Chapter VI

Candi Jago: The cap, a new fashion of headgear

Plate 6.1. Groundplan of Candi Jago (based on Bernet Kempers 1981a: plate 44, with numeration by Kieven)

First Terrace:	(1) Start of <i>Tantri</i> stories;	(1a) End of <i>Tantri</i> stories
	(2) Start of <i>Angling Dharma</i> ;	(2a) End of <i>Angling Dharma</i>
	(3) Start of <i>Kunjarakarna I</i> ;	(3a) End of <i>Kunjarakarna I</i>
Belt:	(4) Start of <i>Kunjarakarna II</i> ;	(4a) End of <i>Kunjarakarna II</i>
	(5) Start of <i>Sudhanakumara</i> ;	(5a) End of <i>Sudhanakumara</i>
Second Terrace:	(6) Start of <i>Parthayajna</i> ;	(6a) End of <i>Parthayajna</i>
Third Terrace:	(7) Start of <i>Arjunawiwaha</i> ;	(7a) End of <i>Arjunawiwaha</i>
Temple Body:	(8) Scenes from the <i>Krishnayana</i>	

(x) marking the positions of the cap-figures on the first terrace and on the belt

Fig. 6.2. Candi Jago, west front

LAYOUT AND ARCHITECTURE

Candi Jago is situated in the village of Tumpang, 22 kilometres to the east of Malang. The building is a terraced structure with four levels, all of which are decorated with reliefs (fig. 6.1). The superimposed temple body is nearly completely in ruins. Between the first and second terrace there is another architectural element, which Brandes refers to as the 'beugel'; this has been translated into English as 'belt'. The quadrangular-shaped temple building has a projection on the west side which incorporates the principal approach to the temple via two parallel staircases (fig. 6.2).

All the relief series are arranged in the counterclockwise direction *prasawya*.¹ When circumambulating the temple to look at the reliefs the visitor will not be able to pass along the belt, as this terrace is very narrow. This means that the relief series on the first terrace and those on the belt will be viewed at the same time in one process of circumambulation. The second terrace with the *Parthayajna* reliefs is broad enough to walk upon. The third terrace with the *Arjunawiwaha* is very narrow. As these reliefs are placed on the lower border of the terrace, the visitor is forced to crouch in order to look at the reliefs, especially since they are not visible from the second terrace below.

HISTORY AND FUNCTION

Candi Jago has been identified with the name 'Jajaghu', which is mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama*. The verses *Nag.* 41.4 tell us that the temple was the enshrinement of Wishnuwardhana as a Buddhist divinity. He is also said to be enshrined at 'Waleri' as a Saiwite image.² Based on this text, it is widely accepted that Candi Jago was founded as the commemorative temple for King Wishnuwardhana (died AD 1268), the father of the last Singasari king Kertanagara.³ The construction was probably completed in the context of the *sraddha* ceremony held 12 years after the death of the king, that is, at the end of the thirteenth century. Opinions

¹ Brandes (1904) makes a mistake and reads the reliefs in the clockwise *pradakshina* direction. The correct reading becomes clear from the main action in the reliefs, which is directed towards the right.

² The location of Waleri is not known.

³ The commemorative temple for the father of Wishnuwardhana, King Anushapati, is Candi Kidal; this temple is also situated in the region, approximately four kilometres south of Tumpang.

differ concerning the date of the relief carvings and the sculptures found in the temple. Stutterheim (1936c:274-97) argues that they were created in the context of a rebuilding of the temple in the middle of the fourteenth century. Evidence for a reconstruction or extension is given by two inscriptions, dated AD 1343 and AD 1351, respectively, found at Candi Jago. In her analysis of the *Tantri* reliefs at Candi Jago, Klokke (1993:81-2) opposes Stutterheim; she argues, based on stylistic comparison, that the sculptures date from the end of the thirteenth century, while for the reliefs she agrees with the dating of the mid fourteenth century. I follow this opinion. The original construction of Candi Jago was thus prior to the Majapahit period, but the extension or rebuilding and the decoration of the temple was conducted in the time prior to or around the beginning of the reign of Hayam Wuruk.

Candi Jago served both the Saiwite and the Buddhist community, and is a major example of the special blend of these two religions in the Majapahit period. This is demonstrated by the different religious backgrounds of the narratives depicted at the temple. While the *Kunjarakarna* is a Buddhist story highlighting the importance of the Jina-Buddha Wairocana, the *Parthayajna* and *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs display a Saiwite character.

