Chapter IV

Temples in context of religion and politics

ARCHITECTURE OF THE MAJAPAHIT PERIOD

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

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

¹ Major publications in the field of ancient Javanese architecture are Krom 1923; Stutterheim 1931; Bernet Kempers 1959; Dumarçay 1986a, 1986b, 1993; Soekmono 1995. The issue of Mount Meru has been discussed by several authors, for example by Stutterheim (1931:13) and Bernet Kempers (1959:20-1).
² Beyond the marked difference in layout it seems to me that there is also a difference in the size of East and Central Javanese temples, respectively. My impression is that most East Javanese temples are of a rather small scale compared to those in Central Java. Though beyond the scope of my study, it would be interesting to investigate the size and also the number of temples in East and in Central Java in comparison to each other. From this we might perhaps draw conclusions about the religious and political function of the temples. For Central Java, such an inventory has already been worked out by Degroot (2009).
³ Compare the remarks by Wiseman Christie (1983:26-7), who points to the shift from large-scale temples to smaller ones as reflecting a shift from the king as the most important donor to officials of lower rank.

See discussions of this interpretation in Gómez and Woodward 1981; Lokesh Chandra 1980.

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Following the cap-figure in Majapahit temple reliefs

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

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

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4 Hariani Sanitko (1998:245) argues that no sculptures were placed in the mountain sanctuaries because the pilgrims worshipped God Siwa seated on the mountain peak, represented by the terraced sanctuaries. I do not concur with this opinion, as indeed statues of deities have been found on Mount Penanggungan (see the inventory by Van Romondt 1951).
The East Javanese temples are usually oriented towards a mountain (Klokke 1995). The rear of the temple faces in the direction of the mountain, which causes the visitor, when entering the temple, to also face the mountain on a linear axis. This is particularly evident in the mountain sanctuaries, but is also true of freestanding temples in the plains. For example, Candi Surowono is oriented towards the Kawi-Arjuno mountain complex. There is also a preference for an east-west axis of the temple, the entrance being located in the west. This corresponds to the setting sun and is associated with darkness, while the rear side faces towards the rising sun. In other cases, it is not the cardinal direction ruling the layout, but only the orientation to the mountain; Candi Jawi, for example, is oriented to the northwest facing Mount Penanggungan. Both principles – the terraced and linear layout, and the orientation towards a mountain – signal the importance of worship of the mountain in religious practice in East Java.

The sanctuaries and temples had different functions:

1. a temple for the worship of a god
2. a commemorative temple for the worship of a king
3. both for the worship of a god and a king

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

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

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

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

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

In Indonesian, all kinds of ancient sacred sites are commonly called candi.
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- a hermitage
- a holy bathing place

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

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

THE RELIGIOUS BELIEF SYSTEMS: SAIWISM AND BUDDHISM

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

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

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

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

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

12 Mandala were created in India during sixth to twelfth centuries. Many were preserved in Tibet and further developed in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism (Rawson 1993:175).
13 In historiography a tripartite classification is usually made between the ‘Central Javanese period’ until the early tenth century, the ‘early East Javanese period’ – Kediri and Singasari kingdoms - until the end of the thirteenth century, and the ‘late East Javanese period’ with Majapahit until the beginning of the sixteenth century.
14 Sutasoma Canto 139; Soewito Santosu 1973:81; Zoetmulder 1974:341. This expression has become the national motto of today’s Indonesia.
15 The merging of Buddha and Siwa is also a subject of the kakawin Arjuna wijaya from the same author (Awj. 27). Supomo (1977) provides a translation and an intensive discussion of this text.
the Tantric forms which were further developed during the East Javanese period.

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

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

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


\[18\] Pott (1966:table II) demonstrates the parallelism of the two pantheons in a graphic way.
Buddhism and of the royal authority’s preference for Saiwism.\(^{19}\) This preference can also be deduced from the dominance of narratives with a Hindu background in the depictions on temples from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards; from the numerous sculptures of Saiwite deities and the Siwa-lingga images; and from inscriptions from this time.\(^{20}\)

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

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

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\(^{19}\) Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:106) argues that ‘the Buddhist clergy, forming a small minority compared with the Shiwaites and the friars, indeed was on the verge of indigence’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

24 In my synopsis of these paths I follow discussions by Pott (1966:6-27) and Gupta (1979). Pott bases his discussion on Avalon 1973, which was originally published in 1919.
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approach, finds the way to liberating the ‘self’ by suppressing the operation of the senses, while the ‘left-hand’ path, in a highly erotic approach, goes the way of experiencing and mastering the sensual temptations. The physical sexual union between a male and a female is an important means in this latter path. Another element can be indulging in mystical-demonic rites, which are often practised on burial grounds and may include the drinking of blood and the worshipping of demons as an expression of the destruction of the ‘self’. The *tantra* texts state that the ‘left-hand’ path should be taken only after the ‘right-hand’ path has been completed.

