</sup> ‘Budaya Panji’ represents a revitalization of the Panji theme and is embedded in the broader context of retraditionalization of Javanese culture.



## Appendix: Previous research on the single case studies

### PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON CANDI JAGO

The first comprehensive research on Candi Jago was undertaken by Brandes and published in his monumental monograph of 1904. In the tradition of the early archaeologists, he provides a meticulous description of the *candi*, together with 235 photographs of the temple and the relief panels. Krom (1923, II:95-138) dedicates a large chapter to Candi Jago with a detailed description of its architecture.<sup>1</sup> More recent research has been conducted by Bernet Kempers (1981a) on the *Kunjarakarna* reliefs. O'Brien (1988, 1990, 1993) was the first scholar to give an interpretation of the overall symbolism of Candi Jago. She proposes this temple presents a Buddhist *mandala* in combination with the symbolism of the Wheel of Existence. Furthermore, she places an emphasis on the function of the placement of the reliefs according to these schemata. Klokke (1993:143-7), in her analysis of the *Tantri* reliefs of Candi Jago, discusses and partly questions O'Brien's interpretation, judging it to be over-interpreted.<sup>2</sup> Hunter (2000) offers a new interpretation of the *Aridharma/Angling Dharma* reliefs. In a recent article, I have in particular examined the cap-figures at Candi Jago (Kieven 2008).

### PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON CANDI PANATARAN

The earliest documentations of Candi Pantaran are found in the work of Raffles (1817:38-40) and Hoepermans (1913b), and in Van Kinsbergen's

<sup>1</sup> Not only in the case of Candi Jago, but for all temples and sanctuaries discussed in my book, Krom (1923, II) provides invaluable references to the outcomes of prior research.

<sup>2</sup> I agree on most points with O'Brien, but I am also cautious, as is Klokke, with regard to the comparison with rather recent Tibetan paintings. See the response by O'Brien (1995).

beautiful photographs of the Panataran buildings in the year 1867.<sup>3</sup> Major investigations and restorations by the Dutch authorities were carried out in 1901 and reported by, amongst others, Brandes (1902a, 1902b), Knebel (1908a), Perquin (1915, 1916b, 1917), and De Haan (1920). Krom (1923, II:254-84) dedicates a substantial chapter to Candi Panataran, drawing upon the research completed up until that point. Van Stein Callenfels' (1924) studies on the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the first terrace of the Main Temple and Stutterheim's (1925) studies of the *Ramayana* reliefs on the base of the same temple are further important contributions to our knowledge of Panataran.<sup>4</sup> Pannenburg-Stutterheim (1947) provides a study on the particular function of the Naga-temple. The detailed research on the Pendopo Terrace and its reliefs by Suleiman Satyawati (1978) is an invaluable source for my interpretation of these reliefs. Klokke's (1993) investigation of the *Tantri* reliefs on several of the Panataran buildings stands as another relevant contribution for my investigation. Her study (2000c) of the *Krishnayana* reliefs is a revision of Van Stein Callenfels' earlier work.

The function of Candi Panataran has evoked various opinions and discussions, for example by Stutterheim (1989:150-1), Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:163-4), and, more recently, by De Casparis and Mabbett (1992:316) and K. Hall (1996:112). Commonly this temple has been considered as the State Temple of Majapahit. So far, however, no comprehensive study of the whole temple and its overall function and meaning has been presented.<sup>5</sup> My investigation of the cap-figures will provide a starting point for a new discussion of an overall interpretation, and I will offer a new understanding of this most important temple of the Majapahit period, an understanding which opened my eyes for the encounters with the other temples and sanctuaries researched for this book.

<sup>3</sup> Hoepermans' report was based on visits in 1864-67. Van Kinsbergen's photos are kept in the photo archive of the Kern Institute in Leiden/ Netherlands. See Theuns-de Boer 2005, particularly photos nos. 246-332.

<sup>4</sup> Both authors provided several other publications which refer to Candi Panataran. Stutterheim's original (1925) book on the *Ramayana* reliefs in German was later published in English (1989). Stutterheim draws upon Brandes (1909) and in particular on his photos, published in his monograph on Candi Singasari.

<sup>5</sup> I have plans to work on a monograph of Candi Panataran in the future.

## PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON CANDI SUROWONO

Studies on Candi Surowono and the reliefs have been published by Van Stein Callenfels (1919, 1925b), Krom (1923, II:209-16), Galestin (1939a), and Bernet Kempers (1959:298-303). The most important question that these studies have in common concerns the unorthodox way in which the three different narrative relief series are arranged. Neither a clear *pradakshina*- nor a *prasawya* direction could be identified. Van Stein Callenfels (1925b:39) and Krom (1923, II:214), without having identified the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs, argue that the artists had either been wrong or very free in the arrangement of the reliefs. Galestin (1939a) also encounters problems with the order and interpretation of some of the panels, but is able to identify the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs.<sup>6</sup> In a later publication, Worsley (1986) draws special attention to the deliberate selection and placement of episodes on the temple walls, with this inciting a discussion between Klokke (1995) and himself (Worsley 1996). The outcome of this discussion has provided an essential contribution to the understanding of the spatial arrangement of temple reliefs in general.

The narratives depicted on Candi Surowono – the *Arjunawiwaha*, *Sri Tanjung*, and *Bubukshah and Gagak Aking* – have been objects of various philological as well as arthistorical studies. The *kakawin Arjunawiwaha* has been translated into Dutch by Poerbatjaraka (1926b), who omits the ‘erotic’ scenes which he declares to be corruptions. Later, Padmapuspita (1988b) as well as Kuntara Wiryamartana (1990) provide translations of the text into Indonesian. In his edition and interpretation of the text, Kuntara Wiryamartana places a focus on the Tantric aspect. In his recent, new edition, translated into English, Robson (2008) rejects the idea of a Tantric concept in the *Arjunawiwaha*. I (Kieven 1994:77-97) examine in particular the aspect of asceticism in the *Arjunawiwaha* at Candi Surowono. The *kidung Sri Tanjung* has been edited and translated into Dutch by Prijono (1938). To date, there has been no further analysis of this text. Aspects of the story are discussed by Galestin (1939a) in a comparison of *Sri Tanjung* depictions at several temples, and by Worsley and Klokke in their investigations of Candi Surowono.<sup>7</sup> The *Bubukshah* story

<sup>6</sup> He mentions his confusion about the arrangement of the reliefs in an unpublished paper quoted in Worsley (1986:365, fn. 8).

<sup>7</sup> Short discussions of both – *Arjunawiwaha* and *Sri Tanjung* – are also rendered in Zoetmulder 1974:234-49, 433-6.

features as a subject of discussion for Van Stein Callenfels (1919:348-9) and Rassers (1959:74) with the latter focusing on the combination of Buddhist and Saiwite aspects.

#### PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON CANDI MIRIGAMBAR

Early research into Candi Mirigambar was undertaken by the Dutch authorities. Hoepermans (1913a:335-7) in his archaeological report from 1864-1867 refers to six temple ruins in the neighbourhood, most of them having almost fallen apart completely and today not extant any more. They were made of brick, except one, which was made of andesite.<sup>8</sup> Knebel (1908b:220-2) mentions earlier that one relief panel was missing. Perquin (1916a:81-2, 1916b:140-4) was the first to give a description of the relief panels in his report on the restoration, from 1915 to 1916, by the Dutch Archaeological Service. A few panels were documented in photographs.<sup>9</sup> Krom (1923, II:334-9) presents a summary of the research completed up until that point and also provides a more detailed description of the panels. Klokke (1993:80) discusses some remaining animal reliefs on the upper foot of the temple.

#### PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE SANCTUARIES ON MOUNT PENANGGUNGAN: CANDI KENDALISODO, CANDI YUDHA, AND THE PANJI STATUE FROM CANDI SELOKELIR

In 1914 an initial exploration of the mountain was undertaken under Dutch authority, documented in a few short reports (O.V. 1914, 1915). Krom (1923, II:398-405) only dedicated a few notes on Penanggungan, since most of the sites on the mountain had not been explored yet. However he gives a more lengthy description of the findings at Candi Selokelir. In the following years, suggestions by the local people were taken up for further explorations. Stutterheim (1936a, 1938) climbed Mount Penanggungan together with A. Gall and reported on their interesting findings. In many of his later works Stutterheim adds and

<sup>8</sup> One of the brick temples which contained some remains of stone carvings was referred to as 'Candi Tuban' (Knebel 1908b:222; Perquin 1916b:145-6).

<sup>9</sup> OD-photos are available in the Kern Institute in Leiden.

discusses information on the sites and the architectural remains from Mount Penanggungan. In particular, he discusses the Panji sculpture from Selokelir (Stutterheim 1936b) and focuses on the Bhima depictions (Stutterheim 1935a, 1940). Candi Jolotundo, the oldest sanctuary on the foot of the mountain, has drawn the attention of Stutterheim (1937a) and Bosch (1945, 1961, 1965). A most valuable inventory of all 81 sites is provided by Van Romondt (1951), who gives descriptions of the sanctuaries and remains based on his explorations on Mount Penanggungan in the years 1936, 1937, and 1940.<sup>10</sup> I follow his numeration of the sites in Roman numbers. Terwen-de Loos (1971) provides an interpretation of the relief depictions at Candi Kendalisodo. A short report on an exploration on the mountain is provided by Soedjono (1976). A more recent, unfortunately unpublished, MA-thesis by Agus A. Munandar (1990b) discusses the religious function of the sanctuaries, particularly the hermitages, on Mount Penanggungan during the fourteenth and fifteenth century. I (Kieven 1997, 2000) gave interpretations of the sanctuary of Candi Kendalisodo, which I further develop in Chapter X. My discussion of water and ancestor cults in connection with Mount Penanggungan in Chapter IV provides basic knowledge for the understanding and interpretation of the sanctuaries.

<sup>10</sup> Van Romondt also provides a complete set of references to existing publications for each site.



## Glossary: Javanese and Old Javanese terms

<i>amerta</i>	holy water
<i>Ardhanariswara</i>	deity half-male and half-female
<i>brahmana/brahman</i>	priest
<i>cakra</i>	node in the body along the vertical spine; an expression within the Tantric scheme
<i>candi</i>	temple
<i>dharma</i>	(a) commemorative temple (b) religious teaching
<i>dwarapala</i>	gatekeeper, guardian figure in demonic form
<i>granthi</i>	three nodes, forming obstacles in the ascent of the Kundalini, in the body along the spine
<i>ishtadewata</i>	personal protective deity of the individual being
<i>kadewaguruan</i>	group of mountain sanctuaries and hermitages
<i>kadeyan</i>	friend and companion of Panji
<i>kain</i>	loincloth
<i>kala</i>	monster head above temple entrances; god of the time
<i>kaliyuga</i>	final period of the world before its destruction
<i>kakawin</i>	poem in Old Javanese language with a metre based on Indian lyrics
<i>karma</i>	law of cause and effect; effects of all deeds
<i>karshyan</i>	group of mountain sanctuaries and hermitages
<i>kawi</i>	poet who composes a <i>kakawin</i> ; also: Old Javanese script and language
<i>kemben</i>	breast cloth for women
<i>ketu</i>	turban of hermits
<i>kidung</i>	poem in Middle Javanese language
<i>kraton</i>	palace of the king
<i>kshatriya</i>	member of the ruling class in Hindu society
Kundalini	serpent; a form of Sakti in the Tantric doctrine
<i>lakon</i>	story plot of a shadow play
<i>langgö</i>	beauty; rapture caused by beauty

<i>lingga</i>	the phallus of God Siwa
<i>lontar</i>	writing material in ancient Java, a leaf from the <i>lontar</i> plant
<i>makara</i>	aquatic monster
<i>mandala</i>	diagram, (a) a certain structure of kingdoms (b) a meditation object (c) group of mountain sanctuaries and hermitages
Meru	mythical mountain, the seat of the gods
<i>moksha</i>	deliverance of the soul
<i>naga</i>	serpent
<i>pendopo</i>	open hall with pillars carrying the roof
<i>panakawan</i>	companion of the heroes, usually in deformed body shape
<i>pemujaan</i>	place of worship
<i>pertapaan</i>	hermitage
<i>petirtaan</i>	bathing place
<i>pradakshina</i>	clockwise circumambulation
<i>prasawya</i>	counterclockwise circumambulation
<i>puja</i>	worshipping a god/ the gods
<i>pura</i>	Balinese temple
<i>rakshasa</i>	demon
<i>rshi</i>	hermit
<i>sawah</i>	wet-rice field
<i>sakti</i>	magic/mystic power
<i>samsara</i>	cycle of rebirths
<i>sima</i>	royal grant, area freed from certain taxes
<i>sembah</i>	kneeling and folding the hands in front of a venerated person
<i>sraddha</i>	ceremony held 12 years after the death of a royal personage
<i>tekes</i>	Javanese headgear, term used for the ‘cap’
<i>tirtha</i>	holy water, holy bathing place (Old Javanese for ‘ <i>petirtaan</i> ’)
<i>upawita</i>	sacred caste cord worn by gods and hermits
<i>vina</i>	musical string-instrument with two gourds as sound resonators
<i>wayang beber</i>	performance of a story painted on long paper scrolls

<i>wayang kulit</i>	shadowplay with leather puppets
<i>wayang topeng</i>	mask dance
<i>widadari</i>	heavenly nymph
<i>yantra</i>	a means in meditation, particularly in Tantric practice
<i>yogin</i>	pupil following the practice of yoga
<i>yoni</i>	the vagina of the Goddess Sakti/Prtiwi (the consort of Siwa)



## Bibliography

### Abbreviations

BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde / Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies
MISI	Majalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia
NBG	Notulen van de Algemeene en Directie-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
O.V.	Oudheidkundig Verslag
PIA	Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi
RIMA	Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs
ROC/ROD	Rapporten van den Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera/ Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië (change of title 1912/13)
TBG	Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap
VBG	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
VKI	Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

Acri, Andrea

2006 'The Sanskrit-Old Javanese Tutar literature from Bali; The textual basis of Śaivism in ancient Indonesia', *Rivista di Studi Sudasiatrici*, I:107-37.

