

From Laṅkā Eastwards

Andrea Acri, Helen Creese, Arlo Griffiths

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FROM LAṄKĀ EASTWARDS

The Rāmāyaṇa in the Literature and Visual Arts of Indonesia



Edited by | Andrea Acri | Helen Creese | Arlo Griffiths

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V E R H A N D E L I N G E N
VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT
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Adrian Vickers is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Sydney, where he is Director of the Australian Centre for Asian Art and Archaeology. He completed his PhD at the University of Sydney, in 1986, under the supervision of Prof. Peter Worsley. A revised version of that thesis was published as *Journeys of Desire* (2005). His books include *Bali: A paradise created* (1989), and *A history of modern Indonesia* (2005). His most recent book was *Peradaban pesisir* ('Coastal civilisation', 2009). His *Balinese art: Paintings and drawings of*

Bali 1800–2010, will be published by Tuttle at the end of 2011. He has previously worked at the University of Wollongong and the University of New South Wales, and held visiting positions at the University of Indonesia, Udayana University, and Leiden University. He holds a series of Australian Research Council grants (Discovery and Linkage) looking at Indonesian-Australian connections, labour and industry in Southeast Asia, and Balinese art.

Introduction

The Australia-Netherlands Research Collaboration (ANRC) announced in 2008 a call for applications for funding of workshops which must feature collaboration between Australian and Dutch scholars, and must actively involve scholars / experts from Southeast Asia, and had to take place in the Netherlands, Australia or Southeast Asia. The announcement of this call coincided with the latest round of cost-cutting measures in the humanities at Leiden University, one of whose results was the abandonment of the last vestiges of the academic tradition, dating back to deep in the nineteenth century, of teaching and research in Old Javanese. In Australia, Old Javanese studies as such had already disappeared from all the Universities in which they were previously established. In Indonesia, enrolments were continuing to decline at Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta and Universitas Gadjah Mada in Yogyakarta, while Universitas Udayana on Bali seemed to be the one positive exception in this regard.

It seemed that the call for applications announced by the ANRC would constitute an excellent opportunity to do something positive for the field of Old Javanese studies, by bringing together a number of international and Indonesian scholars—either affirmed academics, independent researchers or enthusiastic recent arrivals in the field, including myself—from a range of disciplinary fields to hold an academic workshop, which would also provide a context for exploring new ways of structuring teaching and research in Old Javanese philology and related fields, and have a significant impact on capacity building. This is why I proposed to three senior academics in the Netherlands (Arlo Griffiths, my PhD supervisor, now at EFEO Jakarta), Australia (Helen Creese) and Indonesia (Titik Pudjiastuti) the idea to submit an application, in the hope that our joint collaboration would stand a good chance in a competitive selection process. We were indeed able to find the ANRC willing to act as main sponsor of a workshop, which was held at the premises of the KITLV branch in Jakarta on May 26th–28th 2009, and which was made possible by substantial extra contributions from the EFEO and the Stichting J. Gonda Fonds of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences. The theme of the workshop was *The Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa: Text, History, Culture*.

I proposed this theme inspired by something Prof. Andries Teeuw had recently told me during one of our reading sessions of Old Javanese texts, namely that the time was ripe for a conference on the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*—the first to be ever organized. Indeed it seemed to me only natural to devote our workshop to the Old Javanese Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*, for the text holds a unique position in the literary heritage of Indonesia. This fascinating Kakawin, now generally regarded as the earliest Old Javanese work of poetry (commonly assumed to date from the ninth century AD), has played a special role as a catalyst in various domains of the cultural history of the Archipelago. The poem has retained a remarkable vitality through the centuries, inspiring many forms of artistic expression not only in the domain of literature but also of the visual and performing arts, from the reliefs of the majestic Central Javanese temples to modern puppet-show performances.

The Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*, which has survived to us through a number of palm-leaf manuscripts from Java and Bali, displays several unique features. These features, including a virtuoso array of Sanskrit-derived metrical patterns and an idiosyncratic use of the Old Javanese language, set the poem apart from other Old Javanese belletristic works, which mostly originated in East Java in the period from the eleventh to the sixteenth century AD. Furthermore, the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa* is among the very few Old Javanese texts for which a specific Sanskrit prototype could be found, namely the difficult Sanskrit poetic work *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (circa seventh century AD), itself a version of the great *Rāmāyaṇa* epic, whose oldest extant version is ascribed to Vālmīki (circa sixth–first century BC). The Old Javanese poem, far from being a mere translation, shows the features of an original and skillful work of re-elaboration. The text, documenting a fascinating interaction between linguistic and cultural elements of the Sanskritic tradition with those indigenous to the Javanese setting, constitutes a paradigmatic example of the phenomenon of ancient translocal cultural exchange referred to since colonial times with the problematic but nonetheless convenient concept of 'Indianization'. It also poses interesting problems for concepts that have come into academic vogue more recently, most importantly Sheldon Pollock's idea of a 'Sanskrit Cosmopolis' and a 'Vernacular Millenium'.

It is no exaggeration to observe that crucial, and often controversial, issues within various academic fields relating to Indonesia involve the interpretation of facts drawn from the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Old Javanese poem indeed constitutes a source of primary importance for the historical study of ancient Central Java. But the poem itself was clearly not the only version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story that circulated in Indonesia at that time. The story as a whole, as well

as specific episodes, have continued to inspire new literary production through the ages. Moreover, beyond the domain of literature, the story has inspired some of the most exquisite examples of relief sculpture on Javanese temples, and continues to inspire Indonesian artists even into the twenty-first century. In due recognition of these facts, the workshop allotted time to discussion of the relationship between the Kakawin as well as others texts and the monumental archaeological remains of Central and East Java, especially sculptural reliefs displaying scenes of the Rāma story. We further discussed the general problems connected with the dating and geographical setting of the text in relation to the archaeological remains, as well as with the political figures allegorically mentioned in *sarga*s 24–25, whose historical existence is only known from ancient inscriptions in Sanskrit and Old Javanese. And we also took into consideration Balinese literary and artistic production of more recent centuries inspired by the Rāma saga.

Far from being a mere display of old-fashioned bookish scholarship, the study of the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa* turns out to be highly relevant for achieving a better historically informed understanding of a variety of cultural, artistic and religious discourses of contemporary Indonesia. The text is very much alive in contemporary Bali, where it takes a position of great relevance as literature, as performance, as moral and religious handbook, et cetera. It was our hope that a new impulse to the research on the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*, and on the study of the rich Old Javanese textual heritage in general, would therefore throw new light on the fascinating transcultural intellectual dynamics that contributed to shaping the cultural heritage of Indonesia up to the present.

* * *

This volume includes a selection of nine of the twenty-one papers presented during the workshop, which saw participation from four scholars affiliated with Dutch academic institutions, five with Australian, seven with Indonesian, two with American institutions, and one with a French University, as well as two Dutch independent scholars. Nationalities represented were Indonesian, Australian, Dutch, American, Italian, Singaporean and German. An Indonesia-based scholar from the USA, Thomas Hunter, could not attend the workshop but submitted a paper for publication, which we were glad to accept in the volume as tenth contribution. One of the explicit conditions of the workshop funding received from the ANRC was the participation of Southeast Asian scholars, and the workshop indeed saw participation of seven Indonesian scholars, plus one Singaporean. One of the purposes of the ANRC workshop grants is capacity building, and so we were glad to count among these eight participants three

Southeast Asian students at graduate level. We regret that none of the five senior Indonesian scholars submitted a paper for publication.

During our workshop we confronted a noteworthy academic divide between what we may call the 'indonesianizing' and the 'indianizing' approaches to the study of ancient Indonesian culture. Indeed we had hoped that the workshop would contribute to overcoming contrasting viewpoints, emphasizing either indigenous or Indic elements and points of view, which have thus far characterized the study of ancient Indonesian cultural expressions, and try to revive the close interconnection once characterizing the fields of Sanskrit and Old Javanese studies, which has long since disappeared as a result of the increasing academic separation that the two have progressively undergone since the 1950s. In a way, one might consider some of the papers in this volume signs of such a revival, but one could also emphasize the fact that those studies that engage with Sanskrit and Sanskritic aspects of the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa* are indeed made by scholars whose academic background lies in Indian studies, while scholars who have been trained only in Indonesian studies still steer clear from engaging with such aspects. To the extent that this is more than a simple reflection of differing linguistic competences, we hope that this volume may contribute to placing a critical but open engagement with Indological knowledge (back) at the heart of Old Javanese studies.

Besides such programmatic concerns, we had to face the practical consequences of differing scholarly practices in dealing with matters of transliteration, transcription and spelling. We have decided to give virtually free rein to the authors' individual preferences, the resulting variability of usage being an eloquent reflection of the diversity of perspectives and scholarly backgrounds which it has been the purpose of this volume to give open forum.

Before we move on to briefly characterize the contents of the papers and to explain how we have tried to give coherence to the whole by the specific order in which we have presented the individual contributions, we may note here that we have unified the individual bibliographies to yield one general bibliography standing at the end of the volume. A list of abbreviations is to be found there too. We need mention here only the very frequently used abbreviation KR to denote the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*.

We have presented the papers in two parts, the first entitled *Old Javanese Kakawin and the Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*, the second *The Rāmāyaṇa at Caṇḍi Prambanan and Caṇḍi Panataran*. Part One starts with two papers giving general perspectives on Kakawin as a genre. Stuart Robson starts from a perspective internal to the genre, identifying a specific formal feature that might be

characteristic of this type of literature: the hymn of praise inserted at a critical juncture in the plot, which is indeed found in a majority of known Kakawins, including the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Wesley Michel, on the other hand, approaches the specificity of the Kakawin genre from the comparative perspective of Indian Kāvya literature and poetology (*alaṃkāraśāstra*), focusing in his comparison on poetic conventions, that is *topoi*, rather than on formal components such as figures of speech and prosody which have thus far dominated comparative Kakawin/Kāvya studies.

Part One then continues with two papers focusing directly on the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*. Thomas Hunter, with another comparative paper, continues in the footsteps of important earlier work by Christiaan Hooykaas in the analysis precisely of some of the formal components we have just alluded to: specifically the figure of speech called *yamaka* in *alaṃkāraśāstra*. The demonstration that this formal feature predominates in both the *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakawin and the Old Javanese Śiwagṛha inscription of 856 AD provides significant new evidence in support of the hypothesis that the Kakawin is contemporary with the inscription, an hypothesis originally developed by Walther Aichele on the basis of a study of the contents of both. The present writer, Andrea Acri, continues this line of content analysis, specifically the identification of allegorical meanings, whose use by the poet(s) had already been demonstrated by Aichele as a very important feature of the Kakawin. He focuses on two notoriously difficult passages from *sarga*s 24 and 25, and shows how these satirical passages bring into play such birds as the *kuvoṅ*, the *vidu* and the *pikatan* as allegorical alter egos of real-world figures, explaining that the poetical casting of birds in allegorical roles is a feature likely to have been adapted from Indian literature.

The following two papers move us away from the *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakawin, to the textual reception of the *Rāmāyaṇa* cycle in Bali from the sixteenth century to the present. Helen Creese offers an overview of the locally composed Kakawins inspired by the *Rāmāyaṇa* story. Despite the persistent popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakawin itself in Bali, the Old Javanese prose version of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* turns out to have been much more influential in Balinese Kakawin production, both as a source of themes and as a point of reference for themes left unexplored in that text but made the topic of a long stream of poetic compositions. These local Balinese Kakawins remain almost entirely unstudied, and the available manuscript sources are therefore presented in detail. Adrian Vickers takes up a Balinese painting to show how also locally produced prose (*parwa*) works, in this case the thus far unstudied *Kapiparwa*, were composed in Bali under inspiration from the *Rāmāyaṇa* cycle, and have themselves come to in-

fluence artistic production in the visual arts down to the present. Such Balinese works of literature and painting give expression to the local associations with the concept of *sakti*, that is 'spiritual power', which will provide the conceptual framework for Lydia Kieven's paper in part Two.

This second part opens with a paper by Arlo Griffiths, who presents a hypothesis which links the fact that Laṅkā is (evidently) a dominant theme in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakawin with the occurrence of the same toponym in contemporary inscriptions, to support the previously proposed idea that the reference to Laṅkā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakawin allude specifically to the Śaiva temple complex of Prambanan. He proposes the new hypothesis that this complex was indeed known as Laṅkapura in contemporary Java.

The following two papers then concentrate on the interpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on Caṇḍi Śiwa and Caṇḍi Brahmā at Prambanan, and the question as to which texts may have influenced the specific features of the sculptural composition. Cecelia Levin focuses on the episodes that display no influence from the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*, but whose source material can rather be identified in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. Roy Jordaan focuses on the interpretation of one specific episode, where the new identification of a 'girl from the sea' provides extra support for the heuristic value of the classical Malay *Hikayat Seri Rama* in the interpretation of the Prambanan reliefs. Both studies tend to show that other versions of the Rāma story rather than the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa* are likely to have been of influence in the Prambanan case. The reverse is true at Caṇḍi Panataran, where it is precisely this text which provides the most important 'script' for the visual narrative. Lydia Kieven analyses how and why Hanuman here came to assume the dominant role in the narrative, at the expense of Rāma, using the concept of *śakti* in a manner that seems to me, frankly, rather more local than this contributor's references to Indian sources might suggest.

All in all, we believe we have been able to present here a fair representation of the state of the art in the study of Kakawin in general and the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa* in particular, as also in the study of the role of the *Rāmāyaṇa* cycle in literary and sculptural production over the centuries, from its earliest manifestations in Java eastwards to present-day Bali.

Andrea Acri Canberra, 17 May 2011

Part I

Old Javanese Kakawin and the Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa

Hymns of Praise in Kakawins

The *Rāmāyaṇa* and Other Examples

Stuart Robson

It is now common knowledge that there is a particular link, or there are links, between Kakawin and religion. We owe this insight to P.J. Zoetmulder, who as early as 1954 wrote a paper on 'The Old Javanese Poet as Yogi' for the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists held in Cambridge in that year. In 1955 he published an Indonesian article under the title 'Kawi dan Kekawin' in Yogyakarta, and this was duly followed by an English translation, 'Kawi and Kekawin', which appeared in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (*BKI*) in 1957. However, now we always refer to the relevant section in Zoetmulder's *Kalangwan; A Survey of Old Javanese Literature*, which was published in 1974. Of course, I mean the paragraph 'Religio Poetae' (Zoetmulder 1974:173–86).

Hence there is no need to reiterate what has been said there. We accept the idea that in the opening passages of many Kakawins the poet gives a clear statement of his aims and methods in terms of yoga. But the subject of the connection between Old Javanese poetry and religion has moved on since then, with some writings by S. Supomo that deserve to be better known, namely the articles 'Kāma di dalam kekawin' (1985) and 'Kāma in Old Javanese Kakawin' (2000), which consider the aesthetic theory underlying this art form in religious terms.

At a certain time in the early 1970s, Romo Zoetmulder once said, while sipping his tea and crunching a *pèyèk kacang* in the Pasturan refectory, that if he had time after the dictionary he would write what might be called a 'theology of the Kakawins'. He would have been the ideal person to undertake that project, but as far as we know he did not get the time. It would have been interesting to see what he wanted to say on the subject.

In recent years I have had occasion to look again at a special passage in the Kakawin *Arjunawiwāha*, namely Cantos 10 and 11, which are actually quite difficult to interpret. This passage has been dubbed the 'Hymn to Śiwa', and

again the study of it has a respectable ancestry, as it was discussed at great length by C.C. Berg in 1933 in his article in the *Bijdragen*, 'De Çiwa-hymne van de *Arjunawiwāha*'. He included Balinese paraphrases, a Kidung version and Modern Javanese texts as well. I may perhaps be permitted to remind you of the setting within the story: Arjuna has been grappling with the hunter, in a dispute over the boar that they have both shot, when suddenly the hunter reveals himself as the highest form of Śiwa. At this point Arjuna utters these two short cantos in praise of the god. But before he can continue (*stuti nira tan tulus*), Śiwa interrupts him and replies, granting the boon that Arjuna had been focusing his yoga on: Śiwa gives him the powerful arrow Paśupati.

The significance of this passage, at least in the mind of later generations, seems to be underlined by the use made of it in Bali, as I observed during a modest spot of fieldwork there in the second half of 1971. It was precisely these words that were chanted in the context of a *dewayadnya*, ceremony for the gods, held in a temple there. This Kakawin is of course very well known in Bali, and the sentiments expressed in Cantos 10 and 11 were felt to be appropriate when greeting the gods descending from Heaven to attend the ceremony being held for their benefit in the temple.

We have just seen the Old Javanese term for the passage that Mpu Kaṇwa, the author of the *Arjunawiwāha*, used for it, namely *stuti*, 'song of praise, praise'. For *stuti* OJED (1825) provides: 'In the context of ritual a distinction is made from *pūjā*, the acts of worship.' Arjuna was well aware of the ritual needed for confronting a god, and offered an abbreviated form, *sangsiptapūjā*, before uttering his praises (see *Arjunawiwāha* 9.5).

Given the close relationship between the *Arjunawiwāha* and the Sanskrit Mahākāvya *Kirātārjunīya*, one suspects that a comparable passage might also be found there, and this does indeed turn out to be the case: at exactly the same point in the story, the *Kirātārjunīya* (XVIII.21–43) also has a 'grand hymn of praise', in which Arjuna 'glorifies Śiva as the supreme Deity' (Peterson 2003:175). It has not been possible (yet) to make a close comparison, but the *Kirātārjunīya* passage is obviously much longer. The term used there is *stotra*, a synonym of *stuti* (indeed derived from the same root *stu* that also lies at the basis of *stawa*, which we will encounter below).

So at least one thing is clear—with the *stuti* we are looking at a phenomenon separate and distinct from the yogic opening passage of Kakawin. And we can already say, on the basis of the *stuti* in the *Arjunawiwāha*, firstly that it is embedded somewhere in the midst of the story, and secondly that it is uttered by a main character. The questions which now present themselves are: 1. Why at

this particular point? and 2. What is its function?

A search for answers takes us to other readily available Kakawin texts. Do they also contain a hymn to a god?

Naturally, I looked first at the *Bhomāntaka*. The passage there that immediately springs to mind is in Canto 108, which reads as follows (Teeuw and Robson 2005):

> 7. The god Brahmā quickly came to pay respectful homage to Lord Keśawa,
> And with devotion praised (*angastuti*) him, saying: 'You are the highest ruler, the supreme king;
> You are the arising, abiding and passing away of the world, and this is why you are the first of the gods;
> The enjoyer of what is to be enjoyed, you are pure of soul, the superior man, nothing but the highest reality.
>
> 8. Regarding the deepest essence of the syllable Om, you are the embodiment of the letter,
> In the well-wrought, subtle Sutras you are bound as the highest truth, far to seek.
> In the science of astronomy, you and none other are the direction for finding what is sought,
> In short, supreme among the three lords, the highest Śiwa, and thus the favoured divinity.
>
> 9. See how the world of men longs for the truth about the gods—but how could they understand the ways of the Lord in his all-pervading power?
> They show wisdom if they apply mental concentration, but even so its domain does not extend as far as you.
> Even the prince of yogis is not capable of forming an idea about you—he keeps silent, and his thinking falls short—
> Praise, meditation, concentration, the moral law and teaching are a distraction for him in his pursuit of spiritual learning'.
>
> 10. When Prajāpati had spoken such words of praise (*mangastuti*), all of the gods appeared …

It is not necessary to get involved in a debate over the details of the translation. An important point is that the general style is similar to the hymn of *Arjunawiwāha*. Apart from that, we need to note the setting of this praise. It comes

immediately after the death of Bhoma in Canto 107 at the hands of Lord Wiṣṇu. So this is the climax of the poem. The demons have fled. But there is still a problem: Lord Keśawa has made himself so huge that he threatens to block the world (*māhêng göng kadi wuntwa tang bhuwana de nira*; *Bhomāntaka* 108.6d). This is where the god Brahmā, the creator, enters with his praises, and all the gods appear, wishing to show respect to Lord Wiṣṇu, including Lord Parameśwara. As a result Lord Wiṣṇu is pleased with the host of gods (*samangkana bhaṭāra Wiṣṇu sukha de watĕk dewata*; *Bhomāntaka* 110.2c), and addresses them all, reminding them of their duties. Having done this, he is free to resume a human form in the world as its protector (*nghulun muwah ajanma mānuṣa rikang jagat rakṣakā*; *Bhomāntaka* 110.7d).

My second example is taken from the *Hariwangśa*. Here the story tells of a conflict that comes to a head in a great battle, where we find (oddly enough) Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa in combat. To quote from the summary in *Kalangwan*,

> The two antagonists suddenly assume divine forms. Both are partial incarnations of Nārāyaṇa (Wiṣṇu) and as such one in being, so that now the fight has lost its meaning. Wiṣṇu (Hari) descends, enthroned on his lotus-seat and surrounded by gods and *ṛṣi*s (38.5–40.11). Yudhiṣṭhira (whose magic sleep has apparently been broken) worships him with a hymn in which he praises him as the god of gods, the essence of the unknowable. Brahma, Wiṣṇu and Mahādewa are one with him. He is the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe. The various sects of the Śiwaites, Ṛṣis and Buddhists, in spite of their differences, know that he is the beginning and the end, and implore him to grant them final release. To this praise Wiṣṇu listens with evident pleasure and allows Yudhiṣṭhira to ask a favour, whatever it may be. The latter begs him to restore the world and bring to life all those who have died, without exception. Wiṣṇu hesitates, but the other gods put forward an urgent plea for him to grant the request, reminding him that the time of the end for the world has not yet come… They pray that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna may resume their human form. Wiṣṇu agrees, a shower of *amṛta* descends and all come to life (41.1–45.5). (Zoetmulder 1974:254)

The Kakawin *Smaradahana* (ed. Poerbatjaraka 1931) is a remarkable piece of literature, deserving much more study than it has received hitherto. In this story Kāma's arrow has struck Śiwa and as a result he has been burnt by Śiwa's fire. Indra and Wṛhaspati had promised to help him, and now have the duty of asking Śiwa to restore Kāma to life. Quoting again from *Kalangwan*,

> Together they return to the place where they had fled in panic. The *ṛṣi*s approach the god reverently. With the aid of mantras they cause him to be present in their hearts in visible form, seated on the eight-petalled lotus, whereupon they worship him with a hymn praising him as the deity manifesting itself in all the beings, as the

> aim of those striving after final release, and as the lord of creation (8.1–11.3). This induces Śiwa to relinquish his terrifying aspect […]. (Zoetmulder 1974:292–3)

The hymn itself is found in Cantos 10 and 11, a total of only five stanzas, and is termed a *stuti* (in 9.17d and 12.1a). Another example is to be found in the Kakawin *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* (my personal favourite). Abhimanyu's affair with Kṣiti Sundarī has been discovered, and so Baladewa is furious and determined to marry her off to Duryodhana's son before Kṛṣṇa can get back. Abhimanyu is forced to flee, and while he is asleep the demon Karālawaktra finds him. Quoting from the summary in *Kalangwan*,

> On hearing that he is a servant of the goddess Durga, who has sent him to look for prey, either animal or human, which is to be brought for her to devour, Abhimanyu persuades him to accept him as a prospective victim. Together they go to the abode of the goddess. She appears, frightening to behold, her hands outstretched to seize him, but halts when she hears his mantras. She listens to him worshipping her and praising her as the goddess who is one with the Supreme Being, and is merciful and generous to her devotees, but terrifying to her enemies, and so she becomes kindly disposed towards him and favours him with her advice. He is to seek help from Ghaṭotkaca […]. (Zoetmulder 1974:266)

The canto containing Abhimanyu's words is Canto 31, and this consists of five stanzas. I did not find the word *stuti* here. The passage begins with the words *Om sĕmbah ning anāśrayâmĕkul i jöng paramasakala rena ning jagat* (31.1a), which gives a feeling for the style.

Moving ahead to the fifteenth century for another example, in the *Śiwarātrikalpa* we find that the followers of Yama have captured the soul of the sinful Lubdhaka, only to have it taken from them by the followers of Śiwa. Yama and his troops proceed to the dwelling of Śiwa. Quoting from the existing translation (Teeuw et al. 1969:135–7):

> 32.7b. Meanwhile king Yama had arrived with his troops and had entered the audience court.
> He then hurried in, bowing respectfully, and devotedly wiped the feet of Īśwara.
> And his praises (*stuti*) were very brilliant and most distinct for Jagatpati to hear.
>
> 33.1. Hail! Behold the homage of him who has no refuge (*om sĕmbah ning anāśraya*…), here at the lotus-feet of the Lord of the World.
> Outwardly and inwardly I pay homage to you, who are the constant object of my devotion.

> Visible and invisible are you in the whole world, you are the life of the living, and bring about both good and evil;
> You are the permanent object of desire of those who purify the spirit by abandoning the ten senses.
>
> 33.2. In consecration and other rites you are present in the state of complete abstraction, you are the consummation of what has gone before—you par excellence and none other.
> In the sacred books you are the embodiment of the holy syllable, and nothing else will ever exceed you;
> You are corporeal and incorporeal, subtler than the slenderest body, and coarser than the greatest;
> You are present in the stationary and the moving; you alone are the goal of him who takes refuge in the Void.

This praise (now termed *stawa*, another Sanskrit synonym) is then answered by lord Śangkara, who gives an explanation of the celebration of the Night of Śiwa (Canto 34).

In the Kakawin *Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana* (Teeuw and Robson 1981), the king of the Gandharwas with Kuñjarakarṇa, having been warned of the dangers of hell, come before the Buddha and worship him (*amūjā*) with three stanzas of praise (Canto 17.1–3), again beginning with *om sĕmbah ning anāśraya*…; in 17.4a this passage is termed *stuti*. Having uttered it, they state their request, namely to be instructed in the supreme essence of the Law. The Buddha then gives teaching on the road to release, at considerable length, and including an explanation of the equivalence of the religious systems of the Śaiwas and Buddhists, saying:

> 23.4. Such is the specification of the world—you should know it truly.
> I am Wairocana, the manifestation of both the Buddha and Śiwa, taken as teacher by the whole world;
> That is why I am called Lord Teacher, renowned throughout the world.
> But it is I who pervade the whole world, the most superior of gods.

However, despite the similarity and frequent occurrence of this type of 'hymn of praise', we might not be justified in assuming that it is a requirement of all Kakawins. This would call for a collection and comparison of all extant examples of the genre, and such has not been possible, as not all have yet been published, let alone translated. But to show that caution is needed, one can men-

tion that well known specimens such as the *Bhāratayuddha* (Supomo 1993),[1] *Sumanasāntaka* (Supomo and Worsley, forthcoming), *Arjunawijaya* (Supomo 1977) and *Sutasoma* (English translation, O'Brien 2008) do not seem to contain a *stuti*.

It is now time, at last, to turn to the *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakawin, more specifically *sarga* 17. Here we read that Rāwaṇa has ordered fake heads of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to be made, in the hope that Sītā will accept him after all. Sītā is deceived by this ruse and is inconsolable.

> In her lament she addresses the husband she believes to be dead. Were all the prophecies about his future only lies? What sense is there in cultivating the *dharma* if this is the sole reward? Is it thus that the gods dispose the fate of man? She decides to follow Rāma in death, and asks Rāwaṇa to kill her. Full of shame and rage he retires. Sītā and Trijaṭā prepare themselves for death by fire, but the latter, warned by a vibration of her left eyebrow, an auspicious omen, decides to see her father Wibhīṣaṇa first. She finds him on Mount Suwela in the company of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, both alive and well. With these happy tidings and a report on the preparations for battle she returns to console Sītā. The latter brings offerings to Agni, the fire-god, the patron of purity and faithfulness. Trijaṭā does her best to divert her mistress' mind and cheer her up. Description of the amusements of the *rākṣasī*-maidens in the *aśoka* grove. (Zoetmulder 1974:223–4).

The mere mention of 'offerings to Agni' does scant justice to this passage. I therefore propose to give an English translation of it in full.

Sarga 17

(Trijaṭā is speaking to Sītā)

89. 'My lady, you should therefore wash your face and rinse your hair
with tamarind water;
Here is the *gurun* grass that will help you let go of your pain.
It will be an offering to relieve the pain in your heart—
Happiness has almost arrived, and is coming to you!

90. Here is the substitute for yourself—come, look, arise!
Come, cast it into the holy Fire, make haste,
So that the impurities will be gone and burnt up,
And in this way you can focus your mind on the prince'.

1. Dr. Supomo (email of 18-4-2009) has kindly pointed out that we find in *Bhāratayuddha* 23.10–11 a passage addressed to the dead body of Droṇa (who is likened to Paśupati), that is termed a *stawa* (*Bhāratayuddha* 23.9d) and *pangastuti* (*Bhāratayuddha* 23.12a).

91. The princess was elated and immediately did her worship:
Flowers, incense and lamps were arranged,
The offerings for the sacred diagrams were complete,
And the prayers of offering were carried out perfectly.

92. The wick of the Deity blazed up very quickly,
And while she did homage she approached the 'golden jewel';
Jānakī was indeed deeply devoted,
And her petition (*prārthana*) was that the prince should be victorious:

93. 'Oh Lord Hutipati, consumer of oblations,
You are the 'Mouth of the Gods', supreme ruler of the gods,
Kind to worshippers, the Lord Guṇawidhi,
The bearer of mountains, earth and sea.

94. You are the highest god, the supreme fire of Śiwa,
You are the eight manifestations, the gods revealed;
The divine eight qualities are always with you,
And likewise the three qualities you control.

95. You are valiant and mighty, a powerful ruler—
Gods and Dānawas praise you,
Siddhas and celestial singers worship you,
And your light can be compared to a hundred thousand suns.

96. And you, Bhārata (= Agni), are the welfare of the world, compassionate,
You grant great happiness to your devotees;
None other than you are the goal of those who perform austerities,
And those who are endowed with right judgment, forever happy.

97. You are always compassionate and full of goodness,
You are the source of happiness and virtue,
And it is you who endow a knowledge of the holy texts—
You are the reason we reach the realm of release.

98. You, Lord, are soul alone, and happiness is your purpose,
The reason that stains and impurities will be removed,
And that existence will be freed from afflictions and calamities,
Because of your love for all men.

99. Oh God of Fire, Lord of the Three Worlds,
Look upon me, Lord, with favour:

Let Rāmabhadra be victorious,
May he love me and may we be happy when we meet'.

100. This was the princess's intention (*prayojana*), indeed most wonderful.
She ceased insisting on dying, now that she had heard that the prince was alive.
But the pain of separation had not yet completely disappeared,
And lying on her couch she amused herself with reading.

So Sītā's address to the god Agni is quite long (and perhaps a little confused, in keeping with her state of mind). We need not dwell on the philological details, but note a few important points. Firstly, Sītā begins with making offerings, before embarking on her petition. Secondly, the Fire is seen as having the function of burning up and removing impurities (17.90c and 17.98b), and is therefore appropriate in this context. And thirdly, Sītā hopes that the god will be kindly disposed by her offerings and praise, and will grant her petition, which is spelt out in full clarity (17.99cd).

But this is not the first time that Agni has been invoked. If we turn back to an earlier passage in the same *sarga*, we find Sītā contemplating killing herself by descending into the fire (17.61d).

64. It was the middle of the night, when people were sleeping,
No one uttered a sound, all fast asleep;
Then she built a fire, that blazed up amazingly—
She was praying, of course, that they should die together.

65. Jānakī was of goodly appearance and goodly birth,
Her heart was pure and her spirit spotless;
Her clothing was pure, well perfumed and lovely—
Sad at heart, she was striving to reach the noble prince.

66. 'Hail, oh king!' she invoked the deity,
Her thoughts unwavering, directed to the Lord;
With intention she ardently desired it,
Her petition (*prārthana*) was for Prince Rāma:

67. 'Come, Lord, you who are called Bahni,
See, I am going to die, as you have no regard for me.
You do not give me any kind of happiness—
See, I would prefer death, Lord.

68. However, let the fruits of my death be
That my body is consumed while worshipping the deity.
Let me meet Rāmabhadra,
Providing that for my whole marriage I have been pure'.

69. These were her words, paying homage to the Deity …

We have now reviewed a number of examples of passages of *stuti* in Kakawins, and are in a position to compare them and draw some conclusions. Several interesting points stand out.

These 'hymns of praise' are found embedded in the narrative—they are not at the beginning or at the end of the text—and can therefore be expected to play a part within the narrative. When we take the overall plot into account, it becomes apparent that the *stuti* occurs at a crucial juncture or turning-point in the story. At this point, the main character (or characters) confronts a problem—he is unable to go on. Then the deity appears or intervenes, and this introduces the possibility of solving the problem. But for this to happen, the deity has to be worshipped and addressed with appropriate words, using language that underlines both the deity's supreme power and the worshipper's humility and helplessness (*anāśraya*). All this has the effect of making the deity well disposed, willing to assist the supplicant with his power in order to find a way forward, by granting a weapon, special knowledge, or whatever is needed. The result may be immediate, as in the case of Arjuna and his weapon Paśupati (granted now but used later), or it may be delayed, as in the case of Sītā and her prayer for Rāma, where the victory and reunion will only be achieved later, after much struggle.

On a literary level, the *stuti* is a means of moving forward in the story, and on a 'theological' level it is a means of harnessing divine power for the purpose of fulfilling the desires of the humble worshipper and the needs of the world.

We note that the identity of the deity is not always the same—it can be Paramaśiwa, Wiṣṇu, the Buddha Wairocana or Agni—but each time this figure is depicted as the highest in the pantheon. What governs the choice is the requirements of the story; it is not a matter of private devotion on the part of the author.

Finally, it may be possible to speculate on a further level of significance, beyond that of the particular story being told: the depiction of the mobilization of divine power for the benefit of the world in itself imbues the literary work with a particular significance, so that when recited it goes beyond being a mere exciting story, in order to fulfill a function of wider application, as part of a 'theology of the Kakawin'.

Poetic Conventions as Opposed to Conventional Poetry?

A Place for *kavisamaya-ādi* in Comparative Kāvya/Kakawin Studies

Wesley Michel

The relation of Old Javanese Kakawin to the Sanskrit Kāvya 'poem, imaginative work, poetry in general' and specifically its long form 'court epic' (*mahākāvya*) has not received a great deal of attention.[1] What studies there are have usually, and quite correctly, taken as a point of departure Sanskrit literary theory, especially in the form more or less contemporaneous with the composition of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (BK) and its adaptation the KR. This early phase of Sanskrit poetics primarily focuses on formal aspects such as figures of speech (*alaṃkāra*), of such central concern that the discourse of literary theory as a whole was thereafter known literally as the 'science of figures' (*alaṃkāra-śāstra*). Hermeneutically this is sound procedure, in that modern inquiry thus reflects the concerns of the original readers and writers of the cosmopolitan language of South and Southeast Asia, Sanskrit, and the cosmopolitan vernaculars which arose in response to it.[2] But this approach tends by nature to have the effect of emphasizing the similarity of the vernacular to the cosmopolitan rather than differences

1. The ongoing research of Thomas Hunter is an important exception. I generally use the term Kāvya rather than Mahākāvya; though the latter is in terms of genre the direct counterpart to Kakawin, Sanskrit theory addresses 'imaginative literature' in broad terms, even if it is in practice oriented toward the long form.
All translations from Sanskrit are my own. Being an inexpert reader of Old Javanese, I have as a rule quoted others' translations, though with the help of OJED I have at times modified them.

2. Sheldon Pollock uses the term 'Sanskrit cosmopolis' for 'the transregional culture-power sphere of Sanskrit' as spread 'across all of South and much of Southeast Asia' and defines 'cosmopolitan vernacular' as a 'synthetic register of an emergent regional literary language that localizes the full spectrum of expressive qualities of the superposed cosmopolitan code' (Pollock 2006:13, 12, 322). I use phrases like 'cosmopolitan-vernacular comparison' to mean comparison of cosmopolitan literature (Sanskrit) to literature produced in a cosmopolitan vernacular (in this case, Old Javanese).

between the two. This paper proposes another approach as a complement to the formal analysis of Kakawin in Kāvya terms, namely the comparative study of literary conventions divided into specific categories. For this I look to a little discussed conceptual field in certain treatises of poetics in Sanskrit before trying to show, briefly and tentatively, how it can help get at what is specifically Old Javanese about the Kakawin texts.

One reason the juxtaposition of Sanskrit theory and Kakawin practice is so rare is a certain defensiveness on the part of contemporary Old Javanese studies, perhaps a reaction to the legacy of antiquated notions like 'Greater India'. Take the assertion by the authors of a recent text edition and translation that 'while Kakawin may share the metrical system of the Sanskrit Kāvya, and much else, they are nevertheless authentic, autonomous products of Javanese culture' (Teeuw and Robson 2005:36). This claim to autonomy is most clearly belied by Kakawin adherence to the poetic requirements, if not quite ironclad laws (*nomoi*), of Sanskrit Mahākāvya form and content. But even when scholars freely acknowledge instances in Kakawin of the prescribed battle scenes, dalliances in water, and the like, the vast corpus of Sanskrit literary theory is treated as if extending little beyond the two terse, albeit oldest and famous, descriptions of the Mahākāvya genre by the theorists Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha (Supomo 1977 1:42–8; Creese 1998:50–3). As I will show with reference to later treatises, which describe conventional content in greater detail, these foundational theoretical texts need not be considered the *non plus ultra* for comparative analysis.

Before we move on to a definition of literary conventions, though, a terminological note is in order. Certain terms that often appear in scholarship on the genre of court epic, whether Sanskrit or Old Javanese, reflect a significant critical misunderstanding when confronted with conventional material, a post-Romantic attitude revealed by epithets with negative connotations such as 'stereotyped', 'clichéd', 'hackneyed', or 'stock'. This position is as anachronistic as assuming the relation of Sanskrit and Old Javanese literary cultures is that of trunk and branch, original and derivative, or major and minor. Edwin Gerow (1971:72) describes a poetic sensibility, shared by Kāvya and Kakawin, that clearly demands a radically different critical outlook from that which the modern reader typically brings to it:

> Much that appears at first blameworthy in classical poetry is explicable in terms of the de-emphasis of the story. The story is never central; it is at best a pretext for stringing together admirable verses—really just a narrative theme. The story may at any time be interrupted by long descriptive irrelevancies on the sunrise, the mountains, the moonset, which appear extraneous by standards emphasizing the unity of the plot.

Hence, to preserve a more objective tone than 'cliché' and the like convey, albeit less elegantly than the cosmopolitan/vernacular distinction does in the case of Sanskrit and Old Javanese, and at the risk of monotony, I try to maintain the use of 'convention', a word both relatively neutral and a Latinism equivalent to the literal Sanskrit meaning of *samaya*, a 'coming together', in this case, of poets (*kavi*).

In any attempt to understand what this term *kavisamaya*, commonly translated as 'poetic convention', means to Sanskrit theory, chapters fourteen to sixteen of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*[3] must serve as the basis, as this first exposition of the concept would largely be followed by later writers. Overall, this text is iconoclastic, the earliest example of what would come to be called 'education of the poet' (*kavi-śikṣā*), a genre sometimes excluded from general poetics (*alaṃkāraśāstra*) due to its concern with literature's 'practical object which developed side by side with the theoretical consideration of general principles' (De 2006:585). Subjects addressed for the first time include the daily activities of the poet, types of literary borrowing, and matters of geography, all of which are important in a cosmopolitan-vernacular context but lie beyond the scope of this paper.[4]

In the section under consideration, Rājaśekhara gives us a definition: a *kavisamaya* is a signification which poets produce that is contrary to both received knowledge and worldly experience (*aśāstrīya*, *alaukika*), yet is passed on by tradition (*paramparāyāta*). Perhaps proceeding from the evocation of the three worlds (*triloka*) evoked by *alaukika*, he states that these expressions are of three kinds, earthly (*bhaumya*), celestial (*svargya*), and hellish (*pātālīya*). Under each of these headings are subdivisions of kind (*jāti*), thing (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*), and behaviour (*kriyā*), under which in turn appear three more categories, at which most specific level of the scheme he provides examples.[5]

1. Description contrary to reality (*asato nibandhanam*), for example things invariably described a certain way though such is not necessarily the case in reality, like mountains always described as rich in gold and precious gems.

2. Description ignoring reality (*sato 'pi nibandhanam*), for example the fruit-bearing *aśoka* tree never being described as such.

3. Artificial restriction (*niyama*), for example of things to particular places, as pearls being produced only in the Tāmraparṇi river.

3. Written between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century AD.
4. For other contributions of Rājaśekhara, see Pollock 2006:200–4.
5. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* pp. 198–9.

I have given only the examples under the heading of 'kind' rather than repeat the entire account.[6] The other categories are clear enough; one easily sees that certain members of the Kāvya bestiary such as the moonbeam-drinking *cakora* bird appear in statements about behaviour contrary to reality (*kriyāvad asato nibandhanam*), and the assigning of colours to emotions entails describing a quality contrary to reality (*guṇavad asato nibandhanam*).

However, this systematicity breaks down when Rājaśekhara leaves the realm of the earthly. The celestial *kavisamaya*s consist not of unrealistic imagery per se but rather of conflicting identifications—the moon has in it either a rabbit or a deer, Kāmadeva's emblem can be either a crocodile (*makara*) or a fish—and interchangeable names, such as Nārāyaṇa and Mādhava for Viṣṇu and/or Indra. Also, despite the Puranic assertion that there are twelve suns, poets speak of them as one. As regards the netherworld, the names of technically distinct classes of inhabitants—*daitya*s, *dānava*s, and *asura*s—are also used interchangeably.

Not surprisingly, the many later writers who take up Rājaśekhara's account of *kavisamaya* (and who generally give identical examples) discard altogether the non-earthly categories. After all, since lived experience as a human being, not to mention the composition and reading of texts, takes place only in one of the three worlds, by definition descriptions of the other two are contrary to observable reality (*alaukika*). What is left, namely, cosmological and terminological conventions, falls into the category of restriction (*niyama*) in what seems a broader sense of 'rules, usage'. So it is somewhat surprising to find the later theorist Viśvanātha cite as a *kavisamaya* the description of Kāma's bowstring as a row of bees, to the exclusion of other gods' supernatural attributes; presumably the suggestion stems from the frequent allusions to the god of love in Kāvya imagery.[7]

The only scholar to discuss *kavisamaya* at length in English, V.S. Kulkarni, in a brief but informative article lists a series of theorists who follow Rājaśekhara's account of *kavisamaya* and occasionally add a new example or two. In the course of this sketch, Kulkarni makes an interesting comment about the later theorist Keśavamiśra, whose treatment speaks to the issues I want to consider. This Keśavamiśra delineates 'the topics to be described', expanding the scope of *kavisamaya* far beyond the bounds of Rājaśekhara's original definition. Kulkarni protests, 'Keśavamiśra here confounds conventional poetry and poetic

6. A full summary is given by Kulkarni 1983:20–3. Note that his list confuses the examples for *guṇa* and *kriyā*.

7. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 7.19; cited by Kulkarni 1983:24.

conventions. Poetry becomes conventional on account of set themes, phrases ready-at-hand, standards of comparison like the lotus in describing the hands […] stereotyped and hackneyed descriptions and use of poetic conventions' (Kulkarni 1983:25). Despite his unsympathetic choice of words and somewhat imprecise phrasing, I agree with Kulkarni's implicit point: *kavisamaya* is more useful as a descriptive category if limited to its most specific definition, that by Rājaśekhara which I will call '*kavisamaya* proper', description sanctioned by poetic tradition though specifically contrary to observable reality. Of course, Kulkarni's distinction between 'poetic conventions' and 'conventional poetry' is an arbitrary one, since nothing in the term *kavisamaya* inherently applies more to Rājaśekhara's notion than to a conventional description of scenery or a king, and any instantiation of a poetic convention would by definition be conventional poetry anyway. Yet beneath this semantic nicety lies an intimation of a more systematic approach.

A closer look at Keśavamiśra's treatment, toward the end of his little-remarked-upon *Alaṃkāraturyhara*, given its final form in the sixteenth century, turns out to reveal a useful catalogue of the constituent elements of Kāvya compositions. He goes into great detail on the conventional standards of comparison (*upamāna*) in similes of women and men, and notes some cases applicable to both. The *kavisamaya*s proper of Rājaśekhara are summarized in a brief section, after which comes a long list of the things to be described (*varṇya*) in Kāvya:

> A king, a queen, a region (*deśa*), a village, a palace, a river, a pond, the ocean, a forest, a garden, a mountain, a journey, a battle, a horse, an elephant, the sun, the moon, the seasons, marriage (*vivāha*), *svayaṃvara* (a princess' choosing from a gathering of suitors), drinking, the delights of flowers and water, separation (of lovers), a hunt, a hermitage, the arts, linkage of seasons or periods of life, metals, trees, and the *abhisārikā* [woman on a secret rendezvous].[8]

The conventional attributes of each of these objects or phenomena follow, one verse for each, with some additions to the list like love-play (*surata*). While no single topic could possibly receive exhaustive treatment in such a presentation, nonetheless this is an unusually detailed catalogue of the kinds of things Kāvya deals with besides narrative; anyone who has read even short excerpts of

8. *Alaṃkāraśekhara* p. 58.

Mahākāvya or Kakawin will recognize some elements.[9] That such a basic guide to embellishment is so rare indicates a certain inadequacy of Sanskrit theory when consulted for the purposes of cosmopolitan-vernacular comparison.[10] As a result, these three exceptional threads whose entanglement Kulkarni deplores, the unrealistic conventions (*kavisamaya*), conventional standards of comparison,[11] and conventional topics of description (*varṇanīya*), are worth considering in addition to formal components such as figures of speech and prosody.

Still, Kulkarni's point stands. Given free rein, the idea of poetic convention can indeed swell to include a huge range of literary techniques. What Kulkarni with mild derision calls 'conventional poetry' serves as the very basis, in a different context, for the monumental work of Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, first published in 1948. For Curtius, '[i]n the antique system of rhetoric topics is the stockroom [in which] are found ideas of the most general sort' and as such topics serve as a key for the continuity and independent development of both postclassical Latin and European vernacular literatures. These 'intellectual themes, suitable for development and modification', in Greek called *koinoi topoi* and in Latin *communes*, came to spread beyond the field of oratory in which they were first recorded, and this 'elaborately developed system became the common denominator of literature in general' (Curtius 1990:79, 70).

While Curtius, a giant in the field of Romance philology and an icon of comparative literature, then goes on to display a breathtaking range of scholarship in multiple vernacular languages, the system he relies on is conspicuously unsystematic.[12] The many topics he describes include attributing to a precocious young prince the wisdom of an old man (itself a *kavisamaya* proper), various personifications of Nature, the characteristics of epic landscape, standard ('mannered') metaphors, and even technical figures of sound and meaning akin to the Sanskrit *alaṃkāra*s. The overall result is a series of demonstrations of the unity in diversity of antiquity, late Latin, and the medieval European vernaculars.

The sheer volume and range of texts that Curtius brings to bear in present-

9. Although earlier theorists include similar lists, they do not specify conventional descriptions for each particular item. *Kāvyādarśa* 1.16–17 gives roughly two-thirds the number of items on Keśavamiśra's list. Hooykaas (1958:13) provides a translation, and helpfully shows where in BK such descriptions can be found, pp. 42–4.

10. In defense of the 'adequacy' of figure-based poetics is Gerow 1971:70–4.

11. I am hesitant to coin a Sanskrit word, but *upamānasamaya* may be appropriate here.

12. The bibliography on Curtius and his *magnum opus* is vast, and for present purposes I have not made recourse to it, since my point about his topics is a simple one.

ing the topics perhaps precludes a more specific categorization. Sanskrit literary theory, on the other hand, deals with a defined genre, Kāvya, generally emphasizing Mahākāvya in particular (Gerow 1971:71). Why, then, did the discourse of poetics disregard wholesale the conventions of Kāvya? And why, in those exceptional instances when they do appear, are they not subject to the ' "minute classification" and "subtle hair-splitting" [which] is the mainstay of Sanskrit literary theory throughout its history'? (McCrea 2008:6)

The answer perhaps can be related to the exceptional nature of one of the most important writers of *alaṃkāraśāstra*, Ānandavardhana. In his *Dhvanyāloka*, Sanskrit literary theory advances beyond the mere classification of 'discrete, isolatable elements of poetic language' in the form of the figures of speech to a 'teleological model of literary aesthetics' based on suggested meaning (*dhvani*), specifically aestheticized emotion (*rasa*). In other words, Ānandavardhana manages to account for the ends of poetry, the establishment and maintenance of a dominant emotion in a unified work, rather than the means, conceived as figures of speech and stylistic qualities confined to individual stanzas. Yet despite widespread acceptance of the *dhvani* theory, later writers moved away from this teleological aesthetic and toward detailed analyses of the cognitive and semantic processes producing poetic meaning. And even the earliest theorists of Kāvya, Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, seem uncomfortable with the quartet of 'anomalous, content-based' figures of speech on their lists, uncharacteristically presenting examples of them without explanations (other than tautology).[13] This same epistemic resistance to considerations of the content of poetry, insofar as it reflects a fundamental critical orientation, may account for the lack of interest in conventional elements.

In the light of this tendency, perhaps the very absence of a tradition of Old Javanese literary theory contributes to the success of P.J. Zoetmulder's survey *Kalangwan*, in that the formalistic prejudices of Sanskrit theory do not discourage him from presenting an original conception of Kakawin aesthetic teleology (providing, as it did for Ānandavardhana, the title of the work) along with formal qualities of prosody and an attentiveness to historical and social context. The work is full of topics in the Curtian sense. Nonetheless, while continually alert to questions of Sanskrit sources, Zoetmulder's aim is not primarily comparative but rather descriptive of a literary culture as a self-contained whole. Now, post-*Kalangwan* advances in Old Javanese studies such as Zoetmulder's dictionary and a growing corpus of recent text editions have greatly facilitated

13. McCrea 2008:101; 441, 447 on post-Ānandavardhana theoretical concerns; 42–4 for treatment of the content-based figures.

the project of qualifying not only the much that is shared by Sanskrit Kāvya and Old Javanese Kakawin but also the 'palpable, if elusive, local character' that distinguishes the latter.[14] And despite the problematic nature of conventions, a content-based approach utilizing them in a reasonably systematic fashion should have its place alongside strictly formalist ones.

Given their extraordinary relationship, the BK and KR present an obvious starting point for any comparison of Kāvya and Kakawin. The KR, in its capacity as a free translation for roughly its first half of the first Sanskrit 'poem-textbook' (*kāvya-śāstra*), illustrates perfectly the cosmopolitan dictum, '[a]s for learning the *śāstra* itself, this is the necessary commencement of the tradition' (Pollock 1985a:507). Rājaśekhara and the BK make the same point, stating, respectively, 'because Kāvya has theory as its antecedent, one should first go into theory; surely unlit lamps in the dark do not make things visible as they are' and 'this poem is like a lamp for those who understand the qualities of words […] it should be read with a commentary'.[15] Continuing with the visual imagery, I wonder if such powerful exhortations to strictly *śāstra*-based analysis, coming even from the KR's source text, may even now encourage a critical blindness to important aspects of Kāvya (and Kakawin) aesthetics largely ignored by *alaṃkāraśāstra* itself.

In the instances that follow, since conventions are by definition generic (in the sense of manifest in works by different authors), the ones proposed as particularly Old Javanese are attributed this status only provisionally. Comparison focused only on two texts can produce only hypotheses with respect to genre. Hence a certain disproportion of theory to practice arises, this paper necessarily being more programmatic than positivistic in largely restricting itself to only one Old Javanese work, the KR, against not only the BK but Sanskrit Kāvya more generally.

Starting with the *kavisamaya* proper, the question arises: do these conventional non-narrative unrealistic descriptions translate, as it were, and does Kakawin language have similar expressions of its own? A simple example is afforded by the representation of the crying and dancing of peacocks (*mayūra*/*śikhin*) at the start of the monsoon to the exclusion of any other time at KR 7.18 as well as the corresponding BK 7.7, a behaviour which Rājaśekhara notes

14. Pollock 2006:131 is discussing Sanskrit inscriptions from Java, but the phrase is equally applicable to Kakawin.

15. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* p. 5 (start of Chapter 2): *śāstrapūrvakatvāt kāvyānāṃ pūrvaṃ śāstreṣv abhiniviśeta. na hy apravarttitapradīpās tamasi tattvārthasārtham adhyakṣayanti*; BK 22.33–34: *dīpatulyaḥ prabandho 'yaṃ śabdalakṣaṇacakṣuṣām* […] *vyākhyāgamyam idaṃ kāvyam*.

occurs in other seasons as well (*grīṣmādau*).[16] In this case, a frequently occurring *kavisamaya* is linked to a conventional topic of description found on Keśavamiśra's list, the changing of seasons.

A more independent usage on the part of the KR is evident at 7.27, where the fragrance (*gandha*) wafting on the breeze from the Malaya mountain range reminds Rāma of Sītā's cheek (*pipi*). The anatomical reference indicates that sandalwood, used as a perfume and body ointment, is meant, though not named. This is another *kavisamaya* of restriction explicitly noted by Rājaśekhara: 'on the Malaya [mountains] alone are sandalwood trees found'.[17] At this particular point in the BK text no mention of Malaya is found, although it and its exclusive product are mentioned elsewhere, for example, 'covered with sandalwood trees [you will see] the foothills of the Malayas'.[18] Clearly, then, the KR text demonstrates an understanding of this special quality of the Malaya mountains, but without confirmation of their appearance in other Kakawin it remains doubtful whether this *kavisamaya* took hold.[19]

A *kavisamaya* that appears not to have found favour even with the KR pertains to the description of darkness as if it 'can be grasped in one's fist or pierced by a needle', in other words that it takes physical form.[20] At BK 12.10, the hulking body of Rāvaṇa 'has the shape of a heap of darkness' (*tamaḥsamūhākṛtim*), whereas KR 13.16 gives only a translation of the preceding BK verse (12.9), retaining the comparison of Rāvaṇa's body to smoke while clarifying that his body is black (*awak nirāhirĕñ*). In another place, the KR explicitly contradicts the idea of this *kavisamaya* when Rāma says 'darkness […] is tenuous, ungraspable, though I see it'.[21]

Another *kavisamaya* the KR leaves untranslated is not mentioned on the traditional lists but is familiar to readers of Kāvya. This is Lakṣmaṇa's description of Rāma's eyes as reaching to his ears (*aupakarṇikalocana*, BK 4.24), a mark of beauty in either a male or a female. By its physiological impossibility it fits the category of description of non-existent quality (*guṇavad asato nibandhanam*). Attesting to the traditional character of the image is the fifth verse of Bhānudatta's *Rasamañjarī*, where a girl at the start of adolescence thinks she

16. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* p. 208 (end of Chapter 14).
17. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* p. 205: *malaya eva candanasthānaṃ*.
18. BK 22.4: *candanadrumasaṃcchannā* […] *malayopatyakāḥ*.
19. The OJED entry for 'Malaya' yields references to the Malaya range only in KR and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*.
20. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* p. 203: *muṣṭigrāhyatvaṃ sūcībhedyatvaṃ ca tamasaḥ*.
21. KR 7.11: *andhakāra* […] *sūkṣma tar pagamĕlan katon tuwi*. Translation modified, taking *tar pagamĕlan* as stating impossibility.

sees in her reflection a lotus petal caught at her ear only to realize it is the corner of her eye. Given the straightforward speech of Lakṣmaṇa, one wonders whether the image made sense in the world of the ubiquitous 'blossom worn at the ear' (*sumpiṅ*) such as that of Śūrpaṇakhā, the mention of whose floral ornaments (KR 4.32) says nothing of her eyes. While one omission in one text which itself is hardly a word-for-word translation may carry little probative weight, the discrepancy at least raises the possibility that this is another *kavisamaya* which Kakawin do not adopt.

Besides *kavisamaya*s that Kakawin may not take up, there are those apparently unique to it. One such convention featured in the KR which strikes me as foreign to Sanskrit Kāvya is the quotation of the explicit thoughts of everyday animals.[22] The simple attribution of emotion is common to both traditions, as in the *kavisamaya* of the *cakravāka* birds' agony at their nightly separation or the memorable image of the lion angered at his echoing roar (BK 2.9). But the KR goes further, offering animal thought as language. In its version, instead of an indistinct roar (*nādān*) the lion perceives a taunt: ' "Hey, dumb lion!" he thought he heard an enemy shout [in reply]'.[23] A similar example occurs earlier in the same nature description, where the BK's distracted hunter is replaced in the KR by a deer who, disturbed by the cries of geese, 'cursed in her heart, "A hunter!" as sleep slipped away'.[24] A more comical misapprehension is the reaction of an anteater fleeing the destruction of Laṅkā's pleasure garden: 'at the sight of a porcupine wanting to mate with his female […] "Ah, how disgusting!" (*ḍöh ah o hīna ya*) said the anteater and penetrated into other undergrowths' (KR 9.57). This strong anthropomorphism, where a human-like reaction is represented not as just a state of mind but as actually verbalized, certainly distinguishes the style of the KR from that of the BK, and may possibly be an aspect

22. Other genres in Sanskrit make extensive use of talking animals, as in the gnomic *Pañcatantra*, written in a very different register. Of course, the *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative has monkeys and giant birds talking, but these are characters of a qualitatively different nature from the fauna of poetic scenery.

23. KR 2.17: *ā siṅha mūḍa winaliṅnya musuhnya monī*. Translation modified, mostly for punctuation, though it appears this could also be interpreted as the poet interjecting.

24. BK 2.7; KR 2.9: *caṇḍāla yekana manahnya luput pwa denya*. Translation modified. That *caṇḍāla* may mean 'hunter' in Old Javanese is pointed out by Lokesh Chandra 1997:202; I am grateful to Arlo Griffiths for this information. Note that *caṇḍāla* can also mean 'of lowest caste, despised,' a strong term of abuse in Sanskrit, making this a *śleṣa* 'pun', in that the deer could be understood either as misinterpreting the sound of geese as the sound made by a hunter or as simply annoyed at the geese for having woken it. Given Kāvya poets' fondness for figures of speech (*alaṃkāra*), the presence of the *śleṣa* supports the reading of *caṇḍāla* as direct 'speech' of the deer; with the translation 'the deer thought it was a hunter', the pun is lost.

peculiar to Kakawin in general. Indeed, in a later text we find the passage: 'The red patches of rust on the water were like blood on a *kain*, still fluid, [a]nd the peacocks kept looking down (as if to say), "What's that thing we can see?" '[25] Once again, the animal 'extras' in the background are given a one-line speaking role, which in Sanskrit would require an *iti* clause to mark quotation. As the editor-translator comments, these are 'all too human peacocks' (Supomo 1977 II:171).[26]

Whereas the animal thoughts in the examples above may seem generally to add an element of humor to nature descriptions, the last convention I want to consider here lends a touch of sorrow. Although absent from the KR itself, the image of a ruined temple occurs often enough in Kakawin that it can be called a conventional subject to be described.[27] I am not prepared to assess how its frequency may relate to Javanese society or history, rather to point out that this appears to be another instance of the characteristically Kakawin as opposed to Kāvya. Such scenes can arise in the midst of a charming and pleasant tour of the countryside ('[The temple-complex's] roofs were broken and had fallen in, and beyond repair their pillars stood askew, swaying back and forth'), a peaceful riverbank setting suitable for a scholar's meditation ('A temple of stone had collapsed, and its Kāla-head ornament seemed about to weep, its eyes filled with tears'), or a journey through a countryside ravaged by an enemy army ('A sanctuary had disappeared from sight, completely overgrown, its walls scattered without trace').[28] Again, the KR features no such site of deterioration, but does state that one of the duties of a ruler is to keep temples in good condition, a precept followed in a later Kakawin, as 'the king continued on his journey, devoting himself to the restoration of dilapidated temple-complexes'.[29] The image

25. *Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana* 4.5: *sawaṅ rāh niṅ siñjaṅ drawa mara tahi-hyaṅ nika mabāṅ / tumuṅkul-tuṅkul mrak nika mapa tikaṅ wastu dinĕlö*.

26. Here 'we [also] have a cliché, found many times in scenes of the defloration of a virgin: the red blood-stains on the *kain*' (Supomo 1977, II:171). Though this is surely the unique Kakawin convention par excellence, due to its frequent and varied usage and obvious social and psychological interest it deserves more thorough investigation than the present paper can afford. See Creese 2004a.

27. Zoetmulder (1974:205–6) mentions the frequency of the image but does not speculate on its aesthetic effect.

28. *Śiwarātrikalpa* 3.2: *bwat-dhantĕn ri natarnya śīrṇa makihū waṅunan ika gigal waneh awuk*; *Arjunawiwāha* 15.13: *caṇḍi śilananāṅ cawiri piṇḍa manaṅisa maṅĕmbi-hĕmbiha*; *Bhomāntaka* 7.6: *dharma hilaṅ tĕlas kaḍĕḍĕtan kabubak i lalayanya tan kahuniṅa*.

29. KR 3.70 *pahayunta* […] *umah bhaṭārāmĕrĕn* 'you should preserve with care the houses of the gods' (my translation); *Arjunawijaya* 32.4: *nāhan hetunira titir mahas adoh lĕṅĕṅ amahayu dharma siṅ rusak*.

is attested in Sanskrit theory, in still another context: on a list of places appropriate for the furtive tryst of the woman going to meet her lover.[30] Despite this prescription, I have yet to encounter such a 'shattered house of gods' (*bhagnadevālaya*) in this or any other context in Sanskrit poetry, whether anthologized (as verses on this type of heroine, known as *abhisārikā*, often are) or in Mahākāvya. The Prakrit *Gāthā-Saptaśatī* mentions a temple which sighs with the voices of the pigeons resting on top of it, but the state of disrepair is not explicit.[31]

In the absence of a fully-formed classificatory scheme and a wider range of data, the multiplication of examples would be superfluous. But the selection of conventions above demonstrates, I hope, the promise such a system would hold for articulating the relation of Kāvya to Kakawin. I have not discussed conventional standards of comparison, though they form a category as important as the others; they include, for example, the use Old Javanese makes of the coconut in relation to women's bodies, and equally the use it does not make of the *bimba* fruit, which Sanskrit Kāvya regularly compares to the lips.[32] But it will at least be evident 'what a desideratum it is for Sanskrit literary studies to have a comprehensive catalogue or glossary of such poetic conventions' (Pollock 1985b:185), especially for comparative purposes. If folklore studies can construct the Aarne-Stith catalogue, facilitating the study of kinds of stories across the most varied cultures, is it not possible, in the relatively limited corpora of (Mahā)kāvya and Kakawin, to compile something similar? I am thinking along the lines not of that universal scheme but one adapted to a specific context, like Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty's chart (1973:22–3) for motifs in the mythology of Śiva.

Those mythemes are derived from narrative, of course, whereas conventions are precisely what is added to the narrative. Also, the role of tradition complicates the picture; per my disclaimers as to what may or may not be Kakawin conventions first appearing in the KR, the individual genius of the writer(s) is original (for lack of a better, less-valorized word) by default unless other instances are found in other texts, in which case genre-comparative statements become possible.

If, however, an adequate catalogue could be assembled, we would then have

30. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 3.94.

31. Basak 1971:15 (verse 1.64). The *chāyā* runs: *upari daradṛṣṭasthāṇukanilīnapārāvatānāṃ virutaiḥ / nistanati jātavedanaṃ śūlabhinnam iva devakulam*. The editor must see in this 'as if pierced by a stake' (*śūlabhinnam iva*) a 'reference to temples in broken condition' (Basak 1971:22).

32. Zoetmulder provides a great deal of standard objects of comparison, though even this sensitive critic can grow weary of these 'endless clichés' (Zoetmulder 1974:202). OJED entries for '*bimba*, *wimba*' do not indicate any instances of these words denoting a fruit in Old Javanese.

not a checklist of the hackneyed, but a guide to comparison between cosmopolitan and vernacular texts or even between texts written in different cosmopolitan vernaculars, say, Kannada and Old Javanese. It would serve as a reference for what we might call formal content so we might better appreciate its variations. For it would seem that the poets and theorists of the Sanskrit cosmopolis, and not the Greek Sophists as Nietzsche supposed, 'laid the strongest emphasis upon form [and] created the most form-demanding audience that has ever existed'.[33] If wide-ranging aesthetic study of vernacular Kāvya along the lines of Curtius' project is ever to be possible, not only text editions but also the tools of traditional poetics will be necessary. A typology of conventions in the service of an aesthetic morphology of cosmopolitan-vernacular literary cultures, rudiments of which have been given here, would enable a clearer articulation of what makes Kāvya Kāvya, Kakawin Kāvya, and Kakawin Kakawin.

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33. Quoted with approval by Curtius 1990:68.

Figures of Repetition (*yamaka*) in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, the *Raghuvaṃśa*, the Śiwagṛha Inscription and the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*

Thomas M. Hunter

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to reopen a discussion of the poetic figures called *yamaka* in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (BK) and their reflection in the KR that goes back to a seminal review of the subject in an essay by Christiaan Hooykaas (1958d) and earlier work by Walther Aichele (1926, 1931b).[1] I will proceed by first reviewing the comments of Hooykaas and Aichele, then turning to more recent studies of *yamaka* in the Sanskrit tradition, and finally looking at instances of *yamaka* in the ninth canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa, the BK, the Śiwagṛha inscription of 856 AD and the KR.

Gerow (1971:223–38) has catalogued and commented on the various types of *yamaka* found in the Sanskrit tradition, and given us a good working definition of this figure

> […] in which a part of a verse, specified either as to length or position or both, is repeated within the confines of the same verse, usually in such a way that the meaning of the two readings is different.[2]

As should be clear from a review of Söhnen's study (1995) to follow there was an evolution of the understanding of *yamaka* in the Sanskrit tradition that began with the simple repetitions (*āmreḍita*) of the Vedic hymns, then moved through

1. All references in this paper are to the KR edition by Soewito Santoso (1980a). However, in a few cases I have made emendations based on metrical or contextual considerations.

2. The sequence *pramadāpramadā-* ('young women, joyless') in BK 10.9 is a typical case of *yamaka*. The initial phrase *pramadā*, 'proud young women' is followed by a repetition of the same phrase, but with a differing interpretation, as *apramadā*, 'without joy'.

several stages to a state where the tendency for the two repeated phrases to differ in meaning became a fixed rule of composition. I will suggest in this paper that the stage of development reflected in *yamaka* of the Old Javanese tradition is that of the BK, a work which is well-known to have served as a model for the KR that was produced at a time when 'figures of sound' (*śabdālaṃkāra*) were highly regarded in the Indian tradition.