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

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

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25 See Pott 1966:17, 139, in particular his Chapter 4; also Rawson 1993:112-39.
the Muladhara has four petals, the Anahata twelve, the Anandakanda-padma eight, and the Sahasrara 1000 petals. A naga lies coiled at the base of the Muladhara; this naga represents Kundalini, the Goddess Sakti, or female energy. Her consort, Siwa, resides in the Sahasrara. It is the goal of the Tantric yoga practice to arouse Kundalini and lead her up through the cakra and, eventually, to experience her union with Siwa. This ascent follows the vertical streams in the body. The central one, called the Susumna, follows the spine, while the other two major streams, which spiral to the right and left of the Susumna, are the Ida and the Pinggala, respectively. The final union of the female with the male principle generates the experience of Supreme Bliss by the yogin and is symbolically expressed by amerta, the mystical fluid which then flows down the body along all the cakra.26 A certain yoga tradition upholds the system of three granthi, nodes in the body along the Susumna. These obstacles have to be overcome for the ascent of the Kundalini (Gupta 1979:175, 178). A symbolic achievement of the union of Siwa and Sakti can also be experienced by the yogin in the sexual act itself. This form of Kundalini yoga, also called Laya yoga, ‘recognizes the value of sexual acts’ (Gupta 1979:183). This is to say it is in fact a human experience to go beyond the mundane perception and sphere in the sexual act.

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

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

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26 ‘In this way Kundalini unites with the Supreme Siva. There in ultimate harmony, she is saturated with amrta, bliss’ (Gupta 1979:178). Pott uses the term soma instead of amerta to denote the mystical fluid.
27 See also Zoetmulder 1974:183.
role in the visualizations of the *Anandakanda-padma*. While we do not know how widely these Indian texts were known in ancient Java, there is an interesting parallel in the Old Javanese *Dewaruci* story, also called *Navaruci* or *Bhimasuci*. This story can be understood as the implementation of the Tantric path into a myth: it tells of Bhima, who is ordered to search for the holy water *amerta* on Mount Meru. After failing to find it there, he enters the ocean and encounters the dwarf Dewaruci at the bottom of the ocean. Dewaruci, in fact the divine form of Bhima himself, teaches him the way to achieve *amerta* and the Highest Knowledge in oneself. In this myth the top of Mount Meru can be regarded as a parallel to the *Sahasrara* and the ocean as a parallel to the *Anandakanda-padma*. Thus, *amerta* plays a double role in the Kundalini concept: it symbolizes Supreme Bliss as well as the *Anandakanda-padma*.

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

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

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


31 The Tantric character of the Old Javanese prose texts *Bhacananukosa*, *Bhacanasamksepa*, and *Tattwa sang hyang Mahajnana* has been discussed by Zieseniss 1939. Goudriaan has contributed major studies in the field of Indian *tana* and refers to their connections with Old Javanese texts (for example Goudriaan 1981). Nihom (1994) places the Old Javanese Buddhist text *Kunjarakarna Drhamakathana* in the context of the Yogatantra-tradition.

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

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

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

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

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

34 Amongst others the Sutasoma, Arjunaavijaya, Siwaratrikalpa, Sumanasantaka.

35 Zoetmulder 1974:181. The same is expressed in a nice way by Worsley (1991:166): langö, the ecstatic rapture, ‘is a truly yogic experience’.

36 Zoetmulder (1974:180-1) refers to the Anandakanda-palma as the seat for the ishtadewata, this means shta.

37 Supomo 2000:266. The term is mentioned for example in the Arjunaavijaya (Avj. 1.2b).
to unify with the Divine (Kieven 2003:341-2, 345). Thus the reliefs, like poems, become yantra in the Tantric path, and consequently the whole candi becomes a yantra.

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

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

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38 O’Flaherty (1969a/b, 1973) has elaborated broadly on asceticism and sexuality in the mythology of god Siwa in the Indian context, much of which can be transferred to the Javanese context.
39 Supomo (2000) and Rubinstein (2000) have also dealt extensively with the subject of love and love-making in kakawin literature and have demonstrated the Tantric character of sexuality. Hunter (1998) has published translations of passages of kakawin which describe situations of love and beauty in a lively way.
40 An example of an erotic Balinese text is the Dampati Lalangon (Bhadra and Hooykaas 1942), which is also depicted in paintings, cf. in Creese 2004:208, ill. 5.2. The text itself is the object of a study by C. French (1976).
41 The Arjunawijaya has been edited and translated by Supomo (1976); the Sutasoma by Soewito Santoso (1973). The translation and edition of the Sumanasantaka, composed by Mpu Monaguna in the early thirteenth century, will be published soon (Worsley et al. forthcoming); see also a short discussion of the Sumanasantaka by Juynboll 1899. Quotations from these kakawin in Creese 2004:201-7.
It would take too long to describe their great delight in love-making. [...] he fixed his mind on smaratantrayoga to produce potency in the enjoyment of love. (Awj 38.1, 2; Creese 2004:188.)

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

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

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

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

\*\* Examples are given in the Sumanasantaka 17 and 95.1. In Nag. 43.6, Kertanagara and his wife Bajradewi are described as ardhanaariswara. A large statue from East Java, formerly kept in Berlin-Dahlem (its present home is unknown), has been discussed as presenting Kertanagara and his wife. Amongst a few other depictions of Ardhanaariswara, the statue in the National Museum in Jakarta (No. 104a), is well known. Literature about the Ardhanaariswara in connection with Kertanagara can be located in Moens 1919, 1933; Krom 1923, II:167; Stutterheim 1932, 1936c:250-5; Holt 1967:80-1; Kloekke 1994:186.
the half-male and half-female manifestation of the union of Siwa and Sakti in one body – represents the supreme deity of Tantric practice.