Akkeren, Ph. van

1970 *Sri and Christ; A study of the indigenous church in East Java*. London: Lutterworth Press.

| *Bibliography*

- Amengkunagara III (Sinuhun Paku Buwana V)  
1985           *Serat Centhini; Suluk Tambangraras*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Centhini.
- Aoyama, T.  
1994           ‘Where was the “eastern capital” of Java? Reconsidering the division of Majapahit, 1379-1406’. Paper presented at the 13th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, Sophia University, Tokyo, 5-9 September. [Unpublished.]
- Appel, M.  
1991           *Dewi Sri und die Kinder des Putut Jantaka; Beziehungen zwischen Mensch und Reis in Mythologie und Brauchtum auf Java und Bali*. München: Anacon.
- Atmodjo, Junus Satrio  
1986           ‘Arsitektur punden-punden berundak di Gunung Penanggungan’, in: *PLA IV Cipanas*, pp. 290-304. [Unpublished proceedings.]
- Avalon, A.  
1973           *The serpent power; By Sir John Woodroffe*. Madras: Ganesh. [9th edition of the original of 1919.]
- Ayatrohaedi (ed.)  
1986           *Kepribadian budaya bangsa (Local genius)*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Baried, Baroroh  
1982           *Pahlawan dalam kesastraan Panji di Nusantara*. Jakarta: Depdikbud. [Unpublished manuscript.]
- Bellwood, P.  
1992           ‘Southeast Asia before History’, in: N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia*. Vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 55-136. Cambridge/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.  
1997           *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian archipelago*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.

- Berg, C.C.  
 1928 *Kidung Sundayana (Kidung Sunda C); Voor schoolgebruik uitgegeven, en voorzien van aantekeningen, een woordenlijstje en een inleiding tot de studie van het Oud-Javaansch.* Surakarta: De Bliksem.
- 1931a 'Een nieuw redactie van den roman van Raden Wijaya', *BKI* 88:1-48.
- 1931b 'Kidung Harsa-Wijaya; Tekst, inhoudsopgave en aantekeningen', *BKI* 88:49-238.
- 1953 *Herkomst, vorm en functie der Middeljavaansche rijksdelingstheorie.* Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij. [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde.]
- 1954 'Bijdragen tot de kennis der Panji-verhalen', *BKI* 110:189-216, 305-34.
- 1956 'Javanische Geschichtsschreibung', *Saeculum, Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* 7:168-81. Freiburg, München: Alber.
- 1957 'Javanische Geschichtsschreibung', *Saeculum, Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* 8:249-66. Freiburg, München: Alber.
- Bernet Kempers, A.J.  
 1959 *Ancient Indonesian art.* Amsterdam: Van der Peet.
- 1981a 'The Kunjarakarna reliefs of Candi Jago', in: A. Teeuw and S.O. Robson (eds), *Kunjarakarna Dharmakathana; Liberation through the law of the Buddha; An Old Javanese poem by Mpu Dusun*, pp. 203-16. The Hague: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Bibliotheca Indonesica 21.]
- 1981b *Barabudur; A Buddhist mystery in stone.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan.
- Bhadra, I Wayan and C. Hooykaas  
 1942 'Dampati Lalangon. Balisch gedicht van West-Lombok, tekst en vertaling', *TBG* 82:1-61.
- Boomgaard, P. (ed.)  
 2007 *A world of water; Rain, rivers and seas in Southeast Asian histories.* Leiden: KITLV Press.

- Boon, J.A.  
1977 *The anthropological romance of Bali, 1597-1972; Dynamic perspectives in marriage and caste, politics and religion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bosch, F.D.K.  
1918 'Tjandi Djawi een graftempel?', *O.V.*:156-63.  
1920 'Een hypothese omtrent den oorsprong der Hindoe-Javaansche kunst', in: *Handelingen van het eerste congres voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Java, Solo 25-26 December 1919*, pp. 93-110. Weltevreden: Albrecht.  
1931 'Notes archéologiques', *BEFEO* XXXI:485-97.  
1945 'De spijerreliefs van Djalatoenda', *Cultureel Indië* 7:7-42.  
1948 *De gouden kiem; Inleiding in de Indische symboliek.* Amsterdam: Elsevier.  
1956 'C.C. Berg and ancient Javanese history', *BKI* 112:1-24.  
1960 *The golden germ; An introduction to Indian symbolism.* 's-Gravenhage: Mouton.  
1961 *Selected studies in Indonesian archaeology.* The Hague: Nijhoff.  
1965 'The Oldjavanese bathing place Jalatunda', *BKI* 121:189-232.
- Brandes, J.L.A.  
1902a 'Het gevaarvolle van het verklaren van de relieftableau's aan de oude ruïnen op Java te vinden, als men den betrokken tekst niet kent, toegelicht aan een voorbeeld genomen uit de schilderijen aan het pendapa terras te Panataran', *NBG* 40:xxxvi-xlvii (Bijlage III).  
1902b 'Aanvulling van de mededeeling over de in relief afgebeelde dierenfabels op het terrein van Panataran', *NBG* 40:xxix-xxxv (Bijlage II).  
1902c 'Driemandelijksch rapport over het 2<sup>e</sup> kwartaal 1902', *ROC* 1902:3-15.  
1903 'Tj. Poetri Djawi', *ROC* 1903:35-8.  
1904 *Beschrijving van de ruïne bij de desa Toempang, genaamd Tjandi Djago, in de residentie Pasoeroean.* 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff; Batavia: Albrecht.  
1909 *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari en de wolkentoneelen van Panataran; Archaeologisch onderzoek op Java en Madoera, II.* 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff; Batavia: Albrecht.

- 1920 *Pararaton (Ken Arok), of Het Boek der koningen van Tumapel en van Majapahit*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff; Batavia: Albrecht. [VBG 52. Second edition by N.J.Krom.]
- Brockveldt, F.L.
- 1904 'Ontdekking van Selokelir; Mededeeling aan het Bataviaasch Genootschap', *NBG* 1904: Bijlage III:XXIII-XXVII.
- Buchari
- 1965 'Epigraphy and Indonesian Historiography', in: Soedjatmoko et al. (eds), *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, pp. 47-73. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- 1968 'Sri Maharaja Mapanji Garasakan', *MISI*, Jakarta. Vol. IV-1, 2:1-26.
- 1990 'The inscription of Garaman, dated 975 Çaka; The new evidence on Airlangga's partition of his kingdom', in: Edi Sedyawati and Ingrid H.E. Pojoh Supratikno Rahardjo (eds), *Monumen; Karya persembahan untuk Prof. Dr. R.Soekmono*, pp. 125-42. Depok: Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Indonesia.
- Cahyono, Dwi
- 1996 'Peranan seni pertunjukan dalam sistem sosial dan birokrasi pemerintahan Jawa kuna (abad X-XVI Masehi)'. Paper, Kongres Nasional Sejarah Tahun 1996. [Unpublished.]
- 2010 'Sendra-tari topeng berlakon Panji masa Majapahit. Rakitan dan fungsi dalam konteks sosio-budaya keraton dan luar-keraton'. Paper, Seminar Internasional Budaya Panji, 23 May 2010, Malang, Acara Malang Kembali. [Unpublished.]
- Casparis, J.G. de
- 1981 'Pour une histoire sociale de l'ancienne Java principalement au Xème s.', *Archipel* 21:125-51.
- 1986 'Some notes on relations between central and local government in ancient Java', in: D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner (eds), *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th centuries*, pp. 49-63. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

| *Bibliography*

- Casparis, J.G. de and I.W. Mabbett  
1992 'Religion and popular beliefs of Southeast Asia before c. 1500',  
in: N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia*. Vol. 1,  
Part 1, pp. 276-339. Cambridge/Melbourne: Cambridge Uni-  
versity Press.
- Clara van Groenendael, Victoria M.  
1995 *Java en Madura in de uitvoerende kunsten; Th.G.Th. Pigeauds Javaanse  
volksvertoningen en latere studies, 1817-1995*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Cœdès, G.  
1968 *The Indianized states of Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: East-West Center  
Press.
- Cortesaio, A. (ed. and trans.)  
1944 *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Coster-Wijmsman, L.M.  
1952 'Illustraties bij het Javaanse verhaal Pandji Djajakusuma', *BKI*  
108:69-76.
- Creese, H.  
2004 *Women of the kakawin world; Marriage and sexuality in the Indic courts of  
Java and Bali*. Armonk, N.Y: Sharpe.
- Damais, L-C.  
1949 'Épigraphische aantekeningen', *TBG* 83:1-26.  
1957 'Études Javanaises I; Les tombes musulmanes datées de Tralaya',  
*BEFEO* 48/2:353-416.  
1958 'Études d'épigraphie Indonésienne: V. Dates de manuscrits et  
documents divers de Java, Bali et Lombok', *BEFEO* 49/1:1-257.  
1968 'L'épigraphie musulmane dans le Sud-Est asiatique', *BEFEO*  
54:567-604.

- Day, T.  
1994 "Landscape" in Early Java', in: A. Gerstle and A. Milner (eds), *Recovering the Orient*, pp. 175-203. Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Degroot, V.  
2009 *Candi; Space and landscape; A study on the distribution, orientation and spatial organization of central Javanese temple remains*. Leiden: Sidestone Press. [Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, Nr. 38.]
- Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan  
1989 *Kamus besar Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.  
also: <http://kamusbahasaindonesia.org/>
- Devi, Sudarshana  
1957 *Wrhaspati-tattwa; An Old-Javanese philosophical text*. Nagpur: International Academy of Indian culture. PhD thesis, University of Utrecht.
- Dinas Pariwisata Daerah Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Jawa Timur (ed.)  
1993 *700 tahun Majapahit; Suatu bunga rampai*, pp. 227-89. Surabaya: Wisnu Murti. [First edition 1992.]
- Djafar, Hasan  
1978 *Girindrawardhana; Beberapa masalah Majapahit Akhir*. Jakarta: Yayasan Dana Pendidikan Buddhis Nalanda.
- Djoko Wiyanto  
2008 *Ensiklopedi Centhini*. Yogyakarta: Panji Pustaka.
- Doniger, W., *see* O'Flaherty
- Drake, E.  
2012 *Gayatri Rajapatni; Perempuan di balik kejayaan Majapahit*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.

| Bibliography

- Drewes, G.W.J.  
1975 *The romance of King Angling Darma in Javanese literature*. The Hague: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Bibliotheca Indonesica 11.]
- Duijker, M.  
2001 'The significance of Bhima's weapons in his stone representation; An art historical approach', in: M.J. Klokke and K.R. van Kooij (eds), *Fruits of inspiration; Studies in honour of Prof. J.G. de Casparis*, pp. 69-82. Groningen: Forsten.  
2010 *The worship of Bhima; The representations of Bhima on Java during the Majapahit period*. Amstelveen: Eon Pers.
- Dumarçay, J.  
1986a *The temples of Java*. Singapore/Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.  
1986b *Le savoir des maîtres d'œuvre Javanais aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.  
1993 *Histoire de l'architecture de Java*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.  
1996 'Monuments of the Upper Brantas Valley', in: J. Miksic (ed.), *Ancient history; Indonesian heritage*, pp. 118-9. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
- Eggebrecht, A. (ed.)  
1995 *Versunkene Königreiche Indonesiens*. Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Erp, Th. van  
1931a *Beschrijving van Barabudur II* (together with N.J. Krom). 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.  
1931b *Beschrijving van Barabudur III 2<sup>de</sup> Deel*. (together with N.J. Krom). 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.  
1932 'Een juweel van Hindoe-Javaansche bronskunst', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 9:235-8.

- Fic, V.M.  
2003 *From Majapahit and Suku to Megawati Sukarnoputri; Continuity and Change in Pluralism of Religion, Culture and Politics of Indonesia from the XV to the XXI Century.* New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.
- Fletcher, M.  
1990 *Wargasari; A Middle Javanese kidung.* BA thesis, University of Sydney. [Unpublished manuscript.]
- Fontein, J.  
1990 *The sculpture of Indonesia.* Washington: National Gallery of Art; New York: Abrams.
- Fontein, J. R., Soekmono and Satyawati Suleiman  
1971 *Ancient Indonesian art of the Central and Eastern Javanese periods.* New York: Asia Society.
- Forge, A.  
1978 *Balinese traditional paintings.* Sydney: Australian Museum.
- French, C.  
1976 *Dampati Lalangon; An analysis.* BA Honours thesis, University of Sydney. [Unpublished.]
- Galestin, Th.P.  
1936 *Houtbouw op Oost-Javaansche tempelreliëfs.* PhD thesis, Leiden University. 's-Gravenhage: n.n.  
1938 'Aanteekeningen over de Arjunawiwaha op Tjandi Djago', *BKI* 97:1-17.  
1939a 'De onverklaarde reliëfs van tjandi Kedaton', *Cultureel Indië* 1:154-6.  
1939b 'Een Hindoe-Javaansch gouden sieraad', *Cultureel Indië* 1:73-9.  
1959 *Iconografie van Semar.* Leiden: Brill.

| *Bibliography*

- Geertz, C.  
1963 *Agricultural involution; The process of ecological change in Indonesia*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.  
1980 *Negara; The theatre state in nineteenth-century Bali*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Gennep, A. van  
1960 *The rites of passage*. London: Routledge.
- Gericke, J.F.C. and T. Roorda  
1901 *Javaansch-Nederlandsch handwoordenboek*. Amsterdam: Müller. [Two vols.]
- Gómez, L.O. and H.W. Woodward (eds)  
1981 *Barabudur; History and significance of a Buddhist monument*. Berkeley, California: Asian Humanities Press.
- Gombrich, E.H.  
1985 *Symbolic images*. Oxford: Phaidon.
- Gomperts, A., A. Haag and P. Carey  
2008 'Stutterheim's enigma; The mystery of his mapping of the Majapahit kraton at Trowulan in 1941', *BKI* 164:411-30.  
2011 'Maclaine Pont and the discovery of Bharada's Hermitage', *ILAS Newsletter* 58:4-5.  
2012 'The sage who divided Java in 1052; Maclaine Pont's excavation of Mpu Bharada's hermitage-cemetery at Lĕmah Tulis in 1925', *BKI* 168:1-25
- Gonda, J.  
1970 'Siva in Indonesien', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* XIV:1-31. [Reprint in J. Gonda, *Selected studies, Vol. IV: History of ancient Indian religion*, pp. 91-121. Leiden: Brill 1975.]
- Goris, R.  
1927 'Storm-kind en geestes zoon', *Djawa* 7:110-3.  
1938 'Aanteekeningen bij Bali's tempelwezen', *Djawa* 18:30-48.

