Chapter VII

Candi Panataran: Panji, introducing the pilgrim into the Tantric doctrine

Candi Panataran, considered to be the State Temple of Majapahit and dedicated to the worship of Siwa, is the largest temple complex in East Java. Its significance in Majapahit religious practices and politics was continuously developed throughout the building activities in the temple during the fourteenth and beginning of fifteenth century. Narrative reliefs with cap-figures are scattered over several buildings: in two bathing places and in all of the three courtyards of the temple complex. Candi Panataran provides the largest number of depictions of cap-figures in comparison to other East Javanese temples.

LAYOUT AND ARCHITECTURE

Candi Panataran lies about 12 kilometres to the northeast of the town of Blitar on the lower slopes of the active volcano Mount Kelud.¹ It is a temple complex with an oblong layout consisting of three courts stretching from west to east. The ground levels of the three courtyards slope gently upwards from west to east, the axis of the whole complex being oriented towards the east. Mount Kelud, whose peak (1730 metres) lies at a distance of about 15 kilometres from Panataran to the north-northeast, is visible on clear days; the temple axis is, however, not oriented towards this mountain. It is possible that Candi Panataran's orientation is directed towards Mount Semeru (3676 metres), the highest mountain

¹ Mount Kelud erupted eight times during the Majapahit period (Sartono and Bandonio 1995:43-53). During the last centuries, this volcano was again active and erupted frequently with different measures of destructiveness. The last activity is reported for the year 2007.

Plate 7.1. Groundplan of Candi Panataran
(based on Bernet Kempers 1959:91, fig. 10, with numeration by Kieven)

(A) Main entrance, (B) Pendopo Agung, (C) Pendopo Terrace,
(D) Dated Temple, (E) Naga-temple, (F) Small Pendopo Terrace,
(G) Main Temple, (H) Main Temple body, (I) Inner Bathing Place

Fig. 7.2. Candi Panataran, entrance to the temple compound

in Java, situated about 80 kilometres to the east.² Walls between the courtyards and surrounding the whole compound are no longer extant; only a few remains in the ground indicate their former location. The courtyards of the temple are separated from each other by low thresholds. The entrances to each courtyard are still marked by large guardian figures. The first courtyard is much larger than the two that follow. The temple complex contains some well-preserved constructions as well as some foundations of former buildings. The length of the whole temple compound measures about 180 metres, and it is 60 metres wide (Krom 1923, II:273). Today the compound is surrounded by a fence.

The layout of Candi Panataran (fig. 7.1) has striking similarities to the present-day Balinese *pura* (temple), which is also characterized by three courtyards in a line, the forecourt having a profane use for preparations, the second court adopting a sacred status during temple ceremonies, and the third courtyard being permanently sacred.³ Soekmono (1990:83) even states that Candi Panataran ‘may be seen as a direct precursor of the Balinese temple of today’. The functions of the different parts of the *pura* have been used to explain the functions of the various buildings in the Panataran compound. These comparisons will be useful for my analysis.

It is also worthwhile comparing the arrangement of the courts of Candi Panataran with the palace of Majapahit, although the latter is a secular complex. Stutterheim (1948:3-4, 11-2), based on the descriptions given in the *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 8), explains that in the first court of the palace there is a *pendopo*. One progresses further towards the *dalem*, the inner area which is the most secluded part of the palace and the space reserved for the king.⁴ The tripartite layout of Candi Panataran is an outstanding example of one of the typical features of East Javanese temple architecture: the terraced structure of the temples, with the most sacred place situated in the rear side of the temple which, in the case of the linear layout of Panataran, is the third courtyard.

² This would support Klokke’s (1995) suggestion that all East Javanese temples are oriented towards the east because of the location of Mount Semeru, the highest and most sacred mountain.

³ This similarity has been noted by several authors, amongst them Krom 1923, II:250; Bernet Kempers 1959:90-1; Holt 1967:85; Soekmono 1995:105. For more information on the Balinese temple, see Goris 1938 (this Dutch version was in 1984 published in English).

⁴ The Majapahit palace has been the object of new investigation during recent years; see Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2008.

I provide a more detailed description of the temple layout. A few hundred metres to the northwest of the temple complex is the so-called Outer Bathing Place⁵ which has a natural source. It contains two water basins enclosed by high walls. In front of the actual *tirtha* stand the remains of a small architectural structure with some relief fragments. This *tirtha* probably formed part of the ritual procession to the proper temple complex of Panataran (Patt 1979:395, 487) and had the function of purifying the pilgrims.

The entrance to the temple complex (A) and the western courtyard is marked by two huge *dwarapala* figures (fig. 7.2). In the northwestern part of this first large courtyard is a large terrace, the so-called Pendopo Agung (B), adorned by only a few decorations. The Pendopo Terrace (C), right in the centre of the first courtyard, is dated to Saka 1297 (AD 1375):⁶ it is assumed to have been the base of an open hall (*pendopo*), as pillarbases, once supporting a roof, still stand on top of it. The Pendopo Terrace has a rectangular shape with the longer side stretching from north to south. Its walls are carved with narrative reliefs running in the counterclockwise *prasawya* direction. Satyawati Suleiman (1978:3) interprets the Pendopo Agung, in accordance with the still extant Balinese tradition, as a place for gatherings and meals during temple ceremonies, while the Pendopo Terrace served for the preparation of offerings.

The border towards the second courtyard is marked by the so-called Dated Temple (D), with the Saka date 1291 (AD 1369) carved on the lintel above the door. South of this building, two *dwarapala* figures flank the entrance to the next courtyard. A little more to the east and to the right of the two *dwarapala* stand two more, slightly smaller, guardian figures, flanking the remains of a small second gate next to the main gate.

The second court has the undated Naga Temple (E) in its northern part and a few brick remains, which probably belong to basements of former buildings. The Naga Temple is decorated with sculptures and a few decorative and narrative reliefs. I follow Klokke (1993:85) in her dating of this temple to the second half of the fourteenth century. Krom (1923, II:271), again comparing this Naga Temple with Balinese tradi-

⁵ In Indonesian, it is called *petirtaan luar*.

⁶ For this date and all the following dates of Candi Panataran, compare Krom 1923, II:245-83 and Stutterheim 1989:150. See also plate 7.3 with the chart of dates.

Another invaluable source of descriptions of Candi Panataran from the early times of archaeological survey are Van Stein Callenfels' publications and articles: see bibliography titles 1914-1925a.

tions, interprets its function to be a place where the treasures belonging to the gods were kept. Various conjectures about the symbolism of the Naga Temple will be discussed in the respective sub-chapter.

The entrance to the third courtyard is marked by two *dwarapala*. It is remarkable that this entrance, like the two other entrances with *dwarapala*, is not situated in the centre of the wall to the next courtyard, but in its southern part. The so-called Main Temple dominates the centre of the third, easternmost courtyard. A small rectangular base, decorated with reliefs, is situated to the southwest of the Main Temple; I call this the Small Pendopo Terrace (F). Comparing it with the two *pendopo* structures in the first courtyard, it seems that this base had a preparatory function as well; perhaps it was a place where offerings would be consecrated by a priest in a final step before entering the Main Temple. Two major parts of the original Main Temple are extant: the temple foot (G) and the temple body (H). The former stands at its original place while the latter, which originally stood on the foot of the temple, was reconstructed and placed on the north side of the building. Following convention I call the temple foot the 'Main Temple'. It consists of three well-preserved terraces. The lower two terraces are decorated with beautifully carved reliefs, those on the first terrace depicting scenes of the *Ramayana* in the counterclockwise *prasawya* direction, and those on the second terrace portraying the *Krishnayana* in *pradakshina*. The third terrace is decorated with winged lions and *naga*. The two stairways on the west side of the Main Temple are both flanked by two huge guardian figures whose backs are decorated with narrative reliefs. The body (H) of the Main Temple is decorated with ornamental and figural sculptures, amongst others with Garudas and winged *naga*.⁷ The statues of gods, which were originally placed in the temple niches, have disappeared. A Vishnu and a Brahma figure were still extant in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and a Siwa figure was confirmed to exist at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁸ Within the whole temple complex the Main Temple was obviously

⁷ Sockmono (1990:83) provides a nice impression of this situation: 'One can imagine how the whole *candi* [the Main Temple], when it was still standing, may have looked as if it were floating in the air.' Probably Sockmono draws on Dumarçay (1986a:78), who finds that 'the winged snakes [...] seem to carry the temple in the air'.

⁸ Krom 1923, II:267; Kinney 2003:183. Sockmono (1995:108) proposes that the *cella* of the Main Temple never contained a deity image, following the *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 78.2), which lists 'Palah' amongst the sanctuaries without an image of a deity (*pratishtha*).

a symbol for Mount Meru, the holy mountain and seat of the gods, and particularly the seat of God Siwa.

At the southeastern corner of this highest courtyard is a gate with the fragment of a wall which may have been a part of the original enclosure of the third courtyard. Behind the gate, steep stairways lead down to a lower level outside of the proper compound. On this lower level is the so-called Inner Bathing Place (I),⁹ which is fed by underground water and whose enclosing walls are carved with narrative reliefs.

HISTORY AND FUNCTION

Found scattered over the whole temple complex were several inscriptions with dates ranging from Saka 1119 to 1376 (AD 1197 to 1454), many of them still being in situ.

The monuments of Candi Panataran were built over a period of approximately 250 years. The earliest inscription on a stone at the south side of the Main Temple, dated AD 1197, states that King Srengga of Kediri dedicated a temple called Palah to Lord Bhatara (Krom 1923, II:246).¹⁰ However, it was more than 100 years until further building activities commenced. The largest number of inscriptions date from the time between AD 1318 and 1415, a period spanning nearly 100 years. This corresponds to the period from the early generations of Majapahit rulers – King Jayanagara (1309-1328), Queen Tribhuwana (1328-1350) – throughout the heyday of Majapahit under King Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389), and up to the beginning of the decline of Majapahit. The core part of construction seems to have taken place during the reign of Hayam Wuruk, between 1369-1379. This is attested by four inscriptions. If Candi Panataran was in fact the State Temple of Majapahit, then we can assume that the king himself ordered the construction and commanded the artists who carried out the concept.

We must keep this long period of development in mind when investigating and analysing Candi Panataran. The temple complex was not planned and constructed from the beginning as a unified whole. As the earliest inscription from AD 1197 of the Srengga sanctuary was issued more than 100 years before the main building project commenced, this

⁹ In Indonesian, it is called *petirtaan dalam*.

¹⁰ This large and impressive stone is still in situ.

Large stone at the south side of the Main Temple [King Srengga] ¹ (Krom p. 246)	AD 1197	Saka 1119
Lintel near the gate between the second and third courtyard (Krom p. 271; Perquin p.5)	AD 1318	Saka 1240
2 <i>dwarapala</i> at the gate between the second and third courtyard (Krom p. 271)	AD 1319	Saka 1241
2 large <i>dwarapala</i> at the main entrance (Perquin p. 6; Krom p. 273) ²	AD 1320	Saka 1242
Lintel next to the Dated Temple (Perquin p. 6; Krom p. 273)	AD 1323	Saka 1245
4 large <i>dwarapala</i> in front of the Main Temple (Krom p. 247, 267)	AD 1347	Saka 1269
Dated Temple (Krom p. 247)	AD 1369	Saka 1291
Lintel near the Main Temple (Hoepermans p. 357)	AD 1373	Saka 1295
Pendopo Terrace (Perquin p. 4; Krom p. 247)	AD 1375	Saka 1297
2 lintels (Krom p. 247)	AD 1379	Saka 1301
Inner Bathing Place (Krom p. 247)	AD 1415	Saka 1337
Dated stone (Krom p. 247)	AD 1454	Saka 1376

Table 7.3. Inscriptions found in the precinct of Candi Panataran
(sources in brackets referring to Hoepermans 1913b;
Perquin 1916b; Krom 1923, II)

sanctuary can certainly be ignored in the analysis of a presumably coherent concept for the entire temple complex.

The chronology of dates provides evidence that the entrance gates to the first and to the third courtyard, and particularly their *dwarapala*, belonged to the first set of constructions in the early fourteenth century. The date AD 1323 on the lintel next to the Dated Temple in the first courtyard does not offer useful information, as this lintel was found amongst other fragments which derive from the Naga Temple in the second courtyard. Therefore, this lintel may have been a part of a building in any of the three courtyards. Remains of an older construction, found during the restoration within the walls of the Main Temple, suggest a

prior main sanctuary existed in this place. It is commonly agreed that the actual Main Temple is an extension of this sanctuary (Krom 1923, II:266). This early sanctuary may be the one referred to in the Srengga inscription from AD 1197, since this inscribed stone was found at the side of the Main Temple. The extension and its relief carvings were presumably constructed at the same time as the four large *dwarapala* (AD 1347) in front of this temple.¹¹ In chronological order the next major architecture is the Dated Temple (AD 1369), built against the wall dividing the first and the second courtyard; it was shortly after this temple that the Pendopo Terrace (AD 1375) was built. The Inner Bathing Place was only constructed 40 years later, after the primary construction projects of the fourteenth century.

Thus we get a picture of a building process that started with the creation of the layout of the temple through marking off the three courtyards with gates and *dwarapala*; this was followed by a rebuilding or an extension of the Main Temple with its guardian figures. Most likely, the Outer Bathing Place was also built in this period (Patt 1979:398). I conclude that an all-embracing concept for the temple compound was already in existence at the time when its layout was determined by the three-courtyard structure, and that the Main Temple, as the core building of the complex, was the linchpin or the basis for this concept. The Outer Bathing Place as a ritual purification site was already part of this initial concept, which was then expanded and transferred to the construction of the other buildings in the compound. The Pendopo Terrace in the front courtyard figures as a part in this expansion. The Inner Bathing Place was finally added as a climax of this development, either to enhance the given concept or to express a variation of it. As the Bathing Place is on the spot of a natural well of underground water, it is possible that this well was already in use and considered to be a holy place long before the very construction of a *tirtha*. Perhaps the well's geographical location even constituted the reason for choosing this site for the Srengga sanctuary in AD 1197 and, subsequently, for the construction of the whole temple.

To summarize, I conclude that the concept of this important temple complex was not developed at random. Rather, there is a high probability there existed an underlying theory of its function and symbolism, which

¹¹ See my discussion of the issue of dating the Main Temple further down in this chapter.

was further developed through the successive steps of each extension. I will argue that in its final, complete stage this concept was determined by the Tantric doctrine, which was embedded in the larger religious and political context.

The understanding of Candi Panataran as the State Temple of Majapahit is based on several facts: the visits by King Hayam Wuruk and his worship in the temple as mentioned in the *Nagarakertagama*; its size – it is the largest of all East Javanese temples; and its constructions and extensions over the long period of reigns of no less than five kings and queens. The function of a state temple differs from that of the other temples in East Java, which were commemorative temples, temples for the worship of a god, hermitages, small sanctuaries, or a combination of all of these. This function of state temple, however, has not been sufficiently investigated and analysed, and it still needs further research.

It is commonly agreed that the name ‘Palah’ in the Srengga inscription (AD 1197) is another name for Panataran.¹² The *Nagarakertagama* mentions ‘Palah’ three times, once in the list of freeholds (*Nag.* 78.2) and twice when Hayam Wuruk’s visits to this temple are recorded.¹³ Every year after the cold season the king travelled through the country and visited several places,¹⁴ amongst them

[...] he goes to Palah to come into the presence of the divine Lord of the Mountain with devotion and reverence
(*Nag.* 17.5a; Robson 1995:36).

In Saka ‘three-bodies-suns’ (1283, AD 1361) in the month of Wesaka,
The King went to worship at Palah with his followers
(*Nag.* 61.2; Robson 1995:68).¹⁵

If indeed Panataran/Palah was the State Temple, we may actually wonder why it was only mentioned three times in the *Nagarakertagama*, and why Hayam Wuruk’s visits and worship were not more extensively de-

¹² Krom 1923, II:246; Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:163-4; Supomo 1972:290-4.

¹³ In both of these latter verses Blitar is mentioned in the travel route of the king, which supports the identity of Palah with Candi Panataran.

¹⁴ In Java the ‘cold season’ corresponds to the dry season: in July/August the nights can become quite cold.

¹⁵ ‘Wesaka’ is the name for the month April/May (Pigeaud 1960-63, IV:163; Robson 1971:129). Obviously this verse refers to another tour than the one mentioned in *Nag.* 17.5, which started in September.

scribed.¹⁶ However, the term ‘Lord of the Mountains’ (‘Hyang Acalapati’ in *Nag.* 17.5) indicates the temple’s major importance; this is still enhanced by its connection to the term ‘Parwatanatha’ as a name for King Hayam Wuruk in *Nag.* 1.1, which also means ‘Lord of the Mountains’. This term has evoked broad scholarly discussion and has been a special object of research by Supomo (1972). In his re-investigation of the various opinions, Supomo discusses further names denoting ‘Lord of the Mountains’, as mentioned in other *kakawin*; these are Girindra, Giripati, Girinatha, Rajaparwata, Parwataraja, and Parwatarajadewa. Supomo (1972:285, 293-4) argues that the equivalence between the ‘Lord of the Mountains’ and Siwa, which is assumed by several authors,¹⁷ cannot be correct. He concludes, however, that the ‘Lord of the Mountains’ of the *Nagarakertagama* is ‘both the Supreme God and the Great Ruler of the Realm; he was neither Siwa, nor Buddha, but, in Prapanca’s words: Siwa-Buddha’. This deity is ‘some sort of national god’ of Majapahit, who was worshipped in Candi Panataran (Supomo 1972:293). This means that ‘Rajasanagara’s visit to Palah had something to do with mountain worship’ (Supomo 1972:291). In this temple, the Supreme God was worshipped. As King Hayam Wuruk himself was meant to be the Lord of the Mountains, his visit to Palah was ‘thus an act of yoga, leading to a mystical union between the micro-cosmic and macrocosmic Lord of the Mountains’ (Supomo 1972:292).