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

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

43 Weatherbee 1968:404-5. In his, sadly unpublished, PhD thesis the author analyses the political structures and symbolisms in Majapahit Java.
46 O’Brien transfers the concept of a mandala, which in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism is used as a yantra, to the structures of both the temple Candi Jago and the Sutasoma. See also the critical discussion by Klokke (1993:144-7). Furthermore, compare the cautious statement of Zoetmulder (1974:180) concerning the Indian and Javanese forms of Tantric yoga.
47 Here, O’Brien (1993:22) is referring to the class of Tantra texts called Guhyasamaja. The Guhyasamaja (secret assembly) Tantra is part of the anuttarayoga-tantra class of texts being taught in Tibet.
The correspondence between this Buddhist concept and that described above as the ‘yoga of love’ in the Old Javanese kakawin tradition is evident.

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

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

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

49 Different translations and interpretations of these passages have been provided.

50 Robson (1995:121) does not specifically mention Tantrism in the comments on his translation.
more esoteric levels of tantra'. Further on the Nagarakertagama mentions names which are known as key terms in the descriptions of the subtle body in yogic Tantra: one sister of King Hayam Wuruk is compared to ‘Pinggala’ (Nag. 6.1d), another sister to ‘Ida’ (Nag. 6.2d), and the wife of the king is compared to ‘Susumna’ (Nag. 7.3d).

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

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

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

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

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

54 Another sruddha is described in the poem Banasa Sekar, which also features flower offerings (Zoetmulder 1974:365-6, 506-7).
practice draws back on Old Javanese practice, the Kundalini concept in the pitra yadnya may support the idea of a Tantric character in the sraddha ritual.

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

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

Another topic of discussion has been the Sukuh relief with the depiction of a dancing elephant in a smithy. Nag. 43.3d mentions the

55 Durga plays an important role in the depictions of the narrative Sudamala, for example in Candi Sukuh and in Candi Tigowangi.
56 Lunsingh Scheurleer (2000:202) herself, however, argues that Tantrism was not the cause for the demonization, but rather that ‘Tantrism fitted in well with local ideas of demonic, aggressive and powerful deities’, which means that demonization would have developed for other reasons.
57 Klokke 1996:201. See also my interpretation of Hanuman’s wajra in the reliefs on the Main Temple at Candi Panataran (Kieven 2011:244-5).
58 See the study by Nihom 1994. For the Kunjarakarna see Teeuw and Robson 1981. See also Chapter VI.
60 De Casparis and Mabbett (1992:317) also mention that ‘at Sukuh the cult of the linga of Siva, though always characteristic of Saivism, was more pronounced than elsewhere’. Sbeghen (2004:144) points to the fact that so far no typology of the Javanese lingga has been undertaken. I will delve deeper into the subject of lingga-yoni in Sukuh in the sub-chapter ‘Water and Mountain’
61 Fontein (1990:175-6) gives an overview of the research on this relief.
‘Ganacakra’. Following Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:131) and Poerbatjaraka (1924:238-9), the Ganacakra is a Tantric ritual in which Gana (= Ganesha) and a dog play a role. S. O’Connor (1985:60-3) associates the Ganacakra with the relief in Candi Sukuh where Ganesha is depicted in a dancing position and holding a dog, and he concludes that a Tantric character is expressed in this scene. According to Sbeghen (2004:115), the elephant represents Ganesha ‘who initiates individuals into the sacred mysteries’. She does not, however, explicitly interpret Sukuh as a Tantric temple. Concerning the elephant relief, I have developed my own interpretation: Ganesha is dancing in an ecstatic ritual to the rhythm created by the hammering of the smith and the synchronic pushing of the bellows which are depicted in the relief. It is very possible that this dance was the part of a Tantric ritual, fully indulging in all senses. If you have ever been in a smithy in Java, you can understand the kind of ecstaticity that is produced by the fire and the heat, by the rhythms which are created by the bellows, and by the usually threefold (clack-clack-cluck) hammering of three smiths or assistants. In fact, Candi Sukuh has an outstanding position and presents a climax in the visualization of Tantric aspects.

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

**Religious Practices in Majapahit Temples**

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

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62 I was able to visit a smithy in Delanggu in Central Java in the early 1990s.
Following the cap-figure in Majapahit temple reliefs

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

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

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

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

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

66 For the concept of the *raja sakti* see Ras 1991.
The cult of deifying kings and queens was a major theme in religious practice, as inscriptions and the texts *Nagarakertagama* and *Pararaton* show. The kings were venerated as gods after their deaths. A statue of a god would be erected in a temple after the death of the king, representing a receptacle for the god to whose abode the soul of the king had returned. It was supposed that the specific god who was incarnated as the king would descend and be incorporated into this statue. In the later East Javanese period this god was Siwa, a transcendental Buddha, or a Bodhisattva. Wishnu, who was the major god chosen by the kings of the early East Javanese period for their incarnation, later became less important.

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

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

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67 See a synopsis of the scholarly discussion by De Casparis and Mabbett (1992:326-8).
68 See for further discussion on this subject the articles by Stutterheim 1936c and by Klokke 1994, 1998.
69 Examples of the late Singasari era and of the Majapahit period are: King Anushapati (mid thirteenth century) as Siwa; his son King Wishnuwardhana as the Bodhisattwa Amoghapasa; his follower Kertanagara as Siwa-Buddha. King Kertarajas (the first Majapahit-king, beginning of the fourteenth century) was represented in two different sculptures as a transcendental Buddha and as Siwa; his son Jayanagara as both Wishnu and the transcendental Buddha Amoghasiddhi (Nag. 41-47).
70 It has long being believed that Airlangga, the king of the earlier Kediri period, had himself depicted as God Wishnu on Garuda in the well-known statue (kept in the Museum Majapahit in Trowulan), which was supposed to be from Candi Belahan. A recent article by Lunsingh Scheurleer (2009) questions this assumption and may yield new interpretations of the history of Airlangga and the function and symbolism of Candi Belahan.
71 The *pripih* itself has been interpreted as a container of elements symbolizing the material world (Miksic 1996:59). Strangely enough, however, there still exist publications, mostly non-academic ones, which mention the mausoleums and the buried ashes of the deceased kings.
My study yields that religious teaching was in fact a crucial function of the temples.