- 1984 'The temple system', in: KITLV (ed.), *Bali; Studies in life, thought, and ritual*, pp. 101-11. Dordrecht: Foris. [Series: Reprints on Indonesia.]
- Goudriaan, T.  
1981 'Two stanzas of Balinese Sanskrit located in an Indian tantra', *BKI* 137:477-9.
- Graaf, H.J. de and Th.G.Th. Pigeaud  
1974 *De eerste Moslimse vorstendommen op Java*. The Hague: Nijhoff.  
1976 *Islamic states in Java, 1500-1700*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Groeneveldt, W.P.  
1960 *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources*. Jakarta: Bhratara. [Original print Batavia 1876.]
- Gupta, S.  
1979 'Modes of worship and meditation', in: S. Gupta, D.J. Hoens and T. Goudriaan, *Hindu Tantrism* III, pp. 121-86. Leiden/Köln: Brill.
- Gupta, S., D.J. Hoens and T. Goudriaan  
1979 *Hindu Tantrism*. Leiden/Köln: Brill. [Handbuch der Orientalistik, 2. Abt., 4. Bd, 2. Abschnitt.]
- Haan, B. de  
1920 'De reconstructie van de badplaats te Panataran', *O.K* 4:125-9.
- Hall, D.G.E.  
1981 *A history of South-East Asia*. London: Macmillan.
- Hall, Kenneth R.  
1985 *Maritime trade and state development in early Southeast Asia*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.  
1992 'Economic history of early Southeast Asia', in: N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia*. Vol. 1. Part 1, pp. 185-275. Cambridge/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

| Bibliography

- 1996 'Ritual networks and royal power in Majapahit Java', *Archipel* 52:95-118.
- 2001a 'Personal status and ritualized exchange in Majapahit Java', *Archipel* 59:51-96.
- 2001b 'Ritual transitions and kingship in fifteenth-century Java; A view from the Candi Panataran complex', in: K.R. Hall (ed.), *Structure and society in early South India; Essays in honour of Noboru Karashima*, pp. 276-312. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hazeu, G.A.J.  
1901 'Nini Towong', *TBG* 43:36-107.
- Hidding, K.A.H.  
1929 *Nji Pohatji Sangiang Sri*. Leiden: Dubbeldeman. PhD thesis, Leiden University.
- Hill, A.H.  
1961 'Hikayat raja-raja Pasai', *JMBRAS* 33, 2:1-215.
- Hinzler, H.I.R.  
1981 *Bhimaswarga in Balinese wayang*. The Hague: Nijhoff.  
2001 'The book in ancient Java; Books, writing material, and reading in written and visual evidence', in: M.J. Klokke and K.R. van Kooij (eds), *Fruits of inspiration; Studies in honour of Prof. J.G. de Casparis*, pp. 157-90. Groningen: Forsten.
- Hoepermans, H.  
1913a 'Dockohan Gambar', *ROD* 1913:335-337.  
1913b 'Tjandi Panataran', *ROD* 1913, pp. 355-61. Batavia: Albrecht. [Hindoe-Oudheden van Java (1864-1867).]
- Hoëvell, W.R. van  
1851 *Reis over Java, Madoera en Bali in het midden van 1847*. Amsterdam: Van Kampen.
- Holt, C.  
1967 *Art in Indonesia; Continuity and change*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

- Hoof, Karin van  
1991 *Wayang beber & Een unieke collectie in Leiden*. MA thesis, Leiden University. [Unpublished.]
- Hooykaas, C.  
1962 'Saiva-Siddhanta in Java and Bali', *BKI* 118:309-27.  
1964 *Agama Tirtha; Five studies in Hindu-Balinese religion*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij.
- Horne, E.C.  
1974 *Javanese-English dictionary*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Hunter, T.M.  
1998 *Blossoms of longing; Ancient verses of love and lament*. Jakarta: The Lontar Foundation.  
2000 'The Aridharma reliefs of Candi Jago', in: Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Society and culture of Southeast Asia; Continuities and changes*, pp. 69-101. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture/ Aditya Prakashan.  
2001 'Wrttasancaya reconsidered', *BKI* 157:65-96.  
2007 'The body of the king; Reappraising Singhasari period syncretism', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 38(1):27-53.
- Hutomo, Suripan Sadi *see* Suripan Sadi Hutomo
- Inandiak, Elizabeth D.  
2004 *Centhini*. Diterjemahkan dari bahasa Perancis oleh Laddy Lesmana bersama Elizabeth D. Inandiak. Yogyakarta: Galang Press.  
2005 *Les Chants de l'île à dormir debout; Le Livre de Centhini*. Paris: Seuil.
- Ismani  
1985 'Rice culture, viewed from myths, legends, rituals, customs', *East Asian Cultural Studies* 24:117-30.
- Jessup, H.I.  
1990 *Court arts of Indonesia*. New York: The Asia Society Galleries.

| *Bibliography*

- Jordaan, R.  
2007 'Bĕlahan and the division of Airlangga's realm', *BKI* 163:326-55.
- Juynboll, H.H.  
1899 'Het Oudjavaansche gedicht Sumanasantaka', *BKI* 50:391-400.
- Kant-Achilles, M.  
1990 *Wayang Beber; Das wiederentdeckte Bildrollen-Drama Zentral-Jawas*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Karow, O.  
1987 *Terrakottakunst des Reiches Majapahit; Katalog zur Ausstellung Das Sparschwein unter dem Reisfeld*. Frankfurt: Museum für Völkerkunde Frankfurt am Main.
- Kats, J.  
1910 *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan; Oud-Javaansche tekst met inleiding, vertaling en aantekeningen*. 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff.  
1916 'Dewi Çri', *TBG* 57:17-196.
- Kern, H.  
1885 'Sanskrit-inscriptie ter eere van den Javaanschen vorst Er-Langga', *BKI* 34:1-21.  
1901 *De legende van Kunjarakarna volgens het oudstbekende handschrift, met Oud-javaanschen tekst, Nederlandsche vertaling en aantekeningen*. Verh. Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks III, 3de stuk.  
1912 'Een Oud-Javaansche steeninscriptie van Koning Er-Langga', *BKI* 67:610-22.  
1917 *Verspreide geschriften VII*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.  
1919 *Het Oud-Javaansche lofdicht Nagarakrtagama van Prapanca; Tekst, vertaling en bespreking; Met aantekeningen van Dr. N. J. Krom*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.  
1922 'De legende van Kunjarakarna', *Verspreide Geschriften X*:1-76. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeling Letterkunde. Deel III. No. 3.]

- Khanna, M.  
1994 *Yantra; The Tantric symbol of cosmic unity*. London: Thames and Hudson. [First paperback edition 1981.]
- Kieven, L.  
1994 *Arjunas Askese; Ihre Darstellung im altjavanischen Arjunawiwaha und auf ausgewählten ostjavanischen Reliefs*. Bonn: Holos Verlag.  
1997 'Der altjavanische Meditationsplatz Candi Kendalisada am Berg Penanggungan in Ostjava', in: K. Lutter and P. Ziegenhain (eds), *Vom altjavanischen Tempel zum Internet; Beiträge der Studentischen Arbeitstagung zu Südostasien/Ozeanien 1996 in Köln*, pp. 12-26. Köln: n.n.  
1998 'The meditation of Arjuna; Its presentation in the Old-Javanese kakawin Arjunawiwaha and in some reliefs in East-Java', in: P.-Y. Manguin (ed.), *Southeast Asian archaeology 1994*, pp. 161-9. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull.  
2000 'Arjuna, Bhima and Panji; Three heroes at Candi Kendalisodo', in: M.J. Klokke (ed.), *Narrative sculpture and literary traditions in South and Southeast Asia*, pp. 42-50. Leiden: Brill.  
2003 'Loving couples depicted in temple reliefs in East Java of the Majapahit time', in: A. Karlström and A. Källén (eds), *Fishbones and glittering emblems; Southeast Asian archaeology 2002*, pp. 335-48. Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.  
2008 'A new fashion in male headgear during East Javanese Majapahit time – the *tekes*-cap in narrative reliefs of Candi Jago', in: E.A. Bacus, I.C. Glover and P.D. Sharrock (eds), *Interpreting South-east Asia's past; Monument, image and text*, pp. 193-207. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press.  
2011 'Hanuman, the flying monkey – the symbolism of the Ramayana reliefs at the Main Temple of Candi Panataran', in: Andrea Acri, Helen Creese and Arlo Griffiths (eds), *From Laikā eastwards; The Rāmāyaṇa in the literature and visual arts of Indonesia*, pp. 209-32. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Kinney, Ann R.  
2003 *Worshipping Siva and Buddha; The temple art of East Java*. Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press.

Klokke, Marijke J.

- 1992 'Iconographical traditions in late East Javanese narrative reliefs', in: I.C. Glover (ed.), *Southeast Asian archaeology 1990*, pp. 75-84. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull.
- 1993 *Tantri reliefs on Javanese candi*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- 1994 'The iconography of the so-called portrait statues in late East Javanese art', in: M.J. Klokke and P. Lusingh Scheurleer (eds), *Ancient Indonesian sculpture*, pp.178-201. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- 1995 'On the orientation of ancient Javanese temples; The example of Surowono', in: Paul van der Velde (ed.), *IAS Yearbook 1994*, pp. 73-86. Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies.
- 1996 'Borobudur; A mandala? A contextual approach to the function and meaning of Borobudur', in: Paul van der Velde (ed.), *IAS Yearbook 1995*, pp. 191-219. Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies.
- 1998 'Deified couples and meditation; On the iconography of the so-called portrait statues in ancient Javanese art', in: P-Y. Manguin (ed.): *Southeast Asian archaeology 1994*, pp. 171-9. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull.
- 2000a 'Ornamental motifs; The stylistic method applied to ancient Javanese temple art', in: W. Lobo and S. Reimann (eds), *Southeast Asian archaeology 1998*, pp. 85- 98. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull.
- 2000b (ed.) *Narrative sculpture and literary traditions in South and Southeast Asia, with an introduction by Jan Fontein*. Leiden: Brill.
- 2000c 'The Krsna reliefs at Panataran; A visual version of the Old Javanese Krsnayana', in: Marijke J. Klokke (ed.), *Narrative sculpture and literary traditions in South and Southeast Asia, with an introduction by Jan Fontein*, pp. 19-41. Leiden: Brill.
- 2006 'Hanuman in the art of East Java', in: Truman Simanjuntak et al. (eds), *Archaeology: Indonesian perspective; R.P. Soejono's Festschrift*, pp. 391-405. Jakarta: LIPI Press.

Knebel, J.

- 1908a 'Bijlage (42); Beschrijving van de Hindoe-oudheden in de afdeeling Blitar (Residentie Kediri)', *ROC*:29-179.
- 1908b 'Bijlage (43); Beschrijving van de Hindoe-oudheden in de afdeeling Toeloeng-agoeng (Residentie Kediri)', *ROC*:181-233.

- Krahl, R. et al.  
2010 *Shipwrecked; Tang treasures and monsoon winds*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Krom, N.J.  
1923 *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. [Two vols.]  
1931 *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Kruijt, A.  
1903 'Gebruiken bij den rijstoogst in enkele streken op Oost-Java', *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap* 47:125-39.
- Kulke, H.  
1986 'The early and the imperial kingdom in Southeast Asian history', in: D. Marr and A.C. Milner (eds), *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th centuries*, pp. 1-22. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Kunst, Jaap  
1968 *Hindu-Javanese musical instruments*. The Hague: Nijhoff.  
1973 *Music in Java; Its history, its theory and its technique; Third, enlarged edition, edited by E.L. Heins*. The Hague: Nijhoff. [Two vols.]
- Liebner, H.  
2010 'Cargos for Java; Two 10<sup>th</sup> century shipwrecks'. Paper presented at the 13th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Berlin 27 Sept-1 Oct 2010. [To be published]
- Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E. van  
1984 *Indo-Javanese metalwork*. Stuttgart: Linden-Museum, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde.
- Lokesh Chandra  
1980 'Borobudur as a monument of esoteric Buddhism', *Southeast Asian Review* 5-1:1-41.

| *Bibliography*

- Lombard, D.  
1990 *Le carrefour Javanais, Vol. III; L'héritage des royaumes concentriques.* Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.
- Lucas, Heinz  
1973 *Java-Masken; Der Tanz auf einem Bein.* Kassel: Erich Röth-Verlag.
- Lunsingh Scheurleer, P.  
1985 (ed.) *Asiatic art in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.* Amsterdam: Meulenhoff/Landshoff.  
2000 'Skulls, fangs and serpents; A new development in East Javanese iconography', in: W. Lobo and S. Reimann (eds), *Southeast Asian archaeology 1998*, pp. 189-204. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull.  
2009 'The Javanese statue of Garuda carrying Wisnu and Candi Kidal', *Artibus Asiae Vol LXIX*, No. 1:189-218.
- Lunsingh Scheurleer, P. and M.J. Klokke  
1988 *Divine bronze; Ancient Indonesian bronzes from A.D. 600 to 1600.* *Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 30 April-31 July 1988.* Leiden: Brill.
- Lutgendorf, Ph.  
1994 'My Hanuman is bigger than yours', *History of Religions* 33-3:211-45.  
1997 'Monkey in the middle; The status of Hanuman in popular Hinduism', *Religion* 27:311-32.
- Mabbett, I.W.  
1983 'The symbolism of Mount Meru', *History of Religions* 23-1:64-83.
- McGowan, K.M.  
2005 Book review of 'Worshipping Siva and Buddha; The temple art of East Java. By Ann R. Kinney, with Marijke J. Klokke and Lydia Kieven. Honolulu 2003', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64-1 (Feb 2005):248-50.