Soekmono (1995:108) has pointed to the fact that Palah/Panataran was listed in the *Nagarakertagama* as one of the *dharma lepas* (freehold), and not of the royal *dharma haji*, as one would expect.¹⁸ The *dharma lepas* was ‘a gift of land by the king to his subjects (primarily the priests) to be used for offerings to the gods and their own subsistence’, while the ‘yield of a *dharma haji* benefited the king and his family’. Soekmono does not further elaborate on the application of this issue to the function of Candi Panataran. However, we may conclude that the temple’s status as a *dharma lepas* indeed confirms that its function is to worship the gods. In case future discussion of Candi Panataran will impart to abandon its interpretation of State Temple, its outstanding importance in Majapahit religious and political policy still cannot be refuted.

¹⁶ Pigeaud (1960-63, IV:163) also wonders about the only casual mention of Palah in Prapanca’s poem.

¹⁷ See for example Krom 1923, II:281, Stutterheim 1989:151, and Bernet Kempers 1959:90.

¹⁸ Soekmono refers to Bosch 1918.

The long-lasting importance of the temple is evident from the mention of 'Palah' in the *Bujangga Manik* story, written around AD 1500. The pilgrim narrates that on his journey to sacred places in Java he stayed for a year in Palah, and that during this time he read two texts, the *Darmaweya* and the *Pandawa Jaya*. According to Noorduyn (1982:431), the latter was obviously a Javanese version of the *Mahabharata*, and the first one might stand for 'knowledge of the law'. This means that Bujangga Manik was studying the *dharma*, the religious doctrine. He gives us a lively image of the activities in the temple compound: 'I could not stand the continuous noise, of those who came to worship and offer gold, who paid homage without interruption'.¹⁹ Bujangga Manik's report makes clear that Palah was both a place of worship and of study. My investigation of Candi Panataran supports the idea that the study and teaching of the *dharma* was indeed a major function of the temple, beside its function to worship the gods.

For the time being, the first known source which mentions the name 'Panataran' is the nineteenth-century *Serat Centhini*, while the last source using the name 'Palah' is the *Bujangga Manik*. This means we do not know at precisely when and why the name was changed between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁰

ICONOGRAPHY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RELIEFS WITH CAP-FIGURES

THE OUTER BATHING PLACE

The so-called Outer Bathing Place lies a few hundred metres to the northwest of the temple compound next to a river. It consists of two basins, each provided with a spout, which were originally fed with water through conduits from a nearby source. This source seems to have simul-

¹⁹ Noorduyn 2006:264. In the *Serat Centhini* (Canto 20.29), Candi Panataran was said to be visited by the protagonists of the story, showing that this site was still highly esteemed in the nineteenth century in circles where Islamic mysticism was practised in Java. There exist several publications of the *Serat Centhini*, for example Amengkunagara III 1985. For a very recent study of the *Serat Centhini*, see Soewito Santoso 2006:40-1 with reference to Panataran. Further publications during the last years in Indonesian language on the *Serat Centhini* attest to an increased interest and a revitalization of this outstanding work of Javanese literature (Elizabeth Inandiak 2004; Djoko Dwiyanto 2008).

²⁰ Dwi Cahyono, historian at Universitas Negeri Malang, mentioned in a personal communication (12-6-2010) that he is conducting research on a possibly earlier use of the name 'Panataran'.

taneously fed another bathing place, 650 feet away to the north, as demonstrated by a few remains found in the early twentieth century.²¹ The former, well-preserved and restored Outer Bathing Place is also called the *Ngetos* Bathing Place by the local people. Patt (1979:398) concludes on the basis of stylistic comparisons that it was constructed during the extension works of Candi Panataran in the fourteenth century.

Referring to early Dutch sources, Patt (1979:393-6) mentions an image of a goddess standing in front of a backslab, whose original location was most likely on the wall of one of the basins. In opposition to Dutch interpretations of this image as an image of Sri, she concludes from its attributes, such as a fly whisk, that it represented Parwati. She also argues that the second basin would have had an image of Siwa. No traces of any of these images are extant in the present day.

During my visit in 2006, a fragment of a relief (fig. 7.4) was visible in front of the actual *tirtha* on the remains of a small structure.²² This fragment displayed two male heads facing each other. Although quite weathered, it seems that both faces have a moustache. The right one has flattened hair, and on the head of the man on the left side the edge of a cap is visible. Each of them wears an earring, which suggests they are of noble status. These heads are strikingly similar to those of the standing figures at the Inner Bathing Place (see below), and are also of the same size. It seems probable that the faces were originally part of standing figures, comparable to those from the Inner Bathing Place. The foot visible on the fragment of another carved stone, at the time of taking the photo placed on the left-hand side of the fragment with the heads, seems to have formed part of the standing figures.

In ancient times, the *Ngetos tirtha* was probably located on the road that led to Panataran, just as it does today, so that we may assume it served as a place of ritual purification prior to entering the actual temple compound. Patt concludes from the remains of the other *tirtha*, which seems to have been more modest, that perhaps this second *tirtha* served as a public basin, while the *Ngetos tirtha*, with its two basins and the two statues, 'was only for the use of the sovereigns and perhaps their retinue' (Patt 1979:399), which is quite convincing. Furthermore, she suggests

²¹ Patt 1979:393. These remains, buried in the *sawah* grounds, are no longer visible today.

²² During my last visit in September 2007, this fragment was not in situ any more. In October 2006 I still was able to document it in a photo. Patt does not mention either the structure or the relief fragment.

Fig. 7.4 Outer Bathing Place, relief fragment

that the two basins imply this *tirtha* was used by men and women separately in their respective basins.²³

I propose that the figure with the cap, together with his companion, may have been intended to introduce pilgrims to the bathing place and invite them to purify themselves in one of the two basins. Afterwards they would be ready to go on their ritual way through the temple compound.²⁴

THE PENDOPO TERRACE (C)

The whole terrace, with its rectangular ground plan, is at its foot encircled by the carving of a pair of intertwined bodies of snakes (*naga*). In the corners of the building these snakes converge to form one single head.²⁵ While the eastern wall is divided into three parts by two other snakes' raised heads (fig. 7.8), the west side of the terrace is divided into three parts by two stairways. Next to each stair a small *rakshasa* is placed. The reliefs cover the whole expanse of the walls between the architectural separating elements (plate 7.5).

A profiled ledge and a decorated cornice above form the upper border of the wall. The ledge has several inscriptions (Satyawati Suleiman 1978:18). The cornice is decorated with spiral, floral, and some small narrative motifs at irregular distances from each other. Many of these motifs present parts of *Tantri* stories, which are discussed by Brandes (1902b) and have been further identified by Klokke (1993:225-9). Other motifs are floppy-eared animals, which have been interpreted as symbols of divine kingship (Klokke 1993:150). The north side has no such depic-

²³ This is also still the practice today in the *tirtha* of Jolotundo with its two separate basins.

²⁴ Compare Patt 1979:399, 487.

²⁵ The snake's head on the southwestern corner is missing and replaced by a plain stone.

tions at all, however it contains a few inscriptions. I will pass over the inscriptions and cornice decorations since after having looked at them, they seem to add no substantial data to my argument.²⁶

All the reliefs are to be read in the ritual direction *prasaweya*, which we can detect from the postures of the depicted actors. My description of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace is based on Satyawati Suleiman's (1978) monograph about these reliefs, and I will further develop her interpretations.²⁷ Following Satyawati Suleiman, three narratives have been identified: the *Satyawan*, the *Bubukshah*, and the *Sri Tanjung*, while the others are still unknown. It is not clear where the relief series actually begins. I will argue that the starting point is on the northwestern corner. Nor is it clear how many narratives are depicted and where exactly each begins and ends. Through my investigation of the reliefs, I have concluded that nine narratives, including the three mentioned above, are depicted, and that they are self-contained and internally coherent. In most cases the depictions allow us to identify the plots of these narratives. It is not my aim to provide absolute identifications of the depicted stories. My argument is based on the identification of the major themes of the plots to arrive at an understanding of the symbolic meanings of these stories. These major themes are: the frequent and repeatedly illustrated scenes of the separation of two lovers; their search for each other; a meeting with hermits; the crossing of water; the final reunion of the two lovers.

Some iconographical recurrent features shall be presented. Many scenes are separated from each other by the depiction of a tree, a building or by some curly ornaments which mark the depicted scenes as a coherent episode. The major architectural divisions of the terrace also separate the scenes. A tree with a twisted trunk seems to indicate that the scene takes place in an environment of higher social status, as can be deduced from the other motifs in these scenes. The principal male protagonist is a figure wearing a cap. This figure is a type of nobleman. He always has a bare chest and usually wears a long *kain*, with a sash bound around the waist. He wears a bracelet around each of the lower arms, and it seems that in most cases he wears earrings, although sometimes the reliefs are too weathered to be sure of the details. The large cap has the typical crescent-moon-like shape with a sharp edge and some curls of hair visible on the forehead. Besides this slender nobleman, there is also

²⁶ They would, however, deserve investigation in an encompassing monograph on Candi Panataran.

²⁷ Referring to my Chapter III on iconography, I will here describe the main characters and elements.

another figure, who is quite stout and a bit shorter, but otherwise has the same iconographic features of a nobleman. Other frequently depicted men are: a hermit (*rshi*) with turban-like headdress (*ketu*); a *panakawan* with either a small or large and, sometimes, a fat body shape; a man of the *kadeyan* type with a sturdy body and crinkled hair in a bun and mostly wearing a short *kain*; a man with short-cut or flattened hair of the novice type. In several scenes a man is depicted tucking one part of his long *kain* up so that one knee is visible. I have earlier interpreted this posture as signifying an erotic mood. The two major types of women are the young noblewoman with her hair loose, and a maid servant with her hair in a bun. In several reliefs we encounter the depiction of a hermitess (*kili*) or widow with the specific turban-like headdress. Other characters will be described when discussing particular reliefs.

There are several specific situations which occur repeatedly in the illustrations:

- (a) Longing and separation: the man and woman sit in the typical postures of longing for love
- (b) Journey of the cap-man together with a *panakawan* or a *kadeyan*
- (c) Union between a man and a woman in the typical posture of sexual union
- (d) Meeting with hermits
- (e) Crossing of water

All these features are typical of Panji stories when we compare them with the core plot of this literary genre I presented earlier. The features (a)-(c) represent the most essential ones in this core plot. The features (d) and (e) only occur in some versions of Panji stories, but through their frequent and dominant depiction in the reliefs they are given prominence and importance in this visual medium. On the other hand, particular Panji stories which have features (d) and (e) as major elements may deliberately have been chosen for the depictions. My analysis of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace will show that indeed most of the series depict Panji stories. In most cases I identify the noblemen with a cap as Panji. After my exploration of the entire corpus of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace, I will discuss and confirm this hypothesis. Satyawati Suleiman (1978:24) also concludes that Panji stories are represented on the Pendopo Terrace. In the following descriptions and interpretations

of the reliefs, I will, where applicable, use the name ‘Panji’ for the noble cap-figure, hence anticipating the confirmation of my hypothesis.

In my description I follow Satyawati Suleiman (1978) by referring to her panel numbers, which run from 1 to 80, starting from the southeastern corner.²⁸ I will only show a selection of photos of the most significant relief panels, in order not to go beyond a reasonable scope for this book. Photos of all reliefs are provided in Satyawati Suleiman 1978. In a few cases, the joints between two panels do not really fit. Thus I am not sure whether the arrangement of the relief stones is still in the original order. I will discuss this further down.

THE SANG SATYAWAN STORY

Panels 1-18 have been interpreted as the *Sang Satyawana* story.²⁹ I do, however, only identify panels 1-13 with part of this story. The story speaks of the heavenly being Sang Satyawan who comes down to earth to the palace of King Yayati where he is promised the hand of the king’s daughter, Suwistri. They marry; however, soon afterwards Sang Satyawan leaves her to practise asceticism. Suwistri goes and searches for him. During her journey she passes an area where hermits are working in the fields, who are attracted by her beauty and fight over her with one another. In the end, Suwistri finds her husband, who has become a hermit. He has changed his name to Cilimurti and teaches her the *dharmā*, which is elaborately described in the text. Suwistri becomes a hermit like her husband and changes her name to Kili Brangti. She becomes one with Cilimurti. Finally the parents of Suwistri, Yayati and Dewayani, in search of their daughter arrive at Cilimurti’s hermitage. Cilimurti tells them that actually he is Sanghyang Wenang, that is, the Highest Being, and he orders them to go into retreat to Mount Meru and separately practise asceticism there for one year. In the end they are united in one being.

²⁸ In my descriptions of the scenes I will only in significant cases give the exact page reference to Satyawati Suleiman.

²⁹ Van Stein Callenfels 1925a:140-52; Satyawati Suleiman 1978:6-9. Klokke (1992:83) doubts the identification, since in too many points the reliefs deviate from the text. The story, a *kidung*, was composed by a nun, probably in Banyuwangi at the eastern tip of Java; the date is not known. In the ‘Banyuwangi school’ the *kidung* of *Sudamala* and *Sri Tanjung* were also created. This ‘Banyuwangi school’ actually reached its peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in a period when the rest of Java was Islamized, but Banyuwangi itself remained Hindu (Zoetmulder 1974:433).

Plate 7.5. Groundplan of the Pendopo Terrace, with location of panels as mentioned in the text, the numbers following Suleiman's (1978) numeration

Fig. 7.6. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 4

Panels 1-2 depict an empty *pendopo* with a curtain. In front of it sits a young noblewoman in a longing posture, accompanied by a maid servant. The next scene shows the maid servant alone. In panel 3 (fig. 11.1) a slender noble cap-figure, accompanied by a *panakawan*, stands in front of a tree and a gate. The following scene (panel 4) shows the cap-figure and the noble young woman sitting together in the *pendopo*, the curtain pulled aside (fig. 7.6). They are in the typical posture of consummating marriage or making love. In panels 5-6 the nobleman from before, no longer wearing a cap, sits beneath a tree, and the young noblewoman stands looking towards him. These six panels illustrate Suwistri longing for Sang Satyawati and setting out to meet him, leaving her maid behind. Sang Satyawati himself approaches Suwistri, finally meeting her and consummating his marriage with her. Sang Satyawati, after having become a hermit to practise asceticism, has removed his worldly headdress.

The following panel, panel 7, shows a flying serpent and a dog. The poem describes a test which Sang Satyawati sets for his wife by sending a serpent and a white tiger. Satyawati Suleiman and Van Stein Callenfels (1925a:148) interpret the dog to be the white tiger. However, as will be obvious from the *Bubukshah* reliefs, the artists knew very well how to carve a tiger. The dog appears in several panels on the Pendopo Terrace, and I conclude that the dog is a sign of loyalty or faithfulness towards a beloved one.³⁰ The depiction of the dog in the *Sang Satyawati* scene may be a deliberate deviation from the original story, or it may follow an oral or unknown written version. Panel 8 depicts two men fighting with each other; according to Satyawati Suleiman, they are the hermits who work in the fields and fight with each other over the beautiful Suwistri.

In panels 9-10 the slender man with the short hair, his *kain* now tucked up, holds a woman by the hand and leads her through shallow water. The woman, her hair in a bun, also holds her skirt tucked up to prevent it from getting wet. They are then portrayed walking through deep water, the man looking back to her and pointing in front of him as if explaining something to her (fig. 7.7). I follow Van Stein Callenfels' (1925a:148-9) interpretation of these scenes as Cilimurti teaching his wife, who has become a nun. The crossing of the water is not mentioned in the text and

³⁰ The loyalty of a dog occurs as well in Indian/Old Javanese mythology in the final sequence of the *Mahabharata*, where a dog follows Yudhishtira on his way up to Mount Meru and to the gate of heaven. Maybe we can also consider the analogy of the loyalty a dog shows towards its owner, a symbol which is also known from European art.

Fig. 7.7. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 9-10

thus again follows another version and has deliberately been depicted. Following my earlier discussion of the symbolism of water, I interpret these two scenes of crossing water, in the meaning of *tirtha*, to symbolize the progression to the teaching of the *dharma*, which is demonstrated in the way they become more deeply immersed in the water.

Panels 11-12 depict two stout men sitting, each in front of a plate of food, with rain pouring down around them. To the right of them two men in short *kain* are portrayed in running positions (panel 13). These men have been interpreted by Satyawati Suleiman and by Van Stein Callenfels as visualizations of the teaching of the *dharma* which Cilimurti imparts to his wife: the path that leads to the overcoming of greed and desire, illustrated in the longing for tasty food, the distaste of getting wet from rain, and the anticipation of possessing attractive objects.

The large number, four, of scenes which are connected with the teaching of the *dharma* illustrate the importance of this religious teaching within the reliefs. The *Sang Satyawati* reliefs contain all the elements (a)-(e) mentioned above which are typical for the depictions of the Panji stories. The feature (d), though not expressly depicting a hermit, is symbolized through the visualizations of the teaching of the *dharma*. Thus, although not a Panji story itself, the same message is embedded and expressed in the depictions of the *Sang Satyawati* story.

