Hanuman, the Flying Monkey

The symbolism of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Reliefs at the Main Temple of Caṇḍi Panataran

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Introduction: Caṇḍi Panataran and the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs

This paper investigates the relief depictions of the KR on the walls of the Main Temple of Caṇḍi Panataran in East Java.²⁷ The selection of the episodes and scenes of the narrative and the spatial arrangement of the depictions was intended to convey a specific symbolic meaning. The visual medium allowed this to deviate from the literary text and put the focus on a specific topic: on Hanuman's mystic and magic power *śakti* in the confrontation with the world destroyer Rāwaṇa. I argue that the reliefs form part of a Tantric concept which underlies the symbolism of the whole temple complex, and that within this theme Hanuman plays a role as an intermediary. The paper continues Stutterheim's (1925, 1989) analysis of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs, Klokke's study (2006) on Hanuman's outstanding role in the art of the East Javanese period, and my own recent investigation of the Pañji stories at Caṇḍi Panataran (Kieven 2009, particularly pp. 151–219).

The *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on the walls of the lower terrace of the Main Temple of Caṇḍi Panataran are known as the major East Javanese pendant to the Central Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Caṇḍi Loro Jonggrang. The description of the two relief series, their identification, and their comparison are the major concern of Stutterheim's 1925 German monograph, made more generally accessible in English translation as *Rāma legends and Rāma-reliefs in Indonesia* in 1989. Through his description of the 106 panels at Caṇḍi Panataran he proved convincingly that the KR is the underlying narrative.

27. I am grateful for Danny Yee's edit of the English language of my paper.

Caṇḍi Panataran is located in the southern part of East Java near the town of Blitar. It is a temple complex with an oblong layout consisting of three courts stretching from west to east, the ground levels of the three courtyards sloping gently upwards. The length of the whole temple compound measures about 180 meters, and it is 60 meters wide (Krom 1923, II:273).

Map 1: Caṇḍi Panataran, from Satyawati Suleiman 1978

The layout of Caṇḍi Panataran has striking similarities to the present-day Balinese *pura* (temple) which is also characterized by three axially aligned courtyards, the forecourt having a profane use for preparations, the second court adopting a sacred status during temple ceremonies and the third courtyard being permanently sacred (Soekmono 1995:105). Soekmono (1995:83) suggests that Caṇḍi Panataran is 'a direct precursor of the Balinese temple of today'. Following this concept, the Main Temple, located in the third courtyard of the Panataran temple complex, represents the most sacred part of the temple.

The major part of the temple complex of Caṇḍi Panataran was built between 1318 AD and 1415 AD. A single inscription dated 1197 AD indicates a period of earlier construction, while another dated 1454 AD suggests later building. Both these inscriptions, however, are on stones apart from buildings, which might have been relocated and anyhow did not necessarily form part of major construction.²⁸ Panataran has commonly been considered as the State Temple of the powerful kingdom of Majapahit and was visited by the prominent king Hayam Wuruk during the 39 years of his reign (1350–1389 AD). The *Deśawarṇana* relates two visits (17.5a and 61.2). It seems that Hayam Wuruk ordered most of the construction of the temple complex. It is assumed that the construction of the Main Temple had already been completed by 1347 AD shortly before his reign began, as suggested by the inscriptions on the four *dwārapāla* figures located in front of the building. The relief carvings may have been carried out later during Hayam Wuruk's time (Bernet Kempers 1959:92).

When analysing Caṇḍi Panataran or parts of it, we must keep the long period of construction in mind. The temple complex was not planned and constructed from the beginning as a unified whole. However, in my investigation of the Pañji reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace of Panataran (Kieven 2009:163–94), I conclude that there is a high probability of an underlying religious concept for the whole temple complex which was further developed through the successive stages of each extension.

Outline of my approach

In approaching the interpretation of the reliefs, we must imagine ourselves as visitors to the temple and consider what a visitor or pilgrim might have understood when viewing them. The message of narrative sculpture can be understood at several levels: from mere entertainment to a deep spiritual meaning to be conveyed as teaching. What I have tried to detect is the latter. I understand

28. Compare the table of inscriptions at the end of the paper.

the relief depictions, as narratives in a visual medium, to have the same goal as the narratives in the written medium of a Kakawin, that is to serve as a *yantra* in achieving union with the Divine (see Zoetmulder 1974:172–3). Within Tantric yoga practice, a *yantra* is an object upon which the yogin meditates as a means to achieve final mystical union with the Divine Being.

Based on the understanding that narrative reliefs at temples carry a specific symbolism within the overall function of the temple, I raise the following questions in this paper. Why was Hanuman chosen to be the prominent figure in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Caṇḍi Panataran? What is the specific message of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs? My analysis consists of three major aspects: (A) the selection of the scenes, (B) the placement of the scenes, (C) the style of the depictions.

(A) Presenting a story visually has limits as not all literary scenes and their embellishments can be depicted. The sculptor of the narrative reliefs must be selective. On the other hand, the visual medium allows certain narrative episodes to be emphasized in order to convey a specific message which may deviate from the literary source.²⁹

The prominent role of Hanuman in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Panataran has already been discussed by Klokke (2000:36–7, 2006:395–400). She highlights the fact that Hanuman and not Rāma is the major protagonist in the depictions. She suggests that it is indeed more appropriate to speak here of the Hanuman story instead of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story. Within the 106 panels, 35 panels depict Hanuman, the general of the monkey army, only four depict Prince Rāma together with his brother Lakṣmaṇa, four depict Rāma's wife Sītā with Trijaṭā, and eight depict the demon king Rāwaṇa (Klokke 2006:395). The monkey king Sugrīwa is depicted in five panels, Rāwaṇa's son Indrajit in three panels, his other son Akṣa in one panel, and Rāwaṇa's brother Kumbhakarna in one panel. Only a selection of *sargas* and stanzas of the KR are depicted: *sargas* 8–11, 15–16, 19 and 23.