## Mangkunegara VII

- 1957 *On the wayang kulit (purwa) and its symbolic and mystical elements.* Ithaca N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University. [Data Paper 27.]

## Mantra, Ida Bagoes

- 1991 'The cult of Siva-Buddha', in: Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *The art and culture of South-East Asia*, pp. 199-214. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture/Aditya Prakashan.

## Miksic, J.

- 1995 *The legacy of Majapahit; Catalogue of an exhibition at the National Museum of Singapore, 10 November 1994-26 March 1995.* Singapore: National Heritage Board.
- 1998 'Terraced Temple Sites', in: Tjahyono, Gunawan (ed.), *Architecture; Indonesian heritage*, pp. 74-5. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
- 2000 'Heterogenetic cities in premodern Southeast Asia,' *World Archaeology* 32-1, Archaeology in Southeast Asia:106-20.

## Mills, J.V.G.

- 1970 *Ma Huan, Ying-yai Sheng-lan.* London: Hakluyt Society.

## Milner, A.C.

- 1988 'Islam and the Muslim state', in: M.B. Hooker (ed.), *Islam in South-East Asia*, pp. 23-49. Leiden/New York/Kopenhagen/Köln: Brill.

## Milton, O.

- 2004 *Southeast Asia; An introductory history.* Crows Nest, Sydney: Allen & Unwin. [9th edition.]

## Moens, J.L.

- 1919 'Hindu-Javaansche portretbeelden; Çaiwapatista en Boddhapratista', *TBG* 58:493-527.
- 1933 'Het Berlijnsche Ardhanari-beeld en de bijzettingenbeelden van Krtanagara', *TBG* 73:123-50.
- 1955 'Airlangga's rijksdeling', *TBG* 85:449-54.

| *Bibliography*

- Molen, W. van der and H. Creese  
2001 *Old Javanese texts and culture*. [BKI 157.]
- Monier-Williams, M.  
1976 *A dictionary, English and Sanskrit*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. [4th Indian edition.]
- Mrantasi, Tri  
1989 'Tinjauan mengenai tema erotik pada beberapa arca dan relief candi di Jawa', *PIA V*:376-87.
- Muller, H.R.A.  
1978 *Javanese terracottas; Terra incognita*. Lochem: De Tijdstroom.
- Munandar, Agus Aris  
1990a 'Arca dan relief pada kepurbakalaan Gunung Penanggungan; Pembicaraan ringkas aspek keagamaan', in: Edi Sedyawati (ed.), *Monumen; Karya persembahan untuk Prof. Dr. Soekmono*, pp. 172-90. Depok: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia. [Lembaran Sastra, Seri Penerbitan Ilmiah 11.]  
1990b *Kegiatan keagamaan di Pawitra; Gunung suci di Jawa Timur abad 14-15 M*. Tesis Magister Program Pascasarjana Universitas Indonesia. [Unpublished M.A. thesis.]  
1992 'Citra Panji dalam masyarakat Majapahit akhir', *Lembaran Sastra Universitas Indonesia* 17 (Juli):1-16.
- Muusses, M.A.  
1923 'De Sockoch-Opschriften', *TBG LXII*:495-513.
- Nihom, Max  
1994 *The Kunjarakarnadharmakathana and the Yogatantra; Studies in Indian and Indo-Indonesian Tantrism*. Wien: Gerold.
- Noorduyn, J.  
1975 'The eastern kings in Majapahit', *BKI* 131:479-89.  
1978 'Majapahit in the fifteenth century', *BKI* 134:207-74.

- 1982 'Bujangga Manik's journeys through Java; Topographical data from an old Sundanese source', *BKI* 138:413-42.
- Noorduyn, J. and A. Tecuw (eds)  
2006 *Three old Sundanese poems*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Noordziek, D.C.  
1856 'De ruine Penampikkan in Kediri', *TBG* 5:425-30.
- Noto Soeroto, R.M.  
1911 'Over den oorsprong van het woord *gedog* in de wayang', *BKI* 65:132-34.
- Nurchahyo, Henri  
2009 *Konservasi Budaya Panji*. Surabaya: Dewan Kesenian Jawa Timur.
- O'Brien, K.  
1988 'Candi Jago as a mandala; Symbolism of its narratives (Part I)', *RIMA* 22 (Summer 1988):1-61.  
1989 'The mandalas of the Sutasoma kekawin', *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* 20/21 (1988-89):153-87.  
1990 'Candi Jago; A Javanese interpretation of the wheel of existence? Part 2', *RIMA* 24 (Winter 1990):23-85.  
1991 'The mandalas of the Sutasoma kekawin; Part II', *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* 22/23 (1990-91):92-132.  
1993 *Means and wisdom in tantric Buddhist rulership of the East Javanese period; Based on an analysis of mandala motifs and their symbolism as found in the narrative bas-reliefs of Candi Jago and in the Old Javanese literary work, Porusadasanta (Sutasoma)*. PhD thesis, University of Sydney.  
1995 'Listen to Candi Jago', *RIMA* 29:141-6.  
2008 *Sutasoma; The ancient tale of a Buddha-Prince from 14th century Java by the poet Mpu Tantular*. Bangkok: Orchid Press.
- O'Connor, S.J.  
1985 'Metallurgy and immortality at Candi Sukuh, Central Java', *Indonesia* 39:52-69.

| *Bibliography*

O'Flaherty, W.D., *also* W. Doniger

- 1969a 'Asceticism and sexuality in the mythology of Siva. Part I', *History of Religions* 8-4:300-37.
- 1969b 'Asceticism and sexuality in the mythology of Siva. Part II', *History of Religions* 9-1:1-41.
- 1973 *Asceticism and eroticism in the mythology of Siva*. London/New York: Oxford University Press.

Olsen, B.

- 1991 'Barthes; From sign to text', in: Ch. Tilley (ed.), *Reading material culture; Structuralism, hermeneutics and post-structuralism*, pp.163-205. Cambridge Mass.: Blackwell.

Ongkhokham

- 1972 'The wayang topeng world of Malang', *Indonesia* 14:111-24.

Oudheidkundig Verslag (O.V.)

- 1914 Vol. 4: 203-4 (Notes on Mount Penanggungan).
- 1915 Vol. 1: 2-6 (Notes on Candi Selokelir).

Overbeck, H.O.

- 1927 'De ouderdom van de wayang wong', *Djawa* 7:245-52.
- 1932 'Eenige opmerkingen naar aanleiding van Over den oorsprong van het Javaansche tooneel, door Dr W.H.Rassers', *Djawa* 12:11-20.

Padmapuspita, J.

- 1966 *Pararaton; Teks bahasa Kawi, terdjemahan bahasa Indonesia*. Jogjakarta: Penerbit Taman Siswa.
- 1988a *Candi Sukuh bukan Candi Cabul*. Yogyakarta: Lembaga Javanologi.
- 1988b *Kakawin Arjuna-wiwaha dan pembangunan di masa kini*. Yogyakarta: Lembaga Javanologi.
- n.y. *Panji Jayakusuma; Analisis*. [Unpublished manuscript presented to Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Proyek Javanologi, Yogyakarta.]

- Pannenberg-Stutterheim, L.  
 1947 'Treasures or meditation?', in: J.P.H. Vogel, *India Antiqua; A volume of oriental studies presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, C.I.E., on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate*, pp. 257-63. Leiden: Brill.
- Panofsky, E.  
 1975 *Sinn und Deutung in der bildenden Kunst*. Köln: DuMont.
- Patt, Judith  
 1979 *The use and symbolism of water in ancient Indonesian art and architecture*. PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, California. [Unpublished.]  
 1982 'Integration with the landscape; The development of an Indonesian aesthetic in the temple plans of the classical Indonesian period', in: *Proceedings of the fourth international symposium on Asian studies, 1982*, pp. 463-82. Hong Kong: Asian Research Service.
- Perkasa, Adrian  
 2012 *Orang-orang Tionghoa & Islam di Majapahit*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Perquin, P.J.  
 1915 'Kort verslag aangaande de werkzaamheden aan Tjandi Panataran', *O.V.* 4:148-53.  
 1916a Notes on Candi Gambar, *O.V.* 3:81- 3.  
 1916b 'Verslag aangaande de oudheidkundige werkzaamheden in Oost-Java', *O.V.* 4:133-47.  
 1917 'De herbouw van het Naga-monumentje te Panataran', *O.V.* 4:128-30.
- Phalgunadi, I Gusti Putu  
 1990 *The Indonesian Mahabharata; Adiparva – the first book; Translated from the original classical kawi text*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.  
 1996 *The Pararaton; A study of the Southeast Asia chronicle*. New Delhi: Sun-deep Prakashan.

| Bibliography

Pigeaud, Th.G.Th.

- 1924 *De Tantu Panggelaran; Een oud-Jawaansch prozageschrift*. 's-Gravenhage: Nederlandse boek- en steendrukkerij voorheen H.L. Smits. PhD thesis, Leiden University.
- 1938 *Jawaanse volksvertoningen; Bijdrage tot de beschrijving van land en volk*. Batavia: Volkslectuur.
- 1960-63 *Java in the 14<sup>th</sup> century; A study in cultural history*. The Hague: Nijhoff. [Five vols.]
- 1976 *Islamic states in Java, 1500-1700; Eight Dutch books and articles by H.Ĵ. de Graaf as summarized by Theodore G.Th. Pigeaud*. The Hague: Nijhoff. [VKI 70.]

Pintchman, T.

- 1994 *The rise of the goddess in the Hindu tradition*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Pitono, R.

- 1971 'Notes on the development of temple architecture in East Java', *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* 8:68-95.

Poerbatjaraka, R.M.Ng.

- 1917a 'De Sanskrit-inscriptie van het Mahaksobhyabeeld te Simpang (stad Surabaya; 1211 Caka)', in: H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften VII*, pp. 187-97. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. [Also published in: *BKI* 78 (1922):426-62.]
- 1917b 'Het beeld van Tjandi Djawi', *O.V.*:143-51.
- 1919 'Historische gegevens uit de Smaradahana', *TBG* 58:461-89.
- 1924 'Aanteekeningen op de Nagarakretagama', *BKI* 80:237-86.
- 1926a 'Calon Arang', *BKI* 82:110-80.
- 1926b 'Arjuna-wiwaha; Tekst en vertaling', *BKI* 82:181-305.
- 1931 *Smaradahana*. Bandoeng: Nix & Co. [Bibliotheca Javanica 3.]
- 1933 *Nitiġāstra; Oud-Jawaansche tekst met vertaling*. Bandoeng: Nix & Co. [Bibliotheca Javanica 4.]
- 1940a *Pandji-verhalen onderling vergeleken*. Bandoeng: Nix & Co. [Bibliotheca Javanica 9.]
- 1940b 'Dewa-Roetji', *Djawa* 20:5-55.

- 1941 'Strophe 14 van de Sanskrit zijde der Calcutta Oorkonde', *TBG* 81:424-37.
- 1968 *Tjerita Pandji dalam perbandingan*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung.
- Pollock, S.  
1998 'The cosmopolitan vernacular', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57-1:6-37.
- Porte, A. de la and J. Knebel  
1900 'De ruïnen van Panataran', *TBG* 42:263-96.
- Pott, P.H.  
1966 *Yoga and Yantra; Their interrelation and their significance for Indian archaeology*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Prijoetomo  
1934 *Nawaruci; Inleiding Middel-Javaansche prozatekst, vertaling vergeleken met de Bimasoeti in Oud-Javaansch metrum*. Groningen: Wolters.  
1937 *Jawaansch leesboek; Vier verhalen uit de oudere Javaansche letterkunde*. Amsterdam: Paris.
- Priyono  
1938 *Sri Tanjung; Een Oud Javaansch verhaal*. 's-Gravenhage: Nederlandse boek- en steendrukkerij voorheen H.L. Smits. PhD thesis, Leiden University.
- Puaksom, Davisakd  
2008 *The pursuit of Java; Thai Panji stories, Melayu lingua franca and the question of translation*. PhD thesis, National University of Singapore. [Unpublished.]
- Pucci, I.  
1985 *Bhimaswarga; A Balinese journey of the soul*. New York: Harper and Row.

| Bibliography

Quaritch Wales, H.G.

- 1951 *The making of Greater India; A study in South-East Asian culture change.* London: Quaritch.
- 1953 *The mountain of God; A study in early religion and kingship.* London: Quaritch.
- 1974 *The making of Greater India; A study in South-East Asian culture change.* London: Quaritch. [Third revised edition.]