THE STORY WITH THE HERMIT

Panels 14 to 18, starting beyond the sculpted *naga* head, seem to illustrate another coherent story (figs. 7.8 and 7.9). The first three panels each portray a hermit sitting opposite a guest, gesturing with his hands

Fig. 7.8. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 13-14

Fig. 7.9. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 15-16

in explanation. The first guest is a stout nobleman with flattened hair, accompanied by a servant; the next guest, a stout nobleman wearing a cap, accompanied by a dog; the last, a young noblewoman with a maid servant. These scenes, according to Satyawati Suleiman (1978:8) and Van Stein Callenfels (1925a:145-6), represent Cilimurti, the protagonist from the *Sang Satyawati* story, now as a hermit, first receiving a messenger and then King Yayati and his wife, who are in search of their daughter.

In panel 17 the stout nobleman with a cap faces the noble young woman with long hair. Panel 18 shows the nobleman with the cap, accompanied by a small dog, and a woman with short hair or a bun, both walking. According to Satyawati Suleiman and Van Stein Callenfels, this would signify the king and the queen together walking up the mountain to their retreat before separating to go to their respective places of meditation.

However, I would rather suggest another interpretation. It is not common to depict a king with a cap; a nobleman with a cap is usually a young man or a prince. As the body of the cap-figure in panels 15, 17, and 18 has a round belly and is much stouter than the body of Sang Satyawati in the preceding panels, it seems that two different characters are represented. Moreover, it would be quite astonishing for an adult woman like the wife of King Yayati to have loose hair. In panels 17 and 18 a part of the *kain* of the cap-figure is tucked up as he walks, which I interpret as the expression of an erotic mood. I argue that a new story is depicted in the panels 14-18. A prince, perhaps Panji, seeks advice from a hermit and as a sign of reverence has taken off his cap. He then visits the hermit again, this time wearing the cap, and he is ready to search for his beloved, as emphasized by the dog as a sign for Panji's faithfulness towards her. His beloved also seeks advice from the hermit, and finally the two lovers meet. He expresses his erotic mood by lifting the *kain*. He then, still in this mood, follows her, though she has changed her attitude in preparation for becoming a nun. In either interpretation of panels 14-18, it is remarkable that three scenes have been dedicated to the visits of the hermit, thus highlighting the topic of religious teaching, just as in the *Satyawan* reliefs. I call this series the 'story with the hermit'. The elements (a), (b), (d) are depicted.

THE BUBUKSHAH STORY

Panels 19-23 illustrate the *Bubukshah* story.³¹ The two brothers Bubukshah ('greedy guts') and Gagak Aking ('dry stalk')³² live as ascetics on Mount Wilis, each of them following his own style of asceticism (fig. 7.10). While the latter is a strict vegetarian, the former eats everything that he finds in his trap, even human beings. Bhatara Guru tests them to see if they are ready for *moksha*, liberation or salvation from earthly bonds, and sends God Kalawijaya in the form of a white tiger to them. The white tiger wishes to eat Gagak Aking, who says that his body will not provide much food for the tiger as he is so skinny, and that the tiger should better approach his fat brother. This demonstrates that Gagak Aking is not yet

³¹ Satyawati Suleiman 1978:6-7, 9; Van Stein Callenfels 1919:348-60, 1925a:146. This story is also represented at Candi Surowono.

³² In the context of the *Bubukshah* and *Gagak Aking* story, *gagak aking* is usually translated as 'dry stalk', *aking* meaning 'dry' and *gagak* meaning 'stalk' (Van Stein Callenfels 1919:352). However, the Old Javanese translation of *gagak* is 'crow' (Zoetmulder 1982:473). Maybe 'stalk' can be understood as a figurative interpretation of a crow?

Fig. 7.10. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 19

ready for *moksha*. Bubukshah, however, is ready to serve as food for the tiger. Thus, the tiger offers to take him to heaven.³³ Bubukshah pleads his brother's case, and Gagak Aking is allowed to join them on the path to heaven. There Bubukshah is given all happiness, while his brother only receives some of it. Bubukshah represents the ideal type of a Buddhist priest and plays the role of an intercessor.³⁴ The panels depict the following episodes: the two brothers sit next to each other, the tiger first approaches Gagak Aking and then Bubukshah; Bubukshah rides on the back of the tiger towards heaven with his brother holding on to the tail of the tiger. Finally, the two brothers follow God Kalawijaya in his heavenly form. In this relief series, no cap-figure is depicted.

The *Bubukshah* story is in a way a symbolic continuation of the 'story with the hermit'. The characters Bubukshah, the fat one, and Gagak Aking, the slim one, correspond in my view to the depictions of Panji with a stout body, and his beloved with a slender body, as shown in the previous panels 15-18. This would explain the fat body of Panji and his erotic mood, which both are signs that he does not refrain from his senses. The slim body of his beloved, who prepares to become a nun, is the equivalent of the ascetic Gagak Aking. In the 'story with the hermit' the cap-figure signals the issue of asceticism and thereby prefigures the *Bubukshah* story, which thematizes this same issue.

It is intriguing that the borders between the *Bubukshah* reliefs and both the preceding and the following stories are not very prominent, but

³³ A very similar episode is narrated in the *Sutasoma kakawin* where Sutasoma is undergoing tests by the gods.

³⁴ Van Stein Callenfels 1919:348-9; Satyawati Sulciman 1978:7; Rassers 1959:74.

Fig. 7.11. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 24

rather small ornamental frames. This conveys the impression that the *Bubukshah* story is just interpolated and that actually there is a continuous flow from one story to the next.

THE STORY OF THE NAGA KING

The long series of panels 24-39 stretches along the whole northern half of the east wall up to the corner. In panel 24 (fig. 7.11) a man of higher status, his hair in a bun, sits on a pedestal in a 'longing position'. A servant presents him a bowl, or perhaps a spittoon. A servant and a nobleman with a cap kneel before him, the former making a *sembah*, the latter clasping his hands in front of the chest, which may be a sign of feeling cold and thus indicates the situation to happen in the night,³⁵ or it may be a sign of humbleness (Satyawati Suleiman 1978:10).

The next panel (25) shows the cap-figure standing and holding a *tumpeng*-shaped offering.³⁶ In front of him are a few parts of ghost figures. Panel 26 (fig. 7.12) shows the cap-figure kneeling, making a *sembah*, together with his servant in front of a huge deity figure in a threatening stance with the offering placed in front of her. A large ghost head and trees in demonic shapes surround the deity figure.

My interpretation is as follows. Since the cap-figure is more slender than the one in the 'story with the hermit', and his hair is differently arranged, a new story with another nobleman is depicted. The man sitting on the pedestal brings to mind the depiction of the king in the *Sudhanakumara* reliefs at Candi Jago, who sits in the same posture wear-

³⁵ See above (Chapter III) in the description of the Gambyok relief.

³⁶ A *tumpeng* is a cone-shaped rice dish that serves a ritual purpose.

Fig. 7.12. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panel 26

ing the same kind of hair bun and to whom a betel box and a spittoon are also presented. Above I interpreted the ‘longing position’ of the king in Candi Jago as a sign of empathy with the great love between his daughter and a prince. Here, at Panataran, a similar empathy might be expressed with the young Prince Panji, who in the continuing panels will be depicted as being involved in a love story. I interpret this scene to portray Panji taking leave from a royal person who gives him orders to pay homage to the Goddess Durga before he will be able to progress further on his journey. This journey will be continued in the following panels. Thus, Panji visits the cemetery, the dwelling place of Durga, and presents offerings to her.³⁷

To the right of the wall-dividing *naga* head the story carries on in panels 27-39. The same cap-figure as before is the main character in these scenes. In panel 27 he stands facing a maid servant in front of a small *pendopo*. A tree between them with a twisted trunk indicates an aristocratic context. In the next scene (panel 28), a young noblewoman sits in the longing posture at the rear of a larger *pendopo*. In the front part of the *pendopo* sit a nobleman with short hair and a woman. The cap-figure stands facing the *pendopo*, accompanied by a dog. An entrance gate, which is a sign for a royal compound, encloses the scene. In both scenes the cap-figure again crosses the hands in front of his breast.

³⁷ The image of Durga and the whole scene in the cemetery is very similar to the one in the depiction of the *Sudamala* reliefs at Candi Tigowangi from the end of the fourteenth century. The carvers of the Tigowangi relief might have relied on the Pendopo relief. The same motif, though in a different style, is also depicted at Candi Sukuh, from the middle of the fifteenth century. For the *Sudamala* story and depictions see Van Stein Callenfels 1925a.

Fig. 7.13. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 33-34

My interpretation of these scenes is that the cap-figure, Panji, asks permission from a maid servant to gain access to the compound of the family of his beloved. He is then allowed to proceed through the gate to meet the parents of the young woman, who is longing for him. The dog is a symbol of his love and faithfulness. However, Panji and the young woman are not yet given permission by her parents to meet each other. He must first complete a task, which will be depicted in the following panels. Panji's gesture of crossing the hands in front of the breast may visualize his politeness, or instead indicate that the three scenes take place in the night. Whichever interpretation is correct is, however, not important for the understanding of the story plot.

Behind the gate in panel 29, the cap-man now stands together with a *kadeyan*-like man. Both of them expose one leg by opening the *kain*. Then (panel 30) the same two men sit in a small boat on the water. In panel 31 the cap-man is nearly drowning in the water. In panel 32 we see the cap-figure kneeling in *sembah* in front of a god-like figure with an animal head and tail representing the *naga* king (Satyawati Suleiman 1978:10). Panel 33 (fig. 7.13) illustrates the cap-man, now sitting on a dolphin in the water and holding a box.

My interpretation of this sequence is: Panji and a *kadeyan* go out to the sea to complete the task ordered by the young woman's parents. The erotic attitude in their postures is associated with the longing of Panji for the young woman. Panji falls into the water and travels to the bottom of the ocean where he meets the *naga* king. He worships the king and asks him for something, perhaps a jewel since in Javanese mythology the *naga* king is known as the keeper of a precious jewel. Obviously Panji receives

this jewel, which he holds in a box when he continues his journey riding on the fish.

Panels 34-35 depict the cap-figure sitting alone in a small *pendopo* and watching a young noblewoman and a maid servant standing outside. Then (panel 36) the maid servant appears alone, followed by a scene (panel 37) in which the young noblewoman sits on the lap of the cap-figure in the *pendopo*, while the maid servant watches them from outside panel 38) (fig. 7.14). In the last panel (panel 39) the cap-figure and the young woman stand close to each other, as the cap-figure tucks up his *kain* and shows his bare leg. In panels 34-39 Panji is depicted with a more slender body than before.

I interpret these scenes as the preparation for the meeting, followed by the union of the young woman with Panji and their love-making, an act which is spied upon by the maid servant. Eventually the couple walk together as an acknowledged couple. The spying maid has the role of a *sang manawing* (someone spying behind a wall) who witnesses the consummation of marriage, as is often mentioned in *kakawin* texts (Zoetmulder 1982:1966-7; Supomo 2000:273-4; Kieven 2003:345). The *pendopo* illustrates the 'fragrant bedroom' which frequently features in poetical descriptions of love-making, both in *kakawin* and in *kidung* texts. The motif of the *pendopo* scene resembles very much the earlier scene in panel 4.³⁸

I argue that the whole series of panels 24-39 depict a continuous story. The young Prince Panji, who is in search for his betrothed, Princess Candrakirana, receives the task from an aristocratic authority to first pay homage to Durga. Candrakirana's parents then give him another task, and Panji crosses the water to meet the *naga* king and returns with a grant given to him by the *naga* king. After having completed all the tasks, he achieves the status of a grown nobleman, which is indicated by his more slender and refined body shape. Finally, he is allowed to meet his beloved and consummates his marriage with her, after which they officially become a couple. I call this story 'the story of the *naga* king'.

It seems once again that this story has a deeper symbolic meaning. The meeting with Durga is depicted in detail as the world of death and ghosts. In the *Sudamala* and the *Sri Tanjung* stories an encounter with the Goddess Durga in a cemetery is spiritually purifying, that is to say,

³⁸ Kieven 2003:345. Compare, for example, the *Wangbang Wideya* Canto 1.23b, 1.24a, 126b, 3.111b (Robson 1971:68-71, 207).

Fig. 7.14. Pendopo Terrace, east side, panels 36-38

it is an exorcist act, which seems also to hold true for the depictions.³⁹ The fact that Panji crosses the water, drowns, and receives a grant from a deity in the ocean, bears striking resemblance to the episode of the *Bhimasuci* story where Bhima, in search for *amerta*, goes to the bottom of the ocean, whereupon he finally discovers *amerta* and Higher Wisdom. Panji obviously also searches for something sacred, expressed by his devoted attitude towards the *naga* king, and the grant he receives from this deity may symbolize, just as it does in the *Bhimasuci* story, the teaching and the following insight into Higher Knowledge. This prepares him for the union with his woman. So in the end, after having undergone the necessary teaching, the union of the male and female is consummated. Once again the crossing of water, depicted twice, plays an important role in the process of the story. This whole sequence of panels 24-39 has the typical elements of a Panji story, (a)-(e), in this case the element (d) being represented by the meeting with the *naga* king who acts as a teacher.

THE PROCESSION STORY

On the north side panels 40-46 run along the whole wall. Panel 40 portrays a maid servant in a forest, holding a knife and a long leaf. The woman has cut a *pudak* (pandanus flower), a common writing material, as *kakawin* attest. In panel 41 she holds the *pudak* in her hand, accompanying a cap-figure and a noblewoman. This woman, bending her body in love, wears a cone-shaped hat and has a little dog next to her. The hat of the

³⁹ Compare Chapter VIII on Candi Surowono, and Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Tantrism'. Concerning the *Sudamala*, see Van Stein Callenfels 1925a; concerning the *Sri Tanjung*, see Prijono 1938.

noblewoman may illustrate her married status.⁴⁰ The married couple go on a journey, their loyalty to each other symbolized by the dog. The maid provides the *pudak* so that the husband can write romantic verses. Panel 42 depicts four small figures moving and jumping around a tree and rocks, and one of them climbing a tree. This appears as a comic intermezzo featuring *panakawan*.

Panel 43 (fig. 7.15) pictures another group of people. On a terrace sit the noblewoman with the cone-shaped hat and a hermitess. The cap-man stands left of the terrace next to the noblewoman, and to the right stands a hermit wearing a large *ketu*, beard, and earrings. Two small hermit figures present fruit and palmwine.⁴¹ I interpret this scene as the married couple visiting a high-ranking hermit couple to seek religious advice.

A procession of thirteen people is depicted in panels 44-45 (fig. 7.16). In the middle of this group, a young noblewoman in a posture of love or longing sits on a sedan chair, which is carried by two commoners. Below the sedan a big dog is visible. Two maid servants walk behind. Both the young noblewoman and the taller of the maid servants look back, as if towards a short-haired nobleman behind them. He is accompanied by a *panakawan*-like servant. In front of the sedan chair the hermitess walks, accompanied by a group of servants. The last panel (fig. 7.17) on the northern wall (panel 46) shows the man with short hair, with some curls visible on his forehead. He is accompanied by a *panakawan* and faces the maid servant, who points to a gate in front of them. Perhaps the group has passed the gate, leaving the man and the maid servant outside.

I call this story ‘the procession story’. A young couple is on their journey to pay a visit to a hermit couple in order to get religious advice. After this visit they abandon their secular status, and the young woman is guided by the hermitess to a retreat, the high status of the hermitess indicated by her many servants. The young woman has taken off her hat, her hair is half loose and half in a bun, which might illustrate her abandoning her former position as a princess or a married woman and following the hermitess. She is still in love with, and longing for, her hus-

⁴⁰ Besides the reliefs at the Pendopo Terrace, such a cone-shaped hat is only known to me from a depiction at the Naga-temple at Panataran.

⁴¹ Satyawati Suleiman (1978:12) interprets the two hermits as a retired king and queen, because of their elaborate jewellery and clothing. The palmwine can be detected from the two bamboo containers, still today a common way of storing palmwine.

Fig. 7.15. Pendopo Terrace, north side, panel 43

Fig. 7.16. Pendopo Terrace, north side, panel 44

Fig. 7.17. Pendopo Terrace, north side, panel 46

band. Her husband, who may represent Panji, with short hair, has taken his cap off, either as a mark of respect for the hermitess or because he wants to follow the group to the retreat. In the end the woman and the hermitess have left Panji and the maid servant behind. Thus, Panji and his wife are separated from each other.⁴² The story has again many of the typical elements of the Panji stories: (a), (b), (d). However, the reunion – (c) – and crossing of water – (e) – are not depicted.

THE STORY WITH THE PARROT

Panels 47-53 run along the northern part of the west wall. In the first scene, a nobleman with a cap stands behind a maid servant. Behind a tree with a twisted trunk a young noblewoman lies as though sleeping, accompanied by a hermitess and a maid servant. A female *panakawan* and a small dog are visible beneath the young woman. This episode may be a continuation of the preceding story, the cap-man now wearing his cap again in order to stress his secular status. He wants to see his beloved, who has followed the hermitess. The maid servant asks if he can be admitted to the women's quarter, but obviously this is refused. The situation is given an ironical twist by the way the *panakawan* plays with the faithful dog, which is to say the group of women toy with the loyalty of the husband.