(B) In her innovative article about the orientation of East Javanese temples on the example of Caṇḍi Surowono, Klokke (1995) identified a dichotomy between the demonic aspect on the front part and the divine aspect on the rear part of a temple. In her later study (Klokke 2000:36–7) she applied this principle to the *Rāmāyaṇa* depictions at Panataran. She found that scenes which take place in the realm of the evil king Rāwaṇa are depicted on the front, the south,

29. Caṇḍi Surowono has been the object of studies on the seemingly odd selection and the disorder of the arrangement of narrative scenes. The investigations by Klokke (1995) and Worsley (1986, 1996) deliver the insight that the selection and placement of the depicted scenes was indeed deliberately done in a specific way. Through this way a specific message and symbolism was conveyed. This principle can be applied to other Caṇḍis as well.

and the north sides of the building, while the events happening in the realm of the just king Rāma are all placed on the rear side. This rear side also features other motifs associated with sacred energy, such as depictions of mountains and of a sage. My paper builds on and expands these principles governing the placement of specific themes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs.

(c) Stutterheim's pioneering stylistic comparison of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Prambanan and Panataran drew attention to a number of major stylistic differences between East Javanese art and that of the earlier Central Javanese period. These characteristic East Javanese features include: the wayang-like crab-claw hairdo (*supit urang*) in the depictions of the heroes Rāma, Hanuman, and others; the depiction of Javanese rather than Indian vegetation and animals; Javanese sword types in the depictions of weapons; the threatening pose with two fingers distinct from the Central Javanese with one finger only. An important element that Stutterheim identified in his analysis of the styles is the 'magicism' in the relief depictions at Caṇḍi Panataran, referring to the ghost-like spiral motifs and cloud motifs. He uses the 'efflorescence of magicism in East Java' to support his argument that this art cannot be the result of degeneration, but rather 'shows that [this art] is capable of generating and creating new forms' (Stutterheim 1989:171). Saying this he opposed the scholarly position that the art of the East Javanese period was characterized by a degeneration in comparison to the Central Javanese period. This issue had been the object of a longstanding controversy among scholars, most of them being Indologists who compared all manifestations of the so-called Indianization in Southeast Asia with the Indian prototype. Stutterheim was the first to recognize and acknowledge the uniqueness of the East Javanese art which had developed its own features in a creative way and independently from the Central Javanese models. The understanding of this 'creative response' is essential in the approach to East Javanese art and provides the framework for my analysis of the reliefs.

Map 2: Groundplan of the Main Temple of Caṇḍi Panataran (by L. Kieven)

Description and analysis of the Rāmāyaṇa depictions

The panels of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs are placed on the first terrace while the second terrace has the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* reliefs (Klokke 2000). The first part of the story in *sargas* 1 to 7, relating the circumstances which lead to the involvement of the monkeys and the monkey general Hanuman in the fight against Rāwaṇa, is not on display at all. The 106 relief panels display scenes from *sarga* 8 to 19 of the KR. I follow Stutterheim's numeration (1989) of panels (no. 105–210). The panels are arranged in the counterclockwise *prasawya* direction of circumambulation. The series has its starting point on the western part of the north side of the building. Klokke (2006:395–8) gives a detailed iconographic description of the panels related to the content of the respective *sargas* of the KR. Here I will provide a concise description of the reliefs with a particular focus on Hanuman in order to contextualize my later analysis. In most respects, my interpretation of the reliefs agrees with that of Klokke but a few minor points of difference are noted and some additional detail is provided. I extend her work by exploring a number of new perspectives which support my interpretation of the symbolism of the reliefs.

The first eight panels, no. 105–112, on the north side, correspond to KR *sarga* 8.79–214. Hanuman is depicted in three of these panels. The very first panel (105) shows Hanuman, followed by a panel introducing Rāwaṇa in his palace. Sītā is approached by Rāwaṇa, then by Hanuman, and she is consoled by Trijaṭā.

From the very start of the relief series the viewer is acquainted with Hanuman as a leading figure. Hanuman's task to set Sītā free by fighting Rāwaṇa's army, is unfolded in these first panels. Neither Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, nor Sugrīwa who are major protagonists in the previous part of the KR are addressed in the depictions. These initial eight panels refer to 135 stanzas of *sarga* 8, which means that the visual depictions present a very concise extract of the literary text. Through this significant selection of scenes and furthermore through the high percentage of depictions of Hanuman the focus is put on Hanuman's task.

The following 35 panels (no. 113–148) corresponding to KR *sarga* 9.1–41 stretch along the west front of the temple. Both text and depictions narrate Hanuman's fight against the demons in Rāwaṇa's realm in considerable detail. The number of panels is nearly on a par with the number of stanzas of the respective *sarga*, however only a few of them show a direct match with a stanza. For example panel 133 and stanza 9.28 both relate Hanuman's defeat of an elephant, panel 140 and stanza 9.31 relate the demons' report to Rāwaṇa. Most scenes display rather unspecific encounters between Hanuman and the

demons. The majority of panels depict demons; Hanuman appears in nine and Rāwaṇa in two. Hanuman is depicted in fierce postures, such as leaping on demons (for example panel 136, see Fig. 1) and the elephant, or pointing with a threatening gesture at a demon.

Hanuman is displayed with his martial qualities of bravery, strength and skillfulness. He uses tricks and ruses to fight and defeat the demons and to cause great turmoil in Rāwaṇa's realm. By filling the long stretch of the front side with Hanuman's brave deeds and the defeat of the demons, Hanuman is emphasized as the hero. These scenes lay the foundations for the following display of his more specific heroic deeds.