RELIEFS WITH CAP-FIGURES

Cap-figures appear on the first terrace and on the belt, notably in the relief series depicting *Tantri* stories, the *Angling Dharma*, in both parts of the *Kunjarakarna* on the first terrace and the belt, and in what has been conjectured to be the *Sudhanakumara-Awadana*. They do not appear on the walls of the second or third terrace – in the *Parthayajna* and *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs – nor on the fourth terrace with the few remains of the *Krishnayana* reliefs.

TANTRI STORIES

Tantri reliefs are depicted on the first terrace along the western projection, and on the left part of the south side. According to Klokke (1993:203-22), fourteen different *Tantri* stories are depicted. Three of them contain illustrations of cap-figures.

Fig. 6.3. Candi Jago, north side of first terrace at west projection, ‘Crocodile and bull’

‘Crocodile and Bull’: located on the first terrace, on the north side of the west projection (Klokke 1993:206-7, no. 57 a-c; Brandes 1904:plate 72 left). The series, consisting of three scenes, tells the story of a bull that helps the crocodile to return to water by carrying the crocodile on his back. However, the bull is then held captive by the crocodile. The third scene depicts three men attacking the crocodile (fig. 6.3). All of them wear small and rather flat, beret-like caps. Their iconography characterizes them as men of lower status: being bare-chested, wearing a short *kain* or a long, tucked-up *kain*, without any jewellery.

‘Monkey and ungrateful man’: located on the first terrace, north side of the west projection (Klokke 1993:207-10, no. 58 a-c; Brandes 1904:plate 72 right, plate 71). This narrative consists of five scenes. It tells of a hunter who is helped by a monkey when he is attacked by a tiger (fig. 6.4). After the tiger leaves, the hunter is ungrateful and kills the monkey’s young and the monkey mother to eat their meat. The hunter in these scenes wears a small and flat cap.

‘Palmwine tappers judge between monkeys’: located on the first terrace, southern part of the west projection (Klokke 1993:212-4, no. 61 a-c; Brandes 1904:plates 68, 67). The story, consisting of three scenes, narrates the story of two palmwine tappers who adjudicate between two quarrelling monkeys and then kill one of them (fig. 6.5). The male characters wear flat caps.

The palmwine tappers and hunters in these *Tantri* stories all have the iconography typical of their social status as commoners. They have evil characters, and behave wickedly and in a rough way. The other *Tantri* stories without cap-figures display a mixture of examples of good and bad behaviour. The stories all impart teachings in moral conduct.

Fig. 6.4. Candi Jago, north side of first terrace at west projection, 'Monkey and ungrateful man'

Fig. 6.5. Candi Jago, west side of first terrace at west projection, 'Palmwine tappers judge between monkeys'

These reliefs are placed on the base of the *candi* on the west projection next to both entrance stairways, such that no visitor of the temple can avoid passing by these depictions before ascending the stairs. In this way the *Tantri* stories stimulate the visitor to reflect on his/her own moral conduct, preparing the visitor to progress into the sacred sphere of the temple.

ANGLING DHARMA STORY

The *Angling Dharma* reliefs start at the western part of the south side of the first terrace, and continue on the east side up to the northeastern corner (Brandes 1904:plates 60-37). The first episodes of the relief series correspond to the *Tantri* story 'Understanding the language of the animals' (Klokke 1993:143, 218-22); however, the original narrative of the sequel cannot be determined with any certainty. The whole relief series, including the first episodes and the sequel, has been interpreted

by Hunter,⁴ based on an unpublished manuscript by Bambang Soetrisno, the former temple guard (*juru kunci*) of Candi Jago. Hunter argues that the narrative is a Buddhist version of the Modern Javanese *kidung Angling Dharma*. It relates the story of King Angling Dharma or Aridharma, who has been given the gift of understanding the language of the animals. After the death of his wife he meets her reincarnation, Ambarawati, and seduces her. The king undergoes various tribulations and receives instruction by Wairocana, the central and highest of the five Jina-Buddhas, before he finally marries Ambarawati. Whether or not this interpretation by Hunter is correct, the issue of the union of a man and a woman in the depictions is beyond doubt, as is the identification of the god-like figure as Wairocana: the iconography of this figure is exactly the same as in the depictions of this Jina-Buddha in the following *Kunjarakarna* reliefs. He is depicted with four arms, adorned with jewellery and sashes and stands upon a lotus throne. This identification of Wairocana is important for my investigation and for the development of my argument, as will become clear later.