THE POLITICS OF MAJAPAHIT

After the shift in power from Central Java to East Java in the beginning of the tenth century, the kingdoms of Kediri and, later, Singasari were established. Majapahit emerged as a product of a long-lasting rivalry between these two kingdoms, which ended with the complicated events of AD 1292. Kertarajasa, alias Raden Wijaya, founded the place of Majapahit, which became the name of the new kingdom. The original site of Majapahit is supposed to be the Trowulan area of today, 10 kilometres south of Mojokerto, approximately 55 kilometres southwest of Surabaya. Majapahit was actually the genealogical continuation of the Singasari dynasty, as Kertarajasa was married to four daughters of Kertanagara, the last Singasari king. The most important wife was the Rajapatni (wife of the king) who later played an important role in the politics of her grandson Hayam Wuruk. Supported by Prime Minister Gajah Mada, King Hayam Wuruk, with the royal name of Rajasanagara, presided from 1350 until 1389 during the heyday of Majapahit. During this time, the kingdom claimed hegemony over most of insular and peninsular Southeast Asia and also expanded its influence in Mainland Southeast Asia.

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

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

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

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

75 Following the older convention, I will use the term *Nagarakertagama*. Several translations and editions of this text exist: Kern 1919; Pigeaud 1960-63; Slametmulyana 1979; Robson 1995.
AD 1365. Prapanaca was the superintendent of Buddhist affairs in the Majapahit religious administration. The poem is a panegyric on King Hayam Wuruk. It legitimizes Majapahit by tracing the genealogy of this king back to the preceding kingdom of Singasari. His greatness is conveyed in multiple ways: the poet describes his journey with King Hayam Wuruk through the core region of the realm, where they visit temples and hermitages; further on, he portrays the administrative and religious structure of the Majapahit kingdom, the areas which belonged to the realm and were tributary to Majapahit, and a number of ritual events.

The political structure and the geographical spread of the Majapahit kingdom has been discussed over the decades. According to Wolters (1982:27) it should be understood as a *mandala* of overlapping kingdoms with each remaining an independent polity. All the princes of Java who each have their own capital Dwell together in Wilwatikta, holding the King in their lap. *(Nag. 6.4; Robson 1995:28)*

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

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

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

78 ‘Wilwatikta’ is the name used in many old sources for ‘Majapahit’.

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

80 Evidence of the presence of Majapahit in Sumatra is given through Majapahit-period earthenware and stone artifacts (for example Miksic 1995:199); also through the name ‘Kota Jawa’ of a settlement in North Sumatra with Majapahit artifacts.
The members of the Javanese principalities were intermarried with the members of the royal family (Nag. 2.2-6.4). As many of the married partners were cousins, this produced a complex system of kinship in the genealogy of Majapahit. The names of the principalities are: Jiwana (= Janggala), Daha, Wengker, Singasari, Lasem, Pajang, Matahun, Paguhan, Mataram, and Pawwan-awwan. It seems that the two main parts of the realm were those of Kahiruran/Tumapel (= Janggala/Singasari) and Daha/Wengker (= Kediri/Wengker), which was represented in a ‘bipartism’ (Weatherbee 1968:155) in Majapahit administration. The Panji stories reflect these historical facts of Majapahit by featuring Janggala and Daha as the home kingdoms of the two protagonists in the stories – Panji and Candrakirana, respectively; some stories also mention the other names of the historical principalities. Moreover, the historical, complex web of kinship is paralleled in the Panji stories.

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

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

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81 Berg (1953), Weatherbee (1968:141-53), and Noordhuyn (1978:250-1) intensively discuss the genealogical complexities.
82 The name ‘Jiwana’ as a synonym for Janggala is mentioned in Nag. 68.1b.
83 I will return to this issue in the sub-chapter ‘Unity of the realm’.
84 Berg (1956, 1957); Bosch (1956); Wolters (1982:26); Taylor (1992:179). See also Supomo (1979:184-5). New historical and archaeological findings will deliver new insights.
Chapter IV Temples in context of religion and politics

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

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

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

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85 The recent establishment of a website with the Chinese Ming annals is an invaluable source: see http://www.epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/.
86 Marco Polo believed, as did many other traders, that the spices – cloves, nutmeg, and mace – which they bought in the ports of East Java, were also produced there (K. Hall 1992:208). However, these spices grew exclusively in some of the present-day Moluccan Islands, and a few centuries later they became the object for European colonialists’ interest.
87 Compare K. Hall 1985, particularly pp. 242-50. See also Lombard 1990.
88 Geertz 1980. See also the discussion by Wiseman Christie (1986:68-9).
controlled irrigation projects directly, instead initiating them through tax incentives. An important instrument in this religious and ritual structure was the taxation system supplementing royal income. It had already been developed in the beginning of the eleventh century under King Airlangga and was further refined during the Majapahit period, as is demonstrated by a whole body of inscriptions. Royal grants, the so-called sima, given to a political authority, played an important role. A sima ‘was a demarcated area freed from certain taxes and obligations to the state’ (Wisseman Christie 1983:38). Sima tax collectors with the title mangilala drayya haji had a special social status outside of the village society as well as outside of the kraton community, which was not unproblematic (De Casparis 1986:59; Wisseman Christie 1983:20). The social background of the tax collectors seems to have changed throughout the centuries. During Airlangga’s reign they were port merchants and foreigners, while in the Majapahit period they were state ministers (K. Hall 1992:222), which reflects the increased importance of the sima in Majapahit politics. The recipient of the sima expressed an oath of fidelity and loyalty to the king. The importance of such alliances for the stability of the king’s authority is reflected in the elaborate ceremony and the erection of an inscribed stone accompanying the act of granting a sima. In most cases the profit of the grant was assigned for the support or benefit of religious foundations.