The next 13 panels (no. 149–162) continue *sarga* 9 (9.42–93), stretching along more than half of the south wall. The episodes depicted more tightly match episodes of the KR. Nine of the 13 panels display the fighting and heroic deeds of Hanuman: the fight against Akṣa (150), Hanuman rushing to the sea (152, Fig. 2), his bath in the sea (153, Fig. 3), his return to the battlefield (154), his destruction of Rāwaṇa's garden (156, Fig. 4), his wait for the enemy (157), the attack by Indrajit (160), and Hanuman wrapped in Indrajit's arrow snake (161, 162). The two panels 152 and 154 show Hanuman in a flying posture. The very dense display of Hanuman in this part of the series does not correspond to a similar concentration in the respective part of the KR. Wibhīṣaṇa's pledge to Rāwaṇa that he will not kill Hanuman, an important episode in the KR, is not shown.

The next three panels 163–165 depict four stanzas of *sarga* 10 (10.69–72) where Rāwaṇa furiously orders Hanuman's tail to be torched, while Indrajit is depicted walking away. Hanuman is still wrapped in the arrow snake. Thus three panels display him in this motionless position.

The final part of the south wall is covered by panels no. 166–172, corresponding to *sarga* 11.1–5. Hanuman appears in four of the seven panels, which narrate the setting on fire of Hanuman's tail (166), the torching of Rāwaṇa's palace (168), Hanuman jumping from roof to roof (169), Rāwaṇa's escape (170), Hanuman fleeing through the air (171), and taking leave of Sītā (172). Hanuman is shown in a jumping posture in panel 169, and in a flying posture in panel 171.

The southern wall has the largest number and the highest density of Hanuman depictions in 15 of the 24 panels. These highlight episodes of the KR narrating Hanuman's bravery and astuteness. In the first six panels Hanuman is the only figure in the panel, for example when he bathes in the sea (153) or destroys Rāwaṇa's garden (156). In this way, Hanuman and his actions are em-

phasized and given special attention. By fighting and defeating Akṣa, one of the leading heroes of the demons, Hanuman proves his martial prowess. Through this deed, Hanuman acquires magical power (*śakti*) which is attributed to Akṣa, as visually expressed in the deer-arch bow above him.³⁰ This power becomes manifest in the following depiction of Hanuman's flying posture, a capability he has inherited from his father, the wind god Bāyu. I interpret Hanuman's subsequent bath in the sea as an act of spiritual purification, which strengthens his *śakti* and becomes manifest once more in his power to fly. These scenes show the viewer that this hero is notable not only for his bravery but also for his *śakti*.

In the remaining panels on the southern wall, the emphasis is first on Hanuman's weak position, wrapped and fettered by Indrajit's snake arrow. After three depictions in this horizontal motionless posture the following panels show him in radically different postures: upright, jumping and flying. Through this contrast, his capabilities and his bravery are highlighted even more. Hanuman applies his magical power and cleverness not only to break his fetters and to set himself free, but also to set his enemy in turmoil. He continuously enriches his *śakti*. The final panel on this southern wall—Hanuman taking leave of Sītā—is reminiscent of the scene in panel 111 where he greets her. After the focus on his personal heroism in the preceding reliefs, the viewer is here reminded of Hanuman's task which was introduced in the initial panels: to help in setting Sītā free. While in the first half of the southern wall most panels feature Hanuman as the only figure, in the remaining part of the wall he forms part of scenes which also involve other personages such as Indrajit and Rāwaṇa. I suggest that these two different types of composition correspond to the unfolding of Hanuman's qualities: while first the focus is laid on Hanuman's single actions through which he acquires *śakti*, he then applies this magical power in the encounter with the enemy.

The nine panels (173–181) on the southern part of the rear side narrate Hanuman's return to Rāma's realm and the preparation to march against Laṅkā (*sarga* 9.6–96). Panel 173 (Fig. 6), located on the very edge of the wall, shows Hanuman flying over the ocean. In panel 174 he meets the sage Jāmbawat, and in 175 he renders his report to Rāma who is accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa. This is the first depiction of both Rāma and his brother Lakṣmaṇa in the whole relief series. They appear once more in panel 181 in this section of the rear side. Sugrīva also steps onto the stage here: he is depicted twice. Hanuman appears in four panels.

Panel 182 corresponds to *sarga* 15.57–69, relating the monkeys carrying

30. Bosch (1931) has interpreted the deer arch as a sign of magical power.

stones for the construction of the causeway. Panel 183 (Fig. 5) depicts Hanuman and Sugrīwa throwing stones into the ocean. Panel 184 depicts the monkeys having crossed, and panel 185 shows Hanuman and Sugrīwa arriving on the other shore.

Panels 186–195 on the northern half of the rear side, corresponding to *sarga* 16.1–47, show the monkeys under the leadership of Hanuman and Sugrīwa marching against Laṅkā and taking a rest on Mount Suwelā. Hanuman is depicted twice (185, 192), each time together with Sugrīwa; Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa appear in two panels (186, 193).

Panels 183–185 mark exactly the middle of the wall and divide it not only physically but also situationally. While the scenes depicted on the southern half take place in Rāma's realm, the ones on the northern half take place in Laṅkā, on the other side of the ocean. The episode of crossing the ocean via the causeway is given the prominent position in the center of this wall. It is conspicuous that the Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-panels on the southern part are mirrored on the northern half and placed symmetrically in relation to each other. The depiction in panel 175 shows Rāma sitting and Lakṣmaṇa standing behind him, both listening to Hanuman's report while in panel 193 they are depicted exactly in the same posture but without Hanuman. Both panels 181 and 186 show a Garuḍa-like Kāla-head above the two walking brothers. The crossing of the ocean is the mirror axis for these two pairs of panels.