On the south side, in the episode of the story relating Aridharma's attempt to seduce Ambarawati (Hunter 2000:81-5) a *panakawan* is depicted, wearing a cap (fig. 6.6; Brandes 1904:plate 48). The position of Ambarawati, sitting on the lap of Aridharma, symbolizes the sexual act.⁵ The two *panakawan*, as companions of Aridharma, sit close to each other, one holding the other at the waist and in this way seem to make fun of the protagonists' behaviour. Only one of the two *panakawan* depicted here wears a cap; this is the only representation of a *panakawan* with a cap known to me. The large crescent-moon shaped cap is clearly depicted in profile.⁶ According to Galesin (1959:14), the reliefs in Candi Jago provide the first known depictions of *panakawan* in the *wayang* style.⁷ The fact that in no later depictions of *panakawan* is a cap portrayed as headgear, may be an indication that in this earliest depiction at Candi Jago the iconography for the *panakawan* was not yet conventionalized. In any

⁴ Hunter first presented this interpretation in a seminar paper in 1989. Challenged by Klokke's (1993:143) doubts on this interpretation, Hunter defends his position in his article in 2000.

⁵ See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – types of postures'

⁶ In the preceding scene, where Aridharma approaches Ambarawati, he is accompanied by a *panakawan* whose headgear is unclear. In case this is a cap, this would be a second example of a *panakawan* wearing this headgear.

⁷ See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – servant figures'.

Fig. 6.6. Candi Jago, south side of first terrace, *Angling Dharma*

Fig. 6.7. Candi Jago, first terrace, left part of east side, *Angling Dharma*

Fig. 6.8. Candi Jago, first terrace, right part of east side, *Angling Dharma*

case, in later depictions the cap was not considered to be an appropriate headgear for the *panakawan*.

In the continuation of the *Angling Dharma* reliefs on the east side of the first terrace there are two scenes with depictions of cap-figures (Brandes 1904:plates 46, 38/39) which are very similar to each other. In both scenes Wairocana is accompanied by two servant figures (Hunter 2000:78), each wearing a cap and sitting cross-legged. One of them

holds a betel box and the other a spittoon.⁸ They wear long *kain* and ear ornaments, signifying they are personages of high status. The crescent-moon shaped cap, of large size and with a sharp edge, is another indicator of high status. The first scene is located at the left end of the east wall and illustrates the scene where a *brahmana* priest, who has the task of helping Aridharma and Ambarawati to find their way together, makes a *sembah* before Wairocana (fig. 6.7). In the second scene at the far right-hand end of the east wall the *brahmana* again sits in a *sembah* gesture in front of Wairocana (fig. 6.8). This time the priest is accompanied by a character with a bald head or short-cut hair whom Hunter interprets as Aridharma. The bald head of Aridharma is perhaps an expression of his respect towards the *brahmana*.⁹ This scene is placed next to the last scene of the *Angling Dharma* story where Aridharma and Ambarawati prepare to get married.¹⁰

The cap-figures appear in scenes which are crucial to the progress of the story: the love scene between Aridharma and Ambarawati, the *brahmana*'s plea to Wairocana, and the worship of Wairocana by the *brahmana* and Aridharma. Wairocana in particular is a central figure in this narrative and will play a fundamental role in the following *Kunjarakarna* reliefs. This pivotal position of Wairocana already seems to be indicated by the cap-figures in the *Angling Dharma* reliefs.

KUNJARAKARNA STORY

The *Kunjarakarna* reliefs start on the first terrace on the left side of the north wall, and continue to the *Tantri* reliefs on the west projection (called *Kunjarakarna* I). They carry on along the belt of the second terrace (called *Kunjarakarna* II).¹¹ This relief series tells the story of Kunjarakarna and

⁸ See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – servant figures'. Compare with the servants of Krishna in the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the Main Temple of Candi Panataran.

⁹ Compare Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – religious actors'.

¹⁰ O'Brien (1988:43 fn. 34) questions whether the last scene on the east side actually depicts the meeting of Aridharma and Ambarawati before they enter the *kraton* to get married, or if they are separating. However, I think that Hunter is right in his interpretation of this scene as symbolizing the marriage, though it is not depicted.