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

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

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

92 K. Hall 1992:222.

93 See the list of the 27 royal sanctuaries in, Nag 74:2. I will discuss this issue further below in the subchapter ‘Unity of the realm’.
was believed that ‘to serve the ruler was to earn spiritual merit’ (Wolters 1982:21).

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

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

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

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

\(^95\) This capital was distinct from the trade settlements of the ports (Wisseman Christie 1991:30). See also Miksic 1998 on the topic of urban settlements in early Southeast Asia.

\(^96\) Stutterheim 1948; Miksic 1995:19-28; Aoyama 1994. Excavations over the last few years may provide new knowledge. See for example Gomperts et al. 2008.
Following the cap-figure in Majapahit temple reliefs

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{97} De Casparis (1981, 1986) discusses the issue of names and titles of officials from the Kediri period onward; see also Wiseman Christie 1983:34.

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

**TEMPLES IN THE ‘UNITY OF THE REALM’**

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

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

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

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

102 Krom 1931:281, 285; compare *Nag.* 40.4.
Following the cap-figure in Majapahit temple reliefs

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

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

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

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

(Nag. 68.5; Robson 1995:75)

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

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

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

104 Given that Gomperts’ (2011) interpretation, mentioned before, is true, the location of Mpu Bharada’s statue would have been not far from Kamal Pandak. This neighborhood would have enhanced the importance of Rajapatni’s sanctuary.
gious administration. Three religious groups were distinguished according to several Old Javanese sources including the *Nagarakertagama* (*Nag*. 81.1-4) and the *Arjunawijaya* (*Awj*. 28.1c, 30.1-2): Saiwites, Buddhists, and *rshi* (hermits). The religious groups form a kind of unit, often being mentioned as ‘*rshi – saiwa – sogata*’, and sometimes including a fourth category of clergy, the Wishnuite Brahmans. 105 All three religious groups had their own royal superintendent who looked after the relevant domains: the Saiwite, the Buddhist superintendent, and the so-called ‘*Mantri-her-haji*’ for the *karshyan* (the hermitages of *rshi*) (*Nag*. 75.2).

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

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

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

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

107 See also the interpretation of the *Awj*. 28-29 by Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:223, based on a paper by Bosch 1918.

108 I will later return to these names in my discussion of the sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan.
the priesthood would have complete charge over the religious domain, without interference from either royalty or layman’. It seems that the quantity of sites for ritual practice was considered more important than their grandeur and quality.

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

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


111 This interpretation is actually not supported by the translations and editions of the Nagarakertagama by Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:238) or Robson (1995:80). Still I think that the essence of this interpretation corresponds to Supomo’s (1977:67-8) argument.
The late phase of Majapahit saw an increase in the construction of mountain sanctuaries. The possible reasons and factors for this development have been largely discussed from a political, a social as well as a religious point of view. After the heyday of the Majapahit power under the rule of Hayam Wuruk in the fourteenth century, the fifteenth century saw a decline in Majapahit’s political power. By the end of the fourteenth century Majapahit had already been shaken by internal disputes. At the same time Malakka had risen as a new Muslim centre of trade and power and was threatening Majapahit’s hegemony in the spice trade. The third important factor that accelerated the decline was the increasing penetration of Islam in the ports on the north coast of Java.¹¹²

This decline, which eventually led to the end of Majapahit in 1527, has produced varying opinions concerning its causes. Noorduyn (1978) has reworked these discussions,¹¹³ mainly basing his position on his new analysis of inscriptions, in particular the Waringin Pitu charter, dated to the year AD 1447.¹¹⁴ It is commonly accepted that there was a civil war between 1405 and 1406. According to Noorduyn, there were not several competing dynasties in Java, as had been believed so far, but rather two distinct branches of the same royal family. The competition between the two parts of the family seems to have led to another civil war between the years 1478 and 1486. This demonstrates that the issue of the unity of the realm continued to be relevant in the later Majapahit period. A major factor in the discussion about the two competing family branches is a Chinese report from 1377 which mentions a second independent king with his own kraton in the eastern part of Java, who kept his own diplomatic connections with the Chinese emperor (Noorduyn 1975:479-82). This eastern king has been identified by Aoyama (1994) as Prince Wijayarajasa of Wengker (died AD 1388), an uncle of Hayam Wuruk who held a high rank within the royal family. He had particular respon-