Walther Aichele on yamaka in the KR and other works of Old Javanese literature

Aichele (1926) was the first Western scholar to note the popularity of alliteration (*anuprāsa*, *anuprāsavat*) and the related 'figures of repetition' (*yamaka*) for the poets of ancient Java. He traced this fact to the influence of the BK, which he grouped with works like the *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa as a major source of the Javanese development of a tradition of 'figures of sound' (*śabdālaṃkāra*) and 'figures of sense' (*arthālaṃkāra*) based on Indian models. Hooykaas found Aichele's remarks of such compelling interest that he translated his article 'Die Form der Kawi-Dichtung' (1926) into Dutch (1931b), and based his later study (1958d) of what he termed 'four-line *yamaka*' on Aichele's comments.

Aichele (1926:934) first notes frequent cases of the repetition of syllables (KR 23.11d, 23.12e) and the great frequency of *yamaka* in *sarga* 24, describing 'the depiction of the curiosities of the miraculously regenerated Langkā empire' and *sarga* 25, describing 'the journey home of Rāma with the reclaimed Sītā'. He goes on to call attention to line-initial *yamaka* in KR 16.15 and 26.20, then a large number of 'end-[line]-placement of the *yamaka*' that he notes may have been the source of the development of end-rhyme in India (KR 7.21ab; 10.34bcd; 16.30, 16.37–40, 21.144; and 26.20cd).

Moving on to 'linked *yamaka*' (*kañci-yamaka*), which he describes as 'the agreement of the final syllables of a *pāda* with the beginning syllables of the next', Aichele (1926:934) again notes a large number of examples (KR 2.19; 16.24–29; 24.81–86; 25.113; 26.12–15; 26.21bc).[3] These examples include a use of this type of *yamaka* as part of the figure *ekāvalī* in KR 2.19.[4]

3. See note 39 and pp. 46–50 below for further discussion of the term *kañci-yamaka*, with examples. Gerow (1971:229) follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in describing this *yamaka* under the term *cakravāla-yamaka*, rather than the term given to this figure in the early commentators on Bhaṭṭi.

4. See Hunter (forthcoming) for a discussion of the translation of this figure from the BK (2.19) into Old Javanese. For a definition of *ekāvalī* see MW (230). Based on the literal meaning of *ekāvalī* ('a single string of pearls or flowers or beads') the figure consists of a series of sentences 'where the subject of each following sentence has some characteristic of the predicate of the preceding one'.

Aichele (1926:935) makes an especially interesting point when he demonstrates the way that a correct understanding of *yamaka* can reveal copying errors that can then be deconstructed by way of *yamaka*. First he corrects *ikomurub* ('that blazed up') of KR 16.24c to *ikomarab* ('that flared up'). Then he shows that KR 16.26–27 can be reconstructed by recognizing in these verses a series of 'linked *yamaka*' (*verschränkte Yamaka*) whose presence has been obscured by later copyists unfamiliar with the figure. Aichele's reconstructions based on the *yamaka* allow us to dispense with the anomalous uses of *amogha* ('it happened that; suddenly') and *ikā* ('that'), replacing them with *aho yateka* ('ah, behold') and *rikā* ('to that') to arrive at a more felicitous reading of the original:

kucur nikaṅ wway umělěkah sakeṅ watu
wětu*nya śītala tuwi yālilaṅ m*aho
aho *yateka milu maweh panas* rikā[5]
ri kā*la niṅ priyawirahā tatan matīs* (KR 16.26)

The gush of water spouting from stone,
Emerges coolly, and is moreover pure and clear,
Ah, behold! That too joins in giving a feeling of heat to him (the sufferer),
At the time one suffers the pangs of separation (cool water) has no coolness.[6]

While *yamaka*s are rarely found in works later than the KR, Aichele (1926:935) has noted that what he terms 'the two-way *yamaka*' was employed as late as the fourteenth century by the learned author of the *Deśawarṇana* (DW), or *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. Noting that this difficult figure '[…] was clearly—and happily—not taken up very enthusiastically by the Kawi poets', Aichele (1926:936) cites DW 97.3 as an illustration of this type of *yamaka* used by a poet (Mpu Prapañca) writing nearly six hundred years later than the composition of the KR. In this complex use of the figure *yamaka* the first clause (*mataruṅ tuhu wany*) is then repeated in a clause that, in terms of *akṣara*s used, is the mirror image

5. Prior to the corrections Aichele made based on an analysis of *yamaka*, KR 16.26c has been read by Santoso (1980a:396), in agreement with Kern, as: *amogha teka milu maweh panass ikā*.

6. Aichele's translation (1926:935) reads:
Sprühend strömt das Wasser aus dem Fels,
Kühl kommt es heraus, hell und klar.
Aber ach, auch es bringt ihm (nämlich dem nach seiner Sītā sich sehnenden Rāma) nur wieder neue brennende Qual.
Denn ist man von der Geliebten getrennt, erscheint es nicht kühl.

of the first ([*praṅ*]*nya wahu turuṅ tama*):[7]

> *mataruṅ tuhu wany aprah̀, praṅnya wahu turuṅ tama*
>
> He clashes truly, daring to give a fight.
> His fight is just begun, he is not yet skilled.[8]

Robson (1995:150–1) in his notes on DW 97.1–3 expresses strong displeasure with these verses:

> These stanzas are utter doggerel; the Old Javanese is scarcely susceptible of translation into sensible English. This is because in each stanza lines a and b, c and d are the mirror-image of each other, a feat that could only be achieved at the cost of sense.

While Robson may be justified in his complaint against Prapañca we will briefly discuss recent works by Bronner (1999) and Tubb (2003) that suggest that uses of figures like *yamaka* and *śleṣa* (overlaying of two separate meanings in a similar word or phrase) were an essential part of the Sanskrit tradition whose reflections in the Old Javanese tradition deserve a less pejorative reading.

C. Hooykaas on yamaka in the BK and KR

In one of several articles written in the period 1955–1958 Hooykaas demonstrated the remarkable resemblances between the BK and KR and claimed the status of 'exemplary Kakawin' for the KR, noting that of all works from the corpus of literary creations in the Old Javanese language the KR most clearly incorporates South Asian figures of speech that were the focus of the work of

7. See Minkowski (2004) for a discussion of 'bidirectional poetry' in the Sanskrit tradition.

8. The translation here is that of Robson (1995:85). The third and fourth hemistichs of DW 97.3 are also in the form of a 'two-way *yamaka*', as are each of the half-verses of DW 97.1–2. DW 97.3cd reads as follows:

> *masa liṅgara śūnya prih / prihnya śūra galiṅ sama*

See Pigeaud (1960:75) for the Old Javanese text of this verse. Robson (1995:96) translated these lines as follows:

> He would never falter, for the Void he strives,
> His striving is heroic, he is fierce in quietude.

Robson understands *gal* of DW 97.3d as perhaps related to Modern Javanese '*agal*, "rough, coarse" or […] Old Javanese *agul-agul*, "fierce, warlike" '; and *sana* as perhaps derived from '*sama*, "quietude" '.

early theorists like Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha.[9] As he notes these were exemplified by the poet Bhaṭṭi in his BK. He called special attention to Bhaṭṭi's treatment of 'figures of sound' (*śabdālaṃkāra*) in BK 10.1–22 and his treatment of 'figures of sense' (*arthālaṃkāra*) in BK 10.22–74, noting that in the first case the exposition of *śabdālaṃkāra* by Bhaṭṭi is not directly mirrored in the thematically corresponding passages of the KR, but is rather dispersed throughout the entire work.[10] Addressing the question of the chronological order of these works Hooykaas (1957:356, 358) noted that a group of early copyists of the BK, whom he aptly termed 'precommentators', added explanatory sub-headings to the figures exemplified in the tenth canto of that work. In doing so they made a number of errors of identification when they assumed that Bhaṭṭi followed the order of presentation of *yamaka* as found in the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin and *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Bhāmaha, which were later corrected by the commentator Jayamaṅgala (circa eighth–ninth centuries AD), or still later by Mallinātha (circa 1325–1425 AD).[11] Hooykaas concluded from these considerations that Bhaṭṭi was writing prior to the time of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, thus sometime prior to the early seventh century AD.[12] We will return to this point below.

9. Departing somewhat from Hooykaas' description (1955, 1958c) of the KR as 'exemplary', I have claimed elsewhere (Hunter forthcoming) that the KR is 'exemplary' only in the sense of its reflecting most closely the figural tradition of the Kāvya of South Asia, and that it is the *Arjunawiwāha* of Mpu Kaṇwa, composed circa 1035 AD, that is most clearly 'exemplary' for the later tradition of composition in Kakawin form. To this the caveat must be added that the Kakawin composers of the Balinese tradition drew heavily on the poetics of the KR, and in that sense the latter work remained 'exemplary' alongside the *Arjunawiwāha* and its successors. See Creese (1998:133) on the latter point.

10. The thematically corresponding verses for BK 10.1–22 are KR 11.1–7, which are developed in terms of lengthy verses in Daṇḍaka metre that do not directly reflect Bhaṭṭi's exposition of *anuprāsavat* (BK 10.1) and twenty-one forms of *yamaka* (BK 10.2–22). On the other hand not a few of Bhaṭṭi's examples of 'figures of sense (*arthālaṃkāra*) in BK 10.22–74 are directly reflected in KR 11.9–96. Hooykaas (1957) intended to make a thorough comparison of the figures of KR 11.9–96 to those of Bhaṭṭi, but was not able to accomplish this goal during his lifetime. The same goal remains a desideratum for the present author, and represents a theme that calls out for the attention of the next generation of scholars. That the *arthālaṃkāra*s of Bhaṭṭi are developed more generally in the KR, as well as specifically in KR 11.9–96, makes this a more challenging project than it would be had the composers of the KR confined their development of *arthālaṃkāra* to the passages directly reflecting the exposition of Bhaṭṭi.

11. In his *Ekāvalī*, a work on rhetoric, Mallinātha refers to king Vīra-Narasiṃha who was reigning in 1314 AD, while in another work on rhetoric, titled *Pratāparudrīya*, he refers to King Pratāparudra, who reigned 1295–1323 AD. Based on these considerations Kale (1981:xxxix) concludes that 'the date of Mallinātha approximately falls somewhere between 1325 and 1425 A.D'.

12. On the date of Daṇḍin, see Rabe (1997). He uses the autobiographical prologue to the *Avantisundarīkathā* as the basis of his estimate of a period between 685–729 AD for Daṇḍin's life.

In his study of the occurrences of *yamaka* in the KR, Hooykaas (1958d) called attention to two aspects of the use of *yamaka* in the text that have a continuing role to play in further studies of the subject. The first of these is his recognition that the various types of *yamaka* exemplified by Bhaṭṭi in BK 10.2–22 were not directly translated into corresponding verses of the KR. He found instead that the poet (or poets) of the Old Javanese text made use of *yamaka* on numerous occasions and that they are thus spread throughout the work.[13] Perhaps more important still, he also noted a number of points at which numerous *yamaka* are employed in what he termed '*yamaka* blocks'. These are found at the following three points in the KR:

- the depiction of the building of the bridge to Laṅkā (KR 16.1–40)
- the description of the restoration of Laṅkā (KR 24.97–123)
- the description of the return of Rāma and Sītā to Ayodhyā by an aerial chariot (KR 24.253–26.9)

A second important point put forward by Hooykaas (1958d:130–2) is the question of what he termed 'assonances'. It appears that in his efforts to demonstrate the large number of *yamaka* to be found in the KR, Hooykaas was led to include passages that may not have been framed so much as *yamaka* as combinations of *yamaka* with effects of alliteration and assonance, the *anuprāsavat* of BK 10.1. For our purposes, what is most interesting about his presentation of these effects of assonance is not so much what they tell us about the relatively free interpretation of phonological constraints on the construction of *yamaka* in the many instances Hooykaas enumerates in the appendix to his article (1958d:136–7) but what they reveal about working methods of the poets and pedagogues of ancient Java.

One type of assonance which Hooykaas describes is based on the pairing of words where a medial or final /k/ can alternate with a medial or final /g/ in sets like *warak*/*warĕg* (KR 2.26d) and *sāk*/*sāgara* (KR 24.33a). This suggests that while /k/ and /g/ were phonemic in Old Javanese there was a tendency toward similarity of pronunciation, especially in the final position, where the non-release of the final stop reduces the degree of acoustical difference between voiced and unvoiced velar stops. That the poets of ancient Java appear to accept

13. See Hunter (forthcoming) for a discussion of the possibility that the KR was composed by multiple authors, in this sense comparable to the collective work that went into the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs of Caṇḍi Loro Jonggrang.

assonant sets like *warak*/*warĕg* suggests that they were sensitive to the relatively low degree of acoustical difference between these phonemes of Old Javanese, and incorporated this sensitivity into their construction of *yamaka*. A similar degree of latitude at the phonemic level can be found in works of the Sanskrit tradition, where (as is the case in the extended *yamaka* series of *Raghuvaṃśa* 9.1–54) *yamaka*s apply at the pre-*sandhi* level, and so appear 'assonant' in the post-*sandhi* realization of the text.

Another type of assonance studied by Hooykaas in connection with *yamaka* of the KR corresponds to the accommodation of phonemes that are contrastive in Indian phonology to the Old Javanese case, where they are not. These are very telling cases of 'assonance' in that they suggest an early understanding of differences between the phonological contrasts of Sanskrit and those of Old Javanese that was later reflected in the development of a system of 'orthographic mysticism' in Bali.[14] In the Balinese case the development of a metaphysics of the written sign appears to have grown out of the close attention paid in the priestly tradition to retaining Indian phonological contrasts in orthography that were not reflected in pronunciation, thus preserving in graphemic form the high status language of liturgy (Sanskrit) and thus in a sense recapitulating the Indian concern with correct preservation of the Veda that had given rise to auxiliary sciences (*vedāṅga*) like metrics, phonetics and grammatical analysis.

Hooykaas (1958d:133–4) developed his brief comments on the types of 'assonance' that reflect alternations between Indo-European and Austronesian phonological systems in his rules numbered 11 (*t* and *ṭ*), 12 (*d* and *ḍ*), 13 (*n* and *ṇ*), 14 (*p* and *ph*), 15 (*b* and *bh*), 17 (*b*/*bh* with *w*), 22 (*s* and *ś*), 23 (*s* and *ṣ*) and 24 (*ṣ* and *ś*). A few examples should bring out the fact that these are all contrasts that depend on sensitivity to differing phonological constraints between Sanskrit (an Indo-European language) and Old Javanese (an Austronesian language). We have printed in roman type cases of *yamaka* that result from these differing phonological constraints:

- assonance of Old Javanese /d/ and Sanskrit /dh/:

  *asiṅ-asiṅa ta s*ādhyā*n* / *d*adya *tan d*adya *madwā* (KR 6.59d)

- assonance of Old Javanese /b/ and Sanskrit /bh/:

  biṣa*ma* bhīṣa*ṇa* (KR 3.34bc)

14. See Hunter (2007a) for a study of 'orthographic mysticism', Rubinstein (2000) for a study under the term 'alphabet mysticism'.

In the 'orthographic sets' reproduced above we find evidence of a conscious choice around the treatment in Old Javanese of contrastive phonemes of Sanskrit that had no parallel in the Old Javanese phonological system. The decision made by the poets and scholars of ancient Java—and I believe we must count it as a decision—was to retain the contrasts orthographically, but to treat them as non-existent with respect to the production of *yamaka*. In these cases, the *yamaka* of the KR are thus figures that depend not on orthography (or a unity of orthography and pronunciation) but on pronunciation. These were thus 'figures of reading' whose enjoyment depended on their sonorous qualities as appreciated in the environment of a public reading of the text, but also referred back to phonological contrasts retained in orthography that bespeak the importance of the written letter in the Javano-Balinese tradition.

Other instances of what Hooykaas regarded as 'rules of assonance' evident in the KR can be understood as reflecting matters of morphosyntax that appear to provide evidence of a particular treatment of crucial morphophonemes in the Old Javanese system of voice affixes. A careful examination of the 'rules' adduced by Hooykaas suggests that the ancient Javanese poets and theorists were aware of the difference between morphosyntactic markers and the lexical base of their language. This comes out in their treatment of voice affixes like *-um-* and *-in-*, which can be described in terms of what Himmelmann (2005:112–3) calls Actor and Undergoer Voice constructions in his study of the typological characteristics of Austronesian languages.[15] Hooykaas describes these under his Rules 25 and 27, in so doing citing several examples that suggest that these morphosyntactic makers were regarded as 'invisible' with respect to the formation of *yamaka*. Let us first review his discussion:

- Rule 25 (Hooykaas 1958d:134): assonance that depends on disregard of the Undergoer Voice marker *-in-*

  For the purpose of assonance the grammatical infix *-in-* […] may not be heard and can be overlooked: *piṇḍan pinaṇḍĕm* (XXI.197a); *akuṅ kinuṅkuṅ* (III.21c), *pinatih patih* (XIV.19); *awurahan*/*winarahan* (XVI.38cd).[16]

15. Himmelmann speaks of 'symmetrical voice' as a defining characteristic of one of two basic types of western Austronesian languages (the other being 'preposed possessor languages'). In this type of language '[t]he defining characteristic […] is the presence of at least two voice alternations marked on the verb, neither of which is clearly the basic form'. The two voices correspond with those called Active and Passive in the terminology traditional before the development of linguistic typology as a field of scientific enquiry.

16. There is no doubt that an infix like *-in-* or *-um-* would be 'heard' in the recitation of a text; what is crucial is that these affixes were understood as operating at a higher level of linguistic

- Rule 27 (Hooykaas 1958d:134): assonance that depends on disregard of the Actor Voice marker *-um-*

  The grammatical infix *-um-* […]: *agaliṅ gumuluṅ* (VI.137d); *akĕlĕm kumĕlĕm* (VI.138b), *lumumpat*, *analimpĕtakĕn* (V.42d), *tumurun matāku maturū hanêṅ lĕmah* (VIII.159).

While more evidence from the KR supporting Hooykaas' rules 25 and 27 would be useful, *yamaka* sets like *p*in*atih patih* and a*kĕlĕm k*um*ĕlĕm* are sufficiently clear to offer convincing evidence that the poets of ancient Java did indeed understand voice-marking affixes as distinct from the lexical base, and therefore could be treated as 'invisible' with respect to the formation of *yamaka*s.

In conclusion, the 'rules of assonance' of Hooykaas can be reanalysed in ways that shed light on phonological phenomena within Old Javanese (similarity of voiced and unvoiced final velar stops), between Old Javanese and Sanskrit (sets like *d*/*ḍ* and *b*/*bh* that were non-contrastive in Old Javanese) and between differing levels of morphosyntactic arrangement within Old Javanese (the 'invisibility' of voice-markers in the construction of *yamaka* sets).

Some of the *yamaka* adduced by Hooykaas are based on the full or partial reduplication of a lexical base, thus falling within the more primitive category of *āmredita* and arguably not eligible as true *yamaka*, at least in Daṇḍin's system, where a difference in meaning in the repeated phrase is required.[17] At other times, however, the use of reduplicated words is positioned in such a way that we can be sure a *yamaka* is intended. KR 17.127, for example, is a case of what appears to be intended as a *pādādi-yamaka* (*yamaka* occurring at the beginning of each of the four lines of a verse):

*ma*dulur-dulur *yārampukan asana*
*maṅ*iduṅ-iduṅ *yācaṅkrama kasukan*
*ma*turu-turū *roṇ-ḍon pinaka-tilam*
t*um*ĕṅa-teṅā *riṅ candra-wilasita* || KR 17.127 ||

Together they arranged flowers in each other's hair,
Singing together they strolled about happily,

organization than the lexical, and hence could be treated differently with respect to the formation of *yamaka*. We should also note that Hooykaas' examples incorporate other types of 'permissible assonance' in the formation of *yamaka*, for example the equivalence of *-ṇḍan* and *-ṇḍĕm* in his first example for Rule 25.

17. A typical example of a simple repetition *āmreḍita* that in terms of the classical Sanskrit tradition should not be eligible for interpretation as a *yamaka* can be found in the phrase *wīnāni-wāni* (*metri causa* for *wināni-wāni*) in KR 8.60a, cited by Hooykaas in his discussion of *yamaka*, where the reduplicated form is redundant, both *wāni* and *wināni* meaning 'brave'.

At times they reclined to sleep on sleeping mats made of leaves,
Or looked up again and again at the play of the moonlight.

With this charming example of the ways that the poets of ancient Java developed *yamaka* as a prominent form of figure in the KR we will close this brief review of the work of Hooykaas and move on to a consideration of more recent works dealing with *yamaka* in the Sanskrit tradition.

Renate Söhnen (1995) and Gary Tubb (2003) on yamaka

Söhnen's critical study (1995) of *yamaka* in the Sanskrit tradition represents an important step forward in our understanding of the history of Indian poetics in that she traces the development of systematization in the analysis of *yamaka*. While we can only briefly summarize her work here, it is important to note that she traces a line of development from the *āmreḍita*, or 'simple reduplications' of the Vedic hymns, through the exposition of a variety of *yamaka* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. As she notes, the *yamaka*s of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are presented without any apparent attempt at systematization, and the work of Bhaṭṭi in BK 10.2–22 is thus innovative, in that there is very clear evidence there of a systematization based on the materials of Bharata. She notes, for example, that Bhaṭṭi has based his *sarvayamaka* on Bharata's *caturvyavasita-yamaka* 'where the same *pāda* ['verse-quarter'] is to be read 4 times, each with a different meaning' (Söhnen 1995:498). In a similar vein she notes that Bhaṭṭi's *mahā-yamaka* (repetition of an entire stanza) 'seems to be one logical step further from [Bharata's] *samudga-yamaka* (the repetition of half a stanza)' (Söhnen 1995:498). She further notes that Bhaṭṭi has rearranged the materials of Bharata so that all representatives of what she terms 'end-rhyme' and 'geminate' types of *yamaka* are grouped together.[18]

Our understanding of the historical sequence of Bhaṭṭi with respect to Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha is also greatly enhanced by Söhnen's study. As she notes, it was not Bhaṭṭi, but Daṇḍin who first introduced a fundamental distinction between *avyapeta* (contingent) and *vyapeta* (non-contingent) forms of *yamaka*, a theoretical move of great importance that she notes is reflected in the *Agni-purāṇa*, but not in Bhāmaha.[19] Söhnen's study thus supports Hooykaas' conclusion noted above that Bhaṭṭi should be understood as anterior to Daṇḍin

18. See Söhnen (1995:508–9) for a concordance of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and BK. As she notes, a close examination of the list suggests that 'one can hardly maintain any longer that the sequence [introduced by Bhaṭṭi] is due to chance'.

19. The terms 'contingent' and 'non-contingent' here mean that the repeated phrase of a *yamaka* falls immediately after its original ('contingent') or is separated by several other words, phrases

and Bhāmaha, thus falling sometime in the late sixth or early seventh century, well after the time of Kālidāsa and roughly contemporaneous with Bhāravi.[20]

Another important contribution to the study of *yamaka* has been put forward by Gary Tubb (2003) in a seminar paper titled 'Kāvya with Bells On: *Yamaka* in the *Śiśupālavadha*' that draws immediate attention to the importance of sonorous or musical effects in the composition of figures like *yamaka*. For the present purposes one of the most useful insights to be gained from a review of his work is his analysis of an extended series of *yamaka* in the first fifty-four verses of the ninth canto of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* (Ragh). First of all, we note his comments on the sonorous aspects of this series of *yamaka*s (2003:21):

> This passage is apparently the model for many of the features connected with the use of *yamaka* in Māgha and in Bhāravi before him, including some things that can be seen in Bhaṭṭi as well, such as the association of *yamaka* with the Drutavilambita metre and with the use of a series of different metres.
>
> [These *yamaka*s follow] a very regular and simple scheme, in which the series of sounds composed by the second, third and fourth syllables in the last quarter of each verse is repeated once:
>
> ˘ ˘ ˘ - [y] ˘ ˘ - [y] ˘ ˘ - | ˘ |[21]
>
> The regularity of repetitions, verse after verse, allows for the use of the hypnotic possibilities of extended *yamaka* performances.

As Tubb also notes (2003:18), Bhaṭṭi's emphasis on the systematic aspects of *yamaka* means that he cannot 'exemplify effects that depend upon the repeated

or lines ('non-contingent'). The repeated phrase *pramadāpramadā-* ('proud young women [became] devoid of joy') of BK 10.9 (see above, note 2 and below, p. 38) is an example of a 'contingent' *yamaka*, while the phrase *nārīṇām* repeated at the beginning of each of four lines of BK 10.13 (see below, p. 38) is an example of a non-contingent *yamaka*.

20. We should not fail to note that Tubb (2003:19) has problematized Söhnen's account, first by noting that one of the *yamaka*s in BK 10.21 may have been borrowed from verse 5.13 of the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi. He concludes:

> If we look at literary borrowings within the poetry of the *yamaka* sections, however, there are possible connections not only with Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, but even with Māgha, and the direction of borrowing in each instance is not immediately clear.

I myself find less reason to doubt Söhnen's reconstruction of a chronology that positions Bhaṭṭi prior to Daṇḍin (seenote 12 above for a dating of Daṇḍin in the period 685–729 AD), and certainly to Māgha, whose *Śiśupālavadha* is said to have been inspired by Bhāravi. More caution may be necessary in the case of Bhāravi, whose *terminus ante quem* is provided by Ravikīrti's mention of his fame in the Aihoḷe inscription of 634/35 AD.

21. For this paper I have used the identifying symbol [y] to mark the *yamaka*, which are marked in Tubb's seminar paper by enclosing the *yamaka* in boxes. I have also altered Tubb's original (2003:22) by adding a vertical line following the penultimate division of the metre.

use of a particular variety of *yamaka*'. At the same time, an analysis of the interaction of *yamaka*-based groupings of syllables with metrical constraints suggests that Bhaṭṭi was well aware of the sonorous qualities of *yamaka* and could use them to great effect.

To take one example, we note that Bhaṭṭi has chosen Praharṣiṇī metre for his exposition of the line-initial 'stem-*yamaka*' of BK 10.13. Here he takes advantage of the three heavy (*guru*) syllables that initiate each line of the metre to strengthen the 'stem-like' effect of the *vṛnta-yamaka*:

nārīṇām *apanunudur na dehakhedān*
nārīṇām*ala-salilā hiraṇya-vāpyaḥ* |
nārīṇām *analāparīta-patra-puṣpān*
nārīṇām *abhavad upetya śarma vṛkṣān* || BK 10.13 ||[22]

- - - [y] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ - ⏑ | - ⏑ - | ⏓
- - - [y] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ - ⏑ | - ⏑ - | ⏓ |
- - - [y] ⏑ ⏑ - | ⏑ - ⏑ | - ⏑ - | ⏓
- - - [y] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ - ⏑ | - ⏑ - | ⏓ ||

When we turn from formal to figural aspects of Bhaṭṭi's use of *yamaka*, we can also profit from Tubb's insights. Like Bronner (1999), Tubb is interested in developing a critical understanding of figures like *yamaka* and *śleṣa* that depend either on differing interpretations of repeated phonological sequences (*yamaka*), or the overlay of two differing meanings on identical sequences (*śleṣa*). While the advent of the 'school of suggestion' (*dhvani*) appears to have led to a de-emphasis on 'figures of sound' (*śabdālaṃkāra*) like *yamaka* in South Asia, *śleṣa* continued to grow in popularity to the extent that entire works might be superimposed one upon the other in Kāvya like the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* that is the focus of the dissertation work of Bronner (1999).

Tubb focuses his analysis of the literary effects of extended passages of *yamaka* with a study of Kālidāsa's use of *yamaka* in the ninth canto of his *Raghuvaṃśa* to bring out inherent tensions between Daśaratha's ordinarily restrained nature and the intoxicating—and ultimately disastrous—effects that the thrill of the hunt has on his career. We can follow Tubb's lead here to look more closely at how Kālidāsa achieves these juxtapositions through the use of *yamaka*. In the beginning of an extended series of verses containing *yamaka*s that focus on the virtues of Daśaratha (9.7 of the sequence Ragh 9.1–54) Kālidāsa hints at what is to follow by portraying Daśaratha as being 'not carried away' (*na* […]

22. See p. 38 below for a translation of this verse.

apāharat) by 'the pleasures of the hunt' (*mṛgayābhiratiḥ*), and develops a 'non-contingent' (*vyapeta*) *yamaka* that contrasts the 'striving' of Daśaratha in the service of his kingdom (*yatamānam*) with the potentially intoxicating effects of the youthful beauty of 'his beloved' (*priyatamā*). Near the end of this sequence of verses containing *yamaka*s, Kālidāsa more clearly presages the tragic consequences of Daśaratha's slaying of the son of a sage in a hunting accident. In a verse (9.49) that lays out the reasons he has given to his ministers to ensure their agreement to his setting out for the hunt, Kālidāsa develops a *yamaka* that shifts attention from the positive effects of the act of hunting on the health and strength of the king's body (*tanum*) via a conjunction of cause or reason (*ataḥ*) to the agreement of his ministers (*anumataḥ*):

> *paricayaṃ cala-lakṣya-nipātena* |
> *bhaya-ruṣoś ca tad-iṅgita-bodhanam* |
> *śrama-jayāt praguṇāṃ ca karoty asau* |
> *t*anum ato 'numataḥ *sacivair yayau* || Ragh 9.49 ||[23]
>
> Becoming familiar with shooting down a moving-mark, knowledgeable in the subtle gestures that reveal the fearful or ferocious disposition of one's (prey) and making one's body full of good qualities through the conquest of fatigue, he set out, having received the consent of his ministers on these grounds.

Returning to the analysis of Tubb we cite here at some length his comments on how Bhaṭṭi achieved similar effects with his use of *yamaka* in BK 10.2–22, and the more general theme of relationship of *yamaka* to *śleṣa*:

> Probably the most important difference between *yamaka* and *śleṣa* is that while *śleṣa* may lend itself to treatments of disguised characters because it involves two meanings masquerading as one, *yamaka* is more likely to be used in connection with two identities that are both on public display […] whether these two identities are simultaneous, as we […] see in Kālidāsa's […] description of Daśaratha, with its exposure of the contrasts and balances in his character, or sequential, as we will see in the fear and destruction brought about by the violence in the battle cantos of Bhāravi and Māgha, and as can be seen in Bhaṭṭi's description of the effects of the fire in Laṅkā […]
>
> [Bhaṭṭi] announces the theme of discord in his first *yamaka* verse and, in many of the *yamaka*s that follow, the effect is one of the deconstruction of an identity

23. Note that in this verse *yamaka*s are assumed to be based on phonological sequences prior to the application of rules of euphony (*sandhi*). This exemplifies the process of basing *yamaka* on the pre-*sandhi* reading of a phrase mentioned above, p. 31.

previously assumed to be stable—a sort of linguistic examination of the reliability of designations:

na gajā nagajā dayitādayitā
vigataṃ vigataṃ lalitaṃ lalitam
pramadāpramadāmahatā mahatām
araṇaṃ maraṇaṃ samayāt samayāt || BK 10.9 ||

Mountain-born elephants, prized, were not protected;
Flocks of birds vanished; the cherished was tortured'
Young women became joyless, injured by running;
Death without a fight came to the great because of fate.[24]

We can add here that the same 'unreliability of designations' comes out clearly in the previously analysed verse BK 10.13, where the normally cooling effects of water and shade-trees have been cancelled by the fire raging in Laṅkā:

nārīṇām *apanunudur na dehakhedān*
nārīṇām*ala-salilā hiraṇya-vāpyaḥ*
nārīṇām *analāparīta-patra-puṣpān*
nārīṇām *abhavad upetya śarma vṛkṣān* || BK 10.13 ||[25]

Women were not able to ward off the intense heat of their bodies,
With the dried-up pure water of golden wells,
And there was no comfort for those women of the enemy side
who came near to trees whose leaves and flowers had been seized by fire.

Bhaṭṭi also uses *yamaka* to heighten particular aspects of a description. In BK 10.19, for example, he capitalizes on the insistent repetition of a *sarva-yamaka* to bring a veritable crescendo to a description of Hanuman's triumphant return from Laṅkā to suggest that all nature, and even the gods revel in his victory:

babhau marutvān vi-kṛtaḥ sa-mudro
babhau marutvān vikṛtaḥ sa-mudraḥ
babhau marutvān vikṛtaḥ sa-mudro
babhau marutvān vi-kṛtaḥ sa mudraḥ || BK 10.19 ||

[Hanuman], son of the wind, who had accomplished many tasks and who bore [the crest-jewel of Sītā as his] insignia, shone forth,

24. Cited from Tubb (2003:20–1).

25. I have taken the liberty of changing the syntax of the (a) and (b) lines, which should have the extended noun phrase of the (b) line as subject to the verb phrase of the first line, using instead a passive formation using 'with' rather than the usual 'by' of a by-phrase.

> [Indra], lord of the gods of wind, along with the *apsaras*, became radiant [on account of Hanuman's victory],
> The ocean broke free from its banks, churned by the gales [roused by Hanuman's flight],
> [Even Vāyu], lord of the winds, joyous [at the arrival of his son], took a slower pace, and became all the more attractive.

As Tubb (2003:21) has suggested, Bhaṭṭi's uses of *yamaka* 'bring out the possibilities available in the device […] that [were] put to good effect by other poets'. As we will see below, several poets of ancient Java can be counted among those who made effective use of the *yamaka* exemplified by Bhaṭṭi. We cannot yet be certain that Bhaṭṭi was the only Indian author whose uses of *yamaka* influence the poets of ancient Java—indeed we must consider at least Kālidāsa in this respect—but the evidence that he was an important influence is no longer in dispute.

Yamaka in the Śiwagṛha inscription of 856 AD

As De Casparis (1956:281) has noted, the metrical inscription of 856 AD is important to students of the Indonesian archipelago for three distinct reasons:

- first, it gives us the first evidence for writing in the Kakawin form, using the Old Javanese language but incorporating metres, figures and tropes of the Sanskrit tradition
- second, it is an important source of information on the history of central Java in the mid-ninth century
- third, it describes in some detail a major temple complex that may well be the Śaivite complex at Caṇḍi Prambanan

I follow here Aichele's claim (1969:142–7) that the description of a 'sanctuary of Shiva' (*śiwālaya*) in this inscription is strongly suggestive of the Śaivite complex of Caṇḍi Prambanan and that both the language of the inscription and a similar description of a *śiwālaya* found in KR 8.43–59, suggest that the KR and the Śiwagṛha inscription are products of the same historical period. While De Casparis' interpretation (1956:280–330) of the historical details reflected in the inscription has been largely accepted in the past, there may be reason to doubt his claim that it refers to the dedication of an important temple by Rakai Pikatan, possibly upon his abdication in 856 AD in favour of his son Pu

Kayuwangi, and his simultaneous dedication of a temple whose functions included the apotheosis of his father, Pu Gading. I will not attempt to carry forward an analysis of claims for and against those of De Casparis, but will simply note that the inscription itself speaks of a momentous occasion, one that would quite reasonably be expected to exemplify the kind of rhetorical composition favouring *yamaka* that Tubb has spoken of as being favoured (in this time period) when (royal) identities are on public display.

Recalling Tubb's comments (2003:20) on the use of *yamaka* when 'two identities are on public display' and the crescendo-like effects of sequential *yamaka* in the praise of Hanuman in BK 10.19, there are good reasons to suppose that the author(s) of the Śiwagṛha inscription employed *yamaka* for similar effects, seeking through the repetitions of the *yamaka* form to add weight and grandeur to the dedicatory verses for a monument that must have been of great importance to the ruling monarch. That the work of Bhaṭṭi may have served as a model for the composition of this inscription as much as it did for the composition of the KR comes out in the fact that *yamaka*s in this inscription are linked with a variety of metres, thus parallel with Bhaṭṭi's practice in BK 10.2–22.

There are serious lacunae in the transcription of De Casparis due to weathering of the stone on which it was engraved, and several lines pose challenges to analysis that to date remain unresolved; however, there are also a good many lines containing *yamaka* that can be understood with reasonable certainty that our interpretation has not gone too far astray. I will review a number of representative lines below:[26]

a. From verses in Vasantatilaka metre

6.b *maṅrakṣa bhūmi ri* jawārjawa - -

sincere and upright (*arjawa*) he protected the land of Java (*jawa*).

10.a *rājñe ta saṅ* patih *ayat* patih*ākalaṅka*

the prime minister began to prepare spotlessly pure royal funerary rites for the king.[27]

26. All translations are my own except where otherwise indicated. In large part my translations are consonant with those of De Casparis (1956).

27. De Casparis (1956:319, note 21) claims that *rājñe* 'is not a Sanskrit dative' but rather represents the Old Javanese-Sanskrit amalgam *ra-ājñā* + locative preposition *i*. However, it is clear that he misunderstood the construction, since it is impossible for the locative preposition (*i*) to precede the main marker of discourse prominence in Old Javanese (*ta*). It appears rather that the Sanskrit *rājñe* is indeed intended here and that the phrase should be read 'for the king'. See Hoff (1998) for a recent discussion of discourse salience in Old Javanese. De Casparis notes that

10.c *meraṅ* ṅuni *n* ṅuni-ṅuni *n samarān thanīwuṅ*

He was ashamed that in the past the battle in Iwung village had been excessive.[28]

b. From verses in Rajanī metre

15.d *mahayu kuaih t*a pānti *tin*apān ti*ruan sawaluy*[29]

beautiful were the many smaller buildings, fitted out as hermitages, proper to be imitated in their turn.[30]

16.b *nikaṭa bhaṭāra yan tuwuh a*pūrwwa *ri* pūrwwa-*diśa*

its being close to a deity was the reason for its unprecedented growth, there in the eastern quarter (of the temple yard).[31]

patiha is a derivative of *tiha*, otherwise (and more commonly) spelled *tiwa*; see OJED (2026) s.v. *tiwa*, 'cremation, funerary rites'.

28. It can be argued that *ṅuni-ṅuni* should be taken in the more usual sense of 'moreover'; however, I believe the context supports my interpretation of this reduplicated form as 'in the past'. As De Casparis notes the inscription partly concerns the gift of 'tax-free' (*sīma*) land to Wantil, who may be presumed to be the official termed *pamĕgat* (perhaps: 'ritual surveyor of *sīma* lands') of *Iwung*, a village that presumably had been devastated in a war referred to in the inscription, which De Casparis takes to be the struggle of Rakai Pikatan with Bālaputra which he believed marked the end of Śailendra power in Central Java.

29. The treatment of the Undergoer Voice infix *-in-* in the phrase *tinapan* of 15.d as 'invisible' with respect to the formation of *yamaka* gives us another illustration of Hooykaas' 'Rule 25' discussed earlier in this paper (p. 32). It seems possible as well that the 'complementizing particle' *n*/*an* was counted among these morphosyntactic elements understood as representing a level of linguistic structure separate from the lexical base, and that sequences including the complementizing particle *n*/*an* were also treated as 'invisible' with respect to the formation of *yamaka*. Thus the sequence *ṅuni n ṅuni-ṅuni* should be read as a 'contingent' (*avyapeta*) *yamaka*, parallel with the other *yamaka* in this sequence of verses.

30. De Casparis (1956:323, note 57) doubts that small buildings designed to be used by ascetics would be beautiful (*ma-hayu*), but there are many descriptions of beautiful hermitages in the Kakawin. Note that once again the Undergoer Voice marker *-in-* (in the phrase *tinapan*) has been treated as transparent with respect to the formation of the *yamaka*. It need hardly be added that the identical treatment of morphosyntactic markers as 'invisible' in the formation of *yamaka* in both the KR and the Śiwagṛha inscription strongly supports Aichele's claim (1969) that these two works were products 'of the same workshop'.

31. Referring to a great tree first mentioned in 16.a.

16.c *atisaya pārijātaka-ta*rūpa*ma* rū<pa>*niyān*[32]

extraordinary, comparable to a heavenly-corral-tree, its form.

17.d *sa-gupura parhyaṅan a*gaṇitāṅgana tā *pacalān*

the sanctuary had tall, temple-gates (and) countless immobile (sculptures of) beautiful women[33]

18a *apa ta paḍanya* diwya*tama* diwya*kĕnā ya hanā*

what could be its equal in divine splendour? it existed in order to be deified.[34]

18d atiśaya taṅ ṅaranya taṅaranya *mah*ātisa ya

it could only be called extraordinary; that was the sign (that it) might bring relief.

This final example from the metrical inscription of 856 AD calls for special note. In formal terms it must be counted among the type of *yamaka* Daṇḍin described under the category of *duṣkara*, 'difficult'. It begins with a 'non-contingent, verse initial and final' *yamaka* (*vyapeta*, *pādādyanta-yamaka*) based on the mirroring of verse-initial *atiśaya* with verse-final [*mah*]*ātisa ya*. This is followed by a contingent, verse-medial *yamaka* (*avyapeta*, *pādamadhya-yamaka*) based on the mirroring of *taṅ ṅaranya* in the following phrase *taṅaranya*. But note that the second half of the line (*taṅaranya* [*m*]*ahātisa ya*) represents a redistribution of the elements of the first half, and is thus a type of mirror of the first half

32. There are a number of points that should be clarified here: 1) *atisaya* should read *atiśaya*; 2) <*pa*> represents a reconstruction where there is a lacuna in the text; the reconstruction of De Casparis is perfectly reasonable; 3) the sequence *-niyān* represents a variant on *-niya*, written thus *metri causa* (and fairly commonly) for the more familiar form *-nya*; there are two morphemes spelled *nya* in Old Javanese; one (*nya* II, OJED 1204) represents the dependent form of the third person pronoun, while the other (*nya* I) is explained as a 'deictic particle: look! see! here!'. It is this form of *nya*/*niya* that we find here. The addition of *-n* appears to represent the incorporation of a particle *n*/*an* that often appears as a complementizing morpheme, but sometimes appears simply to be a ligature. See Uhlenbeck (1986:334–41) for a discussion of several particles and clitics in Old Javanese, including *n*/*an*.

33. *Gupura* is *metri causa*, but is also quite common in this form in the later language; *tā* is a known variant on the negative morpheme *tan*. De Casparis supposes that the phrase *tan* (*m*)*a-calān* likely derives from Sanskrit *cala*, 'moving' and is part of a compound phrase which includes the prefix *ma-* and suffix *-an*, the *ma-* converting to *pa-* following *-n* of the negative morpheme (or its equivalent), and to be read 'not moving, immobile'. The slight differences within the presumed *yamaka*-sequences *-gaṇitā-* and *-ganatā-* appear to be acceptable duplets in Old Javanese, as such variants can also be included as *yamaka* in the KR.

34. See De Casparis (1956:325, note 66) for a discussion of *diwyatama* and *diwyakĕnā*.

of the verse (*atiśaya taṅ ṅaranya ta*).[35] The complexity of the uses of *yamaka* in this verse, and the identical treatment of voice-marking affixes as 'invisible' with respect to the formation of *yamaka* in both the Śiwagṛha inscription and the KR suggest that both of these works were produced 'in the same workshop' and that both were exposed to a high level of learning in Sanskrit, especially in terms of the study of the BK. We are on somewhat less firm ground when we look for the influence of rhetoricians like Daṇḍin on these works. However, considering the widespread popularity of Daṇḍin in mainland Southeast Asia, Tibet and other areas outside of the subcontinent, we are not without cause in entertaining the possibility that Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* was known and studied in the Indonesian archipelago.[36]

From the selection of examples of *yamaka* in the Śiwagṛha inscription enumerated here it seems clear that the composer of this inscription understood *yamaka* as a very special figure indeed. If we consider that the composer of the inscription appears to have been tasked with recording the inception of post-mortem rites for Rakai Pikatan, the deceased elder brother of the reigning king, Rakai Kayuwangi, as well as the description of the dedication of a magnificent temple complex that may have served as the site of apotheosis of Rakai Pikatan, and then consider Tubb's comments (2003:20–1) on the role of *yamaka* where identities are on public display we can understand why *yamaka* may have seemed the proper poetic vehicle with which to create a literary simulacrum of the splendours of kingship, and its realization in architectural form. That it was specifically *yamaka* that was chosen in this case suggests an orientation toward the poetic norms of the sixth and seventh centuries on the Indian Subcontinent, well before the period when the *rasa* theory of Ānandavardhana and his followers had begun to erode the position of eminence that *śabdālaṃkāra* like figures like *yamaka* enjoyed in the time of Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi and Māgha. This in turn suggests that a long history of pedagogy and literary praxis of a translocal character lies behind the metrical inscription of 856 AD. No other explanation can account for a state of development in which the conventions of *yamaka*

35. I concur with De Casparis (1956:325, note 70) in reading *taṅaran* as *těṅěra*, 'sign, standard, flag' and *mahātisa* as a compound based on *tis*, 'cool' plus the prefix *maha-*, which is used with adjectives with the sense 'make-be-*x*' (where *x* is the quality of the base), and the irrealis suffix *-a*. This would thus mean, 'that it might bring relief' (from spiritual pain, as well as the physical heat of the sun)'.

36. For studies of the influence of Daṇḍin on the literary traditions of Tibet and Southeast Asia see Hudak (1990), Van der Kuijp (1996), Terwiel (1996) and the review of Hudak by Teeuw (1993). Hooykaas (1956, 1957, 1958c) has noted in his conclusions that Daṇḍin was the primary influence in Java in a number of articles.

could be applied in a manner so close to the Indian practice exemplified in the BK, yet with frequent adjustments to the 'vernacular' norms of Old Javanese.

Yamaka in the KR

We now turn to the question of the role played by *yamaka* in the poetics of the KR. As Hooykaas has shown *yamaka*s are spread all throughout the KR, though rather sparsely in the first ten cantos. Surprisingly, the *yamaka*s of BK 10.2–22 are not reflected in the corresponding passages from the KR, but this may be because the poet has chosen to portray the vigorous scene of Hanuman's burning of Laṅkā and return to Mount Mālyawān through the use of extended passages in *daṇḍaka* metres, which lend themselves to vigorous and often virtuoso displays of descriptive power.

Hooykaas has called special attention to three extended passages that make use of *yamaka* in some form in nearly every line. These are the depiction of the building of the bridge to Laṅkā in KR 16.1–40, the description of the restoration of Laṅkā in KR 24.92–123 and the description of the return of Rāma and Sītā to Ayodhyā by aerial chariot in KR 24.253–26.9. While these extended passages in many ways represent the highest degree of frequency of *yamaka* in the KR there are other somewhat shorter passages that use an extended 'block' of *yamaka* verses with what appear to be particular purposes in mind.[37] I thus propose here to look closely at several '*yamaka* blocks' that occur prior to KR 24.92 in order to gain some understanding of how *yamaka* may contribute to the larger, thematic structure of the KR. I call attention first to KR 8.155, where a tightly constructed series of *yamaka* is used to heighten the effect of a description of Sītā's despondency:

*kapanānta nora ta k*uneṅ [ṅ]-*ikeṅ* uneṅ
mana*nā* mana*h-ku* manas*ar* manāṅ *lanā*
mana*ranta saṅ Madana medi maṅlare*
*ma*mana*h sirā*mana*si maṅrurah hati* || KR 8.155 ||

When will there be an end to it, then, this longing
My heart is annihilated, wondering aimlessly, crying out without cease,
The Love God is tormenting me, teasing me, causing biting pain,
Shooting his arrows he has inflamed and overthrown my heart.

37. For purposes of the present paper I have chosen to avoid a discussion of the *yamaka* passages occurring after KR 24.92, since these have to do with the 'change of voice' that Zoetmulder (1974:230) has noted comes into the poem at this point, and which appears to me to represent a sufficiently different aesthetic to require a special treatment.

In formal terms we can speak here of a series of *yamaka* of the 'verse medial and final' (*pādamadhyānta-*), 'verse-medial' (*pādamadhya-*) and 'verse-initial and final' (*pādādimadhya-yamaka*) types. But the greater power of the verse derives not just from its extended use of *yamaka*, but in its insistence on the sequence *mana-* and the 'painful' aspect of a series lexical items concealed within verbal predicates based on the Actor Voice prefix *maN-*. These include *sasar*, 'go astray, wander aimlessly' (in *manasar*), *anāṅ*, 'wail, whimper' (in *manāṅ*), *saranta*, 'tormented' (in *manaranta*), *panah*, 'arrow' (in *mamanah*, 'shoot with arrow') and *panas*, 'hot' (in *mamanasi*, 'to inflame'). The cumulative effect of these concealments and their concentration within the hypnotically repeated *yamaka*-grouping *mana-* creates a sense of tension and despair that is perfectly suited to this expression of Sītā's pain and longing.

In the description of the building of the causeway to Laṅkā in the sixteenth canto of the KR a '*yamaka* block' is used for purposes that are reminiscent of uses of *yamaka* in the metrical inscription of 856 AD, the BK or KR 8.155 cited above. In KR 16.2 a series of assonances that in some instances can be said to constitute full *yamaka* are used to suggest the enormous size of the undertaking of the building of the causeway, in this sense reminding us of the use of *yamaka* in the inscription of 856 AD to suggest the grandeur of the sacred sanctuary described there. Note that there are both intra-line *yamaka*s and *yamaka*s that extend across two lines in this passage and that in some cases they overlap, with the result that the *yamaka*s of this passage are as 'layered' as any architectural construction:[38]

tibākĕn ikanaṅ gunuṅ anuṅ agöṅ ya tomuṅgwi sor
tumūt gunuṅ anak[*k*] *anekana ikāṅ umuṅgwiṅ ruhur*
śilātala subaddha kapwa tinatān tinumpaṅ tinap
ya teka tinibān lĕmah ya maratā tumūtaṅ hĕnī || KR 16.2 ||

Mountains, each one enormous, were thrown down, taking a position at the base,
While smaller hills were piled up, taking their position as the upper section,
A well-formed stone surface was then arranged, formed in well-organized layers,
That was then overlaid with soil until it became level, with sand joining in as the top layer.

38. The 'layering' of *yamaka*s in descriptions of architectural features in the metrical inscription of 856 AD and the KR may be more than a coincidence.

After the completion of the construction of the causeway to Laṅkā is described the poet turns attention to the arrival of Rāma and his troupe on Mount Suwela on the island of Laṅkā. This leads into an extended, Kāvya-like description of the beauties to be seen on Mount Suwela. Perhaps not surprisingly, as the description of flowering and fruit trees reaches a crescendo, the poet introduces a meditation on the power of the Love God to bring pain and longing. There can be little doubt that this passage harks back to the *yamaka*-laden description of Sītā's longing in KR 8.155, nor is there much doubt that several passages in this sequence hark back to several of the *yamaka* verses of BK 10.2–22. It must then be more than a coincidence that the entire passage on the power of the Love God (KR 16.24–29) are couched in a series of *kañci-yamaka* (or: *cakravāla-yamaka*) that are not only internal to the verses, but connect each succeeding verse to its predecessor.[39] This produces a tightly controlled formal structure that might be read as a meditation on the power of Madana to 'bind' hearts in the same way that a *kañci-yamaka* binds the lines and verses of the poem:

ḍaḍap matöb dalima paḍānĕḍĕṅ kabe*h*
kawe*ni taṅ mulati ya saṅśayeṅ* apuy
apuy *nira-ṅ Madana kunĕṅ* [*ṅ*] *iko*mara*b*[40]
mara*n gĕsĕṅ hati nira saṅ wiyo*ga we*h* || KR 16.24 ||

39. It is important to note here that Aichele (1926:934) followed the system of the early commentators on the BK (and the tradition following upon the BK) in assigning the name *kañci-yamaka* to the concatenation of lines and verses of a sequence through mirroring of the phonological sequences at line-end and line-beginning. This type of *yamaka* was termed *cakravāla-yamaka* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (16.72), and in the *Agnipurāṇa* (343.16). Gerow (1971:228–9) adopts the usage of Bharata for his glossary of Indian figures, and so uses *cakravāla* to describe concatenated lines and verses. He then bases his explanation of *kañci-yamaka* on the usage of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (16.66), *Agnipurāṇa* (343.15) and *Alaṃkārasarvasva* of Ruyyaka (3.44):

> *kañci*, 'Conjeeveram' […] a type of *yamaka* in wich the repeated elements are located severally at the begining and end of each *pāda*, or in the manner of *madhya yamaka* and *ādyanta yamaka*, are the first and last quarters and second and third quarters of each *pāda* […]
>
> *cakravāla*, 'circle' […] a type of *yamaka* in which the last part of each *pāda* is the same as the first part of the following *pāda*.

The implication of Gerow's choices appears to be that he views the version of 'Bhaṭṭi' not as responding to the system of Bhaṭṭi himself, but of the early commentators, who are known to have at times introduced confusing elements into their analysis of the figures of Bhaṭṭi. See also note 2 above.

40. I have used *ikomarab* here rather than *ikomurab* based on Aichele's emendation (1926:935; see above, p. 27).

Ḍaḍap and pomegranate trees with luxuriant foliage were all at the height of their bloom,
Along with *kaweni* [blossoms], to look at them one might think they were aflame,
With the fire of the Love God, then flaring up,
So that the hearts of those separated from their lovers might indeed consumed with fire.

gawe *nira-ṅ Madana lareṅ* jaga*t*
jagā*ṅayat laras anihāṅakĕn* pana*h*
panā*dhya riṅ priya-wirahātikātara*
tatan wuruṅ rucira kataṅga yan kucu*p* || KR 16.25 ||[41]

The work of the Love God is to bring pain to the world,
Ever alert [he stands] with his bow outstretched, putting his arrows at the ready,
That are the means of causing excessive pain to those separated from their lovers,
Never failing, formed from buds of *rucira* and *kataṅga* blossoms.

kucu*r nikaṅ wway umĕlĕkah sakeṅ* watu
wĕtu*nya śītala tuwi yālilaṅ m*aho
aho *yateka milu maweh panas* rika
ri kā*la niṅ priyawirahā tatan m*atīs || KR 16.26 ||[42]

The gush of water spouting from stone,
Emerges coolly, and is moreover pure and clear,
Ah, behold! That too joins in giving a feeling of heat to him (the sufferer),
At the time one suffers the pangs of separation (cool water) has no coolness.

atī*ta saṅ wiraha karih niro*ṣadha
sadha*rmma lāwan ikana saṅ kĕneṅ unĕṅ*
*upāya tan hana kawĕnaṅ maḍö*mana
mana*h kĕneṅ Madana-śarāgni tīkṣ*ṇa ya || KR 16.27 ||[43]

41. Observe the apparent lack of *yamaka* at the transition between lines c and d. This might indicate that the received text is corrupt here.
42. See above (p. 27) for Aichele's emendations to KR 16.26c based on his analysis of the *yamaka* of this verse.
43. The sequence *unĕṅ upaya* in KR 16.27bc suggests the possibility of a scribal error like those corrected in KR 16.26 by Aichele, but I am at a loss to see what the proper sequence might be.

Excessive are the pains of one separated [from a lover], [an illness] for which there is no medicine,
One in nature are they with those who are struck hard by passionate longing,
There is no means that might be capable of quenching the fires,
Of a heart struck hard by the sharp, fiery arrows of the Love God.

nayā*di tan papakěna teki nir*guṇa
guṇā*ṅliput ya kasakitan ta de*nya weh
nya weh *manah Raghusuta śokamā*nasa
sasa*r hiḍěp nira huměněṅ sirā*suwe || KR 16.28 ||

Moral guidance and the like that might be applied have no value in such a case,
[The three] *guṇa*s envelop one, their very nature to cause pain,
Thus indeed the heart of the scion of Raghu was deeply grieved,
His life-force went astray and he remained silent for a long time.

Suwe*la parwwata ramaṇīya ut*tama
tamā*la k*amala *t*amala*h rike* těměn
taman *nira-ṅ Madana hiḍěp-ku yā*nuru*n*
n uru*rwakěn priya-wirahāmaṅun*[*n*] *uněṅ* || KR 16.29 ||

The Suwela mountain is foremost in attractiveness,
Tender *tamāla* trees blossom there, truly without cease,
I think it must be the garden of the Love God, come down to earth,
To intoxicate those who suffer the pain of separation from their beloved, causing deep feelings of passionate longing.

The poet has at this point not only employed a series of *kañci-yamaka* in this verse to achieve particular aesthetic effects, but also produced a passage that is rich with inter-textuality. The entire passage is highly suggestive of Sītā's lament in KR 8.151–176, and indeed repeats many of the same themes, while KR 16.26, based on the figure of water which cannot bring coolness, is strongly suggestive of BK 10.13, where the golden wells of Laṅkā no longer have the power to cool the burning heat of the bodies of the women of Rāvaṇa's kingdom.

The final series of *yamaka* that I will discuss in the present paper is to be found in KR 24.81–86, in a series of verses once again 'bound' together through a series of *kañci-*, or *cakravāla-yamaka*. Here the purpose of the *yamaka* series is not to enhance the description of strong emotions, but rather to lend the power of a tightly controlled rhetorical structure to the culminating verses of Rāma's instructions to Wibhīṣaṇa on the ethical behaviour befitting a king. This

passage is of special interest because it remains in contemporary Bali among the most well-known and oft-repeated passages from the KR:

prihĕn tĕmĕn dharmma dhumāraṇaṅ sarā*t*
sarā*ga saṅ sādhu sireka tū*tana
tan a*rtha tan kāma pi donya tan* yaśa
ya śa*kti saṅ sajjana dharmmarāk*ṣaka || KR 24.81 ||

Strive intently for the Dharma that supports the world,
It is the passion of the holy man that you should follow,
It is not wealth that should be your aim, neither pleasure nor fame,
The power of good men depends on their protection of the Dharma.

sakā*nikaṅ rāt kita yan wĕnaṅ* manū*t*
Manū*padeśa prih atah rumā*kṣa ya
kṣayā *nikaṅ pāpa nahan prayo*jana
janā*nurāgādi tuwin kapaṅ*guha || KR 24.82 ||[44]

You will be the supporting-post of the world if you are able to follow
The teachings of Manu—it is that which you should strive to protect,
Sin and evil will be destroyed if you make them your means of accomplishment
The affection of the people will then be ensured.

guhā *pĕtĕṅ taṅ mada moha kaś*mala
malā*di yolānya magöṅ mahā*wiṣa
wiṣā *ta saṅ wruh rikanaṅ juraṅ* kali
kalī*ṅan iṅ śāstra suluh nikā*prabhā || KR 24.83 ||

Like a dark cave are intoxication, vanity and defilement,
Impurity and the like are its snake, immense and very poisonous,
Powerful is the one who understands the straight way of the river chasm,
The meaning of the sacred texts, the torch that gives light.

prabhā *nikaṅ jñāna suśīla dhar*mma weh[45]
maweh *kasiddhyan paḍa mukti nir*mmala
malā*milĕt tan pamatuk makin*[46] mariṅ
mariṅ *wiśeṣāṅ yaśa siddhatāpasa* || KR 24.84 ||

44. Santoso (1980a:630) gives *munuṣadeśa* as the first phrase of KR 24.82b, but Zoetmulder (OJED 1108, s.v. *manūpadeśa*) has noted that this should be emended to *manūpadeśa*.

45. I have emended Santoso's (metrically incorrect) *jñana* to *jñāna*.

46. I have emended Santoso's *makiṅ* of KR 24.84c to *makin*, which he notes as the reading of Kern's text, K (1980a:531). *Makiṅ* is not attested in the OJED and would force us into an unlikely reading based on *akiṅ*, 'dry' (OJED 872).

> The brilliant light of discerning wisdom, right behaviour and the Dharma indeed,
> Bring the attainment of spiritual powers, all pure and free [from the fetters of existence],
> Impurity ensnares us, though it doesn't bite—the more it ensnares us, the quieter it becomes,
> So we abandon the supreme state of the merit of perfected asceticism.

The unique feature of the various *kañci-yamaka*s in this passage is the way in which each line-final word, or section of a word, provides a cue to the didactic content of the following line. At times the line-final phrase is consonant with what is to follow (*yaśa*, 'fame gained through good works' matched with *ya śakti* 'that is the power [of good men]' in 24.81cd), at times it cues a 'turn-around' in the following line (*rumakṣa ya* 'protect that' matched with *kṣaya*, 'destroyed' of 24.82bc). It is surely this elegant application of the *yamaka* form to a didactic purpose that has helped to ensure that this classic example of the *tutur* ('instructional') aspect of the Kakawin literature has remained a lasting favourite among the Balinese.

Conclusion

I have endeavoured in this chapter to call attention to the development of *yamaka* in the context of the culture of Central Java during the formative era of Javano-Balinese civilization (circa 700–928 AD), a period when the Archipelago was deeply immersed in the larger, transcultural world of the Sanskrit cosmopolis. Through a review of comparative work on *yamaka* in the Indian and Javanese traditions (Aichele 1926; Hooykaas 1958d) and a review of recent work on *yamaka* in the Sanskrit tradition (Söhnen 1995; Tubb 2003), I have laid the basis for further efforts to understand the status and role of *yamaka* in two closely related products of the textual tradition in Old Javanese, the KR and the Śiwagṛha inscription of 856 AD.

In addition to demonstrating the degree to which the poets of ancient Java were sensitive to the rhetorical possibilities of the *yamaka*, and expert at employing them for a variety of literary purposes, I have shown that minute details of the exposition of *yamaka* can shed light on matters of literary chronology and the question of local understanding of syntactic form in a tradition that appears not to have developed an explicit tradition of grammatical analysis like that of the subcontinent. The 'invisibility' of voice affixes in the construction of *yamaka* sheds light on both these matters, in the first instance since the 'rules'

on the construction of *yamaka* are identical for both the KR and the Śiwagṛha inscription, and in the second instance because of the uniformity of these rules of 'invisibility', a fact that can only be related to a consistent form of syntactic analysis that must have been part of the pedagogy and practice in the teaching of Old Javanese, which by the time of the Śiwagṛha inscription had clearly been transformed from a language of everyday speech into a vehicle of inscriptional and literary expression with a status equal, or nearly equal, to that of Sanskrit.

It may also be that we can learn something about the state of the Indian practice of poetics during the second-half of the first millennium AD by giving renewed attention to developments in the Archipelago. Our understanding of the function and importance of *yamaka* may be obscured to some degree by a tendency, most notable in Indian studies of poetics, to devalue figures that depend largely on formal, sonorous aspects of the sign in favour of figures that depend on the effects of 'suggestion' so highly valued by Ānandavardhana and his followers. An understanding of the importance of *yamaka* in the poetics of the Central Javanese period might thus act as a corrective to this over-emphasis on one side of the familiar equation of 'sound and meaning' (*śabdārtha*) and stimulate a reappraisal of the development of figures like *yamaka* as a source of innovation and inspiration that appears to have enjoyed great popularity during the first centuries of the second half of the first millennium AD.

A renewed attention to the study of *yamaka* may also prove beneficial in efforts to understand the complexities of language and diction that are a marked feature of the KR following what Zoetmulder (1974:230) termed a 'change in voice' at KR 24.92. It may be that there are consistencies with the use of *yamaka* in earlier sections of this important document that suggest a similar period and locus of authorship, or it may be that we will find differences that are striking enough to suggest a different period and/or locus of authorship for the sections prior to, and following KR 24.92. One thing is certain: the study of *yamaka* in the KR cannot be exhausted in a single study, but rather calls for a continuing attention to this important form of poetic text-building in the ancient traditions of India and Indonesia.

More on Birds, Ascetics and Kings in Central Java

Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa, 24.111–115 and 25.19–22

Andrea Acri

In an earlier article (Acri 2010) I have introduced stanzas 95–126 of *sarga* 24 and the whole of *sarga* 25 of the KR, which present the most difficult and least understood pieces of poetry in the whole of Old Javanese literature.[1] The two sections, displaying a close relationship on account of several shared lexical items and corresponding motifs, describe in allegorical terms animals, birds and plants in order to satirically represent ascetic and political characters of mid-ninth century Central Java. Because of their idiosyncratic language and style, and because of their allegorical content which find no correspondences in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or other Sanskrit versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, they have been for long regarded as a *corpus alienum* in the poem.

The thesis of interpolation has been criticized by Hooykaas (1958a, 1958b, 1958c), who, however, did not rule out the possibility of these sections having been composed by a 'second hand'. Having tried to distinguish the various textual layers that characterize those sections, I turned to analyse their contents along the lines set out in the masterful article by Aichele (1969) 'Vergessene Metaphern als Kriterien der Datierung des altjavanischen *Rāmāyaṇa*', discussing the allegories depicted there in comparison with the contemporary Śivagṛha metrical inscription. By taking into account additional Old Javanese textual and visual documents, I suggested a fine-tuning for some of the identifications advanced by the German scholar. In particular, I argued that the character of Vibhīṣaṇa (instead of Lakṣmaṇa, as argued by Aichele) in the poem could allegorically represent King Rakai Kayuvaṅi, and that the satirical descriptions of various kinds of water-birds of the heron family (*jaṅkuṅ, kuntul, bisu, baka*)

1. In the present paper I transcribe Old Javanese according to the system implemented by Zoetmulder in OJED, but with the following deviations: *w* becomes *v*; *ŋ* becomes *ṅ*; *ĕ* becomes *ə* and *ö* becomes *əl*. In order to avoid confusion, the spelling of quoted primary sources, both published and unpublished, has been standardized according to these conventions.

deceiving the freshwater fishes are to be taken as a critique directed to historical figures representing covert agents of the Śailendra prince Bālaputra disguised as Śaiva (and not Buddhist) ascetics.

My conclusion was that the satirical themes displayed in the stanzas represent a case of 'localization' of materials widespread in Sanskrit literature, which should be taken into due consideration in order to understand the identity and religious affiliation of the ascetic figures allegorically represented in *sarga* 24 and 25. I finished my article by announcing that 'in future research I shall try to identify other allegorical characters mentioned there, in particular the *kuwoṅ*-bird, with political and religious figures of mid-9th century Central Java' (Acri 2010:502).

In the present contribution I focus on a group of stanzas, namely 111–115 of *sarga* 24 and 19–22 of *sarga* 25, which have so far not been satisfactorily interpreted, and advance a tentative identification of the ascetic figures that the birds, depicted there with clearly negative and ridiculing undertones, allude to. I argue that the poet, drawing from a well-known repertoire of stock figures and anecdotes pertaining to both the natural and human realms, developed a satire that is likely to be understood only against the background of the contemporary religious ideologies as reflected by textual sources from Java as well as from the Indian Subcontinent. Starting from the presupposition that the religious theme of these stanzas has so far been insufficiently tackled,[2] I shall detail the specific elements reflecting a Śaiva background, and argue that the 'tension' in the text is between a mainstream, householder-oriented form of religiosity and the extreme asceticism of certain groups belonging to the Pāśūpata or Atimārga division of Śaivism,[3] who may also have been involved in covert activities of political maneuvering.