The frequency of Hanuman's appearance along the rear side diminishes from the southern to the northern end of the wall. In the first part, relating his return to Rāma's realm and the construction of the causeway, Hanuman is the prominent figure, being depicted five times. The visit of the *ṛṣi* enriches Hanuman's *śakti* making him ready to help Rāma and the army cross the ocean. In contrast to the KR the construction of the causeway is not initiated by the architect Nīla, but by Hanuman himself. Again, Hanuman is the crucial figure. On the other side of the causeway Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sugrīwa, and the monkey army find a field which Hanuman has investigated before and which is already affected by his power and *śakti*. Thus, on this second part of the wall it is not necessary to present Hanuman as often as before; he is only depicted twice. He has already laid the ground for the final fulfillment of his task.

The north side is dedicated to the battle in Laṅkā. Panels 196–207 correspond to *sarga* 19.33–131. The first two panels depict Rāvaṇa with his retinue and his order to attack the enemy. The following panels are packed with the ferocious-looking demons and from panel 202 depict their terrible fight against the monkey soldiers. Panels 205 and 207 feature Hanuman fighting. The last

three panels 208–210 correspond with *sarga* 23.2–7 relating the attack upon and the killing of Kumbhakarṇa. The brother of Rāwaṇa is displayed in huge shape, nearly filling the whole of panel 209. Hanuman with the help of Aṅgada kills Kumbhakarṇa.

This part of the northern side taking place in Rāwaṇa's realm depicts Hanuman only in the final scenes leading to the killing of Kumbhakarṇa. However, his appearance comes at the climax of the story. Deviating from the KR, in the reliefs it is Hanuman who kills Kumbhakarṇa rather than Rāma. Again, Hanuman is given priority over Rāma. Hanuman, general of the monkey army, and Kumbhakarṇa, general of the demon army have the same status, on the side of the righteous king and the evil king, respectively. By defeating Kumbhakarṇa, the later fight between the kings Rāma and Rāwaṇa and the latter's defeat is anticipated and prepared. Hanuman has successfully accomplished his task. With these panels the *Rāmāyaṇa* depiction on the walls of the Main Temple comes to an end.

Overall interpretation of the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs—Hanuman as the spiritual hero

By selecting and emphasizing certain parts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story and by omitting other parts, the reliefs deliberately highlight Hanuman's role. Most of the parts of the KR relating his heroic deeds are on display in the reliefs, while most of the omitted *sargas* do not feature Hanuman, or have him in a minor role. That Hanuman is the leading hero is clear not only from the large number of scenes featuring him, but even more so from the content of those scenes which depict him as the one who manages to cope with all difficulties and complications.

The following episodes of the KR are not depicted:

Sarga 1–5: Rāma and Sītā get married and are sent into exile, and Sītā is abducted by Rāwaṇa. Hanuman does not act.

Sarga 6 and 7: Hanuman is introduced as the monkey army's general, who is ordered by Sugrīva to help Rāma, but does not play an active role yet. He only does so from *sarga* 8 on where the relief series start.

Sarga 12–14, and first part of *sarga* 15: The city of Laṅkā awakes, followed by the crucial scenes where Wibhīṣaṇa teaches the *Arthaśāstra* about the duties of a righteous king to his brother Rāwaṇa, and Kumbhakarṇa is willing to help Rāwaṇa in spite of his objection to his brother's plans. Hanuman plays no part in these events.

Sarga 17 and 18: Rāwaṇa again approaches Sītā, and he sends spies to Mount Suwelā. Hanuman does not act.

Sarga 20–22: Further episodes of the battle, Sītā's approach to the battlefield, and Kumbhakarṇa's awakening. Hanuman acts in the battle between the monkeys and the demons which is described in great detail. His actions do not however contribute in an essential way to the flow of the story.

Sarga 23: While stanzas 2–7 are depicted, 8–95 are omitted. They relate Hanuman's search for medical herbs and the killing of Indrajit.

Sarga 24–26: The killing of Rāwaṇa and the happy reunion of Rāma and Sītā. Hanuman does not appear.

We might wonder why, after the death of Kumbhakarṇa, Hanuman's search for the medical herbs is not depicted, since this episode strengthens Hanuman's *śakti*. In fact the killing of Kumbhakarṇa is deliberately set as the final act in the relief depictions. The following episode about the medical herbs would not add anything essential to this message and to Hanuman's role. We might also wonder why the first half of *sarga* 9 is depicted in such great detail on the front wall, since Hanuman's deeds are not especially significant. I understand this relief sequence to reveal Hanuman's martial qualities as a foundation for his following actions and heroic deeds.

It is only on the rear side of the building that Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sugrīwa are introduced. In the whole relief series Sītā appears only four times, each time accompanied by Trijaṭā: at the beginning of the series in the successive three panels 110–112, and in the last panel (172) on the south side. Rāma and Sītā in their status as a couple do not play any role in the selected episodes. Within Rāwaṇa's family, neither Wibhīṣaṇa's nor Kumbhakarṇa's encounter and discussions with their brother Rāwaṇa are featured, though these are important episodes in the KR. Rāwaṇa's sons Indrajit and Akṣa are displayed in the fight against Hanuman. It is remarkable that both demons are depicted with the *supit urang* hairdo which is usually reserved for heroes. This means that both demons are presented in their heroic quality and are on a par with Hanuman. By managing to defeat or trick both Indrajit and Akṣa, Hanuman acquires and enriches his own magical power.