¹¹² Noorduyn (1975, 1978) discusses the supposed internal political problems of the kingdom. Robson (1981a) discusses the interrelation between the declining power of Majapahit and the increasing Islamic influence. The early Islamic states in Java, established just after the fall of Majapahit, are the subject of a publication by De Graaf and Pigeaud (1976).
¹¹³ He refers to Krom 1931; Schricke 1957; Berg 1962; Cœdès 1968. See also Noorduyn 1975 for an analysis of the situation of the ‘eastern kings in Majapahit’.
¹¹⁴ This charter has only been known since 1937, but for a long time it was neglected or even incorrectly interpreted. See further discussion of the Waringin Pitu charter by K. Hall 2001b:277-8, 2001b:309.
sibilities within the royal administration, referred to for example in *Nag.* 4.2a, 12.2a, 12.3b, and in inscriptions (Noorduyn 1975:480-1). In the capital of Majapahit, the Prince of Wengker and his family occupied a palace to the east of the king’s palace (*Nag.* 12.2a). Aoyama (1994) concludes that the ‘kraton in the eastern part in Java’, as mentioned in the Chinese report, was the eastern palace in the capital itself, and not a kingdom in the eastern part of Java as was believed before. The western kraton was the one for the Majapahit king himself. The two competing branches of the family were thus the family of the Wengker prince and of the Majapahit king, and each had their own palace within the capital. What was first a conflict within the family later developed into a civil war (AD 1406), but only between the two palaces and not between two kingdoms.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

118 Translated and edited by Noorduyn 1982; Noorduyn and Tseeu 2006.
119 See also Ricklefs 2006:11.
often built alongside or in the neighbourhood of the hermitages. The slopes of mountains such as Mount Wilis, Mount Arjuno, and Mount Lawu have sacred sites built in the fifteenth century. From inscriptions on Mount Penanggungan we know that particularly during the fifteenth century there was a significant increase in the building of sanctuaries on its slopes. In Java, this mountain had already been a long-lasting object of worship.

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

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

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120 These essays have been summarized by Soekmono (1995:8-10).
tain sanctuaries, many of them displaying simple megalithic structures, would have drawn on prehistoric, indigenous megalithic-like culture. Supomo (1972:292), who disputes Quaritch Wales’ opinion, argues that the worship of the sacred mountain had been common in all Javanese history and was not specific for the Majapahit period. In more recent years the ideas of a resurgence of megalithic culture and ancestor cult have been questioned.\textsuperscript{121} Hariani Santiko (1998) considers the mountain sanctuaries in their terraced form as symbols of Mount Meru, and thus as having served for the worship of God Siwa and not for the worship of the ancestors.\textsuperscript{122}

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

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

\textsuperscript{121} Miksic 1998:75. In recent years whether the theory of a prehistoric, indigenous megalithic culture is valid at all has been questioned (Bellwood 1997:287).

\textsuperscript{122} Sbeghen 2004:14-5 gives a short review of the recent scholarly discussions on the issues of megalithic culture and ancestor worship. Since the case is not solved yet, I will still use the term ‘ancestor worship’ when referring to the function of mountain sanctuaries.

\textsuperscript{123} Compare Hunter 2007, and my discussion of his article in Chapter II.
prominent role in Majapahit religiosity and social life. The places for ascetic practice, for rituals, and for teaching esoteric knowledge were the hermitages located in remote sites, preferably on the mountain slopes. These hermitages each formed part of a group of sanctuaries, the so-called mandala, consisting of pertapaan and pemujian. These were places for ascetic practice, for teaching, and for the worship of God Siwa. In her investigation of Candi Sukuh, a mountain sanctuary on the slopes of Mount Lawu, Sbeghen (2004) concludes that this temple was intended for a community of rshi and for members of the kshatriya class, the latter of which sought teaching and advice from the former. I propose that this interconnection between two classes holds also true for many of the East Javanese sanctuaries on the mountain slopes.

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

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

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

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

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

The most important symbolism of water is as *amerta*,\(^{126}\) the mythical elixir of immortality and the water of life. It features in several Old Javanese myths where the *amerta* is a precious item kept in safe custody by...


\(^{126}\) Deriving from Sanskrit, according to Zoetmulder (1982:69) *amerta* has the meanings ‘immortal; revived; nectar; holy water’. 
the gods. In the Bhimasuci, Bhima is in search of the amerta to achieve the liberation of the soul and Higher Wisdom. The Garudeya, Garuda seeks the amerta to release his mother Winata from a curse. Another story, the Bhimaswarga, which is very popular in Balinese wayang, relates a similar theme: Bhima requests the amerta to free his father Pandu and his wife Madri from hell (Hinzler 1981; Pucci 1985). All these stories have an exorcistic character, with the amerta serving as the means for purification and salvation which leads to the spiritual achievement of Higher Knowledge.

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

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127 The Bhimasuci is depicted in Candi Kendalisodo (see fig. 10.8).
129 The symbolism of Mount Meru in Hindu mythology is intensively discussed by Mabbett (1983).
130 Zoetmulder (1974:96) attributes the Old Javanese Adiparwa to the end of the tenth century.
131 Pigeaud 1924:135-7. Pigeaud (1924:50) dates the Tantu Panggelaran between ca. AD 1500 and 1635. However, many of its sub-stories and episodes were probably already known as popular myths before they were written down (Patt 1979:445).
132 It is interesting that the Adiparwa version sticks to the Sanskrit original with the ‘milk-ocean’, while the Tantu Panggelaran completely omits the milk, which has no tradition in Javanese food. Another difference between the two stories is that in the Adiparwa there are other items that emerge out of the ocean, such as the goddesses Sri and Lakshmi and a horse, while in the Tantu Panggelaran only the amerta and jewels emerge from the mountain (Pigeaud 1924:66, 137). The Samudramanathana is also mentioned in the Nagarakertagama (Nag. 65.5) in the description of the siddha ritual; Stutterheim (1926:341), in his discussion of the symbolism of the mountain in ancient Java, is undecided as to which of the two versions is valid here. Compare also Patt 1979:450.
central figure in the Javanese version of the *Samudramanthana*, reflecting the dominance of the worship of Siwa in the later East Javanese period. Through his magical power God Siwa changes the originally poisonous water into *amerta*. In both versions a huge *naga* serves as a rope around the base of the mountain. In the *Adiparwa*, the rope is pulled by gods and demons; in the *Tantu Panggelaran*, by all heavenly beings and no demons. A peculiar feature of Mount Meru is its shape: one top peak is surrounded by four lower hills and on a deeper level by four further hills, which yields the ‘8+1’-shape, an important configuration in both Hindu and Buddhist mythology. This shape of Mount Meru is exactly mimicked in Mount Penanggungan.