This paper aims at filling a gap in our knowledge of the religious background of the KR, and of the religious history of pre-Islamic Java in general.[4] It also

2. The only exception I am aware of being Nihom (1996), by whose approach I feel deeply inspired. While introducing his discussion of the religious themes of KR 24.117 and 25.25, Nihom (pp. 653–4) remarked that 'the methodological point to be advanced is that these cantos of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, despite their indubitable Javanese nature, are not likely to be understood without consideration of the beliefs of various schools of Indian religious sects'.

3. On the Atimārga and Mantramārga traditions of Śaivism, see Sanderson 1988.

4. The following considerations by Hooykaas (1958c:65–6) remain valid until today: 'The whole problem of "Religion in the KR" by Stutterheim and Poerbatjaraka was reduced to the simple and antiquated antithesis Viṣṇu/Śiva, and further simplified by assuming that nearly the whole of *sarga* XXV is "interpolated". […] Śaivitic = Tāntric features of the KR may not be surprising for these early centuries, but the spread and influence of Tāntrism in Java remain largely to be investigated'.

aims to contribute toward the reconstruction of the history of Śaivism in the Subcontinent, by adding new data on ascetic groups whose features are only scantily documented in Sanskrit sources.

On Birds and Ascetics: KR 24.111–115

Stanzas 111–115 of *sarga* 24 represent one of the most obscure and intriguing passages of the entire KR. Various scholars have confronted these verses in the past, each trying to make sense of them by offering a different translation and interpretation. The first was Aichele (1931a), who translated this series of stanzas in connection with his study on the *vidu*—a figure standing between a performer and an ascetic—in ancient Java. The same scholar took this passage up again in his later work of 1969, in which he broadened his materials to include other stanzas of *sarga* 24 and 25 as well as the Śivagṛha inscription of 856 AD. Aichele analysed these documents against the background of certain contemporary historical events that occurred during a period of social unrest that stormed Central Java as a result of the dynastic struggle for succession opposing the Śailendra Bālaputra to Rakai Pikatan. According to Aichele, the idiosyncratic language and allusive contents of these sources make them so obscure that we may assume that even the contemporary readers (or hearers) would not have understood this passage if the context and referents of the satire enacted by the poet were not immediately intelligible to them as 'matters of actuality'. Aichele, however, only marginally focused on religious aspects, and did not attempt to compare the characters depicted in the stanzas with Sanskrit counterparts.[5] In between Aichele's two contributions, Hooykaas (1958a) published a translation of stanzas 87–126 of *sarga* 24. As far as our stanzas 111–115 are concerned, he added little, if anything, to the work of his predecessor. Santoso (1980a) offered only a very free and often unsatisfactory translation of these stanzas. While generally pointing in a note to the discrepancy between his translation and the one produced by Hooykaas,[6] he simply remarked—not unreasonably—that 'only by closely studying the behaviour of those animals in their natural habitat can a translator be inspired to make a good translation of these kind of descriptions in the *Rāmāyaṇa*' (Santoso 1980a:802).

The first group of stanzas I am going to analyse comes right after the idyllic description of the return of splendour in Laṅkā (stanzas 86–110). As Hooykaas (1958a:18) noted,

5. As Jordaan (1999:69) admitted, 'the allusions to the social positions and involvement in the political situation of these birds remain simply too cryptic to be understood today'.
6. It is apparent that Santoso did not consult either of Aichele's contributions.

> Animals which normally prey upon each other now live peacefully side by side, thoroughly enjoying the fortunate opportunities bestowed upon them; they only tease one another, and even then the subject is as elevated as the problem whether it is preferable to live in a hole like a naked monk or to swerve about like a religious mendicant.

It is only from stanza 111 onwards that the harmony among the animals is suddenly broken and their animated discussion begins. The allegorical references become widespread and the narration acquires the character of a satire. The lively dialogue between two main bird-characters, a *kuvoṅ* (cuckoo?) and a starling (*jalak*) who despise each other, is depicted in a peculiar theatrical style. Their verbal exchange is witnessed by other bird characters, as if it were a kind of stage performance. The debate begins in 24.111a:

> *manyaṅ-manyaṅ ya meṅāṅalula-ṅalula riṅ prajñojvala jalak*
>
> Calling to a challenge, the bright starlings are lively, being the servants of Gnosis.

I trace the form *manyaṅ-manyaṅ*, not found in OJED, to the root *syaṅ* I (OJED 1890: 'call, invitation'), attested in the non-nasalized form *asyaṅ-asyaṅ* 'to call, invite to come, challenge (to a fight)'.[7] The equally reduplicated form *aṅalula-ṅalula* 'to be the servant or follower of, to serve with' is attested only in the present passage of the KR.[8] This line apparently contains puns. For instance, the word *ujvala*, meaning, among other things, 'flaming, shining, radiant' and 'fiery, fierce, violent', might be a plain reference to the bright-red colour of the starling; but it can also be taken as the epithet 'bright[-minded]', metaphorically related to the expression *aṅalula-ṅalula riṅ prajña* 'servants of Gnosis'; or, we may render it simply as 'fierce'. The latter possibility is suggested by the fact that this bird is referred to in the second quarter of stanza 25.18 as being *galak* (*magalak*), that is 'wild, fierce, furious, passionate',[9] involved in a debate with the 'logician' (*tarka*) green-parrot (*atat*):

7. Both Aichele and Hooykaas, judging from the lack of any note or remark, considered this form unproblematic. They translated this line quite freely, so that it is guesswork to ascertain which meaning they attributed to this form. Aichele (1931a:153): 'welk een gejubel en gevriemel onder de spreeuwen met hun helder verstand!'; Hooykaas (1958:279): 'they scream and wheel about among the quick-witted and flashing starlings' (apparently the subject was deemed to be the *kakatu*, appearing in the preceding stanza).

8. The root-form *kalula* 'servant, follower, assistant' is only found in this text and in inscriptions before 931 AD, see OJED 779 s.v.

9. The semantic closeness of the two adjectives is suggested by their proximate occurrence in a passage of the *Harivaṅśa* (39.2): *sira maṅkin ujvala galaknira* 'as for him, more and more furious is his fierceness'.

macaṅil cumodya si jalak magalak

The fierce starlings are engaged in debate and raise difficult questions.

According to OJED 719, *jalak* denotes 'several varieties of bird resembling the starling (*pastor*) […] One variety can be taught to talk'. In modern Javanese the word still refers to a variety of talking bird kept in cages as a pet. That this quality was attributed to the *jalak* already in Old Javanese sources is suggested by a passage in the *Ṛṣiśāsana* (p. 15), where, in the list of the birds whose meat is forbidden to ascetics, we find a mention of the latter just before the *manuk narasabdhā* 'the bird(s) with human voice'. It is perhaps not too far fetched to see in their being 'servants of Gnosis' a reference to their commitment to the Goddess of speech Sarasvatī, who in Sanskrit lexicons is also indicated with the appellative *prajñā* (see MW, s.v.). The apparent context of debate in which the *jalak* appears in both 24.111–115 and 25.18 suggests that their 'calling to a challenge' is to be interpreted not literally (namely, to fight) but metaphorically (to a verbal debate). Such a verbal exchange with the *kuvoṅ* does indeed occur in the course of our passage, starting in the last line of the stanza—but not before a naturalistic scene has been depicted, in which a weaver-bird (*hiji*), from its well-crafted nest on the branch of a tree, looks down with contempt at a quail (*puyuh*) squatting on the ground (24.111bc):

prəñjak-prəñjak tumañjak ṅ hiji maṅajir umah tiñjo puyuh i sor
de niṅ buddhyarddha mūḍān pakidupuh akipū tan pomah araməh

The Prinias (*prəñjak-prəñjak*) are eating with eagerness; the weaver-bird (*hiji*) plaits a house, looking at the quail (*puyuh*) beneath, who—because of his very stupid mind—is squatting on the ground, scratching about to make a resting-place, without running a household, dirty.

Since I have discussed these lines and their relationship with stanza 20cd of *sarga* 25 elsewhere (Acri 2008), I shall not comment upon them in detail here. Suffice it to say that in the latter stanza a quail is satirically linked to an ascetic (*viku*) and given the epithet of *alepaka*—'spotless' in Sanskrit but (also) 'stained' in Old Javanese—a term that in Tutur texts refers to the Śaiva sect of the Alepakas, which I have linked to the Vaimalas known from rare Sanskrit sources.

In the last line of the stanza (24.111d) the *kuvoṅ* comes to the stage, enthusiastically showing off while taking as his abode a hole in the ground:

> *kuvva ṅke ndo kuvuṅ ṅke aku makuvu kuvuṅ liṅnyān uniṅ kuvoṅ*
>
> 'There could be a residence here—look!—here is a hole! I use a hole as residence!' Such were the words that the *kuvoṅ* was crying out.

Before advancing any hypothesis as to the identity of the religious character represented by this bird, I find it useful to devote some attention to its ornithological identification first. A correct identification may indeed play an important role in our understanding of these satirical descriptions, which aim at stigmatizing the behaviours of certain ascetic characters by linking them to their imagined counterparts in the natural world.

As it appears from previous secondary literature, the identification of the *kuvoṅ* is a matter of disagreement. Kern (1875:119), commenting on the occurrence of that word in *Vṛttasañcaya* 27, rendered it as 'peacock' (*pauw*); Juynboll (1902:137), hesitantly, as 'a type of crow'; Aichele (1931a:153, 1969:132–4) as 'cuckoo', corresponding to the male of the bird called *kokila* (p. 132, note 22); Hooykaas (1958a:279) as 'owl'; Santoso (1980a:640) did not translate it, giving *kuvvaṅ*.[10] The uncertainty about the type of bird in question was summarized by Zoetmulder (1974:200) as follows:

> Infatuation with the moon is also ascribed to the *walik*. […] This is probably the night-bird which is now called *kolik*. Whether its sound was considered to be inauspicious or to announce the coming of a thief, and whether it was the female of the *tuhu*, as it is now, cannot be determined from the Old Javanese texts. The latter appears only rarely (under the name *tuhutuhu* or *tutuhu*). Since the names *tuhutuhu* and *walik* are apparently onomatopoeic and we find the verbs *anuhu* and *angalik-alik* (or *kakulik-kulik*) used to indicate the sound of the *kokila* as well as of the *kuwong*, the conclusion seems warranted that all these different names designate one and the same bird, namely a black species of the cuckoo variety.

The above considerations are subsumed under the relevant entries of OJED.[11] As evinced by Zoetmulder's accounts, the identification of the *kuvoṅ* poses sev-

10. The author apparently read the first words of line 111d as *kuvvaṅ* (*ṅ*)*ke* and not *kuvva ṅke* (that is, the irrealis of *kuvu* 'residence, house' plus the adverbial particle *ṅke* 'here'), which I find more likely.

11. [1] *kokila* (884): '(Skt the *kokila* or koïl, black or Indian cuckoo; frequently alluded to in poetry, its musical cry being supposed to inspire tender emotions) a kind of cuckoo […] judging from the call (*anunuhu* or *aŋalik-alik*), the *Cuculus Orientalis* is meant—the male called *tuhu* and the female *kolik* in modern Java, where their call is considered as ominous. Is it the same as the *walik*, q.v.? It appears to differ from the *taḍah-asih*, q.v. (*Cuculus Flavus*) and the *cucur*, q.v. (the male?). The *kokila* is not mentioned as weeping for the moon, but the *walik* does. In *Tantri Keḍiri* 4.73b and ff. it is also called *kuwoŋ*, q.v.' [2] *kuwoŋ* (941): 'a part. kind of bird of the cuckoo variety, prob. = *kokila*, *tutuhu*, the black cuckoo. But also: peacock ? […] *Tantri Kěḍiri*

eral problems. The designation provided by OJED, that is Indian Cuckoo (*Cuculus Micropterus*), corresponds to a noisy species with a persistent four-note *bo-ko-ta-ko* call. This rather reminds us of the cry of the Cockatoo, and in any case hardly conforms to a musical cry 'supposed to inspire tender emotions' (OJED 885).[12] The second candidate for the *kuvoṅ* suggested by OJED is the *Cuculus Orientalis*, whose cry *tuhutuhu* can be regarded as melodious.[13] The bird is associated with such a call in *Vṛttasañcaya* 27b: *kuvvaṅ aṅliṅ tuhutuhu* 'the cuckoo cries: *tuhutuhu*' (or: 'really, indeed', with an evident pun).[14] But, as OJED 941 notes, his cry is also referred to as *tavvaṅ*, which, confusingly enough, is attributed to the peacock by other sources. And the confusion goes even further, for, as reported by OJED 944, *kuwuŋ* (III) may also indicate the cry of the *manuk vidu* (= *kuvoṅ*)[15] 'hollow like a drum?', which meaning was arrived at on the basis of its unique attestation in *Bhomāntaka* 70.1.

I would now like to draw attention to textual evidence on the *tuhutuhu* and the *kuvoṅ* that was not taken into account by previous authors. For instance, Tutur *Ṛṣiśāsana* (p. 15) presents a list of so-called *krūrapakṣi* 'fierce, wild, bloody, terrifying' birds, whose meat is forbidden food for ascetics (*viku*) of the Śaiva Siddhānta (*saṅ siddhānta* or *siddhāntabrata*). This list features, among others,

4.76a: (here *kuwoŋ* and *kokila* indicate the same bird, which in *Tantri Dĕmuṅ* is called *tutuhu* and *anyabrĕta*, that is, the cuckoo) […] *aŋuwwaŋ*, *paṅuwwaŋ* (avs) of the sound of the *kuwoŋ* and the cry of the peacock […]; has there been a confusion between *aŋuwwaŋ* and *anawwaŋ*, even to the point of causing ambiguity in *kuwoŋ* itself (cuckoo or peacock)? *Surak* seems to suit the cry of the peacock better than the call of the cuckoo (*anuhu*)' [3] *tuhu* II (2049) *tuhu-tuhu*: 'a part. kind of bird, the black cuckoo (= *kokila*, *kuwoŋ* q.v.); its call'.

12. KR 25.71a does not leave any doubt about the musical skills of the bird: *ri kuvuṅ kuvoṅ umuni konəṅ-unəṅ* 'In a hole the *kuvoṅ* sings in an enchanting way'. It is noteworthy that the form *konəṅ-unəṅ* 'enchanting' is attributed to the sound or tones (*svara*) of the *vīṇā* in the Old Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* (*sarga* 26, p. 52), where Vālmīki addresses Kuśa and Lava (see Gomperts 2002:580–1).

13. Such a cry may be indeed linked with that attributed to the dwarf koel (*Microdynamis Parva*), whose song, according to Payne, Sorenson and Klitz (2005:368), 'is a series of notes of medium to high pitch, a series of resonant upslurred whistles, "touei touei touei" […] Another call is a rapid, rising, liquid series of notes, the series rising in pitch then leveling at the end, "tewhodohodohodohodohodohodo …" '. Although the dwarf koel is only found in New Guinea, it is under the following entry describing the genus *Eudynamys* that we find the *Cuculus Orientalis*. One species of this genus, first described by Linnaeus as early as 1766, is widespread from India through Indonesia to Eastern Asia.

14. The polysemy of the word *tuhutuhu* (which in Old Javanese can also mean 'true, right, sincere') is also exploited by the author of the *Navaruci* (31.22), introducing a pun in the description of call of the bird: *tan mithyeṅ vacana tuhutuhu* 'not false in speech is the *tuhutuhu*'.

15. See below, p. 62.

the *manuk vidu* and the *tuhutuhu* separately.[16] It seems reasonable to assume that these birds are considered taboo for the *vikus* because of their predatory nature. This is interesting, for one would not expect to find the *manuk vidu* and the *tuhutuhu* in a list of carnivores; at least, not if we accept their identification with the cuckoo, for the dietary regimen of most species of this bird is vegetarian. This has become proverbial in the realm of Old Javanese animal stories, and is for instance confirmed by the *Tantri Kamaṇḍaka* B (p. 36), where the narrator introduces the stories of the 'wager between the cuckoo (*kuvoṅ*) and the crow (*gagak*)' and the 'cuckoo and waterbirds (*jaṅkuṅ*)' as an illustration of the unsuitability for herbivorous animals to seek the friendship of carnivores.[17] There the cuckoo represents the quintessential vegetarian, feeding himself and his offspring with (the leaves or fruits of) the *variṅin* and *hambulu*-trees, while the crow and the waterbirds are carnivores par excellence, the former living on dead bodies and the latter preying upon fishes and even small birds.[18]

Now, the descriptions found in the above Old Javanese sources, which are later than the KR, appear to be in contrast with those given in *sarga* 24 and 25. From the latter *sarga* it would seem that the bird in question is terrestrial, since he is dwelling in a hole, and is a carnivorous predator, for he is repeatedly accused of having cruel intentions and being deceitful. These characteristics apply to the profile of the coucals, belonging to the cuckoo class and present in Java with several species, such as the Greater Black Coucal, *Centropus Menbeki*, and the Sunda Coucal, *Centropus Nigrorufus*. These are indeed terrestrial, predatory and opportunistic feeders. My conclusion is that the Old Javanese authors did not clearly distinguish the identity of cuckoos and coucals, both defined by the term *kuvoṅ* and possibly *tuhutuhu*. In order to preserve this ambiguity, I

16. This list finds a parallel in the *Vratiśāsana*. The Old Javanese commentary to Sanskrit *śloka* 8, mentioning birds whose meat is impure (*kākolukagṛdhraśyenakaṅkakokilasūcikāḥ / kīraśukāś ca sārikāḥ sarvam abhakṣyamāṃsakam* • abhakṣya] *conj.*; acokṣa Ed.), lists the same series of *krūrapakṣi*: *gagak*, *dok*, *ayaṅ bakikuk*, *uluṅ*, *trilaklak*, *kaka* [ms.; *kak* ed.], *tuhutuhu* [ms.; *tuvutuvu* ed.], *domdoman*, *atat*, *syuṅ*, *nori*, *cod*, *gagandhan*, *alapalap*, *bibido*, *daryas*, *manuk vidu*.

17. These two stories are found neither in the *Tantri Kāmandaka* (A) nor in any Sanskrit or Southeast Asian digest of fables, but are narrated only in *Tantri Kamaṇḍaka* B, *Tantri Dəmuṅ* and *Tantri Kəḍiri* (Klokke 1993:252–65). This suggests that these additional stories were original Javanese (or Balinese?) additions. The relationship of the two stories with stanzas 24.111–118 of the KR is, to my mind, very likely, but its detailed discussion would require a separate paper. See also the following footnote.

18. The enmity between the *kuvoṅ* and the *jaṅkuṅ* must have been proverbial too, for it is attested (albeit not very clearly) also in stanzas 24.116–118 of the KR, where the speaker despising the waterbirds of the heron-family seems to be the *kuvoṅ* (note that the *jaṅkuṅ* is the first bird to be mentioned in stanza 117). See Acri 2010.

will refrain from translating the Old Javanese term in either way.

Let us resume the diatribe between the *kuvoṅ* and the starling, which we left at stanza 24.111. In the first quarter of stanza 112 the author compares the performance of the *kuvoṅ* with that of a *vidu*:

> *līṅan lūṅan ya hūṅan muni manukk uyakan yekāmidu-midu*
>
> *līṅan lūṅan* (?) cries with much noise, the *manuk uyakan*—he is performing like a *vidu*.

The words *līṅan* and *lūṅan* are problematic. The former is not listed in OJED, while the latter figures there as a hapax,[19] allegedly meaning 'a kind of bird?'. Another problem is that, from the syntactical structure of the line, the subject of the line is not apparent, and it is not sure whether the second part is to be interpreted as a direct speech.[20] According to my understanding of this and the adjacent stanzas, the *kuvoṅ* should be regarded as the understood subject of the line, defined by the attribute *manuk uyakan* and the predicate *mamidu-midu*. In doing so I go against Aichele (1969:133), who translated the line as 'swinging around, the alarmed birds cried, while he was only play-acting',[21] thus taking *uyakan* as an adjective ('alarmed') to *manuk* ('birds'), which refers back to a group of unspecified birds among those appearing in lines abc of the preceding stanza. I also go against OJED, which tentatively links the *manuk uyak*(*an*) with the *hiji* (weaver-bird) on the basis of passages occurring in the Tantri literature.[22] From the context it is in fact apparent that the interlocutor of the *kuvoṅ* is the starling (*jalak*), who is apostrophized by the former in the following stanza and accused of encamping near the weaver-bird (*hiji*), who, therefore, is disqualified from being the referent of *manuk uyakan*. The form is attested nowhere apart from KR 24.112, 114 and 115, except in *Tantri Dəmuṅ* 4.55a (*manuk uyak*), narrating the well-known story of the monkey and the weaver-

19. In fact it occurs also in stanza 109d, which however can be emended into *luṅhā*.

20. The specification of the speaker in these stanzas is often unclear as it may occur not at the beginning of the speech but in the first line of the stanza immediately following, that is after its utterance has been pronounced.

21. *Umherschwirrend rufen die aufgescheuten Vögel, während der nur seine Possen trieb.*

22. OJED 944 *kuyaka*: 'a particular kind of bird. *Tantri Dĕmuŋ* 4.56a: *tan kadiŋ kuyaka tos nikaŋ wesmakarmi nityāmaduŋ taruŋ* (*amaduŋ* suggests a woodpecker. If this is right, *kuyaka* is not the same as *manuk uyak*(*an*) in the preceding verse; see *uyak* II)', and OJED 2157 '*uyak** = *uya*, q.v. [*uya* inuya* (pf) to pursue, chase, pester]' • *inuyak* '(pf) to pursue, chase • *manuk uyakan* (also *manuk uyak*) a part. kind of bird […] From *Tantri Kāmandaka* 148.28 it appears that the *mañar* (weaver-bird) is meant. So *mañar* = *iji* = *manuk uyakan*'.

bird.[23] Since there are various reasons suggesting that the latter text is not to be regarded as a reliable source to draw upon in order to identify the birds appearing in these stanzas of the KR,[24] I suggest to interpret *manuk uyakan* not as a name of a bird, but rather as an adjective qualifying a bird calling to a verbal fight, as in the case of both the *hiji* in *Tantri Dəmuṅ* and the *kuvoṅ* in the KR. As the root *uyak* 'pestering' suggests, the attribute would denote a trait of a troublesome personality, which is in our stanzas fittingly represented by the *kuvoṅ*. The bird is in stanza 114 attributed the denigratory attribute of *manuk vidu* and described in 112a as 'acting like a *vidu*', which gives us a clue as to the definition of the features of the bird as much as the identification of the human counterpart that he is meant satirically to represent. What these activities comprise is explained, through the mouth of the starling, in the rest of stanza 112 (lines bcd). There the bird is depicted as a homeless and unattached wayang-player, and, at the same time, ironically compared to a *taṇḍa*[25] functionary:

sambegā niṅ kuvoṅ tekana hināṅən-aṅən donyān paməjahi
koṅ taṇḍaṅ koṅ kaniṣṭākuṭa makuvu-kuvuṅ koṅ kaśmala kuvoṅ
tan pomah tā katṛṣṇān laku vidu mavayaṅ kom guṇya saguṇa

[Starling:] The studious kind disposition of that *kuvoṅ*, it is to be pondered over, as his aim is to kill!
You are a *taṇḍa*! You have a very mean 'palace', living in holes in the ground! You are stained, *kuvoṅ*!
Homeless, unattached, while leading the life of a vagabond performer, a wayang-player, you are endowed with manifold abilities, having magical powers!'

23. The story narrates] the fight between a weaverbird and a monkey (identified with Hanuman in the text). Having praised his skills and industriousness and scorned the monkey for being a wanderer without a fixed household, the weaverbird has its nest destroyed by the monkey.
24. For instance, Klokke (1993:46) has pointed out that, according to a personal communication of H. Hinzler, the *Tantri Dəmuṅ* is likely to have been composed as late as the eighteenth century by Ida Pedanda Nyoman Pidada and his brother Ida Pedanda Ketut Pidada in Sidemen, Bali. Given the significant chronological priority of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the exemplary status it has enjoyed in Old Javanese literature, it cannot be ruled out that the usage of the term *kuyakan* in *Tantri Dəmuṅ* might have even been derived from a wrong interpretation of these stanzas of the KR by the Balinese author(s). That this is more than a mere guess is suggested by certain elements in common between the stories of the Tantri and our stanzas. This makes it likely that they were taken as a source of inspiration by the author of the *Tantri Dəmuṅ*, who, according to Klokke (1993:47), 'has clearly made an effort to display his profound reading knowledge by referring to various texts and mythological stories not referred to in other Tantri texts'.
25. See below, note 48.

The vidu: A Śaiva ascetic in ancient Java

In order to understand the link between the *kuvoṅ* and the *vidu*, and because the metaphors advanced in the stanza may be fully grasped only after we become familiar with the figure of the *vidu*, I should like to make a substantial excursus on the latter figure in ancient Java.

In a passage of the *Bhomāntaka* (70.1) the *kuvoṅ* is called, as in KR 25.21a, *manuk vidu*, and his voice connected with thunder. The stanza, using the imagery of a ceremony,[26] allegorically depicts the sounds produced by atmospheric agents and animals (the *kuvoṅ* and bull-frogs), evoking the accompaniment of musical instruments during some kind of performance (trans. Teeuw and Robson 2005:387):

mijil hyaṅ aruṇāhaləp valinirān ghanārjāsinaṅ
ikaṅ limut avarṇa-varṇa ya navagrahāṅde raras
gərəh kadi curiṅ binaṇḍuṅan i kuṅkaṅ iṅ groṅ ləṅəlṅ
patər kuvuṅ ikaṅ manuk vidu tahən tan imbāṅigəl

The holy sun emerged fittingly attired, as its lovely clouds were shining,
And the mist in its various hues was its *navagraha* cloth, moving one's heart.
The thunder was like the cymbals, accompanied by the bullfrogs in the gullies,
And the thunderclaps were the boom of the *vidu tahən* ('tree dancer') birds, dancing without interruption.

The association of the *kuvoṅ*/*manuk vidu* with a call resembling the rumbling of a thunder is found in other Old Javanese passages, namely in the prose *Tantri Kamaṇḍaka* B and its cognate Kiduṅ[27] versions *Tantri Kəḍiri* and *Tantri Dəmuṅ*.[28] The former text narrates the story 'cuckoo and waterbirds', where the *kuvoṅ* features under the *nomen omen* of Vākbajra 'thunder-voice(d)' (p. 36).[29] The *kuvoṅ* has a *bajragīta* 'song of thunder' and is able to chant in a beautiful manner (*lituhayu kiduṅana*) to accompany dance (*aṅigəl*). In a passage of the

26. Thus according to Teeuw and Robson (2005:640).
27. An Old Javanese or Middle Javanese composition in indigenous metres.
28. The *Tantri Kamaṇḍaka* B, which has been preserved in only one *lontar* from the Tabanan district in Bali, embeds six additional stories and 25 *śloka*s not present in the *Tantri Kāmandaka* A; see Klokke (1993:40–1).
29. Thus the transcription, whereas both *Tantri Dəmuṅ* and *Tantri Kəḍiri* read Bajravākya (see Hooykaas 1929, Appendix v).

Ghaṭotkacāśraya (5.13), the chanting of the *kuvoṅ*/*manuk vidu* is metaphorically referred to as an accompaniment for a wayang performance. The translation and commentary by Zoetmulder (1974:210–11) run:

> 'The trees began to grow faintly visible, like wayang puppets; the *kuwong* sang songs to them. The day broke over the fields along the hill slopes'.[30]
>
> Here another feature is introduced in the comparison. For a wayang performance needs the accompaniment of song (*kidung*), and the *kuwong* is introduced to supply them. Apart from the fact that its voice is commonly heard at dawn, there may be a further, special reason for associating it with the wayang here. Another name for the *kuwong* is *manuk widwan*, in which the word *widwan* is derived from *widu*. From the oldest charters onward we find *widu*s mentioned among classes of people connected with the performing arts, and there is ample evidence that one of their major functions was *mangidung*, the singing of songs. It was therefore the name '*widu*-bird' which made the *kuwong* of all the singing birds most eligible to feature as singer in the wayang comparison. But how did he 'sing to them' as the text says? We may possibly have to assume something like a chorus accompanying the performance. But it may be that *widu* refers to the *dalang* himself. […] Perhaps he is there, but unrecognized by us, because he is called *widu* rather than *dalang*. A short passage from the RY [= KR] seems to confirm this. In an imaginary discussion between various birds the *kuwong* is railed at for being despicable, of low morality, lacking his own home or family-ties (an obvious allusion to the cuckoo), and wandering about as a *widu mawayang*, a wayang-performing *widu*.

According to OJED 2263, the word *widu* denotes an 'actor (dancer, singer, reciter, leader in a performance?). It is not clear whether a particular kind of performance is meant. *Widu* appears often to be qualified by *maṅiduṅ*, *mawayaṅ*, or connected with *acarita*'. In his study 'Oudjavaansche beroepsnamen', Aichele (1931a:152, 154) introduced the *vidu* as follows:[31]

> The group with the title *widu* included singers, mask-dancers, actors, buffoons, shadow-players. Just as *paṇḍay* generally indicated the various specialists of the blacksmith profession, and *kabayan* the individual officers of spiritual brotherhoods, so was the Sanskrit *widu* = wise, intelligent, a comprehensive term for the category of actors.
>
> From the verses of the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is clear that in Medieval Java the shadow-player is an itinerant comedian, whose profession expelled him from his home, who should remain solitary and who cannot maintain friendship nor conduct a regular family life.

30. *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* 5.13 (after Zoetmulder 1974:540): *tapvan avas tahənya savayaṅ kuvoṅnya lalitālalaḥ maṅiduṅi*.

31. Both passages are my translations from the original Dutch.

Textual evidence from the *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* and the *Deśavarṇana* suggesting the status of bard of the *vidu* has been gathered by Robson (1971:17–9), who concluded that the *vidu* had the specific functions of reciting Kiduṅ of a magical nature as well as royal genealogies. In fact, while going through Damais' *Répertoire onomastique* (1970:625–6) one may find several occurrences of the term *vidu*, often accompanied by *maṅiduṅ*, in Old Javanese charters. These figures are invariably mentioned, along with other performers as well as the *maṅilala drabya haji* 'royal tax collectors', as 'undesirable' people who are forbidden to enter religious freeholds. Their appearance side by side the *maṅilala drabya haji* does not imply that they are to be considered as part of the latter category; on the contrary, as argued by Gomperts (2002:585–6), any people who demanded money for their services were equally forbidden to carry out their activities in the freehold's premises. According to Robson (1971:17), the *vidu*s, like ascetics, were living at the king's expense and as such mentioned among the above category of people. But that the *vidu*s were held in a particularly low position is suggested by a passage of the Javano-Balinese Tutur *Śevaśāsana* (31a.2, see OJED 2326 s.v. *wulu* II) that refers to those performing like *vidu*s (*amidu*) as *vulu-vulu*, namely 'persons of an inferior social status (having an occupation which is considered inferior)', and linking them—along with *avayaṅ* 'wayang-players', *menmen* 'musicians', *ijo-ijo*[32] and *abacaṅah* 'reciters'—to the lowest category of people in the social scale such as *śūdra*s 'members of the fourth estate', *caṇḍāla*s 'outcastes' and *mlecchas* 'barbarians'.

The figure of the *vidu* and his ambivalent status cannot be explained by attributing to him only a role of performer, dancer and actor. It is in fact clear that in Old Javanese sources the *vidu* is also described as a religious figure characterized by ascetic traits and attributed the honorific prefix *saṅ*. To illustrate this aspect, Aichele (1931a:152–5) quoted a short but highly significant line from an allegorical passage of the *Nītisāra* (4.8):

> *saṅ vidv aṅga vanapraveśana samudragati manut i lampah iṅ kali*
>
> The ascetics go in the forest and to the sea, and follow the course of the rivers (?).[33]

The line is part of a larger passage (stanzas 4.7–15) describing the disruption of the social and religious order in the Kali-age. Aichele (1931a:156) envisaged the

32. OJED 624: 'a particular kind of performance (which?); to perform *hijo-hijo*'.

33. After the edition and translation by Drewes (1925:160–2): 'De asketen gaan in het woud en naar de zee, en volgen de loop der rivieren (?)'.

presence of puns in the line and advanced a compelling interpretation. For instance, he argued against Drewes' translation of the words *vidv aṅga* as 'ascetics', interpreting it in the light of Modern Javanese *mārā badan* 'naked', attributed to the *topeng* (the name of the mask-dancers coming naked at a performance), where the Arabic loanword *badan* 'body' would be a synonym of the Sanskrit *aṅga*. Thus, the translation of *saṅ vidv aṅga* would be '[the reverend] naked mask-player *vidu*s'. Furthermore, he analysed the word *samudragati* 'going to the ocean' (also: *samudragā* = 'river'), but also *sa+mudrā+gati* 'assuming gestures', which is coupled with the Old Javanese *kali* 'river', but also 'the Kali age'. The image of the river entering the ocean is a well-attested simile in Sanskrit and Old Javanese Śaiva literature to describe the final liberation of the Soul,[34] and hence it fits in well as a description of ascetics.[35] This interpretation is also supported by the fact that the word *naśa* 'annihilation' (hence, a synonym of *mokṣa*) can be arrived at, as noted by Aichele, if we read *vanapraveśa naśa mudrāgati*.[36] Aichele proposed the following alternative translation:

> Without a costume the mask-dancers begin to live as hermits, while they perform *mudrā*-gestures, in harmony with the fashion of the Kali(-age).[37]

It is apparent that the above passage links (in a negative way, given the association with the Kali-age) the figure of the *vidu* with both a performer and ascetic. The reference to *mudrā* in particular leads to the above conclusion, for their use was common to both dancers and religious men.

Aichele concluded his study by pointing out that such a figure is also attested in Classical Malay (*bidu*, *biduan*) and Cham (*buduo'n*) as denoting a class of comic dancers and musicians, and referring to the existence of the modern Buginese form *widu-widu*, meaning 'to joke, to play about', and of the Tagalog *biro*, meaning 'quirk, joke, jest'.[38] Robson (1983:293), in agreement with his

34. See *Bhuvanakośa* 10.34, *Kumāratattva* f. 30 *verso*, *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 8.10cd–13ab.

35. Perhaps one may also interpret it as a reference to the fact that favourite places to perform ascetic observances were, besides forests, the banks of rivers and especially the confluences of many rivers (note that the Sanskrit *samudra* literally means 'gathering together of waters').

36. The *śa* being in fact not distinguished from the *sa* in the mss. of the text.

37. 'Zonder kostuum beginnen de masker-dansers als kluizenaars te leven, terwijl ze *mudrā*-gebaren verrichten, in harmonie met de gang van de Kali(-tijd)'.

38. Aichele (1969:134) elaborated further on these parallels, providing the meaning of 'scherzen, schäkern, Unsinn machen' for the Buginese *widu-widu* and comparing the Tagalog reduplicate form *pagbibiro* attested in a passage of a text dealing with the practices of a magician to the *mamidu-midu* found in KR 24.112a.

predecessor, related the term *vidu* to the Malay *bidu* and *biduan*, 'a singer at a shamanistic seance' according to Wilkinson's dictionary, and argued that the root was indigenous Javanese and not Sanskrit. About the mention of the *vidu* in *sarga* 24 and 25 of the KR he remarked:

> It seems that the *widu* also performed a kind of drama, possibly the same as the shadow-theatre of today. The context where the words are found suggests that the *widu mawayang* was 'homeless and unattached' and did not stand in particularly high regard. Probably alongside the sophisticated written literature of which the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself is an example there also existed a repertoire performed by lowly practitioners wandering the countryside. (293)
>
> It appears that the terrain of the *widu* was one that linked ritual, drama and the deeds of ancestors, likening him to the figure of the *dalang* (a term found only once in Old Javanese) who performs wayang and exorcises today. (294)

Now, it seems to me that no convincing explanation for the controversial traits of the *vidu* has been advanced so far. The attempts to link this figure to shamanism, magic, ritual or exorcism remain no more than educated guesses, also because they fail to explain the apparent ascetic character of the *vidu*. On the other hand, the Old Javanese textual evidence discussed so far suggests that the *vidu* may be connected with counterparts known from the Sanskrit tradition rather than regarded as a uniquely Javanese figure. His solitary and wandering asceticism, united with the practice of dance, drama, buffooneries and generally strange behaviour finds a compelling correspondence in the kind of asceticism followed by the Pāśupata Śaivas in the Subcontinent. In the guise of ascetic performances, these carried out similar picturesque practices, including babbling, making animal noises, inopportune jokes, and so on. To Ingalls (1962:294–7), who interpreted these behaviours as manifestation of 'shamanism', Lorenzen (1991:188) replied that the acts of Pāśupata adepts were not, as in the case of the shaman, manifestations of supernatural powers meant to cut them off from society, but rather aimed at provoking the contempt of others and thus gain good karma on the basis of a complex mechanism of transfer of merit (see also Hara 1994).

The ambiguous status of the *vidu* who, in spite of being a man of religion, is despised because of his involvement in performance and extravagant observances reminds us of the treatment accorded to certain classes of Śaiva ascetics, including the Pāśupatas, in Sanskrit sources. Parodies of these ascetics are in fact commonly encountered in plays and poetic texts, which reflect the stereotypes and values of courtly society and mainstream religiosity. These parodies are important because they provide us with precious, if partial, descriptions of

the practices of such groups, whose own writings have for the greatest part not survived. Yet, in the case of the Pāśupatas, it is mostly through an original text, the *Pāśupatasūtra* with the commentary *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (circa fifth century AD), that we gather the most detailed picture of their peculiar beliefs and ascetic practices. Scholars of Śaivism have characterized this tradition as follows:

> The Pāśupatas […] particularly enjoined the use of song and dramatic forms in the worship of Śiva, and this emphasis occurs from the earliest documents right through the life of the order. […] Kauṇḍinya's commentary to *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.8 indicates that when worship is performed using song, it should be done according to *Gandharvaśāstra*; and when veneration is by dance/drama, it should be accomplished in consonance with the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the latter presumably Bharata's classic text. (Davidson 2002:223)

> It was prescribed that he [the Pāśupata adept] snore, tremble, limp, play the lecher, act improperly and speak nonsensical words in full view of people. Such ridiculous actions were to be performed so as to give the impression that he was a madman (*unmatta*) and thus provoke disgust and contempt (*avamāna*).[39] (Hara 1994:120)

In the first stage of his ascetic career the practitioner was also to besmear himself with ashes, bathe in them (*bhasmaśayana*) and worship Rudra in a temple by means of the 'offerings' (*upāhāra*) consisting in dancing (*nṛtya*), chanting (*gīta*), boisterous laughter (*aṭṭahāsa*) and drumming on his mouth (*huḍḍukkāra*).[40] Sāyaṇa Mādhava (fourteenth century AD) in the account of the Pāśupata system given in his digest *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* (chapter 6) commented upon the passages of the *Pāśupatasūtra* describing the last two observances as follows:

> Of these laughing (*hasita*) is a wild laugh, *ahaha*, accompanied by opening wide the throat and lips. […] Dancing (*nṛtya*) is to be performed with the rules of the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* and should include all motions of the hands, feet and so forth. […] The sound *huḍuk* is the sacred utterance like the bellowing of a bull, produced by the contact of tongue with palate. (Translation Hara 1958:26)

Let us compare the above characterizations of the Pāśupata adepts with the depiction of the *manuk vidu* given in KR 25.21a:

> *tat ujar manuk vidu vidagdha dahat prakaṭākaṭak maṅaji nāṭaka ya*
>
> Do not say that the *vidu*-bird is very clever! Making much noise, acting like a frog, he practices the art of play-acting.

39. References to these acts can be found in *Pāśupatasūtra* 3.5, 3.12–17, 4.8.

40. See Sanderson (1988:665). The original reading of the manuscript is *ḍuṃḍuṃ*, which has been shown to be a corruption of an original *huḍḍuk* (Sanderson 2002:30, note 32); Bisschop and Griffiths (2003:327, note 59) propose *huḍḍuṅ*.

The passage above links the *manuk vidu* with the performance of noisy sounds (*prakaṭa*, probably referring to boastful laughing) and dance or play-acting (*nāṭaka*). OJED 819 s.v. *kaṭak* (a hapax) gives the meaning of: 'frog?' (on account of KBNW), but also advances another possibility: 'is *akaṭak* perhaps the call of the *manuk vidu*? If 'frog', read: *prakaṭaṅ kaṭak*?'. All in all, the meaning of frog may fit in the present context. For instance, frogs are mentioned in KR 24.117 as being disciples of the coot, whose identification with a Pāśupata master has been proposed by Nihom (1996); furthermore, bull-frogs are said to accompany the thundering melody of the *kuvoṅ* in stanza 70.1 of the *Bhomāntaka*.[41] But the term may also be a pun, having a meaning related to the art of play-acting or dance. For instance, *kathak* is one of the six classical dance forms of India; and the Sanskrit word *kathaka* means 'to recite; a professional story-teller'. The mention of the bird as not 'very clever' (*vidagdha dahat*) satirically plays on the similarity between the Old Javanese word *vidu* and the Sanskrit *vidvan* (that is, *vidvān*, 'clever, intelligent, sage, seer, possessing the gnosis, etc.'), a motif that appears also in stanza 24.114, where the *manuk uyakan* (= *manuk vidu*) is there referred to as *pakṣi vidvan*.[42] The Sanskrit adjective *vidvān* is frequently met in Sanskrit Śaiva texts as a technical term describing Brahmans in general and also applied to the Pāśupata practitioners.[43] Furthermore, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (35.106) makes an explicit connection between cleverness and the ability to play music. The passage documents the traditional Sanskrit semantic analysis of the word *kuśīlava* 'performer': 'He who can apply the principles of instrumental music (*ātodya*) and is himself an expert in playing instruments, is called a *kuśīlava* because of his being clever (*kuśala*) and refined (*avadāta*) and free from agitation (*avyathita*)'.[44]

41. Quoted above, p. 63.

42. See OJED 114: '*vidvan* = *avidvan*? Prob. an intentional ambiguity'; see also Aichele 1931a:152, 1969:134.

43. See, for instance, *Pāśupatasūtra* 3.19: 'For a wise man, being ill-treated, accomplishes thereby all asceticism' (*paribhūyamāno hi vidvān kṛtsnatapā bhavati*); and *Pañcārthabhāṣya* 3.19.16: 'Knowledge (*vidyā*) is the distinguishing mark of a Brahman, consisting in the clarification of the meanings of the words found in the scriptures' (*vidyā nāma yā granthārthavartipadārthānām abhivyañjikā vipratvalakṣaṇā*). The *Guhyasūtra* (12.12ab) of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, an early Śaiva scripture in Sanskrit that has preserved Pāśupata materials, calls *vidvān* a Pāśupata ascetic dwelling in the forest: 'Thus he roams about, possessing the Gnosis, having subdued anger, winner of the senses' (*evaṃ carati vidvānso jitakrodho jitendriyaḥ*; the form *vidvānso* may be an irregular thematization of *vidvān*).

44. Quoted from Gomperts 2002:580. Note that the term *kuśīlava* appears in the Sanskrit-Old Javanese lexicon *Amaramālā* (part of the *Caṇḍakiraṇa*) as a gloss of the word *pirus*—another kind of performer-cum-ascetic whom I hope to discuss in a future article.

Additional textual evidence in support of the suggested identification is provided by a few stanzas from the thirteenth century Kakavin *Sumanasāntaka* by Mpu Monaguṇa. Stanzas 3–4 of canto 113 give a detailed and fascinating description of a performance enacted by *vidu*s and other figures in the proximity of the palace of Vidarbha on the occasion of the wedding of prince Aja and princess Indumatī:[45]

rasa bubula təṅah niṅ rājyāpan padha gumərəh
para ratu saha gəṇḍiṅ goṅ rojeh tabətabəhan
apituvi para taṇḍāsraṅ-sraṅan midər arigan[46]
saha paḍahī guməntər lāgyātryāsurak aṅavat

It seemed that the middle of the kingdom would split open, for they all were thundering.
The vassals with large gongs, cymbals and other percussion instruments; and furthermore, the *taṇḍa*s were vying with each other, turning around and crowding together.
With drums they made thunderous noises, at the same time shouting and crying to call-up the melody of the orchestra.[47]

para vidu səḍəṅ ayvan saṅ taṅkil hyaṅ acarita
paḍa gumuyu kapūhan sakveh niṅ vidu binisa
hana kavatək ujarnyān guyvāvarṇa macarita
uḍuh uḍuh uḍuh āhāhāhāhāh bisa dahatən

The *vidu*s were acting together; the *taṅkil hyaṅ*s were reciting a story.
Laughing all together and [appearing] highly astonished were the *vidu*s, skillful.
Some of them felt compelled to cry out while laughing, narrating and reciting:
uḍuh uḍuh uḍuh āhāhāhāhāh—with too much power.

The *vidu*s here enact their comic performance together with dignitaries such as the *taṇḍa*s, whom OJED describes as low-rank dignitaries with military func-

45. The following two stanzas constitute just the beginning of the passage describing the whole ceremony, continuing through stanza 9.
46. Following the reading of OJED 126 (s.v. *arigan*) and not that of the typewritten transliteration (*taṇḍāsraṅ sāṅan midər aritan*).
47. OJED 169: *awat* aŋawat*, (*aŋawati*?), *paŋawat* (avs) 'to come or go first, precede, go in front of, be the "leader", lead in, introduce, call up, especially of the part of a melody, which introduces the theme before the full orchestra (*agaměl*, *aŋiduŋ*, *surak*) joins in'.

tions,[48] and *taṅkil hyaṅ*s, a category of unidentified religious functionaries.[49] What is striking here is the *vidu*s' triple uttering of the sounds *uḍuh uḍuh uḍuh*, which may be compared to the exclamation *huḍḍuk* or *huḍḍuṅ* attributed to the Pāśupatas,[50] followed by *āhāhāhāhāh*, a boisterous laugh reminding of the Sanskrit *aṭṭahāsa* (*aṭṭa* 'high, over-measured' is identical in meaning to the Old Javanese *dahatən* in stanza 4d) prescribed by the *Pāśupatasūtra*. The *taṇḍa*s accompany the performance of the *vidu*s with a 'thunderous noise' (*gumən-tər*) made with their drums. These details remind us of the association of the *vidu* and the *kuvoṅ*/*manuk vidu* with thunder-like sounds; and the stanzas as a whole remind us of KR 24.112, where the *kuvoṅ* is compared, with apparent denigratory intent, to both a *vidu* playing wayang and to a *taṇḍa*. But why were the *taṇḍa*s associated with *vidu*s and music-cum-acting performances? It is possible that, besides their official and military activities, this category of functionaries also had the prerogative to take an active role in ceremonial performances. In this respect, I should like to point out that *taṇḍaka* in Sanskrit, among other significations, can mean 'juggler' (MW 432).[51] It is not unlikely that the *taṇḍa*s were involved in mock 'war dances', as is suggested by the expression *asraṅ-sraṅan* 'vying with each other, trying to compete' in stanza 3c.[52] This possibility is not as remote as it may seem *prima facie*, for a description of 'warriors' performing together with *vidu*s and enacting a mocked war-dance aiming at causing the laughter of the public is found in the first three lines of stanza 66.5 of the *Deśavarṇana* (translation Robson 1995):

48. OJED 1928 s.v. *taṇḍa* 2: 'a category of dignitaries or officials. Is it (originally): in charge of a banner or company? It seems, however, that it does not always point to a military rank. Pigeaud renders it with "headman". Is it distinguished from *mantri*? But *taṇḍa-mantri*, certainly in *catuṣ-taṇḍa-mantri*, denotes one rank of dignity (chief officer?). See also *catuṣ-*, *pañca-*'. Aichele (1969:133) translated it as 'Landstreicher', without providing a justification.

49. Thus OJED 1943. The verbal form *ataṅkil* or *anaṅkil* means 'to appear before, wait respectfully', while *hyaṅ* denotes either a god or a person connected with the divine, such as an anchorite or monk (OJED 659–60).

50. I am aware that *uḍuh* in Old Javanese is attested as an exclamation ('Oh! Ah!', OJED 2102); however, it is possible that the exact nature and 'technical' meaning of this exclamation, uttered three times, was not grasped by Mpu Monaguṇa, who rendered it with the more familiar *uḍuh*. Furthermore, I do not know of any other Old Javanese passages where the interjection appears more than once in a row, as it does here.

51. From the root *taṇḍ*, 'to beat'. See also *taṇḍu*: 'name of an attendant of Śiva (Bharata's teacher in the art of dancing, cf. *tāṇḍava*)'.

52. Although the range of meanings listed in OJED does not imply physical attack, *asraṅ-sraṅan* in the present context might be taken in a less figurative manner (as it is *sĕrang* in Modern Javanese and Indonesian, meaning 'attack'). The form *asraṅ*, preceded by *apraṅ* 'to fight', is used in a context of battle in Kiduṅ *Harṣavijaya* 2.69a.

sāsiṅ kāryya maveha tuṣṭa rikanaṅ para jana vinaṅun nareśvare huvus
naṅ vidv āmacaṅah[53] *rakətrakət aṅanti sahāna para gītada pratidinā*
ānyāt bhāṭa mapatra yuddha sahajaṅ maglaglapan aṅhyat aṅdani pacəh

Every performance that might please the people the King held:
See the storytellers (*vidu*) and masked dancers (*amacaṅah*)[54] taking turns with all kinds of singers every day!
Not to mention the warriors shouting challenges—naturally the ones as loud as thunderclaps[55] gave people a fright and made them laugh.

Pigeaud (1962:196) interpreted the last line as a description of a mock-battle rather than of warriors shouting verbal challenges. According to him, the 'warriors eager for a fight' (*bhāṭa mapatra yuddha*) are to be identified with modern Javanese performers of mock fighting dances.

A burlesque performance featuring a 'woman of the Śaiva', a female dignitary and a 'woman of the *vidu*' is described in another series of exceedingly difficult stanzas of the *Sumanasāntaka* (130.1–3):

strī niṅ śaiva tan eraṅ-eraṅ aṅigəl kaguyu-guyu vərə-vərə dawā
tan harṣeṅ svara niṅ mṛdaṅga salukat ṅuni-ṅuni ya ni gita niṅ vaneh
hetunyān paṅiduṅ vijil niṅ aji yah sah ulih-ulih ikāṅrəṅəl-rəṅəl
sah to te prathamā kiduṅnyan aṅavat midəm aṅujivat āmbahan tayoh

The woman of the Śaiva was not ashamed to dance, causing laughter, very drunk.
She was not happy with the sound of *mṛdaṅga* hand-drums and *salukat*s, let alone with the songs of others.
For that reason, she chanted the beginning of the manual '*yah sah*'—a reminder for [the spectators] who were listening attentively.[56]
'*sah to te prathamā*' were the words of her song as she called up the melody of the orchestra, giving a knowing look and glancing at [the audience], and then shouting: *tayoh*!

53. Pigeaud's edition (p. 51) reads *vīdvāmacaṅaḥ*.

54. Grammatically it is also possible to take *āmacaṅah* as a stative form referred to *vidu* rather than a substantive; hence, 'the *vidu*s were reciting'.

55. Robson's comments (1995:133) on the form *magəla-gəlapan* run as follows: 'Z [=OJED] "making a sound like thunderclaps"; whatever it is, it is meant to be funny, as people laugh. Or could it be connected with Mod. Jav. *glagĕpan*, "to grope for words, fall over oneself"?'.

56. The translation is not sure. OJED 2112 glosses *ulih-ulih* as 'that which one brings back (home), esp. for those left behind'; but see also *aŋulih-ulih* 'to talk about, discuss, deliberate (upon); to talk, tell a story'. I take *aṅrəṅəl-rəṅəl* to be the equivalent of *rumənəl-rənəl* 'to listen in an effort to hear everything that is said' (OJED 1536).

dhaṅ hadyan tumurun gumanty aṅigəl oṅsil aṅavak akikat rumāmpayak ṅhiṅ kahyunya kiduṅ buvun ya kiniduṅnyan aṅalik-alik endah iṅ sabhā rāmyārūm sinlanya gəṇḍiṅ i tutuk kaguyu-guyu ginañjar iṅ larih gihgih puṅ ri kipah dhuraṅ dinivayūh hamamati juga denikāmbahan

Then a female dignitary came down to dance in her turn, moving to and fro, turning around and assuming the 'posture of the peacock',[57] with the arms stretched sideways.
Her desire was only [to sing] the *kiduṅ buvun*;[58] that was sung while sounding and shrilling with a high pitch—what an unusual [sound] in the assembly!
Beautiful and lovely, the *gəṇḍiṅ*-gongs were alternated with [the sounds coming from] her mouth; having caused lots of laughter, she was remunerated with drinks.
Then she shouted: *gihgih puṅ kipah dhuraṅ dinivayūh*![59]

endah bhāva nikaṅ vaneh saha kiduṅ midər aṅilaṅakən vvaṅ iṅ sabhā ndā strī niṅ vidu rakva mogha kavatək savaṅ acarita denikāṅigəl dhik hah kaśmala nāhan āmbahanikāṅgyat anudiṅi matāṅjəjək lmah jhaig ləs liṅnya nhər mulih matlasan maṅumik-umik aṅañjaliṅ tavaṅ

How amazing was the performance of the others with songs: it surrounded and overpowered the people in the assembly.
But look, suddenly the—so to speak—woman of the *vidu* felt compelled to dance as if to recite [at the same time].
'Fie! Wretched!' Thus was her shouting, suddenly pointing her finger and stamping on the ground.[60]
'Quick! Swish!' she said, thereupon ending [her performance], muttering and offering a reverential salutation to the heaven.

These amazing stanzas offer a 'live' description of a stage performance that is religious as much as burlesque in character.[61] It is not clear to which charac-

57. OJED 866: *kikat* akikat* '(of a dancer and of a peacock) Does it refer to sound (song, et cetera)? Bal. comm. in *Lambaŋ Salukat* has *maŋokok* (see s.v. *kokok*). Or is it a dancing posture?'; 884 *kokok* aṅokok* '(of the sound of the peacock, but not its cry) to cluck'.
58. OJED 864: 'special *kiduŋ*'.
59. I have not been able to make a sense of this utterance, which consists in several onomatopoeic sounds (hapaxes); see OJED 524 (*gih*) 'onomat. particle?'; 1445 (*puŋ* III) 'onomat. particle?'; 874 (*kipah*) *kipah*? *kinipahan* (pf) 'to overwhelm?'.
60. OJED 737 s.v. *jəjək* (hapax): 'to put the feet on, stamp on (the ground)'.
61. The level of detail and the spontaneity of the narration leave no doubt that the author of the Kakavin, Mpu Monaguṇa, himself witnessed one of such performances. For a similar assessment

ter the 'woman (or wife) of the Śaiva' (*strī niṅ śaiva*) mentioned in stanza 1a refers; perhaps to a female attendant (*dūtī*) accompanying Śaiva (Kāpālika or Pāśupata) ascetics in their performances?[62] In any case, both her and the 'Śaiva' must have been characters familiar to the readers. The 'woman of the *vidu*' (*strī niṅ vidu*) appearing in stanza 3b is qualified by the particle *rakva* 'so they say, as you know; as it were; imagine, deem', which here may function either as a disclaimer in order to 'relativize' that qualification—contrast the celibate lifestyle that *vidu*s were supposed to observe; or used as an attribute referring back to the dignitary lady of stanza 2 who, in giving her performance, looked like 'a woman of the *vidu*, as it were'.

The words *yah sah*,[63] *sah to te prathamā*[64] and *tayoh*[65] pronounced by the woman of the Śaiva are Sanskrit. The *aji yah sah* or 'manual on *yah … saḥ*' (correlative pronouns, nominative singular masculine) seems to serve as a reader for the burlesque 'lecture' on Sanskrit pronouns that the woman begins to deliver to the audience to the rhythm of music.[66] The expression *sah to te prathamā* indeed represents the declension of the first case (*prathamā = prathamā vibhakti* = nominative) of the masculine demonstrative pronoun: *saḥ* (singular), *to* (alternative spelling of *tau*, dual), *te* (plural); *tayoḥ* is the dual genitive and locative of the same pronoun. That a female (Śaiva) stage-performer chose such an unlikely occasion and manner to display her knowledge of Sanskrit grammar is an interesting fact, and one that indirectly supports my view that the figures involved may be linked with characters known from the Sanskrit tradition. As we have seen, the Pāśupatas spoke improperly and out of context, to give the false impression of being insane and thus be made object of public derision.

To bring this long excursus on the figure of the *vidu* to a conclusion, I briefly move into the realm of the visual arts, and in particular of Central Javanese

of the genuineness of the descriptions of places and events found in the *Sumanasāntaka*, see Supomo 2001:122–5.

62. References to such female characters abound in Sanskrit literature: see below, notes 68, 75 and 86.

63. OJED 34–5: '*ajiyah* (*jiyah*?) '(perhaps the first words: "*aji yah*" or "*aji yahsa*", from a text or mantra which is sung)'.

64. OJED 1599 (s.v. *sahtote*): 'It seems to be Sanskrit from the beginning of a song or mantra'.

65. OJED 1969: 'opening (Sanskrit?) word of a song?'.

66. It is relevant to quote here a passage of the Sanskrit-Old Javanese grammar *Kārakasaṅgraha* (verses 3–4ab), containing the words *yaḥ*, *saḥ*, *tayoḥ* and *prathamā*: *karma kartā tayor yogaṃ yo vetti saḥ vicakṣaṇaḥ / yat kṛtaṃ karma tat proktaṃ, sa kartā yaḥ karoti vā // tṛtīya prathamā ṣaṣṭhī tisraḥ kartṛtvajātayaḥ* / 'He who knows the action, the agent, the union between them, he is a clever one. That which is done is called action, he who acts is called agent. The third, first, sixth [cases] are the three forms of agency'.

temple reliefs. In a fascinating article, Stutterheim (1956:93–4) described the mysterious 'dancing Brahman' appearing on some reliefs of Prambanan (see Figs. 1, 2 and 3) and Borobudur (Fig. 4) depicting scenes of dance and recitation. The author described this enigmatic figure, both a Brahman and a performer, as follows:

> [Borobudur:] 'There are always a few women present, probably also dancers, who handle little handbells, and a man in Brahman dress frequently appears, apparently marking the time with his hands; occasionally he also has little bells in his hands' [Krom and Van Erp 1920:706]. This refers to a company which evidently belongs to the dancing-scene, but which does not perform the actual dance. The remarkable thing in the passage quoted is the man 'in Brahman dress' […]; whether or not he belongs to the highest caste is immaterial. What are we to think of this holy man who, judging by his beard or moustaches, should be in a hermitage rather than in a dancing scene?
>
> [Loro Jonggrang:] That he is a 'brahman' can be deduced mainly from the fact that in most cases he has *moustaches and a beard* […] Besides, judging by his position, posture and other characteristics, he appears *to take part actively in the course of the dance*. He is not completely absorbed in his own action, as the musicians of the reliefs usually are, but his movements and actions are clearly intended for the dance, while it is being performed by the dancing-girl or -girls. Furthermore, on several reliefs he appears *to sing or recite*; […] finally he *claps his hands* or handles the little hand-bells. [Italics are of Stutterheim]

To explain this figure Stutterheim does not refer to the *vidu* but makes instead a thousand-year leap, turning to the early twentieth century Central Javanese royal palaces of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, where we do find figures who combine all the above actions. These are the *chaṇṭang balung* and *pĕsiṇḍèn talèḍèk*. The former was described by European observers as a bearded buffoon with the upper part of his body naked, 'whose duty is to become fuddled in public with gin or *arak* and to dance in an intoxicated state' (Stutterheim 1956:98–9). Stutterheim further pointed out that this figure is also called *kriḍa astama*, in which 'perhaps a trace of the Sanskrit root of the word "laugh(ing)", *has*, can be found […]; jeering laughter also plays a role in tantric rites'.



Figure 1: Loro Jonggrang, relief VII.11cd (from Kats 1925, relief X)[67]

> [From Stutterheim 1989:124–6] C: A woman with a sword and a shield is doing a war dance. In front of her, on the floor, is a vessel full of flowers and next to her again flowers and a fruit. On the other side there is a woman seated, similarly decorated as the dancer, holding in her right-hand a bell and a bow in her left. Between both women there is a diadem (?).
> D: A group of persons playing music. In the foreground there is a man with a mustache, who is reciting from a manuscript and another who is playing with the hand on two drums. Behind there are two women with hand-drums and two more where, however, it is not possible to determine what they are doing in the concert. On 12e there is a sitting musician, with a bell or *ḍamaru*.
>
> […] It is clear that here some sort of celebration is taking place. The dancing girls, the musicians and the priests leave no doubt about it. […] The dance of the woman is typically tantrik, as we can see in the Buddhist iconography of the Ḍākinī's and other creatures of the ferocious type. It is a dance which can be seen till today as a religious dance in Tibet. Perhaps it would be good, if we consider the dance on our relief as belonging to the celebration and not just meant for the pleasure of the audience. […] The smaller drums are *ḍamaru*s, as they are often to be seen even today with snake-charmers, but seldom used for ceremonies. But I must, however, point to the non-Indonesian character of the ensemble.

67. The subject of the scene and its position in the *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative are disputed; for a summary of the previous interpretations, see Worsley (2006:231–2). He suggested it should be interpreted neither as Bharata's nor as Rāma's consecration, as had been previously proposed, but as a depiction of the festivities held on the occasion of the return of Rāma and Sītā in Ayodhyā.



Figure 2: Loro Jonggrang, detail of relief VII.11 (note the Brahman reciting from a *lontar*) (particular of photo OD 3477, Leiden University Library, Kern Institute)



Figure 3: Another dancing Brahman? (Caṇḍi Sari, Prambanan, circa ninth century AD) (photo Kassian Cephas, OD 044446, Leiden University Library, Kern Institute)



Figure 4: Female dancer, Brahman and musicians (Borobudur, B 1a 233a)

The first attempt to update Stutterheim's findings in the light of Sanskrit Śaiva literature and to link the figures described by him with Pāśupata ascetics was made by Becker (1993:177):

> In addition to the firm textual evidence of their presence in Java, there is less-firm, but suggestive, evidence of the involvement of Pāśupata monks in performance traditions. The reliefs of a Śaivite priest dancing and singing or reciting in the company of dancing women on temple reliefs at Borobudur and Prambanan (Stutterheim 1956:93) may indicate Pāśupata monks in the 'marked' or first stage of spiritual practice. The women could also be Pāśupata. In India, women as well as persons from all castes could receive Pāśupata initiation, a practice that scandalized orthodox brahmāns [sic] in India.

Becker noticed the similarity between the Javanese figures and the Pāśupata practitioners, but did not corroborate her intuition with additional evidence. Her concluding remark, based as it is on an outdated account by Rao (1916:8), about the women's admissibility to the order is incorrect: as documented in all the known scriptures of the Pāśupatas, the order was only accessible to male consecrated Brahmans.[68] But what is important here is that Becker's (and Stutterheim's) considerations concerning the reliefs in question may be extended to the figure of the *vidu* (and of his 'women'), thereby lending persuasiveness to my identification of that figure with a Pāśupata ascetic or, more likely, with a local development of the same character. As a matter of fact, the observances of the Pāśupatas, like bathing in ashes, dancing, play-acting and antisocial behaviours were also followed by other Śaiva groups such as the Lākulas and the Kāpālikas, who added to them a few more extreme practices like the drinking of alcohol and sexual promiscuity; the cemetery lore, which was in the Pāśupata movement limited to the last stage of practice, became more pervasive in those other orders.

Part of the Lākula stream of Pāśupatism were the Kārukas, also known as Kāru(ṇi)kasiddhāntins and Kāṭhakasiddhāntins,[69] about which little apart from their name is known from rare references in pre-eleventh century Sanskrit texts. From the secondary accounts found in rival Śaiva texts it appears that the group was accorded an extremely low status in the Śaiva hierarchy, even lower than the Pāśupatas themselves. The word *kāruka* can mean either

68. See Sanderson (1988:664). This unlike the Kāpālikas and Bhairavikas, who admitted outcastes and women (*kapālinī*). Since, however, we still know very little about the various forms of Pāśupatism in the Subcontinent, the possibility that certain groups of Pāśupatas admitted women cannot be ruled out; and we cannot even exclude that such a development might have occurred at some time in Java itself.

69. See Lorenzen 1991:1 and 172; Brunner, Oberhammer and Padoux 2004:92.

'singer' (from *kāru*, √*kṛ* 2, 'one who sings or praises, a poet'),[70] or 'maker, doer, artisan' (from √*kṛ* 1). The former meaning of *kāru*, when referring to a Śaiva ascetic group, makes better sense.[71]

In the light of the evidence on performance-oriented Śaiva groups found in Sanskrit as well as Old Javanese sources, one may argue that both the Kārukas and the *vidu*s represented a category of low-status ascetics of the Śaiva Atimārga, who 'specialized' as dancers and storytellers—professions which in both India and Java were held in particularly low esteem.

On Birds as (False) Ascetics

Let us now turn to the last three lines of stanza 112 of the KR, which we left at p. 62. If we read them once again in the light of the materials presented above, these lines, which like several others in *sarga* 24 and 25 can be defined as a well-crafted example of double-entendre, assume a new significance and add new elements to corroborate the view that the *kuvoṅ* (alias *vidu*) is to be linked with the figure of a Śaiva Atimārga ascetic. There, the *kuvoṅ* was accorded an extremely low status (*kaniṣṭa*) by the starling and was blamed for being impure or stained (*kaśmala*), which may allegorically represent the low position of the *vidu* in the eyes of courtly, householder-oriented and urban Javanese society. In line b the bird is said to be a *taṇḍa*, whose 'fortress' or 'walled palace' (*kuṭa*) is nothing else than a hole (*kuvuṅ*). The low status of *taṇḍa*s, associated with performances, was made object of satire.