Spatial analysis of the placement and the arrangement of the panels within the building provides further insight into the symbolism of the reliefs.³¹ The major distinction is between the images on the front side and those on the rear side. The scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on the west/front side display Hanu-

31. I cannot offer an answer to the open question of why the *prasawya* sequence was chosen for the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs while the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* reliefs on the second terrace follow the usual *pradakṣiṇa* order.

man's encounters and fights with demons *in extenso*. The east/rear side is dedicated to themes relating to water, mountains, an encounter with a sage, and the righteous king who is about to fight the evil king. According to Klokke (2000:36),

[the] *Rāmāyaṇa* series commence at an unusual point, on a northern corner, so as to preserve the narrative time sequence but at the same time have all reliefs situated in the realm of the demon king Rāwaṇa on the front and side walls of the temple and all reliefs situated in the realm of the just king Rāma on the rear wall.

I suggest that in addition to this there are more specific reasons for the arrangement of the reliefs. As elaborated above, the first panels on the north side introduce Hanuman and his task. The front wall then acquaints the viewer with Hanuman's martial qualities in a maze of encounters with demons. This introduction lays the foundation for the presentation of Hanuman's more specific qualities on the south side, particularly his *śakti*, his bravery, and his cleverness in using ruses. The remarkably large number of reliefs displaying him on the south side ensures that the excellence of his character cannot be overlooked. Hanuman's successful defeat of demons on the west wall and of particular demon heroes on the south wall prepares the ground for his later action: to inform and help Rāma, and to attack Rāwaṇa's realm with the monkey army. The scenes on the rear wall are completely free of evil and are dedicated to themes of a righteous king, mountains, water, and asceticism. The final reliefs on the north side, set again in Rāwaṇa's realm, present the climax of the narration. Thus the depictions on each wall prepare and set the field for the following wall. The position of the start and end of the story is determined by two factors: the course of the story demands that the demon scenes are placed on the front side of the temple and the episodes in the realm of the righteous king on the rear side; though taking place in the demonic realm, the depictions of Sītā as protagonist of the righteous side are prohibited on the front side. Consequently the introductory panels including two depictions of Sītā are placed on the north side.

Two motifs, namely Hanuman flying and Hanuman crossing water, and their placement in the layout of the walls have specific significance. As mentioned, crossing water symbolizes spiritual purification, and also connotes progress to a higher stage of spiritual knowledge. Hanuman's bath after the defeat of Akṣa, shown on the south side, is spiritually purifying and gives him *śakti* that he will apply in his further actions. Two panels on the east wall also show scenes connected with water. The first panel at the very left end shows Hanuman flying over the ocean back to Rāma's realm. His preceding successful heroic deeds in the realm of Rāwaṇa and his accumulation of *śakti* provide him with the pre-

requisites to enter the stage of spiritual purification and transition and allow him to proceed to the spiritually higher stage. After crossing the ocean, the encounter with the sage Jāmbawat enriches his *śakti* to an even higher degree and makes him ready for the report to Rāma. The construction of the causeway and the crossing of the ocean symbolize the next step in proceeding to a higher stage of knowledge. Through their location in the middle of the rear wall these scenes highlight the crucial importance of the episode of crossing water and its symbolic meaning. This center of the wall is the spiritual climax of the rear wall and at the same time of the whole relief series.

The five scenes depicting Hanuman in a flying or jumping posture are found on the south (four panels) and east (one panel) sides. This ability to fly is significant for Hanuman and distinguishes him from other monkeys and even from the monkey king Sugrīwa. It is an expression of his supernatural power. The south side which is dedicated to the process of the acquisition of *śakti* emphasizes his supernatural quality by repeatedly featuring the flying posture. On the rear side Hanuman flies over the ocean, exhibiting the supernatural qualities of flying and crossing water at the same time. By locating this scene as the starting point of the series on the sacred side of the temple, it is given a special significance.

Stylistic and iconographic features, and particularly the ‘magicism’, are also key to understanding the symbolism of the reliefs. Stutterheim points at the flames, spirals, clouds, and mountain motifs which appear in nearly every panel, be it in scenes with demons or in scenes with Hanuman and the monkeys. In several cases the clouds and spirals have the shape of a ghost, or, as Stutterheim (1989:166) says ‘the spirits are depicted in the form of a cloud or perhaps better in a cloud-like form’. I found 17 of these ghost clouds or similar shapes (Fig. 1 and 2). In some cases it is hard to detect if my perception is the result of illusion, similar to the paintings of Escher, or if indeed spirits were intended by the carver. I rather think that this is a deliberate play of the carvers. In any case, these forms contribute to the ‘magically “loaded” sphere’ (Stutterheim 1989:167). I mention but a few examples:

North side	panel 106	a ghost emerging out of the sun behind Rāwaṇa’s head; this ghost looks quite comical and might have been intended to mock Rāwaṇa
West Side	panel 125	a one-eyed Kāla above a running <i>bhūta</i>

	panel 133	a dancing cloud ghost above Hanuman who has just overwhelmed a <i>bhūta</i> and an elephant
South side	panel 136 (Fig. 1)	a one-eyed Kāla above Hanuman
	panel 152 (Fig. 2)	a demon-like cloud above the flying Hanuman
	panel 171	a <i>panakawan</i> -like cloud ghost next to the flying Hanuman
East side	panel 181	a Kāla-Garuḍa-like cloud above the depiction of Rāma (one-eyed)
	panel 186	a Kāla-Garuḍa-like cloud above the depiction of Rāma (two-eyed)
North side	panel 197	the only panel in this part of the series showing ghosts, in the depiction of Rāwana's order to attack

