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JAJI IN THE 11TH CENTURY
NAGARA-KĀRTAGAMA

VOLUME IV



I A JAPANESE LANDSCAPE, SEE P. VIII.

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JAVANESE TEXTS IN TRANSCRIPTION

NOTES ON THE TEXTS AND THE TRANSLATIONS

TRANSLATIONS

COMMENTARIES AND RECAPITULATION

GLOSSARY, GENERAL INDEX

VOLUME IV

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INTRODUCTION

Essentially the following commentary on the contents of the Nagara-Kērtagama has been made up from notes by former editors of the text together with remarks, criticisms and digressions by the present author. As Kern, Krom and their contemporaries were especially interested in dynastic history and archeology their notes on those subjects are legion, and as a result of their studies on many points a *communis opinio* has been reached. The argumentations which led up to this end are not reproduced in the present edition. The interested reader is referred to Krom's great books: *Oud-Javaansche Kunst* and *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*. It is to be expected that before long the results of Krom's life-work will be made accessible for English readers by De Casparis.

On the other hand cultural history, religion, economics and sociology have been rather neglected by the first editors of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama. The present author has done his best to remedy that omission. The reader will find that the greater part of the following commentaries is concerned with those subjects.

The contemporaneous minor texts and the charters that are published, translated and annotated in the present book in the same manner as the Nāgara-Kērtāgama have been chosen almost exclusively for the valuable information on social, economic and religious conditions in the 14th century Majapahit realm that is afforded by them.

The ten chapters on Javanese culture in the 14th century that are included in the present volume contain résumés of conclusions reached by the study of all the indicated texts. It is to be hoped that this Recapitulation may be of some use to those students of cultural history, economics, sociology and religion of South East Asia who can not find time to peruse the whole of the commentaries.

There can be no doubt that study of Javanese cultural history should precede any appraisal of recent developments in that country. In a bygone age Java witnessed the rise, the flourishing and the decline of an important civilization of Indian inspiration. The traces of its enduring influence in present-day Java are unmistakable.

NĀGARA-KĪRTAGAMA
COMMENTARIES

CHAPTER I ~ INTRODUCTION,
THE ROYAL FAMILY OF MAJAPAHIT
about 1350 A.D.

Cantos I - 7, 21 stanzas.

Canto I, stanza I. The introduction at the beginning of the first chapter of the *Nāgara-Kērtagama* consists of one canto of five stanzas. The first two stanzas are a doxology of the Deity and the last three stanzas are in praise of King Rajasa Nagara who is identified with the Deity.

The doxology gives some interesting information on the religious ideas of the Majapahit Court. Kern remarked in his note on the first verse: "the word *OM* which opens the poem has an un-buddhistic sound. But then the strong syncretism of the Javanese Mahāyāna is well known". It seems preferable not to use the word syncretism for the religious frame of mind which appears in the initial words of the poem, for this term evokes the idea of confusion. Parallelism seems a better word to characterize the poet's outlook, that probably was shared by the intellectual elite of his time. Orderliness and classification are the marks of the poem, and in this respect it is on a par with the best products of the Javanese mind.

The first stanza refers to the parallelism of Shiwaism and Buddhism, a duality that reappears frequently throughout the poem. It is beyond doubt that this pair is related to very old conceptions of dualism belonging to a mode of thought which has been characterized as 'classification', for its tendency to place all beings and things in classes that stand in fixed relations one to another. The dualism of Shiwaism and Buddhism is represented in Javanese literature by the pair *Gagang-Aking*, the Dry Stalk, the ascetic Shiwaite, and *Bubhukṣa*, the Glutton, the esoteric Buddhist. Dr. Rassers drew attention to this remarkable

pair in his interesting papers on classification and the Javanese frame of mind. An English selection of Dr. Rassers' papers has been published in 1960 under the title: *Pañji, the Culture Hero*.

The second word of the Skt formula *OM Nāthāya namaḥ*. *Natha*, rendered: Protector in the present edition, often marks divine beings in the Nāg., and so in line 3 it refers to the King, who is identified with the Deity.

"Bringer of veneration at the Feet of the Lord" is the poet's humble description of his own relation to the Deity and the King.

Kern identifies *sūkṣma*, subtle, with *ātma*, quoting a passage of the Chāndogyaopaniṣad. In modern Jav. *sūkṣma* is an often used word for soul, and Hyang Suksma, Holy Soul, is a name for God, even in Muslim texts. The first half of line 2 is to be understood as referring to the Deity, one and undivided; in the second half the duality Śiwa-Buddha appears, immediately explained as material-immaterial. Line 3 refers to the material aspect: Śhiwaism, worldly rule, line 4 to the immaterial aspect: Buddhism, esoterism, inconceivable.

Kern's identification of the Protector of Mountains of line 3 with Bhatāra Guru, the divine father of King Rājasa, the ancestor of the dynasty, according to the Pararaton, is based on the conception that the Nāgara-Kērtāgama and the Pararaton are closely related and in all points comparable. In fact the Pararaton is a book on history and the Nāgara-Kērtāgama is mainly concerned with contemporary conditions, Court rules and religion. Nāg. 40-1 mentions the divine origin of the dynasty, but in canto 1-1-3 the historic aspect is not apparent. Parwata-Nātha is just a synonym of Giri-Nātha, i.e. Śhiwa. The name Bhatāra Guru for the Javanese supreme God, very often used in the Pararaton, the Tantu Panggalaran and other texts, is not found in the Nāgara-Kērtāgama. The explanation of this fact probably must be sought in the poet's cultural background: he was a Buddhist, a courtier and a scholar with more interest in Indian literature than in Javanese popular religious notions.

The repetitions of the words *nātha* and *pati* in 1-1-3 serve to stress the connection between the divine King in the Mountains and the divine King on earth.

The explanation of the Śhiwa aspect in 1-1-3 is followed by a reference to the Buddha aspect in 1-1-1. Balinese art produced images of Acintya, the Inconceivable. Krom refers to the Kamahāyānikan (a book on Mahāyāna published by Kats and re-edited by Wulff), p. 50:

sira ta dewa wiçeṣa ri boddha bhaṭāra paramaṣūnya ūaranira,
 sira ta bhaṭāra paramaṣiwa ūaranira, bhaṭāra puruṣa sira de
 saṃ wadi ṣiṣya bhagawan kapila, saṃ hyaṇ ātma ūaranira de
 saṃ wadi kanabhaṣya ṣiṣya, bhaṭāra nirguṇa ūaranira de saṃ
 weṣṇawa.

Translation: He now, God Almighty, is for the Buddhists the Lord Parama Śūnya (Uppermost Emptiness) by name, He now is the Lord Parama Śiwa (Uppermost Śiwa) by name. The Lord Puruṣa is He (called) by the honoured excellent (*adhi?*) disciples of the Grand-master Kapila, the honoured Holy Atma is He called by the honoured excellent (*adhi?*) Kanabhaṣya (?) disciples, the Lord Nirguṇa is he called by the honoured Vaiṣṇawas (Wishnu devotees).

The Karmahāyānikan text is corrupt. At any rate the dualism Śiwa — Buddha is clear, and several of the other names are found in Nāg. 1-1—2. It is remarkable that in the Nāgara-Kērtāgama the sequence is Śiwa — Buddha, while in the Karmahāyānikan the Buddha aspect has precedence. Probably the Śiwa — Buddha, *śūkala-niskala* exoteric-esoteric sequence was the accepted one at the Majapahit Court.

The last words of 1-1—4 refer to the King who was considered to be an apparition of the Buddha aspect of the Deity at the same time as a form of Śiwa.

"Adored as tutelary deity" (*iṣṭadevatā*) perhaps is just as satisfactory as "personal ideal", as a translation of *iniṣṭi*. It is clear that the word refers to the spiritual, esoteric attitude of the devotee towards the Deity in Mahāyāna Buddhism in opposition to the conception of rule and powerful protection in Śiwaism, as mentioned in 1-1—3.

Canto 1, stanza 2. This stanza 2 contains the enumeration of the apparitions of the Deity in the world. The eight names are mentioned in perfect order: four in the first two lines and the other four in the last two. This group of eight belongs to the material, exoteric aspect; probably they are comparable to the Lokapālas, the Guardians of the points of the compass, well known in Indian art. In the following list the most probable relations to the points of the compass are mentioned.

N-E: Nirguṇa	Wishnuite	S-W: Wāgindra	learning
E: Īshwara	yoga	W: Manasija	love
S-E: Puruṣa	Kapila	N-W: Prayoga	removal of obstacles
S: Jambhala	wealth	N: Yama	welfare.

Kern made the following remarks on these names. "In the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy the name of the *ātman* is *purusa* or *pūruṣa*, not *porusa*. Janabhala is also called Pūrwayakṣa, Yakṣa and Manibhadra. In the "*Kurzgefasstes Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*" Maṇibhadra is called a prince of Yakṣas and brother of Kubera. In the Nāgara Kērtagama Janabhala refers to Kubera himself, who is also known as Vaiśṇawaya, both with Buddhists and with Brahmanists."

In a group of seven grades of meditation and concentration (*śamādhi*) mentioned in the Kamahūyānikan, Janabhala and Wāgīśhwara (synonymous with Wāgindra, whom Kern identified with Brahma) appear side by side: Janabhala-*śamādhi*, Wāgīśhwara-*śamādhi*, Lokeshwara-*śamādhi*, Bajrasatwa-*śamādhi*, Muṇiwara-Cintāmaṇi-*śamādhi*, Śhweta-*ketu-śamādhi*, Kumāranirbhāna-Cintāmaṇi-*śamādhi*. The explanation of Janabhala-*śamādhi* refers to a child in the womb, that of Wāgīśhwara-*śamādhi* to a bird just coming out of the egg.

Byāpī-byāpaka (*wyāpī-wyāpaka* is the better reading) and some other expressions of canto 1—1/2 are found also in the Arjuna Wiwāha, Arjuna's Nuptials, one of the most famous poems of Old Javanese literature, written more than three hundred years before the Nāgara-Kērtagama. Arjuna Wiwāha, canto 10, stanza 1 and 2, are quoted here from the edition of Poerbatjaraka (B.K.I. 82).

10—1. Aum śēmbahnin anātha tinhalana de trilokaçarapa,
wāhyādhyātmika śēmbahnin hulun i jōnta tan hana waneh,
sañ lwir agni sakeñ tahēn kadi miñak sakin dadih kita,
sañ sāksāt mētu yan hana wwan amutēr tutur pinahayu.

10—2. Wyāpī wyāpaka sāriniṇ paramatatwa durlabha kita,
iccāntā n hana-tan-hanā ganal-alit lawan hala-hayu,
utpatti sthiti liṇaniṇ dadi kitāta kārapanika,
sañ sañkan-paraniṇ sarāt sakala-niṣkalātmaka kita.

Translation (by Poerbatjaraka, emended by the present author):

10—1. OM, the homage of the protectorless may be noticed by the Relief of the Three Worlds.
External and internal is the homage of your servant at your Feet, nobody else's (exclusively).
You are the honoured one with the aspect of fire that comes

out of wood, like butter that comes out of buttermilk are you, the honoured one who clearly appears as soon as there are people revolving in their minds the lore, well attended to.

10—2. You are penetrating, mastering, the essence of Supreme Existence, difficult to reach are you.

Your delight is both in the existent and in the non-existent, in the coarse and the fine, also in evil and good.

As to genesis, life and passing away of all things, you are the cause thereof.

You are the honoured one who is the origin and the end of the whole of the world, material-immaterial by nature are you.

The passage on fire and butter is a reference to well-known Sanskrit texts; the purport is that the Deity is the working essence of all processes. The next line has the same meaning in a spiritual sense: the Deity appears as the essence of holy lore to the attentive students. The expression "revolving in the mind" is a pun upon "churning", which produces butter; the Javanese word *amutër* has both meanings.

The Arjuna Wiwāha is Shiwaite; Buddhism is not mentioned. Nevertheless the *sakala-niṣkala* dualism, also called external, existent-non-existent, puts in an appearance. Kern called *sakala-niṣkala* "real Shiwaite terms."

The quotations from the Kamahāyānikan and the Arjuna Wiwāha prove that the poet was conversant with Old Javanese literature. It is not certain, however, that the Nāgara-Kērtāgama expressions are borrowings from just the two mentioned texts. If our own knowledge of Old Javanese literature was more extensive it probably would be possible to point out many more places of correspondence between our poem and other texts.

According to Kern the mention of Manasija and *smarāgama* in canto 1—2—3 proves the existence in ancient Java of sects or societies that professed the religion of Love. Kern mentions even Aphrodite and Astarte. It is possible but not at all certain that Manasija-Smara in the second (esoteric, or at least immaterial) half of stanza 2 refers to the esoteric Tantrism of King Kērtanagara of Singasari, who receives much praise in the Nāgara-Kērtāgama. In general, however, the mention of a god in a classification group does not mean as a matter of course that the said god has been worshipped as supreme deity by some sect. The divine names were only considered as aspects

of a higher duality, that in its turn was believed to have sprung from a supreme unity.

Kern identifies Yama (Dharmarāja) with the remover of obstacles, though with the remark that this is really Ganesha's function. No doubt in this verse Prayoga is a name of Ganesha. This completes the classification group of eight; the former editors were not aware of the importance of the number eight, two times four, for the explanation of stanza two. Ganesha worship is referred to by Gæstlin (*Houtbonte*, 1936, p. 76) and Gana is mentioned frequently in the Korawashrama (ed. Swellengrebel) and the Tantu Panggëlaran.

In the meantime it is to be admitted that the group of eight of canto 1—1/2 seems to be unknown from other texts in just the same composition.

Canto 1, stanzas 3—5. The scholarly doxology of the Deity in stanzas one and two is followed up by the praise of King Hayam Wuruk in three stanzas beginning with his birth. Canto 1—3—1 mentions the King's history or biography (*kathā*) as the subject of the poem, and this permits Kern to call the Nāgara-Kērtāgama a panegyric. The question of the poem's real name will be discussed in the chapter on the poet and his work in the Recapitulation of the present volume. In the present edition the name Nāgara-Kērtāgama will be retained, of course, because it has been in use for so long.

It is curious to note that Kern was astonished at the identification of King Hayam Wuruk (Rājasa Nagara) of Majapahit (Sanskritized as Wilwa Tikta: Bitter Aegle Marmelos, Bael tree) with the Lord of Mountains, Shiwa. The divine nature of Royalty is a matter of course for anyone who is conversant with the system of cosmic unity and intermutability that lies at the foundation of Javanese thought.

Krom remarks that Pararaton 28—16 mentions a volcanic eruption known as *bañu-piñdah* in the same year 1334. *Bañu-piñdah*, shifting water, is a good description of the streams of hot water and lava that apparently came from the crater-lake on the top of mount Kēlut, inundating and devastating the country, a phenomenon of every eruption of that volcano known in historic times. No doubt van Stein Callenfels is right in identifying the *hinawan* i Kampud with mount Kēlut (O.V. 1919). The name Kampud is found in some other texts, i.e. in the Tantu Panggëlaran.

The description of the peaceful condition of Java in the reign of King Hayam Wuruk is rounded off, in canto 1—5—3/4, with a

mention of the virtuous people who do their duty (*samādhi*) and the bad people who are reformed. In the Nāgara-Kērtāgama the word *brāhmaṇa* is not used, *wipra* has taken its place. The first group of four of 1—5—3 is the well-known Indian caste group. *Caturāshrama*, the well-known Indian age-group *brahmachāri*, *gṛhastha*, *vanaprastha*, *bhikṣuka*, is rather out of place in this verse. Though its original Indian meaning still was remembered in Java, probably in 1—5—3 *caturāshrama* refers to a quadripartite group of popular anchorites, the "Four Hermitages" (cf. canto 81—2). In the chapter on the ecclesiastical organization this word will be discussed at some length.

Cantos 2—6. The next five cantos contain the description of the other members of the Royal Family:

1. the King's late grandmother;
2. the King's mother; 3. the King's father;
4. the King's maternal aunt; 5. her husband, the King's uncle by marriage, at the same time his father-in-law (by his left-handed marriage);
6. the King's junior lady cousin, daughter of his uncle and maternal aunt; 7. the King's sister;
8. the King's cousin by marriage, husband of his lady cousin; 9. the King's brother-in-law, husband of his sister;
10. the King's niece, elder daughter of his sister;
11. the King's nephew, son of his sister, his son-in-law to be;
12. the King's niece, younger daughter of his sister;
- (13.) the First Lady of the King's zenana, a daughter of his uncle (by a left-handed marriage);
14. the King's daughter by his First Lady.

King Hayam Wuruk had no Queen of Royal rank equal to his own. The First Lady (*Parameshwari*) was not his equal; that is why she is only mentioned at the end of the list. In later cantos this discrimination is also clearly expressed. If she really had been Queen no doubt she would have been given the same number of lines with praise and epithets as the King himself.

Krom's remark that throughout the Nāgara-Kērtāgama the rules of Court precedence are observed in the strictest way is very true. The number of lines that is given to persons of one rank must be the

same. The sequence in groups of persons of different rank is most important. By bearing in mind this principle of the poem's composition it is possible to find explanations for many difficulties.

All members of the Royal Family had personal names (often composed with the family name Rājasa) and titular names, referring to the vice-royalties into which the realm was divided. Canto 6 -1 -3/1 is one of the few passages that give some information on this point. The vice-roys (or rather the vice-queens) seem to have inhabited compounds in or near the town of Majapahit. Fear of dynastic troubles no doubt inspired the policy to keep the family together in one place.

Moreover all members of the Royal Family are compared to gods, without being identified with them in the same manner as the King is with Shiwa. The comparisons seem to be literary embellishments; nevertheless they certainly are not meaningless.

Canto 7 is the conclusion of the introductory chapter. Canto 7, stanzas 1—3 contain the similes for the King of a literary kind: he is compared to seven gods. The first and the last of the group are Sun and Moon. The other are Shatamanyu (rain), Pītṛpati (justice), Baruṇa (wealth), Bāyu (penetration), Pṛthwī (protection). The most plausible inference is that the seven planets or (the same thing) the seven days of the week are referred to. In this manner the divine King's omnipresence is once more accentuated as a counterpart to the doxology of the Deity in the beginning of the chapter.

The two stanzas canto 7—3/4 on the King's zenana, the First Lady and her little daughter form an anticlimax after the lofty comparisons that precede them.

The Royal Family will be discussed more extensively in a special chapter of the Recapitulation at the end of the present volume. The two genealogical lists that are appended to volume V of the present book are useful for finding the way through the maze of family relations.

CHAPTER 2 - MAJAPAHIT, THE CAPITAL,
about 1350 A.D.

Cantos 8—12, 21 stanzas.