Panel 48 depicts the cap-figure who is followed by a *kadeyan* and a *panakawan*. Then (panel 49; fig. 7.18) the cap-figure sits under a tree in the 'longing position' and holds a *lontar*. The *panakawan* passes the *lontar* to a huge parrot, which is standing in front of a hermit. The parrot flies (panel 50) over water, holding the *lontar* in its beak. In panel 51 (fig. 7.19) the parrot offers the *lontar* to the young noblewoman, who is portrayed in a 'longing position' and is accompanied by the hermitess and the maid servant.

Obviously the nobleman, Panji, has not gained access to the woman's room and is unable to meet his beloved. Panji, together with a *kadeyan* and a *panakawan*, then wander around in search of her. He writes a love

⁴² The story plot could be considered as a continuation of the 'story of the *naga* king', now featuring the married couple – Panji and his wife – who would go on a journey to visit a hermitage. However, as the iconography of the protagonists differs from each other in the two series, I conclude that a new story has started here. We see in the other reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace that there are obviously several different stories with the depictions of the same characters, so that we cannot conclude from the appearance of the same cap-figure or the same maid servant that they are characters in only one story. They are just typical characters in the various Panji stories.

Fig. 7.18. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 49

Fig. 7.19. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 51

letter which a parrot carries across a broad water or sea to his beloved, who is also longing for him. It seems that the parrot is in the service of the hermit who stands on the shore of the water. The combination of the hermit and the water may function to point once again, just as in former episodes with water – panels 9-10 and 30-31, and 33 – to a connection with some kind of esoteric teaching. The parrot is in Hindu mythology known as the *wahana* (vehicle) of God Kama (Schleberger 1986:165), thus the parrot may here act as a messenger of the god of

love.⁴³ This indicates that Indian mythology was well known at the time of constructing the Pendopo Terrace. It is conspicuous that the theme of a bird – not necessarily a parrot – presenting a love letter to a woman was quite common in ancient Java, as we can conclude from some other examples of ancient Javanese art objects displaying similar depictions (Hinzel 2001:181-2). The bird acts as the messenger of love.

Panel 52 depicts a hermitage with an altar and a building. A hermit with a large *ketu* – larger than that of the hermit in panel 49 and thus indicating that they are two different hermits – is accompanied by a *panakawan* wearing a *ketu* and sits opposite a young noblewoman. They both play a *gambang* each, a kind of xylophone still used nowadays in Balinese and Javanese *gamelan*. Panel 53 (fig. 7.20) shows the hermit now holding the woman on his lap and grasping at the bare breast of the woman, who bends back as if refusing. The set of two *gambang*s fell apart through the hermit's rough treatment. To the right of the scene, a couple of *panakawan* are being very physical and erotic.

The scene speaks very much for itself. The hermit, teaching the young woman to play a musical instrument – perhaps as part of a religious teaching – is overwhelmed by his own desire, grasps at the young woman, and adopts an intimate position with her. The *panakawan* caricature the behaviour of their master or emphasize it by exaggerating it.⁴⁴ I can only speculate about the connection of this episode to the preceding ones. Maybe the hermit is the husband of the hermitess in panel 51 who is taking care of the young woman, and he just follows his desire for the young woman. Following another interpretation, Panji has entered the stage of a hermit and meets his beloved again. He displays his musi-

⁴³ Parrots are not native to Java but rather belong to the species of birds from the eastern part of the archipelago beyond the so-called Wallacea. Wallacea is the region around the Wallace-line, which runs between Bali and Lombok and between Borneo and Sulawesi, respectively. To the west side of this Wallacea, animals of the Asiatic fauna are predominant, while to the east of it there are many examples of the Australian fauna, for example parrots. It is possible the parrot symbolizes that Panji and his beloved are separated by great distance, such that it can be deduced that one of them is on a remote island far to the east of Java. In several Panji stories, Panji or Candrakirana go to Borneo, Bali, or other islands. In both cases – the parrot interpreted as Kama's vehicle, or as indicating a separation of the lovers by a great distance – the parrot acts as the messenger of love transporting the love letter. The inscription 'jaruman atat' (= the parrot as the messenger) on the border above the depiction with the bird flying over the water refers to this scene (Sulciman Satyawati 1978:13).

⁴⁴ This *panakawan* scene is very similar to the depictions of *panakawan* in erotic attitudes in the various illustrations of the *Arjunawiwaha* where the meditating Arjuna is tempted by the heavenly nymphs, for example at Candi Surowono. Exaggerating the behaviour of their masters is still a usual feature of the *panakawan* in present-day *wayang kulit* performances.

Fig. 7.20. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 53

cal talent, for which he is well known, and then reunites with his woman through the act of love-making.⁴⁵ Regardless of the interpretation, this whole episode, together with the *panakawan* scene, has a comic character and may have been placed here as a sort of entertainment to attract the viewer.

I call this narrative the ‘story with the parrot’. It is perhaps a continuation of the ‘procession story’, or else it constitutes a separate, independent story. The elements (a), (b), (d), and (e) are present.

THE STORY WITH THE REYONG PLAYERS

I recognize a coherent story in panels 54–65, which stretch between the two flights of stairways; this may, however, be a continuation of the preceding story. Panel 54 (fig. 7.21) portrays a ship on the water and three figures – Panji, a *kadeyan*, and a *panakawan* – who look the same as the ones in panel 48, walking towards the right. The next panel (55) shows the noble cap-figure watching a group of men playing *reyong*. *Reyong* is an instrument still in use in present-day Bali, consisting of two small metal kettles attached to the outer edges of a wooden drum-like bar, with sound emerging by beating the gongs with sticks (Kunst 1968:59–65).

⁴⁵ This interpretation was told in a private conversation by Dwi Cahyono (12-06-2010). However, I doubt this interpretation, since the hermit behaves quite roughly towards the woman, grasping at her breast, which is not common in other depictions of love scenes. Still, in *kakawin* and *kidung* texts we read such explicit behaviour.

The musicians playing the *reyong* all wear caps.⁴⁶ A maid servant watches them and holds her arms in a dance-like pose. Obviously the three men have come ashore after having crossed the water, and Panji is welcomed by the musicians and the – maybe dancing – maid servant. A tree with a twisted trunk indicates an aristocratic environment.

The original placement of the next panel (panel 56; fig. 7.22) is open to question.⁴⁷ It depicts a maid servant with her hands in *sembah* position, standing behind the cap-figure. They face the young noblewoman who sits on a pedestal in a longing posture with a dog beneath her at the foot of the pedestal. The cap-man has set one leg on a step approaching the pedestal, with a part of his *kain* tucked up so that his knee is visible.

I interpret this scene as Panji asking his beloved to come to sit on his lap. A verse in the *Sumanasantaka* (Canto CIII.2; Hunter 1998:57) where Prince Aja courts the beautiful Indumati, corresponds neatly to the situation depicted in this panel.

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

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

Panel 57 shows an empty *pendopo* with six pillars, which indicates a high status. A nobleman with short hair lifts a part of his *kain*. In panel 58 the same man, with his *kain* now held neatly together, faces a hermit wearing a large *ketu*; behind him some altars and shrines are visible (panel 59; fig. 7.23).

The man with the short hair seems to be Panji, who has now taken off his cap. Panji, still in an erotic mood, is on the way to meet the hermit and perhaps to seek his advice. The hermit may be the same one as in panel 52-53, since the *ketu* of both of them has the same round shape, and moreover the shrines and altars also look similar. Thus, we

⁴⁶ Other depictions of *reyong* players are known from a relief at Candi Rimbi and a stone sculpture found in Kediri. Photos of these depictions are given in Kunst 1968:fig. 52, 47. All these *reyong* players wear caps. These images date to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Kunst 1968:59).

⁴⁷ See my explanations at the end of the sub-chapter on the Pendopo Terrace.

Fig. 7.21. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panels 54-55

Fig. 7.22. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 56

Fig. 7.23. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 59

might conclude that Panji is visiting the hermitage where his beloved had stayed with the hermit, and that the two stories are interconnected.

The scene in panel 60 shows the noble cap-man standing and a maid servant sitting under a tree. Next to her the young noblewoman kneels in *sembah* in front of a nobleman who sits higher up (panel 61; fig. 7.24). Due to weathering it is not clear if the man wears a cap or if he has short hair.⁴⁸ Amongst the spiral motifs under the place where he sits there is a crab. The crab might be a sign of water.⁴⁹ The correct placement of this panel is open to doubt, as both edges of the stone block do not connect well with the neighbouring panels.

Unfortunately, the upper part of the next panel (62) is damaged. A woman, whose identity cannot be detected, kneels in front of a nobleman in the longing posture. His head has been destroyed, but as he displays the same features as the man in the two preceding panels we can conclude that he is the nobleman wearing the cap, or with the cap taken off. In between these two persons some carved remains resemble the depiction of a seated person's knees. It is possible that the young noblewoman was depicted here. Panel 63 shows the same man holding one side of his *kain* up, a woman, and a *panakawan* who seem to climb a hill. Although the heads of the first mentioned two figures are damaged, I think that they depict the cap-figure accompanied by the maid servant.⁵⁰

Panel 64 depicts a woman, her hair in a bun and a scarf around her neck, standing next to water. In her arms she carries a girl with loose hair. To the right of a gate, in panel 65 (fig. 7.25), the woman kneels in front of the noble cap-man, who now holds the girl on his lap. They sit in the typical posture of a loving couple. However, from her size we can see the

⁴⁸ This scene recalls panel 10 at Candi Mirigambar (see Chapter IX), where the cap-figure is depicted sitting in a higher position and being worshipped by a woman in *sembah*. In both cases the higher position is marked by spiral motifs under the seat.

⁴⁹ Another symbolic function of this animal has been indicated by Sbeghen (2004:91-3), referring to crab-like depictions on the *lingga-yoni* on the ground of the entrance of Candi Sukuh. The depiction of the *limulus moluccanus* crab, endemic on the north shore of Java, is found in Majapahit art and literature (Zoetmulder 1982:1140 *mimi*, and 628 *himi-himi*). Because the male and female animal cling tightly to each other during mating, this species has been used as a symbol of the inseparability of male and female. As in Candi Sukuh, the crab in the Pendopo panel 61 might also symbolize the sexual union. I am grateful to Helen Creese for drawing my attention to Sbeghen's finding. However, since the depiction in the relief on the Pendopo Terrace only seems to display the female crab and no male, I am not sure about its meaning.

⁵⁰ The typical pleads of the garment of the maid servant are visible in the photo in Satyawati Sulci-man (1978:plates 62-65), while my photos from recent years display the garment in a rather damaged condition.

Fig. 7.24. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 61

Fig. 7.25. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 65

girl is clearly a child. A *panakawan* watches the group. The positioning of the whole episode on panels 64-65 is again uncertain, as the left end does not connect well with the preceding panel.

I provide a tentative explanation for the meaning of the last two panels. The woman, who is Panji's beloved, has become an adult, which is conveyed by her hair bun and the scarf, and perhaps also symbolically illustrated by her having crossed the water and proceeded to an adult status. In the meantime she has had a child, whom she then presents to Panji. He accepts the child and, through his loving or longing position, expresses his love to his wife and to the child. Alternatively the woman can be identified as a maid servant – however, contrary to usual habits, she is wearing an elaborate scarf. This maid servant who has nursed the offspring of Panji and his beloved, then presents Panji with the child.

It is not clear if the whole series of panels 54-65 form one coherent story or several distinct plots. I call this series 'the story with the *reyong*

players', even though I doubt that the panels are arranged correctly. Again however, they feature the major elements of Panji stories – (a)-(e) – even if perhaps they do appear here in an incorrect arrangement.

I give a tentative interpretation in connection with the preceding series 'the story with the parrot', that is, for all panels 52-65: Candrakirana became separated from Panji and was brought to an island across the ocean. Panji, in search of his beloved, crosses the ocean on a boat with his companions, is welcomed by the musicians, and meets his beloved (the questioned panel 56). However, before the intended reunion with her, he first visits a hermit to seek advice. Panji then meets Candrakirana again, who pays her respect to him who through the teaching by the hermit has achieved the status of a novice. Maybe her *sembah* gesture also indicates her asking for permission to leave him. He then shows the longing mood, and further on he walks through the countryside accompanied by the maid servant and the *panakawan*. After having crossed the water, which may symbolize an act of purification, they meet Candrakirana, who presents her child to Panji. Panji, who accepts the child with love, is reunited with his beloved.⁵¹ This whole series contains all features of Panji stories (a)-(e).

THE SRI TANJUNG STORY

Panels 66-74 stretch from the right stairway to the southwestern corner of the building. According to Satyawati Suleiman (1978:14-22) this series illustrates the *Sri Tanjung* story.⁵² I do not wish to repeat her description and analysis, as I agree for the most part with her interpretations. An important aspect of this story is its association with purification and exorcism. There are some major elements in the depiction of this story which are also characteristic in *Sri Tanjung* reliefs at other temples.⁵³ One is the depiction of Sri Tanjung sitting on a fish when she passes from the world of the living to the world of the dead. The other is the depiction of her

⁵¹ This story might sound strange. However, we have to recall that the Panji stories commonly have a very dramatic and often confusing plot. As I know from personal communication with Javanese people (12-06-2010), there are indeed Panji stories which tell about Panji and Candrakirana having a child. This feature is also known from the unidentified relief of Candi Rimbi, which displays a woman presenting a child to a man, after they both had been separated for a long time. The reliefs from Candi Rimbi still require further investigation, same as does the topic of depictions of children in ancient Javanese art on a broader scale..

⁵² Gâlestin (1939a) had already interpreted the scene with a woman sitting on a fish to be a scene from this story.

⁵³ Compare the chapter on Candi Surowono. Another depiction is known at Candi Jabung.

Fig. 7.26. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panels 70-71

husband Sidapaksa sitting and grieving on the bank of a river (fig. 7.26). Sidapaksa, with the typical iconographical features of a nobleman, wears a crescent-moon shaped cap. The *Sri Tanjung* story is not a Panji story, but it has similar traits. In this relief series we again find all the typical elements (a)-(e) of depictions of Panji stories.

THE STORY OF THE WOMAN LEANING ON PANJI'S LAP

The relief series with panels 75-80 runs along the complete south side of the Pendopo Terrace. They evidently form a coherent series, enhanced by the ornamental band decorating the top of these panels, distinguishing them from other parts of the Pendopo Terrace.

Panel 75 (fig. 7.27) depicts the familiar group of Panji as the noble cap-figure, with the *kadeyan* and a *panakawan*. In panel 76 Panji sits in the 'longing position' and holds a *lontar* in his hand. A maid servant makes a *sembah* towards him. Then (panel 77) the maid servant approaches a river, and, having crossed the water (panel 78), kneels before a young noblewoman who sits in the 'longing position' on a terrace and holds the *lontar*.⁵⁴ The young woman is accompanied by a hermitess, two maid servants, and a young woman. These latter three women appear again in panel 79, together with a female *panakawan*.

The last panel (panel 80; fig. 7.28) consists of three episodes: the same three women squat and converse with each other. The young noblewoman leans on the lap of Panji, who sits on a terrace and embraces her. Behind him sit a hermitess and a hermit, another hermitess stands

⁵⁴ Her posture on a higher pedestal is very similar to the one in panel 51 where the young woman also receives a letter. Obviously the artist copied one scene from the other.

Fig. 7.27. Pendopo Terrace, south side, panel 75

Fig. 7.28. Pendopo Terrace, south side, panel 80

behind them. The hermit, depicted very like the one from panel 43 on the north side, seems to be a sage of a high reputation, judged from his elaborate garment and *ketu*.

I interpret the story plot as follows: Panji, his *kadayan*, and the *panakawan* are on a journey in search of his beloved. Panji then passes a letter for his beloved to her maid. The maid, after having crossed a body of water, delivers this letter to the young woman, who lives with a hermitess whose high status is indicated by several maids. The maids, in their role as *sang manawing* (compare panels 34-39) witness the union of a man and woman, then watch the young woman with Panji, who is about to take her on his lap. On the right-hand side their union is witnessed by the high-status hermit couple and another hermitess. I call this story ‘the story with the woman leaning on Panji’s lap’. This series features each of the elements (a)-(e).

ANALYSIS OF THE SYMBOLIC MEANING OF THE RELIEFS ON
THE PENDOPO TERRACE

After having analysed the narrative depictions on the first and second level of my methodology, I proceed now to the third and fourth steps to discuss the symbolic meaning of the narrative depictions. I do this by discussing the issue of the Panji stories, the selection of scenes, and the placement of the series within the Pendopo Terrace. This will allow me to give a preliminary explanation of the function of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace. My explanation is preliminary because I can only come to a conclusion after having discussed all parts of Candi Panataran and having seen them in the context of one another.

At the end of the discussion of each story plot, I have mentioned the occurrence of the elements (a)-(e), as defined above. For an overview, and for the following discussion, I present a list of these scenes in the respective narrative plots (Table 7.29).

All narratives which I have presented in my descriptions and tentative interpretations – with the exception of the *Bubukshah* story – have as their main elements the separation and longing of the loving couple (a), Panji's journey and search for his beloved (b), their final reunion and marriage (c). These are also the core components of the plot of the Panji stories as a literary genre. The fourth feature which is central to the depictions – the meeting with a hermit (d) – is another important element in the Panji stories, as it is often told that Panji seeks advice from a *rshi* and that he meditates. These features, however, might be considered to be insufficient grounds to identify the narratives with Panji stories, as there exist many other texts which have these three features and yet do not belong to the genre of Panji stories.