The spirits accompany both the 'evil' and the 'good', demons as well as followers of Rāma and Hanuman. A strikingly large number (seven), however, are located in panels which feature Hanuman. Magicism is an essential characteristic of the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* depiction at Panataran, but this magicism is particularly used to mark Hanuman's magical power. It could be argued that the 'magic' motifs in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs are not specific to and significant for these depictions, but are rather a typical feature of East Javanese innovative creativity, since they also appear in narrative reliefs at other temples. In the *Pārthayajña* at Caṇḍi Jago and in the *Arjunawiwāha* at Caṇḍi Surowono, similar spiral, cloud and ghost motifs are also used to express a magical atmosphere which is essential for the stories. But in many other narrative reliefs at East Javanese *caṇḍis* such motifs are absent, so they do not necessarily belong to the general repertoire of relief carvings. I suggest that in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at Panataran the specific 'magic' motifs are deliberately used. In fact, in the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs on the second terrace of the Main Temple we do not find them, evidence that here no 'magically loaded sphere' is intended.

Stutterheim (1989:167) points to another interesting aspect of the spiral motifs. He refers to *teja*, the 'radiant glory', which emerges out of a person who conducts meditation and asceticism and gains *śakti*, magical power. Some Old Javanese texts mention *teja*. For example in the *Arjunawiwāha* (Canto 5.5) Indra sees a glowing light (*teja*) which he believes to emerge out of a 'bathing place that has a halo, or else a holy man performing austerities' (Robson 2008:57).³²

32. Further information and discussion about *teja* is provided by De Vries Robbé (1984) and

Can the spirals and ghosts in the *Rāmāyaṇa* depictions be regarded as *teja*? This seems plausible, at least in the case of the panels that show Hanuman's tail set aflame and his torching of Rāwaṇa's palace, where Hanuman diverts the fire that was meant to kill him to destroy the enemy's palace. This fire emerges in flames out of his body and manifests his cleverness and his magical power.

A stylistic analysis and comparison with the other narrative reliefs in the temple complex will give further contribution to the interpretation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs. The style of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs is distinct from the style of the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace and of the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs on the second terrace of the Main Temple. I do not go into further detail here, since I do not consider this topic essential for my analysis. However, in a full investigation of the symbolic meaning and function of the temple complex Caṇḍi Panataran the stylistic analysis of the reliefs will be important.

Klokke's discussion (2006:391–5) of five Hanuman statues attributed to the Singosari and Majapahit periods places Hanuman's role in East Javanese art in a more general context. The existence of these statues, in combination with Hanuman's prominent role in the Panataran reliefs, shows the increased importance of Hanuman in late East Javanese art and religion. Most of the statues stand on a lotus pedestal and have a halo behind the head, both indicators of divine status. Two of the statues have a tail on the rear side of the back slab, with a shape reminiscent of a *liṅga*. Three statues hold a miniature *yoni* in their hands in a meditative gesture. *Liṅga* and *yoni* are associated with Śaivism, and Klokke (2006:400) suggests that Hanuman was indeed 'worshipped within a Śivaite context'. One of the statues holds a *wajra* stick that is reminiscent of the same weapon frequently depicted in Bhīma statues.³³ Bhīma is another son of Bāyu and a half-brother of Hanuman, who also possesses *śakti*. Klokke (2006:399) concludes that the statues show Hanuman's ascetic qualities, while the reliefs show his martial qualities.

I consider the combination in the statues of the three elements *liṅga*, *yoni*, and *wajra* to have a Tantric connotation. The *wajra* is used as a symbol of the essence of spiritual wisdom and magical power and is known as a ritual object in Tantric practices. The *liṅga-yoni* motif focusing on the erotic aspect in Śaivism is also associated with Tantric worship. My analysis has shown that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs the importance of Hanuman's magical qualities far exceeds his martial qualities. The two final depictions of Hanuman in the relief series show him using a *wajra* stick (panels 102 and 104) in his fight against the demons and

Robson (1971:263, 284).

33. Compare Duijker 2001.

eventually against Kumbhakarna. That the *wajra* only appears in these panels close to the end of the relief series while in all other cases Hanuman has a sword or other simple kind of weapon, emphasizes its symbolic importance. Hanuman's Tantric nature is deliberately highlighted in the climax of the reliefs.

Another scene is notable in this context: in the depiction of Hanuman jumping on the roofs and setting Rāwana's palace on fire (panel 169) his tail is erect and looks like a *liṅga*, similar to those of the Hanuman statues. This depiction can also be understood as an allusion to the promiscuous and sexually active behaviour which is attributed to monkeys. In the Panataran reliefs Hanuman is always depicted with a short *kain*; elsewhere I have interpreted this way of leaving the knees free as a sign of rough behaviour and/or an erotic mood.³⁴ All these erotic elements strengthen the Tantric connotation.

That eroticism and Tantrism were linked to each other in ancient Javanese culture is attested by Kakawin literature. Many episodes of Kakawins present sexuality and particularly the sexual union of male and female as a yoga practice to achieve union with the Divine (Creese 2004a).³⁵ Since Tantric teachings were esoteric and considered secret knowledge which required a spiritual teacher, these hints are never presented openly and explicitly but rather through symbols. Thus, the Tantric symbolism of Hanuman in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs only operates on a subtle and cryptic level, and is revealed only to the initiated adept. I understand the encounter with the sage (*ṛṣi*), on the east side right after Hanuman's flight to Rāma's realm and before his meeting with Rāma, to be an allusion to the importance of spiritual teaching and guidance in the Tantric path. It shows the adept what he/she should do in following the esoteric path: seek advice from a religious teacher.