¹¹ The *Kunjarakarna* story exists in two literary forms, as a *kakawin* and in a prose version. The prose version was edited by Kern (1901, 1922). The *kakawin Kunjarakarna Dharmakathana* is translated and edited by Teeuw and Robson (1981); in the same book, Bernet Kempers (1981a) discusses the reliefs at Candi Jago. Which version of the text has been illustrated here is irrelevant to the topic under discussion. For this question, see Bernet Kempers 1981a and Zoetmulder 1974:378-81.

Fig. 6.9. Candi Jago, north side of first terrace,
Kunjarakarna, Kunjarakarna's initiation

his friend, King Purnawijaya, who receive instruction and initiation from Wairocana, the highest teacher of the Law (*dharma*). Purnawijaya has to undergo punishment in hell because of his former bad deeds. Only after this is he ready to meet his wife again. The purification attained through the process in hell and the reunion with his wife are the prerequisites to eventually receive the Highest Teaching by Wairocana. The *Kunjarakarna* story has a didactic purpose in the teaching of religious knowledge (Zoetmulder 1974:374). According to Nihom (1994), this story stands in the Tantric tradition.

The depiction of the first part of the story on the first terrace contains two scenes with cap-figures (Brandes 1904:plates 29-28), situated in the middle of the north side. These scenes represent the initiation of Kunjarakarna by Wairocana (fig. 6.9), and the initiation of Purnawijaya (fig. 1.1).¹² In both cases a pair of servants with sharp-edged large caps in the crescent-moon shape and adorned with jewellery hold a betel box and spittoon and sit next to Wairocana. These scenes, and particularly the depictions of the servant figures, are very similar to the scenes with Wairocana and his two servants in the *Angling Dharma* reliefs discussed above.

In the depiction of the parade of sinners in hell, found on the belt at the west facade, there are eight sinners approaching a cauldron (fig. 6.10; Brandes 1904:plates 122-119). The figure on the far left clearly wears a cap with a sharp edge and jewellery, in contrast to the other seven, who wear a less stylish cap. I interpret the very left figure to be a guardian,

¹² Bernet Kempers (1981a:207) and Zoetmulder (1974:379) differ on whether these scenes should be attributed to the *kakawin* or to the prose version.

Fig. 6.10. Candi Jago, west front of the belt, *Kunjarakarna*, parade of the sinners

with the sharp-edged cap indicating his higher status, and the other figures as low-ranking sinners.

In the continuation of the story in the belt on the south side there is another scene featuring two cap-figures as servants of Wairocana, holding betel box and spittoon (Brandes 1904:plate 105). This scene portrays Purnawijaya with his wife and their retinue, who are presenting offerings to Wairocana after Purnawijaya has undergone his punishment in hell.

Again, the cap-figures appear in crucial scenes of the story: three times they signal Wairocana to be the major character who is worshipped, before and after the punishment and purification of the protagonist in hell. The scene in hell with the sinners' parade is emphasized as an important element of the story through the depiction of the cap-figures.

SUDHANAKUMARA-AWADANA STORY

The reliefs which are assumed to depict the *Sudhanakumara-Awadana* are still subject to investigation. O'Brien (1988:50-3) suggests the following interpretation:¹³ Briefly, Prince Sudhana marries the *kinnara* princess Manohara,¹⁴ but her father does not accept his son-in-law before he has passed several tests. The relief series spreads along the east and north sides of the belt.¹⁵

One episode on the north side includes cap-figures. It depicts a male figure in royal attire sitting on a pedestal in the 'longing position', and a woman kneeling before him making a *sembah* (fig. 6.11; Brandes 1904:plates 84-83). His hair is bound in a knot, in the style typical of

¹³ This interpretation resembles the *Sudhana* story depicted on Borobudur (Miksic 1990:77-81).

¹⁴ *Kinnara* are half bird/ half human beings.

¹⁵ The figure who presumably represents Sudhana in the reliefs may also be wearing a cap. However, due to weathering the headgear is unclear to the extent that I must leave it out of my discussion.