To corroborate my hypothesis, I return to the iconography of the narrative reliefs with cap-figures. All reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace are carved in the style of the 'post-mythological stories'. This means the actors are dressed in contemporary clothes and do not have the accessories of the heroes of the 'mythological stories'. The cap-figure in the Pendopo Terrace reliefs definitely represents a nobleman, which can be deduced from the iconographic detail of wearing jewellery, the long *kain*, and his refined attitude. Given the indisputable identification of the *Sri Tanjung* story on the Pendopo Terrace where the protagonist, the noble-

placement	panels	story plot	major five elements of the story				notes
			(a) separation and longing	(b) journey/ in search	(c) reunion	(d) hermit/ teaching	(e) water
east side left	1-13	The <i>Satyavan</i> story	x	x	x	xxx	xx
east side left	14-18	The story with the hermit		x		xxx	
east side middle	19-23	The <i>Balukshah</i> story				xxxx	
east side right	24-39	The story of the <i>naga</i> king	xxx	xxxxx	xx	xx	xx
north side	40-46	The procession story	xx	xxx	x	xx	perhaps a continuation of preceding story
west side left	47-53	The story with the parrot	xx	xx	x	xxx	x perhaps a continuation of preceding story
west side middle	54-65	The story with the <i>repong</i> players	xx	xxx	xx	x	xx
west side right	66-74	The <i>Sri Janyung</i> story	xx	xx	x	x	xx
south side	75-80	The story with the woman leaning on Panji's lap	xx	x	x	xx	x

Table 7.29. The elements of the narrative plots on the Pendopo Terrace and their placement

man Sidapaksa, is depicted with a cap as his headgear,⁵⁵ we can conclude that the cap was at the time indeed a well-known accessory in the depiction of a nobleman. This is further corroborated by the depiction of the nobleman Sang Satyawati in the identified *Satyawan* story. Both stories belong to the *kidung* genre. Thus we can conclude that the nobleman with a cap is a typical feature in the visual representation of the protagonists of *kidung* stories. The Panji stories are a particular kind of the *kidung* genre. Since the components of the story plots in the Pendopo Terrace reliefs have the typical traits of the Panji stories, and since these stories exist in a large variety, many of which are not known to us, I conclude that the protagonist of the stories depicted on the Pendopo Terrace, the nobleman wearing the cap, is in fact Panji. Thus Panji stories are depicted on the Pendopo Terrace.

Satyawati Suleiman (1978:22-4) comes to the same conclusion. She refers to Van Stein Callenfels (1919:20), to Stutterheim (1936a:198, 1935b:139-43), and to Poerbatjaraka (1940a:366-7), who argued before her that the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace depict Panji stories.⁵⁶ Van Stein Callenfels bases his opinion on the depiction of the *gambang*, which according to him is still today played in Bali at cremation ceremonies with melodies taken from the *Malat*, the Balinese Panji romance.⁵⁷ In my view, however, the connection between the *Malat* and the *gambang* does not provide sufficient evidence to conclude that the *gambang* episode substantiates this relief series to be a Panji story.

Stutterheim (1936a:198) bases his interpretation on the special head-dress, the cap, which he calls the *tekes*. He declares this cap to be typical of Panji depictions, but does not explain why. Obviously, but without his saying so explicitly, he refers to his more elaborate argumentation in an earlier article (Stutterheim 1935b:139-43), in which he discusses the Gambyok relief and the Grogol statues. There he comes to the conclusion that the character with the cap is Panji, and that the other figures represent one or more *kadeyan* and a *panakawan*. Several reliefs

⁵⁵ This identification is corroborated by the comparison with other *Sri Tanjung* depictions which Galestin (1939a) had presented and which will be discussed in my chapter on Candi Surowono with its *Sri Tanjung* depictions.

⁵⁶ Also Galestin (1959:13), referring to Stutterheim and Poerbatjaraka, comes to the same conclusion.

⁵⁷ Jaap Kunst (1968:71-4) confirms this information on the *gambang*: it is the bamboo *gambang* which is depicted in the Pendopo-Terrace relief, and which is played by using special V-shaped sticks. The present-day *gambang* of the Javanese *gamelan*, however, is a wooden xylophone which looks a bit different and is only played by using two simple sticks.

on the Pendopo Terrace depict scenes featuring the same group: a cap-figure accompanied by a figure with curly hair (*kadeyan*), and a *panakawan* (panels 48, 54, 75). These three figures display the same iconography as the Grogol statue. Based on discussions of Stutterheim and Poerbatjaraka and the comparison with the Pendopo reliefs, Satyawati Suleiman (1978:24) concludes that ‘the Panji story is also represented on the Pendopo Terrace’. In my opinion, this conclusion, on its own, is not convincing enough. However, I consider her argument as an additional point supporting my thesis unfolded above that indeed Panji stories are depicted on the Pendopo Terrace.

When first looking at the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace in Candi Panataran, I understood them merely to be entertaining love stories. They would have been a pleasant welcome to the visitors after they had entered the temple compound. In an attempt to decipher the symbolic meaning of the reliefs, I drew on my earlier investigation of the depiction of loving couples (Kieven 2003). I had, based on Supomo (2000), come to the conclusion that the situations of longing/separation and of reunion/making love represent two different moods of *kama* (love): the ‘love-in-separation’ and the ‘love-in-enjoyment’. These moods are actually important elements in the Tantric concept as is clear in the erotic scenes of *kakawin* and *kidung* literature, discussed earlier in this book. The two moods are frequently represented in a visual way in the narratives on the Pendopo Terrace – features (a) and (c) in my terminology. The journeying of Panji/the noble cap-figure in search of his beloved – feature (b) – is another frequent topic, which enhances the mood of longing. I conclude that the relief depictions of Panji/the noble cap-figure demonstrate and visualize the Tantric practice, thus providing an introduction to this religious path for the visitor. The introductory function is enhanced by the character of the Panji stories as ‘post-mythological stories’ and as folk stories which appeal to the visitor, whereby Panji acts as an intermediary and a kind of guide to the visitor.

Feature (d) – meeting with a hermit or sage – expresses the seeking of advice from a religious person by the protagonists of the story and thus symbolizes religious teaching. The striking reoccurrence of this feature in the visual depictions, which seems far to exceed its frequency in the literary form of the Panji stories, reinforces its importance. In *kakawin* literature, however, encounters with hermits play an important role. The depictions of such encounters in the Panji stories on the Pendopo

Terrace may anticipate the more spiritual character of *kakawin* and in this way prepare for the ‘sacred’ part of the temple compound which has relief depictions of *kakawin*. In my opinion, the following message is conveyed: the visitor and pilgrim him- or herself should and can seek advice in religious teaching in the temple, either through the real person of a *rshi* or priest, or simply through ‘reading’ the narratives and through visiting the temple compound. Panji/the noble cap-figure offers an example of seeking advice through his own encounter with a hermit. This again demonstrates that Panji acts as an intermediary character. It is also remarkable that in many cases Panji/the noble cap-figure takes off his cap, which belongs to his worldly outfit as a nobleman, when he approaches a hermit or when he is about to enter religious life as a hermit himself, leaving his worldly life behind. This emphasizes his role of showing a pilgrim the way to proceed to religious teaching him- or herself.

The fifth feature – (e), the crossing of water – is another element that is frequently depicted. This element is only present in a few Panji stories of the literary genre. Thus it is evident that its recurrent depiction in the reliefs is deliberately done in order to convey a certain message. Against the background of my earlier discussion of water in the meaning of *tirtha*, it can be concluded that the crossing of water symbolizes the purification and the movement from one stage of religious knowledge to a higher one, which ultimately leads to the understanding of Higher Wisdom. This corresponds with the teaching of the religious doctrine through the hermit. Receiving instruction from a teacher can be classed as a passive act on the part of the person in search of Higher Wisdom. Compared to this, the crossing of water is an active process undertaken by the protagonist/s, in this case not only Panji, but frequently also his beloved.

In many cases in the reliefs, the protagonists are ready to be reunited after having crossed the water. The meeting with a hermit and the crossing of water can be understood as two prerequisites to start down the path of Tantric practice. This then leads to the Tantric goal, the unification with the Divine, which is symbolized on the mundane level in the union of male and female, that is, Panji and his beloved, and on the supra-mundane level in the union of Siwa and Sakti.

Thus, by the deliberate selection of specific scenes for depiction, the Panji stories and the *Sri Tanjung* and the *Satyawan* story show on a mundane level what the adept is about to undertake: to proceed along the Tantric path. Panji/the noble cap-figure and the narratives on the

Pendopo Terrace offer an introduction to this path, acting as intermediaries and taking the visitor/pilgrim/adept by the hand to signal this path. This all occurs on a mundane level and suits the location of the Pendopo Terrace in the entrance part of the temple compound which, in the architectural symbolism, is connected to the mundane sphere.

When analysing the arrangement and placement of the narratives on the Pendopo Terrace, I find that the left and middle part of the west side – featuring the ‘story with the parrot’ and the ‘story with the *reyong* players’ – have entertaining and amusing aspects which are lacking in the other reliefs. Relevant scenes include: the comic scene with a *panakawan* (panel 47); the bird flying with the love letter across the water (panel 50); the scene where the hermit is overwhelmed by desire for the young woman and the subsequent comic caricature of his actions by the *panakawan* (panel 53); the scene of the musicians (panel 55). These entertaining elements refer to the worldly sphere the visitors come from, and represent the first step into the sacral sphere of the temple ground.

Prior to this, the very first step for the visitor was to take a ritual bath in the Outer Bathing Place, then to place offerings at the large Pendopo Agung, which lies in the first courtyard to the northwest. From there the visitor would then, in proceeding towards the Pendopo Terrace, arrive at its northwestern corner and, following the given *prasawya* direction, circumambulate this terrace along the west side. I suggest that the starting point of the whole relief series actually lies on the northwestern corner with panel 47, rather than the east side with the *Satyawan* reliefs, as proposed by Satyawati Suleiman. The comic character of the scenes on the west side would fit the introductory function.

After the introduction by the first narrative sequences, the *Sri Tanjung* story then represents an act of purification before another step can be taken towards a higher level, illustrated in the following reliefs on the south side – ‘the story with the woman leaning on Panji’s lap’ – which overtly demonstrates the subject of longing and the goal of a union between male and female. The last scene of this series seems even to enhance this goal through the depiction of the three high-ranking hermits who, in watching and witnessing the union between Panji and his beloved, function to validate it. This signification of religious teaching is then continued on the east side, which depicts stories highlighting the search for Higher Wisdom: the *Sang Satyawan* story, the ‘story with the hermit’, the *Bubukshah* story, and the ‘story of the *naga* king’. The posi-

tion of the *Bubukshah* story is striking: it is carved exactly in the middle of the east side. This is the only story without the depiction of a cap-figure, and it does not belong to the genre of the Panji stories or related stories. It features the ascetic practice in the two ways of the contemporary religions, Saiwism and the Buddhism, although the latter dominates.⁵⁸ The ultimate goal is *moksha*. The ‘story of the *naga* king’ also symbolizes this search and the attainment of *moksha*, which prepares Panji for the final union with his beloved. That the issue of religious teaching is dominantly placed on the east side suits the usual arrangement within a temple building: while the front part imparts messages connected to daily life,⁵⁹ the rear part is dedicated to sacred/religious messages, which are more connected to the Divine. The relief series on the north side – the ‘procession story’ – can be considered to be a connecting link between the preceding story on the east side and the following story on the west side. In this way it re-connects the more sacred to the more mundane sphere.

A special function may also be assigned to the corners of the building. It is striking that the corner scenes either depict the separated couple or the couple in reunion, and never the other major features:

- northwestern corner: panel 46: separation / panel 47: separation
- southwestern corner: panel 74: reunion / panel 75-76: separation
- southeastern corner: panel 80: reunion / panel 1: separation
- northeastern corner: panel 39: reunion / panel 40-41: reunion

This placement seems to be deliberate and emphasizes the subjects of separation and reunion, which are the core elements of the Panji stories and are simultaneously the expressions of the two erotic moods. It therefore symbolizes the Tantric practice in a very concise way, in particular through the twofold separation scenes at the start and the twofold reunion scenes at the end of the series, given the series have their starting point at the northwestern corner.

Furthermore, the depictions of a dog are conspicuous: a dog is depicted in two panels each on the west side (47, 56), the east side (17, 18),

⁵⁸ This is remarkable as, following the *Nagarakertagama*, Saiwism seemed to predominate during Hayam Wuruk's reign (*Nag.* 17.11, 35.2, 38.3). Also in relation to the presumed Saiwite character of Candi Panataran, this is remarkable. Maybe it can be considered as a means to comply with the religious blend of Buddhism and Saiwism in the Majapahit period and, moreover, with the importance of the *sogata* and the class of *rshi*, as expressed in the story of the ascetic brothers Bubukshah and Gagak Aking. Compare Chapter IV, sub-chapter ‘Unity of the realm’.

⁵⁹ The front side of a temple may also have depictions of fights with demons, but this is not the case on the Pendopo Terrace.

and the north side (41, 45); no dog appears on the south side. I interpreted the dog as a sign of loyalty of the man towards the woman, and vice versa. While the stories on the other sides featuring many adventures necessitate the expression of loyalty between Panji and Candrakirana, the dog is maybe obsolete on the south side, since the story plot here is more concise, without displaying many obstacles for the two lovers.

Still another salient point is the position of *panakawan* and of entertaining scenes, such as those featuring music and comic episodes. The west wall has both *panakawan* and entertaining scenes, while the north and south wall only display *panakawan*, and the east side does not feature any of them. This distribution again complies with the dichotomy between the mundane front side and the more sacred rear side.

The stories depicted on the Pendopo Terrace also illustrate the two other symbolic meanings of the Panji stories, as discussed earlier: the life crisis of a young man, and fertility. The former is conveyed through the plot of most of the stories illustrated in the reliefs, which show a young man who must undergo many adventures, tests, and religious teachings before finally regaining his beloved and, through this process, becoming an adult. In a more particular way, it is the process whereby a young prince prepares to become a king. His union with a woman then fulfils the prerequisite of having a queen, before he attains the legitimacy to become king. The fertility is symbolically represented through the recurrent depiction of the union of man and woman, which can be understood as producing fertility. Following my tentative interpretation of the 'story with the *reyong* players', fertility might be visualized in the actual depiction of a child as an outcome of the love between Panji and Candrakirana. The depiction of water also contains, besides the symbolism of purification and progressing to a higher stage of knowledge, the symbolism of fertility.

While dealing with the iconography and comparing the reliefs, it struck me that panel 56 (fig. 7.30) in particular does not seem to belong in its place. The edges to the right and left of this panel look like they were cut off and not joined with the neighbouring panels. Usually the artists were very skilled in camouflaging the divisions between two joining panels by continuing, for example, the depiction of a tree, a house, or an ornament from one panel to the next one. Maybe several carvers were working on this panel at the same time and not in good cooperation; maybe the panel was later added, replacing an original, damaged

Fig. 7.30. Pendopo Terrace, west side, panel 56

one. It may also be considered that in a later period panels would have been put into another order. However, this would have happened before the middle of the nineteenth century, since the photos made by Van Kinsbergen in 1867, as reproduced in Theuns-de Boer and Asser (2005), display the reliefs in the same order as today.

I have carefully examined all of the panels on the Pendopo Terrace again. On the western and southern sides, I found other panels whose connections are not perfect, though not as conspicuously as in panel 56.⁶⁰ I tried to rearrange those panels through computer programmes, but I did not come to any satisfying solution. Meticulous research and scrutiny would be necessary, which is, however, beyond the scope of my work. Nevertheless, I do not believe that these uncertainties have a strong impact on my findings. The content of the stories, even if the arrangement of a few episodes might have been in a different order, still consists of the five major elements (a)-(e). Also the significant features I outlined above, such as a dominance of entertaining or teaching or of corner themes, would not be affected.

To summarize: the Pendopo Terrace has the function of preparing the worshipper for and introducing him to the encounter with the sacred sphere, specifically for the Tantric doctrine. Panji and the other

⁶⁰ The breaklines between panels which show a discontinuity, are the following ones, the slash marking the relevant breakline:

- 47 / 48 / 49
- 54 / 55 / 56
- 55 / 56 / 57
- 59 / 60 / 61-63 / 64
- 71 / 72-73 / 74

cap-figures – Sang Satyawan and Sidapaksa – have a symbolic meaning as intermediary figures in the transition between the mundane and the sacred sphere. The cap-figures take the worshipper ‘by the hand’ and guide him/her to the next steps of approaching the Divine. The frequent illustration of the subject of love/longing and of union between man and woman prepares one for the Tantric path as a particular religious doctrine. To confirm, deepen, and broaden this interpretation of the Pendopo Terrace, I will now examine the depictions of cap-figures in the next courtyards and determine their symbolism.

THE NAGA TEMPLE (E)

The Naga Temple (fig. 7.31) is located in the northern part of the second courtyard, next to the border between the second and the third yard. Klokke (1993:85) dates the building to the latter half of the fourteenth century, based on the stylistic similarity between the *naga* on the Naga Temple and the one encircling the Pendopo Terrace. It is a square stone structure whose upper part, probably built of perishable organic material, is missing. The building consists of a base and a main body, with the body being richly decorated. On the west side is the entrance to the *cella*. The walls of the temple body are decorated with nine large, sculptured figures on the four corners, in the middle of the two side walls and the back wall, and to the right and left of the entrance. They are depicted in a standing position with their feet pointed to the left, so that we can discern a *pradakshina* direction for the circumambulation. Beneath the figures are small pedestals carved with narrative reliefs. One of them has the depiction of a figure with a clear cap, which I will discuss below.