I also understand this scene as an allusion to another role of Hanuman in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs, namely to act as an intermediary. Conspicuous traits of Hanuman contribute to this role.³⁶ Hanuman is a monkey, an animal, and a wild creature living in the forest. The forest, the wilderness, spirits, animals and so forth are in Javanese mythology considered frightening and associated with the demonic. Hanuman forms part of this frightening world. Monkeys like to mock humans and to play tricks on them, and humans like to laugh at

34. I discuss this feature in my PhD thesis (Kieven 2009:45, 65, 252).

35. The integration of asceticism and eroticism in Kakawins is indicated by Creese (2004a:201–9) with the terms 'yoga of love' and 'the doctrines of mystical eroticism'. Kakawin themselves are *yantras* in the poet's aim to unify with the Divine, as has been sufficiently discussed by Zoetmulder (1974).

36. Interestingly, many of these traits are the subject of Lutgendorf's discussion (1994, 1997) of Hanuman's role in present-day India.

the mimicking behaviour of the monkeys. All these traits render the monkeys and in particular Hanuman a certain popularity as comic figures. Hanuman, depicted as a semi-human and semi-simian, is in fact both: human and animal. He mediates between the world of the demonic wilderness and the human world. He also mediates between typical human behaviour on one side, such as being playful and being sexually active, and on the other side the behaviour of a being equipped with magical power (*śakti*), thus between the human and the spiritual sphere.

In my thesis on the figures wearing a cap (Kieven 2009), focusing on the Pañji figures on the Pendopo Terrace at Caṇḍi Panataran, I conclude that Pañji is an intermediary between the mundane world of the pilgrims and the sacred world. In the reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace, located in the entrance courtyard of the temple complex, Pañji acts as a figure similar to commoners and close to the pilgrims. He takes the pilgrim by the hand and leads him/her to enter the sacred stage manifest in the rear part of the temple. The frequency of scenes of love between man and woman, of crossing water, and of encounters with hermits in the Pañji reliefs gives them a spiritual and even Tantric character.

I apply a similar analysis to Hanuman and the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at the Main Temple. Hanuman acts as an intermediary on a higher level compared to Pañji. While the Pañji stories are on a level associated with human life and show the first step towards higher knowledge, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Hanuman acts on a level more closely associated with the Divine, offering a further step to higher knowledge. Hanuman mediates the gain of *śakti*, magical power, which enables the initiated to eventually reach the goal of obtaining wisdom. While Pañji introduces the pilgrim to the religious path, Hanuman accompanies him/her to a higher stage. Hanuman prepares pilgrims to break their own fetters as a symbol for breaking out of ignorance, to acquire wisdom by 'crossing the water' and by seeking the advice of a spiritual teacher. After this preparation, the pilgrim is then able to 'cross the causeway'. The position of this right in the middle of the rear side, the most sacred spot of the first terrace, shows how crucial this is.

Hanuman is an intermediary in another sense. In the KR, Rāma is the hero rather than Hanuman, but in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs Rāma's heroism is completely omitted. Hanuman, the general of the monkey army fighting for Rāma, kills Kumbhakarna, the general of the demon army fighting for Rāwaṇa. Hanuman paves the way for Rāma who is the hero in the next stage of the story where Rāma will fight and kill Rāwaṇa. Hanuman is in a way the alter ego of Rāma in a monkey disguise. The start and the end of the *Rāmāyaṇa* series, located next to each other on the north wall, mark the two poles of the 'Hanuman story': Hanu-

man and Kumbhakarna are the alter egos of their masters, Rāma and Rāwana, respectively.

The *Rāmāyana* reliefs prepare the viewer for the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs on the second terrace. These feature the defeat of the enemy by Kṛṣṇa, the hero proper, who thus fulfills the task which Rāma will fulfill in the *Rāmāyana* but which is not shown in the reliefs on the first terrace. The *Kṛṣṇāyana* is furthermore a continuation of the *Rāmāyana* reliefs in another sense. The love between Rāma and Sītā, although an essential feature of the KR, is not depicted in the reliefs. However, the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs address Kṛṣṇa's love for Rukmiṇī with whom he is eventually united after long battles against the enemy. I consider the final union of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī, depicted in the last panels of the series, to be a symbol for the union of Śiva and Śakti. Within the concept of Tantric Kuṇḍalīnī Yoga,³⁷ the goal of the adept is to experience this union: in his practice the yogi will experience the rise of the Kuṇḍalīnī—a manifestation of Śakti—along the multiple *cakras* of this body, ending in the final unification of the Kuṇḍalīnī with Śiva in the uppermost *cakra*.³⁸ In reaching this goal, the adept himself will achieve union with the Divine. The sexual union of a man and a woman is another way of experiencing their union with the Divine.³⁹ On a political level, this union demonstrates the conditions that a king has to fulfill to become an accomplished righteous king: maintaining order in his realm by defeating enemies, and having a queen. The *Rāmāyana* reliefs prepare for the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs in both respects: on a religious/esoteric level and on a political level. In this context Hanuman uses his warrior qualities to prepare those of Rāma and of Kṛṣṇa, and his magical power to prepare for the Tantric path. He is again the intermediary.

The character of intermediary is also visible in the previously mentioned statues of Hanuman (Klokke 2006:394, 399): though not a deity himself, he is depicted with attributes typical of one.⁴⁰ My investigation (Kieven 2009:282–

37. For information and discussion of the theory of the Kuṇḍalīnī path see Pott (1966), Doniger O'Flaherty (1973), Gupta (1979).

38. I develop this interpretation in my PhD thesis in the chapter on Caṇḍī Panataran: 'The essence of this concept is the union of the adept with the Divine, symbolized in the union of Śiva and Śakti. The pilgrim's path through the temple complex follows the path of Tantric Kuṇḍalīnī Yoga. The Kuṇḍalīnī starts at the lower part of the human body, as symbolized in the first courtyard. It then proceeds along the *cakras* of the body, which correspond to the several buildings in the second and third courtyard of the temple complex, and eventually to the uppermost *cakra* above the head, symbolized in the Main Temple, where the unification of Śiva-Śakti and the individual soul with the Divine takes place' (Kieven 2009:151).