Raffles, Th.S.

- 1817 *History of Java.* London: Black, Parbury and Allen, Murray. [Two vols.]

Ras, J.J.

- 1973 'The Panji romance and W.H. Rassers' analysis of its theme', *BKI* 129:411-56.
- 1991 'Konsep raja sakti di Jawa pada jaman kuno', in: Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *The art and culture of South-East Asia*, pp. 321-36. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- 1994 'Geschiedschrijving en de legitimiteit van het koningschap op Java', *BKI* 150:518-38.

Rassers, W.H.

- 1922 *De Pandji-roman.* Antwerpen: De Vos-Van Kleef.
- 1959 *Panji, the culture hero; A structural study of religion in Java.* The Hague: Nijhoff.

Rawson, Ph.

- 1993 *The art of Tantra.* London: Thames and Hudson. [Reprint of edition of 1978.]

Reid, Anthony

- 1988 *Southeast Asia in the age of commerce, 1450-1680; Vol. 1: The lands below the winds.* New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 1993 *Southeast Asia in the age of commerce, 1450-1680; Vol. 2: Expansion and crisis.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Resink, Th.A.

- 1967 'Belahan, of een mythe ontluisterd', *BKI* 123:250-66.

- Ricklefs, M.C.  
2006 *Mystic synthesis in Java*. Norwalk: East Bridge.
- Rigg, J. (ed.)  
1991 *The gift of water; Water management, cosmology and the state in South East Asia*. London: University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Robson, S.O.  
1969 *Hikajat Andaken Penurat*. The Hague: Nijhoff.  
1971 *Wangbang Wideya; A Javanese Panji romance*. The Hague: Nijhoff.  
1979 'Notes on the early kidung literature', *BKI* 135:301-22.  
1981a 'Java at the crossroads; Aspects of Javanese cultural history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *BKI* 137:259-92.  
1981b 'Notes on the cultural background of the *kidung* literature', in: Nigel Phillips and Khaidir Anwar (eds), *Papers on Indonesian languages and literatures; Cahier d'Archipel 13*, pp. 105-120. London: Indonesian Etymological Project; Paris: Association Archipel.  
1983 'Kakawin reconsidered; Toward a theory of Old Javanese poetics', *BKI* 139:291-319.  
1995 *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama) by Mpu Prapanca*. Leiden: KITLV Press.  
1999 'The cave scene or Bussaba consults the candle', *BKI* 155:579-95.  
2008 *Arjunawiwaha; The marriage of Arjuna of Mpu Kanwa*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Romondt, V.R. van  
1951 *Peninggalan-peninggalan purbakala di Gunung Penanggungan*. Jakarta: Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia.
- Roorda, T. and J.G.H. Gunning  
1896 *Roorda's Pandji-verhalen in het Javaansch*. Leiden: Brill.
- Rouffaer, G.P.  
1909 *NBG* 47:180-2. [Report about the Calcutta inscription.]

| Bibliography

Roxas-Lim, Aurora

- 1983 'Caves and bathing places in Java as evidence of cultural accommodation', *Asian Studies* XXI:107-44.
- 1993/94 'Irrigation systems in Java and Bali during the classical period', *PIA Malang* 1992:333-55.

Rubinstein, R.

- 2000 *Beyond the realm of the senses; The Balinese ritual of kakawin composition*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Santiko, Hariani

- 1986 'Mandala (Kadewaguruan) pada masyarakat Majapahit', *PIA* IV, IIb:149-69.
- 1990 'Kehidupan beragama golongan rsi di Jawa', in: Edi Sedyawati et al. (eds), *Monumen; Karya persembahan untuk Prof. Dr. Soekmono*, pp.156-171. Depok: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia. [Lembaran Sastra, Seri Penerbitan Ilmiah 11, Edisi Khusus.]
- 1994 'Early research on Sivaitic Hinduism during the Majapahit era', in: J. Miksic (ed.), *The legacy of Majapahit*, pp. 55-70. Singapore: National Heritage Board.
- 1998 'Religious life of rsis in the Majapahit era', in: M.J. Klokke and Th. De Bruijn (eds), *Southeast Asian archaeology 1996*, pp. 237-47. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull.
- 2000 'The religious function of narrative reliefs on Hindu and Buddhist sanctuaries in Majapahit period', in: W. Lobo and S. Reimann (eds), *Southeast Asian archaeology 1998*, pp. 177-88. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull.

Santoso, Soewito

- 1975 *Sutasoma; A study in Javanese Wājrayana*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- 2006 *The Centhini story; The Javanese journey of life*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Editions. [Based on the original Serat Centhini. Translated and condensed by Soewito Santoso; photographs by Fendi Siregar; additional text by Kestity Pringgoharjono.]

- Saputra, Karsono H.  
 1998 *Aspek kesastraan; Serat Panji Angreni*. Depok: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia.
- Sartono, S. and Bandonu  
 1995 'The destruction of Majapahit from the perspective of geology', in: John Miksic (ed.), *The legacy of Majapahit*, pp. 43-53. Singapore: National Heritage Board.
- Sayid, R.M. and J. Errington  
 1980 *Sejarah wayang beber; Bauwarna kawruh Wayang / Wayang encyclopedia; History of wayang beber*. Solo: Reksa Pustaka.
- Sayuti, Suminto A.  
 1999 'Cerita Panji sebagai sumber inspirasi kreatif', *Seni* 6:185-96.
- Sbeghen, Jo-Anne, also Jo Grimmond  
 2004 *Analysis of the sculpture of Candi Sukuh in Central Java; Its meanings and religious functions, 1437-1443 C.E.* PhD thesis, University of Queensland, Brisbane. [Unpublished.]
- Schleberger, E.  
 1986 *Die indische Götterwelt; Gestalt, Ausdruck und Sinnbild. Ein Handbuch der hinduistischen Ikonographie*. Köln: Diederichs.
- Schricke, B.  
 1957 *Indonesian sociological studies; Ruler and realm in early Java*. Part 2. The Hague and Bandung: Van Hoeve.
- Sedyawati, Edi:  
 1990 'The making of Indonesian art', in: J. Fontein, *The sculpture of Indonesia*, pp. 97-111. Washington: National Gallery of Art; New York: Abrams.  
 1993 'The dramatic principles of Javanese narrative temple reliefs', in: B. Arps (ed.), *Performance in Java and Bali; Studies of narrative, theatre, music and dance*, pp. 174-85. London: University of London, School of African and Oriental Studies.  
 1994 *Ganesa statuary*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

| Bibliography

- Setten van der Meer, N.C. van  
1979 *Sawah cultivation in ancient Java; Aspects of development during the Indo-Javanese period, 5th to 15th century.* Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press.
- Sidomulyo, Hadi, *also* Nigel Bullough  
2005 'Dimana letak Dharma Sang Rajapatni di Kamal Pandak?' in: *PIA X Yogyakarta*. [Unpublished proceedings.]  
2007 *Napak tilas perjalanan Mpu Prapanca*. Jakarta/Surabaya: Wedatama Widya Sastra.
- Slametmulyana  
1979 *Nagarakretagama dan tafsir sejarahnya*. Jakarta: Bhratara Karya Aksara.
- Snodgrass, A.  
1985 *The symbolism of the stupa*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.
- Soebadio, Haryati  
1971 *Jnanasiddhanta*. The Hague: Nijhoff.  
2000 'The *kakawin Nagarakrtagama*; A young king's passage through his realm', in: Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Society and culture of Southeast Asia; Continuities and changes*, pp. 221-43. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture / Aditya Prakashan.
- Soedjono, Tjokro  
1976 *Laporan hasil survai kepurbakalaan di Gunung Penanggungan; Berita penelitian arkeologi 1*. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional.
- Soekmono, R.  
1974 *Candi, fungsi dan pengertiannya*. PhD thesis, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta.  
1990 'Indonesian architecture of the Classical Period; A brief survey', in: J. Fontein, *The sculpture of Indonesia*, pp. 67-95. Washington: Asia Society; dist. New York Graphic Society.  
1995 *The Javanese candi*. Leiden: Brill.

- Soemantri, H.  
 2003 'The terracotta art of Majapahit', in: J. Miksic (ed.), *Earthenware in Southeast Asia*, pp. 146-61. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Stein Callenfels, P.V. van  
 1914 'Een bas-relief van het tweede terras van Panataran', *TBG* 56:344-52.  
 1916 'De bas-reliefs van het tweede terras van Panataran', *TBG* 57:219-40.  
 1919 'Verklaring van basrelief-series; A. De Bubuksah-serie aan het pendapaterras te Panataran. B. De basreliefs van het tweede terras van Tjandi Toempang', *TBG* 58:348-90.  
 1920 'Bijlage IX', *NBG 1919-1920* Deel LVII:191-3  
 1924 'De Krsnayana aan Panataran', *TBG* 64:196-206.  
 1925a *De Sudamala in de Hindu-Javaansche kunst*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff; Batavia: Albrecht & Co. [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen 66:1-180.]  
 1925b 'De Mintaraga-basreliefs aan de Oud-Javaansche bouwwerken', *Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indie* 1:36-53.
- Stephen, M.  
 2010 'The yogic art of dying, Kundalini yoga, and the Balinese pitra yadnya', *BKI* 166:426-74.
- Stuart-Fox, David J.  
 2002 *Pura Besakih; Temple, religion and society in Bali*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Stutterheim, W.F.  
 1923 'Oudjavaansche kunst', *BKI* 79:323-46.  
 1925 *Rāma-Legenden und Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesien*. München: Müller.  
 1926 'Oost-Java en de hemelberg', *Djawa* 6:333-49.  
 1929 'The meaning of the Kala-Makara ornament', *Indian Art and Letters* 3-1:27-52.

| Bibliography

- 1931 'The meaning of the Hindu-Javanese *candi*', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 51:1-15.
- 1932 'Een bijzettingsbeeld van koning Krtanagara in Berlijn?' *TBG* 72:715-26.
- 1933 'Oudheidkundige aantekeningen; XXXI; Sori, pederat en tekes', *BKI* 90:272-8.
- 1934 'Oudheidkundige aantekeningen; XLII; Is 1049 het sterfjaar van Erlangga?' *BKI* 92:196-202.
- 1935a 'An ancient Javanese Bhima cult', *Djawa* 15:37-64. [Reprint in Stutterheim 1956, pp. 107-43.]
- 1935b 'Enkele interessante reliefs van Oost-Java', *Djawa* 15:130-44.
- 1936a 'Voorloopig bericht omtrent enkele vondsten op den Penangogengan in 1935', *Djawa* 16:194-200.
- 1936b 'Een Pandji-kop uit de 15e eeuw', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* jg. 13:329-35.
- 1936c 'De dateering van eenige oost-javaansche beeldengroepen', *TBG* 76:249-320.
- 1937a 'Het zinrijke waterwerk van Djalatoenda', *TBG* 77:214-50.
- 1937b 'Oudheidkundige aantekeningen', *BKI* 95:397-424.
- 1937c 'De oudheden-collectie van Z.H. Mangkoenagoro VII te Soerakarta', *Djawa* 17:37-9.
- 1938 'The exploration of Mount Penanggungan, eastern Java', *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1936*, Vol XI, pp. 25-30. Leiden: Brill.
- 1940 'De ouderdom van de Dewaruci', *Djawa* 20:131-4.
- 1941 'Tjandi Djawi op een relief?' *TBG* 81:1-25
- 1948 *De kraton van Majapahit*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. [*VKI* 7.]
- 1956 *Studies in Indonesian archaeology*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- 1989 *Rama-legends and Rama-reliefs in Indonesia*. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Abhinav Publications.

Sulciman, Satyawati

- 1978 *The Pendopo Terrace of Panataran*. Jakarta: Proyek Pelita Pembinaan Kerpurbakalaan dan Peninggalan Nasional.

Supomo, S.

- 1972 "'Lord of the Mountains" in the fourteenth century *kakawin*', *BKI* 128:281-97.

- 1977 *Arjunawijaya; A kakawin of Mpu Tantular*. The Hague: Nijhoff. [Two vols.] [Bibliotheca Indonesica 14.]
- 1979 'The image of Majapahit in later Javanese and Indonesian writing', in: Anthony Reid and David Marr (eds), *Perceptions of the past in Southeast Asia*, pp. 171-85. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- 2000 'Kama in the Old Javanese *kakawin*', in: Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Society and culture of Southeast Asia; Continuities and changes*, pp. 263-81. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture/Aditya Prakashan.
- Sutrisno, Sulastin et al.
- 1983 *Panji; The image of the Nusantara hero*. Unpublished manuscript presented to the UNESCO regional conference on the Hero in Southeast Classical Literature; A Comparative Study. Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta 18-21 April.
- Tanudirjo, Daud Aris
- 1986 *Gejala millenarisme pada kepurbakalaan di Gunung Penganggungan; Kegiatan ilmiah arkeologi*. Yogyakarta: IAAI Komisariat Yogyakarta – Jawa Tengah.
- Tarling, N.
- 1992 *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia. Part 1: From early times to c. 1500*. Vol. 1. Cambridge/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, K.
- 1992 'The early kingdoms', in: N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia; Part 1: From early times to c. 1500*. Vol. 1, pp. 137-82. Cambridge/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Teeuw, A. and S.O. Robson
- 1981 *Kunjarakarna Dharmakathana; Liberation through the law of the Buddha; An Old Javanese poem by Mpu Dusun (with a contribution on the reliefs of Candi Jago by A.Ĵ. Bernet Kempers)*. The Hague: Nijhoff. [Bibliotheca Indonesica 21.]

| *Bibliography*

- Teeuw, A., S.O. Robson, Th.P. Galestin, P. Worsley and P.J. Zoetmulder  
1969 *Sivewarikalpa of Mpu Tanakung; An Old Javanese poem, its Indian source and Balinese illustrations.*The Hague: Nijhoff. [Bibliotheca Indonesica 3.]
- Terwen-de Loos, J.  
1971 'De Pandji-reliëfs van oudheid LXXV op de Gunung Bekel Penanggungan', *BKI* 127:321-30.
- Theuns-de Boer, G. and S. Asser  
2005 *Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821-1905); Fotopionier en theatermaker in Nederlands-Indië / photo pioneer and theatre maker in the Dutch East Indies; met bijdragen van / with contributions by Steven Wachlin.* Zaltbommel: Aprilis; Leiden: KITLV Press; Amsterdam: Huis Marseille.
- Tjandrasasmita, Uka  
1993 'Majapahit dan kedatangan Islam serta prosesnya', in: Dinas Pariwisata Daerah Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Jawa Timur (ed.), *700 tahun Majapahit; Suatu bunga rampai*, pp. 227-89. Surabaya: Wisnu Murti. [First edition 1992.]
- Turner, V.W.  
1969 *The ritual process; Structure and anti-structure.* Chicago: Aldine.
- Tuuk, H.N. van der  
1897-1912 *Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek.* Batavia: Landsdrukkerij. [Four vols.: Vol. I. 1897; Vol. II. 1899; Vol. III. 1901; Vol. IV. 1912.]
- Vetter, Valerie M.  
1984 'In search of Panji', in: S. Morgan and L.J. Sears (eds), *Aesthetic tradition and cultural transition in Java and Bali*, pp. 31-50. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin, Center for Southeast Asian studies.
- Vickers, A.  
1986 'History and social structure in ancient Java; A review article', *RIMA* 20:156-85.