Fig. 6.11. Candi Jago, north side of the belt, *Sudhanakumara-Awadana*

Yudhishtira and of other kings.¹⁶ In his left hand he holds a *lontar* (palm leaf) letter. To the right of the woman are seated two male servant figures wearing sharp-edged caps, though they lack betel accessories. On the left side behind the royal figure sits another male figure with a less sharp-edged cap holding a large betel box (Brandes 1904:plate 84). It seems that these cap-figures are servants of the royal figure. According to O'Brien's (1988:53) identification, this scene can be interpreted as the *kinnara* king arranging the tests for Sudhana. This interpretation of the royal figure as a king is supported by his hairstyle, and his status is emphasized by the betel box carrier. The woman might be his daughter Manohara, who brings Sudhana into the palace and in obeisance towards the king receives a letter with the tests for Sudhana. The 'longing position' of the *kinnara* king, sitting with one leg stretched and the other leg placed on the thigh,¹⁷ could express his empathy for the great love between his daughter Manohara and Sudhana. That illustrations of empathy are a common feature can be concluded from other depictions; for example, in the Gambyok relief two *kadeyan* display an erotic posture which I interpret as a sign of empathy for the longing mood of their master.¹⁸ I will provide further examples when discussing the Pendopo Terrace of Panataran which support this interpretation of empathy.

¹⁶ Compare Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – royal actors'.

¹⁷ See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Iconographical conventions – postures'.

¹⁸ See Chapter III, sub-chapter 'Kadeyan'.

CONCLUSION

The iconography of the cap-figures demonstrates characteristic differences. The cap-figures in the *Tantri* stories and the sinners in hell in the *Kunjarakarna* reliefs, wearing flat and less sharp-edged caps, represent commoners of a lower social status. The cap-figures in the *Angling Dharma* and *Kunjarakarna* and in the supposed *Sudhanakumara*, who represent servants of Wairocana or of a king, and the guardian in hell have a large sharp-edged cap in the crescent-moon or the half-round shape. They are of higher status.

It becomes obvious from these diverse examples that the cap was a popular local headgear in the early Majapahit period. The cap was worn by people of lower status in the flat, beret-like shape, and it was worn by people of a higher serving status in the half-round or crescent-moon shape with the sharp edge. As I have argued elsewhere (Kieven 2008), the cap-wearing figure appears to be an indigenous Javanese convention, and the 'fashion' of the cap was first presented at Candi Jago.¹⁹

It is notable that the cap-figures only appear on the two lower levels, and within these, their numbers diminish as the bas-reliefs rise vertically in the temple. The first terrace has eight scenes with cap-figures: three in the *Tantri* reliefs, three in the *Angling Dharma* reliefs, and two in the *Kunjarakarna* I reliefs. The belt of the second terrace has three scenes with cap-figures: two in *Kunjarakarna* II, one in the *Sudhanakumara* reliefs. The upper three terraces – with *Parthayajna*, *Arjunawiwaha*, *Krishnayana* – feature no cap-figures at all. These latter narratives are based on the Indian epic *Mahabharata* and relate episodes of the heroes Arjuna and Krishna. They belong to the 'mythological stories' following Forge's terminology. The narratives with cap-figures – *Tantri*, *Angling Dharma*, *Kunjarakarna* – are based on Old Javanese texts which were created independently of known Indian sources. I consider the *Tantri* and the *Angling Dharma* stories as 'post-mythological stories'.²⁰ The lower the placement of the narratives, the closer their contents to the morality of everyday life, which is to say that they are more connected with the phenomenal world. The

¹⁹ In my article on the cap-figures at Candi Jago (Kieven 2008) I present an interpretation which, in this book, I have developed to some deeper extent.

²⁰ The *Tantri* reliefs, based on the Old Javanese *Tantri Kamandaka* text, are an exception in so far as this text is related to Indian *Pancatantra* texts (Klokke 1993:25-32). However, their daily-life content gives these stories the character of 'post-mythological stories'.

higher the placement, the more sacred are the stories and the closer are their contents to the world of the gods and the 'old' Indian tradition. The *Kunjarakarna*, which is actually a religious text, also conveys concrete aspects of moral conduct and shows features of a 'post-mythological story'. It represents a link between the mundane and sacred.

As mentioned above, the two lower rows of relief series can only be viewed together in one process of circumambulation, which emphasizes their connection with each other and the fact they belong to one sphere: the mundane sphere. To enter the more sacred world, the visitor will circumambulate the following levels separately, with the relief series of the *Parthayajna* being easily accessible, while the *Arjunawiwaha* is more difficult to look at. This might indicate that the process to Higher Knowledge is a difficult path. Candi Jago is, in fact, an example *par excellence* for the typical vertical progress within a temple from the mundane to the supra-mundane world.²¹

Considering the placement of the cap-figures within the horizontal layout of the building, we can distinguish the lower-class cap-figures and the ones in hell on the west projection, while all the servant figures of higher status only appear on the south, east, and north sides. Thus we can recognize the well-known dichotomy between the mundane sphere in the front part of a temple and the more sacred sphere at the rear.