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

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

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

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

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

137 I will return to the Naga Temple in Chapter VII on Candi Panataran.

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

139 Personal communication by *the jaru kunci* (temple guard) at Penampihan and personal inspection of the water source, in September 2007. Offerings (*sesajen*) and incense sticks were put at the source.
side pulling a rope wrapped around a small mountain on top of a huge turtle.\footnote{This temple is located in Pacet near Trawas to the southeast of Mount Penanggungan. A short description of the temple and its reliefs is given by Krom (1923, II:298-300).} Candi Sukuh, situated on the west slopes of Mount Lawu, is another outstanding example for the symbolism of \textit{amerta}. The fact that most of the aforementioned temples and objects are located on the slopes of a mountain, in many cases with natural water sources nearby, corresponds to the theme of the \textit{amerta} emerging from Mount Meru in a direct way. It is remarkable that a significant number of sites are situated on the slope of Mount Penanggungan – Jolotundo or, not far away from it, Candi Tikus, Candi Jawi, Candi Kesimantengah – so that this mountain is visible from the site.

I discuss Candi Sukuh in more detail as it conveys the major symbolic aspects of \textit{amerta} in a prominent way, although this temple is not part of the case studies of this book. I will later make use of my elaborations, particularly in the discussions of Candi Panataran and Candi Kendalisodo. Candi Sukuh (mid fifteenth century) has been the object of many studies performed since the times of Raffles (1817) and evoked a multiplicity of opinions which still continue to diverge and develop today.\footnote{The most recent studies are an article by S. O’Connor (1985), a book by the Indologist V. Fic (2003), and the unpublished PhD thesis by Jo Sbeghen (2004) which yields major new insights for our knowledge and understanding of Candi Sukuh. See also my discussion above in the sub-chapter ‘Tantrism’.} The Main Temple, in the third courtyard of the terraced temple complex, is, due to its peculiar pyramid-like shape and several waterspouts (jaladwara) on top of it, understood to symbolize Mount Meru and the emerging \textit{amerta}.\footnote{The symbolism of this Main Temple has yielded much discussion (Sbeghen 2004:139-42).} The original position of the huge \textit{lingga} from Candi Sukuh, kept in the National Museum in Jakarta, is unknown and has produced much speculation.\footnote{It was found by Raffles in broken parts, lying in the third courtyard of Sukuh (Sbeghen 2004:143) \footnote{There has been discussion of a possible meaning of the four balls as relating to rituals practised by the Dayak in Borneo, where four small pins are inserted into the penis below the glans (Compare footnote 52 in Sbeghen 2004:146; she refers to A. Reid 1988:150). We cannot exclude that knowledge of this practice influenced the creators of the Sukuh \textit{lingga}, also considering that Sukuh has several sculptures of nude demons which display such a penis with four balls. However, the symbolism of the Meru/\textit{amerta} story is not affected by this issue.}} The \textit{lingga} is very naturalistically shaped in its upper part, and it has four large balls attached below the glans.\footnote{The original position of the huge \textit{lingga} from Candi Sukuh, kept in the National Museum in Jakarta, is unknown and has produced much speculation.} The four balls can be interpreted as one level of four hills surrounding the peak of Mount Meru. In ejaculating semen the \textit{lingga} is thus a symbol of Mount
Meru and the emerging *amerta*.\(^{145}\) I have developed my own opinion concerning the original position of the *lingga*, namely that it was placed on top of the Main Temple, which has a pyramidal shape, and that this combination actually represents a huge *lingga-yoni*.\(^{146}\) I base this on the fact that the height of the *lingga* (nearly 2 metres high) and the estimated size of the main temple being about 5 metres high would match very well together.\(^{147}\) If you stand in the third courtyard and look towards the Main Temple, you would see the *lingga* on top of it. This *lingga-yoni* denotes the union of Siwa and Sakti, during which the semen of Siwa emerges as *amerta*.\(^{148}\) Thus the Main Temple with the *lingga* symbolizes both the *Samudramanthana* story and the union of Siwa and Sakti, with the *amerta* emerging from the mountain and the *lingga*, respectively. In Candi Sukuh, the *lingga-yoni* motif is also displayed in a relief on the floor of the entrance gate, which emphasizes the importance of this motif in the symbolism of the temple. I have already indicated the Tantric character of Candi Sukuh. The *lingga-yoni* motif symbolizes the ultimate goal of the Tantric path, the experience of the union of Siwa and Sakti. The *amerta* flowing down over the *lingga* is at the same time the mystical fluid symbolizing the Supreme Bliss which is experienced by the *yogin* in his Tantric practice and then flows down his body.