Stutterheim's book on Majapahit (*De Kraton van Madjapahit, Verhandelingen K. Instituut Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 7, 1948) in fact is an extensive commentary on cantos 8—12 of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama. In the Notes, in vol II of the present book, Stutterheim's translations often have been criticized. Nevertheless Stutterheim's method, namely to compare the Nāgara-Kērtāgama descriptions with Javanese and Balinese Royal compounds of a later age, is perfectly acceptable. Stutterheim's numerous digressions on Javanese art and culture in general are not discussed in the present book, which is limited to the Majapahit era.

The Nāg.'s second chapter is a good continuation of the first one: after the personalities of the Royal Family their dwelling-place is described. Chapter Two is not limited to the Royal compound; the whole of the town is the subject of the description (a fact which has been overlooked by previous editors). The five cantos of this chapter are to be divided into: canto 8 and 9 (the situation and the public buildings outside, in front, and in the outer courtyards inside the wall of the Royal compound); canto 10 (the officials who are allowed to enter into the Royal Presence); canto 11 (the dwellings of the Royal Family in the Interior of the Royal compound) and canto 12 (the rest of the town).

Majapahit was not a town in the modern sense of the word. Neither town-planning nor village-planning existed in Java in the Majapahit era; the idea of town-planning was imported by foreigners, at first probably by Chinese and Indian merchants, in a later period by the Netherlands Indian government. Majapahit was not a walled-in town; it was a complex of compounds separated by fields and broad roads. The fields were used for public ends: markets and meeting-places. The compounds consisted of several walled-in courtyards; the central court-

yard was used by the master and his family. Most compounds were surrounded by houses of dependent relatives and serving-men, and all courtyards were planted with trees, which gave the town the aspect of a great park that at the edges merged into the cultivated lands of the country-side.

Mr A. MacLaine Pont has tried for a long time to identify buildings mentioned in the Nāg. with remains found by him *in situ*. Though his plans of Majapahit-town (C.V. 1924, 1926; *Djawa* VI, VII) on the whole do not carry conviction, his idea that the town covered a considerable area of land no doubt is right.

Canto 8, stanza 1 and 2 describe the situation outside, in front of the Royal compound, which is one of the two central compounds of the town. The "gate's mouth" is the space in front of the main gate. Stutterheim inserted in his book a plan of the now ruined *puri* of Klungkung in Bali. On the place of the Nāg.'s *dewarawaktra* that plan has a "semi-public front-yard, called *añcak-saji*". St.'s identification of the large field of 8—1—2 with the Bubut plain of canto 86 (in his plan, p. 124) is a mistake: Bubut was situated at a considerable distance from the Royal compound. The supposition that the field in front of the main gate contained a ring for cockfights (*idēran*) finds confirmation in St.'s note on the watch-tower. St. refers to the observation terrace that was built at the inside of the wall of the Balinese *puris* of Badung, Giasar and Karangasem. It was accessible from the inside by means of a staircase, and it was used by the Princely family to look over the wall at the crowd on the *bañcingah* ("the field next to the *puri*, with the ring for cock-fights") and the *pěkěn* (market). In Badung that observation terrace was called *lěmbu agung*. Probably this name is a corruption of *panggung lěbuh agung*: watch-tower of the large field. No doubt this note of St.'s applies perfectly well to the situation in Majapahit (though St. was not aware of the fact). Quite often while searching for an explanation of a Nāg. verse comparisons with Balinese situations prove more fruitful than knowledge of the modern Javanese *kratons* of Central Java. Galestin also mentions watch-towers (*Houtbouw*, p. 93). At present only the Surakarta *kraton* has a tower, — of modern European construction, and not situated on the outer wall of the compound.

The Nāg. contains several names of trees and animals; many of them are Skt. The poet seems to parade his knowledge of Skt. by

using foreign names. The explanation of *brahmasthāna* and *buddhi* as *Ficus religiosa*, Jav. *waringin*, and *Ficus Rumphii*, Jav. *wudi*, is easy. Kern pointed out that the *Ficus religiosa* is called *ashwattha* in Skt., while *brahmasthāna* is the name of the Indian mulberry-tree, *Morus alba*, Jav. *bīśaran*. According to Kern *brahmasthāna* is synonymous with *brahmakṣetra*, which is used in *Mahābhārata* XIV, 44, 11 as a synonym of *plakṣa*, the name of the *Ficus infectoria* (Jav. *lwa, lo*) as well as of the *Ficus religiosa*. Combined with the fact that "holy" trees planted on terraces as a rule are of the kind *Ficus religiosa*, Jav. *waringin*, it is most probable that this tree is meant. Kern did not recognize *buddhi* as the name of another kind of *Ficus*-tree. The translation of *cara-cara* by festoons is tentative, v. Notes, vol. II.

The redoubt on the durbar-place was situated outside but quite near the main gate, which is reasonable. A *taṇḍa* is a petty officer; the rendering: headman seems adequate. In the 18th and 19th centuries in the Central Javanese towns *taṇḍas* were market-superintendents. The fact that in Majapahit the *taṇḍas* mounted guard quite near the market-place leads to the supposition that their function already in the 14th century was related to the market and the maintaining of order.

The *sabha* is a meeting of the Princes with their subjects. The long hall mentioned in canto 8—2—3 as the place of the assembly in *Caitra* (March-April) has been discussed in vol. II. Very long halls with benches fixed between the pillars still are known in Bali. The Royal servants who attended the durbar of course had their places according to rank. The holy cross-roads south of the long hall probably were situated at the north-east corner of the Royal compound. The reason why the place was considered sacred will be discussed hereafter, canto 12—3.

The stanzas 8—1, 2 give descriptions of the main gate and the watch-tower, but only of their aspect as seen from the outside. This confirms the view that these stanzas refer exclusively to the situation outside the main wall. Stutterheim seems not to have been sure of this fact.

Canto 8, stanzas 3,4. These two stanzas give a description of the great courtyard inside the main gate of the Royal compound. The great courtyard was called *wanguntur*. Stutterheim identified the Majapahit *wanguntur* with the *sitinggil* of the modern Central Javanese *kratons*, which proved confusing. As a matter of fact the Majapahit

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wanguntur should be identified with the whole of the Surakarta and Yogyakarta *alun-aluns*, esplanades, *grande-places*, and the Majapahit main gate should be identified with the so-called *Gladag-* and *Pangurakan-gates*, the northern entrance to the *alun-alun*. It should be noted that the Majapahit Royal compound certainly was much smaller than the modern Central Javanese *kratons*. The map of the centre of the town of Surakarta in the 19th century that is to be found in vol. V of the present book will be useful to make comparisons between the old and the modern situation.

Sitinggil means: elevated ground; in the Central Javanese *kratons* the *sitinggils* were used as places for ceremonial receptions. The Nāg. does not mention an elevation in the Majapahit *wanguntur* nor a special place for the King therein. The *sitinggil* probably is a structure belonging to a later period. Stutterheim's frequent mention of it is out of place.

The guard-houses of the common clerks and the common mandarins were situated at the inside of the main wall next to the gate, which seems reasonable. The eastern part of the *wanguntur* was dedicated to religious worship. St.'s suggestion that this was a separate religious courtyard is not borne out by the text.

The *Shrāwṇa* and *Phalguna* ceremonies (July-August and February-March) have been mentioned in the Notes in vol. II. As the *Shrāwṇa* ceremony has been overlooked by previous editors it will receive full attention in the commentary on canto 63—4. The competition (tentative translation of *wiwāda*) of the common Shiwaite and Buddhist clergy in the saying of prayers at the time of the annual purification ceremonies is a curious fact. Canto 8—3—3 seems to hint at the existence of some emulation between the two great denominations, or at least between the common clergymen. This would not be something to wonder at.

The two annual purification ceremonies with Shiwaite and Buddhist liturgy mentioned in canto 8—3—4 are to be distinguished from the fire-offerings of stanza 4. The *homa* (and *brahmayajña*, v.gl.) offerings were celebrated by ordained priests of high rank. The four acknowledged denominations at the Majapahit Court were: *wipras* (brahmanical Wishnuites), *rēshis* (rendered: friars), Shiwaites and Buddhists. It is worthy of note that in the stanzas 8—3/4 that refer to religious ceremonies of great importance at Court the *rēshis* (friars) are not mentioned. This can only mean that the friars' mode of religious worship was not practised at Court. In the chapter on the

religious organization the position of the friars will be discussed.

The number of nine fire-offering places no doubt refers to the cosmic number nine. The trinity Wishnu (South), Shiwa (Centre), Buddha (North) is easily understood if Buddha is replaced by Brahma. *Bhur-bhuwah-swah*: nether world, middle world, heaven, is well known in Javanese cosmologic texts. The Wishnuite brahmins' care for the chthonic spirits (for whom were destined the strewn *tawur* offerings) is in accordance with Wishnu's place in the nether world, at the base of the cosmic pillar that is Shiwa. In Javanese literature Wishnu's boar-incarnation is brought forward as evidence of his relation to the nether world.

No doubt *pahoman* is the Majapahit Court name of the so-called Divine Abodes: high pavilions with several superimposed roofs, built on an elevated base and richly decorated, that are well known to visitors of Bali. It is unknown, of course, whether the Majapahit *pahomans* contained images or symbols of the god they were dedicated to. The number of the superimposed roofs can be great, up to eleven or thirteen. According to the Nāg. the Wishnuite and Shiwaite Abodes were of equal height, whereas the Buddhist ones only had three superimposed roofs. The fact that the Buddhist *pahomans* were much lower than the other six made the beautiful carved work at their tops visible. Probably the Buddhist trinity Dharma-Buddha-Sangha (or some other, Mahāyānistic trinity) was symbolised by the unpretentious number of roofs.

No doubt the fire-offerings in the outer courtyard of the Royal compound, attended by the Royal Family, occupied an important place in the religious worship of the Court. Unfortunately the times of the ceremonies are not specified in the text. Probably in the *Rājapatni's shrāddha* ceremony described in chapter 9 and the annual *Bhādra* worship of the Great Royal Lady, comparable with the modern *garēbēg Ba'dā Pāsā* or *Lēbaran* (v. comm. 69—3) the *pahomans* in the great courtyard had a function.

Stutterheim mentions (in note 104 of his book) the *pura panataran* and the *pura pamarajan* in Bali. The names are believed to refer respectively to a temple for the religious worship intended for the welfare of the realm, and for the prosperity of the Princely family. St. identifies the *pahomans* with the Balinese *pura panataran*. This may be right. The Balinese *pura pamarajan*, however, has no counterpart in the Nāg. text. It should be noted, though, that a considerable part of the Interior of the Majapahit Royal compound is not described

in the Nāg. Probably the Interior contained some more places for religious worship. There even was a *dharmā*, a religious domain, Antahpura, in the Interior, according to the Nāg. (v. comm. on chpt. 12).

In another note Stutterheim mentions the *pamonggangan* in the south-eastern corner of the *alun-alun* of modern Surakarta and Yogyakarta. *Pamonggangan* means: place of the *manggang*, which is the name of one of the "holy" *gamelan*-orchestras of the *kraton*. The *pamonggangan* is a small pavilion; it is held in veneration for no reason that is known to the modern Javanese. It is remarkable, though, that the *pamonggangan* occupies approximately the same spot in the *alun-alun* as the place for the offerings to the chthonic spirits did in the Majapahit *wanguntur*. Not far from the *pamonggangan* is the cage of the tigers that were to be killed in the ceremonial *parampungan*. Probably there is some connection of tiger-spearing with the fundamental idea of cosmic dualism, the tiger representing unruly chthonic powers to be subdued by Royal authority. So the tigers' cage near the spirits' offering place and the *pamonggangan* are related by their connection with the chthonic powers.

What the *puspa*-flower offerings probably were like will be discussed in the commentary on canto 36—1.

Canto 8, stanzas 5,6. The last two stanzas contain descriptions of some less important outer courtyards adjoining the main courtyard, the *wanguntur*. The courtyard of 8—5—1/2, with the guard houses, has been discussed in the Notes in vol. II, and so has the yard of 8—5—4 with the pavilions round about and the dressing-rooms. Probably this place south of the tower was not separated from the rest of the main courtyard by a wall. The whole of the northern part of the Royal compound seems to have been one extensive yard (8—3—1: *akwāgimbar*; 8—5—4: *arddhāluwā*) used for different purposes. Assuming that there were water-works of a kind inside the main wall (which seems reasonable) the inlet and outlet probably would be near the market-place, which was not far from the tower, on the outside.

Kern's translation of *pasatan* by: birds' cages (specified by St.: fighting cocks' baskets), however ingenious and picturesque, meets with too many objections to be acceptable. Besides the remarks in vol. II it should be remembered that birds, and especially cocks, are the Javanese pets par excellence. No doubt the gentlemen of the

Royal Family took a pride in their respective collections of birds. Probably the care for their pets took a considerable part of their time. Therefore it is unthinkable that the valuable birds should have been relegated to an outer courtyard where they were exposed to rough treatment by the public.

The arrangement of the guard-houses on terraces is not mentioned before canto 8-6-2. This means, probably, that Royal servants who occupied houses on a higher terrace than others were allowed to occupy, were of a special standing. Proximity to the centre of the Royal compound and elevation of the guard-houses are sure signs of important offices.

Both in 8-1-1 and in 8-6-1 the regular roster in the service is mentioned. The words: bidding their day (if *redra* here has the Skt. meaning: day of the week) lead to the supposition that in Majapahit the Royal servants only came out for service on one day (or possibly several days) of a week or a month. The rest of the time they were free to look after their own affairs. This state of things continued in Java far into the twentieth century, and not only at the Princely Courts in the Central Javanese towns but also in the villages where the village headmen and officials had a right to fixed numbers of serving-men for a fixed number of days every month. The word *kēmit* is even in modern Javanese the name of this kind of compulsory service.

Canto 9, stanzas 1 and 2 contain a summary of the different kinds and companies of Royal servants whose task it was to mount guard. The *pangalasans* (rendered in general: guardsmen) of stanza 1 are provisionally discussed in vol. II. The names of most companies refer to districts. The beginning of 9-2-1: "such are the most excellent of them" infers that the ranks of *tanḍa* (headman), *gusti* (yeoman), *wado-haji* (common soldier) and *among-tuhan* (camp-follower), mentioned in 9-2-2 were found with all the *pangalasan*-guardsmen. The headmen of canto 9-2-2 certainly are not to be identified with the common (*para*) headmen of 8-1-4, whose places were at a considerable distance outside the Royal compound. The mention of the camp-followers (*among-tuhan*: taking care of their master) is evidence of the importance of the *tanḍas* and *gustis*, not far from the Second Gate. *Tuhan* (rendered: master, the modern common Indonesian *tuan*;

gentleman, Mr.) is used in Old Javanese charters of the tenth century, but 9—2—2 is the only place in the Nāg. where it is found. The reason why the camp-followers had their place in front of the main gate, outside the wall, probably was that the guard-houses near the Second Gate were too crowded (8—6—4: *sūk dening bala haji*). To serve their masters the *among-tuhans* entered the Royal compound, though.

On the difference of the ranks of the *panyalasan*-guardsmen and the Royal retainers (*bhērtiya*), who probably for the greater part were unfree bondmen, see the commentary on canto 18—1.

The highest in rank of the King's military servants were the *bhayangkari*s whose place was just outside the Second Gate, on the highest terrace. The *bhayangkari*s' importance becomes evident in canto 18—5—4, where they have a place in the King's cortege.

The Second Gate in the Royal compound was the real partition between the outer courtyards that were as a rule accessible for the common people and the inner courtyards that were reserved for high officials and the Royal Family. As the gate was guarded both at the outside (by military men) and at the inside (by common noblemen and ecclesiastical officers) it was difficult to enter. Probably the officials at the inside acted as ushers. The common noblemen, though not the equals in rank of the honoured noblemen who were allowed to enter into the Royal Presence (10—1—1), no doubt were well informed as to the ranks of the high mandarins, and so were the ecclesiastics as to the ranks of the clergy. The entrance into the inner courtyard ought to be reverential and ceremonious, of course.

Canto 9, stanza 3. Before passing on to the description of the ceremonial courtyard between the Second Gate and the Interior the poet mentions briefly the western part of the Royal compound. In 9—3—1, 2 the north-west appears as the place of the retinue (*bhērtiya*) of the Princess of Wirabhūmi (the most plausible interpretation of *Wirabhērtiya*) and according to 9—3—3, 4 the south-west is the place of the Paguhan-retinue. The Prince of Paguhan, Singhawardhana, the King's brother-in-law, dwelt with his family in the Interior (11—1—3). No doubt this family, closely related to the King, had an extensive retinue of their own. The Princess of Wirabhūmi was the eldest daughter of this family, and so the King's eldest niece. In canto 6—3—1 she is called *angḡiri*, rendered: self-reliant, which means that she was not yet married, but considered to be of age. Most

probably in 1365 she was already considered as an important member of the Royal Family and one of the King's heirs presumptive. Indeed according to the *Pararaton*, afterwards she and her husband inherited part of the Majapahit kingdom. It is not to be wondered at that this Princess as heiress presumptive to the throne had a retinue of her own.

It is a little strange, though, that the *Nāg.* does not mention in this stanza the retinue of the third near relative who dwelt in the Interior: the King's own father. Perhaps the family relation was considered so close that it was unnecessary to have separate retinues. The Prince of Singasari took a considerable part in the management of the realm. The King's mother's residence was the compound of Kahuripan, mentioned in canto 2—2—4.

The *bhērtiya*, rendered: retinue, probably consisted of men and women (and their descendants) who by law, mostly as a consequence of insolvency, were made Royal bondmen and bondwomen (*kawula*). (See the chapters on society and economics in the present volume, and the commentary on canto 31). Royal kinsmen of lower rank who served at Court (*punggawa*) probably were considered the equals of *bhērtiya*-men of intermediate rank (*peka*, v. comm. canto 18—1).

Canto 9, stanza 4. This stanza gives a description of the ceremonial courtyard between the Second and First Gates. It was flat, without terraces, and it contained several houses (*weshma*) and at least two great halls (*wiṭāna*). The extraordinary hall of 9—4—2 served as meeting-place for the high officials who were waiting to enter into the Royal Presence. This hall is mentioned again in 10—1—1. The immeasurable great hall where Royalty gave audience (9—4—4) is to be identified with the hall that was considered as belonging to the Interior, though it stood west of the First Gate (11—1—1). This last hall is comparable to the great *pēṇḍpā* in the inner courtyard, the *palataran*, of the Surakarta and Yogyakarta *kratons*. The peerless Houses (*gērha*) of 9—4—3, so high that their roofs could be seen from the ceremonial courtyard towering above the wall, are the Houses of the Royal Families mentioned in 11—2—1; they stood in the Interior east of the First Gate, inaccessible for anybody except the Royal Family and their personal servants. It is remarkable that the First Gate receives no description, nor is there any mention of a guard.