- 1991 'Ritual written; The song of the Ligya, or The killing of the rhinoceros', in: Hildred Geertz (ed.), *State and society in Bali*, pp. 85-136. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- 2005 *Journeys of desire; A study of the Balinese text Malat*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Vlis, C.J. van der  
1843 'Proeve eener beschrijving en verklaring der oudheden en opschriften op Sockoch en Tjetto', *VBG* 19:1-128.
- Vries Robbé, A. de  
1984 'Teja in de beeldende kunst van Indonesië', *BKI* 140:276-88.
- Weatherbee, D.E.  
1968 *Aspects of ancient Javanese politics*. PhD thesis, University of Baltimore. [Unpublished.]
- Weijden, G. van der  
1981 *Indonesische Reisrituale*. Basel: Ethnologisches Seminar der Universität und Museum für Völkerkunde.
- Wiryamartana, Kuntara I.  
1990 *Arjunawiwaha; Transformasi teks Jawa kuna lewat tanggapan dan penciptaan di lingkungan sastra Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Duta Wacana University Press.
- Wisseman Christie, J.  
1983 'Raja and Rama; The classical state in early Java', in: L. Gesick (ed.), *Centers, symbols, and hierarchies; Essays on the classical states of Southeast Asia*, pp. 9-44. New Haven: Yale University. [Monograph Series No. 26, Southeast Asian Studies.]  
1986 'Negara, mandala, and despotic state; Images of early Java', in: D. Marr and A.C. Milner (eds), *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, pp. 65-93. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.  
1991 'States without cities; Demographic trends in Early Java', *Indonesiana* 52:23-40.  
1992 'Water from the ancestors; Irrigation in early Java and Bali', in: J. Rigg (ed.), *The gift of water; Water management, cosmology and the*

| Bibliography

- state in *South East Asia*, pp. 7-25. London: University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies.
- 2007 'Water and rice in early Java and Bali', in: P. Boomgaard (ed.), *A world of water; Rain, rivers and seas in Southeast Asian histories*, pp. 235-58. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- forthcoming 'Under the Volcano; Stabilizing the early Javanese state in an unstable environment', in: D. Henley and H. Schulte Nordholt (eds), *Southeast Asia in the longue durée*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.
- With, K.  
1922 *Java; Buddhistische und Brahmanische Architektur und Plastik auf Java*. Hagen: Folkwang Verlag.
- Wölflin, H.  
1915 *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. München: Bruckmann.
- Wolbers, Paul A.  
1993 'The *seblang* and its music; Aspects of an East Javanese fertility rite', in: B. Arps (ed.), *Performance in Java and Bali*, pp. 34-46. London: University of London, School of African and Oriental Studies.
- Wolters, O.W.  
1982 *History, culture, and region in Southeast Asian perspectives*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.  
1999 *History, culture, and region in Southeast Asian perspectives; Revised edition*. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, in cooperation with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.
- Woodroffe, J., *see* Avalon, A.
- Worsley, Peter  
1986 'Narrative bas-reliefs at Candi Surawana', in: D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner (eds), *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th centuries*, pp. 335-67. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

- 1991 'Mpu Tantular's kakawin Arjunawijaya and conceptions of kingship in fourteenth century Java', in: J.J. Ras and S.O. Robson (eds), *Variation, transformation and meaning: Studies on Indonesian literatures in honour of A. Teeuw*, pp. 163-90, Leiden: KITLV Press. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 144.]
- 1996 'On the ordering of the narrative reliefs at Candi Surowono, East Java, a response to Marijke Klokke, "On the orientation of ancient Javanese temples; The example of Candi Surowono", *IIAS Yearbook 1994*', in: Paul van der Velde (ed.), *IIAS Yearbook 1995*, pp. 220-3. Leiden: IAS.
- 2005 'Journeys and landscapes; Some preliminary remarks on ancient Javanese perceptions of their lived environment', in: Alexandra Haendel (ed.), *Old myths and new approaches; Interpreting ancient religious sites in Southeast Asia*, pp. 1-10. Melbourne: Monash Asia Institute Publications.
- 2006 'Cosmopolitan vernacular culture and illustrations of the Rama story at Candi Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan. Part 2; The marriage of the crown prince and the succession in polygamous royal households', in: H. Chambert-Loir and B. Dagens (eds), *Anamorphoses; Hommage à Jacques Dumarçay*, pp. 227-42. Paris: Les Indes Savantes.
- 2009 'Budaya bahasa daerah kosmopolitan dan relief-relief kisah Rama di Candi Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan, in: Henri Chambert-Loir (ed.), *Sadur; Sejarah terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, pp. 755-89. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Worsley, P., S. Supomo, Th. Hunter and M. Fletcher  
forthcoming *Mpu Monaguna, Sumanasântaka (Death by a Sumanasa flower); An Old-Javanese epic poem, its Indian source and Balinese illustrations*. Bibliotheca Indonesica, Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Ziesenis, A.  
1939 'Studien zur Geschichte des Çivaismus; Die Çivaitischen Systeme in der Altjavanischen Literatur. I', *BKI* 98:75-223.
- Zoete, B. de and W. Spies  
1983 *Dance and drama in Bali*. London: Faber and Faber.

| *Bibliography*

Zoetmulder, P.J.

- 1957 'Kawi and kakawin', *BKI* 113:50-69.
- 1965 'Die Hochreligionen Indonesiens', in: W. Stöhr and P. Zoetmulder, *Die Religionen Indonesiens*, pp. 223-345. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- 1971 'The wajang as a philosophical theme', *Indonesia* 12:85-96.
- 1974 *Kalangwan; A survey of Old Javanese literature*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- 1982 *Old-Javanese English dictionary*. Part I, II. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- 1983 *Kalangwan; Sastra Jawa kuno; Selayang pandang*. Jakarta: Djambatan.

## Index

- Acri, A..... 85
- Adiparwa* ..... 114, 212
- Agastyaparwa* ..... 110
- Airlangga, King.....33-5, 95, 100, 103,  
105, 111, 296-7
- Akshobhya..... 103, 156
- amerta* ..... 43, 81, 84-5, 113-8, 121,  
187, 212, 214, 228, 233-5, 238, 257,  
259, 266, 300, 308-9, 323
- Amitabha..... 156
- Amoghapasa..... 95
- Amoghasiddhi ..... 95, 156
- Ampel, Sunan, *see* Sunan Ngampel
- Ampel Gading..... 115
- Anandakanda-padma* .....83-6, 90, 120,  
235-6, 300, 309, 322, 332, 334
- Ande-Ande Lumut, *see* *Panji Ande-Ande Lumut*
- Angling Dharma* ..... 48, 50, 56, 124,  
143, 145, 147-50, 154, 225, 288,  
330, 339
- Angreni story, *see* *Panji Angreni*
- Angrok, King, *also* Arok.....33-5, 103
- Anushapati, King..... 95, 144
- anuttarayoga-tantra*..... 82, 89
- Appel, M..... 41-3
- Arabic..... 108
- Ardhanariswara* ..... 88, 90, 157, 250
- Arjuna .... 2, 9, 13, 23-4, 81, 111, 154,  
156-7, 192, 248-5, 261-2, 265-7,  
269, 302, 308-12, 314-5, 329
- Arjunawijaya*..... 46, 79, 86-7, 89,  
105-6, 119
- Arjunawiwaha*..... 2, 3, 10, 13, 21-4, 54,  
56, 59, 81, 111, 124, 128, 133-4,  
140-1, 143-5, 154-7, 192, 241-267,  
307, 309, 311-5, 324-5, 330,  
332-3, 341
- arupadhatu*..... 25
- arya*..... 67, 70-2, 313
- Asmarabangun, *see* *Panji Asmarabangun*
- asta brata*.....100, 313-4
- Avalon, A. .... 83
- babad* .....33, 109, 297
- Babad Daha-Kediri*.....44
- Bali ..... 26, 113
- literature .....26, 38, 85, 87
- kakawin*..... 87
- kidung* .....26-7, 36, 38
- paintings, art.. 23, 51, 65, 67, 69-70,  
248, 283, 337
- performance, *see also gambuh*  
and *Malat* .....49, 192-3
- ritual .....38, 41, 91, 115, 119, 203,  
212, 323
- temples, *see also pura* .....76-7, 163,  
211, 223
- wayang*.....21, 40, 114
- Balekambang, Candi..... 298, 307
- Banawa Sekar*.....91
- Bandung, ITB ..... 132, 319

- Banyuwangi..... 176
- bathing place, holy, *see also*  
*tirtha*..... 58-9, 78, 94, 115, 119-20,  
 161, 229, 239, 298, 307
- Bekel, hill..... 133, 293, 301, 310-1
- Belahan, Candi ..95, 119-21, 298, 307
- Berg, C.C. ....33-5, 38
- Berlin, Staatliche Museen  
 Dahlem..... 88
- Bern, Historisches Museum..... 73
- Bernet Kempers, A.J. ....9, 150, 162,  
 222-3, 339
- Bhima.....9, 22, 30, 54, 73, 81, 85,  
 90, 111, 114, 119, 121, 187, 246,  
 302, 308-10, 317-8, 320-1, 334, 343
- Bhimasuci* .....2, 81, 85, 111, 114, 119,  
 121, 133, 141, 187, 307-8,  
 321, 324-5, 330, 332
- Bhimaswarga*..... 114, 246
- Bhomakawya* .....27
- bhuta*.....274
- blangkon*.....60, 65-6
- Blitar..... 115, 134, 161, 169, 251, 272
- Bodhisattwa..... 79, 95
- Borobudur..... 8-9, 25, 57, 65, 75-6,  
 86, 152, 155, 276, 282
- Bosch, F.D.K. ....6, 69
- Brahma..... 78, 165
- brahmana / brahman / brahmin*..55, 101,  
 105, 150, 213-4
- Brandes, J.L.A. ....8, 14, 71-2, 339
- Brantas ..... 99, 302, 311
- Bubukshah and Gagak Aking* ..... 22, 24,  
 81, 132
- at Candi Panataran ..... 127, 174,  
 178, 181-3, 201, 206-7, 234
- at Candi Surowono .....24, 128, 140,  
 241-2, 251-3, 257, 262-5,  
 330, 333, 341
- Buddha.... 73, 79-80, 82, 95, 170, 276
- Buddhism ..... 10, 16, 78-82, 86, 89,  
 155, 207, 328
- Bujangga Manik*.....94-5, 109, 171, 211,  
 297
- Bussaba ..... 26
- cakra*..... 83-4, 235, 322-3, 332
- Calcutta stone .....296-7
- Cambodia..... 26, 34
- candi* .....9-10, 15, 21, 25, 76-7, 86-7
- candi bhasa*.....86
- Candrakirana ..... 27-9, 32-4, 36,  
 39-46, 66, 98, 104, 138, 186, 192,  
 198, 208, 237, 303, 308, 328, 334
- caste system ..... 101
- Centhini, Serat* ..... 4, 171, 221
- China / Chinese .....65, 96, 98-9,  
 107-8, 243
- Churning of the Ocean, *see also*  
*Samudramanthana*..... 114, 212, 235,  
 300
- Cirebon ..... 27, 70
- commemorative temple .....9, 77-8,  
 94-5, 138-40, 144, 157, 169,  
 243, 263
- copper plates ..... 106, 272-3, 287
- Creese, H. ....39, 46, 87-8, 250
- Daha..... 27-8, 34-5, 37, 98, 103, 276,  
 283, 286, 328-9, 334-5
- dalang*..... 48, 50, 288
- Dampati Lalangon* .....87