The depiction of the *kuvoṅ* as not having a fixed residence (*tan pomah*) and 'taking residence in a hole in the ground' (*makuvuṅ*, line 112c) appears to be a reference to the Pāśupata observance of lying in ashes.[72] It may also be pointed out that the inscription of Paraḍah II issued in 943 AD (line 45–46, see Brandes 1913:102) mentions various figures of performers playing music during reli-

70. The *-ka* may be a mere expletive but may also have the function of pejorative.

71. In certain Siddhānta- and Bhairavatantras these Pāśupata devotees are sometimes referred to as Kārakas (from √*kṛ* 1)—most probably on account of textual corruption, for the most frequently attested form is Kāruka. Interestingly, the form Kāraka occurs in *Nāṭyaśāstra* 35.22, part of a series of verses describing the various people forming a theatric company. The word is compounded with *kuśīlava* 'bards, heralds, actors, mimes' (see above, p. 69). Even though the meaning of 'artisan' still makes sense in the context, it is not to be excluded that the intended word was *kāruka*, meaning 'singer'.

72. That the living in a hole on the ground (*kuvuṅ*) is to be associated with this particular observance is confirmed beyond any doubt by stanza 32 of *sarga* 25, linking it to the 'the excellent lying in ashes' (*bhasmaśayanātiśaya*). Compare also stanza 24.111c (Acri 2008:202–3).

gious festivities held in the presence of a *mahārāja*.[73] Although no mention of the *vidu* is found there, line 45 speaks about such performers playing drums (*anabĕh*) as *saṅ makuvuṅ* 'He who lives in holes', thereby testifying to a connection between a musician and a 'reverend person' (*saṅ*) who perform the observance of lying in ashes. This figure, on account of the data presented above, is likely to have been either a *vidu* or a similar kind of ascetic performer.

The negated passive form *tan katṛṣṇa* in 112d can be translated in different ways: 'without desire, unattached' thus referring to the conduct of the ascetic who controls the bodily organs;[74] 'without a beloved one, without wife', referring to his celibate status; 'unloved', referring more generally to his being despised by people as 'conducting the life of / behaving like a *vidu*' (*laku vidu*). The word *saguṇa* was translated by Aichele (1969:154), on the basis of its metaphorical usage in *sarga* 24.125ab, as 'du in allen Rollen Gewandter', being a reference to the ability of the *kuvoṅ*/*vidu* to 'fit in all roles' (namely, play-acting). This, according to the German scholar, would have alluded to his skills in camouflage, for the character indeed represented a spy of prince Bālaputra disguised as a (Buddhist) ascetic. The hapax *guṇya*, a Sanskrit word meaning 'endowed with good qualities', closing the stanza could have been used to obtain an ironic effect. But the word may be translated in the more technical sense of 'endowed with supernatural powers'; indeed, *guṇa* is commonly used as a synonym of *siddhi* in Sanskrit sources as well as in Old Javanese.[75] But, of course, the term could also be interpreted in a less technical sense, simply referring to the *vidu*'s 'magical skills'. This is a typical motif in Sanskrit literature, where Śaiva ascetics of the Pāśupata and Kāpālika sects are made object of satire and described as a class of evil magicians.

73. Gomperts (2002:586) understands lines 45–46 of the inscription differently, suggesting that a *mahārāja* (probably Siṇḍok) danced (*maṅigal*) during festivities to music played by musicians.
74. Detachment and victory over the senses is indeed required of adepts of Atimārga Śaivism; see, for example, *Pañcārthabhāṣya* 3.11.6 and *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.11. In the *Mattavilāsa* (13, p. 54), a Kāpālika ascetic replies to a Buddhist monk, who begs for his pity, that if he would show pity, he could no longer satisfy the condition of being 'free from passion' (*vītarāgo*).
75. OJED 553 records s.v. the meaning of 'magic' and refers to the eight supernatural faculties s.v. *aṣṭaguṇa*, 143–4. The mention of these powers as *aṣṭaguṇa*, *aṣṭaiśvarya* or *aṣṭasiddhi* is widespread in Sanskrit-Old Javanese Tuturs. The powers listed in *Jñānasiddhānta* 11.5, 11.11 and 11.18 run in parallel with those of *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.23–26, 21–22, 28–37. According to *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.28–37, among the goals of the Pāśupata ascetic was the obtainment of the eight supernatural powers (*ity etair guṇair yuktaḥ*, 'He is endowed with such qualities'), among which there was *kāmarūpitva*, 'the ability to assume any form at will'. In the *Mattavilāsa* (6, p. 2), a drunk Kāpālika praises his Kapālinī for having obtained a beautiful appearance through the power of *kāmarūpatā* achieved by means of *tapas*.

Let us now turn back to line 112b, where the starling warns the other birds about the alleged kind disposition (*sambega*) of the *kuvoṅ*, who is accused of using his call inviting to perform asceticism in holes as a way to conceal his intention to kill (*donyān paməjahi*). The meaning of *sambega* 'kind disposition' in Old Javanese is the result of a semantic shift from the original Sanskrit *saṃvega* 'violent agitation, excitement'. However, this term is also attested in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese philosophical texts with the technical meaning of 'desire for emancipation' or 'intensity [in yogic practice]'.[76] Here we have another pun: the 'desire for emancipation' of the bird, manifested in his attire and observances, is not to be taken seriously. Why this is the case, and whom he is supposed to kill—an accusation that is reiterated also in stanza 115a—does, however, not become clear to us unless we analyse the stanza against the background of a comparable Indic motif, namely the satire of sham asceticism in the realm of fable stories. According to Bloomfield (1924:202–5), the position of the quintessential sham ascetic

> is held in India by mendicant ascetics, especially of the class who worship Śiva and his consort Kālī […] In accordance with the character and needs of these gods, their ascetic devotees are engaged in cruel practices, especially human sacrifice. The reward for these is, as a rule, the acquisition of some magical science (*vidyā*) which confers upon the ascetics superhuman power, or puts them in possession of gold. They […] are smeared with the ashes of dead bodies, live in cemeteries, and are distinguished by many other outward signs of their calling. (202)
>
> The Kāpālikas are depicted, further, as falling from grace thru the lure of beautiful women, and other worldly desires. Tho they exercise skill and cruelty, the story regularly shows them foiled in their purposes of whatsoever kind. When these ascetics try to inveigle their victims, or to satisfy their lusts in any way, they use their holy calling as a mantle, with which to cloak their designs; this trait, construed as hypocrisy, is seized upon by the storyteller as the constant psychic motif of this class of stories, no matter how various are the incidents which they entwine with this prime idea. (204)
>
> As far as fiction is concerned, the theme next broadens out a good deal by introducing all sorts of people who are not ascetics at all, but sham the get-up and behaviour of ascetics for all sorts of nefarious purposes. Thieves do this so regularly as to make it a shrewd guess that the *Steya-Śāstra*, or Thieves' Manual, if ever found, will contain one or more *sūtra*s recommending thieves to operate in the guise of a Kāpālika, Pāśupata, or Parivrājaka. Most important is the following: The last mentioned idea

76. See *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.21. This particular meaning, not recorded in OJED, is found in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 3 (*kasambegan*, see Sudarshana Devi 1957:73), and in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (folio 62 *recto*), listing three categories of yogins who practice with, respectively, gentle, moderate or keen intensity (*sambega*).

> is exported from human affairs into the field of beast-fable, so that there is scarcely ever an animal, which wishes to eat or injure another animal, that does not appear in the role of sham ascetic. (205)

I argue that the 'orders' uttered by the *kuvoṅ* in stanzas 24.112–114, against which the starling warns the other birds, accusing him of deceit, suggests that the character represents a sham ascetic—perhaps an agent disguised as a Śaiva Pāśupata sent by a hostile faction to infiltrate Central Java, either to prevent Rakai Pikatan's succession to the throne left vacant by his father Rakai Garuṅ, or to overthrow him.[77] However far-fetched and inconceivable to the modern man it may appear, there is little doubt concerning the application of such stratagems in the pre-modern Indic world. The use of this kind of 'secret agents' is well attested in Sanskrit sources, being one of the most important strategical weapons recommended to Kings in the *Arthaśāstra*.[78] Such prescriptions, iden-

77. On the basis of the 'Wanua Tengah III' inscription, it is possible to fix the date of reign of Rakai Pikatan to 847–855 AD; see Wisseman Christie (2001), who interprets the king's decision to move the palace to Məḍaṅ in Mamrati as evidence of political unease (p. 40). According to De Casparis' reading (1956:295) of the Śivagṛha inscription, Java witnessed the expulsion of the Śailendra dynasty and the defeat of the Buddhist prince Bālaputra at the hands of the Śaiva King Rakai Pikatan, who later abdicated in favour of his younger brother Dyah Lokapāla (Rakai Kayuvaṅi) before 855 AD and then became a hermit (*rājaṛṣi*), known under the name of Kumbhayoni. De Casparis' historical reconstruction, and especially the identification of Rakai Pikatan with the Kumbhayoni appearing in the corpus of Sanskrit inscriptions from the Ratu Baka hill, has been criticized by historians and is now generally regarded as untenable in the light of the data contained in the Wanua Tengah III inscription. The dynastic struggles in ninth-century Central Java have been recently revisited by Worsley (2006; see below, p. 86), Sundberg (2009), Jordaan and Colless (2009). The last two authors believe that Bālaputra, who may have been a Śailendra viceroy in Sumatra (not in Śrīvijaya at Palembang), attempted a *coup d'état* against Rakai Pikatan's rule or tried to prevent his abdication in favour of his probable son and successor, Rakai Kayuvaṅi, in order to safeguard the Śailendra interests and his own claim to the paramount throne. The issues are too complex to be dealt with here, but there seems to be no problem with assuming the minimal amount of political turmoil that my argument implies.

78. See Davidson (2002:174–5): '*Arthaśāstra* specifies almost a dozen situations in which an individual might masquerade as a *siddha* using their specific practices to accomplish the ends of realpolitik [… It] proposes many deceptive activities to be employed exclusively in the destabilization of neighboring states, and these actions frequently involve agents posing as *siddha*s or other religious characters to lure monarchs to secluded spots while promising them wealth, horses, or sex, not necessarily in that order'. Compare Olivelle (1987:49): 'The most widespread and significant use of ascetics was made by what today would be called the state secret service. The use of spies and secret agents for domestic security and for foreign conquest was a hallmark of the Kauṭilian state. Ascetics made ideal spies' (their treacherous activities, including assassination and provocation aimed at achieving social turmoil, are described through pp. 50–8 of the same article). It may also be mentioned that, as appears from a relief of Caṇḍi Śiva at Prambanan, Rāvaṇa used the attire of a *ṛṣi*-ascetic to approach Sītā and abduct her (see Acri 2010:497).

tifying in vagrant ascetics ideal spies, were taken so seriously that the *Arthaśāstra* goes so far as to prescribe the following special restrictions: for instance, ascetics either showing 'fresh' emblems (*liṅga*) of their asceticism or lacking them were forbidden to cross inter-state borders; special restrictions and arrangements were applied with regard to the presence of ascetics in the vicinity of kings or queens; and actors, dancers, singers, musicians, minstrels and the like were excluded from freely roaming in the countryside, so as to control their movements (Olivelle 1987:42–5).

Let us proceed with stanzas 24.113–114a, where the starling becomes the object of the invective of the *kuvoṅ*:

> *ko tākuṅ kevalāsā makuvu-kuvu rikā saṅ śreṣṭhi pu hiji*
> *kāsyāsih koṅ jalak ko mamaṅun umah uməlt tonton tiru-tirun*
> *ṅel-ṅeləṅ svaṅ ya mamrih makuvu-kuvu təvas saṅsāra kaviləṭ*
> *təkvan kuṇḍaṅta liṅku d-laku t-aviku kuvuṅ kuvvanta t-atapa*
> *nā liṅ niṅ pakṣi vidvan manukk uyakan akon vikvāsusupana*
>
> 'You, without desire, only dejected, encamp over there in the nearness of the distinguished, learned weaver-bird!
> You are in a pitiable condition, starling! You plait a house, hiding yourself, giving a performance which serves as an example!
> Overcome by fatigue and error, he takes pain to live in temporary lodgings and the only result is that [he is] bound in the cycle of rebirths!
> And also your partner, I say: go and become a wandering ascetic, a hole will be your dwelling-place, while you do penance!'
> Thus spoke the intelligent bird, the *manuk uyakan*, ordering to become a wandering ascetic living in solitary places.

The *manuk uyakan*, alias *kuvoṅ*, is speaking again, replying to the starling and imputing him that he 'encamps' near the 'distinguished'[79] weaver-bird (*hiji*). Since the starling and the weaver-bird were already mentioned in 24.111, the word *kuṇḍaṅta* 'your companion' most probably refers to the *hiji*. I take *tākuṅ* as *tā* (negative particle) *akuṅ*, also on account of a similar expression, mentioning both *tan akuṅ* and (*m*)*āśā*, in KR 6.40d: *tat hanākuṅ ya māśā* ('there was not desire [in him], he was depressed'). Aichele (1969:133) translates it

79. The Sanskrit term *śreṣṭhin*, besides 'a distinguished man, a person of rank or authority', can mean 'an eminent artisan, the head or chief of an association following the same trade or industry, the president or foreman of a guild' (MW 1102; not reported in OJED), hence denoting a member of the *vaiśya*-class. This is in harmony with the description of the weaver-bird in the *Tantri Dəmuṅ* 4.56a as *tos nikaṅ vesmakarmi*, 'the son of a house-builder' (that is, an artisan).

differently: 'du freilich ersehnst und trachtest nur danach', in which case *tākuṅ* is to be read as opposed to the *tan katṛṣṇa* referring to the cuckoo in the preceding line. *Akuvu-kuvu* means 'to encamp, pitch tents, erect temporary buildings, move into or live in temporary lodgings' (OJED 943, s.v. *akuwu-kuwu*). It may of course be an apt way to describe the nest of a bird, but it may also hint in allegorical sense to the householder lifestyle, which is generally regarded as superior (implied in line b) and yet is criticized from the ascetic standpoint of the *kuvoṅ*. Here the verbal attack of the *kuvoṅ* alias *vidu*, a follower of the ascetic path of the Śaiva Atimārga, seems to contain a critique of the householder-oriented religiosity typical of the Brahmanical (or *laukika*) mainstream, which would be followed by the starling and his companion referred to in line d, ultimately leading to re-birth in the cycle of reincarnation. Thus, the *kuvoṅ* invites his interlocutors to become wandering anchorites (*t-aviku*) doing penance in holes (*kuvuṅ kuvvanta t-atapa*), an evident allusion to the Pāśupata observance of lying in ashes. In the remaining part of stanza 114 a new character, who was apparently part of the quarrel, makes its appearance:

> *konan taṅ kokilānūt n-uni kakuli-kulik śabdanya masulit*
> *ko kilyaṅ kokilāpan maṅinaki kalavan lagnāmutusana*
> *bhuktī bhakteṅ alas gəlṅ makula-kula kulit moləs kuli-kulit*
>
> A female-*kuvoṅ* [standing there] approved the order, and as she spoke emitted her call with a melancholic voice: *kuli-kulik*!
> [*kuvoṅ*:] 'You, she-*kuvoṅ*, should become a female-ascetic, so that you bring satisfaction while together with naked wandering ascetics wishing to obtain perfection,
> object of enjoyment among the worshippers in the great forest who have lower-ranking wives and are wrapped in a tree-bark cloth *kuli-kulit*[80]!'

The speaker of stanzas 113–114, reiterating the order to follow solitary asceticism (*vikvāsusupana*), is the *kuvoṅ*. He is mentioned in the first line with the attribute *manuk uyakan* and *pakṣi vidvan* 'intelligent bird'; the latter two words are taken from Sanskrit (*pakṣī vidvān*) and recall the name under which the bird appears to have been known, namely *manuk vidu* (see KR 25.21a and *Bhomāntaka* 70.1d). The second line introduces the *kokila*, who presumably was present at the verbal exchange between the two opposed parties and took the occasion to approve the order of her male partner. The *kokila* indeed seems to be the female of the *kuvoṅ*, also known as *valik*, 'nightbird of the cuckoo family; female

80. Perhaps a play with words (not in OJED), by assonance with *kakuli-kulik* in line a.

of the *tuhu*?' (OJED 2184, s.v. *walik* III). Her cry *kuli-kulik* (OJED 917) may be considered a variant of (*kə*)*lik-əlik*, which occurs in the second quarter (b) of stanza 25.19:

> *si valik kəkəl kavəlikan lik-əlik*
>
> The *valik* is convulsing with laughter, turned upside-down, crying *lik-əlik*!

Why the *valik*, that is the female of the *kuvoṅ*, is 'convulsing with laughter' (*kəkəl*) is not clear, unless we assume she is involved in some kind of performance in which laughter plays a role—another allusion to the *aṭṭahāsa* of the Pāśupatas? According to OJED 454, the cry *lik-ĕlik** is the same as *aŋĕlik* and *aŋalikalik*, the call of the *valik*; the last form is translated as 'sounding and shrilling with a high pitch'. Interestingly, the verb *aṅalik-alik* occurs in one of the above-mentioned stanzas of the *Sumanasāntaka*, namely 130.2b (see above, p. 73), uttered not by a bird but by the female dignitary (*ḍaṅ hadyan*), dancing and chanting the *kiduṅ buvun*, who was also called 'the woman of the *vidu*, as it were'. This, I believe, strongly suggests the existence of a series of allegorical correspondences, namely between the *valik*/*kokila* and *ḍaṅ hadyan*, who appears to have some kind of relationship with, respectively, the *kuvoṅ* and the *vidu*. That the *valik*/*kokila* is connected to the *kuvoṅ* is also suggested by stanza 22 of *sarga* 25, which describes a bird called *kəlik* as following the mode of asceticism of the *kuvoṅ*:

> *kavatək kuvoṅ milu maniṅgalakən, ri vanī nikaṅ kayu vənaṅ matapa*
> *si kəlik təkeṅ kaləpasən saphala, makamārga mārga ni kuvoṅ makuvuṅ*
>
> The *kuvoṅ* felt impelled to join together in leaving behind [the world]; in the bark[81] of a tree they perform asceticism.
> The one who cries '*kəlik*' has obtained the liberation successfully; she follows the path of the *kuvoṅ*, who takes residence in holes.

The hapax *kəlik* was doubtfully glossed by OJED (454, s.v. *ĕlik*) as '(to be read thus?) idem? or a certain bird or insect?'.[82] The identification of the *si kəlik* 'the one [who cries] *kəlik*' in the verse with the *kokila* was already hinted at

81. The word *wanī* is not found in OJED, and is perhaps derived from the Sanskrit *vana* 'wood'.
82. Note that elsewhere (612) OJED interprets the *kəlik* as *həlaṅ* (hawk), a bird which usually 'flies very high and if it comes lower, e.g. to drink at a river, the other birds set on it, so that it longs for rain'. But, since the *həlaṅ* already appears in both *sarga* 24 and 25 under different circumstances, it is unlikely that it represents the same bird as the *kəlik*.

by Aichele (1969:138, note 32) on account of the similarity of his cry with *kulik*.[83] Stanza 25.22, depicting the *kəlik*s as dressed in bark and following the ascetic path of the *kuvoṅ*, may be regarded, therefore, as the 'sequel' to stanza 24.114cd,[84] where the *kuvoṅ* maliciously invites the *kokila* to become a female ascetic. The 'worshippers' referred to in 24.114d may be Pāśupatas, who were also called *śivabhakta*s and were prescribed to wear bark-tree clothes.[85] They were satirically (mis)represented in Sanskrit literary sources as living in sexual promiscuity, followed by female *yoginī*s.[86]

On Birds as Kings

Having demonstrated the existence of an extended allegory between birds and religious characters, the question now is: what are the historical figures, if any, alluded to in stanza 114? Although this is bound to remain a mere guess until new data is found, I offer the hypothesis that the word *kuli*, which in Old Javanese primarily denotes a 'lower-ranking queen', might have been used in a meaningful way as alluding to a royal female character close to the 'lured' king Rakai Pikatan (see below, stanza 115)—perhaps one of his wives. This female character is ordered to follow her husband in his ascetic retreat, becoming a female *viku* (*kili*). Worsley (2006:239) has argued that the dynastic struggle between Rakai Pikatan and Bālaputra was caused by the (second) marriage between the former prince and a Śailendra princess, who was Bālaputra's step-sister. Indeed both princes claimed succession over the Central Javanese kingdom on account of, respectively, marriage and direct Śailendra descent. To him, the plot of the KR is an allegory of the events that occurred during Rakai Pikatan's reign, and the whole series of reliefs in the south-western corner of the balustrade of Prambanan's Śiva temple (to which fig. 1 also belongs) bears witness 'to anxieties inherent in the relationships between factions in the polygamous Javanese royal households of the time'. To see in the *kokila* alias *kili* ridiculed in the stanza a (Buddhist) Śailendra wife of Rakai Pikatan is a fascinating hypothesis, and one that agrees very well with the historical reconstruction proposed by Worsley.

83. See above, 25.19, and 24.109a, where the *valik* emits the sound *lik-lik alik*.

84. I have discussed the apparent structural and linguistic relationships between parts of *sarga* 24 and 25 in Acri (2008, 2010); see also Nihom (1996).

85. See, for example, Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* 21.130–131.

86. See Bloomfield (1924) and Lorenzen (2000:82). The stereotype of a lustful Pāśupata eager to break his vow of celibacy is found in the *Mattavilāsa* (14), where the Śaiva ascetic, coveting the Kapālinī Devasomā, acts as a judge between a Kāpālika and a Buddhist litigant over a skull-bowl in order to get the girl of the former for himself.

The real purpose beyond the order of the *kuvoṅ* is again made manifest in the next and last stanza of the series (24.115):

kabvatnyan sor ujar niṅ manuk uyakan akən kvanyāməjah-məjah
saṅkā riṅ harṣa donyār vulati hayu nikaṅ rājyojvala muvah
molih āmbəknya maprārthanan uvah apulih ṅ udyāna saphala
hetunyān arddha medan mamidu-midu dumon rovaṅnya pikatan

Due to his lowliness, the saying of the *manuk uyakan* is to be considered as an intention[87] to kill.
Out of joy, he set out to see the beauty of the kingdom, splendid again.
He attained in his heart the desire that the flowering park return again to the former condition;
for this reason he, very mad, acted like a *vidu*, having in his mind his decoyed (*pikatan*) companions.

It is difficult to escape the impression that in this enigmatic verse the author was playing with double meanings, for the use of the word *pikatan* could hardly have gone unnoticed by an educated audience of ninth- or even tenth-century Java. While the form *apikat*, *papikat*, *pinikatan* (from **pikat*, OJED 1355) 'decoy-bird' or 'decoyed bird' are well attested in Old Javanese, the form *pikatan* is only attested here and in *sarga* 25.13b—a fact that has been considered by Aichele (1969:135) as a convincing argument of its being a double-entendre alluding to the historical figure Rakai Pikatan.[88] He translated *dumon rovaṅnya pikatan* in line d as '(er) zog los gegen seine angelockten Genossen', and as an alternative possibility 'er griff an die Bundesgenossen von Pikatan', with reference to some decoyed followers of the king. The Pikatan is said to be acting or behaving like a *vidu* (*mamidu-midu*) in a very crazy way (*arddha medan*). This aptly describes the behaviour of a Pāśupata ascetic.[89] But what is the connection between the *manuk uyakan-vidu*-Pāśupata and king Rakai Pikatan? Does the stanza hint at a closeness of the Śaiva ruler with (false) Pāśupata ascetics,[90] or even to the

87. I derive this form from *kwan* I (OJED 945): 'place; one's position or rank in relation to another; what one is concentrating on (thinking of)'; contrast *kwan* II = *kon* I 'to order'.
88. Aichele's hypothesis has found further support in additional evidence drawn by Arlo Griffiths from the Sanskrit portion of the Wanua Tengah III inscription, where verse 10 presents a translinguistic gloss on the name Pikatan as *pakṣi* (Sanskrit for 'bird'): see Acri (2010:487–8).
89. Compare *Pāśupatasūtra* 4.8: *unmatto mūḍha ity evaṃ manyante itare janāḥ*, 'other people will thus think: "he is a stupid madman" '; 4.6: *unmattavad eko vicareta loke* 'He must wander about by himself like a madman'. Compare also the attribute *buddhy ardha mūḍha* 'with a very stupid mind' attributed to the quail alias Alepaka in 24.111c (see Acri 2008:202–3).
90. One may suppose that Rakai Pikatan himself was lured by these false ascetics, who promised

fact that he himself assumed their ascetic practices? However far-fetched the latter possibility may appear, I may point at the occurrence of the attribute *pu manuku* qualifying a Rakai Pikatan in two ninth century inscriptions,[91] which is remindful of the attribute *manuk uyakan* qualifying the *kuvoṅ* or *manuk vidu* in the above stanzas of the KR. The fact that the sequence *manuku* occurs also in *manuk uyakan* would seem to imply that both attributes may be playfully alluding to one and the same (historical) figure.[92]

By way of comparison, I should also like to point to Klokke's interpretation of the allegorical relief depicting the story, widespread in Sanskrit sources, of the 'hypocritical cat' (disguised as a sham ascetic in order to eat the mice) on the Buddhist Caṇḍi Mendut (regarded to have been built after 800 AD) as a satire of a Śaiva King. Klokke (1986:38–9) envisages in the cat an allegorical reference to the historical figure of Kumbhayoni, the Śaiva king (or prince) 'denoting himself as a sage and intent upon overruling the established Buddhist dynasty implicitly mocked at through the depiction of the hypocritical cat provided with the attributes of the sage Agastya'. The iconographical attributes of the cat, namely a trident, a rosary and a fly-whisk, are actually not exclusive to Agastya but also common to those of Śaiva ascetics and especially of the Javanese sect of the Ṛṣis, which have been regarded by Sanderson (2003–04:376) as representing followers of the Atimārga stream of Śaivism. On account of the historical reconstruction I have proposed, it is arguable that instead of Kumbhayoni the cat may represent Rakai Pikatan himself.

The situation of 'tension' described in stanza 24.115 appears to have changed in stanza 25.13, which, featuring the second occurrence of the word *pikatan*,

him supernatural powers that would enable him to win the struggle for succession, eventually falling into a trap prepared by his adversaries. This modus operandi is frequently met with in Sanskrit literature. Olivelle (1987:58), for example, quotes a passage from the *Arthaśāstra* (13.2.1–5) describing the stratagem that the agent-sham ascetic should choose in order to kill the king of an antagonist state: having spread false news about the holiness of his master living in the forest, he should induce the ministers and the king to pay a visit to the holy ascetic; in order to be granted a boon, the king should be invited to stay in the forest with his wives and sons for five nights, after arranging a festival with shows; the king is to be killed on that occasion.

91. Namely the Caṇḍi Argapura inscriptions (also called Wanua Tengah I and II) issued in 863 AD. The same epithet is attributed to a Rakai Patapān in the Caṇḍi Perot inscription issued in 850 AD (see Weatherbee 2000:349). Since it is now believed that in 863 Rakai Pikatan was no longer alive, Weatherbee suggests that Rakai Pikatan Pu Manuku 'would have been a younger brother or son of *rakai* Pikatan who then inherited the Pikatan title during the reign of his uncle or older brother *rakai* Kayuwangi'.

92. OJED (1844) glosses the verbal forms *anukū, sumukū, sinukū, panukū* as 'to go to war, go on a military expedition, wage war on, attack'; compare my remarks on the root *uyak* 'pestering' (p. 62).

may be regarded as a 'sequel' to the former stanza. When describing the peaceful hermitage of the sage Bharadvāja, the narrator notes (line b):

> *pikatan tatan mavədi dibya mariṅ*
>
> The *pikatan*-birds are not scared at all; excellent, they feel at ease.

It is possible to interpret this line as an allusion to the fact that the period of instability and internecine clashes caused by parties hostile to Rakai Pikatan had come to an end, when, according to the Śivagṛha inscription, the power passed to his brother Dyah Lokapāla. On the other hand, if we regard the present portion of text as composed after Rakai Pikatan's death, the line can also be translated as: 'the [King] Pikatan is not scared at all; in a divine form, he feels at ease', in which the word *dibya* refers to his status of hermit but also to his post-mortem deification form.

Conclusion

Starting from the hypothesis, developed in Acri 2010, that allegory was used in ancient Javanese textual as well as visual documents as a means to criticize rival political and religious factions, I have taken up *sarga* 24.111–115 and 25.19–22 of the KR. Those stanzas mainly present a satire of the *kuvoṅ*, an enigmatic bird who is linked with the no-less enigmatic figure of the *vidu*. On the basis of evidence gathered from Old Javanese sources, I have proposed to identify the latter as a Śaiva ascetic-cum-performer, whose practices are similar to those attributed in Sanskrit sources to the Śaiva ascetic of the Pāśupata order. Given the apparent leaning of the mode of worship of the *vidu*s toward performance, singing and buffoonery, I argue that those characters may be regarded as a localized development of a little-known sub-group of the Pāśupatas, namely the Kārukas ('those who sing/recite'?), who were attributed a very low status in the hierarchy of the Śaiva groups. In the light of the above identification, I have offered a new interpretation of the relevant passages of the KR and proposed a fine-tuning of Aichele's hypotheses about the political dimension of the allegory between the *kuvoṅ* bird and the *vidu*, as well as their relation with the decoy(ed) bird *pikatan*, in the framework of the crucial historical events that took place in mid-ninth century Central Java.

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Rāmāyaṇa Traditions in Bali

Helen Creese

The unique status of the KR as the only surviving Kakawin dating from the Central Javanese period has ensured its place in Indonesia's cultural and literary history. A key item in the Sanskrit 'repertory of cultural forms in the package of empire' (Pollock 1996:199, 2006), the central place of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition is evidenced in the richness of its multi-faceted representations. From its earliest renderings on palm leaf and stone, it served as a source of political, strategic and moral guidance for rulers and as the inspiration for generations of poets, artisans and performers.

On Bali, where the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s significant stylistic and thematic influence has endured until the present, the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* is regarded as the Ādi-Kakawin (Hooykaas 1957, 1958c; Robson 1972), that is, as both the first Kakawin and as the preeminent example of the Kakawin genre.[1] For over a millennium, the Old Javanese KR has remained a powerful force in the cultural, literary and religious life of the Balinese. Nevertheless, just as elsewhere in South and Southeast Asia, on Bali too, there is no single '*Rāmāyaṇa*' but instead a number of distinct literary, visual and performing arts representations that have each contributed to the creativity that underpins the vitality of *Rāmāyaṇa* traditions broadly considered.

This chapter will provide a regional perspective on Kakawins from Bali that are linked to this enduring *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition. This survey will take us far from the origins of the KR in ninth-century Java, and even further from any consideration of the specific linguistic and stylistic influences of Sanskrit on Old Javanese. Instead, it will explore Kakawin representations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story at the far end of the chain of transmission. Most of these Kakawin were composed from the late eighteenth century onwards although the earliest

1. Since Indian tradition hails the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* as the Ādikāvya (Brockington 1998:1; Saran and Khanna 2004:1), this designation may well be less an indigenous category than a concept borrowed from Sanskrit literature, but it is, nonetheless, a designation that has been perpetuated by both Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* scholarship and local Balinese tradition alike.

examples may date from the sixteenth century. Because of the crucial role that Balinese manuscript traditions have played in the development and preservation of Old Javanese literature more generally, it will also touch on the continuities that can be traced in the adaptation and evolution of textual knowledge shared between Java and Bali over the longer term.

A new Rāmāyaṇa

In 2003, the literary achievements of I Wayan Pamit (b. 1935), a respected and well-known author and a strong proponent and supporter of Balinese culture, language and traditional literature, were recognized with the conferral of the provincial-level 'Dharma Kusuma' award. One year earlier, I Wayan Pamit had published four of his original Kakawin compositions: the two-volume *Kakawin Rāwaṇa*, the *Nīla Candra*, the *Candra Bhuwana* and the *Candra Bhairawa* (Pamit 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2002d). In 2006, he was again recognized, this time as one of Bali's six most prominent literary figures, in the inaugural round of the provincial 'Widya Pataka' awards. Now in his 70s, I Wayan Pamit, a former school teacher, has been involved in classical Balinese literature as an observer, composer and performer since he was seven years old. The *Kakawin Rāwaṇa* details Rāwaṇa's entire life from his birth to his death. It is a voluminous work of 117 cantos, composed in Old Javanese; with its accompanying Balinese gloss (*tĕgĕs*) printed on each facing page, it stretches to over 400 pages. He had completed this work several years earlier but had been unable to find a publisher until 2002. Wayan Pamit's focus on the character of the archetypal villain, Rāwaṇa, rather than on the quintessential hero, Rāma, attracted interest and some local criticism. In an interview with Darma Putra for the *Bali Post* on 7 September 2003,[2] Wayan Pamit claimed that Rāwaṇa's character provided more than ample scope for the didactic exposition of the core moral and social values he wished to highlight for contemporary Balinese. He noted that his composition was based on his reading of a wide variety of *lontar* and other sources, including the *Bhagavadgītā* and *Nītiśāstra* and, it would seem, in particular the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (UtK), as we will explore in more detail below.

In his interest in the didactic possibilities of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, Wayan Pamit proves himself a worthy twenty-first century heir to one of the long-standing, characteristic aims of Kakawin composition, that is, to provide edifying, morally-uplifting teachings on right conduct (*dharma*) to individuals and 'a sort of pattern for princes' (Friederich 1959:17) for those who govern.

2. http://www.balipost.co.id/BaliPostcetak/2003/9/7/pot2.html (accessed 13-4-2009).

These lessons remain central to Balinese identity formation even in contemporary times, and have found a ready audience under the renewed impetus of the Ajeg Bali movement which seeks to foster a resilient and strong Balinese culture based on deeply-held religious and cultural traditions (Allen and Palermo 2005; Schulte Nordholt 2005). Indeed, 'traditional' literary life is flourishing in Bali in unprecedented ways, particularly in the electronic media on radio and television (Putra 2009; Creese 2009a).

Moreover, in his use of textual sources, in drawing on the UtK, the tenth-century Old Javanese prose rendition of the final *kāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's epic composed during the reign of Dharmawangśa (r. 990–1016), I Wayan Pamit typifies the centuries-long Balinese compositional and thematic reliance on the Old Javanese prose versions of the Sanskrit epics. For, rather than the Old Javanese Kakawin version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is the UtK that sits at the centre of the development of *Rāmāyaṇa* textual traditions in Bali. While the UtK is not strictly speaking one of the Parwas since it is not a prose rendering of one of the 18 Parwas of the *Mahābhārata*, as Zoetmulder (1974:83) notes, it is in every respect similar 'in treatment of the subject matter, in language and in style'. We know that the Old Javanese Parwa provided one of the primary sources for *Mahābhārata*-inspired Kakawin composition in Bali (Creese 1998:65–84, 1999:56–8). Similarly, in the development of *Rāmāyaṇa* traditions, the UtK has remained a key source of literary inspiration. For, in addition to the traditional core themes of Rāwaṇa's abduction of Sītā and Rāma's subsequent defeat of his enemy, Balinese poets have produced creative works based around 'satellite' stories and figures from the *Rāmāyaṇa* cycle. Many of these later Balinese compositions were ignored or dismissed by earlier generations of scholars, for example, Zoetmulder (1974) and Pigeaud (1967, 1968, 1970, 1980), as being of little value or no literary merit. In the last several decades, however, our perceptions of 'texts' and of the literary canon have changed dramatically. We have long-since moved away from the earlier stereotype of the Balinese merely as 'preservers' of the Old Javanese literary and textual heritage. Rather than being viewed as a moribund tradition dedicated to preserving earlier Javanese 'classics', it is now recognized that the Balinese contribution to Old Javanese literature was equally a creative one. This chapter, then, seeks to document some examples of this Kakawin literary creativity in Bali directly inspired by Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* traditions.

The Balinese Kakawin tradition

The consideration here of the Balinese Kakawin works that are linked to Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* traditions necessarily elides a number of important ques-

tions concerning Balinese textual and literary history. There is overwhelming evidence for the existence of a long and deep Sanskrit-influenced textual tradition in the Indonesian archipelago. This tradition encompassed many forms of textual knowledge, not just epic traditions and courtly literature but also religion, philosophy, language, law and so on. The exact nature of this shared cultural and textual world remains obscure and we know relatively little about the local and regional networks in which Kakawins thrived. Nevertheless the sheer scope of the Balinese textual heritage points to complex and multilayered interactions of long standing between Java and Bali, as linked components of an Old Javanese ecumene that arose in response to the expansive Sanskrit cosmopolis in premodern South and Southeast Asia (Pollock 2006). Until the end of the Majapahit period at least, some level of ongoing direct contact was maintained between Java and the Indian subcontinent. Even as late as the end of the fifteenth century when the last dated East Javanese Kakawin, the *Śiwarātrikalpa*, was composed, there is clear evidence of links with South India (Teeuw et al. 1969). But what of Bali?

We do not know whether Sanskrit literary, cultural and religious traditions were mediated entirely through Java, or whether Balinese writers and scholars maintained an independent literary tradition that brought them into direct contact with India over a period of many centuries. What we can be certain of, however, is the fact that Kakawins were being composed in Bali in the Old Javanese language in a period long after Kakawin-writing had ceased to be a mode of creative expression on Java itself. More than a hundred such Balinese Kakawins are recorded (Creese 1999). Equally clear is the fact that this largely court-sponsored Balinese Kakawin tradition that flourished until the late nineteenth century both on Bali itself and in the Balinese courts of western Lombok, owes much to its Java-based forerunner.

The earliest traces of a distinctly Balinese Kakawin tradition date from the second half of the sixteenth century, but only from the late eighteenth century is it possible to identify substantial numbers of Kakawins written in Bali. Although all the extant Kakawins written in Java prior to the fifteenth century, from a period of more than 500 years were preserved in Bali, no contemporaneous works of known Balinese provenance have ever been discovered. Nor do we know whether the major Javanese Kakawins, including the KR, that have survived the journey down through the centuries, circulated in Bali at the time they were written. Rather, the apocryphal tale posits the sudden and panicked flight to Bali of the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist priests and scholars in the face of the spread of Islam in the late fifteenth century, bearing with them their

centuries-long literary and textual heritage. Balinese historical traditions, including a number of the historical Kidung and genealogical Babad texts, support this version of events. Nonetheless, the sheer scope and scale of the Balinese textual legacy makes this scenario rather improbable.

How, though, are we to account for the appearance of so many Balinese Kakawins after an interval of several hundred years? And how are we to explain their links to earlier Javanese Kakawin traditions? Has every Balinese Kakawin work from the earlier period simply been lost? Can the lack of any tangible evidence for a parallel creative Balinese literary life prior to the sixteenth century simply be attributed to the exigencies of environment and climate or the loss and destruction of court libraries and documents arising from the constant warfare and frequent destruction of court centres that marked Balinese history?

Sheldon Pollock (2006:80) has recently cautioned against making unfounded assumptions that entire bodies of literature and textual knowledge can simply disappear without trace and has argued persuasively for the possibility of the sudden—and spontaneous—emergence of fully-formed literary genres. If we accept that vernacular Balinese genres such as Gaguritan and Babad came into existence at a comparatively late stage in Bali's textual past, probably no earlier than the sixteenth century, then, rather than assuming a widespread total loss of all earlier Balinese Kakawins, should we instead posit the emergence at more or less the same time of an entirely 'new' tradition of Balinese Kakawin composition, the renaissance of a genre fallen into disuse and then revived under court patronage? While this argument certainly opens up the possibility that the Balinese Kakawin tradition represents the independent development of a rediscovered literary form, it cannot entirely explain the extensive preservation of Old Javanese Kakawin literature of a much earlier time from Java, nor the continuities of literary form and thematic concerns in the two abutting Kakawin traditions.

In Java, Kakawin composition survived intense periods of political and social upheaval, although we should not lose sight of the fact that the number of surviving Javanese Kakawin works, just fifteen from a period of more than 500 years, is really very small. Nevertheless, the court-sponsored writing of Kakawins seemingly re-emerged time and time again: first after the shift of the centre of power from Central to East Java in the late tenth century, then again in the wake of the fall of the Kadiri and Singhasari dynasties in the thirteenth century to flourish in the Majapahit era (Hunter 2007b). Even after the end of the Majapahit golden age, it continued until the very end of the 'Indic' Javanese period in late fifteenth century. So too, in Bali, Kakawin continued to thrive

with remarkable tenacity as the genre par excellence of royal courts in Bali and Lombok until the colonial period at the very end of the nineteenth century.

When we are able to enter the unequivocally Balinese Kakawin world from the eighteenth century onward, we can immediately recognize themes, textual practices and forms evident from earlier periods in Java. Kakawin activity in Bali encompassed both the preservation and study of the Javanese Kakawin legacy and the creation of new works. Many of these Kakawins are virtually indistinguishable from examples composed at the height of the Javanese period. In fact, until more recent studies revealed the extent of Balinese poets' mastery of Kakawin technique, a number of works now known to be of Balinese origin were assumed to have come from Java (see Zoetmulder 1974:382–3).

Whether the Balinese Kakawin tradition represents continuity or revival, there is absolutely no question concerning the influence of the Javanese literary past on Balinese poets. As the examples to be discussed below further attest, Balinese poets relied heavily on the tenth-century Old Javanese prose adaptations of the Sanskrit epics, the Parwas, including the UtK, for thematic source material, while Javanese Kakawins, including the KR, provided models for Kakawin textual practices and poetical conventions. Poets made use of the full range of cultural and literary resources to hand, including their own talents. Even in a genre as bound to poetical convention as Kakawin literature, there was ample scope and, indeed, an imperative for exercising creative genius.

The Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin in Bali

Before turning to newer compositions, however, we will explore briefly the role and status of the KR itself in Bali. Stuart Robson (1972) has highlighted the importance and popularity of the reading, or rather singing, of excerpts from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, particularly its didactic passages, in textual *mabasan* study groups and in ceremonies connected with life-cycle rituals and other religious celebrations. This enduring cultural practice of textual exegesis accomplished through the vocalization of Kawi (Old Javanese) texts and vernacular paraphrasing into Literary Balinese is attested in material form in the extant *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscripts. The interpreting and performance of texts, first recorded in the tenth-century premiere performance of the *Wirāṭaparwa* (Zoetmulder 1974:965–6), remains a significant performance tradition in Bali and is an increasingly popular mass media phenomenon on radio and television (Creese 2009a; Putra 2009).

The Balinese glosses integrated into I Wayan Pamit's four recent Kakawin compositions described above represent a contemporary manifestation of this

ancient exegetical tradition. Many nineteenth-century palm-leaf manuscripts incorporate interlinear Balinese translations, which as Robson notes (1972:315) are also worthy of an editor's attention as evidence of an interpretation of a work by those who held it to be important at a particular moment in time. Extra-textual information, including these interlinear glosses and details about dating and provenance contained in colophons, provides additional important insights into the significance and function of the KR, particularly in the nineteenth century when the major manuscript collections were formed.

The significance of individual Old Javanese Kakawins has conventionally been judged by the number of available manuscripts. By this measure, the major catalogues of Old Javanese and Balinese manuscripts in Indonesian and European collections—namely Brandes (1901, 1903, 1915:8–27, 1926), Juynboll (1907–11:117–22, 1912), Poerbatjaraka (1933), Pigeaud (1967:176–8, 1968, 1970, 1980)—bear witness to the ongoing relevance of the KR until the late nineteenth century and beyond in Bali. It is perhaps worth noting that a significant proportion of KR manuscripts are what these catalogues describe as 'fragmentary' texts, that is manuscripts that do not comprise the entire work from *sarga* 1 to *sarga* 26, but just a section, sometimes only a very small one, of the Kakawin. Textual fragments of this kind were once dismissed as evidence of lack of diligence or understanding on the part of Balinese scribes and copyists, but we now recognize that what comprises a 'work' in the context of Balinese textual traditions does not necessarily overlap with older European notions of a 'complete' text and that the manifold uses of textual works in traditional Bali is appropriately reflected in the varied nature of physical artefacts, including in such fragmentary texts (see, for example, Vickers 2005:1–14). That so many extant KR manuscripts are indeed fragments, and that many of these fragments include interlinear glosses, is indicative of the day-to-day, practical use on Bali of certain parts of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* for specific ceremonial or study purposes. For contemporary lovers of the KR, numerous published editions and Indonesian translations are also now available.

A partial snapshot of the provenance and dissemination of KR manuscripts from the late nineteenth century onwards is provided by the major collections of Balinese manuscripts (see Appendix). It is striking that the extensive Leiden University nineteenth-century collections hold only four complete texts—LOr 2201, LOr 2202 (with interlinear Balinese gloss), LOr 4436 and LOr 4438 (glossed) (Pigeaud 1967:177–8). Of a total of thirty-nine KR manuscripts from the Van der Tuuk Collection (Br #890–920), only two have the complete text (Bran-

des 1915:8–27).[3] Three *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscripts are found in the Lombok Collection acquired during the Dutch conquest of the Lombok court at Cakranagara in 1894; all are fragmentary texts.

The Kirtya Liefrinck Van der Tuuk Collection (K), established in Singaraja in 1928, has also documented Balinese textual interests, particularly in the colonial period in the first half of the twentieth century, but in a representative rather than comprehensive way. Finally, the more recent and extensive Bali Manuscript Project, the Hooykaas-Ketut Sangka (HKS) Collection established by C.C. Hooykaas in the early 1970s (Hooykaas 1979; Pigeaud 1980:94–6) now contains more than 6000 transcriptions of Balinese texts of every kind and gives a comprehensive view of the Balinese textual legacy in the late twentieth century (Pigeaud 1980; Hinzler 1983, 1993). The HKS collection (Creese 2004a; Witkam 2006–07) has only three transcriptions of the KR, of which one (HKS 3390) comprises the complete text of the Kakawin.

We cannot of course be sure if the representation of KR manuscripts in the Kirtya and HKS collections is indicative of a decline in popularity of the KR in the twentieth century. Because the works transcribed or copied have been drawn principally from private collections, this relatively small number of manuscripts may instead reflect the special, sacred, nature of this Kakawin or reluctance on the part of the owners of *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscripts to allow them to be copied.

The Rāmāyaṇa 'corpus'

There is clear evidence of the direct influence of the Old Javanese UtK in later Balinese *Rāmāyaṇa* literary traditions. This influence crosses genre boundaries and is evident not only in the Kakawins discussed here but also in prose works and in Kidung and Gaguritan poetry. A comprehensive, although by no means exhaustive, survey of the extant Balinese manuscript corpus reveals a range of Kakawins that draw on broader *Rāmāyaṇa* themes. Although the Old Javanese KR might be considered to occupy a special place in Balinese *Rāmāyaṇa* traditions, it is striking that the core KR story—the marriage of Rāma and Sītā, Rāwaṇa's abduction of Sītā and her subsequent rescue, Rāma's attack on Lĕngka with the assistance of Hanuman's monkey army and the defeat of Rāwaṇa—does not appear to have provided sustained thematic inspiration, or at least not for Balinese Kakawin poets. Instead, most of these Balinese Kakawin

3. Two of the thirty-nine *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscripts in the Van der Tuuk collection listed in Brandes' catalogue (Brandes 1915:8–27; Br #890–920), namely Br #902 = LOr 3899 (5) and Br #903 = LOr 3878 (2) are missing from Pigeaud's summary list (1967:177–8).

works draw thematically on the UtK, and take as their heroes such figures as Aja, Arjuna Sahasrabāhu and Rāmaparaśu or anti-heroes such as Rāwaṇa and his descendants. These wide-ranging thematic interests demand in turn a broad definition of works that might be considered to belong to the *Rāmāyaṇa* 'corpus' of Balinese Kakawins.

Deep and wide-ranging interest in the vast mythical, genealogical and narrative repertoire of Sanskrit epic traditions is already evident in the Javanese period where it found expression in numerous literary works and in temple reliefs, as the chapters in this volume attest. As in Bali in later times, a number of the East Javanese Kakawins focus on characters and events drawn from the far reaches of the epic traditions or from Sanskrit Kāvya literature more generally. Examples abound: the burning of the ill-fated god of love in the *Smaradahana*, Kṛṣṇa's military and sexual conquests in the *Hariwangśa* and *Kṛṣṇāyana*, the exploits of minor heroes such as Ghaṭotkaca in the *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* and Bhoma in the *Bhomāntaka*. More directly connected to the Rāma cycle are Javanese Kakawins such as the *Sumanasāntaka*, in which Mpu Monaguṇa relates an ancestral story which tells of the tragic death of Indumatī, the wife of Aja, scion of the lineage of Raghu, father of Daśaratha and grandfather of Rāma, and the *Arjunawijaya*, which centres on an episode from the UtK, namely the defeat of Rāwaṇa by Arjuna Sahasrabāhu.

In his discussion of the *Arjunawijaya* in *Kalangwan*, Zoetmulder (1974:400) suggested that there was insufficient evidence to determine whether Mpu Tantular drew on the Old Javanese UtK. Any uncertainty was laid to rest by the subsequent publication of Supomo's edition of the *Arjunawijaya* (1977) with its detailed analysis of the relationship between the Kakawin and the Old Javanese UtK. Supomo (1977:16–26) showed that although Tantular might have drawn on a number of sources, there was no question that he also derived materials for his Kakawin directly from the Old Javanese UtK. Interestingly, it seems that just as in the case of the KR itself, closer textual dependence is found in the first part of the poem (cantos 1–19) with a freer treatment of UtK themes in the remainder of the poem.

The figure of Arjuna Sahasrabāhu is an intriguing one. In the Javanese period, he occurs only in the accounts of his conflict with Rāwaṇa in the *Arjunawijaya* and UtK, but he emerges as a central figure both in Javanese wayang and in later literary traditions in the golden age of literary activity in Surakarta in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Zoetmulder 1974:403–4).[4] As we

4. See also the discussion below (p. 111) concerning the possible dating of the *Rāmawijaya* to the early Majapahit period.

will see, his exploits are also recounted in a number of works from Bali.

All the Balinese Kakawins that embrace *Rāmāyaṇa* themes draw in some measure on the UtK. Even in a genre as bound to poetical convention as Kakawin literature, there was ample scope and, indeed, an imperative for exercising creative talent and for expanding the concise prose text into a long poetical work. On the basis of its treatment of the subject matter, and its language and style, the Old Javanese UtK is believed to have been composed at roughly the same time as the Parwas of the *Mahābhārata*, that is, in tenth-century East Java (Zoetmulder 1974:83). Centuries later, these ancient Old Javanese prose works, including the UtK, functioned as the principal source for Balinese Kakawin poets. The prominence of the UtK is further attested by the more than twenty extant manuscripts of this text in the manuscript collections.

The Balinese Kakawins belonging to the *Rāmāyaṇa*-UtK epic cycle discussed below can be divided into two groups on the basis of their thematic concerns. The first group comprises works that revolve around a number of satellite stories from the UtK, principally related in Agastya's account to Rāma of Rāwaṇa's history prior to the events described in the KR, or from events that take place in the final stages of Rāma's reign and life. The second group of Kakawins expands on the figure of a single UtK hero, Arjuna Sahasrabāhu, whose defeat of Rāwaṇa narrated in *sarga*s 18–19 is the subject of Mpu Tantular's fourteenth-century Kakawin, the *Arjunawijaya*.

By the end of the nineteenth century, almost the entire UtK had been transposed into Kakawin verse. In fact, there seems to have been what might be called a 'Kakawin-writing project' to versify the seventh and final *kāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's epic, at least if we include here, for the sake of completeness, the *Arjunawijaya*—which to judge by the number of Balinese manuscripts dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Supomo 1977:83–8, 178–9) was a well-known and popular work in Bali in this period.

The UtK 'Kakawin project' begins with the *Hariśraya* (*sarga*s 5–8), continues with the *Arjunawijaya* (*sarga*s 8–19a) and the *Indrabandhana* (*sarga*s 19b–29), and ends with the *Rāmakāṇḍa* (*sarga*s 38–67). The only missing section in the sequence is the episode that immediately follows Agastya's narration of the early history of Rāwaṇa to Rāma (*sarga*s 30–37). At this point, the text resumes the story of the core figures of the KR, dealing with the period of Sītā's exile, when Rāma, now re-established in Ayodhyā, responds to the rumours circulating in the city that question Sītā's fidelity while held captive by Rāwaṇa in Lĕngka, and sends his pregnant wife away to live in the forest. As we noted earlier, in the world of the Balinese Kakawin poet, the core Rāma-Sītā story seems

to have been 'off-limits'; perhaps no poet dared to consider his talents adequate to the task of recreating the Ādi-Kakawin. The same may have been true for this final episode in the Rāma-Sītā story related in the UtK.

Below, I describe each of the Balinese Kakawin works belonging to this extended *Rāmāyaṇa*-UtK 'corpus' and trace their thematic concerns, comment on their dating and provenance where possible, and explore their intricate and varied intertextual links. The Kakawins can be ordered chronologically, if somewhat tentatively, according to the time in which they entered the manuscript collections.[5] Occasionally more reliable dating information is available for individual works. A summary list of the works to be discussed is provided in the Appendix.

Uttarakāṇḍa myths and stories

Hariśraya A and *Hariśraya* B ('Hari's Succour')

Based on *sarga*s 5–8 of the UtK, the *Hariśraya* deals with events prior to the birth of Rāwaṇa, namely the battle between the gods and the demon kings of Lĕngka in which Wiṣṇu defeats the three demon brothers, Mālyawān, Māli and (Rāwaṇa's father) Sumāli. There are two versions of the *Hariśraya*, a short version, the *Hariśraya* A comprising 198 stanzas in 20 cantos and a long version, the *Hariśraya* B with 304 stanzas in 53 cantos.[6] A summary and the introductory stanzas and epilogues of each version are given in Zoetmulder (1974:401, 497). The *Hariśraya* A has been edited and translated into English by Wulan-

5. Where no more specific information on dating or provenance is available, works registered in the Van der Tuuk Collection (Pigeaud 1967:177–8), have a *terminus ante quem* of 1896, while those in the Lombok Collection date from the time prior to the sacking of the royal palace of Cakranagara by the Dutch in 1894 (Pigeaud 1968:5–6). For the twentieth century, the situation is more complex since both the Kirtya Collection and HKS Collection comprise transliterated copies of original palm-leaf manuscripts borrowed from private collections all over Bali and Western Lombok. Many Balinese works were recorded for the first time in the Kirtya Collection, but the Kirtya records provide little specific information about ownership or provenance, and thus are of limited usefulness for dating purposes. The Kirtya transcriptions made during the years immediately following its establishment in 1928 can be tracked in stages through the lists that were published at regular intervals between 1929 and 1935 in the *Mededelingen Kirtya Liefrinck Van der Tuuk*. The HKS Collection comprises transcriptions of manuscripts copied mainly between 1972 and 2002. The manuscripts transcribed for the Kirtya and HKS Collections frequently have much earlier origins, and the individual transcriptions sometimes provide valuable information about the ownership and provenance of the manuscript concerned.

6. The designations A and B are those assigned to each version by Van der Tuuk and incorporated into Brandes' (1903:17–22) and subsequent catalogues.

dari (2001; see also Jákl 2008). The *Hariśraya* B has not yet been edited or studied in detail. Zoetmulder (1974:401) concludes that the two versions are by different hands but are similar in terms of language and verse technique. Nevertheless, in the light of the more extensive research into the Balinese Kakawin tradition since the publication of Zoetmulder's invaluable survey that has led to a reassessment of the facility of Balinese poets in composing Kakawins in Old Javanese until recent times, we should be very cautious about assessments of intertextuality and relative dating that are based on linguistic and stylistic features. The relationship between the two versions of the *Hariśraya* remains unclear. They appear to be independent renditions of the same story taken from the UtK, in contrast to other known examples from the Balinese Kakawin repertoire of interdependent recensions of the same work, including the *Pārthāyaṇa*/*Subhadrāwiwāha* (Creese 1981, 1998:85–140), the *Āstikāśraya* A and B and the *Kṛṣṇāndhaka* A and B (Zoetmulder 1974:395; Creese 1998:85–7). A detailed study of both versions of the *Hariśraya* would be needed to determine the exact nature of their interrelationships.

We do, however, know a little about their dating. The *Hariśraya* A is known from two copies both transcriptions in Balinese script of original *lontar* manuscripts from the Van der Tuuk collection, LOr 4234 and LOr 3888 (Pigeaud 1967:190–1) and two transcriptions from the Kirtya and HKS Collections (K 635 = HKS 1864). LOr 3888 has a brief colophon, referring to a time of destruction that incorporates dating elements which Damais (1958:213) has calculated as equivalent to Friday, 30 January 1891.[7] The dating of this copy of the text provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1891 for the *Hariśraya* A. There seems little question that this Kakawin is of Balinese provenance. It displays a number of characteristic features which we might consider to be a hallmark of nineteenth-century Balinese Kakawin composition. The introductory hymn of devotion begins with the customary phrase used before the invocation of the name of the tutelary deity, the great priests or the master poets: 'I bow down in homage at the feet of …' (*sĕmbah ni nghulun ring jöng* …).[8] In this case, the

7. The description of the *Hariśraya* in Creese (1999:77) contains some inaccuracies. The number of stanzas originally reported in Zoetmulder (1974:557) and repeated in Creese for the *Hariśraya* A and *Hariśraya* B versions, 195 and 297 stanzas respectively, was incorrect. The information has been revised by Wulandari (2001:2). LOr 15.008 (= K 635; HKS 1864) has been erroneously listed as a manuscript of the *Hariśraya* B. It is actually a copy of the *Hariśraya* A. The *śaka* year 1812 given in the colophon corresponds to the period from March 1890 to February 1891, not 1900.

8. This formulaic expression occurs in the *Nītiśāstra*, *Āstikāyana*, *Wṛtāntaka*, *Pārthawijaya* (*Irawāntaka*), *Indrabandhana*, *Bhārgawaśikṣā*, *Dharmakusuma*, *Si Wṛta*, and *Parikṣit*, as well

poem is offered to Saraswatī, goddess of learning, a prominent deity in Balinese Kakawin from the nineteenth century (Zoetmulder 1974:174; Wulandari 2001:7–8). The poem ends with the short, one-stanza, self-deprecatory epilogue typical of Balinese poets.

The situation with regard to the *Hariśraya* B is less clear cut. The third stanza of the introductory invocation contains a hidden chronogram giving the time and place of composition as 'six-nine-water-moon' (*sad sangañjala candra*), a year equivalent to 1496 *śaka* (1574 AD) in Lāwanādipura.[9] Because the events related in the *Hariśraya* B immediately precede those detailed in the *Arjunawijaya*, Supomo (1977:10–5) suggested that the two works may have been contemporaneous and argued, somewhat tentatively, that if the reading of *añjala* (water = 4) were emended to *añjali* (*sĕmbah* = 2), the chronogram of the *Hariśraya* B might be read instead as 1296 *śaka* or 1374 AD and the text would thus be dated to the Majapahit period.[10]

As I have argued elsewhere (Creese 1998:86–7, 1999:53), there is no reason not to accept the chronogram at face value since Lāwanādipura can equally be read as a synonym of Amlapura, that is, of Karangasem, East Bali. If this interpretation is valid, then the *Hariśraya* B is the earliest known Balinese Kakawin.

Both available manuscripts have additional colophons indicating that more copies of the work were being made in the late nineteenth century. The colophon in LOr 4235 (Brandes 1903:22) breaks off abruptly so that the reading is not entirely clear but indicates that 'the time of writing was Sunday, Kliwon in the week Julungwangi, on the 13th day of the dark half of the moon in the first month of the year, 3 units 3 tens' (*dinānrat*, *a*, *ka*, *wara julungwangi*, *pang*, *ping*, 3, *wlas*, *śaśih*, 1, *rah* 3, *tĕnggĕk* 3). Damais (1958) does not include this

as in a closely synonymous phrasing in the *Khāṇḍawawanadahana*, *Ratnawijaya*, *Kṛṣṇāntaka*, *Rāmaparaśuwijaya* and *Pārthakarma* (see Zoetmulder 1974:486–505).

9. *Hariśraya* B 1.3 (Zoetmulder 1974:498):
Nghing pinantangkwa ri sang wĕnang sunga wĕnangkwīki n sakahyun mami
mwang sang wruh pwa ri bhāṣa towi hana ring sunggutnya chandakrama
lwir māsung wibhawe nghulun hiḍĕp iki n singgih kawīndreng dangu
sad sangañjala candra kāla winangun ring Lāwanādipura.

10. Until recently, we were forced to rely on a single manuscript for the text of the *Hariśraya* B, namely Van der Tuuk's autograph transcription in Latin characters (LOr 4235), so a margin for error is certainly possible. A second copy of this Kakawin, however, has now come to light in the HKS Collection (HKS 3184 = LOr 16.328). This transcription provides a slightly different reading of the chronogram in question (*sad sang añcala candra*—six-nine-mountain-moon) that provides a reading of 7 for the hundreds since (*a*(*n*)*cala* or *acala* 'mountain' has a value of 7. The chronogram year is thus equivalent to the *śaka* year 1796 or 1874 AD. This reading would point very clearly to a Balinese origin for the *Hariśraya* B, although a much later one than the sixteenth century one indicated in the chronogram in LOr 4235.

manuscript in his list of dated manuscripts from Bali, indicating that not all of the dating elements (the days of the seven-day and five-day week, the Balinese month (*wuku*), the phase of the moon and *śaka* year) could be reconciled.[11] The year '33 *śaka* included in this dating is equivalent to the year '11 AD. At the very least, the colophon suggests a *terminus ante quem* of 1811 for the Van der Tuuk copy of the *Hariśraya* B.

The colophon of HKS 3184 identifies the text somewhat misleadingly as the story of the *Arjunawijaya* from the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. It indicates that the year of copying was '11 *śaka* or '89 AD.[12] Since the transcription entered the HKS collection in February 1981, it cannot refer to 1989 and the colophon itself must date back to at least the nineteenth century, 1890 AD; the use of the Indonesian 'Kamis' to indicate the day of the seven-day week, however, points to a recent date or editorial change.

There is little further evidence to allow us to date the *Hariśraya* B with greater accuracy. There are, nevertheless, other clues that point to Balinese provenance for the *Hariśraya* B. In the epilogue (53.2), where we learn that the title of the work is *Hariśraya*, the unnamed poet observes that, whereas once poets roamed the mountains and seashore, he is composing his poem in the midst of the battle field as he marches against the enemy carrying a bow as his *karas* (writing board) and arrows as his *tanah* (stylus). The allegorical aptness of the theme of the poem and a military campaign is obvious. Moreover, in Balinese manuscript traditions there are frequent direct links made between textual activity, particularly the copying of appropriate texts, and times of war and destruction throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Vickers 1990; Creese 1996, 2009c). The almost constant interkingdom rivalries and armed skirmishes in precolonial Bali provided ample opportunities for a poet to accompany his royal master into battle. Finally, its place as one literary work in the larger UtK-derived *Rāmāyaṇa* corpus from Bali proposed here perhaps lends further support to its Balinese heritage.

As we have already noted, the following sections of the UtK (*sarga*s 9–19) detailing the defeat of Rāwaṇa by Arjuna Sahasrabāhu are taken up by Tantular in the *Arjunawijaya* (Supomo 1977). The Balinese Kakawin tradition then provides two Kakawins to bring the retelling of the prose work to completion in

11. For a recent overview of the challenges for interpreting dates in Balinese texts, see Proudfoot 2007.

12. *Iti Ari Sraya samapta pinrakreta prangi Arjuna Wijaya ri Utarakandha.* OM *Saraswattye namah*, OM GMUNG *Ganapataye namah*, OM *Sri Gurubhyo namah. Kunang prasta tinurun, kalan ing dalu, ri makara cala, ring aramptra, banjar kilara, duki waya, kmis, wisnu, hretiya kresna, masa posya, sonita mwang tandha samasatu, wara, watek.*

Kakawin-verse form. These two works are the *Indrabandhana* and *Rāmakāṇḍa* (or *Śatrughna*).

Indrabandhana ('Indra Bound')

The *Indrabandhana* continues the story of the UtK from the point at which the *Arjunawijaya* finishes with the release of Rāwaṇa. The poet describes a series of battles between Rāwaṇa and his enemies (Zoetmulder 1974:400–1). The poem takes its name from the final episode (19.4–26.21), which concerns the war against the gods when Indra is captured by Rāwaṇa's son Meghanāda. For this feat, he is given the name Indrajit, 'victor over Indra'. There is a close parallel with the prose text to the end of *sarga* 29 which completes Agastya's account of Rāwaṇa's history. Zoetmulder (1974:400) observes that the language suggests it is of recent date, but that 'its verse technique is almost faultless'. There are several copies of this work, two of which indicate the year of copying as 1905 (CB 55) and 1911 (K 688) respectively (see Appendix). The *Indrabandhana* must therefore date from no later than the beginning of the twentieth century.

Rāmakāṇḍa (*Śatrughna*, *Rāmayajña*, *Sang Hyang Śry Ātmaśuddha*)

The final part of the UtK provides the framework for the events related in the *Rāmakāṇḍa* from the episode concerning the expedition of Rāma's brother, Śatrughna, against the demon Lawana in *sarga* 38 (*Śatrughnaprāyana*) until Rāma's ascent to heaven (*Swargārohaṇa*) at the end of the text in *sarga* 67 (Zoetmulder 1974:402, 498). Although it is by no means unusual for works to be known by a variety of titles in Balinese manuscript traditions, this work has an unusually large array of titles and is also known as *Śatrughna*, *Rāmayajña* and *Sang Hyang Śry Ātmaśuddha*.

Although these titles are cross-referenced in the index to Pigeaud's supplementary catalogue (1980:109, 162, 194, 229), their intertextual relationships are not apparent from the individual entries. A closer reading of the manuscripts, however, confirms that they are all transcriptions of the same work (see Appendix).

The Kakawin runs in close parallel with the Old Javanese prose text. Zoetmulder (1974:402) notes that 'the Kakawin and the prose Uttarakāṇḍa are so alike, even in their vocabulary, as to allow me to use the Kakawin for correcting faulty readings in my copy of the prose work', but this statement perhaps underrates the creative skills of the poet. While it is true that core phrases have been taken from the prose text and in the order in which they occur there, the work

is far more than a simple versification of the prose text. This Kakawin contains the usual mixture of digressions on the natural world, long battle scenes and the full array of other poetic requirements for which the unnamed poet's succinct prose model would have provided little assistance.