My interpretations relating to the vertical and the horizontal arrangement correspond to O'Brien's (1988, 1990) understanding of Candi Jago as a *mandala* and as reflecting the Wheel of Existence. O'Brien bases her understanding on how the reliefs on the west projection are deliberately separated from the formal *mandala*, which is restricted to the main quadrangular form of the *candi*. The most essential points in her interpretation of Candi Jago are the attribution of the five Jina-Buddhas to the four sides and the centre of the temple, and the vertical arrangement of specific main themes in the narrative reliefs. The five Jina-Buddhas are, according to the *Wajradhatu mandala* of Mahayana-Buddhism, traditionally allocated to the four cardinal directions and incorporate certain themes. In this schema Wairocana, the embodiment of the Highest Wisdom, occupies the central position. The four main themes in the narrative depictions on the four walls of Candi Jago correspond to the characteristics of the other four Jina-Buddhas (O'Brien 1988:23-4):

²¹ The Borobudur is the outstanding model in Central Javanese art for this schema.

benevolence and charity on the south side (Ratnasambhawa); rejection of the senses on the east side (Akshobhya); the gift of living without fear on the north side (Amoghasiddhi); meditation and yogic practice on the west side (Amitabha).

In her second article, O'Brien interprets the depictions on the west front as illustrations of the six realms of existence. I cannot fully concur with this interpretation. I offer an alternative analysis of the western facade. I consider the narratives on this side to be an illustration of the major themes of the whole temple, and their vertical order from the lowest register to the uppermost to be a reflection of the devotee's path. The prominent placement of these reliefs on the west facade confronts the visitor immediately with the essence of the message of the temple. On the lowest level, there is the representation of wrong and right behaviour in connection with lower beings and animals in the *Tantri* reliefs. Along the belt this is followed by the scene from the *Kunjarakarna* with Purnawijaya's punishment in hell. The *Tantri* reliefs with the cap-figures illustrate bad behaviour, and the hell scene with the cap-figures represents the consequences of this behaviour. This vertical progression portrays the law of *karma*, or cause and effect. The cap-figures on both levels are part of the phenomenal world of karmic deeds and serve as indicators of the karmic effects. On the next level, in the *Parthayajna* narrative, Arjuna watches the gods Kama and Ratih making love. He himself is filled with desire; however, he is not allowed to satisfy it because he is on his way to practise asceticism.²² As O'Brien states convincingly, this scene symbolizes the mystical union of Siwa and Sakti and can be interpreted as a Tantric practice. 'It is notable that from the front of the temple, this panel would have probably been the most prominent feature of the terraces, if not the whole shrine' (O'Brien 1988:22). The original, now vanished, scene in the next register from the *Arjunawiwaha* depicted the meditating Arjuna being tempted by the heavenly nymphs.²³ This temptation scene, with its erotic component, also has a Tantric aspect, which I will further discuss in the context of the same scene in the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs at Candi Surowono. Thus, the theme of both registers is the connection between eroticism and asceticism, which both are dominant subjects in the other narratives on Candi Jago, with the excep-

²² Arjuna's posture – one leg stretched, the other leg bent with his weight on the stretched leg – expresses his desiring mood.

²³ Gālestin (1938:11) shows evidence that the temptation scene was indeed depicted here.

tion of the *Tantri* stories. Another fragmented scene in the *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs shows Arjuna's defeat of the demon Niwatakawaca, placed on the northern part of the west projection.²⁴ This theme is continued in the uppermost terrace, with the *Krishnayana* reliefs representing the triumph of Krishna against the evil king Kalayawana with the help of the sage Mucukunda. Both scenes portray an important aspect of the ideal king, namely that he is ready to keep all evil away from the realm and is capable of restoring order in the world. He is only able to do so after having gone through purification (*Tantri* stories and hell scene of *Kunjarakarna*), which prepares to receive the teaching of the Tantric path (*Parthayajna* and *Arjunawiwaha*). This teaching yields an awareness of the necessity of having a queen to be a fully acknowledged king, which corresponds to the concept of *Ardhanariswara*.²⁵ The cap-figures on the lowest terraces act as the basic guides for introduction into this schema. They meet the visitors on the level of daily life and prepare them for their encounter with the religious teaching.