- Daud Aris Tanudirdjo..... 111  
Demak..... 109, 296  
*demang / demung*..... 49, 67  
*Desawarnana, see Nagarakertagama*  
*Devaruci, see Bhimasuci*  
Dewi Sri, *see* Sri, goddess  
*dharma*  
sanctuary ..... 95  
teaching, law ..... 119, 151, 157, 159,  
171, 176, 179, 234  
*dharma dalem / haji / lepas*..... 105, 170,  
297  
Durga ..... 79, 92, 184, 186, 260  
floppy-eared animal ..... 127, 173, 214  
Forge, A. .... 51-2, 329  
Gagak Aking, *see* *Bubukshah*  
Gajah Mada ..... 96  
Gajah Mungkur, Candi ..... 3, 63, 129,  
135, 226, 283, 290, 293, 295  
*gambang* ..... 192, 203  
Gambar Wetan, Candi ..... 132, 251,  
272  
*gambuh* ..... 28, 48-9, 62, 65  
Gambyok ..... 11, 55, 58, 64, 66-72,  
74, 131, 153, 183, 203, 313  
*gamelan*..... 48, 50, 192, 203  
*Ganacakra*..... 93  
*Ganapatilattwa* ..... 85  
Gandhara ..... 74  
Ganesha ..... 10, 21, 93  
Garuda ..... 22, 81, 95, 114, 165, 274,  
321  
*Garudeya* ..... 114, 130, 133  
Gayatri, *see also* Rajapatni..... 96  
*granthi* ..... 84, 235  
Grogol ..... 55, 66-74, 75, 203-4,  
318-21, 326  
Gunung Agung ..... 77  
*halus* ..... 57  
Hanuman ..... 22, 81, 92, 126, 134,  
222-7, 233, 235, 313-5, 321, 334  
*Harsa Wijaya*..... 27, 33, 38, 96, 303  
Hayam Wuruk, King ..... 34-5, 62, 80,  
91, 94, 96-7, 103-4, 107, 111, 118,  
128-9, 145, 166, 169-70, 207, 222,  
238-9, 242-3, 273, 297, 335  
hermitage ..... 16, 33, 58-9, 78, 94,  
96-7, 103, 105-6, 109-12, 119, 133,  
138, 140-1, 169, 176, 10, 192, 196,  
245, 260, 295-9, 302, 307, 309-10,  
315-6, 318, 324-5, 330, 332, 343  
Higher Knowledge / Wisdom ..... 59,  
114, 144, 187, 205-6, 213, 217,  
225, 233-5, 249, 307, 331-2  
*Hikayat Andaken Penurat*..... 31  
*Hikayat Cekelwanengpati*..... 32, 36  
*Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang*..... 11, 26,  
34, 37, 69-70  
*Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* ..... 98  
Hinduism ..... 16, 78-9, 81-2  
Holt, C. .... 7  
Hunter, Th. .... 7, 38, 45, 112  
*Ida* ..... 84, 91  
Indra ..... 88, 244, 248-9, 251, 255,  
257, 311, 314  
Inao / Ino / Inu ..... 26-8, 70  
*ishtadewata*..... 84, 86, 91, 120, 235,  
300, 322, 334  
Islam, *see also* Muslim ..... 2, 6, 66,  
107-9, 171, 176, 325, 328

- Jabung, Candi ..... 128, 198, 244, 246, 264
- Jago, Candi.....8, 10, 17, 21, 54, 56, 58, 62, 76, 80, 92, 105, 143-59, 183-4, 225, 228, 252-3, 262-4, 288, 328, 330, 339
- Jajagu / Jajaghu ..... 105, 144
- Jakarta, National Museum....72-3, 88, 116, 117, 132, 135, 320
- Janggala..... 27-9, 33-5, 44, 46, 98, 103-4, 328-9, 334-5
- jatilan*..... 49
- Jawi, Candi..... 58-9, 63, 76-8, 115-6, 124, 137, 297
- Jayakusuma, *see Panji Jayakusuma*
- Jayanagara, King ..... 95, 166
- Jayengtilem, *see Panji Jayengtilem*
- Jina-Buddha .... 79, 145, 148, 155, 158
- Jiwana..... 98
- Jnanasiddhanta*..... 85, 320
- Joko Dolog..... 103
- Jolotundo, Candi.....21, 54, 115-7, 119, 121, 173, 293, 296, 298-300, 303, 307, 311, 343
- Jurudch..... 29, 66
- kadewaguruan*..... 106, 295
- kadayan*..... 16, 51, 55, 66-74, 127, 131, 134, 140-1, 153, 175, 185, 190, 193, 199-200, 203, 231, 274, 284-6, 289, 313, 315-6, 324, 331, 333
- kain* ..... 52-57, 64
- kakawin* (genre).... 15, 20, 22, 23, 25-6, 29-30, 38-40, 45-7, 57, 74, 86-8, 91, 186, 329-40
- kala* ..... 21-2, 245, 274
- kaliyuga* ..... 110-1
- Kalika.....224-5, 260, 266
- Kama .....39, 86, 156, 191
- kamadhatu*.....25
- Kamal-pandak ..... 103-4
- Kameshwara, King..... 34
- kanuruhan* ..... 67
- karma* ..... 156, 158
- karshyan*, *see also kadewaguruan*.... 105-6, 295, 297, 298
- kasar* ..... 57
- kawi* (poet)..... 87
- Kawi-Arjuno, Mount ..... 77
- Kebo / *kebo*..... 35, 102
- Kedaton, Candi..... 114, 308
- Kediri (kingdom).... 20, 27, 33-5, 44, 79, 96-8, 103, 166, 272
- Kediri (town) ..... 24, 68, 131, 136, 194, 241, 308
- Keling..... 28, 35
- Kelud, Mount..... 125, 132, 161
- kemben* ..... 53, 55, 216
- Kendalisodo, Candi ..... 2, 11, 17, 58, 63, 67, 75, 85, 113, 116, 120, 133, 141, 293-310, 324-26, 329-30, 332, 343
- kendi* ..... 113
- Kertanagara, King..... 78, 80, 82, 88, 90, 96, 103, 105, 144
- Kertarajasa, King..... 27, 95-6, 130
- Kertolo ..... 66, 68, 70, 72-4, 132
- Kesimantengah, Candi ..... 115-6, 212
- ketu*... 55, 175, 188, 192, 194, 200, 281
- Kidal, Candi ..... 76, 114
- kidung* (genre)..... 15, 22-3, 25-6, 29-30, 38-9, 45, 82, 88, 186, 193, 203-4, 264, 290, 329, 331, 334
- Kidung Sunda*..... 34-5
- Kili Suci ..... 29, 33, 297, 318
- Kirana ..... 34

- Klokke, M.J. .... 10, 20, 52, 77, 145  
*Korawasrama*.....81  
*kraton*..... 28, 53, 58, 66, 70, 100-1,  
107-8, 150, 243, 273  
Krishna.....23, 30, 51, 62, 126,  
150, 154, 157, 218, 223, 225-8, 233,  
237-8, 290, 332  
*Krishnayana*.....8, 22-3, 53, 58, 62,  
124, 126, 139, 267, 290, 329-30,  
332, 340  
Candi Jago..... 145, 154, 157  
Candi Panataran Main  
Temple ..... 165, 218, 221-8, 233-5  
*krishatriya*..... 24, 35, 38, 45, 101-2, 112,  
238, 249-50, 257, 261-5, 267, 286,  
290, 309, 315, 324-5, 329, 333-5  
Kulke, H..... 97  
Kumbhakarna.....56, 134, 228, 313-4  
Kundalini ..... 83-5, 90-2, 120, 219,  
228, 233, 235-6, 300, 309,  
322-3, 332  
*Kunjarakarna*..... 62, 82, 85, 92, 124,  
225, 330  
Candi Jago..... 145-157, 339  
Kuripan, *see also* Janggala .....27, 34-5,  
37, 103, 286  
Lembu / *lembu*..... 35, 102  
Lakshmi.....40-1, 79, 114  
*langö*..... 20, 30, 38-9, 59, 86-8, 120,  
267, 299, 310, 337  
Lasem..... 35, 98  
Leiden, Kern Institute..... 256, 280,  
282-3, 308, 311, 314, 340, 342  
Leiden, Museum Volkenkunde  
(National Museum of  
Ethnology) ..... 74, 219  
*lingga*..... 43, 81, 92, 106, 116-8, 238,  
300, 323  
*lingga-yoni*..... 92, 117, 196  
local genius.....7-8, 21  
Locana..... 79, 90  
Lord of the Mountains ... 118, 169-70,  
238, 298  
Loro-Blonyo ..... 41  
Loro Jonggrang, *see* Prambanan  
love-in-enjoyment / love-in-  
separation .....88, 204, 234, 257,  
259, 285, 331  
*macapat*.....48  
magicism ..... 6, 9, 22  
*Mahabharata*..... 22, 54, 81, 114, 154,  
171, 178, 311, 315  
Mahameru ..... 114-5, 297  
Majapahit.....2-5, 8, 13-17, 25-7, 29,  
33, 35, 44-7, 53, 67, 69, 78-81,  
93-112, 137, 166, 169-70, 243, 273,  
286, 296, 299, 309, 313-4, 316,  
319-21, 325, 328, 334-5, 337, 340  
Mahayana-Buddhism..... 78-9, 155  
*makara* ..... 120  
Malang .....5, 27, 60, 73, 115, 144  
*Malat, Panji*..... 28-9, 34, 36-7, 47,  
67, 203  
*manawing, sang*..... 186, 200  
*mandala*  
group of sanctuaries..... 106, 112,  
295, 298, 302, 310, 316, 324  
political structure..... 97, 293  
Tantric diagram.....10, 75, 79, 89-90,  
155, 213, 293, 339  
*mangilala drawya haji*..... 100-1  
*Manik Maya*..... 41-2

- mantri-her-haji*.....105  
 Marco Polo..... 99  
 Martalangu..... 70, 131  
 Matahun..... 35, 98, 129  
 Mataram ..... 98  
 Menak Jinggo, Candi..... 58, 63, 100,  
 130, 135  
 Mendut, Candi..... 57  
 Meru..... 9, 75, 85, 90, 111, 114-8,  
 120, 126, 166, 176, 178, 212-3, 223,  
 235, 238, 297, 300, 309  
*meru*..... 76, 223  
 Middle Javanese (language)..... 23, 31,  
 36, 288  
 Mirigambar, Candi ..... 17, 48, 50,  
 57, 62-3, 67-8, 71-2, 131, 140, 196,  
 231, 252, 271-91, 316, 319, 321,  
 329, 331, 333, 342  
 Mojokerto..... 96, 320  
*moksha*..... 78, 120, 181-2, 207  
 Moluccas ..... 99  
 Mpu Kanwa..... 248  
 Mpu Prapanca ..... 80, 97, 104,  
 170, 178  
 Mpu Tanakung ..... 112  
 Mpu Tantular..... 79, 87  
*Muladhara* ..... 83-4  
 Munandar, A.A. .... 11, 106, 111  
 Muslim, *see also* Islam ..... 66, 68, 91,  
 99, 107-10, 296, 298  
 Muslim tombstones..... 68, 108  
 mythological stories..... 23, 25, 51, 74,  
 138-41, 154, 227, 252, 290,  
 310, 324, 329-31  
*naga*..... 84, 115, 120, 165, 173, 179,  
 184, 210, 212, 230  
*naga king* ..... 185-88, 190, 202, 206-7  
*Nagarakertagama* ..... 35, 49, 60, 62, 67,  
 80, 90-1, 93-8, 101  
 Nawaruci, *see Bhimasuci*  
*ngelmu*..... 4  
 Ngronakung, *see Panji Ngronakung*  
 Nini Towong ..... 53  
*nirwana*..... 78-9  
*Nitisastra* ..... 60, 110  
 Niwatakawaca ..... 128, 157, 227, 249,  
 252-3, 261-2, 267, 314-5  
*nyadran*..... 91  
 O'Brien, K. .... 89, 91, 150, 152,  
 155-6, 158  
 Old Javanese, language and  
 literature ..... 4, 16, 20, 22-3, 27,  
 36, 38, 43, 48-9, 53, 58-60, 79,  
 81, 85-6, 91, 93, 96, 113, 119,  
 310, 320, 331-2  
 Paguhan ..... 35, 98  
 Palah..... 165-6, 169-71  
*Pamancangah*..... 35  
 Pamotan ..... 35, 242-3  
*panakawan*..... 21, 53-5, 64, 66-7, 74  
 (details in case studies)  
 Panataran, Candi..... 6, 8, 11, 13, 15,  
 17, 21-2, 41, 52-9, 62, 67-8, 75-7,  
 81, 85, 95, 102, 115-6, 119-20, 125-  
 7, 139, 157, 161-239, 244, 246, 252-  
 3, 262, 264, 267, 275, 282, 284-5,  
 309, 315-6, 319, 329-33, 336, 339  
 Pandawa..... 30, 54, 81, 249  
 Pandawa, Candi..... 311, 316  
*pangkwan*..... 40  
 Panjalu ..... 29, 46, 103-4  
 Panji stories  
*Panji Ande-Ande Lumut*..... 27