The great annual community meal and festival in the month *Caitra* was held in the ceremonial courtyard. In the description in canto

89—4 seq. four halls (*witānas*) in the corners are mentioned. Probably three of those halls are called houses (*weshma*) in canto 9—4.

Canto 10, stanza 1. As a counterpart of canto 9—1/2 where the lower and middle ranks of the Royal servants are enumerated the whole of canto 10 is dedicated to the higher and highest ranks. The sequence in stanza 1 is to be compared with the order of the officials mentioned in the preambles of Royal charters. King Hayam Wuruk's Decree Jaya Song of 1350 which is edited and translated in the present book is particularly interesting in this respect. The elder mandarins with the honorific predicate *ārya* (rendered: Honourable) are also mentioned in the Nawanatya. The *sakaparēks*, on the other hand (rendered: King's familiars, probably distant kinsmen of the Royal Family) are not often mentioned in older texts. Evidently the title is to be identified with the modern Javanese Court title *kēparak*, the meaning of which is lost, unfortunately. It is to be noted that the charters' preambles since very old times contain a group called *mahāmantris*, great mandarins. The members of this group, mostly three in number, have honorific titles: *Hino*, *Sirikan* and *Halu*. These titles (originally names of places) seem to have been given in the Majapahit era to younger members of the Royal Family (v. Pararaton, p. 142). It is strange that the Nāgara-Kērtāgama poet with his intimate knowledge of the Royal Court did not mention these old and venerable titles anywhere in his book. Therefore it is to be taken into consideration whether the *sakaparēk* title and the old triad of *mahāmantri Hino*, *Sirikan* and *Halu* are related. It is remarkable that the *mantri* (mandarin) title, which belongs to gentlemen and officials of all ranks, only in this old triad is connected with the Royal Family (see also the commentary on canto 12—4 and on the Nawanatya).

The five Fellows, the highest civil and military Court officers of 10—I—3, 4 are also found in the preambles of the Royal charters. Their functions are extensively described in the Nawanatya. The *rangga* (rendered: aide-de-camp) and the *tumenggung* (commander-in-chief) are military men; that is why they are put together. The last words of 10—I—4: "the most excellent of the honoured ones who enter into the Royal Presence, numerous, packed" refer to the whole of stanza one, though, not only to the military men. The *patih* (rendered: grand-vizir) certainly was the highest in rank of the Fellows. This council at the head of the Majapahit Court administration

seems to have been reorganized occasionally. Chapter 11 of the Nāg. contains the description of the reorganization after the death of the grand-vizir Gajah Mada. Nevertheless the Majapahit Court titles have survived in the Central Javanese *kratons* of Surakarta and Yogyakarta until modern times.

Canto 10, stanza 2. The information at the end of 10-1-4 that the officers who entered into the Royal Presence were numerous, filling the great hall, is in accordance with 10-2, where the common vizirs and the common chamberlains are mentioned. In fact the administration of the kingdom of Majapahit, however primitive according to modern ideas, must have needed a considerable number of officials. The council of high officers of 10-1-3, 4 had many subordinates.

The description of the middle-class officials talking of the number of gentlemen's places and mandarins' offices in town shows that the Majapahit bureaucrats had the same interests as their descendants in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Perhaps the increase of the population, mentioned in canto 89, is meant in 10-2-1.

The *juru pangalasan*, the chief of the guardsmen, is mentioned in the Nawanatya as a member of the council instead of the *rangga*, the aide-de-camp. King Hayam Wuruk's Decree Jaya Song of 1350 places a *juru pangalasan* as a member of the council between the *tumenggung* and *patih* Gajah Mada, certainly one of the highest ranks. In 10-2-3 the "chiefs of those who belong to the guard" are explicitly limited to five, in opposition to the numerous common mandarins of 10-2-1. The *juru pangalasan*'s function in the Interior of the Royal compound (10-2-4) is in accordance with the *pangalasans*' place between the main courtyard and the Second Gate. Identification of the five "chiefs of those who belong to the guard" with the five Fellows of the Majapahit administration of 10-1-3, 4 is to be discarded on the ground that *juru pangalasan* was a well-defined office in the Majapahit era.

Canto 10, stanza 3. The noblemen and the clergymen of the four denominations who are mentioned in 10-3-1, 2 as standing beside the great hall when Royalty gave audience are not found in the preambles of the Royal charters. The place of the clergy on state occasions is precisely fixed in the Nawanatya, though. The two bishops (*dharmādhyakṣas*) and the seven assessors or coadjutors (*upapattis*), who were scholars and judges, are most important persons in the

preambles of the charters. Van Naerssen (*De Saptopapatti*, B.K.I. 90) and others have used the names of those officials (who were in their time promoted in rank) to revise the dates of some charters. The remarkable title-names of the *upapattis* (some are found in the Nāg. too) are enumerated in the *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa*, that is edited in the present book.

Canto 11. It is regrettable that the description of the Interior of the Royal compound in this canto is so very short. The poet had no entrance to the private courtyards of the Royal Family and so he only had second-hand information. Probably it also was considered bad form to talk or write about the Royal zenana. It is only to be surmised that each of the three private courtyards contained several of the Houses mentioned in 11—2—1, which were used by the master, the ladies and the children as dwellings and "sleeping-houses". In Old Javanese literature no descriptions of Royal Interiors have been found that would make comparisons with the *dalġms* with their beds of state (*krobongan*, *patanen*) of the later Central Javanese *kratons* possible. Probably in house-furnishing Majapahit (and the Balinese Princely compounds) were simpler than Surakarta and Yogyakarta to the same degree as the town and the courtyards were less extensive.

Canto 12, stanza 1. This interesting canto begins with a description of the immediate neighbourhood of the Royal compound. It is evident that the persons who were allowed to have their houses so close to the King were the most trusted of his servants and kinsmen. Brahmarāja and Monsignor of Nadi were the Shiwaite and the Buddhist court-priests who officiated at the most important religious ceremonies. It is remarkable that the Wishnuite high-priest (perhaps the Illustrious Bhāmana, mentioned in canto 83—3—3), who also must have officiated at the *pahomans* of 8—4—2, did not have a house near his colleagues. Perhaps the Wishnuite worship had lost some of its importance at King Hayam Wuruk's Court, though the Wishnuite brahmins still were held in high veneration. It is also possible that the brahmanic Wishnuite priest who must have been a foreigner, an Indian, of origin, was given a house outside the vicinity of the Royal compound which was reserved mainly for the King's kinsmen.

The north side of the Royal compound is not mentioned in canto

12—1—2, 3, 4 because that side faced the great field and the market-place. The south side of the Royal compound did not face a southern *alun-alun* like the Surakarta and Yogyakarta *kratons*. The idea to reduplicate the main northern courtyard certainly was not yet born in the Majapahit era. The first southern *alun-alun* probably was laid out at the back of the Surakarta *kraton* in the first half of the 18th century (v. Dr H. J. de Graaf's books on the history of the Muhammadan Kings of Central Java).

Canto 12, stanza 2. The rest of the town is described in 12—2, 3, 4, 5. It is a surprise to find mentioned in canto 12—2 the compound of the Prince of Wēngkēr, at some distance east of the Royal compound. It must have been of considerable importance; it served two Princely families: Wēngkēr-Daha and their son-in-law and daughter Matahun-Lasēm. As a matter of fact the town of Majapahit should be described as a double-town: it had two centres: the Royal compound and the Wēngkēr-Daha compound. This duality is clearly expressed by the comparison with the sun and the moon in canto 12—6—1.

It is very probable, even, that at some distance from the centre of the town there were some more Princely compounds. In the Notes on canto 2—2—4 in vol. II the compound of Kahuripan, the titular residence of the Queen-Mother, has been discussed. In 11—1—4 the King's father is said to reside in the Interior of the Royal compound but the King's mother is not mentioned, though according to 11—1—3 the whole of the family Paguhan-Pajang, father, mother and children, dwelt there also. The compound of Kahuripan, mentioned in 2—2—4, *might* be situated in the district of Kahuripan, in the present Residency of Surabaya, at a considerable distance from Majapahit, but it seems much more probable that it lay in the neighbourhood of the Royal residence and that it was called after the Princes of Kahuripan who had resided there.

Kamēgētan is only found in this place in the Nāg. It is related to *pamēgēt* or *samēgēt*, old titles of which the original meaning has become obscure, in the present book rendered: master, gentleman. Probably in the Nāg. *kamēgētan* is a kind of gentleman's country residence. A well-known town in the present Residency of Madiun, in Central Java, Magētan, probably originally was called Kamēgētan or Pamēgētan.

It is remarkable that in canto 12 stanza 1 the dwellings of the King's kinsmen and court-priests are not specified either as compounds

(*puras*) or as manors (*kuwus*). Probably they were just ordinary houses, built closely together, comparable to the *kampung*, inhabited by *magġrsaris*, of the *kratons* and noblemen's compounds in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The manors of canto 12—3, 4, 5, on the other hand, must have been compounds on a small scale. Bhaṭāra Narapati's manor is even called imposing and splendid.

Canto 12, stanza 3, 4. It is remarkable that the vizir of Daha had his manor north of the Royal compound and the vizir of Majapahit east of it, probably north of the Daha-Wĕngkĕr compound. The four most important compounds and manors of the centre of the town appear to have been situated on the corners of a quadrangle. The holy cross-roads of canto 8—2—4 probably was the point of intersection of the diagonals of that quadrangle and so it was considered as the centre of the town. The distances between the compounds and the manors are unknown and so the exact centre of the town can not be determined. Probably the Majapahit Javanese were perfectly satisfied with the notion that the holy centre of their town was situated somewhere north-east of the Royal compound.

The crosswise relation between the compounds and the vizirs' manors is an instance of the importance attached to cross connections in Javanese thought. The idea of unity and cosmic inter-relationship pervades Javanese social and religious organization to a very high degree. Crosswise relations have been discussed i.a. in the present author's *Javaanse Volksvertoningen* (para. 360).

It is interesting to compare the epithets of Narapati and Gajah Mada as mentioned in canto 12—3/4.

Narapati:	Gajah Mada:
<i>bhaṭāra</i>	<i>sang</i>
	<i>mantri wĕra</i>
<i>satyasih ri narendra</i>	<i>matanggwan satya bhakty aprabhu</i>
<i>dhĕra</i>	<i>dhĭrotsāha tan lĕlana</i>
<i>nĭpuneng nĭti</i>	<i>twicakṣaneng naya</i>
	<i>twĕgmi wĕkpaṭu</i>
	<i>sĕrja wopasama</i>
	<i>rĕjyĕdhyaṭṣa</i>

Gajah Mada receives more epithets than Narapati, but Narapati's are expressive of his higher rank. Narapati loves the Princes, but

Gajah Mada is submissive. Gajah Mada is a mandarin (*mantri*), a title that was not fitting for a nobleman (except the triad of *mahā-mantris*, mentioned in the comm. on 10-1). Gajah Mada's epithet (it is not a real title): superintendent of the Royal residence, is a counterpart to the titles of the superintendents of the Shiwaite and Buddhist clergy (*dharmādhyakṣa kashaitwaṇ* and *kaboddhan*, rendered: Shiwaite and Buddhist bishop) of 12-5-2. In the Nawanatya the antithesis between secular and spiritual authority also is made clear, v. the Nawanatya commentary in the present volume.

Canto 12, stanza 5. The Shiwaite and Buddhist bishops of canto 12-5-2 and the Shiwaite and Buddhist court-priests of 12-1-2, 3 are not to be identified. The bishops exercised authority; they are regularly mentioned in the preambles of the Royal charters. The court-priests no doubt were highly venerated; their authority was insignificant, though. Stutterheim thought that the poet himself was bishop of the Buddhist clergy, but that is a mistake, v. Note on canto 17-8-2 in vol. II. The pre-eminence of the Shiwaite clergy as compared with the Buddhists is expressed by the *uttama* of canto 12-5-2, but the poet, being a Buddhist himself, was reluctant to acknowledge this fact, and therefore he inserted *rakwa*: so people say.

The place of the bishops south of the Royal compound is a counterpart to the place of the vizirs north of that centre: again antithesis between spiritual and secular authority. As the Majapahit complex was situated in the foot-hills north of the East Java massif the episcopal manors south of the centre of the town may have been built on a higher level than the Royal compounds, and the latter on a higher level than the vizirs' manors. This difference of level would be in accordance with the bishops' spiritual standing (nearer to the top of the mountain) and the secular officers' connection with the chthonic powers (v. commentary on canto 66-2). As usual Royalty is in the centre.

The division: Shiwaites east, Buddhists west is difficult to explain. Perhaps it is also a crosswise relation like the vizirs' manors'. The notion that the eastern, downstream (on the river Brantas) part of the realm was connected with Buddhism and the western, upstream part with Shiwaism will be discussed in the commentary on canto 68. In canto 16-2 the aversion of the Majapahit Buddhist clergy for the western part of Java is mentioned.

The superior mandarins of canto 12-5-3 probably are the

Fellows of canto 10—1 whose manors are not yet mentioned. The common noblemen, relegated to the edge of the town, are not to be identified with the noblemen of canto 12—1—4 who were trusted companions of the Royal Family.

Canto 12, stanza 6. The last two lines of canto 12—5, beginning with: "not to be described are" form a transition to the synopsis of the town and the realm in stanza 6, which in its turn is a transition to the next chapter, on the tributaries of the Majapahit Court. The synopsis is very interesting. Unfortunately Kern's and Stutterheim's translations are confusing. The comparisons of cantos 12—6 and 17—3 are mutually elucidative.

The first comparison, in canto 12—6—1, of the two central compounds of Majapahit with Moon and Sun determines the relation between those compounds: the eastern *pura* of Wēngkēr-Daha, the moon, and the western, of Majapahit-Singasari-Jiwana, the Royal compound, the sun. The relation between the Wēngkēr-Daha compound and the moon is accentuated in canto 12—6—3 by the mention of the town of Daha, Kaḍiri, as the principal of the towns of the realm (compared to the stars and planets) next to Majapahit. Evidently the idea is that Daha is the chief of the lesser towns like the moon rules over the stars and planets. Majapahit of course is the sun, spending light to all and sundry. It should be noted that the town of Daha does not receive any epithet. Majapahit's position as capital did not allow of too much attention to her rival. Nevertheless the interesting comparison with sun and moon is another evidence of the importance of the idea of dualism in Javanese thought.

The groves of different trees such as are mentioned in the description of the Royal compound completely hid the houses in the compounds and the manors, when seen from a distance. So the groves, surrounding the compounds and manors, are compared to the halos of light surrounding sun and moon.

The *nāsāntara* (other islands) of canto 12—6—4 are the islands and towns mentioned in cantos 13 and 14, and the *maṇḍalikarāṣṭra* (ring-kingdoms) are the neighbouring countries of canto 15—1.

The following recapitulation of the contents of chapter 2 will be found useful.

The great complex of Majapahit (better called complex than town)

consisted of a number of smaller complexes separated by open fields. The smaller complexes were compounds and manors, only distinguished by their size: the compounds were larger. All of them consisted of several courtyards, planted with trees, and filled with small wooden houses, halls and buildings of different kinds. The courtyards were separated by brick walls, fences or hedges with gates, some small, some large. The whole of a compound or a larger manor was also surrounded by a brick wall with an ornamental main gate in it. The central courtyards were in use by the master and his family, more often than not: several generations with many children. Other courtyards, situated near the wall and the main gate, contained halls for representation and places for religious worship. Those servants and kinsmen who did not own manors in town dwelt in houses clustered around the outer wall of their master's compound or manor.

According to the *Nāgara-Kērtāgama* Majapahit contained two main compounds and four main manors. Of the two compounds the western, the Royal compound, was inhabited by the family of Majapahit-Singasari-Jiwana, to which King Hayam Wuruk belonged; the eastern compound was the residence of the family of Wēngkēr-Daha. Two of the manors were situated north of the compounds. The north-western manor was inhabited by the vizir of Daha, the north-eastern one by the vizir of Majapahit. The other two manors lay south of the compounds. The south-eastern one was the residence of the bishop of the Shiwaites, the south-western one was inhabited by the bishop of the Buddhists. Besides those six main compounds and manors there were many more manors of mandarins and noblemen along the edge of the great complex.

The complex of Majapahit lay in the foot-hills of the East Java massif at some distance from the river Brantas. Bubāt was the name of the port on the river; it was inhabited by merchants, many of them foreigners: Indians and Chinese. Canggu, the name of a Majapahit river port in other texts (v. gloss.) is not mentioned in the *Nāg.*

Of the six main compounds and manors of the great complex of Majapahit only the Royal compound is described by the poet, though not completely. It was built on terraces slowly rising from north to south. It was surrounded on three sides, east, south and west, by the houses of Royal servants and trusted kinsmen. At the north side there were fields used for meetings and gatherings: a ring for cock-fights, a market-place and a long hall for the annual assemblies of the Royal servants. Many of the fields were planted with trees. The

Royal compound was entered from the north side through an ornamental main gate, which was flanked by a watch-tower built on the wall. The inside was divided into three parts, separated by walls and accessible through gates. Between the main gate in the outer wall, which was considered as the Third Gate, and the Second Gate, there were several courtyards that were to a certain degree accessible for the public. The largest of those outer courtyards was called the *wanguntur*. It lay directly inside the main gate and it was used for state ceremonies and religious worship related to the realm. Smaller outer courtyards contained guard-houses for the groups and companies of Royal servants that mounted guard in the compound. The Second Gate was the best guarded; the courtyard between the Second and the First Gate was used by Royalty to give audience to distinguished visitors and Royal servants of high rank. The First Gate gave entrance to the private courtyards of the Royal Family that were absolutely forbidden for anybody not closely connected with Royalty. They were situated on the highest terrace. Whereas the Third and the Second Gates were entered from north to south (not in a direct line, probably), the First Gate opened off the inner ceremonial courtyard eastward. The private courtyards no doubt were extensive, containing i.a. places for private religious worship. They were inhabited by three families: (a) King Hayam Wuruk, (b) his father and (c) his sister and brother-in-law with their children.

CHAPTER 3 - TRIBUTARIES AND NEIGHBOURS OF MAJAPAHIT.

*Establishment of the Royal authority by emissaries
taken from the ecclesiastical officers.*

Cantos 13—16, 15 stanzas.

The geographical list that forms the first part, cantos 13, 14 and 15—1, 2 of the third chapter has aroused much interest among geographers and historians. The following synopsis is made up from Krom's edition of 1919. Nearly all names can be identified with present day names. It seemed superfluous to copy all Krom's references to his own and other scholars' papers on this subject. In some cases names of scholars who proposed different identifications of an Old Javanese name are mentioned expressly.