The poet notes that he is creating his poem from the 'eighth *kāṇḍa*' of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He dedicates his Kakawin to the eminent ascetic (*yatīwara*), possibly Wālmīki, who is said to be like the great lotus (*mahāpadma*) of which the eight *kāṇḍa*s (*aṣṭakāṇḍa*) form the petals. Zoetmulder (1974:402) suggests that this apparent deviation from the seven *kāṇḍa*s of Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition may arise from conflation with the analogy in the poet's dedication to the eight-petalled lotus. He argues that the reference to the eighth *kāṇḍa* probably signals the last part of the UtK where the story of Rāma continues, a suggestion borne out by the name *Rāmatantra* given to the poem in this stanza (Zoetmulder 1974:498–9). There is no evidence to indicate that a division into eight *kāṇḍa*s represents any kind of wider Balinese tradition, and it must therefore be regarded as an idiosyncratic (mis-)understanding of the poet himself.

There is a considerable number of copies of this Kakawin, which first came to light in the Kirtya Collection (K 628) with a transcription of a *lontar* of fifty-five leaves originating from the collection of Gusti Putu Jlantik, the foundation curator of the Kirtya Collection. This manuscript has a colophon mentioning a scribe in Cakranagara Lombok in 1846 *śaka* / 1924 AD (Pigeaud 1968:766) and was part of a group of texts acquired by Jlantik from Lombok at that time. The work may date from the mid nineteenth century since the epilogue appears to contain a chronogram referring to the third month (*katiga māsa*) in the year 'body-eight-mountain-moon', *awak* (1) *asta* (8) *ning hacala* (7) *candra* (1), equivalent to 1781 *śaka* or 1859 AD.[13]

Kakawin Rāwaṇa

I Wayan Pamit's contemporary Kakawin, the *Kakawin Rāwaṇa*, also deserves a mention here. The first part of the work relates the stories of Rāwaṇa's birth, life and battles against the gods before his encounter with Rāma as set out in *sarga*s 1–18 of the UtK. It includes the events related in the *Arjunawijaya*, such as his encounters with the female ascetic Wedawatī and his capture by Arjuna

13. The text reads: *āpan tan hana ramya ning katiga māsa rumacana <pa>lambing ing karas / medran mānawak asta ning acala candra nika maḍangi kāla ning kulĕm* (Zoetmulder 1974:499). The interpretation of the date is not altogether clear. If the value of the units is not read as *awak* (body = 1) but as *manawak* 'to call out, request' and thus related to speech, which has a value of 6, this would give the year 1786 *śaka* or 1864 AD.

Sahasrabāhu. In addition, it relates the core KR narrative from Rāwaṇa's abduction of Sītā to the destruction of Lĕngka and his defeat by Rāma. The poem ends with Rāwaṇa's death. The contemporary character of this Kakawin is perhaps revealed in the poet's comprehensive treatment of the entire Rāma-Rāwaṇa story in a single work.

Two Rāmas, two Arjunas: Balinese Kakawin based in wider epic traditions

In the epilogue of the *Arjunawijaya*, the poet Tantular dedicates his poem to Wiṣṇu at whose hand in former incarnations both Rāwaṇa (Daśamukha) and Arjuna Sahasrabāhu have met their fate in battle. As Zoetmulder (1974:344) notes these two references allude to two distinct Rāmas: Rāma, son of Daśaratha, the hero of the KR who defeated Rāwaṇa, and Rāma Bhārgawa or Paraśurāma ('Rāma with the Axe'), the slayer of Arjuna Sahasrabāhu. The first of these deaths is the one recounted in the core story of the KR; the second is the death of Arjuna Sahasrabāhu in his battle against Rāma Bhārgawa. There are two Arjuna's and this Arjuna recast as the hero of Tantular's poem is not, of course, the more well-known *Mahābhārata* epic hero, Arjuna Pāṇḍawa. In the UtK and in the *Arjunawijaya*, Arjuna Sahasrabāhu proves himself capable of conquering Rāwaṇa, the sworn enemy of the exemplary hero Rāma; in his confrontation with Rāma Bhārgawa, however, Arjuna Sahasrabāhu has now become the enemy of those seeking to maintain the world order. Arjuna Sahasrabāhu, who is also a prominent figure in later Javanese literary and wayang traditions, appears to have captured the imagination of Balinese poets. His confrontation with his nemesis Rāma Bhārgawa is recorded in two Kakawins, the *Rāmaparaśuwijaya* ('The Victory of Rāmaparaśu') and the *Rāmawijaya* ('The Victory of Rāma').

These epic heroes, Rāma and Arjuna, twinned incarnations of Wiṣṇu with their parallel names, underpin the fundamental intersections between the different branches of epic tradition that are evident in Java in the fourteenth century and continue into the later Balinese period of Old Javanese literature. In Sanskrit literature too, both Rāma Bhārgawa and Arjuna Sahasrabāhu find a place in each of the core epic traditions. In the *Mahābhārata*, Rāma Bhārgawa figures as the warrior-ascetic who vows to annihilate the *kṣatriya* race to avenge the death of his father, Jamadagni at the hands of the sons of Arjuna Sahasrabāhu. The *Mahābhārata* relates the story of the combat between Rāma Bhārgawa and Arjuna twice, once in the third book, the *Āraṇyakaparvan*, the Book of the Forest (3.115–117), and again in the twelfth book the *Śāntiparvan* (12.49) when Kṛṣṇa is relating the ancestral tale to Yudhiṣṭhira (Brockington 1998:283–6; Van Buitenen 1973). The catalyst for the conflict that results in

the death of Arjuna Sahasrabāhu and sets off the train of events in which Rāma Bhārgawa slaughters the *kṣatriya*s and fills the five lakes (*pañcatīrtha*) with their blood, differs somewhat. The *Śāntiparvan* version is believed to be a secondary retelling of the *Āraṇyakaparvan* (Brockington 1998:284).

Rāma Bhārgawa also makes a brief appearance in the Old Javanese KR in *sarga* 2, where he encounters Rāma returning to Ayodhyā after his marriage to Sītā and challenges him to a contest to bend his bow. Rāma accomplishes this feat with such ease that Rāma Bhārgawa goes away in perplexity. Rāma Bhārgawa is also a central character in the *Ambāśraya* ('Ambā seeks Succour'), a Balinese Kakawin derived from the *Mahābhārata* traditions as related in the *Udyogaparwa*. This time it is Bhīṣma who is challenged to combat by the seer. The gods, alarmed by the potentially dangerous outcome of this encounter, intervene and Rāma Bhārgawa is forced to accept defeat. All the available manuscripts of the Old Javanese *Udyogaparwa* end abruptly and the sections dealing with this episode in the Old Javanese *Udyogaparwa* are missing. Therefore, it is no longer possible to ascertain if the inclusion of the quarrel between Bhīṣma and Rāma Bhārgawa in the *Ambāśraya* relates to the earlier Old Javanese Parwa or even KR tradition or is a specifically Balinese adaptation of the Sanskrit epic tale (Zoetmulder 1974:74, 400).

Rāma Bhārgawa appears to have been a prominent figure more widely in Balinese religion and philosophy. Teachings ascribed to him are contained in the *Bhārgawaśikṣā* ('The Teachings of Bhārgawa'), a didactic Kakawin detailing the imminent destruction of the world as a result of human misdeeds and immorality. He is also cited in Balinese law codes as a source of wisdom and guidance (Creese 2009b:266). Zoetmulder (1974:400) suggests that he may have had strong appeal to the Balinese brahmanical caste and links him to the Supreme Teacher (*parameṣṭhiguru*) to whom the *Bhārgawaśikṣā* itself is dedicated in homage, as well as to the unidentified sage or teacher referred to frequently in the introductory stanzas of a number of Balinese Kakawins including the *Khāṇḍawawanadahana*, *Irawāntaka*, *Indrabandhana* and *Si Wṛta* (Zoetmulder 1974:174).[14]

In the two Kakawins discussed here, there are wide deviations from Sanskrit traditions relating to the episode detailing the battle between Rāma Bhārgawa and Arjuna Sahasrabāhu. These divergences reflect the processes of adaptation that are characteristic of Old Javanese literature as a whole, and also raise interesting questions about the poets' sources. Only eight of the eighteen books

14. For the discussion of the possible connection between *Bhārgawaśikṣā* and the Old Javanese *Kuṭāramānawa* law code, see Creese 2009b.

of the *Mahābhārata* are found in Old Javanese renderings. On the basis of the extant Old Javanese sections of the epic, Zoetmulder (1974:98–100) has proposed that the Parwas, up to and including the sixth book, the *Bhīṣmaparwa*, may have formed part of a comprehensive 'project' intended to encompass the entire epic which for some reason was then discontinued, and further that the third of these six parts, the *Wanaparwa* later disappeared. As evidence for his argument that an Old Javanese *Wanaparwa* may once have existed, Zoetmulder suggests that it might have been expected 'to have a special appeal because of the variety and colourfulness of its stories', and because of the fact that one of the most well-known East Javanese Kakawins, the *Arjunawiwāha*, derives from an episode related in this third Parwa.[15] In the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, the episode of Rāma Bhārgawa's defeat of Arjuna Sahasrabāhu is found in the *Wanaparwa*, and the two Kakawins discussed below dealing with this Rāma Bhārgawa-Arjuna Sahasrabāhu episode may also point to local knowledge of the *Wanaparwa* in the Archipelago for which no direct textual traces remain.

In spite of their thematic similarities these two Kakawins, the *Rāmaparaśuwijaya* and the *Rāmawijaya* are independent works. There is no question of direct interdependence since the two works treat their common theme quite differently. There is even a possibility that these two works may in fact be separated geographically and temporally as we will explore in more detail below.

Rāmawijaya ('Rāma's Victory') or *Arjunāntaka* ('The Death of Arjuna')[16]

The *Rāmawijaya* commences with lengthy descriptions of the splendours of the kingdom and the palace, the delights of the love-making between Arjuna Sahasrabāhu and his wife (who is not named), and the beauties of nature they encounter as they undertake their pleasure trip with their full entourage of followers. They encounter Nārada who warns Arjuna of the power of Rāmaparaśu.

15. There is another Kakawin registered under the title of *Āraṇyakaparwa* in the Rotterdam Museum (RtMLV 28857; Pigeaud 1968:862) which appears to have the *Wanaparwa* as its source. LOr 10.757 contains a transcription made in 1940 by Soegiarto for the University of Leiden. The text finishes abruptly at canto 26.5. The poem deals with the fate of the Pāṇḍawas after the loss of their kingdom to the Korawas in the game of dice.

16. Pigeaud (1967:184) includes cod. 4697 (= BCB portfolio 23 and 164) in his major Kakawin group A, and describes it as a work entitled *Arjuna Sahasra Bāhu*: 'An unknown twelfth century Kaḍiri Court poet wrote a poem on the struggle of the epic heroes Arjuna Sahasra Bāhu also called Karta Wirya, and Rāma Bhārgawa (Paraśu Rāma, Jāmadagnya). The greater part including the conclusion of the poem is missing in the only available manuscript. Interrelationship of the twelfth century fragmentary *Arjuna Sahasra Bāhu* Kakawin and the fourteenth century *Arjuna Wijaya* by the Majapahit Court poet Tantular […] is as yet unproven'.

Arjuna then vows to seek him out and defeat him in combat. Further scenic descriptions, episodes of love making and a detailed account of preparations for the battle follow. The poet then provides a lengthy account of the war and the combat between Rāma and Arjuna Sahasrabāhu that results in the latter's death. The final section of the poem contains a vivid account, of the *satī* death of Arjuna's wife on the battle field, where she stabs herself with her *kris* in order to join her beloved in heaven, which is reminiscent of similar descriptions of *satī* found in many Kakawins from both Java and Bali (Creese 2004b:210–23).

Initially, I had classified the *Rāmawijaya* as a hitherto undescribed Balinese Kakawin, but that conclusion has turned out to be an open question in need of further investigation. Although the Kakawin ends with a lengthy colophon that appears to locate it in the Balinese tradition, closer inspection of the text reveals that the *Rāmawijaya* may instead be of late thirteenth-century East Javanese origin, dating from the time of the transition from Singhasari to Majapahit political and cultural hegemony, a period from which no other Kakawins survive.

The Van der Tuuk Collection holds a 'fragmentary' text in 40 cantos described along with other untitled Balinese Kakawin works by Brandes in the fourth volume of his catalogue (Brandes 1926:3–6; Br 1461 = LOr 4697). Comprising 42 pages in Balinese script, LOr 4697 is a copy of a *lontar* of 25 leaves belonging to 'Dalang Gĕde Rĕnĕh di Sung (?)'. As Soegiarto noted in his later transcription of Van der Tuuk's manuscript (BCB 23; BCB 164 [5]), the actual content of the Leiden manuscript is the description of a pleasure trip undertaken by Arjuna and his wife. Brandes, however, had already hinted in the early twentieth century that some sections of this manuscript may have been missing. He drew attention to a hand-written note on the manuscript by Van der Tuuk noting that this poem may have been written 'under Kāmeśwara of Kaḍiri' and that it concerned 'the battle between Arjuna Sahasrabāhu and Rāma Bhārgawa' (Kĕkawin gedicht onder Kāmeśwara (?) van Kaḍiri (Ardjuna Sasrabahu's strijd met Rāmaparaśu)). Brandes (1926:6) suggested that Van der Tuuk's complete manuscript must have dealt with the combat of Rāma Bhārgawa and Arjuna Sahasrabāhu, and thus that *Arjunāntaka* ('The Death of Arjuna') would be an apposite title, a speculation that later found its way into Pigeaud's (1967) catalogue.[17] Not surprisingly, this 'incomplete', fragmentary Kakawin has been accorded no further attention.

17. Juynboll (1907–11:180) gives no title, but describes it as 'pure' (*zuiver*) Old Javanese and notes it has more of a descriptive than epic character. Pigeaud (1967:184, 1968:242, 793, 806) gives it the title *Arjuna Sahasra Bāhu* and ascribes it to an unknown Kaḍiri poet. The poem is cross-referenced as *Arjunāntaka* in the index (Pigeaud 1970, s.v.).

Nevertheless, Van der Tuuk's marginal note points to the fact that the text from which he was working included additional cantos describing the battle as well. For some reason, either the copying of the text came to a halt at canto 40, midway through the copying process, or pages were subsequently lost and this incomplete manuscript then passed into the Leiden collection. More than a century later, it has now been possible to recover the complete text, thanks to the HKS Collection where the entire Kakawin of 766 stanzas in 107 cantos, is found under the title of *Rāmawijaya* as HKS 4/30. Moreover, the introductory eulogy and epilogue to this poem contain considerable information about the patron and poet, Taningrat ('Not of this World'), who clearly identifies the title of his work as *Rāmawijaya*, 'The Victory of Rāma'.[18]

Rāmaparaśuwijaya

There is little doubt about the Balinese origins in the case of the *Rāmaparaśuwijaya*, the second Kakawin that takes as its theme the Rāma Bhārgawa and Arjuna Sahasrabāhu story. The poem has two loosely-connected episodes. It begins with the story of two star-crossed lovers, the heavenly nymph, Renuka, and the apsara king, Anggaraparṇa. Renuka has been locked up in Indra's palace and Anggaraparṇa wanders the mountains in lovelorn misery before seeking the help of his friend Arjuna Sahasrabāhu in rescuing her. Indra, apprehensive about the outcome of the looming battle, enlists the aid of the Brahmin, Jamadagni, and persuades him to take Renuka as his wife. She provides him with a son, Rāma Bhārgawa. Nārada, ever-ready to shape the destiny of the world, advises Arjuna Sahasrabāhu of the might of Rāma Bhārgawa. Arjuna, who here is known by his name of Kārtawīra, sets off immediately to confront his foe. The Renuka-Anggaraparṇa subplot, however, remains unresolved, although there is a brief interlude in the midst of Arjuna's battle preparations when the lovers do meet once again secretly and escape to a secluded spot. At this point the two different Kakawin versions converge. Arjuna Sahasrabāhu marches out with his armies and his many allies but, with Indra's aid, Rāma Bhārgawa kills all the tributary kings in the ensuing battle. Arjuna finally assumes his divine form as Rudra but is defeated by Rāma Bhārgawa, who manifests himself in the form of Wiṣṇu. Arjuna returns to heaven and his wife, Citrawatī, follows him in death. The *kṣatriya*s are completely annihilated and their blood turns into the

18. Since its place in the Balinese tradition now seems less certain, further discussion of the provenance and dating of the text, including its possible relationship to the *Rāmaparaśuwijaya* must be left for another occasion.

five bathing places (*pañcakatīrtha*) possessed of extraordinary purifying powers.

The *Rāmaparaśuwijaya* appears to be of nineteenth-century Balinese origin. One copy of the text from the Van der Tuuk Collection, LOr 3887 (also 1967:197), has a colophon which Damais (1958:238) has dated precisely to Sunday, 1 March 1891. This date provides a *terminus ante quem* for the work. The time of composition, however, is not known. Zoetmulder (1974:402–4), who provides a summary, notes that this work displays stylistic similarities with a number of other eighteenth and nineteenth-century Balinese Kakawins such as *Subhadrawiwāha*, *Hariwijaya* and *Abhimanyuwiwāha*. Nevertheless, this work also reflects the legacy of poetic conventions of Javanese Kakawins. For example, the pleasure trip is reminiscent of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and there are obvious and very close thematic and structural parallels with the *Arjunawijaya*. We have sufficient evidence of the close study of Javanese Kakawins in Bali for these parallels to be unremarkable but the *Rāmaparaśuwijaya* remains a literary work worthy of closer consideration.

Sumantri (*Mahispati*)

Another Kakawin that belongs to the Arjuna Sahasrabāhu cycle is the *Sumantri*. Zoetmulder (1974:402), who makes only a single reference in passing to this Kakawin, describes it as 'an endlessly protracted work of no literary value that hardly deserves the name Old Javanese'. In the introduction to the poem, the poet explains that he wishes to tell a Parwa story from his desire to hear of the true nature of the UtK, so that clear insight might be imparted and, further, that he wishes to tell the story of Arjuna Sahasrabāhu. In the epilogue, he reveals that the story he has just related was commissioned by 'he who rules on the boundary of Amla'.[19] This reference indicates the *Sumantri* is a work of Karangasem provenance originating from East Bali or from the Balinese kingdoms of western Lombok.

But is there only one *Sumantri*? The *Sumantri*, whose introductory verses and epilogue are included in Zoetmulder's appendix in *Kalangwan* (1974:500), is a different work from the one bearing the same title found in two transcrip-

19. The interpretation is not altogether certain. The text reads (*ndah sāmangkā hingan ikang kathā wiwakṣan, de sang arājya ri pagĕr nagāra Amla, de sang arājya ri pagĕr nagāra Amla, ndātan len patra nira manggalāsing ahyun*). The repetition of the second line suggests a copyist error. We can reasonably assume that the poet is not speaking about himself in lines 2 and 3, when he mentions 'he who rules within the compass (or on the outskirts: *pagĕr*) of Amla' and, further, that an original second line may have provided a link to the patron of this work. Zoetmulder does not indicate the manuscript he used and I have not been able to verify the reading.

tions from the HKS Collection, HKS 1469 and HKS 5248. The two HKS transcriptions match Pigeaud's brief description (1980:191) that the Kakawin concerns 'the story of Sumantri, a member of the Bhārgawa family and his younger brother Sukasarana'. In the Kakawin, Sumantri, who in Javanese wayang is known as Arjuna Sahasrabāhu's younger brother, becomes Arjuna's *patih*. He is called Suwanda. Arjuna himself plays a minor role. The text, replete with numerous battle scenes, includes in its cast of characters the many vassal kings familiar from other epic tales, including the *Sumanasāntaka*, *Rāmawijaya*, *Arjunawijaya* and *Rāmaparaśuwijaya*, chief amongst whom are the rulers of Magadha and Widarbha. The intertextual links with Old Javanese literature more broadly are clear, but the precise source of this poem remains unresolved. I have not been able to trace the text Zoetmulder cites as the *Sumantri*.

As noted above, there are two transcriptions of this Kakawin in the HKS Collection: HKS 1469 where it is called Kakawin *Sumantri* and HKS 5248 where it is given the title Kakawin *Mahispati*.[20] There are some differences between the two texts, but they derive from a common source. HKS 5248 comprises 43 cantos. HKS 1469 omits cantos 14–28, and ends at Canto 41 (erroneously numbered 50 [L] in the transcription) and finishes with a three-stanza epilogue. There are other minor variations in readings and, here and there, an extra or omitted stanza. The epilogues are paraphrases of each other and closely interrelated. Both mention that the poem is written in homage to Sang Mapandhya Wara Buddha and both appear to contain a chronogram date in the last stanza but the interpretation is uncertain. HKS 1469 mentions the place of copying as the Aśramākara Nirarṣa Nagārāmlapura. Nirarṣa is synonymous with Singarsa, that is, Sidemen, Karangasem, an important, if not the leading literary centre in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries and this information thus links this transcription with the Karangsem provenance of the version of the *Sumantri* cited by Zoetmulder.[21]

The catalogues also include two additional Kakawins that may be connected to the UtK cycle, one dealing with Rāwana's early history, and the other with the *Arjunawijaya* story. Both are very short texts. The first of these, the *Śakakāla*, comprises just seven cantos. It dates from the late nineteenth century and relates the struggle of Rāwaṇa and Māruta. A Kakawin with this title is named as one of Prapañca's works in the *Deśawarṇana* but there is no evidence to suggest

20. HKS 1302 (LOr 13.759) and HKS 3304 which also bear the title *Mahispati* are copies of the *Arjunawijaya*. HKS 3304 includes a Balinese gloss.

21. There are Gaguritans and Parikans called *Sumantri* in the HKS Collection (HKS 1222, HKS 2484) but these are not connected to the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, nor it would seem to the Kakawin *Sumantri*/*Mahispati* described here.

the reference is to the *Śakakāla* described here. Two other short Kakawins are included in the same *lontar*, the *Padma Sari*, and another dealing with smoking opium and gambling which has a colophon dated 1810 *śaka* 1888 AD (Pigeaud 1968:855).

The other, the *Wiśālāgni*, is unfinished. It is an Arjuna Sahasrabāhu tale, which Pigeaud (1967:196) describes as being like the *Arjunawijaya*.

The Next Chapter…

There can be no doubt that the broad *Rāmāyaṇa* epic tradition remained a core literary focus in premodern Bali. Although there are a considerable number of Kidung and Gaguritan works, as well as various prose works and summaries that take up the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, it is not possible here to deal with the entire complex of Balinese Rāma stories and the discussion has therefore been confined to works belonging to the Kakawin genre. It is also necessary to leave for another occasion the discussion of the myriad adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in other genres, both traditional and modern, such as wayang, painting and the performing arts, not to mention modern literary and performance adaptations, although these too might legitimately be considered part of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Bali. Vickers takes up one example in his contribution to this volume.

To return briefly to my starting point: the 2002 *Kakawin Rāwaṇa* by I Wayan Pamit. This very recent Kakawin represents a radical change in Balinese approaches to Kakawin composition. No longer requiring the painstaking production of a palm-leaf *lontar* manuscript, it has been written on a computer and mass produced. It can be re-produced infinitely and on demand. The *tanah* and *karas*, the *pengutik* and leaf of the *tal* tree have been set aside. The text still uses Balinese *aksara*s, but now the letters are a uniform shape and size; there may still be the occasional scribal (typographical) error, but mistakes and quirky, idiosyncratic changes in readings, as minds skip ahead and letters change physical shape, unnoticed, are unlikely to creep into this text on account of human limitations, to be passed to the next generation. The text has become fixed and static. The text as artefact has presumably also lost its sacred character; the *aksara*s will no longer ebb and flow. The poem retains its introductory *manggala* there on page one in the form of a Preface, which still incorporates the formulaic apology for its inadequacies—that tradition has not yet died. The poet is no longer anonymous, no longer does he hide behind a *parab*; not only his name is there, so too is his photograph. He has been interviewed for the newspapers. He is a modern *kawi*.

Against all odds, 'traditional' Balinese literature continues to defy those dire predictions in the 1980s and 1990s that manuscript-based literary forms would die. But there is certainly change and transformation. Twenty-first century Kakawin composition may remain a niche area of creative endeavour, but the study of Bali's literary heritage, and the composition of new works, seems to be going from strength to strength, via the medium of electronic broadcasting. Kakawin poetry has always been a dynamic genre, has always responded to cultural and technological change. It remains a part of Balinese creative life. A millennium on, it is not too difficult to imagine that there may well be many more chapters to come in the *Rāmāyaṇa* story in Bali.

Appendix: *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakawin corpus from Bali

Hariśraya A	LOr 3888 (= 10.878 = BCB portf. 164), 4234; K 1123. 15.008 (= K 635, HKS 1864)
Hariśraya B	LOr 4235 (= BCB portf. 23), 16.328 (= HKS 3184)
Indrabandhana	LOr 9410 (= BCB 25, K 688; 1833 *śaka* (1911 AD), 10.189 (= CB 55, K 2228; 1827 *śaka* or 1905 AD), 13.954 (= HKS 1506), 21.251 (= HKS 5107), 21.582 (= HKS 5436)
Rāma Bhārgawaśikṣa Also called *Bhārgawaśikṣa*	LOr 5136 (= 10.523, BCB portf. 24, BCB portf. 164), 13.600 (= K 437, HKS Bundle 18/30), 13.850 (= HKS 1391) With Balinese gloss: LOr 16.256 (= HKS 3112), 21.687 (= HKS 5540), 21.711 (= HKS 5564); K 1374 (= HKS 2077)
Rāma(paraśu)wijaya Also called *Bhārgawawijaya*	LOr 3887 (= CB 43, BCB portf. 25, K 5861, 3-1891), 12.930 (= HKS Bundle 4/3), 13.873 (= K 586, HKS 1414), 24.104 (= HKS 5952) With Balinese gloss: LOr 16.256 (= HKS 3112)
Rāmakāṇḍa Also called *Śatrughna*, *Rāmakāṇḍa Śatrughna*, *Rāmayajña*, *Sang Hyang Śry Ātmaśūddha*	*Rāmakāṇḍa*: LOr 13.948 (= K 628, HKS 1500) 19.502 (= HKS 4358) *Śatrughna*: LOr 13.567 (= HKS Bundle 17/28); 16.527 (= HKS 3383), 16.568 (= HKS 3424), 16.713 (= HKS 3569); 19.485 (= HKS 4340), 21.102 (= HKS 4958) *Rāmakāṇḍa Śatrughna*: LOr 14.893 (= K 628; C B41, BCB portf. 26) (Pigeaud 1968:766) *Rāmayajña*: LOr 13.863 (= HKS 1404); HKS 4611 *Sang Hyang Śry Ātmaśuddha*: LOr 12.818 (= K 628, HKS 1749) (Pigeaud 1980:109)
Rāmawijaya = *Arjunāntaka*	LOr 4697 (Br 1461; untitled) HKS 4/3
Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin	Complete: LOr 2201, 2202 (glossed), 4436 (06-09-1807), 4438 (glossed; 1735 *śaka* = 1813 AD); HKS 5482 (= LOr 21.627) Fragments and selections: LOr 71, 1878, 2059, 2217, 2301, 3871 (compendium, 7 extracts), 4437, 5262, 5384, 11.097; HKS 3390 (= LOr 16.534) Fragments and selections with interlinear gloss: LOr 2200, 3747 (= 4440), 3761 (= 4443), 3820 (= 4441), 3838, 3881 (compendium 6 extracts), 3882, 4439, 4442, 4444, 5094 (5-06-1828), Ad GUB 56; HKS 6181 (= LOr 24.332)
Rāwaṇa	I Wayan Pamit (2002)
Śakakāla	AdKIT 1382/2 = BCB portf. 164
Sumantri Also called *Mahispati*	LOr 13.917 = HKS 1469; HKS 5284
Wiśālāgni	CB 44 = BCB portf. 26

The Old Javanese *Kapiparwa* and a Recent Balinese Painting

Adrian Vickers

On a visit to Bali a few years ago, I was asked to identify a painting by the leading classical artist of Bali, I Nyoman Mandra, which featured the monkey hero Hanuman, or Anoman as he is known in Bali.[1] At first the painting was a mystery to me, since it did not show the usual stories involving Anoman, although one scene looked like the visit of Anoman to Sita in Rawana's *asoka* garden. Solving the mystery of this painting led me to greater insights into the Balinese iconography of Anoman, and ultimately led me to greater understanding of why Anoman is regarded as a significant figure of power in Java and Bali. While it offers no direct textual insights into the Old Javanese KR, the painting demonstrated the importance of the narrative accretions and variations that have grown around the text.

I Nyoman Mandra (born 1946) is the main teacher of the classical style continued by the village of Kamasan, in Klungkung, and my mentor in the research I have carried out since 1978 on Kamasan art. We have often discussed the fact that there are many narratives in existence in Bali, but only a few of these are commonly known and used by Balinese painters. Nyoman's interest has always been in utilizing the full repertoire of stories, and he regularly sought out *dalang*s (wayang puppeteers) and others knowledgeable in such narratives. During the twentieth century Kamasan village had around a dozen *dalang*s, including many members of Nyoman's descent group, but they had almost died out by the twenty-first century, the last *dalang* of Kamasan being Pan Sadera, a neighbour of Mandra's.

1. The research for this paper was carried out as part of an Australian Research Council Linkage Project Grant, held in conjunction with the Australian Museum and the Batuan Project. The author would like to thank the participants in the Jakarta conference for discussion, Chris Carlisle, Adrian King, and especially Nyoman Mandra, and to Leo Haks for providing Figure 2. I will follow Modern Balinese pronunciation for the spelling used in this article.



Figure 1: Nyoman Mandra, *The Birth of Anoman*, 2004. Private collection

The painting had been commissioned by Chris Carlisle, a long-term resident of Bali, who was involved in a project in Karangasem, and had taken Nyoman to the area to ask him if he would provide a painting to illustrate the sense of the area. Nyoman spent a long time in the cool and pleasant greenery of the Karangasem hills pondering what he would do. As with other works, he meditated on the subject matter of the painting, then produced this work in 2004, without providing an explanation as to what it depicted. This was not unusual, as Nyoman is often very loathe to talk about the meanings of his paintings, and clearly this had some kind of deep connection to his experiences in Karangasem.

One of the Balinese who worked on the project with Chris, and his business partner Adrian King, suggested a narrative explanation.[2] Like me, the Balinese craftsman thought the scene of Anoman kneeling before a woman of high rank showed the scene of Anoman and Sita. But there was one crucial difference. Usually in depictions of the *asoka* grove, Sita is shown giving Anoman a ring, in token of her love for Rama. There was no ring in the right-hand scene. Further, this explanation did not really help solve the problem of the left-hand scene, which showed the gods Siwa (the white figure surrounded by an aureole) and Bayu (Pawana, the other figure surrounded by an aureole, whose iconography is identical with that of his son, Bima). In that same scene was a priest on the extreme left-hand side of the painting, holding up his hand in a gesture that may indicate surprise, and a seated, partially-clothed woman with something in her hand, and a servant seated behind her. The Balinese collaborator suggested that the right-hand scene might show the origins of Bima, from the *Mahabharata*, but that story did not explain all the figures in the scene, and also did not explain why two completely different narratives would appear in the same painting. The servant was also the same as the one who sits behind the high-ranking woman on the right, so presumably the partially-clothed woman and the high-ranking woman were one and the same. On the extreme right, Anoman is shown attacking the sun-god, Aditya (Surya), who was seated on his divine vehicle, Aruna. Between the two scenes was a shape indicating a mountain in Kamasan iconography, and there was water all around, consistent with a garden or jungle setting.

The partial scene of Anoman and Aditya was something I had seen in a number of modern Balinese paintings, including two from the 1930s that came from Ubud. These works depicted Anoman actually trying to eat the sun, and the presence of the highest God, Atintya, trying to prevent this. Such a scene

2. Personal communication Adrian King in an email to me (28-02-2008).

is not mentioned in the Kakawin version of the *Ramayana*, in fact the Old Javanese KR was not much help in explaining the other aspects of the painting either. The scene where Anoman goes to the *asoka* grove did indeed contain many references to the wind (Bayu) and the sun, hinting that there were levels of meaning that have not been explored in this passage, but that did not help identify the subject matter of the painting.



Figure 2: I Dewa Nyoman Leper, *Anoman trying to eat the Sun*, 55 × 37.5cm. Pengosekan, 1930s, formerly Haks and Maris collection (188), originally collected by Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead[3]

3. There is a more recent painting of this scene (possibly from the 1970s) in the Wredi Budaya Art Centre, Denpasar, painted by Gusti Made Baret, from the same village as Dewa Leper.

Trying the *Uttarakanda*, the prose version of stories leading up to the *Ramayana*, was also not helpful, and Zoetmulder's guide (1974) to Old Javanese literature made no mention of these stories. The only other source of different types of Parwa or prose literature of the epics, Ensink's study of the Sutasoma episode in the *Cantakaparwa* (1967), was more helpful. Ensink's description of the 'encyclopædic' nature of the *Cantakaparwa* indicated that it contained a number of sub-texts, one of which, the *Kapiparwa*, or 'Monkey Parwa', told the story of Anoman, Bali and Sugriwa. The earliest reference to this text that Ensink (1967:12) could find came from the middle of the nineteenth century, when Friederich referred to the existence of the text.[4] This was then one of the other prose works that held 'branch stories' to the *Ramayana*. Creese's guide (2004b) to the Hooykaas-Ketut Sangka collection of Balinese manuscripts indicated that there were six prose versions of the *Kapiparwa* and two poetic versions or Parikan.

The *Kapiparwa* turned out to hold the key to the story. There were several versions of this text in the Hooykaas-Ketut Sangka collection, and although they usually contain similar narrative elements, the variations between them were quite wide. The longest version, of 53 pages, came from Puri Madura, Karangasem, while other prose versions came from Jadi in Tabanan, Geria Duda in Selat, Karangasem, and Puri Kawan, Singaraja.[5] These contained many other stories of high priests and other figures who were related to the narrative of the *Ramayana*. I selected the version from Geria Pidada Klungkung[6] because this priestly house is the closest geographically to the village of Kamasan. Kamasan provided court artists to the high king of Klungkung, to whom Geria Pidada supplied high priests. The village and the priestly house had other connections, including paintings and an illustrated manuscript now in Geria Pidada that had originally come from Kamasan (Vickers 1982).

On first impression, the *Kapiparwa* was the kind of text that recorded narratives used in wayang performances. The language was not very difficult and included Balinese words (for example *mbok*, 'sister'), meaning that it could even have been written down very recently. The large variations between manuscripts would also confirm this impression. Longer versions of the text treated various Bhagawan or semi-divine priests at length, but also contained a number of key stories about the monkeys who appeared in the *Ramayana*. The text usually

4. Strangely the word *kapi* does not have an entry in KBNW.

5. HKS 2046, 1342, 1592 and 3649 (423.22, 24.08, 29.48 and 118.08) respectively, note that in the on-line database the Geria Duda version is described as having 7 pages, but actually has 15.

6. HKS 1835 (36, 4).

began with the story of Bhagawan Gottama. The name *Kapiparwa* comes from the fact that it dealt with histories of the monkeys (*kapi*), especially the story of (Su)Bali and Sugriwa, of their twin meditations, and of the conflict in which Rama intervened. Bhagawan Gottama was the father of Anjani (or Naranjani or Ranjani) by Dyah Jambikawati. Such was Jambikawati's beauty that the Sun-god, Aditya, wished to have sex with her, and gave Anjani a gift of the *cucupu manik-astagina*, a jewel of power, so that she would keep quiet about this. Jambikawati gave birth to twins, (Su)Bali and Sugriwa. The twins were induced by a student of Gottama to ask Anjani for the *manik-astagina*, which she said came from a great priest. They then went to their father to ask him about this, and when he asked Anjani about the jewel, he cursed her and attempted to destroy it by splitting it into pieces. In fighting to get the split jewel, Bali and Sugriwa were turned into monkeys.[7]

All version of the *Kapiparwa* that I could locate described the birth of Anoman. Anjani journeyed with her brothers to a mountain forest, at the lake of Taman Kaliwarna, where they meditated in an attempt to have the curses lifted from them. At the peak of the mountain the brothers fought with Dasagriwa or Rawana,[8] the king of Selamra, causing the animals in the mountain forest to flee. They then went to Giri Semi (Spring Mountain, literally Mount Sprouting Seeds), to meditate. Ranjani went to the north, above Selasayana. Her asceticism was to eat whatever she found near her sitting place, which was on a rock.

Siwa (Pasupati; Guru) was disporting with the Goddess at Giri Semi. The sight of the beauty of the mountains aroused Siwa, and they had sex; but Bhatara Bayu saw them and was jealous (*kemburu*) and enraged at their violation of the site. Disturbed by the wind, Siwa's sperm fell on a banyan leaf, which was then carried by the wind/Bayu onto the lap of Anjani. She ate it, and became pregnant, giving birth to a white baby in the form of a monkey. A voice came from the sky, telling her that this was a child unmatched in power (*sakti*) called Maruthi because he was born of sperm carried on the wind (*marutha*).

The child was hungry, and asked his mother what was appropriate food. She said to look for something red in the East. When the Sun came up, Maruthi attempted to eat him, and almost succeeded. Siwa and Anjani had to stop him, since he would destroy the world. His mother explained that when she said something 'red in the East', she meant *rambutan*, *manggis*, *kukap*, *salak* or other fruits.

7. I have glossed over some of the complications of this story, which emphasizes the rivalry of the brothers. Initially Anjani is cursed to become a stone pillar.
8. Probably invoking a pun on 'forest': *wana*.

Anoman asked for a boon from Siwa in return for not eating the Sun: that he be given human form. Siwa told him to bathe in the dirty pool at Suranadi. There Maruthi saw two bathing places (*ertali*), one muddy (*putek*), the other pure (*suci*). He bathed in the first and became a very handsome man. But despite a warning from Siwa, he then bathed in the second and resumed his monkey form.

Other versions of the text vary in their language, but the story-line is similar. This kind of variation is typical of orally-transmitted versions that are written down at different times and places, and is a product of the fact that these versions were taken and developed by performers, usually *dalang*s. Thus only skeletons of stories are preserved between versions (Bandem et al. 1983; Zurbuchen 1987).

Take for example the passage where Anoman is born and Anjani tells Anoman about what he can eat. In the Geria Pidada manuscript it reads like this:

> *Kunang ri wetu Sang Maruthi, alemeh citta Sang Rajani manaka tan payayah. Binuncal sireng sela-bajra. Bentar remuk tang sela kadi galepung. Mojar Sang Maruthi, 'Ih sang ibu, angapa kita muncal ranak ta inganika?' Mojar ibuniya, 'Kacandung sirebu menge ngemban kita, matang yan tiba. Pahungwa anaku'. Mojar Sang Maruthi, 'Udhu hibu, mangke nghulun atanya ikang sayogya panganku. Apan tan wruh nguhulun'. Mojar sang ibu, 'Udhuh anaku Sang Maruthibapa. Ana wenang pinakabhuktinta, apan sira wre. Yan anan bang metu Wetan, ya ta pangananta'. Mangkana ling ibuniya.* (5b–6a)
>
> At the birth of Anoman, Anjani expressed her distaste for this child without a father. She left him behind on a diamond stone. The stone split and shattered into pieces as if it were rice meal. Anoman said, 'Oh, mother, why have you put your son aside?' She replied, 'I've been cut in half[9] bearing you, thus you were born, thus your establishment my son'. Anoman said, 'Oh mother, now I'm asking what I should eat, because I have no idea'. His mother said, 'Oh my child, son of the Wind. The provisions that are appropriate for you to take, because you are a monkey, are what is red and found in the East. That is what you should eat'. Thus the words of his mother.

9. Is this an allusion to the versions of the story where Anoman (or Anggada) is born by cæsarean? This section of the text is mostly in Balinese, for example using *buncal* instead of Old Javanese *buncang*.

In the Jadi text this passage is:

> *… pira lawasniya ameteng, mijil ta were, mangaran Sang Maruthi, samangkana sabda sakeng Akasa, sinawut den ibuniya, binuncang ring sela maratha, bentar remuk sila ika, mojar sang Anoman: 'Ih Ibunku Sang Narenyani, kadi punapa, yang Ibu teka binendem, ranak hinganika, aneng sila meratha?' Mojar Ibuniya: 'Huduh anak inghulun, dudu ingsun ngamet sira, mengo Ibunira tiba aneng sela', mangkana lingira Ibuniya, Mojar Sang Anoman: 'Ih Ibunku Sang Narenyani, ri sedeng ingsun maseduk, tan weruh ring papangan'. Mojar Dhyah Narenyani, lawan tanayanira: 'Huduh anakingsun, Sang Anoman, ana wenang binukti de sira, apan sira marupa were, ana abang tumbuh kangin, yatika papanganantа', mangkana lingniya Sang Ibu.* (12a–12b)[10]
>
> After a night, a monkey was produced, called Anoman, as the voice from the Sky decreed. His mother responded by casting him aside on a flat rock. The rock split and shattered, and Anoman said: 'Oh Mother Anjani, why have you cast aside your son onto this flat rock?' His mother replied, 'Oh my son, it's not that I wanted to take you, that's why I turned aside and put you on the stone'. Thus spoke his mother. Anoman said, 'Oh mother Anjani, I'm hungry, and don't know what to eat'. Anjani spoke to her son: 'Oh my son, Anoman, the provisions that are appropriate for you, because you have the form of a monkey, is what is red and comes up in the East, that is your food'. Thus her words, the mother.

We see here a common framework of key words, but intense variation between them, as would be expected with a performed version of narrative frameworks that are handed down orally and only written as a kind of aide memoir. While it would be tempting to say that the second version is the oldest because it has more Kawi or poetic language, it also includes Balinese words (such as *maseduk*), and could be a later version which has been re-elaborated to be closer to Old Javanese. The Parikan versions of the text are much more elaborate, but they are a separate form, since they are a different type of text. Ubud paintings of the story of Anoman eating the sun, such as the one illustrated above, show another variant of the story with the introduction of the figure of Atintya, the Supreme Being. Atintya also features in narratives involving the hero Bima, such as the *Nawaruci* or *Dewaruci*.

The birth of Anoman episode from the *Kapiparwa* is significant because of its commonalities, as well as differences, with other South and Southeast Asian

10. I have kept the punctuation provided by the transcribers.

versions of this event. In some Indian versions of the story of Anoman, his father is Rama, and this version is followed by the Malay *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* and the Lao version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Brockington 1985:296).[11] In East Java, Rama is the father of Anoman.[12] In other versions Anjani eats food distributed by Dasaratha, but carried by Bayu (Pawana), and at the same time her child is an incarnation of Siwa.[13] A version very close to the *Kapiparwa* story is found in India, and Lutgendorf summarizes various stories, including a recent version of this, called the *Hanuman Rāmāyaṇa* (Lutgendorf 2007:117–34). The Thai *Ramakien* and Burmese *Rama Thagyin* belong in this same tradition, although in them Bayu places weapons in the open mouth of Sawaha (Anjani), causing the birth of Hanuman (Brockington 1985:301; Toru 1994:317). In these and other Southeast Asian versions, Anjani is cursed by her mother to give birth to a monkey, because she reveals to her father her mother's infidelity with Aditya. The motif of the fallen sperm is found in both the Rama and Siwa versions of paternity, but in some versions the sperm is eaten directly because Anjani is meditating standing on one leg with her mouth open. In others it falls into her ear (Barrett 2002). Given the intense variation in these stories, it seems unlikely that there is a single transmission of one Indian version to Bali via Java. Rather, we are looking at potential interaction between versions of the story, and possibly on-going reciprocal contact between India and Southeast Asia that muddies any lines of transmission.

The *Kapiparwa* explains all aspects of Nyoman Mandra's painting,[14] beginning with the appearance of someone who is presumably Bhagawan Gottama on the far left, and showing Bayu chasing away (namely, interrupting the sex of) Siwa. Thus the woman in the forest is Anjani, who is shown with the leaf in her hand. On the right we see Anoman receiving his eating instructions from his mother, and then wrongly trying to eat the Sun. When I went back to Nyoman with this identification he affirmed it, but without elaboration.

More than this, the *Kapiparwa* explains why Anoman is a monkey and yet a figure of power. He is a descendant of Bhagawan Gottama, but the son of Siwa,

11. My thanks to Roy Jordaan for drawing my attention to this book, and for other helpful comments.

12. Personal communication Jumadi (04-05-09).

13. See http://hinduism.about.com/library/weekly/aa052801b.htm and http://www.hinduism.co.za/hanuman.htm (accessed 16-11-2010).

14. Thus also Nyoman Mandra's work does not indicate direct influence from the confusing project of Kam (2000:46), by which Kamasan artists were commissioned to paint *Ramayana* scenes based on other Southeast Asian versions of the story. A similar, but different, version of the birth of Anoman was thus painted by Mandra's student, Wayan Pande Sumantra, but showing Indra chasing Anoman, based on the Thai *Ramakien*.

which is why both Anoman and Siwa are white. At the same time, Aditya is Anoman's spiritual step-grandfather, and is addressed as such when they talk, and Aditya calls Anoman his grandson (*putu*). Likewise Bayu is, by mediation, also the father of Anoman. Anoman shares iconographic features with Bayu, especially the fact that he wears a black-and-white chequered loin-cloth.

The link to Bayu explains a connection Balinese make between Anoman and Bima, which is otherwise mysterious. There is one early twentieth-century Kamasan painting, by Pan Remi, that shows a meeting between Anoman and Bima where they come into conflict. Anoman and Bima have similar iconography: both have the 'prawn claw' (*supit urang*) coiffure of the semi-divine heroes of the epics, and both wear very little clothing except for the chequered (*poleng*) loin cloth. In Balinese ritual use these *poleng* cloths, as the union of opposites, represent power (*sakti*). The heroes' conflict is ended by the intercession of their father, the god Bayu, who is iconographically identical to Bima, except that he has the aureole and what Forge refers to as a 'god spot'. Forge (1978:25), who collected the painting, could find no narrative text to elucidate this work, but commented on how both heroes are matched in power, and are effectively reflections of each other, meaning that one cannot defeat the other. However, the third Parwa of the *Mahābhārata*, The Book of the Forest, has a section 'The Tour of the Sacred Fords', in which Bima, while journeying through the forest, fails to recognize Anoman (Van Buitenen 1975:501–4). The latter says that Bima will be allowed to pass the area where the aging monkey lives if Bima can lift his tail, but he fails to do so, and thus recognizes Anoman as his older brother. In the original version the two do not actually fight, but it seems that Balinese localizations of the story amplify the challenge into a full conflict, shifting the emphasis to equality of the heroes.



Figure 3: Detail of the *Battle between Anoman and Bima* by Pan Remi, Kamasan, circa 1910, 30 × 524cm. Australian Museum, Photograph Emma Furno.

Nyoman Mandra's painting shows Bayu and Anoman in similar positions. Both are literally ascendant figures, rising up to attack (or at least put on the defensive) major gods: Siwa and Aditya. The painting emphasizes their power, their roles as figures who can intervene in the world.

The associations of Anoman with Bayu, and hence with Bima, are significant because they are general associations of power. These clarify why both Anoman and Bima are popular figures in Bali, and may explain links between the two that go back over many centuries, including the appearance of statues of Anoman in the Majapahit period (Klokke 2006). Klokke, who is the only person to have written about these statues, observes that their appearance comes at the same time as the growth of what Stutterheim (1956) identifies as a Bima cult, and coincides with developments in the worship of Anoman in India.

It may be that the Balinese beliefs about Anoman and Bima show that in the case of East Java, we are less talking about a cult specifically of Bima, and more about a cult of power that has Siwaite origins and involves forms of divine intercession. The most elaborate exposition of Bima's power is found in the Kamasan paintings on the ceiling of the Kerta Gosa or Hall of Justice at Klungkung. In these *Bimaswarga* scenes, Bima is shown purifying the souls of his parents and carrying them out of hell (purgatory) and into heaven (Vickers 1979). The priestly role assumed by Bima indicates that, as a figure of power (*sakti*), he has the ability to intervene between the human and divine worlds, and also has a kind of protective power. His power is partly related to his character as a figure of force. He has a strong and aggressive character, one that involves physical strength and harnessing of anger. Anoman too is a figure of strength, with the added ability to fly. Anoman literally has world-destroying potential, and his links with such power, and with Siwa, illustrate the same kind of power that Stutterheim links to Bima. This however casts doubt on Stutterheim's notion of a 'Bima cult', since this interest in power is more usually part of left-hand-path or Bhairawaite Tantric practices of deliverance. It has become a part of what I would call mainstream Balinese religion. As Hildred Geertz has shown, the pervasiveness of forms of power outside those perceived by the senses is a major Balinese preoccupation. It is certainly a preoccupation of painters (Vickers 1980; Geertz 1994).

Nyoman Mandra's painting is not just about power. It is a painting about landscape as well. The mountain forest dominates the centre and foreground of the painting, that is the painting literally revolves around the mountain in the middle. Within this beautiful space we see disruption: the conflicts of the gods and the attack by Anoman on Aditya. The disturbance of the animals in the

foreground is also part of that sense of disturbance. But there is another figure mediating between the disruption of the gods and demigods, and the beauty of the landscape: Anjani. She is the receptacle of the power of the gods, but has power over Anoman, as shown by his bowing before her. It needs to be remembered that the concept of *sakti* in Bali is not the same as the Indian notion of the goddess-wife as source of power. However, in this painting we also see Anjani as a source of power, just as in the text she is a transmitter of power (remembering that she was performing asceticism, as were her brothers). Anjani partakes in the beauty of the landscape, and her power is related to that. The painting is an exposition of the balance of power in the landscape, with a complex explanation of the gods' powers. Effects of power and results of actions of the gods are not direct, but happen as unintended consequences of the passions of the gods. There is not a sense of omniscience in operation here, but rather chains of cause-and-effect governing the power of certain beings to affect nature. The painting is profoundly philosophical, and at the same time, a meditation on the beauty of nature and its effects.

Part II

The Rāmāyaṇa at Caṇḍi Prambanan and Caṇḍi Panataran

Imagine Laṅkapura at Prambanan

Arlo Griffiths

Introduction

Fundamentally based on Walther Aichele's refinement of Poerbatjaraka's dating of the KR to make it contemporary with the important events referred to in the so-called Śivagṛha inscription of 856 AD, among which quite possibly the foundation of the greatest Śaiva monument of Indonesia, the main purpose of this contribution is to propose the hypothesis that this monument was called Laṅkapura.[1]

The monument I am alluding to is the one that is at the center of attention in the contributions of Levin and Jordaan to this volume, and goes there variously by the name Prambanan or Loro Jonggrang. That the latter is not the original name of the monument is an evident and well-known fact, and there is no strong reason to believe the former is an ancient name either.[2] In fact we know virtually none of the original names of the Central Javanese monuments

1. I am grateful to Roy Jordaan for comments on an earlier version. The *transliteration* used in this contribution adheres strictly to international norms for the transliteration of Indic script types. This means that I use *v* (not *w*) and that *anusvāra*/*cecak* is *ṃ* irrespective of its pronunciation. The only additions to the internationally standard repertoire of signs are the raised circle (°) which precedes 'independent vowels' (namely vowels which form a separate *akṣara*) and the median dot (·) which represents *virāma*/*paten*. Since some (sequences of) phonemes can be spelt in more than one way, there is occasionally need to work with a normalized *transcription*. In this case I use *ṅ* for what is spelt *ṅ* or *ṃ* (phoneme /ŋ/); *h* for what is spelt *h*/*ḥ* (/h/) and *rə* for *r̥* (/rə/).

2. See Jordaan 1996:9–12. Regarding the name Prambanan, I do not share Jordaan's opinion that "it is not unlikely that the name derives from an old expression associated with the temple" (p. 9), for I do not know any cases where modern temple names have been convincingly explained in ancient terms, and find Jordaan's own proposal (p. 11, note 1) to derive it from *parambrahma(n)* unconvincing for several reasons: the supposed phonetic development seems unnatural; the final *n* of Sanskrit stems in *an* (for example, *brahman*) normally disappears in concrete usage and would not be retained in any form that could have been the starting point of a Javanese derivation; and the supposed original name is entirely untypical of the known names of sanctuaries in ancient Southeast Asia. See my note 4 for some examples.

now all indiscriminately designated as Candi. One exception that comes readily to mind is the Abhayagirivihāra that doubtless formed a part of the complex now known as Candi Ratu Baka.[3] In comparison with contemporary monuments from elsewhere in the Hindu and Buddhist world, our ignorance of the original names of Central Javanese sanctuaries is an anomaly.[4] The original name can tell us important things about the conception of a sanctuary, which fact explains the long but consistently unpersuasive history of attempts to explain such names as Borobudur and Prambanan. Any addition to the record is therefore welcome.

The evidence in support of my hypothesis comes mainly from a group of inscriptions which I refer to here as the 'Kumbhayoni corpus'. One of these is an unpublished Sanskrit inscription that was discovered in 1954 on the Ratu Baka prominence.[5] Another is the Dawangsari inscription discovered on the Ratu Baka prominence in 1979, and published in an unsatisfactory manner in 1989, which contains only the second known example of extensive epigraphical Old Javanese poetry after the Śivagṛha inscription. The extreme rarity of Old Javanese poetry from this period suggests that the author (or authors) of this Kumbhayoni corpus is (are) likely to have been familiar with the contemporary literary monument, the KR. What I propose to do here is to read the Kumbhayoni inscriptions in the light of Poerbatjaraka's (1932) and Aichele's (1969) seminal papers on the KR, and of Andrea Acri's new identifications of passages in the Kakawin that may be read allegorically (2010, this volume).[6]

The Kumbhayoni corpus

There is a group of inscriptions from the ninth century emanating from an aristocrat (*raka*) calling himself Kumbhayoni or equivalent synonyms of that Sanskrit epithet of the Ṛṣi Agastya. These are the Sanskrit and Old Javanese Pereng

3. See Sundberg 2003, 2004; Degroot 2006.

4. A few random examples may suffice: the Ta Keo at Angkor was called Hemaśṛṅgagiri; the Phnom Bayang in southern Cambodia was called Śivapura; the famous site Māmallapuram/Mahābalipuram of the Pallavas in South India, was already known as Māmallapuram in contemporary inscriptions.

5. See Dinas Purbakala, *Laporan Tahunan 1954* (Djakarta 1962), pp. 18–9 and plate 2.

6. I am presently preparing for publication a substantial selection of Central Javanese inscriptions, to be presented as a book which will contain also the entire Kumbhayoni corpus, and I wish to avoid as much as possible duplication of what I will present in that book. For this reason, I attempt here to focus my discussion on the data relevant to the Laṅkapura hypothesis and the *Rāmāyaṇa* connection, requesting the reader's patience until my book has appeared to see the complete epigraphical context of the passages presented in this contribution.

inscription of 863 AD; the six Sanskrit inscriptions of the Ratu Baka prominence each recording the installation of a differently named *liṅga*;[7] and the metrical Old Javanese inscription of Dawangsari mentioned above.[8] Following the example of De Casparis (1956:248ff., 341–3), I choose Kumbhayoni (and not any other of the equivalent epithets) as the designation for the corpus, since it is this name that occurs in the context of the Old Javanese prose portion of the Pereng inscription, lines 8–9: *rake valaiṃ pu kumbhayoni*. The names Kalaśaja, Kumbhaja, Kalaśodbhava are attested only in Sanskrit verse context, and therefore liable to have been dictated by the requirements of Sanskrit metre.[9]

Arguably the most important of these inscriptions, and the first one to have been published, is the bilingual Sanskrit and Old Javanese inscription (Fig. 1) found in the village Pereng at the northern foot of the Ratu Baka prominence, just South of Prambanan.[10] It bears a precise date in the *śaka* year 784, con-

7. These have been partly published by De Casparis (1956:244–79), as items Xa (A: 'Kṛttivāsaliṅga', Museum Nasional Indonesia D 104, currently not traceable at the museum, one may fear that it is lost), Xb (B: 'Tryambakaliṅga', BPPP Yogyakarta BG 533), Xc (C: 'Haraliṅga', BPPP Yogyakarta 355 / BG 529). In his *Addenda c* (De Casparis 1956:341–3), De Casparis reported on the discovery of the three other inscriptions of this group, namely 'Śambhuliṅga' (D: BPPP Yogyakarta 532; photo OD/DP 19399), 'Pinākiliṅga' (E: BPPP Yogyakarta 531) and a sixth inscription most probably also related to the foundation of a *liṅga* whose name is lost in a lacuna (F: BPPP Yogyakarta 603 = BG 352). The sequence indicated in capital letters is adopted here from unpublished work by Jan Wisseman Christie, while the nomenclature by *liṅga* names for the first five is that proposed/implied by Damais in his valuable notes on De Casparis' readings and interpretations (1968:460–773 and 496–500), and adopted also in his list of Central Javanese inscriptions, which excludes E–F (Damais 1970:46–4). The inscriptions B–F are included in a 2007 publication of BPPP Yogyakarta (*Pusaka Aksara Yogyakarta; Alih Aksara dan Alih bahasa Prasasti Koleksi Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta*), which contains numerous errors of fact and of omission, and will therefore not be referred to in this contribution. Inked estampages of inscriptions B–F are available at the EFEO. It is the last inscription, F, that will mainly concern us here.

8. BPPP Yogyakarta 355; an inked estampage is available at EFEO. See Setianingsih 1989.

9. All of these variants of the epithet refer to one aspect of Agastya mythology, namely that he was born from a Pot (*kumbha* or *kalaśa*). In repeatedly using the word *jaladhi* 'ocean', the incompletely preserved stanzas VII and IX of the inscription Ratu Baka F to be included in my forthcoming publication of the complete inscription may have alluded to another important aspect of Agastya mythology, namely that he had drunk the ocean (see Sanderson 2003–04:375, note 86, mentioning the epithet Pītābdhi 'He who drank the ocean', with *abdhi* a synonym of *jaladhi*, besides presenting a hypothetical reconstruction of the name Pātañjala/Pṛtañjala of the fifth of the five Kuśikas as *Pītañjala, which would have had the same meaning). If a reference to the ocean-drinking myth was indeed included in Ratu Baka F, before the stone got severely damaged, Aichele's argument (1969:140) assuming the conscious non-mentioning of this second aspect of Agastya mythology in the KR must be reconsidered.

10. First published by A.B. Cohen Stuart and J.J. van Limburg Brouwer in 1872. See also Kern

verted by Louis-Charles Damais (1952:33) to 863 AD. Two of the above-mentioned *liṅga* inscriptions (A and B) are dated to the *śaka* year 778, without further specifications, and their date must thus have fallen between March 10th 856 and February 27th 857 AD.[11] The remaining *liṅga* inscriptions lack an internal date.

Only some of the *liṅga* inscriptions are completely preserved, while several of them are severely fragmentary and/or weather-beaten. But to the extent that their contents can be known, they share with the Pereng inscription the common feature of mentioning the name Kumbhayoni or equivalents thereof, and doing so in direct association with the toponym Valaiṅ (in various spellings, mostly dictated by the demands of Sanskrit metre). As stated above, I propose to consider these inscriptions as corpus including also the Dawangsari inscription, although this does not share the mentioned characteristic. The reasons for my proposal can only be summarized here.

In the first place, all of the inscriptions give a very uniform palaeographic impression. Secondly, the Dawangsari inscription shares not only the same physical features, but also agrees very nearly in its dimensions with the *liṅga* in-

1873 and the revised publication by Cohen Stuart (1875) as *Kawi Oorkonde* nr. XXIII; readings are also offered by Poerbatjaraka (1926:45–51) and Sarkar (1971:171–7); see De Casparis (1956:248–58 and passim) and Damais (1964:121–33, 1968:498–500) for discussion of many issues in the interpretation of this inscription. In the currently predominant system of nomenclature introduced by Damais, which prioritizes toponyms internal to the epigraphical document in question, this is the 'Wukiran' inscription. I take the liberty of retaining the older nomenclature here.

11. See Damais 1952:31. In a later publication, Damais (1970:46) narrowed down this bracket claiming that the date of the two *liṅga*s must have have fallen in 856 AD before that of the Śivagṛha inscription, which is November 12th, 856. He stated in his pertinent note 5 that the text of the Śivagṛha inscription implies by its context that it was composed after the *liṅga* inscriptions Ratu Baka inscriptions A–F, but did not explain why this would be the case. As long as this point is not really proven, the wider dating bracket earlier admitted must be given preference. In his final (posthumously published) statement on the matter, Damais (1970) did not give any reference to his earlier discussion of it (Damais 1964:135), which is also quite terse, but if I have understood it correctly depends strongly on his being influenced by De Casparis translations of two Sanskrit compounds, *valaiṅgagoptrā* (Ratu Baka A, stanza III) and *valaiṅgajetrā* (B, st. III), as meaning 'by the protector of V.' and 'by the victor of V.' (that is as *tatpuruṣa*s), to the exclusion of the possibility, equally permissible in grammatical terms, that these compounds are rather to be interpreted as *karmadhāraya*s, namely as 'by the protector [named] V.' and 'by the conqueror [named] V.'. These latter interpretations seem to me at the present stage of my investigations of the Kumbhayoni corpus better to suit all the available data. I am thinking especially of Pereng st. III *bhaktir valaiṅnāmnaḥ*, which must mean 'devotion of the one named Valaiṅ' (see De Casparis 1956:253, note 47). See also Damais' posthumously published review (1968:472) of De Casparis 1956 for a fuller discussion of the same compounds, again ignoring the possibility of a *karmadhāraya* interpretation, and without reference back to his own discussion of 1964.

scriptions A and C. Thirdly, all of the inscriptions have been found on or at the foot of the Ratu Baka hillock, some of them (including the Dawangsari inscription) in the desa Sumberwatu, which is also home to a stone image of Gaṇeśa, whose dimensions have been reported to be 3.40 × 3.10 × 2.15 m (Figs. 2a, 2b), and at whose side the Dawangsari inscription was reportedly once placed.[12] Now the Dawangsari inscription is a metrical hymn of praise to Gaṇeśa, under the name Vināyaka, as he is found 'on the mountain' (*di parvata*), which there seems to be no reason to doubt must be none other than the colossal Gaṇeśa image still found on the hillock, and referred to as *saṃ hyaṃ vināya* in line 11 of the Pereng inscription.

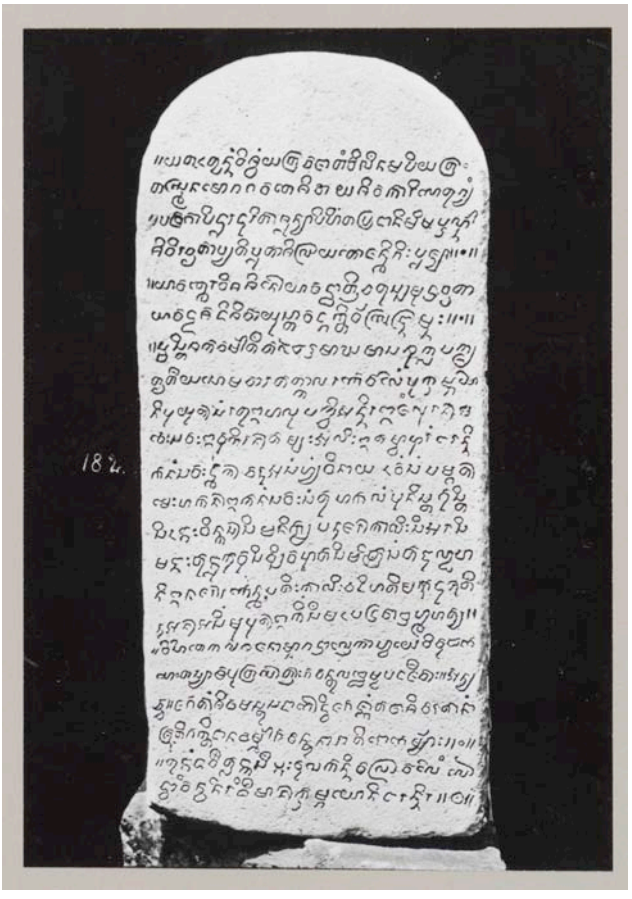


Figure 1: The inscription of Pereng (photo Isidore van Kinsbergen, nr. 182)

12. I rely here on the information cited by Setianingsih (1989:143).



Figure 2a: Arca Ganesa at Sumberwatu (photo Marijke Klokke, July 2009)



Figure 2b: Arca Ganesa at Sumberwatu (photo Marijke Klokke, July 2009)

I am hesitant to claim any first discovery concerning an inscription that has prominently figured in as abundant (and unwieldy) secondary literature as has the Pereng inscription, but I am presently not aware that interpretation of this deity as Vināyaka, now strongly supported by the Dawangsari inscription, has been previously proposed.[13] The omission of the last syllable in the Pereng inscription might seem to be a problem, but in fact the same form is found not only elsewhere in Old Javanese epigraphy[14] but also in Old Javanese literature,[15] and even beyond the Archipelago in Khmer epigraphy, where the bilingual inscription K. 1185 of Prasat Ta Muean Thom in Thailand shows a correspondence between Vināyaka in the Sanskrit portion and Vināya in the Khmer,[16] and again in the Campā inscription C. 4 of Cho Dinh (in Phan Rang) dated to *śaka* 1149.[17] The frequency of the form Vināya suggests that we should not consider it as an error, but as a variant of the name Vināyaka accepted widely in ancient Southeast Asia. The fact that the Pereng and the Dawangsari inscription share a close association with the cult of Vināyaka, to whose former importance in the vicinity the Gaṇeśa image is a magnificent witness,[18] is my fourth argument.

The fifth and last is the metrical shape of the Dawangsari inscription. It is entirely composed in the Anuṣṭubh metre, that is the most common verse-form found in Sanskrit literature. The oldest dated epigraphical instance of the use of this verse-form in Old Javanese language is again found in the Pereng

13. Ignoring the long vowel *ā*, earlier scholars (for example Sarkar 1971:173 with note 30, going back to Poerbatjaraka 1926) have assumed a most unlikely connection with *vinaya* '(Buddhist) discipline'.

14. See the entry *ṣaḍwināya, ṣaḍwināyaka* at OJED 1590; reference is there made to an attestation of *ṣaḍvināya* on plate V *verso*, l. 7, of the inscription 'Waharu IV' = Museum Nasional inv. nr. E. 20, published as *Kawi Oorkonden* VII and in *Prasasti Koleksi Museum Nasional*, pp. 60–5; I have confirmed the published reading by checking the rubbing of E. 20 kept in the Kern Institute, Leiden, and its facsimile in *Kawi Oorkonden*.

15. See Teeuw 1998:380–1.

16. This inscription is undated but may be assigned to the first half of the 11th century AD. For its text, see Chaeam Kaewklai 1999:80–1. The published reading being debatable at many points, I have checked the EFEO estampages n. 1682 and 1683 for the facts mentioned here.