39. Compare above, and see Creese (2004a:201–9).

40. Part of Lutgendorf's discussion (1994, 1997) on Hanuman's role in the context of present-

99) of the Pañji statue of Caṇḍi Selokelir yields a similar interpretation: Pañji is depicted with some traits of a deity, but other features mark him as a human being. It seems that during the East Javanese period there is a general tendency to transfer a divine status to certain mythological figures; other examples are Bhīma and Garuḍa.⁴¹ Several iconographic features emphasize Hanuman's status as a semi-god. He is depicted with the *supit urang*, the hairdo typical for heroes in the depictions of Kakawin stories, and has fully royal attire. He wears a snake caste-cord which is reminiscent of Śiva. He thus has the traits of a high-level hero and of a god, even as his monkey face and tail characterize him as an animal.

Depictions on the corners of buildings deserve particular attention. In earlier investigations of temples I found that corners often indicate features with important symbolic meanings (Kieven 2009:293). It is intriguing that on three corners of the building there are depictions of a woman. On the northwest corner, panel 117 shows the only female *bhūta* of the whole series. Panel 148 on the southwest corner depicts a tiny loving couple who have no direct correspondence to the text, though amorous episodes as embellishments are quite common within any Kakawin.⁴² Panel 172 on the southeast corner displays the encounter between Hanuman and Sītā. The northeast corner shows Rāwaṇa without a woman. All three scenes showing a woman are associated with an erotic mood: the naked female *bhūta* indicates the voluptuous sexuality associated with demons, the loving couple indulges in eroticism, and Sītā in her posture demonstrates longing for her beloved.⁴³ Rāwaṇa himself is depicted without a woman: he lacks a consort and is thus not an accomplished king. He is, however, known for his sexual approaches towards women and particularly for his futile advances to Sītā. Thus, all four corners feature aspects of eroticism in very different ways. I understand this as an indication of the erotic mood which in the *Rāmāyaṇa* depictions themselves does not play a major role, but which forms part of the Tantric symbolism. The corner pictures thus strengthen the Tantric connotation in a subtle way. The *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs continue this, pointing to the final union of male and female.

Hanuman's increased popularity during the East Javanese period in com-

day India can be transferred to Hanuman's role in ancient East Javanese culture: Hanuman is the 'most important god who isn't God' (Lutgendorf 1997:327).

41. This issue would deserve a special investigation. Compare Lunsing Scheurleer 2000.

42. My thanks to Helen Creese for this hint, during the KR workshop on 28-5-2009. See also Creese 2004a.

43. In an earlier article I analysed the posture of a woman with a twisted body and bent head as an expression of longing for love. See Kieven 2003.

bination with his special qualities—being a virile monkey, possessing magical power, and being able to fly—made him a perfect choice as an intermediary between humans and the Divine, accompanying the initiated adept on his/her way on the Tantric path. Hanuman and the ‘Hanuman story’ become a *yantra* on the way of the adept towards achieving union with the Divine.

Inscriptions found in the precincts of Caṇḍi Panataran⁴⁴

Stone at south side of the Main Temple (dedicated to King Śṛṅga) (Krom 1923, II:246)	1197 AD	1119 Śaka
Lintel near the gate between 2nd and 3rd courtyard (Krom 1923, II:271; Perquin 1916:5)	1318 AD	1240 Śaka
Two <i>dwārapālas</i> at the gate between 2nd and 3rd courtyard (Krom 1923, II:271)	1319 AD	1241 Śaka
Two large <i>dwārapālas</i> at the main entrance (Perquin 1916:6; Krom 1923, II:273) ⁴⁵	1320 AD	1242 Śaka
Lintel next to the Dated Temple (Perquin 1916:6; Krom 1923, II:273)	1323 AD	1245 Śaka
Four large <i>dwārapālas</i> in front of the Main Temple	1347 AD	1269 Śaka
Dated Temple (Krom 1923, II:247)	1369 AD	1291 Śaka
Lintel near the Main Temple (Hoepermans 1914:357)	1373 AD	1295 Śaka
Pendopo Terrace (Perquin 1916:4; Krom 1923, II:247)	1375 AD	1297 Śaka
Two lintels (Krom 1923, II:247)	1379 AD	1301 Śaka
Inner Bathing Place (Krom 1923, II:247)	1415 AD	1337 Śaka
Dated stone (Krom 1923, II:247)	1454 AD	1376 Śaka

44. Based on Hoepermans 1914; Perquin 1916; Krom 1923, II:246–71.

45. Suleiman (1978:3) mentions as date for these *rākṣasa* figures Śaka 1279 (1357 AD) without giving a reference.

Figure 1: Hanuman vanquishes a demon commander (front side)
(photo L. Kieven)

Figure 2: Hanuman rushes to the sea after the fight against Akṣa (south side)
(photo L. Kieven)

Figure 3: Hanuman bathes in the sea after the fight against Akṣa (south side)
(photo L. Kieven)

Figure 4: Hanuman destroys Rāvaṇa's garden (south side) (photo L. Kieven)

Figure 5: Hanuman (right) and Sugrīva (left) throwing stones into the sea to build the causeway (rear side) (photo L. Kieven)

Figure 6: Hanuman's flight over the ocean back to Rāma's realm (photo L. Kieven)

Figure 7: Hanuman and Lakṣmaṇa attacking Kumbhakarna, the detail showing Hanuman's *wajra* (photo L. Kieven)