The standing figures hold, with one raised hand, a large and long *naga* body which winds up and down along the upper edge of the temple body, giving this temple its name.⁶¹ The figures are depicted in royal or divine attire similar to that of the East Javanese so-called ‘portrait statues’.⁶² The main difference, however, is that they hold a bell in one hand, which indicates their status as priests. Krom (1923, II:272) has called them ‘gods or heavenly beings’. Pannenberg-Stutterheim (1947:261),

⁶¹ Krom (1923, II:272) mentions serpents in plural, while Pannenberg-Stutterheim (1947:258) speaks of four *naga* bodies and Klokke (1993:85) of one *naga*. In situ I could not make a clear distinction of neck and tail of the *naga*, so I agree with Klokke.

⁶² The issue of the portrait statues has been discussed by Klokke (1994).

Fig. 7.31. Naga Temple in the second courtyard, view of south side

who is the only author to have specifically done research on the Naga Temple, interprets these figures as representations of kings with a priestly attribute. To me it seems quite unlikely that nine kings are depicted in one building. I come to the conclusion that the figures, rather, represent priests of royal status.⁶³

My intention here is not to offer a new interpretation of the Naga Temple as this would be beyond the scope of my work; rather, I aim to add to the arguments which have been published so far through my discussion of the cap-figure. Furthermore, my ideas on the function of the Naga Temple form part of my overall interpretation of Candi Panataran. Krom (1923, II:271) argues that the Naga Temple served as the treasure shrine for the ‘goddelijke eigendommen’ (properties of the gods) in correspondence to the *kehen* shrine within the Balinese *pura*.⁶⁴ Pannenberg-Stutterheim (1947) questions this interpretation. One of her opposing arguments is that we have to imagine the temple of Panataran as empty most of the time and used only for certain ceremonies; as such, these conditions would have been too dangerous for keeping treasures. However, according to the *Bujangga Manik*, Candi Panataran was rather busy throughout the whole year. We can imagine that when treasures were stored in this building it would certainly have been well guarded. Pannenberg-Stutterheim claims the temple was a place of meditation for the king to enhance his magic power (*sakti*), combining the purifying aspect of water with the seclusion provided by the inner room of the Naga Temple. This argumentation is, however, unconvincing: most temples

⁶³ Klokke (1993:230), referring to Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1947), who also calls them ‘priest figures’.

⁶⁴ The *kehen* is the place for keeping treasures in the *pura*.

have a *cella* and many temples illustrate the subject of water, but all these temples do not necessarily function as places for meditation.

The Naga Temple has been interpreted as a symbol of the *Samudramanthana*, the story of the Churning of the Ocean. As was discussed earlier, there exist two different variations of this story: the older *Adiparwa* and the later *Tantu Panggelaran*, the former featuring the *amerta* emerging from the ocean and the latter having the *amerta* emerging from the mountain. Referring to the *Tantu Panggelaran*, Pannenborg-Stutterheim (1947:258-61) argues that the large *naga* on the temple symbolizes the rope in the shape of a *naga* wrapped around the mythical Mount Meru, which is pulled by the gods to churn the ocean. Klokke (1993:152) suggests that 'the Naga-temple simultaneously refers to the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, and to the ritual a priest performs to produce holy water, which is in fact a ritual reiteration of the churning of the ocean by the gods'. The nine priestly figures symbolize a ritual which is still today performed by priests in Bali to transform water into *amerta*.

While the *Adiparwa* mentions both demons and gods pulling the rope, the *Tantu Panggelaran* only refers to gods. Given that the *Tantu Panggelaran* was written after the construction of the Panataran temple, we could conclude that the earlier *Adiparwa* version must have provided the model for the Naga Temple. However, this would be contradicted by the absence of demons on the temple, and by the identification of the standing figures as priests instead of deities.⁶⁵ There may in fact have existed another version of the story which is illustrated in this temple. Stutterheim (1926) investigates the sculpture of Sirah Kencong, which he dates to the fourteenth century or earlier.⁶⁶ This sculpture portrays a snake wrapped around a mountain and includes depictions of deities and two priests, but no demons. From this, Stutterheim concludes that indeed a transitional version of the story of the Churning of the Ocean did exist in the fourteenth century. Be it demons and gods, or only gods, the crucial point is the production of *amerta*.

⁶⁵ The temple of Kesimantengah – dated before the Majapahit period by Krom (1923, II:301) – depicts both gods and demons pulling the rope. This obviously refers to the *Adiparwa* version. In Khmer art, at many temples of Angkor, the churning of the ocean is frequently depicted, and always with both gods and demons.

⁶⁶ Stutterheim 1926:336. In my opinion, its style is very similar to the relief of Mleri which Stutterheim (1935b:130-9) dates to the end of the twelfth century.

The other meaning of water, as *tirtha*, is also worth considering. In this sense, water symbolizes purification and the passage from one stage to a higher stage of esoteric knowledge. The second courtyard is a transitional zone between the entrance part and the sacred rear part of the temple compound. The Naga Temple would then, after the initial purification in the Outer Bathing Place, represent another place of purification and transition towards the sacred sphere in the final courtyard.

The *Tantu Panggelaran* mentions that Mount Meru contains precious stones (Pigeaud 1924:66, 137); this would again align with Krom's idea of this temple as a treasure shrine. The shape of the mythical Mount Meru is signified by the form of a *mandala*, with the 'one' in the middle surrounded by eight cardinal points, symbolizing the whole cosmos. The fact that nine priestly figures are portrayed may be related to this symbolism. However, since the actual arrangement of the figures here in the Naga Temple does itself not form a *mandala*, the symbolic significance of the '9' can only be a tentative suggestion.

The small reliefs below the feet of the priest figures have only partly been explained. Klokke (1993:229-32) proposes that three of them represent *Tantri* stories. Several of the reliefs depict situations with common people as actors. In the relief under the southeastern-corner figure (fig. 7.32) on the east side, one male figure is clearly depicted with a cap. According to Klokke (1993:231-2), this scene may represent the *Tantri* story 'Grateful animals and ungrateful man'. The story is about a man and a number of animals who have fallen into a well and are rescued by a *brahmin*. She herself doubts this interpretation, however, as only a hand is depicted coming from the well and the cap-figure does not usu-

Fig. 7.32. Naga Temple, panel on southeastern corner

ally signify a *brahmin*. The depicted cap-figure lifts a part of his long *kain*, which can be seen as a sign of eroticism, but can also denote the act of working or walking. The following panel in *pradakshina* direction depicts a single deer. In the next panel in the middle of the south side, a woman looks back towards a man in running posture. Due to weathering it is not completely clear if the headgear of the man is a cap. These two scenes may be continuations of the panel with the cap-figure described above: the deer may represent one of the animals of the *Tantri* story, and the following scene could be a continuation of the erotic theme previously conveyed through the cap-figure. The following panels are not clear enough due to weathering to give further interpretations.

It is possible that the cap-figure on the Naga Temple, representing a commoner, is part of a story about a man and a woman. In any case, this story and the other reliefs depict scenes from daily life with common people, and are therefore close to the mundane level of the visitors. They support the priestly figures who ring the bells in their ritual of transforming the water into *amerta*. At the base of the mundane world, the small relief depictions invite worshippers to look up with awe at the ritual and sacred level above. The worshippers are confronted with the subject of water in its twofold meaning and have now passed a further step of preparation in this transitional zone to encounter the final sacred stage in the third courtyard. The small reliefs function as intermediaries between the daily and the sacred life. The cap-figure plays its typical role on this transitional level.

THE SMALL PENDOPO TERRACE (F)

This quadrangular structure of low height, without any entrance, is situated in the third courtyard to the southwest of the Main Temple, so that a visitor first passes the former before proceeding to the latter. It may originally have served as a *pendopo* for the final consecration of offerings by a priest before they were brought for worship in the Main Temple. I refer to it as the 'Small Pendopo Terrace' (fig. 7.33). It has four small narrative panels, which are set in the middle of each of the four walls. The other parts of the walls are decorated with floppy-eared animals, the corners with winged animal or demon figures, while some other carvings seem to have vanished.

Fig. 7.33. Small Pendopo Terrace in the third courtyard,
to the southwest of the Main Temple

Fig. 7.34 Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on west side

Fig. 7.35 Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on south side

The narrative on the four panels has not been identified, neither where the actual beginning is, nor if it illustrates a coherent narrative at all. My analysis will, however, yield possible identifications of the story plot. As the main action of the scenes moves towards the right, the panels seem to be arranged in *prasawya* direction. All four panels feature a nobleman with a sharp-edged cap. Approaching the terrace from the west, I start with the description from this side. The noble cap-figure sits on a large fish on water, as indicated by waves (fig. 7.34). Both fish and man face to the right. The panel on the south side (fig. 7.35) depicts the same cap-figure and a woman, both standing and facing each other, the man standing on the left side (seen from the viewer's point). The woman has her hair in a bun, and wears a dress in the *kemben* style; therefore she may be a maid servant or an adult woman. In the panel on the east side (fig. 7.36), the same two persons are depicted standing and facing each other, although this time the woman is positioned on the left. The man bends slightly towards the woman. Both of them hold their right arm in a bent position. It is not clear if this indicates that they are engaged in a lively conversation with each other or, and quite the opposite, that they are expressing their restraint towards the other. In these two latter panels a small rectangular object, perhaps an offering, is placed between the two persons. The panel on the north side (fig. 7.37) shows the cap-figure sitting, making a *sembah* with his hands and facing towards another seated figure whose head has been destroyed. This figure, adorned with a castecord, sashes, jewellery, bracelets, and parts of a necklace, sits on an ornamented pedestal. All these attributes designate the figure as a deity. Thus, it can be seen that the cap-figure is worshipping the god, who holds one hand towards the cap-figure, as if welcoming the worship.

The depiction of the cap-man on the fish is reminiscent of two depictions on the Pendopo Terrace in panels 33 (fig. 7.13) and 70 (fig. 7.26). The first, in the 'story of the *naga* king', shows a noble cap-man with the same features as the figure on the Small Pendopo, sitting on the same kind of fish. The second is the popular motif from the *Sri Tanjung* story, where Sri Tanjung is depicted sitting on a fish. We do not know if the artists intended to allude to these scenes. It is, however, remarkable that this motif occurs three times in the temple compound. In the *Sri Tanjung* story, the crossing of the water depicts Sri Tanjung's passage from the realm of the living to that of the dead as part of an exorcist process. In the 'story of the *naga* king' the cap-man, holding the grant,

Fig. 7.36. Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on east side

Fig. 7.37. Small Pendopo Terrace, panel on north side

in a rectangular shape, by the *naga* king in his hand (fig. 7.13), makes the passage from the bottom of the sea to the stage of adulthood in which he is ready to marry. I interpret both scenes of the Pendopo Terrace as typical symbols for the passage from one stage to another, higher one. From this it can be concluded that the depiction of the passage of water on the Small Pendopo is also a symbol for the change of status and stage, from a lower to a higher one. A visitor approaching the Small Pendopo from the entrance to the third courtyard would see this water scene first. This calls attention to the subject of water, here in its meaning of *tirtha*, the passage to a higher stage of spiritual knowledge. This scene thus continues the theme of water presented in the Naga Temple, a site that would have been visited before proceeding to the Small Pendopo.

The encounter of the man and the woman is highlighted through its depiction in two of the four panels. The couple are, however, not shown in such intimate positions as in the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace. In

an earlier article (Kieven 2003:346-8), I explained that the more we proceed into the sacred sphere of a temple – the rear part or the upper part – the less intimate and physical are the depictions of love scenes. For example, on the Main Temple in Panataran the scene depicting the reunion of Krishna and Rukmini shows them rather distant from each other, although in the *Krishnayana* text the description is very erotic. The depictions of the couple on the Small Pendopo Terrace follow the dictate of the sacred part of the temple and may indeed symbolize more intimacy than ostensibly expressed in the depiction. The rectangular object depicted between the man and the woman is reminiscent of the object held by Panji in panel 33 on the Pendopo Terrace.

The worship of the royal or divine figure by the cap-man placed on the north side facing the Main Temple seems to invite the pilgrim to do the same, that is, worship the deity in the Main Temple. After having crossed the water and being purified, the cap-figure can meet the woman. This is enhanced by the rectangular object as a token of his purification. As the two depictions of their meeting are placed on the south and the east side they are not immediately visible and, in a way, hidden from the viewer. This may convey the secrecy of their content, which can be understood in the Tantric context. The visitor of the temple is then prepared to worship the god and to approach the final goal of the ritual practice.

THE DWARAPALA IN FRONT OF THE MAIN TEMPLE

Four male *dwarapala* figures stand in front of the Main Temple (fig. 7.38). Their position is to the right and left of each of the two stairways of the building. Each of these male figures (1.90 m high) has bulging eyes in a large head, long curly hair and gross limbs, and is decorated with very fine carvings representing cloth and jewellery. One hand, on the stair side, holds a club. The other hand holds a snake which winds to the back of the *dwarapala* and becomes hidden in the draperies on the back. On this side, opposite from the club, the *dwarapala* is accompanied by a smaller, female figure which just reaches up to his hip. The two figures stand next to each other on a round platform encircled by skulls. The backs of the *dwarapala* sculptures are carved with animal stories, framed by delicate depictions of the pleats of garment, and the backs of the female figures lean against a

Fig. 7.38. *Dwarapala*
on the right side
of the left staircase of the Main Temple

pot with naturalistically shaped lotus plants. The pedestals of these figures are inscribed with the Saka date 1269 (AD 1347).

According to De la Porte and Knebel (1900:275), these pairs represent Siwa as Mahakala with Sakti. The authors do not give any reason for their interpretation. Mahakala is usually depicted in a pair, with Nandiswara as doorkeepers, as in the well-known example from Candi Singosari.⁶⁷ If we identify the snake on the *dwarapala*'s side next to the female figure as the Kundalini serpent – the Kundalini representing Sakti – this could support the Sakti interpretation by De la Porte and Knebel. However, in absence of any clear evidence, I will continue to refer to them as '*dwarapala*', the term for doorkeepers of a demon-like appearance.

The back of the northernmost *dwarapala* is carved with the depiction of a figure with a cap (fig. 7.39). Either his *kain* is short or it is tucked up, and he does not wear any jewellery, all of which marks him as a commoner. He carries a stick with a large tortoise hanging at its end; with the other hand he points in a threatening gesture towards a deer. Klokke

⁶⁷ They are kept in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden.

Fig. 7.39. Back of the *dwarapala*
on the left side
of the left staircase of the Main Temple

(1993:232-3), who explores the narrative carvings on the backs of the four *dwarapala*, interprets this scene as the *Tantri* story ‘Small animals set each other free’, which tells the story of a hunter who catches a tortoise and a deer amongst other animals, and how eventually the animals manage to set each other free.

The depictions on the three other *dwarapala*’s backs are the *Tantri* story ‘Crocodile and bull’ on the second *dwarapala* from the left, an unknown story which depicts a bird and an iguana on the third *dwarapala*, and on the *dwarapala* to the right of the southern staircase the *Tantri* story ‘Geese and tortoise’ (Klokke 1993:233-5). The three identified stories were obviously very popular *Tantri* stories, demonstrated through their frequent depiction on East Javanese and also Central Javanese temples. Furthermore, all three are associated with the subject of water.⁶⁸ It may be concluded that the unidentified scene on the back of the fourth *dwarapala* also depicted a *Tantri* story associated with water. Klokke (1993:152) proposes generally for the symbolism of the *Tantri* stories: ‘May we conclude that the *Tantri* reliefs were thought to be imbued with the same purificatory and salutary qualities as water?’

It is remarkable that *dwarapala* usually do not have carvings of narrative reliefs on their backs. Owing to this, the visitor will pay special attention to the *dwarapala* there when coming down from the Main Temple. I will continue my interpretation of the *dwarapala* figures after my discus-

⁶⁸ Patt 1979:416. These same *Tantri* stories are also depicted in the Inner Bathing Place (I).

sion of the Main Temple, and will only then discuss the meaning of the cap-figure on the back of the *dwarapala*.

THE MAIN TEMPLE (G)/(H)

The Main Temple (fig. 7.40) dominates the third courtyard of the temple compound and is positioned slightly to the northeast of its centre. The foot of the temple (G) consists of three terraces. The temple body (H) was placed to its north side during the restoration. The walls of the two lower terraces of the temple foot are decorated with narrative reliefs, with depictions of the *Ramayana* on the first terrace and the *Krishnayana* on the second terrace. This relief series includes a few depictions of figures with a cap. The third terrace is decorated with winged lions and winged serpents. Dumarçay (1986a:78) finds that they ‘seem to carry the temple in the air’. The upper border of the wall of this terrace formerly had a cornice which was decorated with a series of small panels depicting demon-like figures. This arrangement is visible in photos by Isidore Van Kinsbergen, published in Karl With (1922). Some of these panels have later been used to fill a few niches of the temple body, others are vanished.⁶⁹

Stutterheim (1989:150) dates the Main Temple to the year AD 1347. He argues that the base platforms of the four *dwarapala*, with the inscribed date of AD 1347, form one whole with the foundations of the temple. The present pedestals of the *dwarapala* figures are, however, clearly disconnected from the temple building. Either this is an effect of the restoration, or Stutterheim’s description was wrong.⁷⁰ Bernet

⁶⁹ Krom (1923, II:265), referring to Van Kinsbergen’s photos, describes the reliefs on the cornice. He believes that these panels and other stones were heaped up here by mistake or in a wrong arrangement. It seems that no other archaeologist paid attention to this architectural element. There is a remarkable verse in the *Serat Centhini* (Canto 20.30) in the passage on Candi Panataran. It relates that the protagonist, when climbing down from the temple body, had to pass seven steep steps; he did that very slowly and cautiously to avoid tumbling down. The stairs on the Main Temple are in fact steep. However it makes one wonder, what is meant by the ‘seven steps’, since the number of the actual steps far exceeds the number of seven. Or does it mean that originally there were seven terraces? If today one counts the three terraces of the temple foot, added by another possible fourth terrace with the so-called cornice, further added by the superimposed temple body, we can conclude five terraces. In case the *Serat Centhini* is correct, there were originally two more terraces which are no longer extant today. This and other questions concerning the original architectural and decorative arrangement of the Main Temple should be part of an intensive investigation in a monograph on Candi Panataran.