De Josselin de Jong's paper on Malayan and Sumatran place-names in classical Malay literature (*Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, Singapore, vol. 9, 1956) contains i.a. valuable information on localities in Sumatra and Malaya mentioned in the third chapter of the *Nāg.*, and two maps.

In canto 16 the poet suggests that most of the countries mentioned in the preceding cantos of the chapter were tributaries of the Majapahit Court, and for the sake of convenience this appellation is maintained in the present edition. As a matter of fact it is very doubtful whether Majapahit authority at any time has been of much consequence in most of the countries mentioned in the lists. It should also be noted that the poet's knowledge of geography seems chaotic: there is not much order in the list. Probably it was made up from information received from ecclesiastical officers and mandarins who at one time or another had been in contact with merchants from foreign countries, and from Javanese traders who traded with the islands under a Royal patent. In the chapter on economy at the end of the present volume Majapahit trade will be discussed.

No doubt the scribes of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama manuscripts made many mistakes in copying foreign geographical names. Therefore some of the identifications with modern names should be considered as tentative.

A map of the tributaries is to be found at the end of volume V.

Canto 13.

A. SUMATRA.

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 1. Malayu | : Sumatra. |
| 2. Jambi | : Jambi. |
| 3. Palembang | : Palembang. |
| 4. Karitang | : Karitang, South Indragiri. |
| 5. Tēba | : Upper Jambi. |
| 6. Dharmāshraya | : Pulau Puñjung, Siguntur, on the upper course of the river Batanghari. |
| 7. Kaṇḍis | : Kandis, a tributary of the Kwantan, near Koto Tua (according to Rouffaer) or: Kandi, a dependency of Lubuk Jantan, on the river Sinamar (according to Westenenk). |
| 8. Kahwas | : Kawai, between Kandi and Tanjung (according to Westenenk). |
| 9. Manangkabwa | : Mēnangkabau. |
| 10. Siyak | : Siak. |
| 11. Rēkān | : Rokan. |
| 12. Kāmpar | : Kampar. |
| 13. Pané | : Panci. |
| 14. Kampé | : Kampei (Rouffaer, manuscript note Nāg., refers to Hymans van Anrooy, T.B.G. vol. 30, 1885, p. 359, who mentions four <i>sukus</i> (clans) in Pētapahan on the river Tapung Kiri in Upper Siak: Pēliang, Cēniaga, Kampai and Domo, i.e. Muara Takus). |
| 15. Haru | : Aru, East coast of Sumatra. |
| 16. Maṇḍahiling | : Mandailing. |
| 17. Tumihang | : Tamiang. |
| 18. Parlāk | : Pērlak. |
| 19. Barat | : West coast of Achin (according to van Hasselt), Daya (Enc. N.I. vol. I. 1917, p. 73). |
| 20. Lwas | : Padang Lawas or Gayu Luas. |

21. Samudra : near Lhō' Seumawé, Achin.
 22. Lamuri : in Great Achin (v. Teuku Iskandar, *De Hikayat Atjéh*, 1959, p. 27 seq.).
 23. Batan : Batam(?) (Rouffaer, manuscript note Nāg., refers to a paper of Holle who mentions, in Shāka 1440: Betén, according to Rouffaer, quoting Maurique, *Itinerario*, 1649, to be identified with Butun).
 24. Lampung : Lampung.
 25. Barus : Barus.

B. BORNEO.

26. Tañjung-Nagara,
 Tañjung-Puri : Borneo.
 27. Kapuhas : Kapuas.
 28. Katingan : Katingan, river Mëndawei, in Sampit.
 29. Sampit : Sampit.
 30. Kuṭa-Lingga : Lingga, where the rivers Lingga and Batang Lupa meet, Sērarak.
 31. Kuṭa-Waringin : Kotawaringin.
 32. Sanbas : Sambas.
 33. Lawai : Muara Labai, mouth of the river Labai (Rouffaer, manuscript note Nāg., refers to Pigafetta, who mentions Lae or Lae; Castanheda VIII, 1561, who mentions Lae; Diogo Homem's map of 1558 and 1568; Mendes Pinto, 1614, cap. 39; Linschoten's map, 1596; Eredia's *Informaçã*, 1599, p. 120; the Memoir of November 1603 in De Jonge III, p. 158, and in *Batikkunst*, 1914, p. XVIII, bijlage III; Malay: majalawai) or: Mēlawi (Juynboll, *Catalogus Ethnogr. Mus. Leiden*, I, Borneo, 1910, p. XI).

Canto 14.

34. Kaḍangḍangan : Kēndawangan.
 35. Lanḍa : Landak.
 36. Samēḍang : Semandang in Simpang(?).

37. Tirēm : Péniraman on the river Kapuas kecil (Groe-neveldt, Rouffaer) or: Tidung (Juynboll).
38. Sedu : Sadong in Serawak, or Sedua in Langgau, or Siduh in Matan.
39. Buruneng : Brunei.
40. Kalka : (Rouffaer, manuscript note Nāg., refers to Journ. Str. Br. R.A.S. 1880, Salsilah Raja Brunei, where five outer provinces are mentioned: Kalakah, Sērības, Sadong, Sēmērahan and Sērarak; to J. H. Moore, Notices of the Indian Archipelago, Appendix p. 27; to J. Hunt, Sketch of Borneo, 1812; "the town of Calaca is the principal port of trade south of the capital (Brunei) and the mart of the Sēdang country").
41. Saluḍung : Maludu Bay (Rouffaer) or Sadong (v. sub 40, Kalka)
42. Solot : Solok or Sulu.
43. Pasir : Pasir.
44. Baritu : Baritu.
45. Sawaku : island of Sebuku.
46. Tabalung : Tabalong, in Amuntai (van Kerde).
47. Tuñjung-Kutei : Kutei.
48. Malano : Milanau (Juynboll), or: Balineau (east of the mouth of the river Rējang in Serawak), or Malanau in N.-W. Borneo.
49. Tañjung-Puri : Tañjung-Pura, above Matan on the river Pawan (Rouffaer).

C. MALAYA.

50. Pahang : Malaya (?), Pahang (de J. de J.).
51. Hujung-Medini : Johore.
52. Lēngkasuka : on the Lengkwai islands, opposite Kēdah (Rouffaer, referring to Wilkinson, Papers on Malay subjects, History, 1908, p. 8, and Twentieth Century Impressions of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, 1908, p. 78), or, better: Langkasuka-Patani (de J. de J.).

53. Sainwang : country of the Sémang people (Blagden, van Eerde), or, better: Semong in Nĕgĕri Sĕmbilan (de J. de J.), or: to be divided into Sai (Saiburi, de J. de J.) *mwang* (and).
54. Kalantĕn : Kalantan.
55. Tringgano : Trĕngganu.
56. Nashor : Nishor, north of Sai, Patani (de J. de J.; Nagor, Ke's emendation for Nashor: Ligor, Lakhon is an improbable identification; v. Dharmanagarī, no. 101 of this list).
57. Pakamuwar : Muar or Pĕkĕn Muar(?), better to be divided: Paka, Muwarĕ (Dungun, both near Kĕmaman, de J. de J.).
58. Dugun : North Cape in Kĕmaman.
59. Tumasik : Singapura (Gerini), Johore (Pelliot).
60. Sanghyang : Ujung Salang(?), better: Sĕning Ujung, Hujung between Malaka and Sĕlangor (de J. de J.).
61. Kĕlang : Kĕlang.
62. Kĕĉa : Kĕdah.
63. Jĕre : Jĕring near Patani(?), better: Jĕrai, Kedah Peak (de J. de J.).
64. Kañjap : Kañjab (Gerini; in the Riau-Lingga archipelago?, Singkep?).
65. Niran : Karimun(?).

D. EAST OF JAVA.

66. Bali : Bali.
67. Baĉahulu : Bĕdahulu, Bĕdulu, in Giañar.
68. Lwā-Gajah : Lo-Gajah, in Bangli (Lekkerkerker, Gedenkschrift K.I. 1926, p. 193).
69. Gurun : Nusa Pĕnida (van Eerde).
70. Sukun : Sukun, on the island of Nusa Penida.
71. Taliwang : Taliwang, on the island of Sumbawa.
72. Dōmpo : Dōmpo, on the island of Sumbawa.
73. Sapi : Sapi, on the island of Sumbawa.
74. Sanghyang Api : Gunung Api or Sangeang.
75. Bhīma : Island of Bima.
76. Sheran : Island of Ceram.

77. Hutan Kaçjali : Kayu-putih Forest: the islands Buru and Sula (Rouffaer).
78. Gurun : Gorong archipelago.
79. Lombok-Mirah : West Lombok (Rouffaer), or North and East Lombok (Lombok Birah, van Eerde).
80. Saksak : East Lombok (Rouffaer), the valley of Lombok (van Eerde).
81. Bantayan : Bonthain.
82. Luwuk : Luwu, or Luwuk.
83. Uqā : Talaud-archipelago (Ke: *taf, taŋa, tara*: inhabitants; *Uqā makatraya*: the three major Talaud islands).
84. Makasar : Makasar.
85. Butun : Buton.
86. Banggawi : Banggai.
87. Kunir : Pulau Kufit, south of Pulau Laut (van Eerde).
88. Galiyao : Kangean, or Lomblem (Rouffaer, manuscript note Nāg., refers to Tiele, *Bouwstoffen*, I, 1886, p. 19).
89. Salaya : Saleier.
90. Sumba : Sumba.
91. Solot : Solor.
92. Mukar(?) : Muar, Kei, or Honi-Moa, Saparua (Rouffaer).
93. Waṇḍan : Banda (Rouffaer, manuscript note Nāg.: refers to Valentijn III, 2, 1726, fol. 1a: Banda, by the natives called Bandan).
94. Ambwan : Ambon.
95. Maloko : Ternate, Moluccos proper.
96. Wwanin : Onin, North-West New-Guinea, Mc Cluer gulf.
97. Seran : Kowiai, South New-Guinea (Rouffaer).
98. Timur : Timor.

Rouffaer remarked that the Nāgara-Kērtāgama list of geographical names in the Indonesian Archipelago does not include North Celebes (Minahassa) nor the Philippines. The identifications of many names in the eastern part, i.e. on the New-Guinea coast, are dubious.

"Mindful" of canto 14—5—4 forms an opposition to "protection" of

canto 15—1—1 and to the "friendship" of 15—1—4. Mindful refers to a relation of submissiveness.

E. NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

Canto 15, stanza 1. It is not very plausible that the Majapahit Court in the second part of the 14th century extended a protection of any consequence to several states in Further India. The difference between the "protection" of canto 15—1—1 and the "friendship" of canto 15—1—4 (for Yawana only) is remarkable. The relation of Majapahit to Yawana seems to have been of a kind that the poet could not call it protection: v. sub no 107.

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 99. Syangka | : Siam. |
| 100. Ayodhyapura | : Ayuthia. |
| 101. Dharmanageri | : Dharmarajanagara: Ligor, Lakhon. |
| 102. Marutma | : Martaban (Kern, Gerini), or Mergui (Gerini). |
| 103. Rājapura | : Rajpuri in Southern Siam (Gerini, cf. canto 57—1—2). |
| 104. Singhanagarī | : Singhapurī on a branch of the river Menam, Singhapura, mentioned in a Cam inscription (Gerini). |
| 105. Campā | : Campa. |
| 106. Kambojā | : Kamboja. |
| 107. Yawana | : Annam (Kern, B.K.I. 72, 1916). Yawana, Skt for Greek (Ionian), was used by Indians and Indianized peoples in the sense of: barbarian. The Kamboja people applied it to the Annamese. |

Kern mentions the fact that Indians called Mohammedans also Yawanas. It seems improbable that the Yawanas of 15—1—4 were Mohammedans. The remarkable discrimination (friendship) of 15—1—4 might be explained by the fact that the Annamese Kings of the time were very powerful (Krom, H. J. G. p. 415). In their case to speak of Javanese protection would be absurd.

In cantos 83—4 and 93—1 the poet mentions more countries of the continent, as places of origin of merchants and scholars. For the sake of convenience they are added hereafter.

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|--------------|
| 108. Jambudwīpa | : | India. |
| 109. Cīnā | : | China. |
| 110. Karpātaka | : | South India. |
| 111. Goḍā | : | East India. |
| 112. Kāñcīpurī | : | Conjeveram. |
-

Canto 15, stanza 2 contains the legendary history of the island of Madura. The year 124 *Shāka* is also connected with the legendary separation of Java and Bali (Heyting, T.B.G. 62, 1923, p. 297). Evidently the chronogram is old; it is the only one in the *Nāg.* that contains a Javanese word (*nanggung*). The relation between old chronograms and the supposed events often is uncertain; this case is an instance of this uncertainty (either Madura or Bali).

Legends about the origin of lands and islands being severed from a mother country are not rare, certainly not in an archipelago. In cosmic-social thought it is quite natural that lands, mountains etc. should have their family relations and their myths of origin. The transportation of a part of the Indian mount Mahāmeru to Java is described with full particulars in the Tantu Panggĕlaran. This is the mythical expression of the close relation between India and Java. *Canto 15—2* also explicitly mentions the unity of Java and Madura.

The chronogram 124 is an arithmetical series; the sum of the figures is 7. The importance of the number seven in myths is great. It seems very probable that the septimal chronogram of *canto 15—2—3* belongs to an old trend of thought, not exclusively related to Madura and Java. The poet expresses his own uncertainty about the legendary story by the repeated use of: so it is said, and: so one hears.

The remarkable fact that Suṇḍa, i.e. West Java, is not mentioned in cantos 14 and 15 either as a tributary or as a friend is to be explained by the war of 1357 A.D. between the Sundanese and Majapahit kingdoms. Evidently the poet carefully avoids referring to that sad event, the death of the Sundanese Princess, King Hayam Wuruk's bride to be. It was afterwards sung in the Kidung Suṇḍa (edited by Berg). Perhaps the Princess is referred to in the preamble of King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry Charter (see the commentary in the present volume).

Canto 15, stanza 3 is a transition to the second part of chapter three which deals with the establishment of Royal authority by

means of emissaries taken from the ecclesiastical officers and the development of interinsular and international trade. "Other continents" probably refers to the five great countries mentioned above sub 108—112: India, China, South India, East India and Conjeveram. The idea that those great kingdoms should become subservient (*suminvi*) to the Majapahit Court seems preposterous. It is another instance of the poet's exaggeration when glorifying his master and his country. Anyhow, canto 15—3 refers to the international trade between Majapahit ports and the continent. In the 14th century (and in many preceding and following centuries) this trade always stood under the supervision of the Princes. The merchants who came to foreign ports always offered presents to the local authorities, and they were considered as emissaries of their own Prince.

Stanza 3 is to be divided into two parts, which is often the case in the Nāg. The first two lines refer to the trade of foreign merchants bringing products of their countries to Java. These lines are to be connected with cantos 83—4/5 where the annual fair of Majapahit in the month *Phālguna* (February-March) is mentioned. "Ordained season" (*pratimāsa*) probably refers to the trade wind, the West monsoon, that reaches East Java in December. The merchants from the continent had some months to bring up their junks to the Majapahit ports, where they stayed for another couple of months to wait for the East monsoon that would bring them home to their countries on the continent.

The last two lines of stanza 3 refer to the Majapahit Court's care for the collecting of merchandise that was to be stocked either for international trade or for home consumption. The Javanese ecclesiastical officers and mandarins of canto 15—3—4 might be considered as traders with a Royal patent (as appears from their Court titles). Their stock-in-trade consisted chiefly of spices from the other islands of the Archipelago. The manner in which the Javanese Royal merchants conducted their trade with the native chieftains is partly described in the next canto. In the chapter on Majapahit economy at the end of the present volume trade will be discussed at some length.

Canto 16, stanza 1 refers to the relation of Royal authority, the ecclesiastical officers and Shiwaism. Assuming that the ecclesiastical

officers of canto 16 were traders under a Royal patent it is perfectly clear why trade of their own accord was forbidden: free trade would have been injurious to the King's interest. The consolidation of Shiwaism no doubt refers to Royal authority that was based partly on the King's identification with Shiwa. The pious Royal merchants from Java were allowed and encouraged to use the doctrine of the divine Lord of Majapahit in distant Java to impress the native chieftains in the islands that were to be opened to trade. A close relation of religion and economy is nothing to be wondered at; history is full of such instances.

Canto 16, stanza 2 is the Buddhist counterpart of the Shiwaite stanza 1. Ke. and Prb. translated it in a manner that suggested the absence of Buddhism in the western part of Java or west of Java. As canto 16—3—1: east of Java (Bali) is the counterpart of canto 16—2—3 the meaning must be: west of Java, i.e. Sumatra. The meaning of canto 16—2—4 is clear: the poet refers to a legend that formerly no Buddhist apostle comparable to Bharada of 16—3—3 went from Java to Sumatra: 16—2—4 is a counterpart of 16—3—3. As a consequence the Buddhism of Bali was Javanese (according to the Nāg.). However the poet was not unaware of the existence of Buddhism in Sumatra: in canto 80—2 a Buddhist *dharma* (domain) in Lampung, South Sumatra, is mentioned.

In canto 16—2—2 travels of Buddhists are represented as rare anyway. Probably Buddhist traders were scarce; esoteric (*niṣkala*) Buddhism did not go well with the merchants' hunt for worldly goods (*sakala* Shiwaism).

Canto 16, stanza 3. As a counterpart of canto 15—2 (Java-Madura), the legendary relation between Java and Bali is referred to in canto 16—3. With the usual expressions of uncertainty (so it is said, so one hears) the poet mentions the sages Bharada and Kuturan, well-known in Balinese literature. Berg's discussion of this legend (*Rijksdeling*, p. 140) is not reproduced in the present Nāg. edition as it mainly concerns Balinese and Javanese political history. Without in the least denying the possibility of the two sages' historicity it seems safe to adopt the poet's view and to consider the story as a legend of olden times.

Samaya, rendered: covenant, is a religious term (Prb. BKI 80, p. 239, quotation from Schiefner, *Tārandātha*, p. 189: *gaṇacakra* and

other mysteries [*samaya*]). Probably this covenant referred to the consolidation of Buddhism in Bali, in nearly the same manner as canto 16-1-4 refers to Shiwaism.

Canto 16, stanzas 4, 5. The last two stanzas of canto 16 describe the difference between the behaviour of ecclesiastic traders and mandarins when meeting native chieftains of the islands. According to canto 16-4-4 the ecclesiastics, professional traders under a Royal patent, talked pleasantly. No doubt this expression refers to *préniah alus*, gentle order, so well known in modern Java. The ordering according to rank (*tinitah*) of the ecclesiastics who were sent out probably means that the Court supervised the composition of the traders' companies that left the Majapahit ports. *Wiku*, rendered: ordained priest, of canto 16-4-4, no doubt refers to the *wiku haji*, the Royal priests, frequently mentioned in the Nāg. (v.gl.). They seem to have held the highest rank of the ecclesiastical officers at Court.