17. The inscription has not yet been properly published, but extracts have been presented by Aymonier (1891:50–2), who misread the passage in question as *ṅap rumah mandi rumah śrī vinaya*. My reading *ṅap rumaḥ nandi rumaḥ śrī vināya* 'built a shrine for Nandin and a shrine for Gaṇeśa' is based on inspection of the inscription (National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi, B 2, 15 = LS^{b} 21166) and EFEO estampage n. 143.

18. The dating of the Gaṇeśa image can probably not be determined with any exactitude, but may safely be presumed to agree with the dated Kumbhayoni inscriptions, and hence, in the interpretation advocated here, with the Dawangsari inscription.

inscription, where the final stanza is an Anuṣṭubh in Old Javanese language.[19] No other epigraphical instances of vernacular language epigraphical compositions in the form of the Anuṣṭubh metre are known to me from Indonesia at this time, except the unique 'Mañjuśrīgṛha' inscription of 792 AD, also from Central Java, which is composed in Old Malay prose and verse.[20] In fact no other vernacular epigraphical poetry is known at all, besides that found in the Śivagṛha inscription (which contains no Anuṣṭubh-stanzas), and this very rarity again speaks in favour of a close association of the Pereng and Dawangsari inscriptions, the one with the other, insofar as they both contain Old Javanese Anuṣṭubhs, and of course in a more general sense of these two inscriptions with that third record of epigraphical Old Javanese poetry, the Śivagṛha inscription, which figures prominently in Hunter's and Acri's contributions to this volume. All cases of epigraphical Old Javanese poetry date from a period of only two decades, the 850–860s AD, and there is every reason to consider that their composition at precisely this period, presumably contemporary with the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*, was no coincidence. This was in all likelihood the birth period of Kakawin as a genre.

Laṅkapura as the Prambanan Śiva Sanctuary

I have just referred to the fact that the Pereng inscription, dated to *śaka* 784, which consists of three Sanskrit Āryā-stanzas, followed by ten lines of Old Javanese prose, followed by two more Āryā-stanzas in Sanskrit, is concluded by one Anuṣṭubh-stanza composed in Old Javanese language. This sixth stanza, as I said, must be the oldest dated Anuṣṭubh stanza in the Old Javanese language. It runs as follows:

VI. Anuṣṭubh
(21) tuṅgaṃ davət laṅka sə°ṛḥ vulakanni[21] valā valaiṃ
lo**(22)**dvāṃ vanvaniraṃ dhīmān· kumbhayoni ṅarannira || ⊙ ||

19. Even after Krom (1919:19) correctly identified the last two lines of the Pereng as an Old Javanese stanza, this fact was ignored by some subsequent scholars, who took these lines as prose. For example, Damais (1964:133, note 3 and apparently also Damais 1968:499) still assumed these lines to be prose.

20. This inscription has not been properly published and will also be included in my forthcoming publication of a selection of Central Javanese inscriptions. Sundberg (2006:106–9, 125–7) has rightly criticized existing readings and the theories built thereon, but his own readings and statements are also not entirely reliable.

21. Damais (1964:133) prefers the interpretation *vulakann i*, with the type of consonant doubling that is attested also elsewhere in contemporary Old Javanese epigraphy.

In his *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, volume I, Himansu Bhusan Sarkar translated this stanza as follows:

> Tunggang, Davĕt, Langka, Sĕrĕḥ, waterfall of Valā, Valaing, Lodvāng are the *desa*-s of the wise one whose name is Kumbhayoni.

As far as I know, no scholar has ever taken special notice of the name Laṅka that we find in the Pereng inscription among several toponyms. It first drew my attention when I was trying to decipher one of the unpublished Ratu Baka inscriptions (Fig. 3).[22] In the present context, I need present only one of the stanzas that I am best able to reconstruct, namely its stanza VI, which is composed in the long Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.

VI. Śārdūlavikrīḍita
[- - - ⏑ *mahe*]**(6)**ndrasatkaruṇayā tuṅgaṃ davā(kh)yaṃ puraṃ
pūrvvaṃ laṅkapuraṃ sa pāti matimān tāmvo[*la* - - ⏑ -
- - - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ *ta*]**(7)**(thā) tan nirjjharākhyaṃ śubhaṃ
nākaṃ (v)r̥(tra)ri(pu)r yyathā kalaśajo vālaiṅgasaṃjña[*ś ca yaḥ* ||]

Indeed, I am not the first to have noticed the parallels between these two stanzas. Based on the place names cited from the Sanskrit stanza by De Casparis (1956:342), 'the lofty Dava (*tuṅgaṃ dawākhyaṃ puraṃ*), then Laṅkapura, further Nirjjhara and, finally, Walaing', Damais had observed the correspondences between the two stanzas and presented his understanding of these correspondences. It is piquant in the present context to recall that he considered that

> *Laṅkapura* does not require any explanation. It is just certain that this city must be situated in Java, unfortunately we do not know precisely where.[23]

Since Damais could only argue on the basis of the limited elements cited by De Casparis, it is only natural that his interpretation leaves scope for improvement, now that we have at our disposition all readable remains of the stanza. We therefore have to return to these correspondences before taking up the issue of the localization of Laṅkapura.

22. As stated above (p. 135, note 7), all of the inscriptions D, E and F, whose discovery was reported in 1956 by De Casparis, were included in *Pusaka Aksara Yogyakarta*, but this publication is so unreliable, especially where Sanskrit inscriptions are concerned, that its very lacunose transliteration, which does not display the slightest trace of understanding of what is being transliterated let alone of its metrical form, cannot be counted as a publication of this inscription.

23. Damais 1968:499. Here and below, citations from Damais are given in my translations from his French.

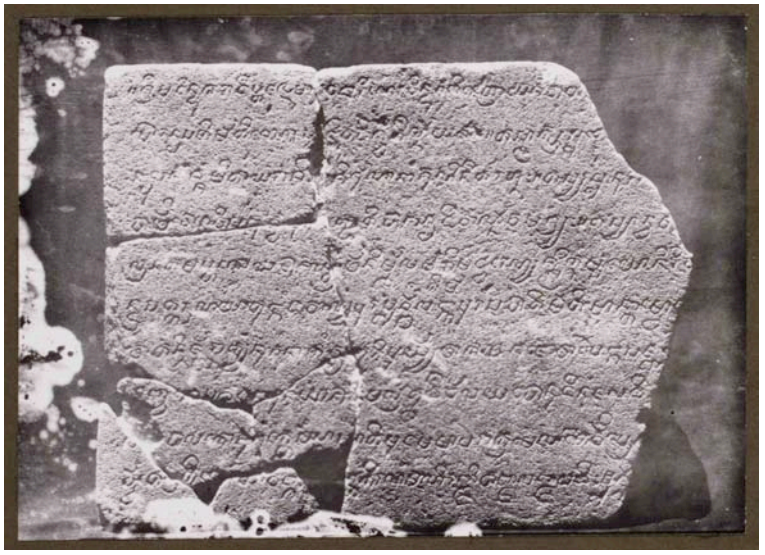


Figure 3: The inscription Ratu Baka F (Photo OD/DP 19471, LUB)

Even at first sight, two parallels with the quoted stanza from the Pereng inscription are evident: the consecutive Sanskrit sequences *tuṅgaṃ davākhyaṃ puraṃ* and *pūrvvaṃ laṅkapuraṃ* evidently correspond to the consecutive words *tuṅgaṃ davət laṅka* in the first verse quarter of the Old Javanese stanza. We notice that one of the two correspondences (*davākhyaṃ*) is couched in the form of a compound with the structure *X-ākhya* meaning 'named X'.[24] Moreover, De Casparis (1956:341–2) had already observed a similar correspondence between the Pereng inscription and another still unpublished Ratu Baka inscription, which contains the toponym *musalākhyarāṣṭra*, literally meaning 'the land named Pestle'.[25] As De Casparis rightly observed, this is a direct translation of the toponym Halu, meaning 'pestle', found in the title *saṃ ratu °i halu* of Kumbhayoni's great-grandfather (Pereng l. 9, see Damais 1968:499). We thus

24. The discrepancy between *davət* (Old Javanese) and *dava/davā* (Sanskrit) still is in need of an explanation. Damais (1968:499, note 3) admitted this difficulty but proposed no solution. His attempt to argue that *tuṅgaṃ* in the Sanskrit ought to be considered not as an acc. sg. form of the Sanskrit adjective *tuṅga-* 'lofty', as De Casparis took it, but rather as an untranslated Old Javanese word *tuṅgaṅ* (glossed 'to mount, ride on, sit on' in OJED 2070), which might according to Damais mean 'slope' in the context of this toponym, relied on the assumption that *davā*, which he assumes could mean 'long' besides its normal meaning 'length' (OJED 379), is the underlying form. It is hardly possible in the Pereng stanza to explain the final *-t* as the pronominal complementizer (*a*)*t* or as the morpheme *t-* in imperative function, so I consider Damais' argument rather unconvincing.

25. Ratu Baka D / Śambhuliṅga, line 9; OD/DP photo 19399.

have tentative grounds to hypothesize that the Kumbhayoni corpus is marked by Sanskrit-Old Javanese translations, with the Sanskrit correspondents sometimes marked by the quasi-suffix *ākhya*. This hypothesis is borne out by the rest of our Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanza from Ratu Baka F, where we see one more such *ākhya*-compound in the preserved portion of the inscription (*nirjjharākhyaṃ*). If we realize that *nirjhara* is a Sanskrit word for waterfall, we immediately think of the Old Javanese word *vulakan* in the Pereng inscription.[26]

The correspondences thus far have already been noticed and explained in the manner indicated above by Damais (1968). We can, however, no longer retain his suggestion (Damais 1968:500) that

> Laṅkapura corresponds to *Laŋka Sərəh* […] in Javanese, which might designate two different toponyms. This is probably not the case.

For this interpretation was made without knowledge of the fact that the Sanskrit stanza contains a separate translation of the Old Javanese *sə°ṛḥ*, that is *sərəh*, which means 'betel'. The most common Sanskrit word for the same is *tāmbūla*, which, despite a small discrepancy, seems to correspond so closely to the last two syllables preserved of line 6, that I do not feel any hesitation in restoring at least the *la* of a presumptive spelling variant *tāmvola*.[27] We thus end up with at least four topographic correspondences between the Old Javanese and the Sanskrit, and can attempt a translation of the Sanskrit stanza:

> And he, the wise Pot-born one who also bears the name Valaiṅ,[28] rules
> the Lofty city called Dava (or: the city Tuṅgaṅ Davā), the eastern City

26. OJED 2323 glosses 'well, spring, source', but all the quoted examples also seem to permit the translation 'waterfall', which Poerbatjaraka (1926) and, following him, both Damais (1964:133, 1968:499–500) and Sarkar, actually chose in the case of Pereng, st. VI.

27. I do not know any other attestations of the Sanskrit word for 'betel' with the *o* that is evident on the stone and that I thus retain in restoring *tāmvo*[*la*]; but, in the light of the types of spelling variations that are widespread in Sanskrit manuscripts and inscriptions, the assumption that such a variant might have existed somewhere in the Sanskrit tradition does not seem altogether far-fetched either. Perhaps more pertinently, I may refer here to Damais' important discussion (1968:450) of spelling variants *ū/o* in Old Javanese words, for example in the proper name *pu manukū* also found spelt as *pu manuko*.

28. Given the parallel in Pereng, st. III *valaiṅnāmnaḥ* 'of the one called Valaiṅ', and given the occurrence of an equivalent compound ending in *saṃjñaka* in Ratu Baka C, st. IV (the stone quite clearly shows *kalaśodbhavasaṃjñakaḥ* instead of De Casparis' reading *kalaśodbhavasaṃjñitaḥ*), and given finally the unmistakable appearance of the syllables *saṃjña* before the lacuna starts in line 7, I have no doubt that a compound like *vālaiṅgasaṃjñaś* must be restored. As far as I can see, De Casparis' words (1956:342–3) 'At least it follows from the new discovery [that is Ratu Baka F] that Walaing was the last of the four residences of king Kumbhayoni, undoubtedly connected with his final victory' represent an erroneous interpretation. The toponym Valaiṅ

> of Laṅka, the […] Betel, […] and that beautiful [city] called Waterfall, and does so with the compassion of Mahendra,[29] as Vṛtra's enemy (that is, Indra) [rules] the heaven.

I have somewhat facetiously rendered the Sanskrit element *pura* here with the default translation 'city', although this was quite certainly not the precisely intended meaning. The word *pura* is used here as equivalent of the Old Javanese *vanua*,[30] a phenomenon we also observe, for example, in the Sanskrit portion of the important but still not properly published inscription 'Wanua Tengah III',[31] which nicely illustrates in one document the same phenomenon of translation we have just observed between two Ratu Baka inscriptions on the one hand (D, F) and the Old Javanese portions of the Pereng inscription on the other.[32] Compare the Old Javanese prose portion on plate I *verso*:[33]

> patiḥ °i pikatan *saṃ vanu°a tṅaḥ pu culiṃ*, saṃ **(iB11)** tuṅgal aṅin pu ra mvat, lekan pu glam, saṃ ra gunuṃ pu °intap,
>
> The *patih*s of Pikatan: Sir Vanua Tṅah, Lord Culiṅ; Sir Tuṅgal Aṅin, Lord Ramvat; the *lekan*, Lord Glam; Sir Ra Gunuṅ, Lord Intap.

With the fourth of the Sanskrit stanzas that follow on the same plate, where instead of the expected compound *maddhyapure* we find an inversion, which reinforces, if any such reinforcement is required, the impression that we are dealing with a direct calque upon the Old Javanese:[34]

is in our context applied to the ruler Kumbhayoni alias Kalaśaja (see De Casparis 1956:48 and Damais 1964:124 on this type of transposition of names). Contrary to what one might expect given the *prima facie* inclusion of Valaiṅ on a par with the other toponyms in Pereng st. VI, the words of the inscription Ratu Baka F precisely fail to put Valaiṅ on a par with the other toponyms that it mentions. Hence my decision to retranslate *vulakanni valā valaiṃ* as I do below (p. 145), which means Valaiṅ itself is not among the localities being listed. This is another small point to be corrected in Damais' interpretation.

29. Note that the restoration of the name Mahendra is fully hypothetical, only the last syllable actually being preserved on the stone.

30. The epigraphical data from Java eloquently support Kulke's interpretation (1993:171) of *vanua* in the Old Malay inscriptions of Śrīvijaya as equivalent of *pura* or *nagara*.

31. This inscription is also to be included in my forthcoming publication of a selection of Central Javanese inscriptions.

32. This phenomenon of translation would seem to be the precursor of such correspondences as Majapahit = Bilvatikta or Variṅin Pitu = Variṅin Sapta still found centuries later on Java.

33. Translit. from the original set of plates held at BPPP Jawa Tengah (inv. nrs. 1118 and 1119).

34. The inverted compound *puramaddhye* recurs in the same metrical position in st. X of the same inscription.

IV. Anuṣṭubh
puramaddhye culiṃsa(ṃ)jñaḥ, ramvat· tuṅgalaṅin· tathā,
glam·sa(ṃ)**(iB14)**jñaḥ[35] tathā lekan·, °intap· saṃ ra gunuṃ punaḥ ||

So we have reduced the problem of the translation of Sanskrit *pura* in the inscription Ratu Baka F to the observation that it must have been intended to mean the same as *vanua*. Rather than trying to determine the precise meaning in which that Old Javanese word was used, we will simply accept here the usual translation 'village', and return to the Pereng stanza with which we started. Just as that Old Javanese stanza helps to restore and interpret the Sanskrit stanza from Ratu Baka F, so also the Sanskrit helps us to refine our understanding of the Old Javanese. A revised, though still partly tentative, translation of the Pereng stanza cited on p. 140 would then be as follows:

> The Lofty Davət (or: Tuṅgaṅ Davət), Laṅka, Betel, the waterfall of Valā Valaiṅ[36] [and] Two Banyans (*lo dvā*)[37] are the villages of the wise one whose name is Kumbhayoni.

Summing up the findings concerning the toponym Laṅka(pura), we now have two closely related attestations of it, both of them dating from the ninth cen-

35. Read *gəlamsaṃjñaḥ* m.c.

36. On the interpretation of the sequence *vulakanni valā valaiṃ*, and especially the possible meaning of *valā* (possibly m.c. for *vala*), see the long but inconclusive note of Damais (1964:133, note 3, also Damais 1968:500).

37. It seems to me very likely that the final nasal before *vanvaniraṃ* represents the enclitic article (just as does the final nasal of *vanvaniraṃ* itself), whereas all predecessors have interpreted the name as Lodvāṅ (and it is recorded thus in Damais 1970:714, although the structural classification as "l d w/b" there might indicate that this author implicitly agreed with the analysis advocated here). Moreover, as my translation makes clear, I propose to interpret the place name as a new example of the combinations of tree-names with numbers to form toponyms that we see in many modern place names (Sala Tiga, Duren Tiga, Mangga Dua, Kelapa Sepuluh) and in epigraphic Poh Pitu, Variṅin Pitu (Damais 1970:743–4, 599–600). OJED 1042 cites two attestations of the spelling *lo* of a tree-name denoting a type of Banyan (*Urostigma*) from relatively recent texts, whereas two attestations from KR (16.44, 25.83) are cited in OJED 1070, but the tree-name is there spelt *lva* (apparently not only *metri causa*). As regards the second element *dvā* (that is, *dva*—there is no metrical reason for the occurrence of a long vowel here, and this spelling perhaps simply reflects the fact that the vowel in question is metrically heavy by force of the two ensuing consonants, unless it indicates use of the irrealis morpheme *-a*) rather than normal Old Javanese *rva*, a comparable appearance of a Malay form with *d* for *r* occurs elsewhere in the Kumbhayoni corpus (*di parvata* in st. IV of the Dawangsari inscription). I am not aware of any specific explanations that might have been proposed for this type of toponym, and do not wish to exclude with the chosen translation the possibility that it is to be interpreted in a different manner, for example as 'Banyan-2'.

tury AD, both appearing in direct association with the ruler Kumbhayoni, and both hailing from the (immediate vicinity of the) Ratu Baka prominence. One of them is further specified as the 'eastern' Laṅkapura. Moreover, Damais' *Répertoire onomastique* (1970:740) lists several other attestations of the same toponym from the Central Javanese Period, suggesting that it may have been a relatively important locality.[38] And furthermore, in his 1964 article Damais proposed to identify one of the toponyms in the Sanskrit and Old Javanese stanzas we have been discussing with a modern place name from the eastern extremity of Central Java, at about 80 km distance from the Ratu Baka prominence.[39]

We may hence ask ourselves if any other of the toponyms from the Kumbhayoni corpus can be positively identified with localities still known today in the immediate or wider vicinity of the Ratu Baka prominence. I will focus here only on the possibility of identifying Laṅkapura in that part of Central Java, and, as a subsidiary question, on what the significance of the qualification 'eastern' could have been.

My answer to the latter question is that it explicitly indicates the type of geographical transposition of South Asian toponyms onto the Southeast Asian landscape that we know well, for instance, from the corpus of Khmer inscriptions,[40] namely that we are dealing with the 'localized' Javanese counterpart of the more westerly Laṅkā famous from Vālmīki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, but also, of course, from the Old Javanese KR, to which I now finally turn.

Aichele (1969:139–42 and again 163–6) discussed the significance of the Kumbhayoni corpus in relation to the KR, focusing specifically on the episode at the beginning of *sarga* 25, where Rāma and Sītā fly over the Vindhya mountain

38. I do not have the impression that anything useful can be drawn from these other attestations for my present purposes, so I do not give any details here. It may however be noted that at least two of these attestations cite the apanage Laṅka in close association with that of Halu (see above, p. 142), and that in most cases it appears in immediate association with the toponym *tañjuṅ*.

39. Damais' article deals with the toponym Valaiṅ in a comprehensive manner. His hesitantly proposed modern identification—that seems quite plausible to me—is the *desa* Waleng, *kecamatan* Girimarto, *kabupaten* Wonogiri. Ninie Susanti has suggested to me that another choice might be the *desa* Wareng in Wonosari, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, but this is probably not acceptable on the grounds of phonological incompatibility of modern /r/ with ancient /l/ (personal communication from Sander Adelaar). De Casparis (1956:254–6), by contrast, identifies Valaiṅ with the Ratu Baka prominence itself, but decisive arguments in favour of this identification are lacking and in this case there is not even the argument of modern toponymy.

40. See Sanderson 2003–04:403 and following pages. From Java itself, one might add such cases as the names of the Serayu and Progo rivers (from Sanskrit Sarayu and Prayāga). But the phenomenon does seem to have been much rarer here.

and Rāma not only points out to his wife the mountain's name, but also repeats to her a specific element of Agastya mythology which Aichele interpreted as an allegorical reference to political affairs in ninth century Java. He also interpreted the name Vindhya as allegorically denoting the Ratu Baka prominence. Parts of Aichele's 1969 observations will certainly have to be reformulated to the extent that they take as their point of departure the speculative historical narratives offered by De Casparis (1956) in *Prasasti Indonesia II*, which new epigraphical discoveries have since required to be fundamentally revised. But the attempt to link data from the KR with epigraphical data more directly reflecting the real world of the Central Javanese Period seems convincing, and can serve as inspiring model for further explorations in the toponymical domain.

Our KR contains many references to the toponym Ləṅkā or Ləṅkāpura.[41] As is clear for example from the translation of KR 24.87–126 provided by Hooykaas in his 1958 article that bears the apt title 'The Paradise on Earth in Lĕṅkā', our text at various places paints a paradisiacal picture of this Ləṅkāpura. Moreover, in *sarga* 8, the Kakawin contains the by now rather famous description of a Śaiva temple (*prasāda*, from Sanskrit *prāsāda*) at Ləṅkā, which, as F.D.K. Bosch seems to have been the first to have noticed, is strongly reminiscent of specifically Central Javanese monumental architecture. Bosch's idea was taken up by Poerbatjaraka as an important element in his persuasive attempt chronologically to situate the KR in the Central Javanese Period.[42] The possibility that the KR is not describing the ideal type of a Central Javanese monument, but is describing specifically the Loro Jonggrang complex, seems to be very close to the surface throughout Aichele's arguments (1969:159 and following pages) on the relationship between the Śivagṛha inscription and the KR, but, as far as I can see, everywhere remains implicit. In any case, the epigraphical attestations of the toponym on and around the Ratu Baka prominence play no role in Aichele's argument.[43] They strongly suggest that the toponym was not only an allegorical designation in the KR,[44] but in fact denoted a real place in the ancient

41. The spelling as Ləṅka/Ləṅkapura (with *a* for *ā*) is also well attested in the text, the metre in most cases clearly being the determining factor for which spelling was chosen.

42. See Poerbatjaraka 1932:161 and following pages; on the text passage in question, see also the important philological and historical observations of Aichele (1969:160–2).

43. And of course they hardly could have done so, since both Damais' *Répertoire onomastique* and the text of Ratu Baka F that I present in this paper were still unavailable at the time, and the mere two syllables *laṅka* in the final stanza of the Pereng inscription are of course liable easily to escape notice.

44. As would be the case with the name Vindhya for the Ratu Baka prominence, if De Casparis' hypothesis that the plateau's ancient name was Valaiṅ, could be proven true. As is clear from my note 39 above, I do not expect that it will, so the possibility that the Ratu Baka prominence

Central Javanese landscape. In fact Acri (2010:489–93) has tried to suggest a connection, based on his reading of KR 24.95–126 and the Śivagṛha inscription, between Vibhīṣaṇa in the poem and Rakai Kayuvaṅi, both king in Laṅkā, which means that, at the level of worldly realities, that toponym would have to be situated in Central Java.

The correspondence between the various pieces of epigraphical evidence presented above, on the one hand, and the textual evidence from the KR, on the other, naturally lead to the hypothesis that Laṅka(pura) indeed was the name of the ancient *vanua* corresponding to the modern desa Karangasem where the Prambanan complex is located. Since temple-names containing the element *pura* are well known both in Indonesia and elsewhere in Asia,[45] it seems possible to go one step further and to propose that the complex itself bore this name.[46]

was actually known in ancient times as Vindhya cannot be excluded. The original (Sanskrit) name of the hillock was probably mentioned in st. VIII of the Ratu Baka F inscription, but has unfortunately been lost in a lacuna.

45. See Sanderson (2003–04:402): 'The pyramid-based state-temples built by the major Khmer rulers of the Angkorean period at the centre of the ceremonial capitals (*puram*) whose foundation marked their reigns were mostly temples of Śivas incorporating the ruler's name installed by Śaiva officiants'. The practice (on which, see Sanderson's note 195) of incorporation of royal names into names of temples seems however not to have been in vogue in ancient Indonesia.

46. To preempt one possible objection, let me point out, as did Aichele (1969:159), that the words *śivagṛha* and *śivālaya* in the inaptly designated Śivagṛha inscription, if indeed connected with the Prambanan complex at all, may only refer to the Śiva shrine within that complex and are in any case so general in meaning that they are no serious candidates as 'names' of any specific Śiva shrine. If one likes, one may speculate that the specific name of the Śiva installed in the main Prambanan shrine was Bhadrāloka (Pereng, st. IV: *vihite kalaśajanāmnā bhadrālokāhvaye vivudhagehe*) although this implies the identity of Kumbhayoni with the founder of the Śiva shrine of the Śivagṛha inscription, an identity that several historians including myself would currently no longer be willing to accept (see Wisseman Christie 2001:41–2).

The Grand Finale

The *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the Loro Jonggrang Temple Complex

Cecelia Levin

The KR ends on a joyous note with the return of Sītā and Rāma to Ayodhyā, but this triumphant celebration is not always regarded as the end of this great story known throughout Asia. The succeeding and final book of the Sanskrit telling of the epic, the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (UtK), continues the saga.[1] Rich in episodic details and characterizations, this work turns both to the past and the future—recounting the exploits of Rāvaṇa prior to Viṣṇu's *avatāra* as Prince Rāma, as well the events surrounding the hero's years on the throne of Ayodhyā.

The most quintessential interpretation of these final *sarga*s is found in the form of a 'visual text' that lines the balustrade of Caṇḍi Brahmā at the mid-ninth century Loro Jonggrang Temple Complex (Fig. 1). This narrative in stone is relatively contemporaneous to the Kakawin, but unlike the written or chanted word, it was immunized against the decrees of succeeding rulers, slips of the stylus, or whims of a *dalang*. The UtK takes on great prominence among the Loro Jonggrang sculptural relief series of the *Rāmāyaṇa* where it comprises approximately one-fifth of its entirety, and these reliefs are vital to the understanding not only of this sacred temple complex but also to this creative epoch of Javanese culture.

One cannot explore this topic without acknowledging the inaugural contributions made to this subject by Willem Frederik Stutterheim (1892–1942). In his championing of the Javanese independent spirit underlying any adaptation of India's religious and artistic models, he employed the theme of Loro

1. The Sanskrit recension of the UtK is commonly linked with the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki even though this seventh book is generally acknowledged to be a separate, and most possibly later, composition appended to the epic's original core. In this publication, it will be referred to as the 'Sanskrit UtK'. It should be noted, however, that the translation employed throughout this present study—the only one undertaken into English—is to be found in the third volume of Shastri's translation (1970) of the complete opus entitled *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*.

Jonggrang's *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs as the centre stone of his dissertation, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*.[2] In this landmark publication, he turned to an array of *Rāmāyaṇa* texts beyond the Sanskritic tradition, and in doing so effectually determined that the story of Rāma as it unfolded on Caṇḍi Śiwa shared episodic idiosyncrasies and details with later versions of the story, including the Javanese *Sĕrat Kanda*, *Rāma Kĕling* and the Malay *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* (HSR). His argument particularly focussed on variants of this last-mentioned text, a sixteenth-century Malay recension of the story revealing Islamic influences.[3] On the basis of these links, he posited that the influence of *Rāmāyaṇa* 'folk' variants came into play at Loro Jonggrang and applauded the HSR, a work he believed was 'kept more pure than the epic of Vālmīki, which is especially more Indian' (Stutterheim 1989:170).[4]

As the relief panels of both Caṇḍi Brahmā and Caṇḍi Wiṣṇu—the latter is believed to relate Kṛṣṇa's juvenescence—were in disarray at the time of Stutterheim's study as well as during his subsequent tenure as Director of the Archeological Service in the Dutch East Indies, it was not until the early 1990s that an assessment of the reliefs of the second half of the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic, including the episodic material linked to the UtK, could be undertaken. As the stones were being put into place, a preliminary identification of the scenes on both monuments was completed by Fontein (1997). This was followed, at the end of the decade, by my own detailed analysis of the Caṇḍi Brahmā reliefs (Levin 1999).[5]

2. His dissertation was defended at the University of Leiden in 1924 and published the following year. I cite here from the English translation published in 1989.

3. The HSR is known from two translations. Roorda Van Eysinga published the first in Amsterdam in 1843; the second was carried out by Shellabear and first appeared in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume 71, in 1915. The latter translation is derived from a manuscript housed in Oxford's Bodleian Library since 1633. It was these two recensions that were known to Stutterheim and to Zieseniss, the philologist who prepared a significant comparison and concordance between the *Hikayat* and Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (Zieseniss 1963). There are three other versions of the HSR in manuscript form.

4. Stutterheim (1989:146) enumerated the following thirteen episodic details as shared only between the *Rāmāyaṇa* at Loro Jonggrang and the HSR: 1) the duplication of Tāṭakā and Wirādha; 2) Sītā's giving of her ring to Jaṭāyus during her abduction; 3) the subsequent presentation of this ring to Rāma by the dying Jaṭāyus; 4) the inclusion of a flying demon that carries Rāwaṇa and Sītā back to Laṅkā; 5) the second head of Kabandha; 6) the confusion between the Śabari episode with that of Kalanemi; 7) the variation of the meeting between Rāma and Hanuman; 8) the version of the meeting with Sugrīwa; 9) Sugrīwa's apron of leaves as a means of identification; 10) the absence of Rāma's shooting of an arrow at the seashore; 11) the swallowing of the stones by the fish during the causeway construction; 12) the scene at Loro Jonggrang possibly depicting the consecration of Bharata; and 13) the appearance of a daughter of Daśaratha.

5. In his analysis of the Caṇḍi Brahmā and Caṇḍi Viṣṇu narrative reliefs Fontein's main objective was to pursue his suspicion that the panels may have been erroneously replaced during

In contrast to the earlier sections of the *Rāmāyaṇa* depicted on Caṇḍi Śiwa, the visual portrayal of the remainder of the sacred epic becomes more obtuse, and it is apparent that the sculptors' selection of episodes represents a more erratic and syncopated narrative. This may be due, in part, to the redaction that the sculptors translated into stone, but it may also be a result of the segmentation of the available wall space into areas of dichotomously contrasting sizes. Caṇḍi Brahmā's architectural plan provided the sculptors with long balustrades that lent themselves to themes of extended and continuous narrative. These, however, were punctuated by abbreviated areas appropriate only for mono-scenic depictions (Fig. 2). It should be noted that at the point of the epic that commences the Caṇḍi Brahmā sequence is the same juncture where the Kakawin breaks away from the model of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. The fact that more of the earlier visual narratives relate to the Old Javanese Kakawin—a priori only through the return of the victorious protagonists to Ayodhyā—suggests that a specific Javanese model was evolving during the late Central Javanese period.

One of the characteristics of the second half of the Kakawin is the vacillation of the story's focus between the actions of its main characters—a phenomenon that might be referred to in contemporary colloquial language as 'channel surfing'. The several variants of the UtK, including its pictorial rendering at Loro Jonggrang, demonstrate this same characteristic. Yet despite the narrative qualities common to both the Kakawin and Loro Jonggrang's Caṇḍi Brahmā reliefs, the concluding point of the Kakawin is prior to the second-half of the series in stone. Therefore the Sanskrit UtK and the HSR become instrumental means for identifying any concrete textual connections with these later relief panels, and in the case of comparisons with this later Malay recension, they may extend and support Stutterheim's initial discovery.

the recently-undertaken restoration of these monuments (personal communication, 1-4-2011). His study also aligned several of the Caṇḍi Brahmā narratives with episodic material from the HSR, thereby following through and supporting Stutterheim's findings regarding the narrative sequence depicted on Caṇḍi Śiwa. These goals resulted in Fontein not delving into all of the visual narratives related to the UtK. Levin's subsequent investigation of the Caṇḍi Brahmā reliefs offered a designation for each of the thirty scenes and employed a methodological approach that brought into play a variety of literary sources from the Sanskrit, Javanese and Malay traditions commixed and enforced by the identification of specific modes of visual narration practiced by the sculptors of Loro Jonggrang. These pictorial conventions include particular postures, gestures, compositional devices, spacial considerations, and the pictorial representation of sequential relationships. For further on the possibility of the rearrangement of the relief panels, see note 26.



Figure 1: Loro Jonggrang Temple Complex, attributed to 856 AD, Central Java, Indonesia; volcanic stone (photo C. Levin)



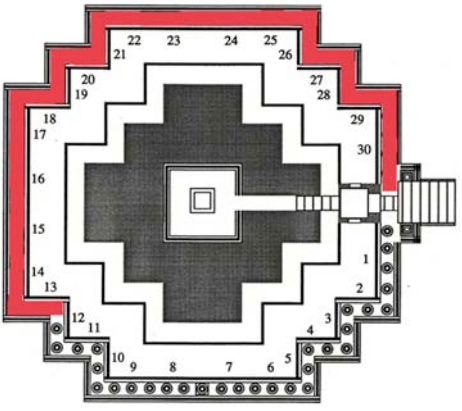


Figure 2: Caṇḍi Brahmā and diagram of location of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* narrative reliefs (photo and diagram C. Levin)

The Sanskrit UtK, upon which an Old Javanese adaptation is essentially patterned,[6] can generally be described as an eclectic work and heterogeneous in its episodic sequences, locales, and chronology due to the diversity of its contents. The *sarga*s intertwine the remainder of the epic's plot with unrelated stories primarily detailing previous battles with *rākṣasa*s. These earlier clashes are narrated by visitors to Rāma's court. Among the main threads of the plot are the history of Rāwaṇa prior to Rāma's incarnation; the plight of Sītā and the upbringing of Kuśa and Lawa; the heroics of Rāma's three brothers, and the success of Rāma's reign of Ayodhyā due to his *dharma*—his devotion to royal rituals and proper behavior. This last-mentioned theme is interspersed with stories of heroes, *rākṣasa*s, ancestral Ikṣwākus, and deities that are recounted at court by the hero himself, various *ṛṣi*s, and Agastya. Furthering the fragmentary nature of this literary work is the incorporation of episodes relating the heroics of Rāma's brother Śatrughna.

Similar to the Sanskrit and Old Javanese UtK, the HSR also meanders in its structure and introduces a variety of interrelationships between the cast of characters, including arranged intermarriages of several after the victory in Laṅkā. However, all of these potential textual sources are presently believed to have fundamental discrepancies with the visual narration of the epic at Loro Jonggrang's Caṇḍi Brahmā—the Sanskrit UtK tells of the birth of twins rather than the creation of Kuśa by Vālmīki, while the *Hikayat* ends with the ultimate reunion of Sītā and Rāma.[7]

Although the traditional method of exploring literary parallels may offer some assistance in the identification of the UtK episodes at Loro Jonggrang, it is through an understanding of the sculptors' narrative methods that the imagery of these 18 relief panels can be successfully unraveled. To ensure the story's clarity and coherence these artists adhered to classical Indian narrative devices, employing a pictorial language of *āṅgikābhinaya*, *alaṅkāra*, *paṭākasthānaka*,

6. Zoetmulder believed that this Old Javanese recension, which takes the form of a Parwa, had correspondences to a Sanskrit prototype. For the plot outline of the Old Javanese redaction of the UtK, see Zoetmulder 1974:83–7. Since the time of his writings on this subject, the text has been translated into English by I Gusti Putu Phalgunadi, who confirmed Zoetmulder's earlier appraisal, observing that the main plot is based on the Sanskrit recension and that the chapter divisions and descriptions of this Old Javanese composition are also faithful to this Sanskrit source (Phalgunadi 1999:5). The Old Javanese version of the UtK includes both a homage to Maharṣi Wālmīki as well as a *maṅgala* for the poet's patron, King Dharmawaṅśa Tĕguh Anantawikramottuṅgadewa of East Java (996–1016). Similar to the Sanskrit recension of the epic, approximately half of the Old Javanese work is dedicated to the history of Rāwaṇa and the prowess of his son Meghanāda. For further details, see Phalgunadi 1999.

7. In the Old Javanese work, Kuśa and Lawa are also born as twins.

dhvani and visual *śleṣa*. The pictorial storyteller comes across challenges not encountered by the *kawi*. In addition to a required compliance with the architectural character of a monument—or the restraints of a particular format—visual artists tackle issues of both time and space. While a narrator or author can make abrupt shifts in plot by using introductory phrases such as the one repeated often at the commencement of the Kakawin's verses, 'Let us leave…, and now let us return to…', a pictorial interpreter would most likely change the location to indicate a dramatic transition in the narrative flow.[8] Moreover, there is the problem in expressing the past tense. It appears, however, that the sculptors of Loro Jonggrang did find creative solutions to this dilemma, such as in the episode of Hanuman's meeting with Sītā in the Aśoka Garden. Here the simian hero points back to an image of himself to indicate a past action. Similarly, coetaneous events can be depicted through the method of simultaneous narration or by stringing out episodic material in a linear manner. The art historian Dieter Schlingloff (1988:227), in his work on the Ajanta cave paintings, encapsulates the complications of visual narration when he writes:

> … the narrative itself must be so structured that it proceeds toward a dramatic climax that can be captured visually. When, however, a narrative flows on with epic breath, linking together the multiplicity of events of equal significance and equal importance, or when one of the events described in the narrative can only be understood in the context of events which went before and came afterwards, the selection of the most pregnant moment becomes more of a problem.

With Rāvaṇa's demise, represented by a depiction of the preparations for his cremation,[9] comes the end of the reliefs corresponding to the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, the sixth book of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* (Fig. 3). The succeeding quartet of

8. Locale is also a significant element of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, as indicated by the titles of the Kāṇḍas.

9. It may be considered puzzling why this supposedly crucial moment of the epic—the defeat of Rāvaṇa—has been conveyed in such a minor and anticlimactic fashion. In several redactions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāvaṇa is portrayed in a more sympathetic light and shown as a devout and religious ruler who truly believes he would be a much better paramour for Sītā than the 'boastful' and 'neglectful' Rāma. In modern Tamil performances, the *Rāmāyaṇa* ends with this episode of Rāvaṇa's death, interpreted as the success of good over evil. However, in parts of mainland Southeast Asia Rāvaṇa's death is considered inauspicious and therefore its portrayal is taboo. When the epic is interpreted in Malaysia, it is always accompanied by rituals to ensure that the spirits will be appeased and not be disturbed by the portrayal of death. Of greater relevance to the absence of this scene at Loro Jonggrang is the fact that Rāvaṇa's death is rarely performed in Java, for the death of a ruler would infer the passing of the legitimacy of the government in power. This tradition also adheres to a similar belief regarding the death of a ruler in ancient India. For more on performance practices in relation to Rāvaṇa's death, see Sears and Flueckiger 1991:10.

reliefs featured along the western balustrade wall of the Caṇḍi Brahmā at Loro Jonggrang depicts scenes that are difficult to decipher in terms of both their locale and context. The rich architectural details featured in each composition are inconclusive, for unlike the Sanskrit and Old Javanese redactions, the *Hikayat* recounts that Rāma built a new capital for himself in Laṅkā before returning to Ayodhyā (Zieseniss 1963:95). Therefore these courtly abodes could represent either domain. The first mono-scenic panel epitomizes a dramatic shift of plot in the story (Fig. 4). In contrast to the preceding theatrical incidents of war and the defeat of royal *rākṣasa*s, here a richly adorned *ṛṣi* is seated on an elaborate platform surrounded by details of palatial architecture. The strewn flowers on the platform suggests that this is an auspicious event. To the left of the scene are four seated youths. By their dress it can be inferred that they are of a high rank, but their positioning below the sage emphasizes the greater stature of the holy man. The *ṛṣi*'s employment of the *vara-mudrā*, associated with both the presentation and receipt of information, suggests that he is presenting a boon to his audience. In this instance it is most probable that this bequest is immaterial, perhaps a story or discourse bestowing invaluable wisdom.[10]

The closest affiliation between this Loro Jonggrang relief panel and any textual recension is the Sanskrit UtK. The Kāṇḍa commences just after Rāma's return to Ayodhyā. His court receives a visit from a group of *ṛṣi*s including Agastya. Upon entering the palace, they are offered *arghya* and then are led to 'seats encrusted with gold' with 'cushions of *kuśa* grass and antelope skins'. A cow is then bestowed on each (VII.1, Shastri 1970:375–6).

This description finds a parallel in the elaborate surroundings depicted in the Loro Jonggrang relief. The Sanskrit *Uttarakāṇḍa* continues with Agastya recounting the prior adventures and misdeeds of Rāvaṇa to the court. Although at Loro Jonggrang the main character of Rāma is absent from the incident, a re-

10. Unlike the other *hasta*s that are portrayed among the narrative reliefs of Loro Jonggrang, that of a single, extended hand is not to be found among the compilations of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or the later *Abhinayadarpaṇa* of Nandikeśvara. It appears, instead, to be related to the *vara-mudrā*, an iconographic hand position associated with 'boon-giving'. Fontein's investigation (1989:92–3) of this gesture among the panels of Borobudur suggests that it was employed by the sculptors to express both the 'giving' as well as the 'receipt' of a gift, and he further identifies these significances in the episodes of the Distribution of the Gifts by Queen Kauśalyā and Śūrpaṇakhā's Presentation of a Gift to Rāma at Loro Jonggrang. In actuality, the panels of the *Rāmāyaṇa* at Loro Jonggrang demonstrate that the sculptors adopted this gesture as a narrative device to express an even greater range of meanings, for in several scenes the episodic context clearly denotes its use for the 'giving' or 'receiving' of important information. The use of the *vara-mudrā* for these connotations in visual narrative practice may be seen as an independent invention of the Central Javanese artist.

view of the many court scenes featured in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs suggests that a group of seated youths is utilized as a leitmotif, emblematic of a generic courtly audience serving as 'listeners' to the silent dialogues of Loro Jonggrang.[11]

It is conceivable that a reference to Agastya's visit to the court of Ayodhyā in the sequence of the Loro Jonggrang reliefs was necessary, for this theme occupies more than one third of the epic's last book.[12] Furthermore, this episode's location on a singular projection just prior to a longer series of reliefs along the rear balustrade of the shrine provides a favourable space for an encapsulated prologue to the epic's final events. Agastya's significance to Central Javanese culture, and particularly his inclusion among the secondary deities of Caṇḍi Śiwa shrine, must also be taken into consideration. All of these factors substantiate an identification of this image at Loro Jonggrang as the divine sage.[13]

The visit of Agastya to Rāma's court confirms that the story is now located in Ayodhyā and will remain so until the Banishment of Sītā episode. Each of the next three scenes—all situated along the back wall of the balustrade—features an enthroned Rāma and Sītā surrounded by their court. They share the same tripartite composition—to the right of the central protagonists are depictions of elaborate palatial settings while to the left are figures seated below the royal couple in demonstrations of respectful demeanor, suggested by the lowering of the head or holding of the *utpala* flower. Rāma's regality is furthered by his use of the *gaṇapaṭṭa* strap (Fig. 5–7).

In the second of these three scenes, the inclusion of two birds facing each other on the roof of one of the buildings, is emblematic of the reunion of the royal lovers. At the feet of the avian pair is a worm. A similar assemblage of birds may be suggestive of the prosperity and harmony that returns to Ayodhyā with Rāma's rule. This narrative technique, the inclusion of avian and other animal characters on the roofs of buildings, runs throughout these compositions, and serve as a greek chorus that enforces the story line as well as its underlying emotions.

11. They can clearly be seen in the scene of Kekayī and Daśaratha, the *svayamvara* of Sītā, and the other court scenes of Rāma after his return to Ayodhyā. They appear to have simian counterparts in the depictions of the court of Sugrīva in Kiṣkindhā.

12. *Sargas* I to XXXVI of the 110-*sarga* Sanskrit work are devoted to the visit of Agastya to Rāma's court and his telling of the history of Rāvaṇa.

13. In Java Agastya worship was favourably received, ultimately becoming more popular there than it originally was in South India. In the Javanese form of Agastya worship the deity evolved into a companion of Śiwa. The best study on this topic remains Poerbatjaraka's 1926 dissertation for Leiden University entitled *Agastya in den Archipel*.

The audience in each of these court scenes is composed of diverse characters, including long-haired *rākṣasa*s and rather grotesque-looking servants. Still visible in the first scene beneath the seated royal couple are some covered containers, while a similar one is held by a *rākṣasa* in the last relief of the series. In the middle scene of the sequence, other vessels are depicted, once more beneath the seated figures of Rāma and Sītā. One is a footed bowl (Fig. 5) akin to those of the Wonoboyo Hoard and is of a type believed to have been produced for royal distribution.[14] The portrayal of Rāma with the *vara-mudrā* corresponds to the bestowing or receipt of gifts. In the Sanskrit UtK it is related that after Agastya's recitation at Rāma's court those who have served the hero in the war in Laṅkā now rejoice in celebrations. As they take their leave to return home, they are given gifts by Rāma. Three *sarga*s relate their departures. The first focuses on Janaka and royal relatives of Rāma's three mothers. In the ensuing thirty-ninth *sarga* Rāma's three brothers are presented with an array of precious gifts and return to their kingdoms. The subsequent *sarga* then describes how the bears and monkeys, the giants of Kiṣkindhā, Sugrīva and other royal simians, and Vibhīṣaṇa and his *rākṣasa* companions are overwhelmed by the special gifts they receive from Rāma. Then, with tears in their eyes they return to their respective homelands (VII.40, Shastri 1970:515–7).

Based on the environs and personages depicted, it is clear that the sculptors of Loro Jonggrang followed these *sarga*s rather explicitly. These passages embodied significant messages for their viewers—the loyalty of subjects to a ruler and, conversely, the benevolence of a ruler. In addition to portraying the paradigms of leadership, the imagery enforced the belief in legitimacy of kingship, for the repeated depiction of the rightful ruler of Ayodhyā suggests that Rāma has returned to his proper position within the 'dharmic' order and the prosperity of the kingdom was now ensured. The emphasis on this subject matter clearly resonated with the Javanese of this time.

14. The Wonoboyo Hoard was unearthed at Dukuh Plosokuning, Desa Wonoboyo, Kecamatan Jogonalan, Kabupaten Klaten, approximately five kilometers to the east of the Loro Jonggrang temple complex. Comprising three discoveries made between October 1990 and February 1991, the hoard consists of over 160 diverse gold and silver adornments and ritual utensils of the highest royal quality that can be dated by inscriptions to the early 10th century. Many of these are associated with the worship of Viṣṇu. Several footed bowls similar to the one depicted in this panel at Loro Jonggrang are included in this hoard. Inscriptional evidence from the Central Javanese period indicates that these served as royal gifts to high-ranking nobility in commemoration of the founding of a *caṇḍi* or in recognition of loyalty to a leader. The Wonoboyo Hoard is now housed in the Museum Nasional in Jakarta; vessels of similar manufacture are found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and in several museum collections in the Netherlands.

In all succeeding episodes, any potential ties with the Kakawin are entirely dissolved. On the other hand, there is a clear correspondence with Sanskrit UtK in the next scene of Lakṣmaṇa leading Sītā to the banks of the Ganges (Fig. 8). The river is indicated in the rightmost panel of the composition and Lakṣmaṇa's gesture directs the viewers toward the travelers' destination. The sequence continues with mono-scenic episode depicting Sītā seated in the *adhogata* posture, suggesting that Lakṣmaṇa is now informing her of Rāma's command (Fig. 9). He sits below the heroine with his hands held together. This provides a visual parallel for the honor and respect that he offers his sister-in-law in the written interpretations of the epic.

Sītā's Abandonment continues in another mono-scenic relief where she is surrounded by a variety of animals in the forest (Fig. 10). Ostensibly this incident depicts her en route to the hermitage of Vālmīki; however, it may also be read as a visualization of her emotional state which, as described in the Sanskrit UtK, is echoed by the cry of the peacocks, a prey to despair, that have burst into loud tears (VII.48, Shastri 1970:530). The three aforementioned scenes appear to follow this version of the UtK *sarga* by *sarga*, allocating one relief for each. This pictorial expansion of Sītā's Abandonment inaugurates an emphasis on the heroine and her plight that complements the growth of this theme in later Indian literary and performance traditions, as well as in diverse Southeast Asian tellings of the epic.

The final two segments of this narrative grouping relate Sītā's finding of a safe haven at Vālmīki's hermitage, and the author of the epic is now introduced into the story as one of its characters (Fig. 11). The *ṛṣi*, seated at an elevation higher than that of the abandoned princess, listens as a kneeling Sītā tells of her ordeal. This mono-scenic episode is succeeded by the Birth of Lava (Fig. 12). In view of the fact that women are the only participants in this scene, it may be assumed that the relief follows the description presented in the Sanskrit UtK, for in this narrative it is told that Vālmīki sent the heroine to live with a group of female ascetics to await the birth of her child.

The Abandonment of Sītā sequence, occupying the northwestern corner of the balustrade, is succeeded by a series of reliefs following the long northern wall. It continues to relate the drama as it unfolds in Vālmīki's environs. On the right side of the first scene a figure of the sage surrounded by his ritual paraphernalia is featured, implying that the episode takes place in his hermitage. He dangles or suspends an object in his right hand while sitting before an elaborate basin raised on a high pedestal—a vessel of the type that would have been

used in ritual ablutions.[15] The two standing figures on the left carry objects; one clearly holds an *utpala*. In the centre of the scene a group of princely characters is portrayed. These indicators point to this scene as one depicting Vālmīki conducting a ceremony in his hermitage (Fig. 13).

Unconnected to this ritual, on the left side of the composition, is the image of a man sleeping in a house. In the Sanskrit UtK it is told that shortly before the birth of Lava, the *ṛṣi*s came to Rāma's court to request his help in vanquishing Lavanāsura, an enemy of the ascetics. Śatrughna, Lakṣmaṇa's younger brother, asks permission to prove his valour by leading the attack. On his way to the combat, he and his troops take shelter at Vālmīki's hermitage on the same night that Sītā gives birth. The prince is told of the event and he visits the hut of his sister-in-law. On the basis of this story outline it can be proposed that the sleeping figure in the composition is Śatrughna. By means of the employment of a cyclic narrative technique this incident continues with the celebration of Lava's birth by a ritual performed by Vālmīki to protect the newborn infant.

The following relief recounts the creation of Kuśa, for the fact that only one infant appears in the episode of the Abode of the Female Ascetics is a distinct indication that the sculptors of Loro Jonggrang were following a tradition other than that of the Sanskrit UtK at this juncture (Fig. 14). In the HSR it is related that while Maharīsī Kalī—the *Hikayat*'s equivalent of Vālmīki—undertook a ritual bath his grandson Lawa disappeared in order to follow his mother. The sage assumed Lawa had vanished as the result of an accidental drowning. Fearing to return to the hermitage alone he created a duplicate of Lawa out of a blade of *kuśa*. When Sītā returned to the hermitage accompanied by Lawa, Maharīsī Kalī decided to adopt the twin and call him Kuśa. The details in the relief complement this reworking of the story, inferred through the depiction of Sītā's return to the hermitage in the company of Lava.[16]

15. It is possible that he holds a blade of *kuśa*, an object associated with any sacred ceremony. Should this be the case, its inclusion could be read as a *paṭākasthānaka* or 'premature introduction' for the subsequent episode.

16. In the Singhalese and Malay versions, Vālmīki also creates the twin of Lawa out of *kuśa* grass. However, the specifics of the Loro Jonggrang narrative, that of Sītā's carrying a covered bucket and Lava's holding a gourd container, suggest that they may have gone in search of water. This identification is supported by the details found in the 16th century Eastern Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* by Candravatī—a telling of the epic that is known primarily through oral presentations and is popularly recited by women at ritual events such as childbirth, sacred thread ceremonies, and marriages. It relates that one day Sītā went to fetch water and left Lava in the care of Vālmīki. The child left to follow his mother during a moment of the sage's preoccupation. When Vālmīki noticed his disappearance he created Lava's duplicate out of *kuśa*. Sītā returned in the company of Lava and Vālmīki then asked Sītā to adopt Kuśa as her own (Bhattacharya 1980:615).

Situated next on the northern balustrade is a scene that one might be tempted to identify as the fully-grown Kuśa and Lava defeating a troop of fierce *rākṣasa*s (Fig. 15).[17] This scene has a correspondence with the HSR, for this Malay version relates that as the twins grew up they spent their days hunting and vanquishing *rākṣasa*s (Zieseniss 1963:98). In the Sanskrit UtK the twins are not mentioned in any heroic capacity but instead they are cited for their devoutness. Their piety is so great that they are deemed the ideal presenters for Vālmīki's newly-completed *Rāmāyaṇa* composition.[18] The appearance of the twins in the succeeding scene at Loro Jonggrang as bejeweled and crowned princes, accompanied into battle by courtly dwarfs and young warriors, contradicts this perception of the brothers and thwarts any element of surprise when they are later discovered to be the royal progeny of Rāma and Sītā.

In the Sanskrit UtK, one evident and repeated characteristic is an intertwining of the various plots and characters that results in a karmic irony. The coincidence of Śatrughna's lodging at Vālmīki's hermitage the same night as the twins' birth leads to a series of subsequent interlocking events. This younger half-brother of Rāma passes again through the area twelve years later on his way to visit Rāma's court. During his stay at the hermitage he listens to a performance of the story of Rāma that is strikingly beautiful, but out of reverence he dares not ask the sage the origins of the story or its performers (VII.71.21, Shastri 1970:576–8).

The *Hikayat* also contains this theme of failed recognition between the twins and their uncles. The Malay redaction recounts a fight between Lakṣmaṇa and the twins over a wounded gazelle claimed by both sides as their possession. He is captured by his nephews and brought back to the hermitage where Maharīsī Kalī recognizes him as their uncle. Concerned about his brother's disappearance, Rāma arrives at Maharīsī Kalī's palace where he too discovers the twins (Zieseniss 1963:98–9).[19]

The visual information in this scene, however, leaves open the possibility of alternative identifications. In this relief panel, two princely warriors shoot ar-

17. Fontein (1997:198) assumed that this relief and the subsequent one depict the exploits of Kuśa and Lava.

18. The last *sarga* of the introductory *Upodghāta* describes the twins as 'blameless'. This passage also relates that after learning this 'unsurpassed tale that is exemplary of righteousness' the twins sing it as instructed by Vālmīki for audiences of 'seers, Brahmans, and good men' (4.11–12, Goldman and Sutherland Goldman 1984:132).

19. In the Old Javanese UtK, during the undertaking of sacrificial rites by Rāma and his brothers, Bālmīki (Sanskrit: Vālmīki) instructs Kuśa and Lawa to recite the *Rāmāyaṇa* by the palace courtyard so it could be heard by the participants. It is at this moment of the story that Rāma recognizes his sons (Phalgunadi 1999:209).

rows at the fierce *rākṣasa*s, but they are not shown in the *tulyapratidvandi* posture as might be the case in the depiction of twins, and is clearly employed in the depiction of the battle between Sugrīva and Vālin on Caṇḍi Śiwa. The heroes here are instead portrayed in different *sthāna*s: the one on the left is rendered in the *maṇḍala-sthāna*, while the right figure demonstrates the *ālīḍha-sthāna*. Moreover, the archer on the left faces out while his counterpart is seen from behind with his head in profile. The inconsistency of the archers' postures is compounded by the appearance of a young ascetic behind the hero on the left. This character glances toward the archer and raises one hand in the *paṭāka-hasta*. It is most probable that this scene depicts a battle between Rāma's brothers and the *rākṣasa*. It was this scenario, a variation upon the theme of fated meetings between the protagonists, that eventually made its way into the pastiche of the UtK and was part of the story known by the sculptors of Loro Jonggrang.

The next scene represents a direct continuation of the story. Rāma is featured on the right and accompanied by a *panakawan* (Fig. 16). He too is depicted in a forest setting, perhaps undertaking his role in the *aśvamedha* ritual—a plot detail initially mentioned in the Sanskrit UtK. In the second segment of this continuous narrative sequence his brothers report the discovery of the twins. This is suggested by the *vara-mudrā*, depicted both in the figures of Rāma and his brother to his left. It is possible that here, as one brother relates the encounter, Rāma's mirroring of this *mudrā* signifies his acknowledgement. Moreover, the brother holds his other hand in the *kathakamukha-hasta*, a closed fist with the middle and forefinger applied to the thumb that is indicative of 'speaking'. Rāma's reaction is registered by his use of the *śucī-hasta*, and his quick exit in the final section of this episode underscores the nature of his response.[20]

The succeeding episode, situated on the short corner that follows the northern balustrade wall, depicts Rāma accompanied by two *panakawan*s (Fig. 17). While the *panakawan*s appear with regularity in the narrative cycles of the East Javanese period, the fact that one is depicted in conjunction with Rāma in the previous episode, and two accompany him on his present travels, confirms that their role as aides-de-camp to princely heroes was established as early as the Central Javanese period.[21] In addition to the accoutrements of Rāma, the as-

20. In addition to having the meaning of 'threatening' it is also suggestive of the *rasa adbhuta* or 'astonishment' (Ghosh 1981:51).

21. In the Javanese wayang tradition the *panakawan*s are portrayed as highly characterized 'god-clowns' attendants of the hero. Several scholars are of the belief that these characters were originally the pre-Indic gods incorporated into this tradition in order to preserve the magico-religious significance of these performances (Sears 1986:29–30). See also Rassers (1959:35–36)

cetic garb of the identical figures and the holding of a mendicant's staff encourages the identification of these two young males as the now-devout twins of Rāma. The appearance of Rāma in the *maṇḍala-sthāna* with a weapon raised overhead suggests a defensive posture, and may signify that Rāma has not yet determined the nature of this encounter.[22] Another clue to the origin of this pictorial narrative may be found in the last of the four *sarga*s that constitute the *Upodghāta* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. These represent a 'story within a story', relating how Vālmīki was inspired to compose his poem and initially taught it to the twins.[23] In the fourth *sarga* it is written:

> Now it happened on one occasion, the elder brother of Bharata saw there those two singers who were being praised everywhere on the roads and royal highways,
>
> And Rāma, the destroyer of his enemies, brought the brothers, Kuśa and Lava, to his own dwelling where he honored them, for they were worthy of honor. (I.4.21–22, Goldman and Goldman 1984:133)

As these two verses have a strong parallel to the visual elements of the relief at Loro Jonggrang it may be suggested that the Javanese pictorial interpretation details this particular incident or a close variant. It can only be conjectured as to whether the *Upodghāta* was an originally localized variation that functioned independently, eventually conjoined with the Vālmīki epic. Similarly, it is not known to have produced any narrative progeny.[24] The following

and Zoetmulder (1974:547–548).

22. Further substantiating this identification at Loro Jonggrang as a confrontation between Rāma and his sons is Sanford's identification (1974:88) of a similar scene on the north side of Brahmapurīśvara Temple of Pullamangai—one of the handful of narratives related to the UtK found on Hindu temples of the Cōḷa Kingdom. This narrative depicts an archer on one side and Kuśa and Lava on the right—a composition somewhat complementary to the portrayal of this incident at Loro Jonggrang. It may therefore be ascertained that this theme had its origin in the constantly evolving tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s portrayal in India (Sanford 1974:88).

23. There has been a concern among Sanskrit scholars as to whether or not the *Upodghāta* is a later interpolation, as well as whether any specific *sarga*s among the four are later than others. Alternatively, it has also been proposed that this prologue may be a work composed preliminary to the body of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. Whatever may be the case, there exists a consensus that the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* would have attained its completed seven-book form by the era corresponding to the Central Javanese period.

24. The events corresponding to the UtK are related in the last *sarga* of the *Upodghāta*. In this variation, in contrast to Loro Jonggrang's interpretation, the focus is upon the completion of Vālmīki's poem and the succeeding events. The first verse states that it is only after Rāma regained his kingdom that the sage Vālmīki began his composition of Rāma's story and, corre-

episode at Loro Jonggrang continues an alignment with the *Upodghāta*. Rāma brings his sons, still dressed as holy bards, back to the court of Ayodhyā and they recite the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Fig. 18). In the comparable visual depiction at Loro Jonggrang, Kuśa and Lava are shown in their now princely guise, while an enthroned Rāma is portrayed demonstrating the *vara-mudrā*, emblematic of his 'receiving' the performance. The plot of the UtK then continues with Rāma's request to Vālmīki that he be reunited with Sītā, and she is then brought to the court of Ayodhyā. Sītā's ultimate repudiation of Rāma and swallowing-up by the earth is not depicted at Loro Jonggrang, but her hesitant appearance at court is suggested by her taking protective shelter behind the figure of Vālmīki (Fig. 19). It has therefore been assumed that this image is emblematic of her subsequent renunciation of Rāma (Fontein 1997:198; Levin 1999:221–2).

The succeeding scene has been identified as Rāma's abdication in favour of his sons. In contrast to the previous appearance of the twin brothers in Ayodhyā, the brothers now wear crowns as evidence of their new status while Vālmīki offers *sĕmbah* to Rāma in acknowledgment of his righteous execution of kingship (Fig. 20). The final scene of a banquet and the recitation by Brahmans, which bears a contextual similarity to the description of the *ṛṣi*s who visit the court of Rāma at the beginning of the Sanskrit UtK, may present a further affirmation of the shift in leadership, for undoubtedly an event of this significance would be accompanied by ceremonial meals and ritual performances (Fig. 21). It is also more than feasible that these *ṛṣi*s, similar to Lava's and Kuśa's performance at court, now recite this same *Rāmāyaṇa* as befitting the nature of the celebration and thereby place quotation marks around the prior 71 reliefs.

Thus ends the UtK and the story of Rāma as it is told on two of the main Caṇḍi of Loro Jonggrang—or does it? If one continues to the third main shrine in this sacred complex, and climbs to the terrace intending to follow the series of reliefs on the balustrade unfolding the story of Kṛṣṇa, one is initially con-

spondingly, the character of Vālmīki does not appear until after this point. The abandonment of Sītā, the birth of Lava, the creation of Kuśa, and the brothers' residence in Vālmīki's hermitage are all omitted from this particular account of the epic's events. One is instead 'fast-forwarded' to the *ṛṣi*'s composing of the epic and his ruminations upon whom should perform it. Kuśa and Lava, in the guise of sages, come before Vālmīki and the poet realizes that these would be the ideal reciters, as they are sons of Rāma and 'familiar with the ways of righteousness'. As the sculptors of Loro Jonggrang also portrayed the twins as mendicants during their initial meeting of Rāma, the episodic affiliation leans more firmly in the direction of the *Upodghāta* or a similar variant than to another branch of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition. It should also be considered that this scene of dramatic confrontation represents another of the sculptors' intended sequential revisions; more specifically, it relocates a 'story within a story' to a more 'readable' linear progression of chronologically organized events.

fronted by an episode tentatively identified as King Ugrasena and wife meeting with royal relatives (Moertjipto and Prasetya 1997:22).[25] On the left of the composition is a regal figure seated in 'royal ease' while holding his hand in the *vara-mudrā*. He is in the company of his queen, who gestures to the figures on the right. These two identical—or twinned—figures are seated at a slightly lower elevation compared to those on the left. They wear crowns and their heads are surrounded by halos—similar to the manner in which Rāma was depicted in the court scenes at the end of the UtK series on Caṇḍi Brahmā (Fig. 22). It can be claimed with great certainty that this first episode also belongs to the *Rāmāyaṇa* series and constitutes an ending of the epic popularized in Central Java during this era—that of Sītā's reunion with Rāma and the transference of kingship to their two sons.

In the introduction to his translation of the Old Javanese *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*, Soewito Santoso (1986:17) recounts an experience he had when visiting the Loro Jonggrang Temple Complex during the restoration of Caṇḍi Brahmā and Caṇḍi Wiṣṇu:

> The [sic] once I went to Prambanan to see the reliefs of the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* carved on the walls of the balustrades of the Brahmā and Wiṣṇu temples of the Lorojonggrang temple complex. The restoration of both temples was in full swing. Not one stone was in its place. I sat in the steps leading to the niche of Agastya, the *sadguru*, facing the ruins of the Baka temple, further to the south of the hills. In fact, my mind was further than that, much, much further. Then suddenly I came back to my senses with the vision of a man, carrying a piece of stone with carvings on, wandering around the yard from one place to another, trying to fit that piece of stone to another.

Santoso, a scholar who was always led by his intuitive insights and instincts, included this incident to relate the source of inspiration that encouraged him to restore the order of the Old Javanese manuscript so he could then undertake its translation. His analogy was to 'look for pieces of stones' and in the instance of missing sections 'substitute them with new ones, as long as we make sure to mark them clearly' (Santoso 1986:17–8). However, his observations also provide a description of the state of disarray and challenges faced by those restoring these monuments during the 1980s and early 1990s. While some believe that this may have led to the relief panels of the end of the Caṇḍi Brahmā cycle and those commencing the Caṇḍi Wiṣṇu series being replaced in an erroneous or-

25. This publication is actually a small guidebook that is available at the site of Loro Jonggrang in which Moertjipto and Prasetya offer an identification for each of the thirty relief panels. Fontein (1997:199) considered the identification of this scene as inconclusive.

der,[26] it is now proposed that the placing of the end of the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic on the third shrine was intentional, for this follows later Javanese practices regarding episodic sequences. Moreover, in addition to providing a way of linking these two *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu, it bound all three main shrines in greater unity.