⁷⁰ OD-photo nr. 3914, taken shortly after the restoration around 1918, shows the same situation as today. The connection between the pedestals of the guardian figures and the base of the temple has been maintained by other scholars, though.

Fig. 7.40. Main Temple in the third courtyard, view from northwest

Kempers (1959:92) attributes the big lintel with the inscription of AD 1323, found in the first courtyard near the Dated Temple, to the Main Temple,⁷¹ and argues the building may have been completed by this time, while the decoration was finished only in AD 1347, the date known from the *dwarapala*. This position has been maintained so far. Klokke (2000:19) refers to the time of Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389) as the date for the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the second terrace, without providing a reference. As remains of an older brickstone building were found within the structure of the temple during the restoration, it has been concluded that the Main Temple forms an enhancement of an earlier building. Thus the question of the dating of the Main Temple is not really definite. However, it makes sense to see a connection between the erection of the temple and the *dwarapala*, so that we can assume the construction was finished in AD 1347 and the relief carvings were completed in the following years, which would place them in the time of Hayam Wuruk's reign.

While the *Ramayana* reliefs are arranged in the counterclockwise direction (*prasawaya*), the *Krishnayana* reliefs follow the opposite *pradakshina*. The *Ramayana* reliefs depict one scene each in a single panel, altogether numbering 106. Alternating with most of the panels are round medallions which portray animals in ornamental carvings. The *Ramayana* reliefs start and end on the north side. They have been meticulously described by Stutterheim (1925, 1989). He analyses them to illustrate the part of the Old Javanese *Ramayana kakawin* which relates Hanuman's

⁷¹ Although not expressly mentioned, perhaps his reason for this attribution is the large size of the lintel, which would fit to a large building such as the Main Temple.

campaign in Rahwana's realm and ends with Kumbhakarna's death. Klokke (2006:395, 400) focuses on the fact that Rama is not the major protagonist in the *Ramayana* reliefs of Panataran; rather, Hanuman is the central character. This should be understood within the context that Hanuman's mystical qualities were emphasized in East Javanese art. In continuing these thoughts, I (Kieven 2011) suggest a Tantric connotation of the 'Hanuman story' as depicted on the Main Temple. The reliefs on the second terrace have been identified by Van Stein Callenfels (1914, 1916, 1924) to be based on the Old Javanese *Krishnayana kakawin*.⁷² The story, depicted in continuous reliefs, relates the exploits of Krishna, who kidnaps his future wife, Rukmini. He then must fight his rivals and in the end is united with Rukmini. The *Krishnayana* reliefs start and end on the right part of the western side, that is, the front.

The reconstructed temple body displays sculptured male and female deities in the corners and in niches, and high-carved serpent heads at the corners. Bernet Kempers (1959:92) understands the deities and the serpents to indicate that the Main Temple is a symbol for the cosmic mountain (Mount Meru).⁷³ As aforementioned, the small panels today filling some of the niches and depicting demon-like figures, were originally located on the upper terrace of the temple foot.

It is remarkable that the motif of the serpent frequently appears on the third terrace of the temple foot and on the remains of the temple body. That is to say, it is only present in the upper part of the temple, while not at all in its lower part.

A panel in the *Ramayana* reliefs on the eastern side's northern part contains the illustration of a monkey who is depicted with a sharp-edged large cap (Stutterheim 1989:plate 189; fig. 7.41). The panels on this side illustrate Hanuman's flight over the water from the island of Lengka, the place of Rahwana's palace, followed by the construction of the causeway to this island and the march of Hanuman's monkey army towards the demon king's palace. The scene in panel 189 shows the arrival of the army in Lengka. The monkey with the cap belongs to the army. In addition to the typical iconographic features for a noble person, the sash

⁷² More recently Klokke (2000c) has revised these interpretations and added more details.

⁷³ He and other scholars suggest that the, now vanished, roof of the temple might have been built of perishable material in a multi-tiered way similar to the *meru* of the Balinese *pura*. Kinney (2003:184-5) considers that such light and airy kind of roof like the Balinese *meru* 'seem an aesthetic mismatch for the roof of Panataran's Main Temple, which was a massive stone monument'.

Fig. 7.41. Main Temple, first terrace, east side, *Ramayana*, plate 189

is longer than usual and his *kain* hangs in pleats, which indicates a very high status. In one hand, he holds an umbrella. In front of him is a taller monkey with an *ikat kepala*, a cloth wrapped around the head similar to traditional headgear still worn by men today in East Java. This monkey is depicted with rich jewellery and refined clothing, which designates him as having an even higher status. In all the panels on the east side, the monkeys with an *ikat kepala* seem to represent commanders of the army (Stutterheim 1989:plates 182, 184, 190, 194, 195) while the other monkeys without any jewellery or headdress belong to the low-ranking soldiers. The umbrella of honour held by the cap-monkey emphasizes the high position of the commander in front of him. The cap seems to indicate an intermediate position in the hierarchy of the monkeys between the soldiers and the high-ranking commander.⁷⁴ In the following panels on the east wall (Stutterheim 1989:plates 190-193) other commanders, as well as Hanuman, Sugriwa, Lakshmana, and Rama are depicted. I interpret the cap-figure as a marker of the heroes of the story. As the cap-figure is a monkey himself and belongs to Hanuman's army, he denotes the latter in particular as a hero. This confirms the interpretation mentioned above that indeed Hanuman is the major character and hero of the *Ramayana* depictions on the Main Temple. In my study on the symbolism of the 'Hanuman reliefs' (Kieven 2011), I argue that the focus is laid on Hanuman's accumulation of mystical qualities, in

⁷⁴ It is remarkable that on the north side, which depicts the battle between the monkey army and the demon army, no cap-monkey appears, while soldiers and commanders are depicted frequently.

particular by the frequent depictions of him flying and crossing water, and I suggest that in this way a Tantric theme is expressed through these reliefs. Hanuman himself acts as an intermediary, pointing to the path of acquiring Higher Knowledge.

The *Krishnayana* reliefs feature figures with a cap in two scenes, both on the west side: one (panel 5; fig. 7.42a/b) in the northern part, within the first panels of the series, and the other (panel 21) one in the southern part, belonging to the final scenes.⁷⁵ In the middle of panel 5 Krishna is shown together with two servants who wear caps. This scene is part of a long panel, illustrating a complicated episode depicting fighting demons, a huge fire, the sage Mucukunda three times, and Krishna twice.⁷⁶ Krishna and the two cap-servants are portrayed as hiding behind the sage Mucukunda against the attack of a demons' army. The servants wear half-moon shaped, large caps and are adorned with earrings; thus they are of higher status. They hold a betel box and a spittoon in front of their chest. They represent attendants of Krishna in a way similar to the cap-servants of Wairocana in Candi Jago.⁷⁷ In the following panels of the *Krishnayana* reliefs, Krishna is often depicted together with one or two servants holding betel accessories. In these cases the servants do not wear a cap, but are portrayed with flattened hair and two curls on the forehead. This is reminiscent of the depictions on the Pendopo Terrace where I identified the figure with the short hair as a man who has taken his cap off when seeking advice from a hermit.⁷⁸ Many of the scenes where Krishna is accompanied by these flat-haired servants in fact illustrate encounters with a deity or a hermit.⁷⁹

I suggest the following interpretation of the cap-servants in panel 5: As this scene appears at the beginning of the *Krishnayana* reliefs and is part of a long panel with rather confusing depictions of fighting, the cap-servants function to mark the hero of the story, Krishna, so that the visitor to the temple can quickly distinguish him. In the following panels it is clear which figure represents Krishna, which renders the cap's signifying function no longer necessary. The hairstyle of the servants may indicate the reverence they and their master pay to the hermits and gods.

⁷⁵ In the descriptions of the *Krishnayana* panels I follow Klokke's (2000c) numbering.

⁷⁶ It is remarkable that the west front of Candi Jago also displays parts of this same episode, in the uppermost terrace.

⁷⁷ See the *Angling Dharma* and *Kunjarakarna* reliefs on Candi Jago.

⁷⁸ Compare the discussions of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace above: panels 5, 9, 10, 44, 57, 58.

⁷⁹ Klokke 2000a: panels 5c, 7, 8b, 8c.

Fig. 7.42a/b. Main Temple, second terrace, west side, *Krishnayana*, panel 5 and detail

The second cap-figure in the *Krishnayana* reliefs appears in one of the last panels in the right part of the west side (panel 21; fig. 7.43). In the battle between Krishna's army and his enemies a warrior, small in size, is depicted with a cap. He stands between Krishna's chariot and the actual fighting scene. Krishna himself, standing on the chariot, is depicted in an even smaller form. The cap-figure holds a stick or bow in one hand and has a short *kain* like the other warriors, but he is not taking any direct action.⁸⁰ Bracelets and earrings indicate his higher status. The other warriors, in active positions, are tall to show that the main action of the scene

⁸⁰ The iconography of this figure is very similar to a figure from the reliefs at Candi Gajah Mungkur on Mount Penanggungan (see Bernet Kempers 1959:plate 325), particularly concerning the detail of the bow-shaped object. This figure was cut out of its original place and is kept in the storage room of the museum in Trowulan. The original narrative is supposed to present a Panji story. See also my table of the sites with cap-figures in Chapter V. Without being able to identify or explain the bow-shaped object, its repeated depiction gives evidence of its popular use.

Fig. 7.43. Main Temple, second terrace, west side, *Krishnayana*, part of panel 21

lies in the fight. They are adorned with even more jewellery and sashes; those fighting for Krishna, with a curly hair bun, are distinguished from their enemies, who wear a particular headgear of feathers.⁸¹ The more refined appearance of the cap-warrior might indicate that he is a kind of assistant of Krishna; again, the cap-figure serves to mark who is the hero of the story. The size of the cap-warrior, just between the size of Krishna and the fighters, corresponds to his position as an intermediary character.

In all of the three scenes depicting cap-figures, they mark the hero of the story, being Hanuman and Krishna, respectively. The *kakawin Ramayana* and the *Krishnayana*, dating from the ninth and twelfth century, respectively, belong to the tradition of the Indian epics, thus to the 'mythological stories' as defined earlier. These stories, with Rama and Krishna regarded as demi-gods, are suitable for depiction on the Main Temple, which is the most sacred building in the temple compound.⁸² Hanuman graduated to a status comparable to that of a demi-god during the East Javanese period. The heroes Hanuman, Rama, and Krishna are depicted with the *supit urang* hairdo typical for the 'mythological sto-

⁸¹ The same feathers as headgear are worn by the soldiers in the depiction of the army of the demon Niwatakawaca at Candi Surowono (see Chapter VIII).

⁸² That the *Ramayana* and the *Krishnayana*, though in different variations, were very appropriate for this purpose, is also demonstrated in their depiction at the Prambanan temple in Central Java (mid ninth century).

ries', and with elaborate garments. The cap-figures on the Main Temple, with simple dress, represent characters of a lower status, but high enough to be appropriate attendants for the heroes. The cap-figures, known as commoners (as in Candi Jago) and as heroes from the 'post-mythological stories' (such as Panji), would have been recognized by contemporary visitors as characters of the mundane world. As such, these figures act as intermediaries to the sacred world.

Both the *kakawin Ramayana* and the *Krishnayana* feature the issues of love and final union of man and woman – Rama and Sita, Krishna and Rukmini, respectively. This union does, however, not form part of the illustrations in the *Ramayana* reliefs. The depictions are dominated by episodes of fighting and war, and the series ends with the death of the demon king's brother Kumbhakarna, cutting short the actual happy end between Rama and Sita. The *Krishnayana* reliefs continue the subject of fighting, and simultaneously they also demonstrate the subject of love between Krishna and Rukmini in several scenes. The final panels (Klokke 2000c:panels 22-25), which immediately follow the fighting scene with Krishna on the chariot, illustrate the union of Krishna and Rukmini. They enjoy themselves in the pleasure garden next to a lake. The very last scene depicts two *widadari* bathing under a water spout. These two scenes, marking the end of the whole corpus of narrative reliefs on the Main Temple, feature the two elements which are most dominant in the depictions in the whole temple complex: water and the union of male and female. The union of Krishna and Rukmini symbolizes the union of Siwa and Sakti/Kundalini as the ultimate goal of the Tantric path. Sitting next to the water illustrates that Krishna and Rukmini are purified by having passed the *tirtha* and are thus prepared for their union. The Supreme Bliss which emerges through the experience of the union of Siwa and Sakti, and symbolized by *amerta*, is visualized by the water spouts in the final scene. I suggest that the two depictions of water invite the pilgrim to go down from the Main Temple to the Bathing Place filled with water. Before descending from the Main Temple, the contemporary visitor would still have proceeded to the *cella* in the temple body. As we have no evidence about this *cella* and about contingent deity figures, we are not able to determine the actual function and rituals in the temple body.

Connecting my interpretation of the Main Temple to that of the *dwarapala*, I propose the following explanation for the latter. The cap-

figure guides the visitor to the *Tantri* stories depicted on the backs of the guardian figures. Through their close relation to the mundane world and their popularity, both the *Tantri* stories and the cap-figure directly appeal to the visitor. After visiting the Main Temple the pilgrims are not supposed to leave the temple compound, but must rather proceed to the Bathing Place. They need guidance to carry out this very last step in the ritual path. In pointing to the *Tantri* stories with their symbolism associated with water, the cap-figure acts as the intermediary figure in this process.⁸³ Still today, visitors miss the Bathing Place because it lies outside of the main enclosure. An indicator is in fact needed to show the way.

Let us now proceed to the Holy Bathing Place.

THE INNER BATHING PLACE (1)

This charming small *tirtha*, dated AD 1415, consists of a basin which is fed by an underground source. The depth of the water can vary, and in the rainy season the water feeds a tiny creek.⁸⁴ A stairway leads down to a platform from where one could enter the water basin.

Part of the surrounding walls of the basin above the water surface are decorated with scenes of five different *Tantri* stories (Klokke 1993:235-9). The two corners to the right and left of the basin have bas-reliefs with depictions of one-metre-high human beings. The southern corner (fig. 7.44) shows two men, each wearing a very short loincloth. The left one wears earrings, while the right one has a moustache. The upper parts of their heads are unfortunately destroyed, but it can be seen that the man standing on the left has two curls of hair on his forehead, which is typical for a man wearing a cap. The lower part of the men's legs reach beneath the water surface.⁸⁵ Correspondingly, on the northern corner of the Bathing Place a man and a woman are depicted as standing in the water. Both are adorned with earrings, while the woman also wears bracelets. The woman (fig. 7.45), with a hair bun, wears a garment which covers her breast and reaches down under the water surface. The man (fig. 7.46) has the same moustache as his counterpart on the southern

⁸³ The fact that the Bathing Place was constructed later than the Main Temple may shed doubt upon my suggestion. I maintain, however, that a water place did already exist on this spot prior to the construction of its enclosure. I will elaborate on this argument further down.

⁸⁴ Photos taken in different periods show that the water level varies.

⁸⁵ Depending on the varying depth of the water it can be the legs' whole part downward from the knees.

Fig. 7.44. Inner Bathing Place, corner on the south side

Fig. 7.45. Inner Bathing Place, left side of the northern corner, female figure

Fig. 7.46. Inner Bathing Place, right side of the northern corner, male figure

side, while the upper part of his head is damaged. The moustache is a typical iconographic detail for a *kadeyan*. I suggest that the four figures represent a cap-figure with his *kadeyan*, and the *kadeyan* with a woman. Because of their large size the four figures appeal in a direct way to the visitor to identify with them. It seems that these figures invite the pilgrim to follow their example and to step into the water. In this sense, they have a task comparable to that of the figures at Candi Yudha and Candi Mirigambar, where a cap-figure and a *kadeyan* invite the visitor to enter the more sacred sphere.⁸⁶

As mentioned above, *Tantri* reliefs, and in particular those on the backs of the *dwarapala*, carry a symbolism associated with water. It is remarkable that, within the total of five, the same three *Tantri* reliefs on the backs of the *dwarapala* are all depicted in the Inner Bathing Place.⁸⁷ As this *tirtha* was constructed later than the *dwarapala*, we can conclude that the three particular *Tantri* stories were deliberately chosen for depiction in the Bathing Place to maintain the message symbolized by the narratives on the *dwarapala*. Water is present in material form in the water basin and symbolically in the *Tantri* stories, which enhances the significance of water in this place. In my overall analysis I will suggest an interpretation of the symbolism of this *tirtha* within the Tantric context.