In canto 16-5-1, 2 the poet suggests that all tributary countries as a rule were faithful and obedient, evidently another of his well-known exaggerations. The last two lines refer to devastating wars waged by the sea-mandarins. That is the counterpart to the gentle orders of the ecclesiastical officers, the regular traders. The *hong*i-cruises that were organised in the 17th century by the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.) authorities in the Moluccos mainly to enforce the Company's monopoly in the spice trade may have had prototypes in the Majapahit era.



II. A PLOUGHMAN, SEE P. VIII.

CHAPTER 4 – THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1359,

*from Majapahit through the eastern districts of Java,
and back to Singasari.*

Cantos 17—38/3, 83½ stanzas.

This very long chapter may be divided into several parts. The monotonous enumeration of geographical names is adroitly made to alternate with interesting descriptions.

Canto 17 contains an introduction and a mention of the departure from Majapahit.

Cantos 18—24 give a brief account of the Royal Progress beginning from the mustering place Kapulungan to the most eastern point Patukangan.

Cantos 25—29 contain a description of Patukangan.

Cantos 30—38/3 give an account of the return from Patukangan to Singasari, interrupted by two descriptions:

Cantos 32 and 33: Sāgara, and

Cantos 36 and 37: Kagēñengan.

Canto 17, stanzas 1, 2. Canto 17 is one of the longest cantos of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama: 11 stanzas. It may be divided into four parts:

Stanzas 1—3 are a glorification of Hayam Wuruk's kingship, resulting in the mention of the Royal Progresses.

Stanzas 4—7 contain an enumeration of the Royal Progresses before 1359.

In the stanzas 8 and 9 the poet Prapañca introduces himself.

Stanzas 10 and 11 refer to the departure from Majapahit to the mustering place Kapulungan, where the caravan for the great trek eastward was composed (canto 18—1/5).

The glorification of Hayam Wuruk's kingship in 17—1, 2, 3 is a sequel to the description of the King's greatness that began in canto 15—3. It may be divided into three parts. Successively the King's

works, the King's zenana and the expanse of the King's dominions are praised. The works are: common buildings (*yasha*, v.gl., modern Jav. *yasa*: to build, to construct), secondly: works that bring renown (*kīrti*) to the author, either buildings for public use (water-works etc.) or works of art, and thirdly: religious domains (*dharma*), foundations to maintain the link between the successive generations of noble and Royal families. The series *yasha*, *kīrti*, *dharma* works up to a climax. Mandarins, brahmins and ecclesiastical officers were entitled to found *kīrtis*. The foundation of religious domains was reserved for nobility and Royalty.

Besides canto 17—2 there are some more verses in the Nāg. where the Royal zenana is referred to (v.gl. sub *wadhā* and *binī*). The zenana accompanied the King on his Progresses (v. canto 18—4—3), probably in part only, and it was supplemented en route (in Kalayu, v. 31—4—4).

Janggala and Kaḍiri are mentioned together as name of the whole realm. The mythical partition by Bharaṇa is referred to in canto 68.

Canto 17, stanza 3, finally, is a glorification of the expanse of the realm by means of four comparisons:

one town: the whole of Java.

the manors, situated around the centre of the town: the thousands of dwellings of the common people.

the cultivated lands: the other islands.

the parks: the forests and mountains.

These comparisons resemble canto 12—6. They are of considerable importance for a clear apprehension of the 14th century Javanese view of the country (cf. the comm. on 12—6).

The triad: works, zenana, expanse of dominions is not found elsewhere in the Nāg. as components of Royal glory. Canto 83—1—4 has another triad: retinue, treasures, conveyances. It is remarkable that the Nāg. does not mention more often the treasures of gold and jewels that formed one of the essential part of Indian Royal glory. Canto 17—1, 2, 3, by the absence of any mention of treasures, is one of the passages to be quoted in support of the opinion that the Majapahit Court in the 14th century was not wealthy in bullion or jewels. The

probable cause of this fact will be discussed in the chapter on economy at the end of the present volume.

The King's beating of forests and mountains, mentioned in 17—3—4, is meant as a transition to the description of the Royal Progresses in the next stanzas (17—4, 5, 6, 7).

Canto 17, stanzas 4—7. The end of the cold season no doubt refers to the end of the season of rains, the West monsoon. According to 17—7—1 the great trek of 1359 began in the month *Rhādra*, August-September, in the middle of the East Java East monsoon, the dry season. This season of course was the only time suited for travelling. During the West monsoon the roads were made impassable by the rains, and the rivers were difficult to cross.

The four stanzas 17—4, 5, 6, 7 form a climax. The travels that are mentioned first are the shortest; the last one is the long journey to the eastern districts. The information on the environs of Majapahit and on the basin of the river Brantas, downstream, is particularly interesting. Most of the geographical names have been found again in present-day topography. Krom's numerous references to papers by himself and by other authors on the Nāg. topography are not copied in the present edition. The following list is made up from the 1919 edition, with only a few additions.

1. *Sīma* : Bēloh, a village north of the Bajang Ratu gate, one of the few remains of Majapahit architecture. The identification of *Sīma* of 17—4—2, which was situated outside the great Majapahit complex, with a place near the present Bajang Ratu gate proves that this gate did not belong either to the Royal compound or to any of the great manors in the centre of the town (Krom's notes on canto 17).
2. *Jalagiri* : also mentioned in canto 78—3—3, and in the *Tantu Panggëlaran* (p. 124, *byut* *Jalagiri*), difficult to identify.

"Place for vows of the public at the time of the cockfights" refers to the Javanese custom (even now still en vogue) to make a vow to go to a sacred place and to bring homage to the deity or spirit who

is supposed to reside there, if a wish is fulfilled. The wishes mostly refer to recovery from illness or attainment of some end. In the Majapahit period the divine beings who received the vows probably were local spirits. It is not implausible that *byut* (i.e. *buyut*: the Old One of) Jalagiri who is mentioned in the Tantu Panggelaran was the habitual receiver of the vows of the Majapahit townsfolk. (In the present Mohammedan period the vows are made at places that are supposed to be the graves of Muslim saints. As a rule the saints' identity is completely unknown or wholly legendary. Probably not a few pre-Mohammedan sacred places have been converted in the course of time into Muslim graves. According to Muslim theology the saints could only be intercessors with God in favour of the maker of a vow. The ideas of the present-day Javanese laymen on this point of theology need not be discussed in this commentary).

If the wish was fulfilled the vow was to be redeemed with a festival. In modern Javanese the procession to the sacred place is called *miḍang*; it is mostly accompanied by music and dancing. Descriptions of *miḍang* processions are to be found in the present author's *Javaanse Volksvertoningen* (v.gl.). Like all festivals in Mohammedan Java the *miḍang* procession ends in a community meal, called *slamĕtan*, where the victuals that are brought from home are consumed or divided after a prayer has been said. It seems probable that the Majapahit festivals for the redemption of vows did not differ essentially from the present-day *miḍang slamĕtans*.

"At the time of the cockfights" of canto 17—4—3 is an indication of the season for the redemption of vows. Of course the dry season, the East monsoon, was the best time for tours to sacred places. The reference to cocks (*sawung*) makes it probable that the Majapahit Javanese used to take their fighting cocks on their pilgrimages in order to enhance the gaiety. It is a matter of fact that cockfights (and other animal fights) were considered beneficial in a general sense. The excitement was deemed most salutary for the vital spirits of humans and animals, and promotive of the growth of vegetation. The Javanese appreciation of fights in general has been discussed in *Javaanse Volksvertoningen* (par. 414). The dry season was the best time for cockfights because agriculture had come to a standstill. People had time to make tours with their cocks (carried in baskets) in order to bring them out in different rings. The crop of the preceding wet season provided them with stocks for the inevitable betting.

In the commentary on canto 17—5 Sĭma-Jalagiri (near Majapahit),

Polaman (in the district of Kaḍiri) and Buwun (in the Brantas delta, Surabaya district) are mentioned as (probably) comparable local sanctuaries and places of pilgrimage.

3. Wéwé-Pikatan : a village Wéwé, near a rivulet Pikatan.
4. Caṇḍi-Lima : Caṇḍi-Lima, near the sugar-mill of ḍinaya (see commentary on canto 38—1).

Canto 17, stanza 5:

5. l'alāh : Panataran, near Blitar.

It is remarkable that the Lord of the Mountain of Palah is not given the highest predicate *Śhrī*, Illustrious, or the title *Bhatāra*, that belong to the supreme gods (v. canto 1). *Hyang* seems to be fitting particularly for divine beings that are considered as local rulers.

6. Balitar : Blitar.
7. Jimur : ?
8. Shilāhrit : mentioned in 73—3—4, situation unknown. Perhaps Shilāhrit, "Red Rock", Watu Bang, should be read instead of Shilāhrit, which does not make good sense.

The places of canto 17—4 are situated in the neighbourhood of Majapahit, the following places of 17—5—1, 2 belong to the upper course of the river Brantas, 17—5—3 refers to Kaḍiri in the middle course and 17—5—4 mentions Janggala in the lower course.

9. Polaman : Polaman in Kaḍiri. In the Pararaton (p. 24—33) a *kidung* (ballad or lay in native Javanese metres, as distinct from a *kakawin* like the Nāgara-Kērtāgama, in Indian metres) called *Wukir Polaman* (Fish-pond Mountain) is mentioned. It was made by *haji* Jaya Katong, Jaya the Redoubtable, the last King of Kaḍiri, after his defeat in 1293 in the war against the Chinese invading forces of the Mongol Emperor Kublai-Khan. The Chinese invasion marked the beginning

of the Majapahit period of Javanese history (v. Krom, H.J.G., chpt. 11). *Wukir*, *ukir* or *adri* (Mountain) is the name of a Javanese ballad metre. It seems not at all impossible that this name is derived from the ballad originally made by (or for) the unfortunate King. Since after his defeat Jaya Katong lived in exile in Jung Galuh (situation not well known, but certainly outside the Kaḍiri district, probably in the Brantas delta, in the Janggala moiety of the realm), one can easily imagine that he took as subject of his poem a description of an important and beloved religious centre of his native country, that was lost to him. It seems certain that the Javanese ballad metres (in modern Javanese called *tengahan*, i.e. intermediate metres, between the Indian metres of the *kakawins* and the modern metres) originated in Kaḍiri. One of these metres is even called *Kaḍiri* itself (v. the commentary on canto 40—3).

Unfortunately, as far as known to the present author, the collections of Old Javanese manuscripts do not contain a *kidung* called Fish-pond Mountain. It seems possible that this name refers to a fish-pond with a small mountain in the centre. This combination of water and mountain was very significant in Javanese thought as a symbol of cosmic unity. In canto 65—5—3 a description of a miniature fish-pond mountain that was carried in a procession is given; it belonged to King Hayam Wuruk himself. It was meant to represent mount Mandara that was used as a churn-staff. All in all it seems very likely that the Fish-pond of Kaḍiri that was visited by the King was a water-and-mountain sanctuary of the described kind.

10. Lingga-

Marabangun: situation (in Kaḍiri) unknown. Prb. (TBG 60, 1921, p. 106) identified Lingga-Marabangun with Rati-Manmathāshrama of Nāg. 76—2. The meanings of the names are not quite identical. Rouffaer (manuscript notes

Nāg.) thought that Lingga-Marabangun referred to some ithyphallic statues in Gaprang, south of Blitar (Verbeek, no 567), or to Patik-Rĕja, north-west of Tulung-Agung (Verbeek, no 529). The meaning of the name (Standing Phallus) no doubt refers to an ithyphallic sanctuary. Its situation is unknown. It is remarkable that the place is called a manor, the residence of a nobleman. Perhaps the manor Lingga-Marabangun was the residence of the Head of the ancient Royal family of Kaḍiri of which *haji* Jaya Katong had been the last reigning King. The Majapahit dynasty of which King Hayam Wuruk was the Head in 1365 was related by marriage both to the ancient Kaḍiri family and to the Singasari family of which King Kĕrtanagara had been one of the most outstanding members. In Javanese cosmic mythological thought Kaḍiri (from *ḍiri*: to stand, cf. Standing Phallus) was considered as male, whereas Janggala-Kahuripan was female. The combination of the cosmic Polaman sanctuary and the residence of the ancient ithyphallic Royal family of Kaḍiri seems not improbable.

11. Daha : Kaḍiri. Daha probably means: to stand, just like Kaḍiri. Both names refer to phallism.
12. Janggala : Janggala (also called: Kahuripan), the delta of the river Brantas.
13. Surabhaya : Surabaya, at present the capital of East Java.
14. Buwun : Buwun means: a well, according to KBNW. A place of that name in the Brantas delta is unknown to the present author. Since the Janggala-Kahuripan moiety of the realm was considered as female (in opposition to the Kaḍiri-Daha half) a sanctuary consisting of a well would be appropriate. The mention of two places in the Kaḍiri moiety of the realm: the (probably holy) Fish-pond and

the manor Lingga-Marabangun (perhaps the residence of descendants of the ancient dynasty) and on the other hand of two places in the Janggala half: the well-known Surabhaya and Buwun, is significant. Probably Lingga-Marabangun and Surabhaya are comparable as ancient Royal residences, and so are Buwun and Polaman as ancient local sanctuaries. Sina-Jalagiri of canto 17-4-2, the local sanctuary of the Majapahit townsfolk (in combination with Wéwé-Pikatan and Canḍi-Lima) would also be comparable with Polaman and Buwun. Perhaps Butun, the name of a friary mentioned in canto 78-1-2, should be read Buwun.

Canto 17, stanzas 6, 7. The systematic enumeration of remarkable places in the Brantas basin is followed in these stanzas by the mention and the dates of four great tours outside that basin. In fact canto 17-6 is the beginning of the Court Chronicle 1353-1364, chapters 4-11, which is incorporated in the Nāg. (v. the chapter on the poet and the poem in the present volume).

The four great tours are:

Pajang, in 1353, west of the Brantas basin.
 Lasēm, in 1354, north of the Brantas basin.
 Loḍaya, in 1357, south of the Brantas basin.
 Lumajang, in 1359, east of the Brantas basin.

The three last-named tours reached the boundaries of the realm in the island of Java: the Java-sea, the Indian Ocean and Java's eastern districts. Therefore it is remarkable that the first tour was not pursued as far as Mataram, the district west of Pajang, though Mataram was the titular vice-royalty of a member of the Royal family, just like the other three. Perhaps this neglect of the district of Mataram is an indication of the fact that in the 14th century it was an unimportant part of the realm. The titular Prince of Mataram was one of the youngest members of the Royal family. It is well-known that the periods of Mataram's suzerainty in Javanese history were during the 8th and 9th centuries and since the 15th century.

(The Court Chronicle mentions yet three more tours, in 1360, 1361 and 1363; v. the commentary on chapter 8, canto 61.)

The tours of 1353 and 1354, to Pajang (West) and Lasēm (North) concerned the titular vice-royalties of King Hayam Wuruk's sister and female cousin (mother's sister's daughter), important members of the reigning generation of the family. Therefore it seems highly probable that the next two tours had for goals the titular vice-royalties of the Princesses of the succeeding generation: the King's own daughter the Princess of Kabalan and the King's sister's daughter the Princess of Wirabhūmi. Starting from this assumption Kabalan (situation unknown) might be identified with Loḍaya or a part of Loḍaya. But then there is a Kabalan in Hojā Nagārā (v. chapter on Royal Family). The identification of Wirabhūmi with Lumajang, the eastern districts, is certain enough. The importance of the Princess of Wirabhūmi-Lumajang as heirss-presumptive to the Majapahit throne has been discussed in the commentary on 9—3—2. As a matter of fact both Princesses in after life inherited a part of the realm (according to the Pararaton).

It is to be noted that the four Princesses had their titular vice-royalties in the directions of the points of the compass, and according to the solar classification:

- I. East, origin, beginning, youth.
- II. South (?), meridian, adolescence.
- III. West, evening, declining years.
- IV. North, setting, age.

The elder generation: Pajang and Lasēm were situated West and North. The sequence Pajang-Lasēm (also in canto 18—3) was according to age (v. canto 5—1, 2): the Princess of Pajang was the junior of her cousin of Lasēm. The younger generation: Kabalan-Loḍaya and Lumajang-Wirabhūmi were South and East. The reason of their sequence is not clear. Probably Wirabhūmi was the senior of the two.

The list of the geographical names in canto 17 continues:

15. Pajang : Pajang, the upper course of the river Bēngawan.
16. Lasēm : Lasēm, the eastern part of Java's north coast, west of Surabaya.

17. Loḍaya : Loḍaya, Java's south coast between the Sumeru massif in the east and the Wilis massif in the west.
18. Tētōr : ? ; situation unknown.
19. Siḷēman : ? ; situation unknown.
20. Lamajang : Lumajang, the districts east of the Sumeru massif.

The importance of the Princesses as compared with their consorts is accentuated in 17—6 and 17—7—3 (v. the chapter on the Royal family at the end of the present volume).

Canto 17, stanzas 8—9. The monotonous enumeration of names is adroitly relieved by the introduction of the poet himself, introduced in its turn by the mention of the "kings of poets". In the Notes on canto 17—8 in vol. II the reason why Ke's opinion that Prapañca himself was bishop of the Buddhist clergy is to be discarded has been explained. It is inconceivable that the poet should use the high-class predicate *sira* with reference to himself; it refers to his father and his grandfather, both bishops. Krom (note p. 264) points to the fact that the charter of Bendosari, before the age of the Nāgara Kērtāgama, the Decree Jaya Song of the present book, mentions a bishop called Kanakamuni, and in another charter, of Sēkar, to be dated after 1365, the year of the Nāg., the Buddhist bishop is called Nādendra. That is also the case in King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry Charter of 1358. Nādendra could very well be the poet's father's name. Kanakamuni could have been his grandfather. Krom's identification of Nādendra with Wināda, another name of Prapañca's, seems dubious.

There are some other reasons why it must be called improbable that Wināda-Prapañca in 1365 was a Buddhist bishop. One of them is the fact that the poet clearly refers to the circumstance that he was a contemporary of the King, and in 1365 King Hayam Wuruk was 31 years of age. This seems rather young for a bishop. The other arguments against the episcopate of Wināda-Prapañca in 1365 will be pointed out in the course of this commentary.

The relation of the episcopate and the Royal Court is made very clear in canto 17—8—3: the bishop is a creation of the King. The title King's priest for the highest ranks of the clergy is most appropriate. The hereditary succession in the episcopate is nothing to be wondered at; probably the sense of canto 17—8—3, 4 is to remind

the King that the poet expects to be created a bishop in his time, like his father and grandfather. Celibacy was unknown among the Majapahit Court clergy; the books with rules on the behaviour of ecclesiastics can prove this (v. Tantu Panggĕlaran edition, Dewashāsana etc. Unfortunately specific Buddhist texts on this matter are not available).