Further substantiation for the re-identification of this relief panel currently leading the series that occupies the balustrade of Caṇḍi Wiṣṇu is found in several literary sources. As previously noted, the HSR ends with the reunification of Rāma and Sītā. After building a new city and naming Tabalawi (Sanskrit: Lava) as his successor, Rāma then follows an ascetic life with Sītā for the next forty years (Zieseniss 1963:102). It is therefore tempting to see here another case in support of Stutterheim's linking of the ninth-century Loro Jonggrang reliefs with a much later Islamized written adaptation of the story of Rāma—Vālmīki's creation of Kuśa has already provided confirmation that episodic affinities between the UtK section of the *Rāmāyaṇa* at Loro Jonggrang and this literary work do exist. However, rather than looking at the branches and the twigs, it is better to search at the roots. Closer bonds can be found, and one needs only to turn to the late-seventh century Sanskrit drama *Uttararāmacarita* by Bhavabhūti to find a comparable ending.[27] Here, at the end of the play, Pṛthvī invites Sītā into the abode of Rasātala to 'purify the netherworld,' and she accepts, pleading 'Mother, take me with you and dissolve me in your body. I can no longer bear the vicissitudes of this world' (Pollock 2007:379). Yet the Earth Goddess denies her request, reminding Sītā that she should stay on earth until her twin sons are weaned.[28] In a rather awkward act of staging, Gaṅgā, Pṛthvī and Sītā exit the scene as Lakṣmaṇa comments on the action, followed

26. As noted in the quotation of Santoso, he was led by the misbelief that narratives of the story of Kṛṣṇa could be found on both Caṇḍi Brahmā and Caṇḍi Wiṣṇu. The possibility of a mistaken order among the reliefs of Caṇḍi Wiṣṇu is echoed in the observations of Fontein. In his preliminary investigation of the narrative cycles of Caṇḍi Brahmā and Caṇḍi Wiṣṇu, he revisits the claim of Bernet Kempers who, more than fifty years ago, wrote of the uncertainty of these narrative sequences (Bernet Kempers 1959:62). Fontein noted that these words proved to be prophetic because the relief from Caṇḍi Wiṣṇu that Bernet Kempers included in his book and identified as a buffalo-demon attacking Kṛṣṇa and fellow shepherds is now found on a different place as a result of the Caṇḍi's restoration. Fontein also brought to light a narrative panel that did not fit in the sequence once Caṇḍi Wiṣṇu was restored; it is currently kept in storage (Fontein 1997:199).

27. Belvalkar was of the belief that Bhavabhūti may have been a pupil of Kumārila. A reference to Bhavabhūti in the play *Bālarāmāyaṇa* by its author Rājaśekhara, who was active around 900 AD, suggests that Bhavabhūti had been deceased for some time. Belvalkar believed that all evidence pointed to late seventh century dates for the life of this poet (Belvalkar 1915:xlii–xliv).

28. According to the *Uttararāmacarita* the twins are twelve years old at the time they return to the court of Rāma.

by an offstage voice that entrusts Arundhatī, the wife of the sage Vasiṣṭha, to protect Sītā.[29] The heroine now returns to the stage with her newly-appointed guardian and Vālmīki introduces Kuśa and Lava to their mother, father, uncle Lakṣmaṇa, and grandfather Janaka (Pollock 2007:387). In the tradition of all Sanskrit drama, this *Rāmāyaṇa* now concludes with a happy ending.[30] The possibility of connections between the *Uttararāmacarita* and the reliefs of the UtK at Loro Jonggrang—ones that are not shared with Sanskritic UtK—conjures several questions as to how epic narratives were transmitted and transformed.[31] Were Sanskrit plays performed in the courts of ninth-century Java in conjunction with religious ceremonies and festivals?[32] Or were these dramas performed in the vernacular at this time? Moreover, the similarities found among four recensions differing in time and locality—the *Uttararāmacarita*, the Old Javanese redaction of the UtK, HSR, and the pictorial narratives of Loro Jonggrang—makes it apparent that another skein of the epic was vibrantly alive and

29. The explanation for Sītā's disappearance and rapid reappearance is to be found in the following lines, pronounced by Lakṣmaṇa:

> The Ganga's waters are surging as if churned, The sky is pervaded by heavenly seers. A miracle! Sītā and the deities, Ganga and the Earth, are emerging from the deep (7.95, Pollock 2007:381)

It is evident that Sītā has entered the underworld to extend her purity to this realm and now returns to the world of mortals. This travel between realms is materially expressed by Sītā's disappearance after her initial return to court with Vālmīki at the end of the Caṇḍi Brahmā series and her return in a new, purified state on the northern Caṇḍi.

30. It is therefore possible that the banquet depicted on the final panel of the Caṇḍi Brahmā sequence celebrates not only the reunion of Rāma and his two sons, but also the return of Sītā to the court of Ayodhyā.

31. Similar to the reliefs of Loro Jonggrang, the Bhavabhūti play also skips Rāvaṇa's prehistory and instead begins with a prologue during which a dialogue between the *sūtradhāra* and an actor recounts this material. Loro Jonggrang's visual counterpart is the figure of Vālmīki at the beginning of the UtK series. Moreover, in addition to the differing endings, other contrasts between the Sanskrit UtK and the *Uttararāmacarita* are the detailing and emphasis on the *aśvamedha* ceremony and the expanded roles of Lakṣmaṇa's sons, Candraketu and Aṅgada found in Bhavabhūti's work. In it Candraketu is assigned with the responsibility of following the ritually consecrated horse around the kingdom. When it comes into the locality of Vālmīki's hermitage, Lava challenges and ultimately massacres most of Candraketu's retinue and then confronts the prince directly over possession of the sacred steed. In a compelling scene that resonates with the meeting of unknown siblings in *Die Walküre* or *Il Trovatore*, these cousins are strangely drawn to one another and hesitate to enter into combat. Eventually honor supersedes their emotions and a battle ensues between the two. It should be noted that the Old Javanese recension of the UtK and the HSR also give Candraketu and Aṅgada greater roles in the story.

32. Shulman (2001:61) notes that the *Uttararāmacarita* was written, as were the other plays of Bhavabhūti, to be performed at the time of the *yātrā* of Kalipriyanātha.

evolving parallel to the well-recognized strand of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and the KR. They too preserved kernels of episodic material that took root in later variations throughout South and Southeast Asia. Undoubtedly there were many more.

Moreover, adding to the already complex polemics regarding the literary links for the UtK depicted at Loro Jonggrang, we have adduced here the *Upodghāta* of Vālmīki's epic. This shorthanded recounting makes one consider that the epics may have been transmitted to Southeast Asia by means of episodic outlines as well as full texts, similar to a *pakem* or the *balungan* of a gamelan composition.[33] *Kawi*, holy reciters and visual artists were then free to expound upon these synopses or embellish them through the incorporation of local episodic variations known from a variety of sources. In this way they may have created a narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that heightened its significance on the surfaces of sacred shrines embodying aspects of a deceased ruler. The story of Sītā and her need to fulfill her earthly obligations, the expanded details of Rāma's execution of *artha* and *dharma*—including hospitality to Brahmans visiting the court—and the continuity of the next generation may have particularly reverberated with the donors of this temple complex. They were vital lessons to be learned by those still tied to this earthly realm.

While many enigmas remain, it is evident that the *sthāpaka*s and sculptors behind the creation of the story of Rāma at Loro Jonggrang shared the same goals as all artists of pictorial narration, that is, to make a popular version of the story recognizable to a specific audience. To fulfill this mission they employed a common visual language—a phenomenon that centuries later Carl Jung will term the 'collective unconscious'. The *Rāmāyaṇa* epic may have changed daily, with every new *dalang* performing at court, or *kawi*, or dancer. The *Rāmāyaṇa* at Loro Jonggrang, with all its animated details and lively interpretation, remains relatively pristine. It is our challenge to learn how to read it today through an appreciation and understanding of the lens of its creators.

33. Santoso (1980b:27) perceived the KR as a *pakem* that could change in form and content on the basis of the performers and local colour.



Figure 3: The Preparations for Rāvaṇa's Cremation. Episode from the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 12 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 4: Agastya at the Court of Ayodhyā. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 13 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 5: Rāma and Sītā at Court in Ayodhyā. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 14 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 6: Rāma and Sītā at Court in Ayodhyā. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 15 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 7: Rāma and Sītā at Court in Ayodhyā. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 16 (photo C. Levin)

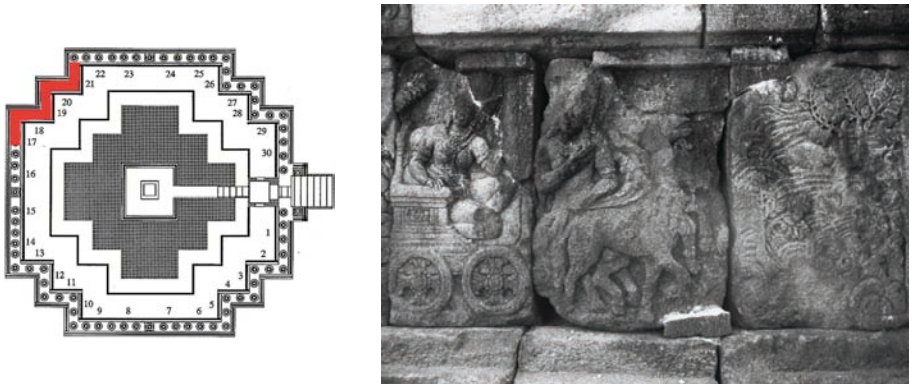


Figure 8: Lakṣmaṇa Brings Sītā to the Banks of the Ganges. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 17 and diagram of its placement on the Loro Jonggrang Temple Complex (photo and diagram C. Levin)



Figure 9: Lakṣmaṇa Tells Sītā that Rāma has Repudiated Her. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 18 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 10: Sītā Alone in the Forest. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 19 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 11: Sītā Appears Before Vālmīki. Episode from
the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 20 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 12: The Birth of Lava. Episode from
the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 21 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 13: Śatrughna Spends the Night at the Hermitage of Vālmīki. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 22 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 14: Sītā and Lava Return to the Hermitage. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 23 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 15: Rāma's Brothers Defeat the *Rākṣasa*s. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 24 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 16: Rāma Learns of the Discovery of Kuśa and Lava. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 25 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 17: Rāma Confronts Kuśa and Lava. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 26 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 18: Kuśa and Lava are Brought to the Court of Ayodhyā. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 27 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 19: Sītā and Vālmīki Appear Before Rāma at the Court of Ayodhyā. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 28 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 20: Kuśa and Lava Recite the *Rāmāyaṇa* for Rāma. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 29 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 21: The Brahmans Take Part in a Celebration at the Court of Ayodhyā. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Brahmā Relief 30 (photo C. Levin)



Figure 22: Sītā is Reunited with Rāma and her Sons at the Court of Ayodhyā. Episode from the UtK. Caṇḍi Wiṣṇu Relief 1 (photo C. Levin)

The Causeway Episode of the Prambanan *Rāmāyaṇa* Reexamined

Roy Jordaan

Introduction

The presence at the ninth-century Prambanan temple complex of bas-reliefs with scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is too well known to need much comment.[1] First recognized and partially identified by Isaac Groneman (1893), the reliefs have since been admired and studied by numerous visitors. After a long and arduous process of reconstruction of the main temples by colonial Dutch and independent Indonesian archaeologists, most of the Rāma reliefs are now believed to be installed in their original positions on the inner balustrade walls of the Śiva and Brahmā temples. Thanks to the efforts of dedicated art historians and scholars of ancient Java, almost all of the events depicted have been identified with reference to various literary renderings of the epic—both those more or less contemporaneous, such as the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa* (KR), commonly referred to as 'the' Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, and specimens several centuries older, like Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (VR), or several centuries younger, such as the *Hikayat Sĕri Rama* (HSR).

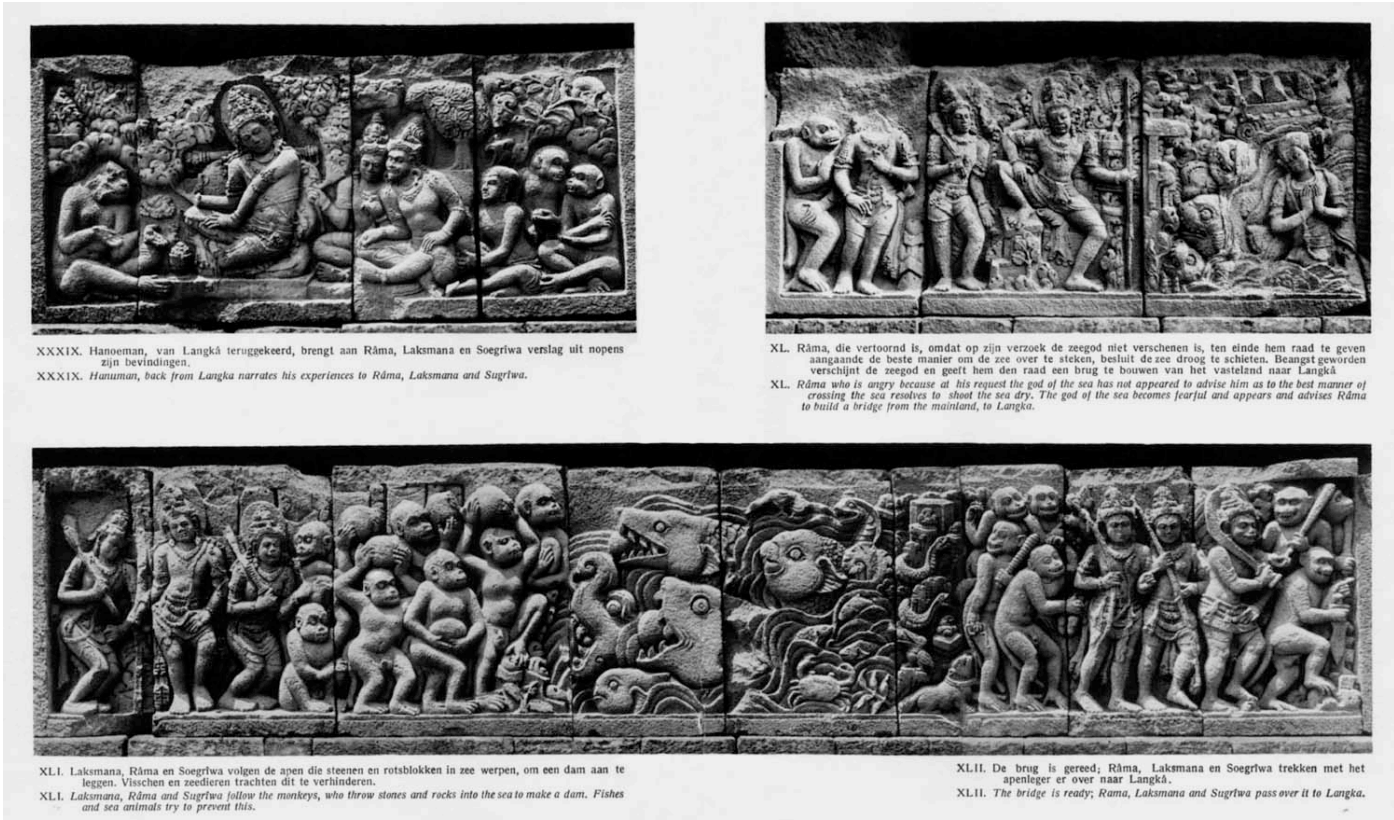
1. The basis for this article is a paper with the title 'The bridge of Rāma in Southeast Asia: The Causeway Reliefs of Prambanan and Phimai Reexamined', which was presented at the Jakarta workshop on the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* (Jordaan 2009). This extensive paper has been deposited in the KITLV library in Leiden for public use. Regarding the present article, it was decided to focus the discussion solely on the *Rāmāyaṇa* causeway relief of Caṇḍi Prambanan, and to leave the full description and analysis of the causeway lintel at the Khmer temple of Phimai, in northeast Thailand, for another occasion.

While researching this fascinating yet complex subject I have on several occasions benefited from the help of friends and colleagues. For the revision of the original paper to make it more suitable for publication in the proceedings, I owe a debt of gratitude to the editors of this volume, John and Mary Brockington, and Siebolt Kok for their corrections, comments, references and other forms of support. Thanks are also due to the École française d'Extrême-Orient for the invitation to participate in the Jakarta workshop.

The discovery of the usefulness of the HSR for the interpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs of Caṇḍi Prambanan we owe to Willem Frederik Stutterheim, who demonstrated that some of the scenes depicted on the Śiva temple, which defied explanation in comparison with the 'classical' text of Vālmīki, became more intelligible with the help of the HSR (Stutterheim 1925, 1989). Among the large number of deviations from VR he had detected, thirteen episodic details in the sculpted rendering of the Rāma story on the Śiva temple of Prambanan were shared with the HSR. For the purpose of their discussion later in this paper, three examples from Stutterheim's enumeration (1989:146) deserve to be mentioned here, namely the absence of a scene in which Rāma shoots an arrow into the sea to vent his frustration and anger over the default of the God of the Sea; the swallowing of the stones by the fish during the construction of the causeway; the appearance of a daughter of Daśaratha.

The HSR's usefulness was (and still is) amazing as it is not a contemporaneous Old Javanese text, but a Malay narrative whose gestation period dates from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. Although Stutterheim's rather negative appraisal of the correspondence between the VR and the KR texts and the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs has at times been contested, the heuristic value of the HSR was recently reconfirmed by Jan Fontein with respect to the bas-reliefs depicted on the Brahmā temple. To quote Fontein's conclusion (1997:198): 'The reliefs of Caṇḍi Brahmā are similar to those of Caṇḍi Śiva in that they follow the general flow of the narrative of Vālmīki's epic, with occasional deviations than can usually be satisfactorily explained by consulting the contents of the *Hikayat Seri Rama*'.

In this paper, I want to reexamine the closing reliefs of the series on the Śiva temple. They concern the construction and the crossing of the causeway by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and their monkey allies. Those who know my work on the Prambanan temple complex will understand that my interest in the causeway episode stems from my theory about the design of the temple's central courtyard as an artificial reservoir, that is to say a reservoir of sanctified or holy water (*amṛta*) (Jordaan 1989, 1991, 1995). It is my contention that the causeway relief fits perfectly within this overall design, marking as it does, appropriately with a scene of water, the transition of the Rāma story from the Śiva temple to the Brahmā temple. However, not wanting to repeat myself unduly, the theory itself will not be presented in detail here. If mentioned, it is primarily to adduce further evidence on the heuristic value of the HSR for art-historical research on Caṇḍi Prambanan.



XXXIX. Hanoeman, van Langkâ teruggekeerd, brengt aan Râma, Laksmana en Soegriwa verslag uit nopens zijn bevindingen.

XXXIX. *Hanuman, back from Langka narrates his experiences to Râma, Laksmana and Sugriwa.*

XL. Râma, die vertoornd is, omdat op zijn verzoek de zeegod niet verschenen is, ten einde hem raad te geven aangaande de beste manier om de zee over te steken, besluit de zee droog te schieten. Beangst geworden verschijnt de zeegod en geeft hem den raad een brug te bouwen van het vasteland naar Langkâ

XL. *Râma who is angry because at his request the god of the sea has not appeared to advise him as to the best manner of crossing the sea resolves to shoot the sea dry. The god of the sea becomes fearful and appears and advises Râma to build a bridge from the mainland, to Langka.*

XLI. Laksmana, Râma en Soegriwa volgen de apen die steenen en rotsblokken in zee werpen, om een dam aan te leggen. Visschen en zeedieren trachten dit te verhinderen.

XLI. *Laksmana, Râma and Sugriwa follow the monkeys, who throw stones and rocks into the sea to make a dam. Fishes and sea animals try to prevent this.*

XLII. De brug is gereed; Râma, Laksmana en Soegriwa trekken met het apenleger er over naar Langkâ.

XLII. *The bridge is ready; Rama, Laksmana and Sugriwa pass over it to Langka.*

Figure 1: The causeway episode of the Prambanan *Rāmāyaṇa* (from Kats 1925)

Digitized pictures of the Rāma reliefs have recently been made available to the general public through the image archive of the Kern Institute, Leiden University.[2] As I will demonstrate, the description of the reliefs bearing on the causeway in this archive and in the current literature is not wholly satisfactory. My primary objective is to reexamine the causeway relief of Caṇḍi Prambanan and help find or reconstruct the text(s) that most likely served as a guide for the Javanese sculptors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the main temples of Prambanan.

Current interpretations of the Prambanan causeway episode

Soon after their reinstallation on the Śiva temple, the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs were photographed and briefly described by J. Kats in a Dutch-English language publication (1925). Although the reliefs were more fully discussed in Stutterheim's doctoral dissertation, I will here use Kats' photographs and accompanying plate numbers as well as descriptions as point of departure since the events directly related to the construction of the causeway are all found on the same page, thus allowing for their reproduction on a single page.

The three separate relief panels reproduced in Fig. 1 amply demonstrate what Cecelia Levin (1999:70) has said about the skills of the sculptors of Central Java, namely to present the story 'in a variety of narrative formats, ranging from mono-scenic to synoptic, and from multi-episodic to continuous'. Whereas the relief with the number XXXIX is clearly mono-scenic, the last relief panel is multi-episodic and might have been designated as continuous, if it had included a representation of the causeway itself. However, precisely because of the absence of an image of this structure, it is difficult to tell whether the fish are assisting the monkeys in their building efforts or whether they are resisting the construction of the causeway. This problem has yet to be resolved.

It is fortunate that the mono-scenic relief panel with the number XXXIX —'Hanuman, back from Langka narrates his experiences to Râma, Laksmana and Sugrîwa'—is reproduced in Kats on the same page as the causeway episode proper. Without this scene it would have been more difficult, I think, to identify the damaged figure in the next relief, namely XL of the second relief panel,

2. See the Leiden University Library's 'Digitool' service (accessed December 2008), where the Kern photos can now be consulted (https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl). Each digitized photograph has a special number and reference number of the original photograph made by the Archaeological Service in the Netherlands East Indies (OD). The original photographs used in this paper are registered as OD 3502 (*Rāmāyaṇa* relief [panel] 23: 'The sea god Sagara pays homage to Rāma'); OD 3503 (*Rāmāyaṇa* relief [panel] 24a: 'The monkey army throwing stones into the sea to build a dam'); OD 3504 (*Rāmāyaṇa* relief [panel] 24b: 'Fishes and sea monsters trying to prevent the monkeys to build a bridge'); OD 3505 (*Rāmāyaṇa* relief [panel] 24c: 'Arrival at Laṅkā').

as Sugrīva. Instead, the figure, who is wearing princely clothes, might easily have been mistaken for Vibhīṣaṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa, who in VR and the KR defects to Rāma's camp some time before the sea-crossing. The identification of the figure as Sugrīva finds support not only in Vibhīṣaṇa's absence in the reliefs XXXIX, XLI, and XLII, but, as pointed out by Stutterheim, is confirmed by an old photograph by Kassian Cephas in Groneman's book in which the figure is still undamaged. At Prambanan Vibhīṣaṇa's defection takes place in the opening scene on the Brahmā temple. Regarding this deviation from Vālmīki's epic, Fontein opines that 'Although it is possible that the version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* followed by the sculptors of Prambanan related a different sequence of the events, it made eminent sense to postpone the introduction of this new character until the viewer had reached Caṇḍi Brahmā. In performances of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Malaysia the key role of Lakṣmaṇa as Rāma's confidant and advisor is at this point taken over by Vibhīṣaṇa. The sculptors of Prambanan, by placing such an emphasis on Vibhīṣaṇa's entry into the war, may have interpreted the story in a somewhat similar fashion' (Fontein 1997:195). I will return to Vibhīṣaṇa's defection later on.

But first let us take a look at the preceding relief panels XL and XLI–XLII on the Śiva temple, with an overview of the most authoritative descriptions and interpretations, namely by Stutterheim (1925, 1989), Levin (1999), and Saran and Khanna (2004). Relief XL serves as an introduction to the construction of the causeway proper. Stutterheim (1989:142) gives a rather detailed iconographic description:

> *a.* A monkey and a figure, which is badly damaged but which is decorated in a princely manner. *b.* Two princes, one of them is carrying an arrow and the other is sitting in a challenging position on a rock throne with a bow and arrow in his hand. The bow is unstrung. *c.* The sea and the rocky beach with birds. At a distance, there are buildings (a city?) and a ship (?). In the sea, there are wild fish of prey, among them a shark. From the water a king (god) is coming up, who is offering *puṣpāñjali*. *d.* Sea. Even as in the preceding scene there are hardly any difficulties here. Rāma who has still not shot from his unstrung bow, sees the God of the Sea [Sāgara], rising from the water, offering him worship. This depiction differs slightly from Vālmīki's where there is a mention of shooting, but completely conforms to the *Hikayat*s. The person without the crown must be Sugrīva, who is talking to Hanumat. I do not, however, understand his gestures. It is surprising that on Groneman's photo ([1893:] plate XXXIII c 23) Sugrīva still has a head, although it appears to me that even at that time, it was no more to be seen on the relief.

Levin (1999:186) concurs with this interpretation, saying that relief XL 'represents another successful example of Stutterheim's application of the later HSR

in the decipherment of the reliefs of Loro Jonggrang'. Still, in her own analysis she quotes extensively from the KR to demonstrate the correspondence between the sculptural representation and the text of this Kakawin. Turning to the relief itself, she observes:

> This mono-scenic episode features Rāma seated upon a throne of rocks in a posture reminiscent of contemporaneous South Indian temple deities. The Sea God Baruṇa rises from an ocean filled with fierce sea monsters. He offers *sĕmbah* to Rāma while holding his head at a down turned angle. The *āṅgika* ['bodily position'] employed in this scene clearly tells of the supremacy of the hero over the deity. (Levin 1999:188)

Saran and Khanna (2004:58–9, 85) interpret the relief as follows:

> Rama and his monkey army now proceed to Lanka to rescue Sita, but must face their first obstacle which appears in the form of a tumultuous ocean filled with threatening fish. On the sea shore Rama appears furious with Sagara, who joins his hands in a supplicating gesture, seeking to placate Rama by offering his co-operation in the construction of a causeway across the waters. This description of the episode conforms fairly closely to the Valmiki *Ramayana* and the *Ramayana* Kakawin where Rama prays unsuccessfully to Sagara, the God of the Seas, and is then provoked into threatening to destroy the ocean and all the creatures inhabiting its waters. [Appended note 19:] Unlike Stutterheim we see no reason to link the relief before us to the *Hikayat*. As in the Valmiki *Ramayana*, here we see Rama […] incensed by the indifference of the Ocean God.

Stutterheim's description (1989:142–3) of the next relief panel (Kats' XLI-XLII) is as follows:

> *a*. A prince carrying an arrow and *b*. another with a bow in his hand. A monkey king with a club, two monkeys carrying stones. Rocks. *c*. Five monkeys carrying stones to the seashore. Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma and Sugrīva are following the monkeys, who are throwing the stones into the sea for constructing the dam. *d*. Fish in the sea, which swallow the stones. *e*. Fish, a crab, *naga* with jewel on its head, duck, etc. Vālmīki mentions nothing about the swallowing of the stones. R [namely, the Roorda Van Eysinga version of the HSR] 142–143 speaks of the order given by Rāvaṇa to Ganga Mahasura to destroy the dam and he in turn passes this order to the fish. While this is being done, a crab carries out certain positive actions. *f*. Seashore with sea-gulls, snakes, etc. Four monkeys with clubs, three of them also have fruits in their paws, the fourth leads on a rope a tame *garaṅan* (*Herpestes* [a small Asian mongoose]). *g*. Two princes, armed with bows and *h*. monkey king with a sword. Finally, three happy looking monkeys with clubs and swords. The end of the series of reliefs on the Śiva temple: the crossing from the mainland to Laṅkā by Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva and his army of monkeys.

For reasons of space, I must present Levin's discussion (1999:188–9) in abridged form:

> In the beginning of the subsequent episode of the Setu Nirmāna, the appearance of Rāma on the left, flanked by Sugrīwa and Lakṣmaṇa, suggests that he has acted upon Baruṇa's advice and ordered the monkeys to construct the causeway. The visual elements once again parallel the Kakawin at this point. […] Whereas the first section of this sequence can be aligned with the Kakawin, the next two reliefs clearly share affinities with the later *Hikayat*. In this Malay redaction, the building of the causeway occurs simultaneous to Rāwaṇa's visit to Sītā in the Aśoka Garden. Rāwaṇa then orders Ganggā *mahā sūra* to destroy the causeway currently transversed [sic] by the monkey army. He, in turn, instructs the fishes as to how to defeat the monkey army. Subsequently Hanūmān protects the dam by whipping up the sea with his tail until the water become muddy. The fishes are successfully caught, but a large crab continues its course of destruction. Offering it his tail to bite, Hanūmān flings the crab into the air and it lands in a forest. There it is killed but it is so immense in size it can not be entirely consumed. Although a crab does appear in the scene, there is little to suggest that it was the specific one mentioned in the *Hikayat* and the creature is certainly not of the magnitude of the one described in the text. The relief at Loro Jonggrang depicts instead the uproar of the denizens of the sea, reflecting the incident that directly precedes the defeat of the giant crab in the *Hikayat*. At this point in the story it is related that the building stones thrown into sea were swallowed by whales in order to sabotage the causeway's construction. The incident depicted at Loro Jonggrang must have as its origins a version common to that of the *Hikayat*. Finally, in the concluding scene from this series, the protagonists and monkey army have successfully crossed the causeway to Lĕńkā despite the attempts of hostile serpents to continue their pursuit of the monkeys.

Saran and Khanna (2004:59–60), finally, have this to say about the construction of the causeway:

> Carrying boulders on their heads, the enthusiastic band of monkeys launch into action, observed by Rama. We see here some fish with rocks and boulders in their jaws. Tucked away in a corner is a crab. Are the fish assisting the monkeys in their task, or are they resisting the construction of the causeway? Apparently contradictory interpretations appear equally plausible, as the fish can look cheerful or sinister.

The authors say that in the next scene 'Rama and Lakshmana and the monkey army led by Sugriwa joyfully arrive in Lanka'.

Impartiality and open-mindedness towards extant Rāmāyaṇa texts

Before adducing the textual information that will shed new light on the subject, I must say a few words about the rather haphazard use of textual evidence in

current scholarship on the Rāma reliefs (and the Kṛṣṇa reliefs on the Viṣṇu temple, for that matter). To a certain degree this is unavoidable given the paucity of contemporary textual information, which calls for an open-minded and impartial attitude to the extant texts. Thus Fontein's (1997:194) statement: 'For no matter where it ultimately hailed from, any variant in any text can be of value to us as long as it contributes to the identification and interpretation of the events portrayed in the reliefs'. Seen in this perspective, we should be wary of favouring any one text over other versions, as Saran and Khanna appear to do when they say to see no reason to consult the *Hikayat* for the interpretation of the basrelief about Rāma's anger over Sāgara's unresponsiveness, and the subsequent emergence of the Ocean God.

Whatever version was followed, I think that Rāma's mood is sufficiently clear from his body language, which shows him seated in an assertive, if not aggressive, posture. He is holding a bow and arrow in his left hand, not a spear as Sri Sugianti states (Sugianti 1999:33). I see the last section of this relief panel as being synoptic in that it combines elements which in the literary texts and oral traditions are usually kept separate in time. Rāma and his retinue first face the obstacle of a tumultuous ocean filled with threatening fish, and the deity only appears after Rāma had shot one or more arrows into the sea to vent his anger over his unsuccessful prayers to the Ocean God. The deity's supplication gesture allows for the inference that Rāma had already shot one or more arrows into the sea and possibly also threatened to use a more deadly arrow. The unstrung bow, mentioned by Stutterheim, could represent this transition moment. As the submission of the deity must as a matter of course also hold for his subjects, we could interpret the next scene of the fish with rocks and boulders in their jaws as showing their assistance to the monkeys in the construction of the causeway. However, this latter interpretation must remain tentative as long as we do not know what version or versions of the epic was or were followed. Saran and Khanna support their decision to follow VR with the argument that the depiction of the episode conforms 'fairly closely' to VR and the KR, but this seems somewhat overstated. It does not hold, for instance, for Vibhīṣaṇa's defection to Rāma's camp after the construction of the causeway, in the opening relief of the Brahmā temple.

To avoid the suspicion of selectivity and arbitrariness, it is necessary to explicate and support one's decision of preferring one version over another with sound arguments and verifiable visible clues, if possible. The contradictory interpretations of the activity of the sea creatures in the closing relief—as hostile and destructive or as friendly and co-operative—serve to illustrate this point.

The fact that the different appraisals were made with due consideration of the representation of the causeway episode in the HSR shows that the relevance of this text cannot be taken for granted but has to be demonstrated anew with convincing arguments and visual evidence.

Before going more deeply into the seemingly poor correspondence with the closing relief, I will argue that the HSR does contain information that can be brought to bear on another part of the temple complex, namely the central courtyard. This information concerns the use of both the word *tambak* for the causeway, and a reference to 'holy water' in connection with problems encountered during the construction of the causeway. To explain this, we must take a closer look at these textual hints. Fortunately, the discussion is facilitated by the pioneering research of Zieseniss (1963) on the origin and development of the Rāma saga in Malaysia, which includes separate notes on the causeway episode.

Text and tambak

One of the things which, in 1989, gave me the idea that there might be more to the metaphoric comparison in the KR of a large temple complex, generally assumed to be a poetic description of the Prambanan temple complex, with Mount Mandara in the myth of the Churning of the Milky Ocean, was the word *tambak*. The same word occurs in the Śivagṛha inscription—also believed to relate to the Prambanan temple complex—in connection with a *tīrtha* or 'holy pool', at or near the temple complex. Unlike De Casparis (1956:306), who had deemed the presence of a *tīrtha* within the temple complex 'astonishing, if not impossible', it seemed to me that the design of the central courtyard as an artificial water reservoir was not in conflict with the textual information, and would even help to explain the poor drainage of the courtyard and its occasional flooding after heavy rains.[3] Hence, my rejection of De Casparis' translation of *tam-*

3. The poor drainage of the central compound is already mentioned in colonial Dutch archaeological reports, but it was dramatically demonstrated anew in 1994 during an official visit of Hillary Clinton, as First Lady of the USA, when heavy rains flooded the central courtyard. The distinguished guest and her retinue could only gain access after the water had been pumped out by fire-brigade personnel who were called in from the city of Yogyakarta (personal communication by Mary-Louise Totton, who acted as a guide for the American visitors). Very likely this incident made the Indonesian Archaeological Service step up the implementation of a number of rather draconic measures to 'improve' the drainage of the site on the assumption of flaws in the design of the Hindu-Javanese architects (*Laporan pembenahan halaman pusat Candi Prambanan tanggal 15 Juni s/d 15 September 1993* [Bogem: Panitia Pemugaran Candi Wahana Candi Lorojonggrang Prambanan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, Dinas Purbakala]; personal communication by Drs. Bambang Prasetya Wahyuhono).

bak in the inscription as simply 'brick wall', and arguing instead to hold on to its usual meaning as 'dam' or 'dike' as far as the wall of the inner courtyard is concerned. Now, it appears that this alternative interpretation accords with the meaning of both the Sanskrit compound *setu-bandha*, and with the word *tambak* in the HSR. In Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English dictionary, the compound *setubandha* is glossed as 'the building of a causeway, bridge or dam', particularly the bridge-like geological formation linking India and Sri Langka, known in the West as 'Adam's Bridge'. *Setu* denotes 'a ridge of earth, mound, bank, causeway, dike, dam, and bridge, any raised piece of ground separating fields (serving as a boundary or as a passage during inundations)'. The same holds for the word *tambak* in the Malay-Indonesian expression *pembinaan tambak*, 'the construction of the causeway', which dictionaries invariably gloss as 'dam', 'dike', and 'embankment'.

'Holy water': air Ma'ulhayat, amṛta, and tīrtha

The HSR contains yet another designation that can be brought to bear on this idea: *air Ma'ulhayat*; it is the life-giving water which during the building of the causeway spouts from a deep gorge (*lubuk*) in the sea and hinders the completion of the causeway. As Zieseniss has pointed out long ago, we may see in this Malay-Arab compound *air Ma'ulhayat*, literally 'water of life', the equivalent of *amṛta*, the Sanskrit word for the elixir of life. As the HSR shows, the way to link *amṛta* with *air Ma'ulhayat* is by means of the Netherworld, called Bumi Petala (Sanskrit Pātāla or Rasātala), to which the gorge gives access. The Sanskrit elixir of life, *amṛta* was produced from the gums of various trees and herbs getting mixed with the milky water of 'the agitated deep' during the Churning of the Ocean by the gods and demons (Fausbøll 1903:23).[4]

There are still other textual allusions to the special character of the water on which the causeway was built. One example is from an episode of the

4. Although the notion of the Netherworld and holy water are found in a less developed form in VR, their connection is discernible in the episode about the magic arrow which Rāma, upon Sāgara's suggestion, points at an alternative target. Basing himself on the Critical Edition, John Brockington translates the relevant passage thus: 'Then, where the arrow, which resembled a blazing thunderbolt, fell to earth indeed at Mārukāntara (the desert of Maru), the earth there roared, pained by the dart. From the mouth of that wound (*vraṇa*) water gushed out from Rasātala. This then became a well, famous as 'the Wound', and immediately it seemed that water, like that of the sea, was springing up; and a fearful sound of tearing arose. Thereupon it dried up the water in the cavities [of the earth] by the falling of the arrow. This Mārukāntara is indeed renowned in the three worlds'. Professor Brockington generously provided me with this translation of the VR. See now also Goldman, Sutherland Goldman and Van Nooten 2009:614–5.

HSR in which, on Rāma's advice, Hanuman swims to the very depths of the sea (*pusat tasik*) to clean himself. As was noted by Achadiati Ikram (1980:59), this amounts to a magical purification as Hanuman not only emerges cleansed of dirt, but also has acquired a beautiful face, and henceforth becomes Rāma's first-ranking simian servant. In the Javanese *Sĕrat Kanda* it is said that his skin disease has disappeared and that he got a beautiful tail (Stutterheim 1989:62). In another Malay text, *Cerita Maharaja Wana*, we are told of Vibhīṣaṇa being restored to life by Rāma with water from this part of the sea after his dead body had been found adrift on a raft (Kam 2000:159). In VR, finally, Vibhīṣaṇa is anointed by Lakṣmaṇa on the order of Rāma with some water taken from the ocean (*Yuddhakāṇḍa*, 13.7–8; see Goldman, Sutherland Goldman and Van Nooten 2009:150, 598). A similar anointment of Rāma by the gods takes place right after the crossing of the causeway (*Yuddhakāṇḍa* 15.32; see p. 156).[5]

In an earlier discussion about the design of the central courtyard as a sacred pool or *tīrtha* (Jordaan 1996:92, note 68), I pointed out that both the opening and the closing relief-scenes on the Śiva temple relate to water. While the first relief panel shows Viṣṇu reclining on the world snake Ananta or Śeṣa floating on the Ocean of Milk (Vogel 1921), the final relief panel shows the causeway or rather the stretch of water in which it was built by the monkeys. As Fontein (1997:195) has noticed, '[b]y breaking off the story just as the army of the monkeys is crossing the causeway to Lengkā, the sculptors made the viewers cross over from one temple to the other, as if they were following in the monkeys' footsteps'. Commenting on this, I noted that this stratagem was so effective precisely because the design of the temple area as an artificial water reservoir may actually have separated the temples from each other with water (Jordaan 1996:91–2). What matters here is that the additional information provided by

5. In *Yuddhakāṇḍa* 15.32, it is said that when the gods 'had witnessed that marvellous and seemingly impossible feat of Rāma Rāghava, they approached him in the company of great seers and anointed him, one after the other, with holy water'. Sanskritists are divided over the question of whether this water was drawn from the same ocean as in Vibhīṣaṇa's earlier provisional consecration by Lakṣmaṇa, or that the water used derives from such sacred bodies as the celestial Gaṅgā (see p. 623, note 32). Shastri's interpretation (1970:55) that the water was drawn from the sea is probably based on the statement that the gods at the sight of the causeway 'drew near' and anointed Rāma in secret 'there'. The sacredness of the site is also mentioned in the *Brahmakāṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, in the section called *Setumāhātmya* (Tagare 1995:342–4). John Brockington, however, has questioned this interpretation, saying that there is no mention of sea water in the passage, only of 'stainless' or 'auspicious' water. Sea water, in his opinion, would be most unlikely in the Indian tradition, which tends to regard the sea with suspicion (personal communication). In the HSR, as we have seen, the water was actually drawn from the deep gorge in the sea where the spring was found with the *air Ma'ulhayat*.

the HSR and VR on the construction of the causeway and the special character of the stretch of water upon which it was built makes the correspondence even more fitting.

In further support of this claim, I would like to elaborate on a finding by Cecelia Levin as presented in her paper for the Jakarta workshop on the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*. Her finding concerns the good chance that the sculptural representation of the Rāma story at Prambanan does not, as was hitherto assumed, end with the scene of a copious banquet in the closing relief of the Brahmā temple, but with the scene of the reunion of Rāma and Sītā in the first relief of the Viṣṇu temple. Levin rightly remarks that if the placing of the end of the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic on the third shrine was intentional, it may have served as a way of linking these two *avatāra*s of Viṣṇu and bound all three shrines in greater unity. Supporting evidence for the re-identification of the first relief of the Viṣṇu temple lies in the fact that the HSR and the late-seventh century Sanskrit drama *Uttararāmacarita* by Bhavabhūti also end with the reuniting of Rāma and Sītā. At the end of Bhavabhūti's play, as noted by Levin, Pṛthivī invites Sītā into the abode of Rasātala. This offer she accepts, claiming 'I can no longer endure the vicissitudes of this world of mortals'. Later the Earth Goddess rescinds the invitation and reminds Sītā that she should stay on earth until her twin sons are weaned. Reiterating my comments at the Jakarta workshop, the point I would like to make is that Sītā's temporary stay in the abode of Rasātala, which is not depicted, parallels the earlier transition of the story from the Śiva to the Brahmā temple. Here, as we have seen, the transition also involved a descent into the Netherworld and the abode called Bumi Petala, which was the source of the elixir of life. Apparently, the central courtyard of Prambanan was not conceived as a neutral space, but served a dual function in the sculptural layout of the Rāma story over the three main shrines: as a means to separate and re-connect the story at two critical junctures, and as a symbolic marker of the Netherworld which, thought of as being located in the sea, was physically represented as a pool.[6]

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the reliefs on the exterior of the Śiva temple, particularly to the dancing 'celestial damsels' (*vidyādharī*, *apsaras*) and heavenly musicians (*gandharva*) depicted on the outer side of the balus-

6. In the *Rāmakerti* II, the story ends with the *Uttarakāṇḍa* episode of the appeal to the Earth. Sītā calls on the Earth to take her to her bosom, where she is hospitably received by Biruṇ (that is Varuṇa, the God of the Sea) (Brockington 1985:294). Although the appearance of the God of the Sea in this context is not explained, the connection with the sea and water that is implied could be significant. Possibly the Cambodian and Prambanan Rāma stories were based on a common Indian source that is lost to us.

trade. These reliefs have usually been examined in the context of choreographic studies as depicting particular dance movements as laid down in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, an Indian treatise dealing with dance and music, but little significance has so far been accorded to the fact that *apsaras*es are intimately connected with water. *Apsaras*es, their name being popularly derived from the word waters (*āp*, *apas*), appear during the Churning of the Milky Ocean. As the *Rāmāyaṇa* says, 'because of the churning in the water, out of that liquid, the excellent women appeared, therefore were they (called) Apsaras' (quoted by Fausbøll 1903:52; see also Kramrisch 1976, II:340, note 133; Liebert 1976:20).[7] It is worth noting that the apsarases are not the only figures emerging in the myth of the Churning of the Milky Ocean who are depicted at Caṇḍi Prambanan, but further discussion goes beyond the scope of the present article.[8]

The Prambanan reliefs reexamined

One could object that the textual information of the HSR on the causeway episode cannot be applied directly to Caṇḍi Prambanan, especially when the correspondence between this text and the reliefs in question has been found imperfect in a number of respects by previous scholars, who therefore mostly resorted to VR to explain the end reliefs on Caṇḍi Śiva. Saran and Khanna, as we have noted, saw no need to consult the HSR at all. Although their decision was premature and misguided, by focussing instead on particular elements in the HSR, I might well be blamed for a similar bias. To see whether such blame would be justified, let us take another look at the relevant reliefs, beginning with Rāma's crucial meeting with the God of the Sea, who is designated either as Sāgara (by VR, Groneman, Stutterheim, Saran and Khanna) or as Varuṇa (by the KR, Kaelan, Levin).[9]

7. Goldman's translation (1984:210) of *sarga* 44.18 of the *Bālakāṇḍa* runs as follows: 'The first things to appear were the physician Dhanvantari and the resplendent *apsaras*es. Since […] these last, the most resplendent of women, were born of that churning in the waters (*apsu*) from the elixir (*rasa*), they came to be known as *apsaras*es' (see also Bedekar 1967:33).

8. In an earlier publication (Jordaan 1991), I drew attention to various animals (for example, hares and elephants) and trees of heaven (*pārijāta*, *kalpataru*) depicted in its carvings, as well as to the equation in the KR of *suwuk* with the huge Kāla heads over the lintel of the temple chambers, who are explicitly compared with Rāhu trying to steal *amṛta*. Additionally, I now venture to suggest that some of the unidentified divinities on the subsidiary temples represent the deities who appear during the Churning of the Milky Ocean, such as Dhanvantari and Lakṣmī.

9. In VR it is Sāgara, Ocean personified, also referred to as the Lord of Streams and Rivers, who is addressed by Rāma, whereas Varuṇa is said to have his abode in his waters: 'Hear me, O Thou [Sāgara] who art the refuge of Varuṇa' (Shastri 1970:52). The KR, on the other hand, mentions the obstruction posed by the sea (designated as *tasik* and *samudra*), but it is Baruṇa

First of all, however, I want to address Stutterheim's neglected question about the indistinct objects that are depicted over the head of the god, which he tentatively identified as 'buildings (a city?) and a ship (?)'. After a close inspection of the bas-relief as well as old photographs made by Kassian Cephas (see Fig. 2), I think we can identify the profiles of the two rectangular squares as the roofs of two adjacent houses. The buildings are surrounded by a wall, and the whole ensemble may indeed symbolize a city, either in or at the shore of the sea. This location could help to explain the direction in which the waves over the head of the deity seem to be flowing. None of the versions consulted mentions a ship, a compound of houses or a city.[10]

Superficially, my discussion of Stutterheim's question about the nature of the distant objects appears to serve no purpose at all but to introduce confusion in what in other respects seems a perfectly clear scene, namely Rāma's meeting with either Sāgara or Varuṇa. However, close inspection of the relief shows that the identification is problematic and susceptible to improvement. As was already noted by J.Ph. Vogel in 1921, the sea god Varuṇa had not been accorded a nimbus as befits a deity, whereas J.L. Brandes (1909:31) was struck by the figure's remarkable hair bun, saying 'The hairdo of Baruṇa is very unusual: the hair is pulled straight over the head and tied together at the back of the head in a big toupee, similar to those worn by various gods such as Batara Guru'.[11] When I had the opportunity to take a personal look at the relief in question (see Fig. 2), the possibility dawned on me that the hairdo of the figure in the relief actually might represent a female chignon or hair bun (*konde*), and that the fig-

who emerges from the waters and pays homage to Rāma (Santoso 1980a:380).

10. The only object mentioned in the KR is Baruṇa's bejeweled throne, which rocked and swayed in the midst of the ocean as a consequence of the arrow shot into the Netherworld by Rāma, but it seems impossible to see a throne in the object(s) depicted in the relief. If the ensemble of houses indeed represents a distant city, it cannot relate to Rāvaṇa's capital, Trikūṭa, which was located near or on top of a mountain.

11. Except for Stutterheim, who made some inconclusive observations on the shape and ornamentation of crowns and hairdos (for example, Stutterheim 1989:232, note 531), these early remarks by Brandes were ignored as they are not mentioned again in the later literature. This was perhaps partly due to the fact that examination of his remarks is precluded for want of further information about the said Bhaṭāra Guru ('Divine Teacher') and his whereabouts at Prambanan—be it in the form of a statue or depicted in the reliefs. Moreover, it soon became clear that the designation Bhaṭāra Guru itself was too wide and imprecise. Not only had it been used indiscriminately for statues of Śiva displaying a teaching hand pose or seated in meditation posture, but also for the pot-bellied and bearded saint Agastya. As there is no obvious reason for associating either Śiva or Agastya with the causeway episode, Brandes' remarks about the unusual hairdo of the deity were ignored and thus could the orthodox identification of the figure as Varuṇa be maintained.

ure was not meant to represent Varuṇa at all, but a female figure. I will suggest a possible identification of this figure depicted in the relief in the next section.

Kats was wrong to say that 'the bridge is ready' for no bridge is visible in the middle section of the last relief panel. Why the causeway was not depicted can only be speculated upon. Was it because this scene was difficult to imagine for the Javanese of Old Mataram, most of whom were no doubt familiar with the Java Sea and the seemingly boundless Indian Ocean? It is perhaps for this reason that the causeway in a Balinese painting was depicted as a rope (!) stretching across a river between two trees.[12]

As was already stated above, the scene of the party's landing on the shore of Laṅkā should be interpreted as a means to make the story's breaking off less abrupt as well as to prepare the viewer for the continuation elsewhere (see Stutterheim 1928:123). As far as the continuation of the story on the Brahmā temple is concerned, it may be added that the causeway relief itself hints at this by showing the forefingers of Rāma and one of the leading monkeys pointing in the direction of this temple. Some of the monkeys are now armed with clubs and daggers, showing their readiness for the coming battle against Rāvaṇa.

On the identity of the female figure rising from the sea

Detailed comparative research on male/female hair-dresses in ancient Javanese art to validate the claim that the figure rising from the sea is not Varuṇa but a woman is not available. As this kind of research goes beyond the scope of this paper, I will render the alternative interpretation plausible by pointing out the similarities in the shape and decoration of the hair bun in question with those worn by unmistakably female figures in other Rāma reliefs of Prambanan.[13]

The first example is shown in Fig. 3. In the relief panel no. XVI of the Brahmā temple the woman sitting next to Rāma wears a bun. That she is a woman has never been questioned, but her identity is not yet firmly established.

12. See the *gambar wayang* picture in Kam (2000:164). In some Javanese Lakons, a 'living bridge' of monkeys is used to make the crossing to Laṅkā. In the Lao version *Gvay Dvorahbi*, rafts are constructed to cross the sea. In the Lao narration, the protagonists encounter problems in crossing rivers that are similar to those of the causeway episode proper.

13. A small number of male figures in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs of Prambanan are wearing hairdos corresponding to Brandes' description. These figures cannot be identified as Bhaṭāra Guru or any other male deity, but seem to represent ascetics or disciples of saints. For instance, in relief no. 3 of the Śiva temple, where they are in the retinue of the sage Viśvāmitra. What distinguishes their hairdos from those worn by women is the absence of ornaments in their piles of hair. As far as I can see, all female chignons have a string of pearls dangling at the top end of the bun, which is also shown in the hairdo of the figure in the causeway relief.



Figure 2: The girl rising from the sea (photo R. Jordaan)



Figure 3: Relief panel XVI of the Brahmā temple (photo OD 11348, LUB)

Most researchers are agreed that the relief links up with the immediately preceding relief that shows the reunion of Rāma and Sītā, and their holding court in Ayodhyā. Fontein (1997:196) posits that Sītā is no longer depicted in relief XVI and that her position has been taken over by her sister-in-law who in the HSR whispers malicious gossip about Sītā's fidelity and pregnancy into Rāma's ear. Levin, however, claims that Rāma and Sītā are still shown holding court in Ayodhyā in this relief. Perceiving a literary parallel with VR (VII.42), she wants the current identification to be amended as 'Sītā requests to visit the retreats of the *rsi*s on the Ganges' (Levin 1999:336). In their analysis, Saran and Khanna (2004:70) revert to Fontein's suggestion that the relief panel depicts the slanderous gossip concerning Sītā, saying 'We see Rama in audience with his subjects who express their doubts about Sita's chastity. A mischievous court lady whispers slanderous comments about Sita in Rama's ear. In the *Hikayat Seri Rama* it is Rama's sister Kikewi Dewi who creates suspicion about Sita's chastity'. This interpretation has much to recommend itself. That the lady in question cannot be identified as Sītā is borne out precisely by the hair bun that contrasts sharply with the crown and nimbus accorded to Sītā in the preceding relief (XV) and in other Rāma reliefs as well. As noted earlier by Saran and Khanna, in many Indian *Rāmāyaṇa*s, King Daśaratha, Rāma's father, did have a daughter. For this reason they suggested that the figure should be identified as a female figure in the background of the second relief panel of the Śiva temple. This figure wears a hair bun that is very similar to that of the palace lady in relief XVI. According to Saran and Khanna (2004:39), 'a reference to a daughter called Shanta is found in some of the early [unspecified] manuscripts of the Valmiki *Ramayana*. She later appears in Chandrawati's Bengali *Ramayana* as Kakua and in the *Hikayat Seri Rama* as Kikewi'.[14] The reason why the woman cannot be an ordinary court

14. Saran and Khanna do not refer to Stutterheim (1925:100, 240 note 126; 1989:81, 201 note 126) where the identification of the girl in the second relief panel of the Śiva temple as Kikewi/Kukuā was first advanced, along with the reference to Candravatī's East Bengal *Rāmāyaṇa*. The name Śāntā is found, among others, in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*, where she is represented as Daśaratha's first child. She was married to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, who officiated as headpriest at the sacrifice that Daśaratha had offered for the birth of male progeny. Belvalkar, the translator of Bhavabhūti's work, notes that the epic does not say who Śāntā's mother was (Belvalkar 1915:xlviii, note 1). I am not aware of the origin of the name Kikewi, but going by the resemblance of their names, it might be conjectured that it is a pun and that the unknown poet who coined the name had the intention to suggest that she is the daughter of Kaikeyī. Kaikeyī herself was the daughter of the king of the Kekaya people, King Aśvapati. If the conjecture of this post-Vālmīkian parentage proves correct, it would imply that both the father (Daśaratha) and his son (Rāma) were victims to machinations of a mother (Kaikeya) and her daughter (Kikewi). Such a literary parallel is not unattractive from a narrative point of view. For more information

lady, in my opinion, is her sitting tenderly close to Rāma, with one of her hands on his hip. No woman would be allowed such intimacy, except for Sītā or a close relative, such as a mother or sister; the latter being the most likely in this case. This furnishes another example of the usefulness of the HSR.

The second example of identical female hair buns is found in the second relief panel on the Viṣṇu temple. Accepting Levin's amended identification of the first relief as the true closing scene of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the second relief starts the series of reliefs dealing with the birth and the adventures of Kṛṣṇa. This relief shows a king in the company of three palace ladies, all of them wearing hair buns with a string of pearls dangling from the top end, and a string of pearls or a flat crown on the top of their heads.[15] Whoever they are, the hair buns of the ladies are very similar to that of the figure emerging from the sea in the causeway relief.

If it is granted that these examples furnish sufficient evidence for the identification of the bun as a female hair-dress and that the figure in the causeway relief indeed represents a woman, her identity nevertheless remains a mystery. Who is she? How can we explain her prominent position at Prambanan? Was she modelled on another mythological figure and/or did she herself serve as a role model for other mythical figures?

No such female figure is mentioned in VR and the KR. The HSR, on the other hand, relates how during the building of the causeway the monkeys are unable to subdue a certain area of the sea from which water is spurting high into the air in spite of all their efforts to control it. Enraged over this, Rāma prepares to shoot his arrow Gandiwati into the sea. At that moment a young woman (a virgin girl, according to Zieseniss) emerges from the water, informing Rāma of the presence of the deep chasm in the ocean that gives access to the Netherworld. The spring which is located there is the source of the earlier mentioned elixir of life, *air Ma'ulhayat*. The girl advises Rāma to have his monkey-warriors drink from it and thus become invulnerable. She then disappears.

In the HSR another female figure appears after Rāma has shot an arrow into the sea to vent his anger over the disappearance of a section of the causeway. She remains anonymous. The girl informs Rāma of Dewata Mulia Raya's objection to the construction of the causeway, and, subsequently, at the command of Maharaja Bisnu, directs him to the gorge with the spring of rejuvenating water.

on the elder sister of Rāma, see Sahai (1996, I:3, 25–31).

15. Both Moertjipto and Bambang Prasetya (1997:23) and Fontein (1997:199) believe that the relief represents King Vasudeva and his Queens Rohiṇī and Devakī, but they fail to mention the third palace lady.

She tells Rāma that he is a descendant of Maharaja Bisnu, calling the latter his (fore)father (*nenenda*), and then disappears.

It is not clear whether Dewata Mulia Raya ('The Supreme God') and Bisnu ('Viṣṇu') should be seen as identical or two distinct deities. In any case, after Rāma has prayed to Dewata Mulia Raya, the causeway rises up from the sea and its construction by the monkeys is resumed.

The information provided by the HSR is too fragmentary and confusing for us to be able to identify the mysterious young woman in the sea, but comparison with variant myths in Southeast Asia will show that she has much in common with the 'Golden Mermaid' (Suvarṇamatsyā, Supanna Matcha) or 'Serpent Princess' (Massa) or 'Fish Princess' (Tuan Puteri Ikan) figuring in the Thai, Cambodian, Laotian and other Malay versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* dealing with the construction of the causeway.[16] Very briefly summarized, in the *Ramakien*, the Thai version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the construction of the causeway is halted by the disappearance of the boulders beneath the waves of the sea. Hanuman discovers that sea creatures are carrying away the rocks. They are led by a mermaid, Supanna Matcha ('Golden Fish Maiden'). After being caught by him, Supanna Matcha surrenders to Hanuman's romantic overtures. She informs Hanuman that she is the daughter of Totsagan (Rāvaṇa) with the Queen of the Ocean. She promises to assist in the completion of the causeway by having her sea minions replace the rocks they had carried away. In the *Phra Lak Phra Lam* of the Lao, the four daughters of the serpent king of the Netherworld (Pattahlum), led by Massa, destroy the part of the causeway that they were unable to pass. As the repair work is also destroyed, Hanuman and three monkey-brothers dive down and meet the four sisters to whom they make love. The causeway is completed and crossed over by Rāma and his army. In the Malay *Cerita Maharaja Wana*, the destructive creatures of the sea are led by the turtle king and the Fish Princess Suvarṇamatsyā. She surrenders to Hanuman after his killing of a giant crab and the turtle king. Hanuman and Suvarṇamatsyā make love in her submarine abode. She informs him about the spring of the water of life. With this water Rāma will revive Vibhīṣaṇa whose dead body is found drifting on a raft. The monkeys cross the causeway, with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa riding on Hanuman as lion-mount. In the so-called *wayang kulit Siam* of the Malays, the serpent king churns the sea to create a great whirlpool that sucks Hanuman down. He captures Suvarṇamatsyā, who takes him to her father, the serpent king. Hanuman marries Suvarṇamatsyā. The construction work is resumed

16. See, for instance, the discussion in Raghavan (1975), Sahai (1972), Kam (2000), and Singaravelu (2004).

and various problems are overcome. In the Javanese *Sĕrat Kanda*, Rāvaṇa has a son, Sogasura, by a fish princess (*putri mina*), named Gaṅgavatī (Stutterheim 1989:54). In the Patani version excerpted by Winstedt (1929:431), her name is Linggang Kiamit.

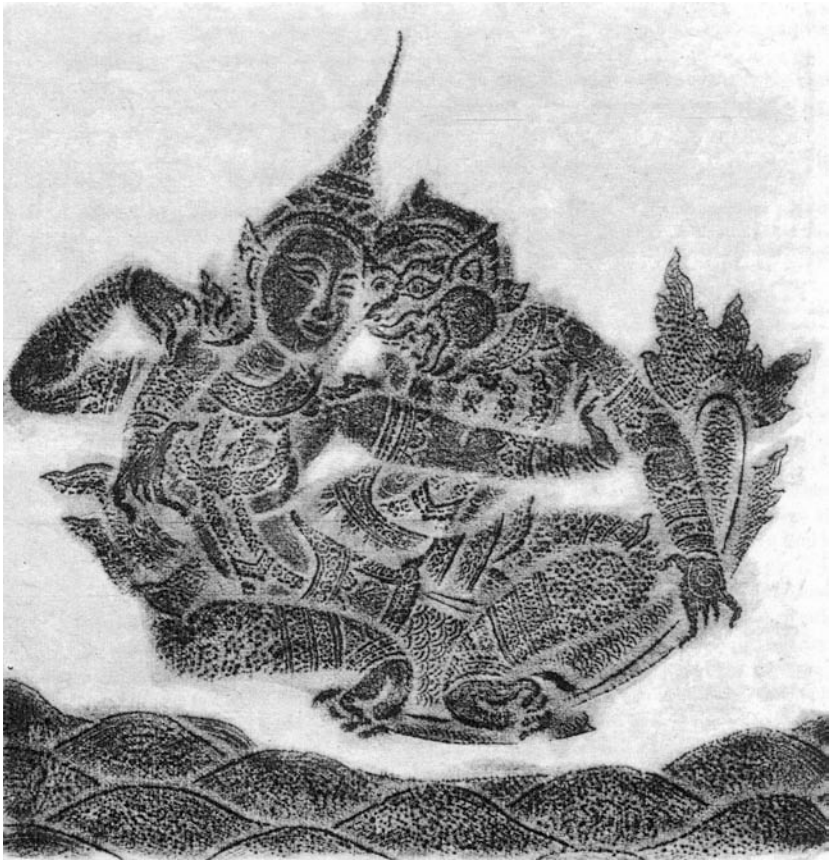


Figure 4: Hanuman and Supanna Matcha in amorous embrace (paper rubbing from a bas-relief of Wat Phra Jetubon, Bangkok; adapted from Cadet 1971:157)

From the above-mentioned comparative research, but also from my previous investigations into kindred mythological figures in Indonesia, it can be concluded that the golden-bodied 'Fish Princess' and 'Serpent Princess' are identical creatures, who are more generally known in the literature as Nāgī or Nāginī, 'snake-goddesses' represented as 'mermaids' with a human body and a serpen-

tine tail (Liebert 1976:188; Jordaan 1984).[17] On this ground, the descriptions of the abode of the Nāga(devas) in folk tales and the epics can be invoked to confirm the identification of the above-mentioned distant objects as buildings in the Netherworld. According to the *Mahābhārata*, for instance, the Serpent-world (known as Nāgaloka or Pātāla) is crowded with hundreds of different kinds of palaces, houses, towers and pinnacles, and strewn with wonderful large and small pleasure-grounds (Fausbøll 1903:29; Van Buitenen 1978:387–9).

Now, can the HSR and kindred Southeast Asian stories provide us with a clue about the identity of the girl who is depicted in the Prambanan relief? Although it is difficult to say whether the girl is the daughter of the God of the Sea or the God of the Netherworld, it is interesting to note that some of the above-mentioned Southeast Asian ideas on mermaids are implicitly present in Vālmīki's description of Varuṇa's authority: 'The rivers, whose lord he was, rose around him: Ganga, Yamuna, and the others, luminous Goddesses. His people, sea serpents with flashing jewels on their heads, and his nereids and mermaid queens, all rose around that scintillating Deva. They stood treading the crest of waves' (Menon 2001:379).[18] But how could such a powerful deity as Varuṇa yield pride of place to one of his mermaid queens, a Nāgī? Could this be an example of so-called localization, by which is meant the adaptation of cultural elements to local beliefs and practices?[19] So far, my search for Indian parallels has yielded rather poorly documented examples, such as the South Indian Sea Goddess, Maṇimekhalā (see, for example, Coedès 1911; Lévi 1931; Lokesh Chandra 1995; Hiltebeitel 1988:202–11, 225). Is it possible to see in the girl the archetype of Nyai Lara Kidul, whom the Javanese still venerate as the Goddess of the Southern Ocean and who, as a matter of mythological fact, is a Serpent Queen? This suggestion may seem far-fetched, but Java scholars will agree that Rāma's attempt to solicit the help of the God of the Sea strongly reminds of the stories about the activities of seventeenth-century Javanese noblemen aspiring

17. The transformation of the serpent maiden into a fish-like creature, and the distinction between the Indian concept of the Nāga and the Chinese dragon deserves further investigation, but goes beyond the scope of this article. On the fish-like maiden, see Przyluski (1925); on the Chinese dragon design in mainland Southeast Asian art, see Boisselier (1966:320).

18. This is a free rendering, but it does illustrate the interpretative possibilities of Vālmīki's seminal ideas.

19. As for the phenomenon of localization, it deserves mention that John Brockington, in his comments on the earlier workshop paper, has noted that 'This material on Nyai Lara Kidul strongly suggests that in Java (and elsewhere in Southeast Asia?) the sea was regularly thought of as feminine (in sharp contrast to North India, but perhaps similarly to South India with Maṇimekhalā/Maṇimekhalai). Is this the primary motivation of Sāgara/Varuṇa being replaced by a female figure?' (personal communication).

to become king over Java, such as Panembahan Senapati and scores of other figures in Javanese history. As did Rāma before him, Senapati meditates on the shore of the great Ocean to establish contact with the Ruler of the Sea. According to the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, Senapati's prayers are so fervent as to cause great turmoil in nature (*gara-gara*) that comes close to the effects of Rāma's arrows (Olthof 1943:78–82). As with Varuṇa, the unrest among the denizens of the sea prompts the Goddess of the Southern Ocean to emerge from the waters for investigation. On seeing Senapati in meditation on the beach the Serpent Queen implores him to stop this and submissively invites him into her subterranean abode, which closely parallels Hanuman's amorous stay with Suvarṇamatsyā. Although representing a venerable old mythological figure, Nyai Lara Kidul is assumed to be able to rejuvenate herself periodically, much like a real snake casting off its old skin. The goddess tells Senapati that his wishes to become the supreme ruler of Java will be fulfilled. She promises support to his cause. The myth of the marital alliance between Senapati and the Queen of the Southern Ocean is still enacted and perpetuated by some of the present rulers of Central Java.[20]

20. Considering the striking semi-historical and mythological 'parallels', I do not want to exclude the possibility that the lost narrative followed at Prambanan had Rāma, not Hanuman, having an affair with the mermaid. Relief XL, in which their encounter is depicted, shows that Rāma is positioned much closer to the mermaid than Hanuman, who seems to look rather shyly in her direction from behind Sugrīva's back. I have so far been unable to find any reference in the *Rāmāyaṇa* literature to support this bold hypothesis, but a few non-Vālmīki examples can be offered to support my idea. The information provided by the Sanskrit *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, assumed to date from the thirteenth century, on Viṣṇu's incarnation as a golden-coloured fish (Matsyāvatāra) in order to retrieve from Pātālaloka the Veda books stolen from Brahmā would seem to make such an adventure underground by Rāma less inconceivable (Jouveau-Dubreuil 1914:74–6). This holds also for the episode in the Shellabear version of the HSR in which envoys of Patāla Maharāyan discover that Rāma is to spend the night on a *gĕta nāga*; their report prompts Patāla Maharāyan to abduct Rāma personally. Regrettably, it remains unclear what a *gĕta nāga* is. Zieseniss tentatively suggested that it could be a couch in the shape of a serpent, which is not very helpful (Zieseniss 1963:75, note 2). Perhaps a faint echo of the lost episode can be heard in a modern Indian retelling in which Hanuman fulfills his promise to Candrasena, a captive serpent princess, to bring Rāma to her bedchamber in return for her help against Mahīrāvaṇa. However, to prevent their union Hanuman takes the form of a bee and hollows out the leg of the bed on which the Nāga princess had hoped to seduce Rāma. The bed collapses when Rāma sits on it, signalling the impossibility of their union. But Rāma comforts the maiden with the promise that he will wed her in his next incarnation (Lutgendorf 2007:329). Finally, I would like to remind readers of Arjuna's marriage with Ulūpī, daughter of the serpent king, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (1.206, see Van Buitenen 1973:400–1; compare Zoetmulder 1974:384; Creese 1998:167–83). Future research may confirm that it was Rāma who served as a model for the Central Javanese royalty in their dealings with the Queen of the Southern Ocean, irrespective of whether they were aware of these ancient, ninth-century roots or not.