- Panji Angreni* .....27, 29, 31, 34  
*Panji Asmarabangun*.....27  
*Panji Jayakusuma*..... 26, 27, 31, 33-4,  
37, 44, 303, 306  
*Panji Jayengtilem*..... 27, 31  
*Panji Ngronakung*.....27  
*Panji Waseng Sari*.....27, 28, 131,  
276-8, 281, 285, 289  
*Panji Wangbang Wideya*.....27, 31, 36,  
39-40, 186  
*Panji Wijayakrama-Rangga-Lawe* ..... 26  
*Pararaton*..... 26, 35, 95-7, 242  
*Parthayajna* ..... 56-8, 124, 144-5,  
154-7, 330  
Parwati ..... 172  
*patapan*, *see also pertapaan* ..... 106, 295,  
298  
*patih*..... 67  
Pawitra ..... 105, 296-7, 299  
Pawwan-awwan..... 98  
*pepujaan*..... 75, 109, 112, 133-4, 295,  
302, 304-6, 308-10, 316, 318, 324-5  
Penampihan, Candi ..... 106, 115  
Penanggungan, Mount..... 7, 11, 33,  
63, 69, 75-7, 105-6, 110-1, 115-6,  
118, 124, 129, 132-4, 140, 283, 290,  
293-326, 335, 342-3  
*pendopo* ..... 59, 127, 163-5, 178, 184,  
186, 194, 214  
*pengabdi dalem*.....53  
*pertapaan*..... 106, 112, 133, 295, 302,  
307, 309-10, 342  
*petirtaan*, *see also tirtha* ..... 119, 164, 166  
*Pinggala*..... 84, 91  
*pitra yadnya*.....91-2  
Poerbatjaraka, R.M.Ng. ....9, 11, 33-6,  
68-70  
Pollock, S..... 112  
post-mythological stories..... 23, 25,  
51, 54, 76, 138-41, 154-5, 201, 204,  
228, 237, 252, 263, 284-5, 290, 310,  
321, 324, 329-30  
*pradakshina* .....21, 57, 124, 126, 128,  
130-1, 144, 165, 210, 214, 222, 242,  
248, 266, 274, 341  
Prambanan, Candi..... 6, 22, 49, 66,  
227  
*pranapratishtha* ..... 84, 91  
Prasanta..... 29, 66  
*prasawya* ..... 21, 57, 124, 126-8, 130,  
144, 164-5, 174, 206, 216, 222,  
242, 248  
*pratishtha* ..... 91, 165  
Prtiwi..... 79  
Pucangan.....33, 105, 296-7, 299  
*pudak*..... 187-8  
Pugawat..... 297  
*puja*..... 93  
Punta..... 29, 66, 70  
*pura*, *see also* Balinese temple ..... 77,  
163, 211, 223  
Quaritch Wales, H.G. .... 7, 110  
Raden Galuh.....27-8, 276, 282, 286  
Raden Wijaya, King .....33-4, 38, 96,  
303  
Raffles, Th. .... 116, 296  
Rahwana .....56, 313-5  
Rajapatni..... 91, 96, 104  
Rajasnanagara, King ..... 96  
*raket*..... 49, 61-2  
*rakshasa* ..... 173  
Rama.....9, 23, 30, 51, 111, 134,  
223-4, 227-8, 237-8, 313, 315

- Ramayana*.....6, 9, 22, 29, 49, 54, 56,  
81, 100, 111, 19, 340, 325,  
330, 333-4  
Candi Panataran ..... 126, 139, 165,  
221-8, 235, 267  
Candi Yudha ..... 134, 141, 313-5  
*rangga*..... 67, 70, 282, 313  
Ranggawarsita..... 26  
Ras, J. ....32, 36, 43-4, 46  
Rassers, W.H. ....31-3, 42, 46  
Ratih..... 39, 156  
Ratnasambhawa..... 156  
*reyong*..... 64, 127, 130, 136, 193-4,  
197, 202, 206, 208  
Rimbi, Candi ..... 130, 37, 194, 198  
*ringgit*..... 54  
Robson, S.O. .... 36-9, 47-9, 103, 198,  
250, 341  
*rshi*.... 55, 105-6, 109, 111-2, 175, 201,  
205, 207, 234, 297, 325  
*rshi-saïwa-sogata* ..... 105-6  
Rukmini..... 218, 223, 228, 237-8, 332  
*rupadhatu*..... 25  
*ruwat* ..... 120, 261  
*sadhaka*.....82  
Sadono ..... 41, 42-4, 334  
*Sahasrara* .....83-5, 235, 300, 309  
*saïwa* ..... 105-6  
Saiwism .....16, 78-81, 207, 328  
Sakti.....79, 84, 89, 117, 120,  
156, 205, 219, 228, 233, 235, 250,  
262, 289, 315, 331-2, 334  
*sakti* ..... 82, 89, 94, 120, 211, 238-9,  
250, 263, 335  
*samsara* ..... 78  
*Samudramanthana*, see also Churning of  
the Ocean..... 114-5, 117, 120,  
212, 300  
*Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan* ..... 85  
*Sang Satyawati* ..... 13, 119, 127, 130,  
176-9, 180-1, 203, 206  
*sanggul* ..... 53  
Sanskrit.....42, 85, 88, 102, 114, 119,  
242, 245, 273, 296-7  
Sanskrit cosmopolis..... 112  
Saraswati ..... 79  
Sarwwadharmma..... 106  
Satyawati, Sulciman..... 11, 49, 59,  
69, 174  
*sawah*..... 43, 172  
Sbeghen, J. .... 93-4, 111-2, 116-7,  
119-20  
Schrieke, B. .... 104, 108, 110, 112  
Sekartaji, *also* Sekartadji..... 27, 44  
Selokelir, Candi and Panji statue ..... 3,  
9, 11, 17, 63, 72, 131-2, 137,  
141, 276, 293, 316-26, 328,  
333, 337, 342  
Selomangleng, Goa (Tulungagung  
and Kediri) ..... 13, 24  
Semar .....53-4, 66, 70, 133  
*sembah*.....5, 127, 150, 152, 183,  
185, 194, 196, 198-9  
*Serat Kanda*.....33-4, 44  
Sidapaksa ..... 14, 23, 54, 62-3, 128,  
140, 199, 203, 210, 244-67,  
322, 329, 333  
*sima* ..... 99-100  
Singasari..... 20, 33-5, 38, 77, 79-80,  
82, 90, 95-8  
Singosari, Candi..... 76, 105, 219

- Sinta, Candi ..... 69, 311
- Sirah Kencong ..... 115, 212
- Sita ..... 228, 237, 315
- Siwa  
 god..... 43, 56, 76, 78-81, 84, 87, 89,  
 95, 111-2, 114-5, 117-8, 120-1, 129,  
 132, 156, 161, 165-6, 170, 172, 205,  
 219, 228, 233, 219, 235, 238, 249-  
 51, 257, 262, 289, 298, 315, 331-2  
 Siwa semen..... 43, 117-8, 238, 300
- Siwa-Buddha..... 80, 95, 118, 170
- Sivaratrikalpa* ..... 19, 86, 112
- Smara ..... 88
- Smaradahana* ..... 34
- Soekmono ..... 9-10, 76, 95, 163, 165,  
 170, 303
- sogata*, see also *rshi-saiva-sogata* ..... 207
- Songgoriti, Candi..... 119
- sori*..... 61-2
- sraddha* ..... 17, 91-3, 104, 114, 144,  
 243, 335
- Srengga, King ..... 125, 166-9, 239
- Sri, goddess ..... 36, 40-5, 79, 89, 114,  
 172, 237, 286, 289, 328, 334
- Sri Tanjung (protagonist in *Sri Tanjung*  
 story) ..... 59, 198-9, 216, 244-8,  
 251-67
- Sri Tanjung* (story) ..... 14, 22-4, 54, 82,  
 127-8, 140, 174, 176, 186-7, 341
- Candi Jabung, see Jabung
- Candi Panataran ..... 198-9, 201-3,  
 205-6, 216, 283-341
- Candi Surowono ..... 242-8, 251-69,  
 329-30, 333, 341
- Sri-Sadono ..... 42-4, 334
- Stein Callenfels, P.V. van ..... 8, 20-1,  
 58, 164, 176, 178-80, 203, 340
- Sudamala* ..... 8, 24, 54, 82, 92, 120, 133,  
 176, 184, 186-7
- Sudhanakumara-Awadana* ..... 54, 145,  
 152-4, 183
- Sugriwa ..... 134, 224, 313
- Sukuh, Candi ..... 9-10, 52, 54, 76, 81,  
 92-4, 112, 114, 116-21, 133-4,  
 137, 184, 196
- Suma Oriental ..... 98
- Sumanasantaka* ..... 40, 53, 86-8, 194
- Sumatra..... 33, 97
- Sumeru, Mount..... 77
- Sunan Ngampel ..... 108
- Sunan Pakubuwana ..... 26
- Sundanese ..... 109
- sunya*..... 120
- supit urang*..... 23, 51, 54, 227, 308, 330
- Supomo, S. .... 7, 39, 53, 87-8, 105-6,  
 111, 118
- Suprabha..... 249-50, 253, 255, 262,  
 312, 315
- Surabaya ..... 71, 96, 103, 108, 128,  
 132, 242, 293
- Museum Mpu Tantular..... 135
- Surakarta..... 26, 41, 53, 70, 101
- Surowono, Candi ..... 10, 13, 17,  
 21, 24, 56-7, 59, 62-3, 77, 81, 128,  
 140, 156, 181, 187, 192, 198, 227,  
 241-69, 283, 285-6, 308, 312, 314,  
 316, 322, 329-30, 332-3, 341
- Susumna*..... 84, 91
- Sutasoma*..... 79, 86-7, 89-90, 106, 119,  
 157, 182
- Tantra..... 91, 233
- tantra* (texts) ..... 82-6, 120

- Tantri* stories / reliefs ..... 10, 52, 62,  
128, 131-2, 241, 246, 267,  
272, 285-7, 329-30, 333-4
- Candi Jago.....124, 145-7, 150, 154,  
156-7
- Candi Panataran ..... 126-7, 173,  
213-4, 220, 229, 231, 236
- Tantric (doctrine, texts, practice  
etc) ..... 9-10, 79-80, 82-93, 106,  
117-19, 151, 156-8, 169, 204-5,  
207, 209-10, 218, 223, 225, 228,  
233-5, 237, 239, 250-1, 259, 262-3,  
267, 285-6, 289-300, 308, 314-5,  
322-5, 331-5, 341
- Tantrism..... 16, 39, 43, 78, 82-93,  
120, 239, 262, 323
- Tantu Panggelaran*..... 81, 114-5, 212-3,  
297, 300
- tarkka* ..... 91
- tekes* ..... 60-2, 203
- tetanggalan* ..... 65, 108
- Thailand..... 26, 34, 108
- Tigowangi, Candi ..... 92, 192, 184
- Tiksnawati ..... 42
- Tikus, Candi..... 115-6, 119
- tirtha* ..... 119-21, 164, 168, 172-3,  
179, 205, 213, 217, 228-9, 231-2,  
236, 238, 259, 266, 296, 300,  
307, 309, 316
- Tomé Pires ..... 98
- topeng*, see also *wayang topeng* ..... 60
- Trawas..... 5, 43, 116, 294
- Trenggana, Sultan..... 109
- Tribhuwana, Queen..... 130, 166
- Trowulan..... 2, 96, 101, 108, 115, 130  
136, 246, 272, 300
- Museum Majapahit..... 95, 129, 135,  
226, 290, 318
- Tumapel ..... 34, 98, 103, 105
- tumenggung*..... 67
- Tumpang..... 144
- upawita* ..... 56, 319-20
- Vickers, A. .... 26, 30, 32, 35, 37-9,  
47-8, 69, 248, 276
- vina*..... 113, 303-4
- volcano ..... 118, 161
- Wairocana .... 62, 79, 82, 90, 113, 124,  
145, 148-52, 154-5, 158, 225, 330
- waisya* ..... 101
- wajra* ..... 92
- Wajradhatu mandala*..... 155
- wanasrama*..... 106, 295
- Wangbang Wideya, see *Panji Wangbang  
Wideya*
- Wargasari* ..... 31
- Waringin Pitu ..... 107
- Waringin Sapta ..... 100
- Waseng Sari, see *Panji Waseng Sari*
- waterplace, see *bathing place, holy*
- wayang* ..... 4, 19, 21, 31, 42, 54, 65,  
276, 288-9, 318, 337
- Balinese..... 23, 114
- beber*..... 27, 28, 48, 49
- gedhog*..... 27, 28, 65, 288
- golek*..... 49
- kulit* ..... 4, 27, 48-9, 66, 192
- style ..... 21, 54, 73, 148, 303
- topeng*..... 27-8, 48-9
- Wayang, Candi..... 129, 283, 295
- Weatherbee, D.E. .... 41, 44, 47, 89,  
97-8, 101
- Wengker ..... 34-5, 98, 107-8, 128,  
242-3, 263

- Wibhisana ..... 313-4  
*widadari*..... 56, 134, 228, 248-50,  
 255, 257, 262, 269, 302,  
 307, 309, 311-2, 314-6  
 Wijayakrama, *see Panji Wijayakrama-  
 Rangga Lawe*  
 Wijayarajasa, King..... 107, 242-3, 263  
 Wikramawardhana, King ..... 273, 287  
*wiku*..... 91  
 Wilis, Mount..... 3, 106, 110, 115, 181  
 Wilwatikta ..... 97  
 Wishnu .... 36, 40-5, 78-9, 89, 95, 114,  
 165, 237, 286, 289, 328, 334  
 Wishnuwardhana, King ..... 78, 95,  
 105, 124, 144  
 Wolter, O.W. .... 8, 97, 101  
 Worsley, P. .... 4, 45, 53, 87, 89, 242,  
 248, 251-2  
*Wrhaspatitattva* ..... 85  
*Wrttasancaya*..... 112  
*wyakarana*..... 91  
*yantra*..... 20, 84, 86-7, 89, 91, 267, 299  
*Ying-yai Sheng-lan* ..... 65, 98-9, 108  
 yoga ..... 82-4, 86-7, 89-91, 119, 170,  
 250, 267, 323  
*yogi / yogin* ..... 82, 84, 86, 117, 235,  
 249-50, 322  
 Yogyakarta ..... 31, 37, 53, 101, 121  
*yoni, see lingga-yoni*  
 Yudha, Candi ..... 56, 67, 68, 71-2, 75,  
 134, 141, 231, 253, 284, 295,  
 310-6, 324-5, 331, 333, 342  
 Yudhishtira ..... 54, 153, 178  
 Zoetmulder, P.J. .... 4, 20, 26, 28, 38,  
 85-6