On the meaning of *parab*, translated: call-name, see the commentary on canto 32—4.

In canto 17—9 the life of a young courtier is described; Court life in Majapahit was not different from life at any other eastern or western Court. The sense of stanza 9 is Prapañca's admission that he is a failure as a poet of Court poetry. In 94—4 a similar admission is given, and modern Western critics (Teeuw and Uhlenbeck, in BKI 114, p. 221, on the interpretation of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama) have said the same. To pick up charming features and to be accurate in asking the writing-board for songs (*gīta*, with poetical expressions) are things that he cannot do well.

Perhaps the term *kawi*, rendered: poet, in canto 17—8, refers in general to a scholar conversant with the poetical idiom, i.e. Sanskrit (cf. the expression *wruh kawi* in canto 25—2). No doubt in this sense Prapañca was a *kawi*. The author of the Sanskrit text of the well-known Simpang inscription found in Surabaya (v. Poerbatjaraka, BKI 78, 1922) calls himself bishop Nāda. He was a Buddhist. The mention of the *kawi* (Sanskrit) scholarship of Prapañca's father and grandfather, both Buddhist bishops, might refer to that Surabaya inscription (v. comm. Nāg. canto 93—1).

As to Prapañca, his topographic description (*amarṇa desha*: Desha Warṇana is the real name of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama) is a substitute for epical and lyric poetry in the grand *kāvya* style. At the same time topography is mentioned in this place as a transition to the following list of names.

Canto 17, stanza 10. These names, some of them unidentified, belong to probably small places on the road from the Majapahit complex to the district of Kapulungan where the great caravan for the Eastern Progress was to be composed.

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 21. Japan | : Majakērtā; this district contains the ruins of the Majapahit complex. |
| 22. Tēbu | : Tēpus. |
| 23. Pāṇḍawan | : Pēṇḍawa. |

~ ~ ~

24. Daluwang : Krajan.
25. Babala? : ? ; situation unknown.
26. Kañci : Kasiyaan (Kañci is mentioned in O.J.O. no 37, of 851 Shāka, and in no 95, of 1408 Shāka, a stone inscription from Jiyu, south of Majasari).
27. Kuṭi Ratna
Pangkaja : ? ; situation unknown.
28. Kuṭi Haji : Kuṭa-rēja.
29. Kuṭi Pangkaja : ? ; situation unknown.
30. Pañjirak Maṇḍala : Pañjēr, a ward of Majasari (?).
31. Pongging : Pungging, east of Majasari.
32. Jingan : Ngijingan (mentioned in O.J.O. no 91, of 1408 Shāka, a stone inscription of Dukuhan Dukuh).
33. Kuwu Hañar : ? ; situation unknown.
34. Pañicashāra : Prapañicasārapura, a foundation in favour of Brahmarāja (Brandes, TBG 56, 1914).
35. Kapulungan : Kapulungan, v. 18—1—1, an important centre (O.J.O. no 82, of 1245 Shāka, and TBG 56, 1914), to be identified with Pulungan, 68—4—2.
36. Waru : ? ; situation unknown.
37. Hēring : ? ; situation unknown, to be emended: Hiring.
38. Tira : Tīrtha (?), mentioned in O.J.O. no 41, a charter from Suci.
39. Surayasha : Surayasha, mentioned in canto 76—3—2, v. emendation in Note on 17—11—3, as a *dharma kasogatan kawinayanu lēpas*: a domain of the Buddhist clergy, an abbey, following the disciplinary rules and free (v. the chapter on the ecclesiastical organization at the end of the present volume). The Lord of Surayasha was the divine owner of the domain, perhaps the deified ancestor of an ancient family who founded the abbey, v.gl.

Canto 17, stanza 11. The last stanza of canto 17 is most interesting in several respects. The poet's leaving the Royal train in order to visit

some small Buddhist cloisters is an indication of the fact that he was not the bishop. In a similar case the bishop is expressly mentioned (canto 18—7—4), and he did not leave the Royal train for long. Probably the meaning of 17—11—2 is, that Prapañca was sent by his father the bishop to investigate the conditions of some cloisters he was interested in. One of the principal tasks of the bishops seems to have been the maintaining of the ecclesiastical domains and their defence against usurpation. Many charters refer to the difficulties of the abbots in defending their rights against their secular neighbours, either communities of agriculturists or chiefs of manors.

Probably the Register was the principal means of the bishops to prove their right. Unfortunately no text of a Register has survived, but chapter 12, cantos 73—78, is most valuable in affording an insight into the manner how the Registers were composed. The great Registers seem to have contained, besides the names of the religious domains of the different denominations, also the names of their dependencies (*angshas*). As to the origin of the dependencies of an abbey little is known. The Tantu Panggëlaran supplies some information, but it is of a legendary character and often difficult to explain. It is remarkable that the legal term *angsha* is not found in the Tantu.

As the Register is mentioned several times in the Nāg, it seems probable that the poet, a courtier and a member of the Buddhist episcopal family, had access to it. Perhaps he performed approximately the function of a master of the Rolls.

No doubt the "borrowing" of the dependencies of Surayasha, mentioned in canto 17—11—4, was a kind of mortgage of lands. At a given time one of the abbots of Surayasha needed cash, and so he mortgaged some of the dependencies of his abbey to his neighbours who were able to help him. According to Javanese (and generally Indonesian) customary law (*adat*) selling of land was almost inconceivable: the owner and his land were so closely bound up one with another that they could not be severed for ever and ever. This peculiar customary law has been studied by many Dutch scholars (v. van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht van Nederlands-Indië*).

Prapañca found that the Surayasha dependencies Waru, Hiring and Tirtha had been mortgaged and were not yet redeemed. According to customary law they still belonged to the family of the abbots of Surayasha, but the inhabitants seem to have preferred their new state of independence (not to mention their relation to the mortgagee) to their old state of dependence on the ecclesiastics. This is to be con-

cluded from the fact that the inhabitants did not welcome Prapañca with any regalement (*śṛṅṣh*), as was customary (v. canto 18—7—4). By this act of inhospitality the people of Waru, Hiring and Tirtha meant to say that they considered their relation to the abbey as severed (as far as possible). This must have been a disappointment to Prapañca, the more so as there seems to have been no means for redress. The last words of canto 17—11—1 refer to his gloomy mood, reflecting that he did not fulfill his father's commission.

Canto 18, stanza 1. This canto is another of the long cantos of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama: 8 stanzas. The first five stanzas contain the description of the caravan that trekked eastward from Kapulungan in the month *Bhādra* (August-September) 1359. In the last three stanzas the names of the first places on the route are mentioned.

Kapulungan seems to have been considered as the centre of the realm; the Royal highway to the eastern districts began there. The central position of Pulungan in the Bharaṇa legend (v. canto 68—4—2) is very clear. Probably Kapulungan was the name of a district, not of one town only. The name was still known in the 17th century (v. de Graaf, *Sultan Agung* [of Mataram]).

The composition of the caravan of several hundreds of carts, each cart drawn by at least two oxen, certainly occupied an immense space. Besides the central position of Kapulungan the great space needed for the caravan probably was the reason that the Progress did not start from Majapahit. The environs of the capital would have been badly damaged.

The last two verses of 18—1 refer to the Royal retinue (*bhṛtya*) of 18—1—1. Among the retainers three ranks seem to be distinguished: the "men" i.e. the headmen, the followers (*peka*) and the serving-men on foot. *Pekas* seem to be of intermediate rank; in 18—4—3 they are connected with *punggawas*, distinguished serving-men; their wives ride on carts. In canto 9—2—2 four ranks (*taṇḍa*, *gusti*, *wado-haji* and *among-tuhan*) are distinguished in the companies of the *pangalasan*-guardsmen, with whom the *bhṛtya* (probably Royal bondmen) on no account are to be confounded.

Canto 18, stanzas 2—5. The composition of the caravan is systematically described. It consisted of six groups, each group distinguished by a mark of its own.

1. the grand-vizir Gajah Mada, mark: *pupulitan*.
2. the Princess of Pajang, " *handiwa*, sugar-palm, dark-coloured (class IV).
3. the Princess of Lasēm, " white bull, white (class I).
4. the Princess of Daha, " betel-leaves with flowers, with gold: green and gold (class III).
5. the Princess of Jiwana, " motif *lohheṅg lēwih*, red and white (class II).
6. King Hayam Wuruk, " Aegle marmelos, motives: *gringsing*, *lohheṅg lēwih*, *laka*, gold (class V).

subdivided into:

- 6a. the Royal zenana.
- 6b. King Hayam Wuruk, on a palanquin cart.
- 6c. serving-men of Janggala, Kaḍiri, Sēḍah, Panglarang and guardsmen.

The sequence of the groups is significant.

The grand-vizir was the mediator of the Court. *Praṇḍā* (Skt.: canal) is used in the Nāg. in the combination: *lingga-praṇḍā*; male and female symbols, more usually: *lingga-yoni*. This duality is of uranic-chthonic aspect. The grand-vizir Gajah Mada, the mediator (of wealth) was considered as chthonic in opposition to the Royal family. The first (honorific) part of the name of King Hayam Wuruk's grand-vizir (and of some grand-vizirs after him, according to the Pararaton), Elephant, probably refers to this chthonic aspect: elephants carry the earth. Some relation between Gaṇeśha, the elephant-god, and the grand-vizir of the realm has been supposed before, i.a. by Stutterheim.

Kaḍatwan refers to the Royal family, not to a locality. Kern quotes from a charter of Singasari of 1351: "the great mandarin, the Magnificent, the Right Honourable Sir Mada, evidently His Worship is the mediator in relation to the Lords (and Ladies) the Seven *Prabhus*". The resemblance of this passage from a charter and a verse of the Nāg. is remarkable; evidently Prapañca knew the chancery idiom very well.

The number of four hundred carts is great; that is why it is mentioned in canto 18—2—4. Probably this great number was a consequence of the grand-vizir's function of mediator of wealth: the tribute in kind that was collected en route was transported mainly in his carts.

On tribute-gathering as one of the principal reasons for the Royal Progresses v. the chapter on economy at the end of the present volume.

Probably the number of carts of the Royal family was not as great; in that case it would have been mentioned. It seems improbable that the Royal family's carts followed exactly the same route as the grand-vizir's: the people of the four hundred carts would have eaten all the available supplies in the country.

In chapter 4 several words for cart are used: *syandana*, *paḍati*, *ratha*, *sakaṣa*. It is impossible to find any difference between the four, which is unfortunate. The question whether the Majapahit carts had wheels with spokes and rims or solid wheels made of tree-trunks can not be answered with any certainty. In view of the fact that the primitive solid wheels have been in use in Java till far into the 19th century it seems very probable that a considerable part of the Majapahit Court in the 14th century rode in this kind of carts. Their capacity certainly was not nearly as great as the modern Javanese carts' that have been developed and gradually improved in the 19th and 20th centuries, mainly for the transport of produce from European-owned plantations. Nearly the same applies, perhaps, to the oxen. It is a fact that in the 19th and 20th centuries the race of Javanese cattle has been improved considerably by imports from India, also for the use of European-owned plantations. It seems probable that on the whole the race of Javanese cattle in the Majapahit period was smaller than it is at present. Buffalos (v.gl. sub *kěbo*) are mentioned in the Nāg., but not as draught-animals. Probably they were only used in agriculture.

Pulutan is *Urena lobata*, a low shrub with tough, hairy stalks. According to KBNW (sub *dīngdang*) in a text on divination (Wariga) a complexion like the *pupulutan*-flower is mentioned as belonging to Thursday-people (Wērhaspati-Jupiter), who have an excellent character. They are served by the rest of mankind. Also according to the KBNW (sub *saṁdēnī*) in the Lubdhaka text the white *pupulutan* is called the abode of Gaṇa, the elephant-god, Wināyaka, the Guide. These associations of *pulutan* make it clear why this shrub was chosen as the mark of the grand-vizir Gajah Mada.

The marks probably were either tufts of the chosen plant or small objects tied to the carts and the yokes, or simple drawings on the sides of the carts. The purpose was, of course, to distinguish the carts of the six groups one from another. Since the knowledge of native plants was general, mistakes were out of the question. In modern times probably numbers or letters or geometrical figures would be

used. The Majapahit use of plants and drawings of animals is an indication of two facts: a general intimacy with nature and ignorance of letters among the common people.

The marks had their own significance in accordance with the names of the owners of the carts, as explained below.

Canto 18, stanza 3. The four Princesses who are mentioned in this stanza are: in the first two lines King Hayam Wuruk's sister and cousin and in the last two lines his aunt and mother. The Princes, their consorts, are ignored. According to canto 17-7-3 they came along, though. The sequence Pajang-Lasem, Daha-Jiwana is according to age, v. commentary on 17-6; the eldest and principal one (*mukya*) is the last to be mentioned.

Kern's emendation for *divashashrī*: *divasashrī*, supposed to mean: splendour of the day (unknown in Skt literature), is to be discarded. The emendation *handivāshrī*: magnificent sugar-palms, is in accordance with canto 65-3-2, where the Prince of Paguhan, the Princess of Lasem's consort, offers imitation *handivas* as festive presents. *Handiva* (mentioned in KBNW, but without translation) is probably one of the names of the sugar-palm, *Arenga pinnata* Merr., modern Jav. *arèn*. Its tapped sap is made into alcoholic drinks and into sugar. In a West Java dialect a *devan*-man is a sugar-palm tapper. It is to be noted that both cantos 18-3 and 65-3 use the divine predicate *Shrī*, illustrious, or *ashrī*, magnificent, with reference to the sugar-palm, and it is a fact that in Javanese folklore and popular belief this palm is one of the most important representatives of vegetation, next to the rice-plant.

The following is offered as an explanation of the relation between Pajang and the sugar-palm. *Haryan*, modern Javanese *arèn*, the sugar-palm, is in an East Java dialect also a leaf of a tree used as a plate to eat from. The more usual word of such a plate is: *ajang*. This is the link with Pajang. This manner of playing with words seems very strange and far-fetched, but it is a fact that the Javanese are very fond of it.

The white bull as mark of Lasem is also in accordance with canto 65-3, where the Princess of Lasem's consort the Prince of Matahun offers imitation white bulls as festive presents. In canto 18-3 the name *nandaka* is used, in 65-3: *nandini*; both are related to Skt. *nandana*: joy. Now the name Lasem is related to (or at least suggests) *hasēngsēm* (not mentioned in KBNW): enchanted, and *mesēm*: to

smile, both easily to be associated with joy. This is the explanation why Lasēm had the bull for a mark.

Sadahakusuma, the mark of Daha, does not make good sense. *Anggrèk daha* is the Balinese name of *Vanda insignis*, Virgin's orchid (Balinese *daha* is Javanese *lara*: virgin). *Dahakusuma* would be a hybrid compound, Javanese and Sanskrit, and moreover, orchids, flowers of the jungle, do not mean anything to the Javanese mind. The Javanese like strong-scented flowers of cultivated trees and shrubs that can be had in great quantities. The admiration for the floral wonders of the tropical forest is modern European. Therefore the supposition of some relation between the Kaḍiri Princess and the orchid is to be discarded.

Sadahakusuma is to be considered as corrupt. The best emendation is: *sadak akusuma*. According to KBNW *sadak* is the name of various objects of conical shape like a screw of paper. Wilkens in JNHW 1901 describes the modern Jav. *sadak rawis* very aptly as a conically rolled *betel* leaf (*Piper betle*) filled with slaked lime, with the flower attached. The *sadak* is used as a present between lovers. Its ithyphallic association is evident. In connection with the male character of Daha-Kaḍiri the conically rolled *betel* leaf seems a suitable mark.

In canto 65—4 the festive presents of the Princess of Daha's consort the Prince of Wēngkēr are mentioned. They are imitation pavilions on terraces, *yasha-pathanī*. Though certainly not identical with rolled *betel* leaves the ithyphallic association is the same in both.

The mark of Jiwana-Kahuripan-Janggala, *lobheng-lēwih*, no doubt is a motif of decoration, v. Notes on 18—3—4. Its form is unknown. *Lobheng* perhaps is related to *lobang*, *luwang*: pit, and so the meaning of *lobheng lēwih* (with its synonyms *lobheng kaot*, *lobheng lukung* and *lobheng miyat*) might be: excellent pit. This might be considered as a vulva association. Jiwana-Kahuripan-Janggala no doubt is the female opposition of the male Daha-Kaḍiri-Pañjalu. The meaning of Jiwana-Kahuripan: life, fits well into this duality. The opposition Jiwana (female) - Kaḍiri (male) is also related to the situation in the basin of the river Brantas: Jiwana in the lower course, Kaḍiri in the upper course. It is easily understood that the upper course was considered as male and the lower course as female.

The marks in canto 18—3 are divided according to the old classification of four colours:

- I. East: white.
- II. South: red.

- III. West: gold.
- IV. North: dark.
- V. Centre: variegated.

The remarkable sequence of the four Princesses has been mentioned above. Pajang and Lasem have the colours black and white, and so they occupy the classes IV and I of the classification. Daha has green-and-gold, a very well known combination in Javanese art, called *pare-anom*: class III. This green-gold combination in canto 18—3—3 makes it probable that the next mark, in 18—3—4, the mysterious *lobheng lèwih*, showed the colours red and white, the combination, called *gula-kalapa*, which is the opposition of green-and-gold (see the present author's paper on classification in *Feestbundel K.B.G. 1928, II*). It is a fact that the combination red-and-white is considered as the most exalted one: the Princess of Jiwana-Kahuripan, the King's mother, is called the principal in canto 18—3—4.

King Hayam Wuruk had the mark *witwa*, Skt. for Javanese *maja*. Aegle marmelos, Bael tree, after which Majapahit was named. The pure round shape of this fruit probably was considered as a symbol of the King's (and the Capital's) central place in the realm. According to de Clercq (*Plantkundig Woordenboek*) the white sap of the fruit of the Bael tree was compared (in South Celebes) to the white blood of Princes. It is not at all certain, though, that this Celebes belief has any reference to King Hayam Wuruk. In India Aegle marmelos is sacred to Shiwa (Monier Williams, *Brahmanism*, p. 336).

Gringsing is comparable to *lobheng lèwih* as the name of a motif of decoration, especially for weaving and batik work. Probably it was white and black, spotted or dotted. KBNW mentions *ñahñah gringsing* as name of a dish containing white and black glutinous rice.

Canto 18, stanza 4. The principal colours were combined for the King's use: red-and-white (*lobheng-lèwih*), red (*laka*), gold (*mas*) and black-and-white (*gringsing*). Occupying the centre of the cosmic classification of Four-Five as expressed by colours he had a right to variegation.