In search of the lost text

The identification of the figure in the relief as the girl from the HSR has its problems, and also raises all kinds of new questions. One problem to resolve concerns the conflicting interpretations of the scene of the fishes swallowing the stones thrown into the sea by the monkeys. Regrettably, the identification of the girl as an Nāgī does not help in deciding whether in the next relief the fishes are assisting or obstructing the monkeys in their construction of the causeway. However, considering that the supplication gesture of the Serpent Princess in the previous relief-scene indicates her total submission to Rāma, it is reasonable to assume that this also holds for the fishes, her subjects. In the *Ramakien*, this is what actually happens: after surrendering to Hanuman, the mermaid Supanna Matcha orders her 'sea minions' to replace the stones they had taken away (Cadet 1971:154–5; Olsson 1968:169). This is also what happens in a Patani version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Winstedt 1929:431). Besides, to propose that the fishes are resisting the causeway, at this late stage, amounts to a 'narrative inconsistency'. It is one of several types of textual flaws that J. Brockington and M. Brockington (2006) took into account in their reconstruction of the original VR text. Still, to be able to settle this matter conclusively we need to know more about the lost text(s) followed at Prambanan, which for use by semi-literate artisans and sculptors presumably was condensed into a sort of relief scenario, offering an outline of the story in the form of drawings with notes specifying the exact contents and sequential arrangement of the Rāma reliefs.[21]

Unlike Levin, I do not think we have to follow the scenario of the HSR in this, and assume that the fishes are resisting the construction of the causeway. Indeed, to admit that the HSR proves useful in interpreting scenes which are at variance with VR does not necessarily imply that the HSR should always be resorted to in such cases. As Fontein stated, 'any variant in any text' can be of value to us, and the *Ramakien* and the Patani narration offer an apt example of

21. I have called such a manual or series of scripted instructions a relief scenario in analogy with a film scenario. We could in this connection think of *lontar* picture books similar to those offered for sale in many Balinese tourist resorts. These (newly-made) picture books usually consist of a small number of carved or painted leaves illustrating a well-known episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa* such as the deer hunt by Rāma and the subsequent abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. To my knowledge, such fragile picture books have not survived the ages but some ancient Javanese manuscripts with illustrations and diagrams have been found in the Merapi-Merbabu collection (personal communication Willem nan der Molen, May 2009). Also relevant is that picture-scroll narration was a well-known medium in Gupta and post-Gupta India (Levin 1999:303, note 9). Stutterheim (1989:18) mentions the possible use of stencils (*Schablonen*) in the design of the reliefs.

this. If the HSR has failed us in this case, we should keep in mind the fact that it is a fourteenth to seventeenth-century Malay text containing numerous other divergences from VR, which are not found at Caṇḍi Prambanan either. For instance, the representation in the HSR of Hanuman as the son of Rāma, who, on the latter's express wishes, is recognizable by his human face and earrings. At Prambanan, as we have seen, Hanuman is unmistakably a monkey with a tail and does not wear clothes or ear-rings. In some HSR versions Rāma is either carried on Hanuman's shoulders or Hanuman acts as his mount in the form of an enormous lion, none of which is visible in the causeway relief either.

The successive appearance in the Prambanan reliefs of the submissive Serpent Princess and the stone-swallowing fishes suggests that the narrative followed by the Javanese sculptors had no place for Rāvaṇa's son Gaṅgā Mahā Sūra. Possibly he was not even known in this role during the late eighth to early ninth century when the Prambanan temple complex was built.[22] From a narrative point of view, Gaṅgā Mahā Sūra's appearance in the HSR is so unsatisfactory as to arouse suspicion of being an interpolation dating from the period when parts of the Indo-Malay archipelago witnessed the conversion to Islam, during the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. That the narration of the causeway episode was not altogether clear to the redactors of the HSR is demonstrated by the exempting endnote that says 'and Allah knows best (whether) this story … (is true)' (as quoted by Zieseniss 1963:68, note 5). All in all, I think that we can now safely state that the fishes depicted in the causeway relief are indeed collaborating in the construction work.

Considering that some of the earlier mentioned mainland Southeast Asian variants of the causeway episode come from as far as inland Cambodia and Laos, some readers may feel that the links with Prambanan have become increasingly distant and tenuous. Paradoxically, the opposite is the case: these distant parallels may well bring us closer to the original lost text. As was first understood by François Bizot (1983:265), the wide regional distribution of Rāma stories with fishes involved in the construction of the causeway implies 'the existence of a tradition of the epic that is very ancient in south-east (sic) Asia, common notably to Indonesia and Cambodia, going beyond the poem of Vālmīki and the setting of Angkor—but not the Indian sources—and of which at least part of the modern versions in the Khmer, Thai and Malay languages have retained a trace'.

22. According to Lutgendorf (2004:153), the oldest literary versions of the Rāma story that depict Rāvaṇa's son do not appear until the late-medieval period, that is, the twelfth to fourteenth centuries AD.

So far, my search for ancient Indian antecedents of the episode with fishes involved in the construction of the causeway has yielded only few leads. For instance, in Pravarasena's *Rāvaṇavaha*, better known as *Setubandha*, a Prakrit text dating from the sixth century, the mountains flung in the ocean by the monkeys 'vanished, even though so lofty, in the mouth of a whale-devouring monster, like a blade of grass' (Canto VII, verse 8). Commenting upon this verse, Saran and Khanna (2004:86, note 20) state that 'it is generally assumed that many later retellings of the Rama tale in India and Southeast Asia built upon this briefest of hints', by which they seem to suggest that Pravarasena's text could have served as an early prototype for the HSR and Prambanan reliefs, at least for the causeway episode. This suggestion deserves further investigation as we know that Pravarasena's work was read in ancient Southeast Asia. For instance, in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa (seventh century AD) it is said that the fame of Pravarasena 'went to the other shore of the ocean, namely to many foreign countries, just as did the army of the monkeys cross over to the other end (Laṅkā) of the ocean by means of a bridge' (Basak 1959:v). This statement finds confirmation in a Cambodian inscription of the time of King Yaśovarman I (probably 889–900 AD) in which Pravarasena's *Setubandha* is explicitly referred to and which led Sarkar (1980:118) to remark that it might well have been current in Java too during that period.

However, a close scrutiny of the relevant parts of the text shows that a direct link between the *Setubandha* and Prambanan is improbable. Except for the actions of the fish, on the whole Pravarasena's representation of the causeway episode follows Vālmīki faithfully.[23] For instance, Vibhīṣaṇa's defection and coronation take place in Canto V, well before the construction and crossing of the causeway in Cantos VII–VIII. Further, no mention is made of a girl in the sea, only of the God of the Sea or Ocean God, who gives Rāma the advice to build a bridge. It is Sugrīva, however, who urged Nala to complete the bridge to overcome initial difficulties during the construction. The fishes that first swallow the stones and later assist in the completion of the bridge do this of their own accord, without any further explanation. Nevertheless, while it is evident that the *Setubandha* did not serve as the model for the HSR and Prambanan, we cannot exclude the possibility that the text had inspired another Indian or perhaps a Hindu-Javanese poet to recast certain elements in a new and somewhat

23. Saran and Khanna refer to the action of only one 'whale-devouring monster', but in the *Setubandha* text that I consulted it concerns a number of sea-whales (*timi*) of enormous size (Basak 1959:xxxiv, xxxvii). In the *Jānakīharaṇa* by Kumāradāsa, whose work was also known in maritime Southeast Asia, mention is made of groups of such huge fishes, *timiṅgala*s (see Paranavitana and Godakumbura 1967:xlviii, 349).

differently arranged overall story that was subsequently adopted as the prototype for both the HSR and Prambanan. Particularly relevant for the present discussion is the deliberate linking by Pravarasena of the construction of the causeway with the legend of the Churning of the Ocean. For instance, where he refers to the exposure of the nether regions of Pātāla during the construction work and simultaneously also alludes to the Churning myth. Thus, '[t]he waters of the ocean were raised upwards in the horizon along with their brilliant gems which previously lay hidden in its bottom. […] Even mountains with high summits sank into the ocean when hurled by the monkeys. The ocean roared being split by mountains thrown into it, as if it was being churned a second time without, however, producing nectar' (Basak 1959:xxxiv). Clearly, for an imaginative later poet, this association could easily have been developed into the opposite direction wherein the construction of the causeway either gave access to Pātāla and the nectar of immortality (as in the HSR) or yielded the nectar itself (as in the lost text that served as the model for the architects of Prambanan).

Conclusion

Reexamination of the closing Rāma reliefs on the Śiva temple has revealed a number of flaws in current descriptions of the causeway episode of Caṇḍi Prambanan. A major revision is the identification of the figure in the sea as an Nāgī instead of a male sea-god. The analysis shows that the HSR offers even more possibilities to explain discrepancies between the reliefs and VR than Stutterheim and Fontein suspected. Very likely this also holds for the defection of Vibhīṣaṇa, an event which in the HSR occurs after the crossing of the causeway, as at Prambanan. Earlier I had quoted Fontein to the effect that the sculptors might for dramaturgic reasons have postponed his introduction until the viewer had reached Caṇḍi Brahmā, where the exploits of Vibhīṣaṇa were to be shown. His suggestion was supported by a reference to present-day performances of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Malaysia, but it could very well be that the performances are simply following the HSR in this regard.

It is an interesting question why the HSR is so terse on the girl in the sea and proves less useful for the interpretation of the Prambanan causeway episode than the still much later *Ramakien*. To attribute this fact to its greater distortion, though true, is facile if we do not attempt to find the cause that goes beyond the wear and tear inherent in the passage of time. Such 'normal' distortion includes accidental changes resulting from the loss of prototypes, damage of texts, copying and translation errors by redactors and copyists, and the like. A major cause of textual change was the introduction of Islam in the Indo-Malay archipelago

and the conversion of the majority of its peoples to the new religion, in contrast to Cambodia and Thailand where Buddhism remained the dominant creed. As is known, Islam rejects notions such as polytheism and reincarnation, which are central ideas in Hinduism and Buddhism, and part and parcel of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[24] Regarding the non-accidental changes, we must proceed from the assumption that just as the insertion of new elements did not occur in a haphazard way and was not without consequences for the textual fabric as a whole, so is the case with deletions, and they too deserve to be studied for their systemic effects.

To determine the origins and the sequence of the interweaving of narrative elements in the extant Southeast Asian Rāma stories is a notoriously difficult undertaking, but is nevertheless very important for the reconstruction of the cultural history of the region. Some dating indicators are relatively straightforward, such as the simultaneous occurrence of Hindu and Muslim names and concepts, like the designations for the Almighty, Dewata Mulia Raya and Allah ta'alah; the absence of any references to firearms (allowing for a dating before the eighties of the fourteenth century); the use of Tamil, Old Javanese, Persian or other non-Malay terms and expressions, et cetera.[25] However, one of the recognized weaknesses of research using such indicators is their narrow focus and fragmentary nature, making one run the risk of losing sight of the text as a possibly coherent and meaningful whole. This certainly holds for comparative textual research yielding enumerations of all kinds of correspondences ('parallels') and differences ('divergences'). Sometimes it looks as if the listing of mutual differences has become an end in itself, instead of laying the foundations for research that will reveal how some of these differences correlate and delve deeper into the reasons for this covariance and patterning, and thus help to find meaningful textual changes. Moreover, the chances of findings such

24. Gerth Van Wijk (1891) claimed that the notion of reincarnation had become something meaningless for the Malay and, consequently, that Rāma had developed into a sort of folk hero rather than a deity, a view contested by Stutterheim. I think, however, that a gradual change in Rāma's stature is noticeable in Islamic regions of Southeast Asia that contrasts with the increasing theological elevation of Rāma in South Asia, to the point of his becoming 'otiose'. The latter development, according to Lutgendorf, calls for a mediator or intercessor, which could help to explain why people are now turning to Sītā and Hanuman for this. The status elevation of Hanuman and his increasing humanization as reflected in his use of clothes and earrings support Lutgendorf's interpretation. Apparently, Hanuman being imputed with 'human' traits and follies was less offensive to orthodox Muslims than Rāma's divinization.

25. The argument of the absence of references to firearms is from Brakel (1979:7). Brakel's article, however, is primarily based on linguistic and textual evidence, such as the use of Persian loan-words and literary models.

patterns are slim if the research is limited to only a small number of Southeast Asian and Indian texts. Small samples obviously do not allow for reliable statements about the origins of a particular innovation. Hence the often premature claims about the Malay or Javanese origins of particular innovations and adaptations. Time and again the divergences proved to be known in India itself.[26] As is demonstrated by studies of this kind, it would seem more fruitful to focus on one theme, episode or character only and simultaneously to broaden the geographical range so as to include as many Southeast Asian and Indian narratives as possible.

What the lost *Rāmāyaṇa* text followed at Prambanan looked like exactly we cannot tell, but the chances of a theoretical reconstruction on the basis of its constituent elements with the aid of advanced computer programs such as ATLAS have definitely improved. To further increase the chances of success, more elements need to be salvaged by the collaborative efforts of art historians and other scholars of ancient Java.

Postscript

Trying to find the Indian non-Vālmīki prototype of the Prambanan causeway episode is like looking for the proverbial needle in a haystack. Apart from the philological research in the vast *Rāmāyaṇa* literature and numerous unedited manuscripts, it seems warranted for comparative and dating purposes to look for Indian sculptural representations of the causeway episode in which the fishes and the Nāgī appear. One pertinent example is found on the Amṛteśvara Temple in Amṛtapura, a Hoysaḷa temple, which has a relief showing monkeys engaged in the construction of a causeway with an unidentified female figure, possibly a Nāgī, in the lower right corner of the relief (see Fig. 5, Gerard M.M. Foekema; see also Evans 1997:68–9, Fig. 30 and 31). Interestingly, at Amṛteśvara the defection of Vibhīṣaṇa to Rāma's camp takes place after the crossing, which corresponds to the non-Vālmīkian sequence followed at Prambanan and in the HSR.

26. See, for instance, studies by Bulcke (1953) on Hanuman's birth, and by Sahai (1972) and Brockington (2007) on Sītā's birth.



Figure 5: Monkey army building the bridge and Vibhīṣaṇa seeking Rāma's protection (photo Gerard M.M. Foekema, P-021260, Leiden University Library, Kern Institute)



Figure 5a: Detail of Figure 5

Hanuman, the Flying Monkey

The symbolism of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Reliefs at the Main Temple of Caṇḍi Panataran

Lydia Kieven

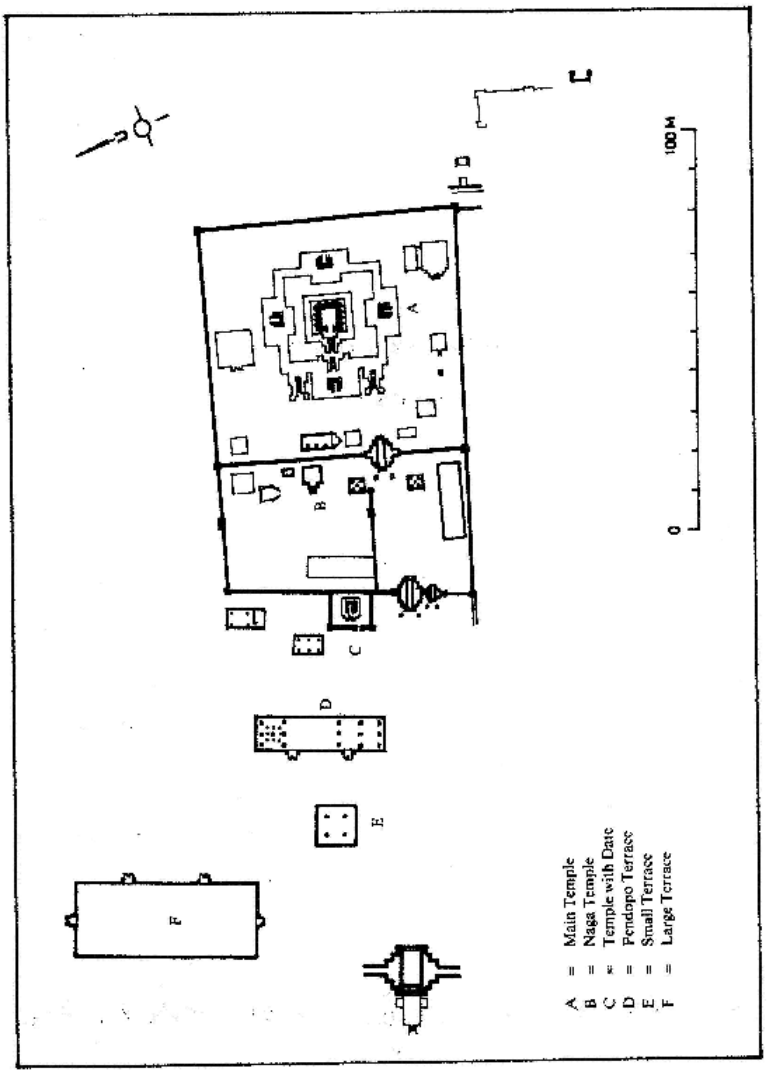
Introduction: Caṇḍi Panataran and the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs

This paper investigates the relief depictions of the KR on the walls of the Main Temple of Caṇḍi Panataran in East Java.[27] The selection of the episodes and scenes of the narrative and the spatial arrangement of the depictions was intended to convey a specific symbolic meaning. The visual medium allowed this to deviate from the literary text and put the focus on a specific topic: on Hanuman's mystic and magic power *śakti* in the confrontation with the world destroyer Rāwaṇa. I argue that the reliefs form part of a Tantric concept which underlies the symbolism of the whole temple complex, and that within this theme Hanuman plays a role as an intermediary. The paper continues Stutterheim's (1925, 1989) analysis of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs, Klokke's study (2006) on Hanuman's outstanding role in the art of the East Javanese period, and my own recent investigation of the Pañji stories at Caṇḍi Panataran (Kieven 2009, particularly pp. 151–219).

The *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on the walls of the lower terrace of the Main Temple of Caṇḍi Panataran are known as the major East Javanese pendant to the Central Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Caṇḍi Loro Jonggrang. The description of the two relief series, their identification, and their comparison are the major concern of Stutterheim's 1925 German monograph, made more generally accessible in English translation as *Rāma legends and Rāma-reliefs in Indonesia* in 1989. Through his description of the 106 panels at Caṇḍi Panataran he proved convincingly that the KR is the underlying narrative.

27. I am grateful for Danny Yee's edit of the English language of my paper.

Caṇḍi Panataran is located in the southern part of East Java near the town of Blitar. 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 sloping gently upwards. The length of the whole temple compound measures about 180 meters, and it is 60 meters wide (Krom 1923, II:273).



Map 1: Caṇḍi Panataran, from Satyawati Suleiman 1978

The layout of Caṇḍi Panataran has striking similarities to the present-day Balinese *pura* (temple) which is also characterized by three axially aligned courtyards, 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 (Soekmono 1995:105). Soekmono (1995:83) suggests that Caṇḍi Panataran is 'a direct precursor of the Balinese temple of today'. Following this concept, the Main Temple, located in the third courtyard of the Panataran temple complex, represents the most sacred part of the temple.

The major part of the temple complex of Caṇḍi Panataran was built between 1318 AD and 1415 AD. A single inscription dated 1197 AD indicates a period of earlier construction, while another dated 1454 AD suggests later building. Both these inscriptions, however, are on stones apart from buildings, which might have been relocated and anyhow did not necessarily form part of major construction.[28] Panataran has commonly been considered as the State Temple of the powerful kingdom of Majapahit and was visited by the prominent king Hayam Wuruk during the 39 years of his reign (1350–1389 AD). The *Deśawarṇana* relates two visits (17.5a and 61.2). It seems that Hayam Wuruk ordered most of the construction of the temple complex. It is assumed that the construction of the Main Temple had already been completed by 1347 AD shortly before his reign began, as suggested by the inscriptions on the four *dwārapāla* figures located in front of the building. The relief carvings may have been carried out later during Hayam Wuruk's time (Bernet Kempers 1959:92).

When analysing Caṇḍi Panataran or parts of it, we must keep the long period of construction in mind. The temple complex was not planned and constructed from the beginning as a unified whole. However, in my investigation of the Pañji reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace of Panataran (Kieven 2009:163–94), I conclude that there is a high probability of an underlying religious concept for the whole temple complex which was further developed through the successive stages of each extension.

Outline of my approach

In approaching the interpretation of the reliefs, we must imagine ourselves as visitors to the temple and consider what a visitor or pilgrim might have understood when viewing them. The message of narrative sculpture can be understood at several levels: from mere entertainment to a deep spiritual meaning to be conveyed as teaching. What I have tried to detect is the latter. I understand

28. Compare the table of inscriptions at the end of the paper.

the relief depictions, as narratives in a visual medium, to have the same goal as the narratives in the written medium of a Kakawin, that is to serve as a *yantra* in achieving union with the Divine (see Zoetmulder 1974:172–3). Within Tantric yoga practice, a *yantra* is an object upon which the yogin meditates as a means to achieve final mystical union with the Divine Being.

Based on the understanding that narrative reliefs at temples carry a specific symbolism within the overall function of the temple, I raise the following questions in this paper. Why was Hanuman chosen to be the prominent figure in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Caṇḍi Panataran? What is the specific message of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs? My analysis consists of three major aspects: (A) the selection of the scenes, (B) the placement of the scenes, (C) the style of the depictions.

(A) Presenting a story visually has limits as not all literary scenes and their embellishments can be depicted. The sculptor of the narrative reliefs must be selective. On the other hand, the visual medium allows certain narrative episodes to be emphasized in order to convey a specific message which may deviate from the literary source.[29]

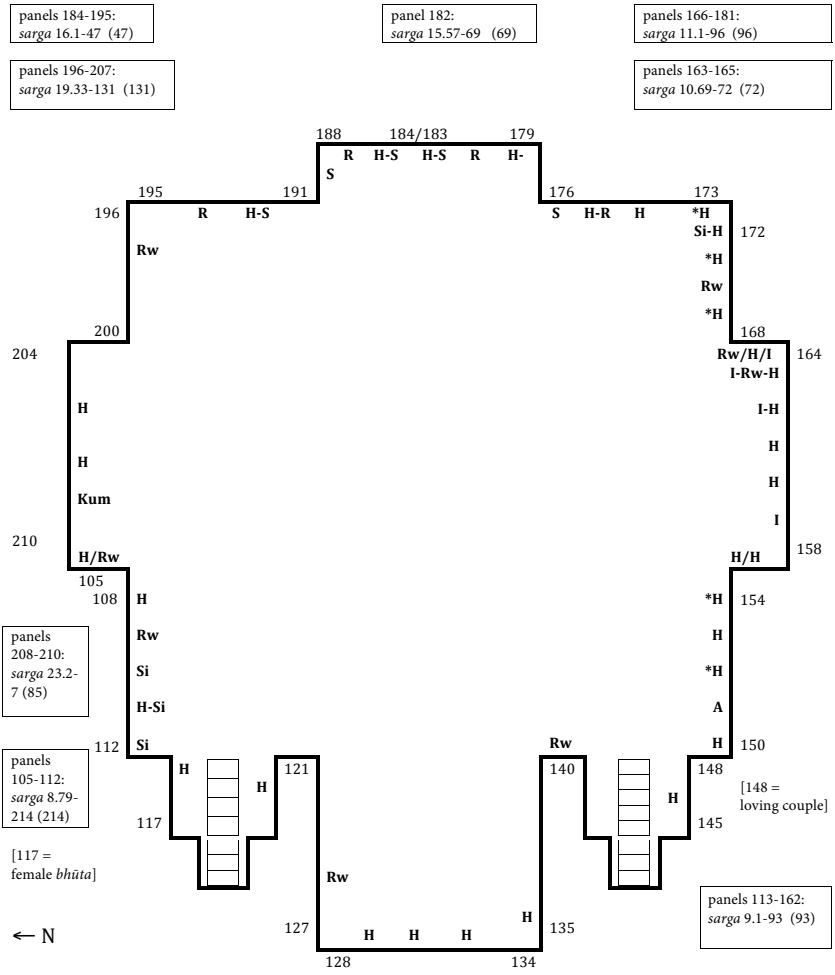
The prominent role of Hanuman in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Panataran has already been discussed by Klokke (2000:36–7, 2006:395–400). She highlights the fact that Hanuman and not Rāma is the major protagonist in the depictions. She suggests that it is indeed more appropriate to speak here of the Hanuman story instead of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story. Within the 106 panels, 35 panels depict Hanuman, the general of the monkey army, only four depict Prince Rāma together with his brother Lakṣmaṇa, four depict Rāma's wife Sītā with Trijaṭā, and eight depict the demon king Rāwaṇa (Klokke 2006:395). The monkey king Sugrīwa is depicted in five panels, Rāwaṇa's son Indrajit in three panels, his other son Akṣa in one panel, and Rāwaṇa's brother Kumbhakarṇa in one panel. Only a selection of *sarga*s and stanzas of the KR are depicted: *sarga*s 8–11, 15–16, 19 and 23.

(B) In her innovative article about the orientation of East Javanese temples on the example of Caṇḍi Surowono, Klokke (1995) identified a dichotomy between the demonic aspect on the front part and the divine aspect on the rear part of a temple. In her later study (Klokke 2000:36–7) she applied this principle to the *Rāmāyaṇa* depictions at Panataran. She found that scenes which take place in the realm of the evil king Rāwaṇa are depicted on the front, the south,

29. Caṇḍi Surowono has been the object of studies on the seemingly odd selection and the disorder of the arrangement of narrative scenes. The investigations by Klokke (1995) and Worsley (1986, 1996) deliver the insight that the selection and placement of the depicted scenes was indeed deliberately done in a specific way. Through this way a specific message and symbolism was conveyed. This principle can be applied to other Caṇḍis as well.

and the north sides of the building, while the events happening in the realm of the just king Rāma are all placed on the rear side. This rear side also features other motifs associated with sacred energy, such as depictions of mountains and of a sage. My paper builds on and expands these principles governing the placement of specific themes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs.

(c) Stutterheim's pioneering stylistic comparison of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Prambanan and Panataran drew attention to a number of major stylistic differences between East Javanese art and that of the earlier Central Javanese period. These characteristic East Javanese features include: the wayang-like crab-claw hairdo (*supit urang*) in the depictions of the heroes Rāma, Hanuman, and others; the depiction of Javanese rather than Indian vegetation and animals; Javanese sword types in the depictions of weapons; the threatening pose with two fingers distinct from the Central Javanese with one finger only. An important element that Stutterheim identified in his analysis of the styles is the 'magicism' in the relief depictions at Caṇḍi Panataran, referring to the ghost-like spiral motifs and cloud motifs. He uses the 'efflorescence of magicism in East Java' to support his argument that this art cannot be the result of degeneration, but rather 'shows that [this art] is capable of generating and creating new forms' (Stutterheim 1989:171). Saying this he opposed the scholarly position that the art of the East Javanese period was characterized by a degeneration in comparison to the Central Javanese period. This issue had been the object of a longstanding controversy among scholars, most of them being Indologists who compared all manifestations of the so-called Indianization in Southeast Asia with the Indian prototype. Stutterheim was the first to recognize and acknowledge the uniqueness of the East Javanese art which had developed its own features in a creative way and independently from the Central Javanese models. The understanding of this 'creative response' is essential in the approach to East Javanese art and provides the framework for my analysis of the reliefs.



Panel numbers (105–210) following Stutterheim (1989)

H	=	Hanuman [35 ×]	**Rw**	=	Rāwaṇa [8 ×]	The numbers in brackets (xx) indicate the total number of stanzas of the *sarga*.
R	=	Rāma [4 ×]	**I**	=	Indrajit [3 ×]	
Si	=	Sītā [4 ×]	**Kum**	=	Kumbhakarṇa [1 ×]	***H** = Hanuman in a flying/jumping posture.
S	=	Sugrīwa [5 ×]	**A**	=	Akṣa [1 ×]	

Map 2: Groundplan of the Main Temple of Caṇḍi Panataran (by L. Kieven)

Description and analysis of the Rāmāyaṇa depictions

The panels of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs are placed on the first terrace while the second terrace has the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs (Klokke 2000). The first part of the story in *sarga*s 1 to 7, relating the circumstances which lead to the involvement of the monkeys and the monkey general Hanuman in the fight against Rāwaṇa, is not on display at all. The 106 relief panels display scenes from *sarga* 8 to 19 of the KR. I follow Stutterheim's numeration (1989) of panels (no. 105–210). The panels are arranged in the counterclockwise *prasawya* direction of circumambulation. The series has its starting point on the western part of the north side of the building. Klokke (2006:395–8) gives a detailed iconographic description of the panels related to the content of the respective *sarga*s of the KR. Here I will provide a concise description of the reliefs with a particular focus on Hanuman in order to contextualize my later analysis. In most respects, my interpretation of the reliefs agrees with that of Klokke but a few minor points of difference are noted and some additional detail is provided. I extend her work by exploring a number of new perspectives which support my interpretation of the symbolism of the reliefs.

The first eight panels, no. 105–112, on the north side, correspond to KR *sarga* 8.79–214. Hanuman is depicted in three of these panels. The very first panel (105) shows Hanuman, followed by a panel introducing Rāwaṇa in his palace. Sītā is approached by Rāwaṇa, then by Hanuman, and she is consoled by Trijaṭā.

From the very start of the relief series the viewer is acquainted with Hanuman as a leading figure. Hanuman's task to set Sītā free by fighting Rāwaṇa's army, is unfolded in these first panels. Neither Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, nor Sugrīwa who are major protagonists in the previous part of the KR are addressed in the depictions. These initial eight panels refer to 135 stanzas of *sarga* 8, which means that the visual depictions present a very concise extract of the literary text. Through this significant selection of scenes and furthermore through the high percentage of depictions of Hanuman the focus is put on Hanuman's task.

The following 35 panels (no. 113–148) corresponding to KR *sarga* 9.1–41 stretch along the west front of the temple. Both text and depictions narrate Hanuman's fight against the demons in Rāwaṇa's realm in considerable detail. The number of panels is nearly on a par with the number of stanzas of the respective *sarga*, however only a few of them show a direct match with a stanza. For example panel 133 and stanza 9.28 both relate Hanuman's defeat of an elephant, panel 140 and stanza 9.31 relate the demons' report to Rāwaṇa. Most scenes display rather unspecific encounters between Hanuman and the

demons. The majority of panels depict demons; Hanuman appears in nine and Rāwaṇa in two. Hanuman is depicted in fierce postures, such as leaping on demons (for example panel 136, see Fig. 1) and the elephant, or pointing with a threatening gesture at a demon.

Hanuman is displayed with his martial qualities of bravery, strength and skillfulness. He uses tricks and ruses to fight and defeat the demons and to cause great turmoil in Rāwaṇa's realm. By filling the long stretch of the front side with Hanuman's brave deeds and the defeat of the demons, Hanuman is emphasized as the hero. These scenes lay the foundations for the following display of his more specific heroic deeds.

The next 13 panels (no. 149–162) continue *sarga* 9 (9.42–93), stretching along more than half of the south wall. The episodes depicted more tightly match episodes of the KR. Nine of the 13 panels display the fighting and heroic deeds of Hanuman: the fight against Akṣa (150), Hanuman rushing to the sea (152, Fig. 2), his bath in the sea (153, Fig. 3), his return to the battlefield (154), his destruction of Rāwaṇa's garden (156, Fig. 4), his wait for the enemy (157), the attack by Indrajit (160), and Hanuman wrapped in Indrajit's arrow snake (161, 162). The two panels 152 and 154 show Hanuman in a flying posture. The very dense display of Hanuman in this part of the series does not correspond to a similar concentration in the respective part of the KR. Wibhīṣaṇa's pledge to Rāwaṇa that he will not kill Hanuman, an important episode in the KR, is not shown.

The next three panels 163–165 depict four stanzas of *sarga* 10 (10.69–72) where Rāwaṇa furiously orders Hanuman's tail to be torched, while Indrajit is depicted walking away. Hanuman is still wrapped in the arrow snake. Thus three panels display him in this motionless position.

The final part of the south wall is covered by panels no. 166–172, corresponding to *sarga* 11.1–5. Hanuman appears in four of the seven panels, which narrate the setting on fire of Hanuman's tail (166), the torching of Rāwaṇa's palace (168), Hanuman jumping from roof to roof (169), Rāwaṇa's escape (170), Hanuman fleeing through the air (171), and taking leave of Sītā (172). Hanuman is shown in a jumping posture in panel 169, and in a flying posture in panel 171.

The southern wall has the largest number and the highest density of Hanuman depictions in 15 of the 24 panels. These highlight episodes of the KR narrating Hanuman's bravery and astuteness. In the first six panels Hanuman is the only figure in the panel, for example when he bathes in the sea (153) or destroys Rāwaṇa's garden (156). In this way, Hanuman and his actions are em-

phasized and given special attention. By fighting and defeating Akṣa, one of the leading heroes of the demons, Hanuman proves his martial prowess. Through this deed, Hanuman acquires magical power (*śakti*) which is attributed to Akṣa, as visually expressed in the deer-arch bow above him.[30] This power becomes manifest in the following depiction of Hanuman's flying posture, a capability he has inherited from his father, the wind god Bāyu. I interpret Hanuman's subsequent bath in the sea as an act of spiritual purification, which strengthens his *śakti* and becomes manifest once more in his power to fly. These scenes show the viewer that this hero is notable not only for his bravery but also for his *śakti*.

In the remaining panels on the southern wall, the emphasis is first on Hanuman's weak position, wrapped and fettered by Indrajit's snake arrow. After three depictions in this horizontal motionless posture the following panels show him in radically different postures: upright, jumping and flying. Through this contrast, his capabilities and his bravery are highlighted even more. Hanuman applies his magical power and cleverness not only to break his fetters and to set himself free, but also to set his enemy in turmoil. He continuously enriches his *śakti*. The final panel on this southern wall—Hanuman taking leave of Sītā—is reminiscent of the scene in panel 111 where he greets her. After the focus on his personal heroism in the preceding reliefs, the viewer is here reminded of Hanuman's task which was introduced in the initial panels: to help in setting Sītā free. While in the first half of the southern wall most panels feature Hanuman as the only figure, in the remaining part of the wall he forms part of scenes which also involve other personages such as Indrajit and Rāwaṇa. I suggest that these two different types of composition correspond to the unfolding of Hanuman's qualities: while first the focus is laid on Hanuman's single actions through which he acquires *śakti*, he then applies this magical power in the encounter with the enemy.

The nine panels (173–181) on the southern part of the rear side narrate Hanuman's return to Rāma's realm and the preparation to march against Laṅkā (*sarga* 9.6–96). Panel 173 (Fig. 6), located on the very edge of the wall, shows Hanuman flying over the ocean. In panel 174 he meets the sage Jāmbawat, and in 175 he renders his report to Rāma who is accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa. This is the first depiction of both Rāma and his brother Lakṣmaṇa in the whole relief series. They appear once more in panel 181 in this section of the rear side. Sugrīwa also steps onto the stage here: he is depicted twice. Hanuman appears in four panels.

Panel 182 corresponds to *sarga* 15.57–69, relating the monkeys carrying

30. Bosch (1931) has interpreted the deer arch as a sign of magical power.

stones for the construction of the causeway. Panel 183 (Fig. 5) depicts Hanuman and Sugrīwa throwing stones into the ocean. Panel 184 depicts the monkeys having crossed, and panel 185 shows Hanuman and Sugrīwa arriving on the other shore.

Panels 186–195 on the northern half of the rear side, corresponding to *sarga* 16.1–47, show the monkeys under the leadership of Hanuman and Sugrīwa marching against Laṅkā and taking a rest on Mount Suwelā. Hanuman is depicted twice (185, 192), each time together with Sugrīwa; Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa appear in two panels (186, 193).

Panels 183–185 mark exactly the middle of the wall and divide it not only physically but also situationally. While the scenes depicted on the southern half take place in Rāma's realm, the ones on the northern half take place in Laṅkā, on the other side of the ocean. The episode of crossing the ocean via the causeway is given the prominent position in the center of this wall. It is conspicuous that the Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-panels on the southern part are mirrored on the northern half and placed symmetrically in relation to each other. The depiction in panel 175 shows Rāma sitting and Lakṣmaṇa standing behind him, both listening to Hanuman's report while in panel 193 they are depicted exactly in the same posture but without Hanuman. Both panels 181 and 186 show a Garuḍa-like Kāla-head above the two walking brothers. The crossing of the ocean is the mirror axis for these two pairs of panels.

The frequency of Hanuman's appearance along the rear side diminishes from the southern to the northern end of the wall. In the first part, relating his return to Rāma's realm and the construction of the causeway, Hanuman is the prominent figure, being depicted five times. The visit of the *ṛṣi* enriches Hanuman's *śakti* making him ready to help Rāma and the army cross the ocean. In contrast to the KR the construction of the causeway is not initiated by the architect Nīla, but by Hanuman himself.Again, Hanuman is the crucial figure. On the other side of the causeway Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sugrīwa, and the monkey army find a field which Hanuman has investigated before and which is already affected by his power and *śakti*. Thus, on this second part of the wall it is not necessary to present Hanuman as often as before; he is only depicted twice. He has already laid the ground for the final fulfillment of his task.

The north side is dedicated to the battle in Laṅkā. Panels 196–207 correspond to *sarga* 19.33–131. The first two panels depict Rāwaṇa with his retinue and his order to attack the enemy. The following panels are packed with the ferocious-looking demons and from panel 202 depict their terrible fight against the monkey soldiers. Panels 205 and 207 feature Hanuman fighting. The last

three panels 208–210 correspond with *sarga* 23.2–7 relating the attack upon and the killing of Kumbhakarṇa. The brother of Rāwaṇa is displayed in huge shape, nearly filling the whole of panel 209. Hanuman with the help of Aṅgada kills Kumbhakarṇa.

This part of the northern side taking place in Rāwaṇa's realm depicts Hanuman only in the final scenes leading to the killing of Kumbhakarṇa. However, his appearance comes at the climax of the story. Deviating from the KR, in the reliefs it is Hanuman who kills Kumbhakarṇa rather than Rāma. Again, Hanuman is given priority over Rāma. Hanuman, general of the monkey army, and Kumbhakarṇa, general of the demon army have the same status, on the side of the righteous king and the evil king, respectively. By defeating Kumbhakarṇa, the later fight between the kings Rāma and Rāwaṇa and the latter's defeat is anticipated and prepared. Hanuman has successfully accomplished his task. With these panels the *Rāmāyaṇa* depiction on the walls of the Main Temple comes to an end.

Overall interpretation of the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs—Hanuman as the spiritual hero

By selecting and emphasizing certain parts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story and by omitting other parts, the reliefs deliberately highlight Hanuman's role. Most of the parts of the KR relating his heroic deeds are on display in the reliefs, while most of the omitted *sarga*s do not feature Hanuman, or have him in a minor role. That Hanuman is the leading hero is clear not only from the large number of scenes featuring him, but even more so from the content of those scenes which depict him as the one who manages to cope with all difficulties and complications.

The following episodes of the KR are not depicted:

Sarga 1–5: Rāma and Sītā get married and are sent into exile, and Sītā is abducted by Rāwaṇa. Hanuman does not act.

Sarga 6 and 7: Hanuman is introduced as the monkey army's general, who is ordered by Sugrīwa to help Rāma, but does not play an active role yet. He only does so from *sarga* 8 on where the relief series start.

Sarga 12–14, and first part of *sarga* 15: The city of Laṅkā awakes, followed by the crucial scenes where Wibhīṣaṇa teaches the *Arthaśāstra* about the duties of a righteous king to his brother Rāwaṇa, and Kumbhakarṇa is willing to help Rāwaṇa in spite of his objection to his brother's plans. Hanuman plays no part in these events.

Sarga 17 and 18: Rāwaṇa again approaches Sītā, and he sends spies to Mount Suwelā. Hanuman does not act.

Sarga 20–22: Further episodes of the battle, Sītā's approach to the battlefield, and Kumbhakarṇa's awakening. Hanuman acts in the battle between the monkeys and the demons which is described in great detail. His actions do not however contribute in an essential way to the flow of the story.

Sarga 23: While stanzas 2–7 are depicted, 8–95 are omitted. They relate Hanuman's search for medical herbs and the killing of Indrajit.

Sarga 24–26: The killing of Rāwaṇa and the happy reunion of Rāma and Sītā. Hanuman does not appear.

We might wonder why, after the death of Kumbhakarṇa, Hanuman's search for the medical herbs is not depicted, since this episode strengthens Hanuman's *śakti*. In fact the killing of Kumbhakarṇa is deliberately set as the final act in the relief depictions. The following episode about the medical herbs would not add anything essential to this message and to Hanuman's role. We might also wonder why the first half of *sarga* 9 is depicted in such great detail on the front wall, since Hanuman's deeds are not especially significant. I understand this relief sequence to reveal Hanuman's martial qualities as a foundation for his following actions and heroic deeds.

It is only on the rear side of the building that Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sugrīwa are introduced. In the whole relief series Sītā appears only four times, each time accompanied by Trijaṭā: at the beginning of the series in the successive three panels 110–112, and in the last panel (172) on the south side. Rāma and Sītā in their status as a couple do not play any role in the selected episodes. Within Rāwaṇa's family, neither Wibhīṣaṇa's nor Kumbhakarṇa's encounter and discussions with their brother Rāwaṇa are featured, though these are important episodes in the KR. Rāwaṇa's sons Indrajit and Akṣa are displayed in the fight against Hanuman. It is remarkable that both demons are depicted with the *supit urang* hairdo which is usually reserved for heroes. This means that both demons are presented in their heroic quality and are on a par with Hanuman. By managing to defeat or trick both Indrajit and Akṣa, Hanuman acquires and enriches his own magical power.

Spatial analysis of the placement and the arrangement of the panels within the building provides further insight into the symbolism of the reliefs.[31] The major distinction is between the images on the front side and those on the rear side. The scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on the west/front side display Hanu-

31. I cannot offer an answer to the open question of why the *prasawya* sequence was chosen for the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs while the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs on the second terrace follow the usual *pradakṣiṇa* order.

man's encounters and fights with demons *in extenso*. The east/rear side is dedicated to themes relating to water, mountains, an encounter with a sage, and the righteous king who is about to fight the evil king. According to Klokke (2000:36),

> [the] *Rāmāyaṇa* series commence at an unusual point, on a northern corner, so as to preserve the narrative time sequence but at the same time have all reliefs situated in the realm of the demon king Rāwaṇa on the front and side walls of the temple and all reliefs situated in the realm of the just king Rāma on the rear wall.

I suggest that in addition to this there are more specific reasons for the arrangement of the reliefs. As elaborated above, the first panels on the north side introduce Hanuman and his task. The front wall then acquaints the viewer with Hanuman's martial qualities in a maze of encounters with demons. This introduction lays the foundation for the presentation of Hanuman's more specific qualities on the south side, particularly his *śakti*, his bravery, and his cleverness in using ruses. The remarkably large number of reliefs displaying him on the south side ensures that the excellence of his character cannot be overlooked. Hanuman's successful defeat of demons on the west wall and of particular demon heroes on the south wall prepares the ground for his later action: to inform and help Rāma, and to attack Rāwaṇa's realm with the monkey army. The scenes on the rear wall are completely free of evil and are dedicated to themes of a righteous king, mountains, water, and asceticism. The final reliefs on the north side, set again in Rāwaṇa's realm, present the climax of the narration. Thus the depictions on each wall prepare and set the field for the following wall. The position of the start and end of the story is determined by two factors: the course of the story demands that the demon scenes are placed on the front side of the temple and the episodes in the realm of the righteous king on the rear side; though taking place in the demonic realm, the depictions of Sītā as protagonist of the righteous side are prohibited on the front side. Consequently the introductory panels including two depictions of Sītā are placed on the north side.

Two motifs, namely Hanuman flying and Hanuman crossing water, and their placement in the layout of the walls have specific significance. As mentioned, crossing water symbolizes spiritual purification, and also connotes progress to a higher stage of spiritual knowledge. Hanuman's bath after the defeat of Akṣa, shown on the south side, is spiritually purifying and gives him *śakti* that he will apply in his further actions. Two panels on the east wall also show scenes connected with water. The first panel at the very left end shows Hanuman flying over the ocean back to Rāma's realm. His preceding successful heroic deeds in the realm of Rāwaṇa and his accumulation of *śakti* provide him with the pre-

requisites to enter the stage of spiritual purification and transition and allow him to proceed to the spiritually higher stage. After crossing the ocean, the encounter with the sage Jāmbawat enriches his *śakti* to an even higher degree and makes him ready for the report to Rāma. The construction of the causeway and the crossing of the ocean symbolize the next step in proceeding to a higher stage of knowledge. Through their location in the middle of the rear wall these scenes highlight the crucial importance of the episode of crossing water and its symbolic meaning. This center of the wall is the spiritual climax of the rear wall and at the same time of the whole relief series.

The five scenes depicting Hanuman in a flying or jumping posture are found on the south (four panels) and east (one panel) sides. This ability to fly is significant for Hanuman and distinguishes him from other monkeys and even from the monkey king Sugrīwa. It is an expression of his supernatural power. The south side which is dedicated to the process of the acquisition of *śakti* emphasizes his supernatural quality by repeatedly featuring the flying posture. On the rear side Hanuman flies over the ocean, exhibiting the supernatural qualities of flying and crossing water at the same time. By locating this scene as the starting point of the series on the sacred side of the temple, it is given a special significance.

Stylistic and iconographic features, and particularly the 'magicism', are also key to understanding the symbolism of the reliefs. Stutterheim points at the flames, spirals, clouds, and mountain motifs which appear in nearly every panel, be it in scenes with demons or in scenes with Hanuman and the monkeys. In several cases the clouds and spirals have the shape of a ghost, or, as Stutterheim (1989:166) says 'the spirits are depicted in the form of a cloud or perhaps better in a cloud-like form'. I found 17 of these ghost clouds or similar shapes (Fig. 1 and 2). In some cases it is hard to detect if my perception is the result of illusion, similar to the paintings of Escher, or if indeed spirits were intended by the carver. I rather think that this is a deliberate play of the carvers. In any case, these forms contribute to the 'magically "loaded" sphere' (Stutterheim 1989:167). I mention but a few examples:

North side	panel 106	a ghost emerging out of the sun behind Rāwaṇa's head; this ghost looks quite comical and might have been intended to mock Rāwaṇa
West Side	panel 125	a one-eyed Kāla above a running *bhūta*

	panel 133	a dancing cloud ghost above Hanuman who has just overwhelmed a *bhūta* and an elephant
	panel 136 (Fig. 1)	a one-eyed Kāla above Hanuman
South side	panel 152 (Fig. 2)	a demon-like cloud above the flying Hanuman
	panel 171	a *panakawan*-like cloud ghost next to the flying Hanuman
East side	panel 181	a Kāla-Garuḍa-like cloud above the depiction of Rāma (one-eyed)
	panel 186	a Kāla-Garuḍa-like cloud above the depiction of Rāma (two-eyed)
North side	panel 197	the only panel in this part of the series showing ghosts, in the depiction of Rāwaṇa's order to attack

The spirits accompany both the 'evil' and the 'good', demons as well as followers of Rāma and Hanuman. A strikingly large number (seven), however, are located in panels which feature Hanuman. Magicism is an essential characteristic of the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* depiction at Panataran, but this magicism is particularly used to mark Hanuman's magical power. It could be argued that the 'magic' motifs in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs are not specific to and significant for these depictions, but are rather a typical feature of East Javanese innovative creativity, since they also appear in narrative reliefs at other temples. In the *Pārthayajña* at Caṇḍi Jago and in the *Arjunawiwāha* at Caṇḍi Surowono, similar spiral, cloud and ghost motifs are also used to express a magical atmosphere which is essential for the stories. But in many other narrative reliefs at East Javanese *caṇḍi*s such motifs are absent, so they do not necessarily belong to the general repertoire of relief carvings. I suggest that in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Panataran the specific 'magic' motifs are deliberately used. In fact, in the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs on the second terrace of the Main Temple we do not find them, evidence that here no 'magically loaded sphere' is intended.

Stutterheim (1989:167) points to another interesting aspect of the spiral motifs. He refers to *teja*, the 'radiant glory', which emerges out of a person who conducts meditation and asceticism and gains *śakti*, magical power. Some Old Javanese texts mention *teja*. For example in the *Arjunawiwāha* (Canto 5.5) Indra sees a glowing light (*teja*) which he believes to emerge out of a 'bathing place that has a halo, or else a holy man performing austerities' (Robson 2008:57).[32]

32. Further information and discussion about *teja* is provided by De Vries Robbé (1984) and

Can the spirals and ghosts in the *Rāmāyaṇa* depictions be regarded as *teja*? This seems plausible, at least in the case of the panels that show Hanuman's tail set aflame and his torching of Rāwaṇa's palace, where Hanuman diverts the fire that was meant to kill him to destroy the enemy's palace. This fire emerges in flames out of his body and manifests his cleverness and his magical power.

A stylistic analysis and comparison with the other narrative reliefs in the temple complex will give further contribution to the interpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs. The style of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs is distinct from the style of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace and of the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs on the second terrace of the Main Temple. I do not go into further detail here, since I do not consider this topic essential for my analysis. However, in a full investigation of the symbolic meaning and function of the temple complex Caṇḍi Panataran the stylistic analysis of the reliefs will be important.

Klokke's discussion (2006:391–5) of five Hanuman statues attributed to the Singosari and Majapahit periods places Hanuman's role in East Javanese art in a more general context. The existence of these statues, in combination with Hanuman's prominent role in the Panataran reliefs, shows the increased importance of Hanuman in late East Javanese art and religion. Most of the statues stand on a lotus pedestal and have a halo behind the head, both indicators of divine status. Two of the statues have a tail on the rear side of the back slab, with a shape reminiscent of a *liṅga*. Three statues hold a miniature *yoni* in their hands in a meditative gesture. *Liṅga* and *yoni* are associated with Śaivism, and Klokke (2006:400) suggests that Hanuman was indeed 'worshipped within a Śivaite context'. One of the statues holds a *wajra* stick that is reminiscent of the same weapon frequently depicted in Bhīma statues.[33] Bhīma is another son of Bāyu and a half-brother of Hanuman, who also possesses *śakti*. Klokke (2006:399) concludes that the statues show Hanuman's ascetic qualities, while the reliefs show his martial qualities.

I consider the combination in the statues of the three elements *liṅga*, *yoni*, and *wajra* to have a Tantric connotation. The *wajra* is used as a symbol of the essence of spiritual wisdom and magical power and is known as a ritual object in Tantric practices. The *liṅga-yoni* motif focusing on the erotic aspect in Śaivism is also associated with Tantric worship. My analysis has shown that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs the importance of Hanuman's magical qualities far exceeds his martial qualities. The two final depictions of Hanuman in the relief series show him using a *wajra* stick (panels 102 and 104) in his fight against the demons and

Robson (1971:263, 284).

33. Compare Duijker 2001.

eventually against Kumbhakarṇa. That the *wajra* only appears in these panels close to the end of the relief series while in all other cases Hanuman has a sword or other simple kind of weapon, emphasizes its symbolic importance. Hanuman's Tantric nature is deliberately highlighted in the climax of the reliefs.

Another scene is notable in this context: in the depiction of Hanuman jumping on the roofs and setting Rāwaṇa's palace on fire (panel 169) his tail is erect and looks like a *liṅga*, similar to those of the Hanuman statues. This depiction can also be understood as an allusion to the promiscuous and sexually active behaviour which is attributed to monkeys. In the Panataran reliefs Hanuman is always depicted with a short *kain*; elsewhere I have interpreted this way of leaving the knees free as a sign of rough behaviour and/or an erotic mood.[34] All these erotic elements strengthen the Tantric connotation.

That eroticism and Tantrism were linked to each other in ancient Javanese culture is attested by Kakawin literature. Many episodes of Kakawins present sexuality and particularly the sexual union of male and female as a yoga practice to achieve union with the Divine (Creese 2004a).[35] Since Tantric teachings were esoteric and considered secret knowledge which required a spiritual teacher, these hints are never presented openly and explicitly but rather through symbols. Thus, the Tantric symbolism of Hanuman in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs only operates on a subtle and cryptic level, and is revealed only to the initiated adept. I understand the encounter with the sage (*ṛṣi*), on the east side right after Hanuman's flight to Rāma's realm and before his meeting with Rāma, to be an allusion to the importance of spiritual teaching and guidance in the Tantric path. It shows the adept what he/she should do in following the esoteric path: seek advice from a religious teacher.

I also understand this scene as an allusion to another role of Hanuman in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs, namely to act as an intermediary. Conspicuous traits of Hanuman contribute to this role.[36] Hanuman is a monkey, an animal, and a wild creature living in the forest. The forest, the wilderness, spirits, animals and so forth are in Javanese mythology considered frightening and associated with the demonic. Hanuman forms part of this frightening world. Monkeys like to mock humans and to play tricks on them, and humans like to laugh at

34. I discuss this feature in my PhD thesis (Kieven 2009:45, 65, 252).

35. The integration of asceticism and eroticism in Kakawins is indicated by Creese (2004a:201–9) with the terms 'yoga of love' and 'the doctrines of mystical eroticism'. Kakawin themselves are *yantra*s in the poet's aim to unify with the Divine, as has been sufficiently discussed by Zoetmulder (1974).

36. Interestingly, many of these traits are the subject of Lutgendorf's discussion (1994, 1997) of Hanuman's role in present-day India.

the mimicking behaviour of the monkeys. All these traits render the monkeys and in particular Hanuman a certain popularity as comic figures. Hanuman, depicted as a semi-human and semi-simian, is in fact both: human and animal. He mediates between the world of the demonic wilderness and the human world. He also mediates between typical human behaviour on one side, such as being playful and being sexually active, and on the other side the behaviour of a being equipped with magical power (*śakti*), thus between the human and the spiritual sphere.

In my thesis on the figures wearing a cap (Kieven 2009), focusing on the Pañji figures on the Pendopo Terrace at Caṇḍi Panataran, I conclude that Pañji is an intermediary between the mundane world of the pilgrims and the sacred world. In the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace, located in the entrance courtyard of the temple complex, Pañji acts as a figure similar to commoners and close to the pilgrims. He takes the pilgrim by the hand and leads him/her to enter the sacred stage manifest in the rear part of the temple. The frequency of scenes of love between man and woman, of crossing water, and of encounters with hermits in the Pañji reliefs gives them a spiritual and even Tantric character.

I apply a similar analysis to Hanuman and the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at the Main Temple. Hanuman acts as an intermediary on a higher level compared to Pañji. While the Pañji stories are on a level associated with human life and show the first step towards higher knowledge, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Hanuman acts on a level more closely associated with the Divine, offering a further step to higher knowledge. Hanuman mediates the gain of *śakti*, magical power, which enables the initiated to eventually reach the goal of obtaining wisdom. While Pañji introduces the pilgrim to the religious path, Hanuman accompanies him/her to a higher stage. Hanuman prepares pilgrims to break their own fetters as a symbol for breaking out of ignorance, to acquire wisdom by 'crossing the water' and by seeking the advice of a spiritual teacher. After this preparation, the pilgrim is then able to 'cross the causeway'. The position of this right in the middle of the rear side, the most sacred spot of the first terrace, shows how crucial this is.

Hanuman is an intermediary in another sense. In the KR, Rāma is the hero rather than Hanuman, but in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs Rāma's heroism is completely omitted. Hanuman, the general of the monkey army fighting for Rāma, kills Kumbhakarṇa, the general of the demon army fighting for Rāwaṇa. Hanuman paves the way for Rāma who is the hero in the next stage of the story where Rāma will fight and kill Rāwaṇa. Hanuman is in a way the alter ego of Rāma in a monkey disguise. The start and the end of the *Rāmāyaṇa* series, located next to each other on the north wall, mark the two poles of the 'Hanuman story': Hanu-

man and Kumbhakarṇa are the alter egos of their masters, Rāma and Rāwaṇa, respectively.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs prepare the viewer for the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs on the second terrace. These feature the defeat of the enemy by Kṛṣṇa, the hero proper, who thus fulfills the task which Rāma will fulfill in the *Rāmāyaṇa* but which is not shown in the reliefs on the first terrace. The *Kṛṣṇāyana* is furthermore a continuation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs in another sense. The love between Rāma and Sītā, although an essential feature of the KR, is not depicted in the reliefs. However, the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs address Kṛṣṇa's love for Rukmiṇī with whom he is eventually united after long battles against the enemy. I consider the final union of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī, depicted in the last panels of the series, to be a symbol for the union of Śiva and Śakti. Within the concept of Tantric Kuṇḍalinī Yoga,[37] the goal of the adept is to experience this union: in his practice the yogi will experience the rise of the Kuṇḍalinī—a manifestation of Śakti—along the multiple *cakra*s of this body, ending in the final unification of the Kuṇḍalinī with Śiva in the uppermost *cakra*.[38] In reaching this goal, the adept himself will achieve union with the Divine. The sexual union of a man and a woman is another way of experiencing their union with the Divine.[39] On a political level, this union demonstrates the conditions that a king has to fulfill to become an accomplished righteous king: maintaining order in his realm by defeating enemies, and having a queen. The *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs prepare for the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs in both respects: on a religious/esoteric level and on a political level. In this context Hanuman uses his warrior qualities to prepare those of Rāma and of Kṛṣṇa, and his magical power to prepare for the Tantric path. He is again the intermediary.

The character of intermediary is also visible in the previously mentioned statues of Hanuman (Klokke 2006:394, 399): though not a deity himself, he is depicted with attributes typical of one.[40] My investigation (Kieven 2009:282–

37. For information and discussion of the theory of the Kuṇḍalinī path see Pott (1966), Doniger O'Flaherty (1973), Gupta (1979).

38. I develop this interpretation in my PhD thesis in the chapter on Caṇḍi Panataran: 'The essence of this concept is the union of the adept with the Divine, symbolized in the union of Śiva and Śakti. The pilgrim's path through the temple complex follows the path of Tantric Kuṇḍalinī Yoga. The Kuṇḍalinī starts at the lower part of the human body, as symbolized in the first courtyard. It then proceeds along the *cakra*s of the body, which correspond to the several buildings in the second and third courtyard of the temple complex, and eventually to the uppermost *cakra* above the head, symbolized in the Main Temple, where the unification of Śiva-Śakti and the individual soul with the Divine takes place' (Kieven 2009:151).

39. Compare above, and see Creese (2004a:201–9).

40. Part of Lutgendorf's discussion (1994, 1997) on Hanuman's role in the context of present-

99) of the Pañji statue of Caṇḍi Selokelir yields a similar interpretation: Pañji is depicted with some traits of a deity, but other features mark him as a human being. It seems that during the East Javanese period there is a general tendency to transfer a divine status to certain mythological figures; other examples are Bhīma and Garuḍa.[41] Several iconographic features emphasize Hanuman's status as a semi-god. He is depicted with the *supit urang*, the hairdo typical for heroes in the depictions of Kakawin stories, and has fully royal attire. He wears a snake caste-cord which is reminiscent of Śiva. He thus has the traits of a high-level hero and of a god, even as his monkey face and tail characterize him as an animal.

Depictions on the corners of buildings deserve particular attention. In earlier investigations of temples I found that corners often indicate features with important symbolic meanings (Kieven 2009:293). It is intriguing that on three corners of the building there are depictions of a woman. On the northwest corner, panel 117 shows the only female *bhūta* of the whole series. Panel 148 on the southwest corner depicts a tiny loving couple who have no direct correspondence to the text, though amorous episodes as embellishments are quite common within any Kakawin.[42] Panel 172 on the southeast corner displays the encounter between Hanuman and Sītā. The northeast corner shows Rāwaṇa without a woman. All three scenes showing a woman are associated with an erotic mood: the naked female *bhūta* indicates the voluptuous sexuality associated with demons, the loving couple indulges in eroticism, and Sītā in her posture demonstrates longing for her beloved.[43] Rāwaṇa himself is depicted without a woman: he lacks a consort and is thus not an accomplished king. He is, however, known for his sexual approaches towards women and particularly for his futile advances to Sītā. Thus, all four corners feature aspects of eroticism in very different ways. I understand this as an indication of the erotic mood which in the *Rāmāyaṇa* depictions themselves does not play a major role, but which forms part of the Tantric symbolism. The corner pictures thus strengthen the Tantric connotation in a subtle way. The *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs continue this, pointing to the final union of male and female.

Hanuman's increased popularity during the East Javanese period in com-

day India can be transferred to Hanuman's role in ancient East Javanese culture: Hanuman is the 'most important god who isn't God' (Lutgendorf 1997:327).

41. This issue would deserve a special investigation. Compare Lunsing Scheurleer 2000.

42. My thanks to Helen Creese for this hint, during the KR workshop on 28-5-2009. See also Creese 2004a.

43. In an earlier article I analysed the posture of a woman with a twisted body and bent head as an expression of longing for love. See Kieven 2003.

bination with his special qualities—being a virile monkey, possessing magical power, and being able to fly—made him a perfect choice as an intermediary between humans and the Divine, accompanying the initiated adept on his/her way on the Tantric path. Hanuman and the 'Hanuman story' become a *yantra* on the way of the adept towards achieving union with the Divine.

Inscriptions found in the precincts of Caṇḍi Panataran[44]

Stone at south side of the Main Temple (dedicated to King Śṛṅga) (Krom 1923, II:246)	1197 AD	1119 Śaka
Lintel near the gate between 2nd and 3rd courtyard (Krom 1923, II:271; Perquin 1916:5)	1318 AD	1240 Śaka
Two *dwārapāla*s at the gate between 2nd and 3rd courtyard (Krom 1923, II:271)	1319 AD	1241 Śaka
Two large *dwārapāla*s at the main entrance (Perquin 1916:6; Krom 1923, II:273)[45]	1320 AD	1242 Śaka
Lintel next to the Dated Temple (Perquin 1916:6; Krom 1923, II:273)	1323 AD	1245 Śaka
Four large *dwārapāla*s in front of the Main Temple	1347 AD	1269 Śaka
Dated Temple (Krom 1923, II:247)	1369 AD	1291 Śaka
Lintel near the Main Temple (Hoepermans 1914:357)	1373 AD	1295 Śaka
Pendopo Terrace (Perquin 1916:4; Krom 1923, II:247)	1375 AD	1297 Śaka
Two lintels (Krom 1923, II:247)	1379 AD	1301 Śaka
Inner Bathing Place (Krom 1923, II:247)	1415 AD	1337 Śaka
Dated stone (Krom 1923, II:247)	1454 AD	1376 Śaka

44. Based on Hoepermans 1914; Perquin 1916; Krom 1923, II:246–71.

45. Suleiman (1978:3) mentions as date for these *rākṣasa* figures Śaka 1279 (1357 AD) without giving a reference.



Figure 1: Hanuman vanquishes a demon commander (front side)
(photo L. Kieven)



Figure 2: Hanuman rushes to the sea after the fight against Akṣa (south side)
(photo L. Kieven)



Figure 3: Hanuman bathes in the sea after the fight against Akṣa (south side)
(photo L. Kieven)



Figure 4: Hanuman destroys Rāwaṇa's garden (south side) (photo L. Kieven)



Figure 5: Hanuman (right) and Sugrīwa (left) throwing stones into the sea to build the causeway (rear side) (photo L. Kieven)



Figure 6: Hanuman's flight over the ocean back to Rāma's realm (photo L. Kieven)



Figure 7: Hanuman and Lakṣmaṇa attacking Kumbhakarṇa, the detail showing Hanuman's *wajra* (photo L. Kieven)

Abbreviations

AdKIT	Amsterdam, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen
BCB	Bundels C. Berg, portfolios, Leiden
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*
BK	*Bhaṭṭikāvya*
BKI	*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*
BPPP	Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala (Yogyakarta)
Br	Brandes Collection, Jakarta / Van der Tuuk Collection, Leiden University Library
CB	Collection Berg, Leiden University Library
DW	*Deśawarṇana*, or *Nāgarakṛtāgama*
EFEO	École française d'Extrême-Orient
HKS	Hooykaas-Ketut Sangka Collection, Balinese Manuscript Project
HSR	*Hikayat Sĕri Rama*
IAIC	International Academy of Indian Culture
IIAS	International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden
K	Kirtya Collection, Singaraja
KBNW	*Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek*, see Tuuk, H.N. Van der 1896–1912.
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
KR	Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*
LOr	Leiden Oriental (Codex Orientalis), Leiden University Library
LUB	Leiden University Library
MS	Manuscript
MW	Monier-Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, see Monier-Williams 1899
NAK	National Archives Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
OD	Oudheidkundige Dienst
OJED	*Old Javanese-English Dictionary*, see Zoetmulder 1982
Ragh	*Raghuvaṃśa*
TBG	*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*
UtK	*Uttarakāṇḍa*
VR	Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*

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Index

This index includes names of characters (mythological, epic, et cetera), authors of primary textual sources or artworks, selected toponyms and, in italics, titles of primary sources (apart from the ubiquitous Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa* and Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*). The spelling of words occurring in both Old Javanese and Sanskrit follows the established norms used for the latter language (e.g. retaining *v* instead of *w* or *b*); words occurring only, or most often, in Old Javanese follow the spelling of OJED (with the exception of *ŋ*, which becomes *ṅ*). Note that the spelling is not always precisely the same as that adopted by the authors in this work.

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