The west facade thus represents all the aspects of a righteous king and at the same time provides an introduction into the teaching of the *dharma* in its Tantric form.²⁶ This *dharma* is further illustrated in the other narrative depictions at the temple.

Klokke (1993:147), in referring to O'Brien, also interprets the narratives at Candi Jago as having the ideal kingship as their subject: 'The higher on the temple the more perfect the divinely authenticated king (or prince) becomes'. The *Tantri* reliefs on the lowest level are 'a mirror for kings', because it belongs to the tasks of a king to distinguish between reliable and unreliable people. Ideal kingship as a major aspect of the symbolic meaning of the reliefs on Candi Jago fits well with its function as a commemorative temple for a deceased king.

The cap-figures appear not only on the west facade, but also on the three other sides in the two lowest registers. Here they are portrayed as the servants of the predominant characters: the *panakawan* with the

²⁴ Galetin (1938:12-6), in his reconstruction of the relief fragments, which are shown in Brandes 1904:plate 221, suggests that these depict the fight and the defeat of Niwatakawaca. He compares this scene with a similar scene of the *Krishnayana* reliefs at Candi Panataran, where Krishna's army is fighting his enemy. See also O'Brien 1988:56.

²⁵ Compare O'Brien's (1989, 1991, 2008) analysis of the *Sutasoma kakawin*, which she puts into relation with Candi Jago. The *Sutasoma* conveys the same ideas of ideal kingship through purification, yogic practice, sexual reunion, and defeat of a disturber of the world order.

²⁶ It is remarkable that the arrangement on the west front does not predominantly refer to demonic or fighting aspects, which are often a characteristic element on the west wall at other temples.

cap accompanies King Aridharma, in three scenes the pair of capped servants accompany Wairocana, and in one scene they serve the king. They are located at regular intervals: once in the middle of the south side and the north side each, and once near both corners on the east side each. This regularity may have been deliberate to keep the visitors alert by acting as a kind of guide through the stories. O'Brien (1988:24) mentions that on these two lower levels the main themes of the narratives 'appear more diffused and dispersed' than on the other levels. I interpret the cap-figures as bringing some order into this diffusion by indicating who plays the important role in the respective narrative. In this way they assist in understanding the essence of the message of each narrative. The fact that Wairocana is depicted three times with the cap-servants holding betel box and spittoon provides evidence that Wairocana, as the central Jina-Buddha who teaches the religious doctrine, is the most essential character in Candi Jago. In two other scenes, the cap-figures indicate the subject of love and union between man and woman as another essential theme.

I conclude that the cap-figures in the reliefs at Candi Jago have the function of pointing at the essential messages of the respective narrative reliefs, and thereby at the symbolic meaning of the reliefs. As the cap is a familiar fashion of headgear of the time, cap-figures appeal to the visitor and act as intermediary characters between the familiar mundane world from which the visitors come, and the sacral sphere of the temple. This intermediary character is specifically conveyed by the fact that the cap-figures represent the classes of commoners and servants and that they only appear on the two lowest levels, which mainly deal with moral conduct in the mundane world. In contrast, the upper levels – without depictions of cap-figures – are confined to the themes of ideal kingship, including the ideal of asceticism, and are more connected with the divine world. On the west side, which houses the entrance, the cap-figures, mostly commoners, are placed in such a way that the visitor will see them directly and will be confronted with the law of the *karma* and in particular with the effect of bad behaviour. Here the cap-figures provide an introduction to the symbolism of ideal kingship and to the symbolism of the Tantric doctrine. On the other sides of the building, cap-figures of higher status point to the important characters of the narratives, who are kings in the context of love with a woman, or Wairocana. Wairocana's outstanding position as the central Jina-Buddha who teaches the Tantric

dharma is emphasized by his frequent accompaniment by servants with caps.

In Candi Jago the figures wearing the cap, which was a local fashion of the time, represent the class of commoners and high-ranking servants. They belong to the mundane world of the visitors and as such directly appeal to them. By signalling the essential messages embedded in the whole corpus of narrative reliefs on the temple walls, they introduce the visitor to an encounter with these symbolic messages, which belong to the supra-mundane world. In this sense, they act as intermediaries between the mundane and the sacred world. The analysis of cap-figures in the following chapters will explicate this role as intermediaries in more detail.