By *kajang* are meant the carts' side-screens or the roofs of semi-cylindrical shape, made of tacked or plaited palm-leaves. These parts of the King's carts were painted in the colours as mentioned above. Moreover the *maja*-fruit, either in nature or in effigie, was made into an ornament of the carts, according to canto 18—4—1.

It is worth noticing that in 18—4—3 the common ladies of the the Royal zenana (*bini haji*) and the *Ishwari* are mentioned together. No doubt the Mistress the Illustrious Sudewī is the same person as the *Parameshwarī* of canto 7—3—3, the First Lady of the zenana. If she had been King Hayam Wuruk's Queen, as Kern and others supposed, she certainly would have had a more imposing place in the description of the caravan. The name Sudewī, mentioned only in canto 18—4—3, might be an abbreviation of (or, at least, containing an allusion to) Susumnadewī, the name of the goddess to whom the First Lady is compared in canto 7—3—4 (see, however, comm. canto 48—1, on another Sudewī).

Punggawas, only mentioned in canto 12—1—4 and 18—4—3, probably were Royal relatives of lower rank who served at Court. The ladies of the zenana were put under the care of trusted servants, their own relatives (brothers or cousins, as the case might be), who were in this manner related by marriage to the King. It may be imagined that every lady of the zenana had her own small household, consisting of her relatives and personal servants who took care of herself and her children, if she had any. Such was the custom at the modern Central Javanese Courts of Surakarta and Yogyakarta till far into the twentieth century.

Pékas seem to be foot-servants of middle rank; their wives ride on open carts. They are the vanguard of the whole group of the King's household. Probably they were charged with the menial tasks of preparing quarters and cooking food for the noble company who came after. They belonged to the *bhērtya* class (bondmen, see comm. on 18—1).

Canto 18, stanza 5. King Hayam Wuruk himself sat on a spacious open car, different in shape from the common carts. Having the body of a palanquin it probably provided the King with an elevated seat from which he could command his group. It is remarkable that neither here nor in other places in the Nāg. state sun-shades (*payung, song-song*) are mentioned. As the King sat in the open air no doubt he had a sunshade held over him by a trusted and skilful attendant, who had his place behind him. Perhaps the radiant aspect of the King's state car, mentioned in canto 18—5—2, was due mainly to the large gilt sunshade that seemed to float above it.

The men of Janggala, Kaḍiri, Sēḍah, Panglarang who escorted the King's car are mentioned in the same sequence in canto 9—1—2 as

belonging to the *pangalasan*-guardsmen. The names remind one of the group Jiwana, Daha, Lasēm, Pajang, the titular vice-royalties of the four Princesses of canto 18—3. Janggala and Jiwana are names of the downstream region (on the river Brantas), Kaḍiri and Daha of the upstream region. The identification of Lasēm, the district on the North coast, with Sēḍah is founded on the name Sēḍayu, Siḍayu (perhaps originally Sēḍah-Ayu) found in that same region. Siddhaya is mentioned in the charter of Karang Bogēm, translated in the present book. For the identification of the names Paṅglarang and Paṅjang there is only the evidence of the existence of a village and a river of the name Larangan in the present-day Residency of Surakarta, which occupies the ancient district of Pajang. (In this connection it is worth noticing that more than once the second pair of the group of Four Kingdoms, mentioned under different names in the legendary historical romances of the Pañji-cycle [v. Poerbatjaraka, *Pañji-romans*] proves difficult to locate).

Just as in the Pañji-romances, the group of Four Kingdoms in the Nāg. represents the totality of the realm. For that same reason it seems probable that the group of four *pangalasan* companies of canto 18—5—3, represents the whole of the military forces under the King's orders.

(Kern identified Sēḍah with Pasuruhan in East Java. As Pasuruhan is mentioned in the Nāg. without any indication of being specially important this identification seems improbable. Nor is Krom's reference to a *maṇḍala* i Kasēḍahan [O.J.O. no 85] of much use.)

The *bhayangkāris*, according to canto 9—2 serving as door-keepers inside the Royal compound, formed the King's bodyguard while en route. The note on their being vested with authority probably refers to their being charged with the guarding of the King's most cherished possessions, his weapons and Royal insignia. (It is remarkable, though, that the gold and silver insignia of Royalty and nobility, so very much in evidence in Javanese Court life of modern times, are not mentioned in the Nāg. Probably this fact is another corroboration of the thesis that the Majapahit Court was simpler and poorer than the Central Javanese Courts of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. See the chapter on economy at the end of the present volume).

The elephants and horses mentioned at the end of canto 18—5—4 probably were considered more as ornamental additions to the Royal train than as useful mounts. Elephant-riding is not mentioned at all in the Nāg., riding on horseback only in the description of the Royal chase. Certainly the retainers who were in charge of the noble animals,

according to canto 18—5—4, did not form a kind of elephant- or cavalry-corps. If that had been the case the existence of those corps would have been mentioned. Perhaps the company of Pasuruhan-Sāmaja, men in charge of elephants, mentioned at the end of the list of *pangalasan*-guardsmen in canto 9- 1, had some connection with the bondmen (*bhērtiya*) of canto 18- 5.

Canto 18, stanza 6. With this stanza begins the second part of chapter 4. This part contains an account of the Royal Progress beginning from the mustering place Kapulungan to the most eastern point Patukangan. The following geographical names are mentioned.

40. Pañjuran

Mungkur: Both Kern and Poerbatjaraka read Pañcuran-Mungkur. It is not certain which is the correct reading. Prb. identifies that place with Makara-Mungkur, mentioned in the Calon-Arang legend, and he thinks that it can be located in the modern Gunung-Gangsir.

41. Sawungan : ? ; situation unknown.

42. Watu Kiken : ? ; situation unknown.

43. Matañjung : Maja-Tunon, S.W. of Bangil (Niemeyer).

Prb. thinks Matañjung is the Javanese name of Yānatraya, the Buddhist abbey that is mentioned in 18—7—3.

From canto 18—6—1 the interesting fact appears that a stage of the trek eastward ended in the morning. Probably the heavy and slow caravan of cars moved as a rule in the late afternoon, the night and the early morning and stopped during daytime. This custom still is practised by Javanese waggoners. The tropical heat renders travelling in the dry season during daytime most uncomfortable for men and beasts. In this manner it was made possible for small groups or single persons to make excursions into the surrounding country during the day, or to branch off. The poet repeatedly availed himself of this opportunity. It was always easy enough to rejoin the slowly moving caravan, probably miles long, after a temporary absence. It is to be surmised that the common followers of the Princes used at least a part of the daily rest to forage in the districts along the road, to the

detriment of the defenceless peasantry. Perhaps King Hayam Wuruk's speech in canto 89—1 contains a reference to such practices.

Canto 18, stanza 7. In this stanza an interesting incident is mentioned. At the side of the road a number of men were noticed, sitting in the sun (trees were scanty). They came to pay homage to the King. They proved to be the headmen of four dependencies of the Buddhistic abbey of Yānatraya. The places lay out of the way, but the men had taken the trouble to go to the highway in order to see the King and his Court. Perhaps by this contact with the Court, however hasty, they enhanced their prestige with their common neighbours. Probably common curiosity, not surprising with people dwelling in secluded places in the interior of the country, was also a motive for their coming. The names of the Buddhist dependencies were:

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| 44. Galanggang | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 45. Baḍung | : Baḍung, east of Bangil. |
| 46. Barungbung | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 47. Er-Manik | : ? ; situation unknown. |

The four headmen acknowledged their being dependents of the Buddhistic abbey of Yānatraya, and as token thereof they offered food and drink to the Buddhist bishop who followed the King.

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 48. Yānatraya | : Matañjung, Maja-Tunon (? , Poerbatjaraka). |
|---------------|--|

Kern has a note on the meaning of the name Yānatraya, which refers to three vehicles (*yāna*) belonging to the Mahāyāna system: *Śrāwaka-yāna*, *Pratyeka-yāna* and *Buddha-yāna* (Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, 1852, p. 315). Krom's identification of *yānatraya* with *tantratraya* (64—3—4) seems less plausible. According to canto 67—3—2 the Buddhistic abbey of Yānatraya was free (*lèpas*), i.e. it was not a Royal religious domain (*dharma haji*) with close connections with the Majapahit Court.

The acknowledgment by the four headmen of their Buddhist ecclesiastical allegiance, apparently offered without any coercion, of course pleased the bishop very well, as it enhanced his prestige with the King. The rebuff met with by Prapañca in Waru (canto 17—11) was repaired by the incident of the four headmen. No doubt for that reason it is related at some length in canto 18—7. Kern's theory that Prapañca

himself was the Buddhist bishop is untenable, as has been pointed out before. As a good son he did not miss the occasion, though, to draw attention to his father's important position.

It is remarkable that in the beginning of canto 18 neither the bishops nor the other high officers of state are mentioned as having carts of their own in the caravan. Probably they are included with the many mandarins mentioned in canto 18. 2. 2.

Canto 18, stanza 8. The next places on the route were:

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| 49. Kulur | : | Kulur, south of Bangil. |
| 50. Batang | : | Batang, mentioned in the charter of Gunung
Buak, 1216 Shāka, Pararaton-edition. |
| 51. Gangan-Asēm | : | ? ; situation unknown. |

According to Kern a *ghaṭita* (stroke) marked the end of a *muhūrta* of 48 minutes. Seven strokes p.m. might be about 5.45, just before twilight. As twilight is considered a most unpropitious time by the Javanese the caravan was ordered to stop. A mist that dimmed the light of the setting sun probably was considered a bad augury for the coming night. It would be interesting to know who advised the King to give that order. Perhaps it was the Honourable Mahādihikāra who is mentioned in canto 88--I--3 as being the best authority on divination and portents (if that is the meaning of *padāṭṭṭan*, v. gloss.).

As the stop in the open field was unforeseen the caravan could not partake of previously prepared victuals as was the custom when quarters were made in or near a rural community or a town. Therefore food had to be bought from the tradespeople who appeared as soon as the news of the pitching of the King's camp spread in the countryside. It was the well-known "wind-news" (*kabar angin*) of Java. Probably the means of spreading it were the signals beaten with cadenced strokes on the wooden signal-blocks in the village and manor guard-houses, transmitted from one place to another through the night all over the country. A special signal-cadence meaning: "distinguished guests coming" has been in use in some parts of Java even in modern times. (Brandts Buys wrote an interesting study on the Javanese signal blocks in *Djâwâ*, 13, 1933: *Splectrommen*).

Probably in the Majapahit period just as in modern times the selling of eatables was done by women. One can imagine the springing up of an improvised market around the Royal camp, lasting far into the

night. Probably the Royal retainers were invited to share the remains of the repast of Royalty, which did not make a very full meal. The Court-people found shelter for the night in their carts, the servants had to shift for themselves to find a place where to sleep, perhaps under the carts. The poet seems to have inserted this account of an uncomfortable night as a contrast to the magnificent reception prepared for the Court by the grand-vizir Gajah Mada in his domain of Madakari-pura, as described in the next canto.

Canto 19, stanza 1. This canto contains some interesting information about places that were passed en route.

52. Bhayalangö : exact situation unknown, but several times mentioned in the Nāg.: cantos 69—2 and 74—1.
53. Kēḍung-Dawa : Kēḍung-Dawa near Kraton, Pasuruhan.
54. the swamp of
Janapada : ? ; situation unknown.
55. Lampēs : Klampisan near Ngēmpit.
56. Timēs : ? ; situation unknown.
57. Pogara cloister : ? ; situation unknown, also mentioned in canto 76—4—4.
58. Hambulu-Traya
sacred-circle
domain: Ambulu, district Tongas, Prābālinggā.
59. Ḍaḍap : ? ; situation unknown.

The religious domain consecrated to the *Rājapatni* was in Bhayalangö. According to van Stein Callenfels and Krom that important sanctuary was situated in the district of Tulung-Agung, far from the places that are mentioned in canto 19—1. In the commentary on canto 69—2 this question will be discussed at some length. Anyway the Bhayalangö of canto 19—1 was an important place, for the Court stayed there for three days.

Pogara, being a cloister-hall (*kuṭi*) certainly was Buddhistic. *Maṇḍala*, sacred circle, probably refers to a fraternity of religious men and women of the Sāgara type, that is described in cantos 32 and 33.

60. Madakaripura : ? ; situation unknown.

Canto 19, stanza 2. The name Madakaripura refers to Gajah Mada; *kari* is a synonym of *gajah*, elephant. It was an estate (*sima*) given as a grant by the King to the meritorious grand-vizir, but at the same time it was a Buddhistic religious domain (*dharma*). The grant of the estate to Gajah Mada has a parallel in the grant to the vizir Nāla (*canto 31—5*) who was appointed commander-in-chief after Gajah Mada's death (*72—2*). The grants were rewards for important services rendered to the Royal Family. Only mandarins of the highest rank were considered worthy of such an honour. The possession of an estate of this kind made the owner the equal of the hereditary landed gentry, the *akutwus*, who were petty kings in their domains.

It is worthy of notice in this respect that in the 18th and 19th centuries at the Central Javanese Courts of Kartasura and Surakarta a group of Royal servants was known by the name Gajah-Mati (v. Soehari [Prince Adiwijaya of Surakarta] in *Djawa* 2, 1922). Tradition said that they were brought to Central Java as prisoners of war from East Java. In Pires' early 16th century Portuguese Notes on the Archipelago de Graaf (B.K.I. 108, p. 146) found a district in East Java mentioned by a name that could very well refer to Gajah Mada, just about the place where the grand-vizir's hereditary estate was situated, according to the Nāg. Stutterheim wrote a paper on the principality of Gajah Mada (B.K.I. 95, 1937, p. 410). It seems very probable indeed that in the course of time the Gajah Mada estate under the descendants of the first owner grew to be a small but independent principality probably to be identified with Sengguruh (near Malang, according to de Graaf). Like many other estates that had their origin in the pre-Muslim period the Gajah Mada lands were seized and the ancient family was degraded in the 16th century by the new Muslim rulers of Central Java. The name of the glorious grand-vizir was so far forgotten by that time that the lowly Royal servants at the Central Javanese courts were called Gajah-Matis: dead elephants.

No doubt King Hayam Wuruk's grant to his grand-vizir was recorded in a charter, but that charter is lost. So it is unknown how large the estate originally was, and how the King could dispose of the lands in favour of Gajah Mada. Probably the district consisted for the greater part of jungle, and the energetic grand-vizir commanded bondmen to open it. Perhaps the King had to buy off the rights that some rural community or laird of a manor previously had on those lands. That

is the procedure that is found in several Royal charters (mostly of ancient Central Javanese origin, though). It is generally assumed that the Javanese Kings in pre-Muslim times as a rule did not dare to interfere arbitrarily with the rights on the soil of their realms that were vested in rural communities, the landed gentry or abbeys and such like religious institutions.

It should be noted that Prapañca does not mention a manor (*kuten*) in Madakaripura. Perhaps Gajah Mada did not yet find time to begin the construction of the compound from where his descendants were to rule over his princely estate. Nāla's religious domain (called a *sudharma* in canto 31—5—3, whereas Gajah Mada's domain was a *dharma*; perhaps because the grand-vizir was not of noble birth) is not found connected with an estate (*śīma*), nor is there any mention of a manor. Nevertheless it must have had some lands attached to it: otherwise the guardians, both spiritual and secular, who resided in every *dharma* could not subsist. On the other hand in canto 31—6—1 Nāla is said to offer costly presents to the King as homage (*hatur-hatur*). The absence of presents in Madakaripura is surprising.

Both Gajah Mada's and Nāla's religious domains (either *dharma* or *sudharma*) were Buddhistic. No doubt they were destined to be the places where the funeral monuments (*caṇḍis*) of their owners were to be erected. As founders of families the vizirs, after their demise, were to dwell spiritually among their descendants, who lived on their hereditary estates. In this respect it is remarkable that in the case of Nāla a Buddhist divine abode, a statue (*Sugatapratīṣṭhā*) is mentioned (no doubt a kind of portrait statue, like the statues of the Royal family). In Madakaripura there was nothing of the kind, or Prapañca would have noted it. Either Gajah Mada did not yet find time to have a funeral monument and a statue erected for the time of his death, or (more probably, perhaps) as a commoner by birth he had no right to posthumous deification and worship in a funeral monument with a portrait statue, like the members of the Royal family.

The lodge (*pasanggrahan*) which was prepared by Gajah Mada for his King was well-appointed and ornamented with figures (*rināpaka*). As in other places in the Nāg. "figure" or "artistic design" (*rūpaka*) probably refers to wood-carvings or reliefs in stone, in brick or in terra-cotta, representing either single persons, taken from mythology, or scenes from well-known poems, like the Arjuna-Wiwāha, Arjuna's Nuptials, or the Tantri, the Javanese version of the Indian Pañcatantra. What remains of Majapahit art proves that the artists of the

time excelled in those kinds of decoration.

61. Trasungay : ? ; situation unknown.

Water-devotion (*airthascwana*) implies a pilgrimage to a sanctuary situated on a sacred river, a lake or a spring. The name Trasungay, meaning: Beginning of the Stream, suggests that the King's devotion was brought to the tutelary deity of the source of an important river. Worship at the sources of rivers is not all uncommon in Java. Even in modern times the sources of the river Prâgâ (in the Residency of Kêdu) and of the Bêngawan, the Sâlâ-river, in the district of Wânâgiri, are considered as places where superhuman powers manifest themselves. The present author had the opportunity to study a fragment of a copper-plate, now belonging to the Copenhagen National museum, that probably refers to the sources of the river Brantas, in the Arjunâ mountains. As the exact situation is unknown it is difficult to say the source of which river was believed to lie in the Trasungay district mentioned in canto 19—2.

As *sungay* is the Madurese word for river the name Trasungay points to the Madurese element of the population of East Java.

Capahan is the name of a place, also mentioned in canto 20—1—3. It is a derivation of *capah*: a small trough, and: a foot-print. Kern thought that *capahan* refers to the stone cysts that are found in some places in Java. Whatever may be the origin of those cysts (prehistoric sarcophagi probably), in the Majapahit period they might very well be called *capah*. On the other hand there is a possibility that Capahan was called after some natural (or artificial) hollows in the rocks suggesting foot-prints. Sacred foot-prints in rocks are also well known in Java. As *capah* seems to refer rather to a shallow hole than to a deep pit, which might suggest a cyst, the probability is for Capahan being called after hollows in the rocks.

The King's ritual bath, as a part of his water-devotion, suggests an abundance of water. The question whether there were springs of mineral waters possessing healing powers is not answered in the text. As springs of mineral water are to be expected in volcanic Java the Trasungay district may well have derived a part of its sacred character from the healing power of its waters.