That the symbolism of water as displayed in Candi Sukuh had a persistent tradition during the whole East Javanese period, is evident through the waterspout of Candi Jolotundo (AD 977) as an example of the early East Javanese period. The waterspout from Jolotundo features 8+1 spouts, each in the shape of a *lingga*.\(^{149}\) In mimicking the geographi-
Following the cap-figure in Majapahit temple reliefs

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

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

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

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

150 Compare also the discussion of the importance of the mountain, particularly the volcano, and its worship in ancient early Java by Wiseman Christie 2008.
152 I will discuss this issue at greater length in Chapter VII on Candi Panataran.
In the Old Javanese texts water is also known as *tirtha*. Still today in Bali, this term commonly denotes holy water. It is also used in Java as a name for the holy bathing places. The meaning of *tirtha* as ‘passage’ and ‘descent into the water’ alludes to the purifying quality of water. In entering or passing water an adept is purified and proceeds to a spiritually higher level. This connotation is also well-known in Buddhist teaching where the crossing of water is a symbol for achieving Wisdom. Many myths and depictions in temple reliefs display scenes with people crossing the water which I interpret as the purifying passage to achieve Wisdom. This concept is for example implemented in the depiction of the Sang Satyawan story on the Pendaop Terrace at Candi Panataran, where Sang Satyawan teaches his wife the dharma, illustrated by Sang Satyawan leading his wife through water. Another example is the Bhimasuci, where Bhima descends into the ocean and undergoes a ‘transmutation process, affected by yoga and meditation, which an ascetic must endure to reach the ultimate goal of liberating his soul in his present lifetime’ (Sbeghen 2004:118); this process is correlated to the Tantric character of the Bhimasuci discussed earlier in this chapter. Thus, water – here with its connotation of *tirtha* – is again an indication of the Tantric path.

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

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

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

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

156 See Chapter VII on Candi Panataran.

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

158 Candi Panataran has even two *tirtha*.

159 Old Javanese texts such as the *Arjunawijaya* testify to the connection between a *tirtha* and a hermitage (*awj. 10.22*).
entering the sacred sphere of a temple. The specific geographic location of many of the \textit{tirtha} in remote areas with beautiful views is remarkable. Since the beauty of a site evokes \textit{langõ}, which leads to achieve union with the Divine, the choice of such stunning locations enhanced the purpose of the \textit{tirtha}. The \textit{tirtha} in Candi Sukuh, a temple located in a beautiful setting, is a conspicuous example. It is surrounded by stone slabs with depictions of the \textit{Sudamala} story, which is an exorcist, or \textit{ruwacat}, story (Sbeghen 2004:172-84). An inscription from AD 1439 combines the words \textit{tirtha} and \textit{sunya} (void). By entering and passing the purifying \textit{tirtha} the worshipper would enter the void, the deliverance of the soul.

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

\footnotetext[160]{Patt 1979:482. This subject features particularly in her article about the aesthetics of ancient Javanese temple sites (Patt 1982).}
\footnotetext[161]{This inscription \textit{‘padamel rikang buku tirta sunya’} was first discussed by Muusses 1923:506, and in more recent times by Sbeghen 2004:170-1, 245.}
\footnotetext[162]{The purifying quality of the \textit{tirtha} in the quest for \textit{moksha}, the liberation of the soul, is also exposed by Roxas-Lim (1983) in her investigation of caves and bathing places in ancient Java. She deals with Belahan, Simbanat Wetan (both East Java), and Sendang Sanjaya (Central Java). She points to possible connections to Tantrism, specifically in the cases of Belahan and Simbanat Wetan because of their depictions of female deities, with their breasts serving as waterspouts, and because ‘Tantrism stressed the female element, \textit{sakti}’ (Roxas-Lim 1983:143).}
\footnotetext[163]{For example, in Candi Sukuh. The \textit{naga} in the East Javanese temples is a development of the \textit{makara}, which is so common in Central Javanese temples and derives from Indian architecture. The \textit{makara} represent water animals which are a mixture of serpents, crocodiles, and other imaginary beings. See Stutterheim 1929; Bosch 1960:20-2, 29-34.
Besides their ritually purifying symbolism, the *tirtha* may also, in some cases, have had the function of irrigating and thus fertilizing fields. Examples are Candi Sukuh, Candi Jolotundo, and Candi Belahan.\(^{164}\) The question of whether other temples also served for the practice of fertility cults or expressed a symbolism of fertility still needs further investigation. Several inscriptions refer to constructions of water channels and dams as part of water temples; other inscriptions mention water dams and weirs for irrigation of the fields (Wisseman Christie 1992:21, 2007:244-8). This may be an indication of a connection of the religious and irrigation purpose of these *tirtha*.\(^{165}\) The drainage and water supply of the *tirtha* was an extraordinary task.\(^{166}\) These efforts of labour elucidate the importance of the ritual practices undertaken in the *tirtha*. It is amazing that today Jolotundo still functions well and that the water still permanently runs from the spouts and fills the water basins.\(^{167}\)

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

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\(^{164}\) Van Setten van der Meer 1979:131; Patt 1979:174, 229 (referring to Stutterheim 1937a).

\(^{165}\) Roxas-Lim (1993/94) also asks this question, but does not provide clear answers to it.

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

\(^{167}\) Renovation work was done by the archaeological service in the early 1920s and in the 1990s (Kiney 2003:54, 61 fn. 6), but the water-supply system was still extant.