Bathing is symbolically represented by the four figures, and it seems that part of the ritual consists in taking a bath in the water.⁸⁸ The bottom of the water basin is about 2 metres under the normal surface so that, when taking a bath, one is completely covered by water. The unusually small size of this *tirtha* in comparison to the Outer Bathing Place, and also to other *tirtha*, leads Patt (1979:418) to convincingly conclude that this Inner Bathing Place was ‘designed for private use by the court on their visits or by the dignitaries at the temple rather than for public use by any large groups of villagers or pilgrims’.

The stairway, leading down to the Inner Bathing Place, is today located close to the Main Temple on its southern side and leads down to

⁸⁶ See Chapters IX and X.

⁸⁷ These are: ‘Crocodile and bull’, ‘Geese and tortoise’, ‘Small Animals set each other free’ (Klokke 1993:232-8).

⁸⁸ Still today adherents of the traditional Javanese beliefs, *kejawen*, come to Candi Panataran to meditate and take a ritual bath in the *tirtha*. Other parts of the temple complex, in particular the Main Temple and the Dated Temple, are also visited for ritual practice.

A longer period of fieldwork, planned by the author, will yield new insights into today's ritual practices and concepts at Candi Panataran.

the broad plateau which must be crossed when approaching the Bathing Place. The photos taken by Van Kinsbergen in 1867 (Theuns-de-Boer 2005:photos 303, 304) show that, originally, stairways led straight to the Bathing Place. Thus it seems that in former times the pilgrims, coming from the third courtyard, would have approached the *tirtha* more directly.

CONCLUSION

I offer suggestions for an interpretation of both the symbolism of the narrative depictions with cap-figures and of their function within the religious concept of the temple. This will then allow to draw conclusions about the overall function and meaning of Candi Panataran. As explained above, it must be considered that the temple complex of Panataran was built over a long period of time under the reign of several kings and queens. In my view, a basic overall concept for the temple complex was already in existence at the beginning of the fourteenth century, as manifest in the layout with three courtyards and the respective guardian figures at the entrances to each courtyard. This concept included the progression from the mundane sphere (first yard) via the transitional sphere (second yard) to the sacred sphere (third yard). This concept was continuously re-emphasized and refined and/or re-established through the later extensions, particularly by the Main Temple (ca. AD 1350), the Pendopo Terrace (AD 1375), and the Inner Bathing Place (AD 1415).

Following my methodology, I have first, based on the iconography, identified the depicted cap-figures, and have then suggested possible identification of the narratives. This was followed by an interpretation of the symbolic meaning of the narrative depictions with cap-figures on the single buildings, which led to preliminary interpretations of the function of the cap-figures within the whole temple concept. These latter interpretations can only now be verified in an all-embracing way.

My analysis yields insight into the symbolic meaning of the cap-figures as accompaniment and guides to lead the visitor step by step from the Outer Bathing Place through the temple courtyards to the most sacred part in the Main Temple and, finally, to the Inner Bathing Place. On each building the cap-figures act as indicators of the essential theme in that building. In the Outer Bathing Place the pilgrim undergoes the initial purification before entering the temple complex. In the first court-

yard on the Pendopo Terrace the visitor is, assisted by the cap-figures, confronted on a mundane level with the major themes in the temple: the representations of love between man and woman, and the advance to higher spiritual knowledge as signified through the motifs of hermits and water. I recognize these themes to constitute major aspects of the Tantric doctrine. In the second courtyard at the Naga Temple, the worshipper is directed by a cap-figure to the importance of the symbolism of the *amerta*, in association to that of the mountain. In the third courtyard the cap-figures on the Small Pendopo Terrace again point to the symbolism of water and the relation between man and woman. On the Main Temple they denote the major heroes of the stories – first Hanuman, representing warrior and mystical qualities; then Krishna, who signifies the union of male and female. These steps reflect the process whereby an adept acquires mystical knowledge before becoming ready to reach the final goal of his practice. The cap-figure on the *dwarapala* indicates the theme of water, derived from the final *Krishnayana* reliefs. In this way he encourages the visitor to proceed to the Inner Bathing Place. There the visitor is invited to partake of the final spiritual purification.

I recognize the Tantric Kundalini path in this process. The ultimate goal of the Tantric practice is the experience of the union of the individual with the Divine, which is symbolized in the union of Siwa and Sakti. A way to reach this union is the Kundalini path: the rise of the Kundalini serpent through the body to the uppermost part above the head and the final union of the Kundalini-Sakti with Siwa. The Tantric path becomes manifest in the human body on a microcosmic level. In the same way the Tantric path is manifested architecturally in the temple complex of Candi Panataran.

That Tantra indeed was taught and practised in some way in ancient Java is proven by evidence which I presented earlier in this book. Taking this into consideration, my starting point of analysis is not the textual reference, but the visual medium of the narrative reliefs. I have attempted to decipher some of the potential meanings and intentions of the Tantric doctrines as expressed in this visual medium. The more I studied Candi Panataran and other East Javanese temples, the more it became evident to me that Tantric ideas are embedded in them. Candi Panataran provided me with the starting point in recognizing this Tantric concept.

Three elements – (1) the theme of love between man and woman, (2) religious teaching by hermits, and (3) water – are major recurrent sym-

bols in the path along the temple courtyards. The recognition of these symbolic meanings prepares the visitor for the sacred and, in particular, for understanding the Tantric doctrine. This understanding, going far beyond seeing merely the entertainment value, was only accessible to initiated adepts and those keen to learn and receive teaching from initiated persons. The three elements are unfolded *in extenso* on the Pendopo Terrace and are, in the other parts of the temple complex, emphasized individually according to the respective intended message.

(1) The frequent depictions of love stories with loving couples on the Pendopo Terrace display the theme of union of man and woman on a concrete and mundane level, particularly as the themes of the relief series are mostly chosen from the corpus of the popular Panji stories. Also, the theme of longing is frequently depicted in the Pendopo reliefs. I recognized in these two themes the two essential moods of Tantric experience: 'love-in-separation' and 'love-in-enjoyment'. These depictions, featuring the popular cap-figures, both welcome the pilgrim and act as a signal of the Tantric process. It was indeed the dominance of the subject of love and union in the depictions on the Pendopo Terrace which inspired in me the idea that a Tantric concept was embedded in these depictions. The theme of love of man and woman is then continued in the third courtyard on the Small Pendopo Terrace, again indicated by the cap-figure, and in the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the Main Temple. In this latter case the cap-figures only play a minor role.

(2) The hermits symbolize the required teaching of esoteric knowledge. On the Pendopo Terrace this subject plays a role in all nine narratives, where often the cap-figure will seek advice from a hermit. The *Bubukshah* story is part of this teaching of the *dharma* and the way to *moksha*, emphasized by its placement in the middle of the rear side. In ancient Java the *rshi* held an important religious position in the teaching of the *dharma* and particularly in the teaching of the secret Tantric doctrine. Thus, the frequent depictions of Panji and the cap-figures in combination with a hermit on the Pendopo Terrace function as a symbol for the introduction into the Tantric path. Hermits later also play a role in the reliefs on the Main Temple, particularly in the *Krishnayana* reliefs, and to a minor degree in the *Rayamana* reliefs.

(3) Water, with its multiple symbolism, is a dominant subject in the whole temple complex: in the sense of *thirtha* it symbolizes purification and proceeding to Higher Knowledge, and in the sense of *amerta* it is the

experience of the Supreme Bliss. The first thing the contemporary visitor would have done is to visit the Outer Bathing Place to clean and purify him- or herself before entering the complex proper. On the Pendopo Terrace water is depicted in six of the nine stories, which symbolizes the passage from a more mundane stage to a stage of higher religious knowledge. The Naga Temple, with its illustration of the churning of the ocean, is a symbol for the creation of the *amerta*. The depiction of a man on a fish in water on the Small Pendopo is perhaps a symbolic indication for the visitor to take another, further step into the sacred sphere. Furthermore, Hanuman's flight over the sea from India to Lengka, as depicted on the Main Temple within the *Ramayana* reliefs, symbolizes Hanuman's approach to a higher stage which eventually leads him to fulfil his task of destroying the evil by killing Rahwana's brother. The Inner Bathing Place symbolizes the final purification and the *Anandakanda-padma* as the place of the unification of the *yogi* with the *ishtadewata*.

The cap-figure, in most cases Panji, is a principal actor in the illustrations of the three elements presented: love, hermits, and water. In each case, he highlights the essential message of the story and of the very building or part of the temple complex itself. The number of depictions of cap-figures diminishes as one proceeds to the sacred part of the temple complex. This arrangement elucidates the introductory function of the cap-figures and Panji and, therefore, their intermediary character. The preparatory function of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace corresponds to the function of this building, that for preparing offerings for the temple.

Panji acts as an intermediary figure, indicating the Tantric Kundalini path, the destination of which is the final union with the Divine that will take place in the uppermost *cakra* – the *Sahasrara*. This *cakra* is symbolized by the Main Temple which represents the top of Mount Meru. The three *granthi*, obstacles which have to be overcome in this ascent through the body, are symbolized by the passing of the three gates between the courtyards in the temple and by the *dwarapala* figures which guard these entrances. The experience of the unification of Siwa with Sakti, as symbolized in the final scenes of the *Krishnayana* on the Main Temple, yields the emergence of Supreme Bliss, the *amerta*. The Kundalini energy descends to the *Anandakanda-padma*, associated with a lovely body of water, where the merging of the individual soul with the personal deity takes place. This corresponds to the descent of the pilgrim to the Inner

Bathing Place. The placement of the Inner Bathing Place in the temple complex corresponds in a striking way to this path, where the visitor descends to this lower level, which contains water, after having ascended to the highest place of the temple compound in the Main Temple.

In my opinion the location for the construction of the Inner Bathing Place was deliberately chosen. The way this *tirtha* is fed by underground water is exceptional, given that in most other cases a *tirtha* has water spouts which are fed by a source or by water conduits. The striking clarity of the water and the impression of a tiny quiet lake enhances the distinctiveness of this *tirtha*. I conclude that the Inner Bathing Place was constructed at a place which was already previously ritually used by contemporary adepts or priests. This is to say, even the concept of the *Anandakanda-padma* may have already been in existence and been practised by taking a ritual bath in the water, before the actual construction of the enclosure was completed. The addition of the relief carvings, with depictions of the *Tantri* stories and depictions of cap-figure and companions as introductory guides, would have made the intention and concept of the place more recognizable.

The *naga* is another feature in the water symbolism. It plays an important role in the whole complex of Candi Panataran. The *naga* is a symbol of water, and it also represents the Kundalini. The rise of the Kundalini through the body is paralleled in the position of *naga* in the temple compound. In the first courtyard of the Panataran complex, coiled serpents are depicted around the foot of the Pendopo Agung, which was supposed to be the first site to be visited. The foot of the Pendopo Terrace is surrounded by *naga* bodies which raise their heads at various points in the building. On the Naga Temple in the second courtyard, serpents encircle the upper border of the building. In the third courtyard, on the Main Temple, *naga* heads are depicted on the third terrace and on the walls of the superimposed temple body; hence on the upper levels of the building. Is it too far-fetched to interpret the ascending appearance of all these *naga* as the ascending Kundalini? We must however be careful with this interpretation, as the chronology of the constructions does not completely correspond to this planned symbolism.

The dominance of the water theme is also conveyed through the location of the three entrances to the courtyards. All are not centred, but, rather, located in the southern part of the borders between the courtyards and arranged in a relatively straight line from west to east.

From my very first visits to Panataran, I have had the impression that this positioning of the entrances leads straight to the Bathing Place, which is located on the south side of the temple axis as well.

The placement of the narratives within the spatial layout of the temple compound is a further important aspect contributing to the symbolic meaning of the temple. It is noteworthy that most of the cap-figures are positioned in the first courtyard on the Pendopo Terrace. The two other yards only have some depictions. This fits the common schema in temples: while in the front or on the lower levels popular narratives and folktales are common (the ‘post-mythological stories’), at the higher or rear part of a temple narrative reliefs based on the Indian epics are predominant (the ‘mythological’ stories). Many cap-figures are placed on protruding positions or at corners. In particular, the Small Pendopo Terrace and the Naga Temple occupy a corner position within the temple layout. As mentioned earlier, the corners of a temple and of a temple complex may have special meanings and have the function of indicators.⁸⁹ It is also remarkable that erotic depictions are more explicit on the Pendopo Terrace than in the Main Temple. This is a frequent feature in East Javanese temples, where it is a pattern that the higher the level of sacredness, on the rear or the upper part of the temple, the less explicit the depictions of erotic situations.

Besides the Tantric context, other aspects of the symbolism of the Panji stories are also embedded in Candi Panataran. So, too, is the symbolism of agricultural fertility, considering that the union of Panji and Candrakirana is the manifestation of the union of Wishnu and Sri, Sri being the goddess of rice and fertility. A Sri sculpture with rice ears was found outside the temple terrain of Panataran (Krom 1923, II:281). This may hint at the existence of a cult connected to agriculture and the irrigation of the fields. In this symbolism of agricultural fertility, the Panji stories would again have had the role of preparing and introducing the pilgrim to enter the sacred sphere of the Panataran complex. The depictions of union on the Pendopo Terrace prepare for the union of Rama and Sita, and of Krishna and Rukmini – both couples being incarnations of Wishnu and Sri – which are featured in the Main Temple in the sacred sphere of the temple compound.

⁸⁹ I will also elaborate on this issue in my discussion of Candi Surowono (Chapter VIII).

The fact that water is a frequent subject in all parts of the temple can also be understood, in reference to the cult of *amerta* and Mount Meru, as a symbol of the semen of Siwa.⁹⁰ The Main Temple is the concrete representation of Mount Meru, thus of God Siwa, and the semen flowing out of Siwa's *lingga* can be understood as the *amerta* collecting in the Bathing Place. The *amerta* cult is connected to the worship of Mount Meru and the Lord of the Mountains. This worship was performed by Hayam Wuruk during his visits to the temple, as is documented in the *Nagarakertagama* (Nag. 17.5a). Kingship and the cult of holy water were interconnected. By making use of the purifying and exorcist qualities of water in rituals, the king accumulates *sakti* and the world order is maintained. We may conclude that the small *tirtha* of Candi Panataran was used for such rituals in connection with sanctifying the kingship. This is supported by the small size of the *tirtha*, which allows only a small community – the royal retinue – to enter the water.

That Candi Panataran was also destined for the worship of the king himself, as stated by Supomo (1972:292), is an observation which demands further research for corroboration.⁹¹ It is, however, supported by a special aspect of the Panji stories, namely, the symbolism of the life crisis of a young man, in particular a young royal. Only after much struggle is he eventually ready to marry and to become an adult fully accepted by society. In this sense, the prince needs a queen to be fully acknowledged and to become king. Thus, the appropriate place for the Panji stories within the temple complex is in the entrance part. In the final part of the temple the presentation of the ideal king, in his union with the queen, is symbolized by the union of Krishna and Rukmini. The Main Temple in the sacred area of the compound is the appropriate place for the depictions of stories of proper kings such as Rama and Krishna, who are already accomplished *kshatriya*. The Small Pendopo represents an additional indication of the struggle in achieving the final stage.

The main building activities were executed in the middle of the fourteenth century during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389). Through the extensions of the State Temple and through his visits to Candi Panataran, the king reinforced the importance of both this temple

⁹⁰ See Chapter IV, sub-chapter 'Water and Mountain'.

⁹¹ In this sense the Main Temple would then have represented a kind of panegyric of the king Dumarçay's (1986a:78) impression of the Main Temple as a building flying in the air, which was repeated by Sockmono (1990:83), may add a further dimension to this idea.

and his own power. We can assume that the king himself ordered the constructions and arranged artists and religious specialists to implement and apply the concept. If indeed this underlying concept was the Tantric doctrine, we can provide further support for the assumption, which has been made by many authors, that some kind of Tantrism was practised by Hayam Wuruk and the religious community. The Main Temple was probably built around AD 1350, replacing and extending an older temple, possibly the Srengga-sanctuary; the Pendopo Terrace was only completed 25 years later. This chronology suggests that Hayam Wuruk may have ordered the depictions of the popular Panji stories in order to attract more pilgrims and/or to convey the teaching of the Tantric doctrine in a prominent and comprehensible way. The construction of the Inner Bathing Place 40 years after the Pendopo Terrace may be understood as a way of enhancing this doctrine, although I think it was already used as a holy water place prior to this construction. The fact that the Inner Bathing Place was built in AD 1415, and thus after the Civil War of 1409, might also demonstrate that after these events the then ruling king wanted to emphasize the power of the ritual in the State Temple Candi Panataran, by which he could accumulate *sakti* to increase his own power.

We know that Panataran was visited by a diverse community. The king (Hayam Wuruk) came to honour the Lord of the Mountains, pilgrims came for teaching of religious knowledge, and others simply brought offerings to the gods. For all of these visitors the temple meant something else, and for each of them the message embedded in the narrative reliefs offered different levels of meanings. On all of these different levels, the Panji stories and other depictions of narratives with a cap-figure welcome the visitor on a mundane level and guide him/her in proceeding through the temple with the following purpose: to worship the king or a deity, and/or to practise the religious, that is, the Tantric ritual. We may imagine that Panji's function in the temple reliefs as a 'guide' was paralleled in the temple itself by a priest who guided the pilgrims in circumambulating along the reliefs and reciting or singing the texts of the depicted narratives.