Canto 20, stanzas 1, 2. This canto contains the description of an interesting ceremony in which the headmen of eleven Buddhist com-

munities, probably situated not far from Daḍap and Madakaripura, played a part. Perhaps the existence of so many religious communities side by side with Gajah Mada's estate was due to the sacredness of the Trasungay district and the healing power of its waters. The eleven communities were dependents of three great Buddhistic abbeys: Ishāna-Bajra, Mungguh and Ratna-Pangkaja, well known from other passages in the Nāg. Their exact situation is unknown. Except Ratna-Pangkaja they were not touched at during the Royal Progress, so they probably were situated at some distance from the Trasungay district, where they had dependents.

The eleven Buddhist communities are :

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 62. Gapuk | : ? ; situation unknown, dominion of Ishāna-Bajra. |
| 63. Gantěn | : ? ; situation unknown, dependent of Mungguh. |
| 64. Poh | : ? ; situation unknown, dependent of Mungguh. |
| 65. Capahan | : ? ; situation unknown, dependent of Mungguh. |
| 66. Kalampitan | : ? ; situation unknown, dependent of Mungguh. |
| 67. Lumbang | : ? ; situation unknown, dependent of Mungguh, probably not the same place as Lumbang, canto 73—3, which was a <i>sudharma haji</i> , a Royal religious domain. |
| 68. Kuran | : ? ; situation unknown, dependent of Mungguh. |
| 69. Wé Pětang | : ? ; situation unknown, dependent of Mungguh. |
| 70. Pañcar | : ? ; situation unknown, dependent of Mungguh. |
| 71. Tunggilis | : Tēnggilis, between Warung-Dawa, south of Pasuruhan, and Winangon (v. St. Callenfels, O.V. 1917, 2, p. 61), dependent of Ratna-Pangkaja. |
| 72. Pabayēman | : Bayēman, dependent of Ratna-Pangkaja. |

Gapuk is called a dominion (*wiśaya*) of Ishāna-Bajra, all the rest are called dependents (*angsha*). If there was in fact any difference in state it is difficult to ascertain.

The two headmen of Tunggilis and Pabayēman are said to have come with more fellows or companions (*rowang*) than the headmen of the other places. Perhaps they were more important, or it was caused by the fact that Ratna-Pangkaja, of which they were the dependents, was not so far away as the other two abbeys.

The eleven headmen came to pay homage to the King: they offered him food and drink. By the same token they acknowledged their allegiance to the Buddhist bishop at Court, Prapañca's father. Probably the poet's ground for inserting this episode is the same as in the case of the Buddhist communities of canto 18-7: the desire to enhance his father's prestige.

In canto 20 two facts are mentioned referring to the state of the eleven lands: they are in the Register and they observe the annual religious celebration of the eighth month (*kārya kawolu*). The Register of religious domains has been mentioned before. The celebration of the eighth month (*Phālguna*) is the same festival as is described in chapter 14. Its meaning will be discussed in the commentary on that chapter. Its observance proved that the eleven lands were manors (*kuwus*) as is mentioned in canto 20—2—3. Whether this meant that the headmen (*akuwus*) used to go to Majapahit to take part in the celebration at Court, or that they had celebrations at home, or both, is not clear. Anyway the *Phālguna* festival was considered as a bond between the Majapahit Court and the landed gentry of the manors in the country.

How the eleven lands could at the same time be dependencies of Buddhist abbeys and gentlemen's manors might be explained as follows. The tendency of dependencies of Buddhist abbeys to emancipate themselves from the authority of their abbots (*sthāpakas*, *mpungkus*) has been noted before. In many cases the emancipation was facilitated by the abbots' mortgaging their lands. Naturally after some time the inhabitants of the mortgaged lands allowed their zeal for the abbeys' interests to flag, and they looked upon the abbot's steward or bailiff as their landlord *de facto*. Perhaps he was himself the mortgagee. It was not difficult for him, or for his descendants, to be recognized as a hereditary landowner. In other cases the bailiffs may have emancipated themselves just by steadfastly ignoring the abbots' orders. As in canto 20 no mortgage (*sēlang*) is mentioned perhaps the eleven self-made gentlemen owed their rank to their own recalcitrance towards their rightful ecclesiastical superiors.

Probably their paying homage to the King rather than to the Bud-

dhist bishop, like the headmen that are mentioned in canto 18—7, meant that the eleven considered themselves as temporal gentlemen rather than as ecclesiastical dependents. In this respect the encounter with the eleven headmen probably was not wholly satisfactory to Prapañca's father.

Canto 21, stanzas 1, 2. This canto brings the account of the Royal Progress up to the seashore. It contains only names of places, most of them unidentified.

73. Lo Paṇḍak : ? ; situation unknown.
 74. Raṇwakuning
 (Raṇu Kuning): ? ; situation unknown.
 75. Balérah : ? ; situation unknown.
 76. Baru-Bara : ? ; situation unknown.
 77. Ḍawōhan : ? ; situation unknown.
 78. Kapayēman : ? ; situation unknown.
 79. Tēlpak : ? ; situation unknown.
 80. Barēmi : Bērmī, west of the town of Prābālinggā.
 81. Sapang : ? ; situation unknown.
 82. Kasaduran : ? ; situation unknown.
 83. Pawijungan : ? ; situation unknown.
 84. ravine
 Bobo Runting: col of Klakah (? , Niermeyer).
 85. Pasawahan : ? ; situation unknown.
 86. lake (?), Patalap,
 or Jalar ḍi Patalap: ? ; situation unknown.
 87. Paḍali : ? ; situation unknown.
 88. Arṇon (Rēnon ?): Kuṭā Rēnon.
 89. Panggulan : ? ; situation unknown.
 90. Payaman : ? ; situation unknown.
 91. Tēpasana
 (Tēpas-Sana ?): ? ; situation unknown.
 92. Rēmbang : ? ; situation unknown.
 93. Kamirahan,
 on the sea: ? ; situation unknown.
-

Canto 22 is a continuation of canto 21.

94. Dampar : Danipar marshes.
 95. Patuñjungan : Tuñjungan, on the sea.
 96. talaga, the pond : rawa Kopek.

Makara is rendered: dolphins by Kern, not to be expected in a pond. Prb.'s guess: shrimp is plausible. Rouffier, manuscript notes, mentions *udang cakong*, *Palaemon careinus*, a big kind of prawns, about one foot long.

97. Wēḍi Guntur : ? ; situation unknown.
 98. Bajraka : ? ; situation unknown.
 99. Taladhwaja : ? ; situation unknown.

Bajraka and Patuñjungan are again cases of mortgaged lands that by that fact slipped from the hands of an abbot. Prb.'s translation of *bala* (and *thāni bala*, found in a charter of 1191 Shāka, B.K.I. 78, p. 444), by: Department of the Interior, his identification of this *bala* with *desha bhārtya* (canto 79—1—4)), and his guess of a dissension between the Departments of the Interior and of Religion is a mistake. It is absurd to suppose the existence in 14th century Majapahit of organs of a modern State, like governmental departments.

Taladhwaja, the Buddhist abbey that had rights on Bajraka and Patuñjungan, is not mentioned in the list of religious domains in canto 76. Moens (T.B.G. 84, 1950, p. 125) and Bosch (B.K.I. 1948, p. 546) point to canto 38, stanzas 7—11, of the 12th century Javanese poem Smaradahana, the Burning of the God of Love (translated into Dutch by Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica no 3), where a religious domain Taladhwaja is mentioned as containing the funeral monument of a Princess of Ujjayinī who was married to a King Wikrama of Kaḍiri. It is surprising to find dependencies of an old Kaḍiri abbey at a considerable distance in East Java. The fact that the Majapahit list does not mention Taladhwaja might be explained by the old abbey's having fallen into decay in the course of time, especially since the House of Kaḍiri was superseded by the Singasari-Majapahit line of Kings. Assuming that the identification of the Taladhwaja of Nāg. canto 22—2 and the Taladhwaja of the 12th century Smaradahana is right the reliability of the Register (*carcan*) that mentioned an ancient relation between two far-off Buddhist dependencies and a decayed and

well-nigh forgotten religious domain of the extinct Kaḍiri dynasty is noteworthy.

In mythology Taladhwaḡa is the name of a heavenly pleasure-garden of Smara, the God of Love. No doubt the Kaḍiri Court chose this name for an important abbey because of the Royal Family's devotion to that god, apparent from the Royal name Kāmeswara.

The next names of the account of the Progress are:

100. Palumbwan
(Plumbon?): ? ; situation unknown.
101. river of
Rabut Lawang: Bāndāyudā-river.
102. chasm of Balatēr: narrow strip between the river Saḍeng and the sea (?).
103. Kunir Basini : Kunir, in Lumajang (?).
104. Saḍeng : Saḍeng.
105. Sarampwan : ? ; situation unknown.
106. Kuṣa Bacok : ? ; situation unknown.
107. Balung : ? ; situation unknown.
108. Tumbu : ? ; situation unknown.
109. Habēt : ? ; situation unknown.
110. Galagah : ? ; situation unknown.
111. Tanpahing : ? ; situation unknown.
112. Rēnēs : Rēnēs.
113. Jaya Kērtā : ? ; situation unknown.
114. Wana Griya : ? ; situation unknown.

It is remarkable that in canto 22—5 nothing is told about the hunting or shooting in Palumbwan. It did not last long. As *lumbu* is a water-plant (*Colocasia esculenta*) perhaps in the "Lumbu-place" there was some shooting of aquatic birds, ducks etc. Probably in the Majapahit period the blow-pipe with small arrows was used for shooting birds and small game.

For Prapañca's excursion no reason is given, which contrasts with other places in the Nāg. where excursions of his are mentioned.

After Bhayalangō, Saḍeng is the second place where the caravan stayed for some days. Probably the trek from Bhayalangō to Saḍeng required six or seven days. Saḍeng was conquered in 1331, 28 years before the King's visit (canto 49—3). The prolonged stay at Saḍeng points to the importance of the place. Perhaps it was thought desirable

to secure the Royal authority in the district. In Kēṭa, another recent conquest, the Court sojourned for five days (canto 30).

Berg's supposition about the conquest of Sadeng in connection with a war on Bali (*Indonesië* V, p. 385 seq.) need not to be discussed in this commentary on the Nāg. Certainly Prapañca does not give any ground for rather fantastic theories of that kind. Both Sadeng and Kēṭa are known places in East Java, and the King's visit there is easily explained.

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Canto 23. The names mentioned in this canto are the following:

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 115. Doni Bēntong | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 116. Puruhan | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 117. Bacēk | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 118. Pakis Haji | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 119. Paḍangan | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 120. Sēcang | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 121. Jāti Gunlar | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 122. Shilā Bhango | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 123. Dewa Rame | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 124. Dukun | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 125. Pakambangan | : Sela Kamhang, north of Bāndāwāsā. |
| 126. Tangsil | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 127. Lurah (chasm) | |
| | Ḷaya: valley of the river Sampean. |
| 128. Jurang (ravine) | |
| | Ḷalēm: ? ; situation unknown. |

Of the many places mentioned in the cantos 21, 22 and 23 only a few could be identified with present-day localities. Probably the wars of the 18th century devastated those districts. The old East Javanese population was decimated and the Madurese conquerors superseded them. (See the present author's Notes on the eastern districts of Java, T.B.G. 72, 1932).

It is noteworthy that even in the Nāg. some Madurese topographical names are found. Trasungay has been mentioned already (canto 19—2). Probably Jurang Ḷalēm, Deep Ravine, also is Madurese. Even in the 14th century there were Madurese settlements in Java, apparently. It

is well-known that according to tradition the district of Majapahit was originally cleared with assistance of people from Madura.

Cantos 23—3 and 24 show how difficult travelling was in those days: by rather primitive carts over bad and narrow roads. A shower could cause a lot of trouble while trekking through a cutting.

Canto 24 is the first of the cantos that have linguistic and other embellishments, assonances etc. The poet distributed cantos like that with discernment, to mark stages in his poem. *Canto 24* announces the arrival in Patukangan, the most easterly point reached during the Progress. *Canto 60* (unjustly declared spurious by Prb.) marks the return to Majapahit.

The puns are explained in the following list.

129. Palayangan
(*alayang*): ? ; situation unknown.
 130. Bangkong
(*kongang*): ? ; situation unknown.
 131. Sharapa
(*masharana*): ? ; situation unknown.
 132. Surabha
(*sarabhasa*): ? ; situation unknown.
 133. Alang-alang
(*angalangi*): ? ; situation unknown.
 134. Caṇḍyan (*aṇḍīl*): ? ; situation unknown.
 135. Turayan (*yāna*): ? ; situation unknown.
 136. Patukangan
(*ataki-taki*): Patokengan, delta of the river Sampean.
-

Cantos 25—29 represent the first intermezzo in the account of the Royal Progress: a description of Patukangan, which was an important place, one of the provincial capitals of the Majapahit realm.

Canto 25, stanza 1. By personal retinue (*swabhṛtya*), mentioned in *canto 25—1* and in other places, probably those bondmen were meant

who were in attendance on the Royal household, or working at tasks in the King's interest, as distinct from the great class of *bhērtiya* (unfree) people spread all over the country, who only served incidentally, a far greater number, of course.

In Patukangan the whole caravan, the King, the Princesses and their respective retinues and the mandarins, the grand-vizir in the first place, were reassembled. Probably during the long trek (about twenty days or three weeks from Kapulungan) the divisions had lost contact. Perhaps some of them followed another route than the one that is described in the Nāg. It certainly was advisable to do so in order to avoid overcrowding on the roads and scarcity of provisions in the villages.

Patukangan had a quarter of manors (*pakuwon*). In Singasari, the former capital, a *pakuwon* is also mentioned (canto 49—8—3). Apparently those places were centres where local mandarins and other important people had their manors (*kuwus*), just as their superior colleagues of the Royal Court had in Majapahit.

As the reassembled caravan could not be accommodated in the quarter of manors a special camp was prepared for them in a grove of Palmyra palms (its leaves furnish the Javanese writing material *lontar*) on the seashore. In modern times sojourning on such a spot certainly would entail an epidemic of malaria, for which the swampy districts of the North coast are notorious. If Patukangan had the name of being insalubrious (as the modern Panarukan, not far away, has now) probably the Court would not have gone there, or the King would not have stayed there for several days. The fact of his doing so might be adduced in corroboration of the theory that in ancient times malaria was not endemic in Java to such an extent as it is now. Probably the intensified traffic of the 16th century and thereafter (Portuguese, Chinese, Arabs, Dutchmen) was an important factor in the spreading of diseases in Java, as it has been elsewhere in South-East Asia and Oceania.

Canto 25, stanza 2. In this stanza and in 26—1 the Patukangan authorities are mentioned in order of rank, from low to high :

the common mandarins with local authority,
the officers of the law: the judge Wangshādhirāja and the Shiwaite
assessor doctor Uttara, Master Sāntara,
the governor of the district the Honourable Shūrādhikāra.

In canto 29—1 the name of the Buddhist assessor Master Kērtaya-sha, who died some time before, is mentioned.

This list is enlightening on the organization of the administration in the outlying districts of the realm.

The local authorities are called common (*para*) because they were not directly connected with the Court. Probably some of them were *patihs*; *patih*, rendered vizir, seems to be the title of the representatives of Royal authority in the districts outside Majapahit, under the governors. Perhaps they might be compared to sheriffs or stewards. *Amāṇca-nagara* is also the term for the highest civil and military officers at Court, called in canto 10—1 the Fellows of Wilwa Tikta. Apparently the local administration in the outlying districts was based on the same footing and partly used the same terms as the Royal Court.

Just as in Majapahit there were law-mandarins in Patukangan side by side with the civil and military officers. The highest in rank was the judge (*dhyakṣa*), a Shiwaite, like the bishop (*dharmaṇḍhyakṣa*) of the Shiwaite clergy at Court, who took precedence over his Buddhist colleague. Wangshādhirāja, the judge of Patukangan in 1359, probably is the same person as Wangshādhirāja, doctor Shiwanātha, who was *pamēgēt i Tiruan* according to an early edict of King Hayam Wuruk, the Decree Jaya Song of Manah-i-Manuk, promulgated not long after 1350 (see the commentary on the Decree in the present volume). *Pamēgēt of Tiruan* was the official title of one, the foremost, of the members (mostly seven in number) of the board of assessors (*upapatti*) of the Court judges at Majapahit. So it appears that between 1350 and 1359 Wangshādhirāja was promoted from assessor at Majapahit to judge in Patukangan. His promotion to the highest rank in his department in an outlying district perhaps was a meagre compensation for his having to leave the Court.

Wangshādhirāja is an exalted title (*pasungguhan*). This kind of title was connected with the "King's familiars" (*sakaparēk*, v. canto 10—1). As Wangshādhirāja contains the word *wangsha*, family, especially the Royal family, it is probable that the judge of Patukangan was related to the King. The second part of the name, *adhirāja*, seems to indicate that too.

It is interesting to note, in the meantime, that in modern times the exalted title-name Wangshādhirāja, pronounced now: Wāngsādirējā, does not sound exalted at all. Like other names ending in *-dirējā* (Krāmādirējā e.g.) it is a name fit for a commoner of some standing. The appreciation of titles varies to a great extent through the ages.

Like the judges at Court the district judge in Patukangan had assessors or coadjutors, but only to the number of two: a Shiwaite and a Buddhist. The Buddhist, Prapañca's friend, had died some time before. The assessors were doctors (*ācārya*), and had special names connected with their doctor's titles. They were scholars; Prapañca points to this fact in canto 25—2—1 by saying that Sāntara was expert in the religious doctrine (*āgama*, a Shiwaite term) and that he knew the poetical idiom (*kāvī*). Knowledge of that idiom, containing many Sanskrit words, no doubt was essential for the interpretation of law books.

Besides doctors the assessors of Patukangan also were *apañjis*, rendered: Masters. *Pañji*, *apañji* (root *ji*: worth, power, also in *aji*: value, *haji*: prince, *kañji*: deterred, etc.) is a very old title. In the Majapahit period it was in use mainly for ecclesiastical officers of intermediate rank. The title is best known to us from the *Pañji*-romances; the hero, called *Pañji* for short as if it were a personal name, is a Prince of Janggala. It is supposed that in Prapañca's days those romances were not yet so much en vogue at the Majapahit Court as they were in the subsequent period at the Balinese Courts.

It is remarkable that the assessor doctor Uttara is given two lines of canto 25—2, whereas his superior the judge Wangśādhirāja is mentioned in one line. Perhaps the two last lines of 25—2 were meant for the two assessors, but the Buddhist assessor who had died is not mentioned before canto 29.

Canto 26, stanza 1. The governor (*adhipati*) of Patukangan, Shūrādhikāra, comes in the last place, in 26—1. He was the highest representative of Royal authority in the district. At the modern Javanese Courts of Central Java *adipati* is one of the highest titles.

The governor's name, no doubt a title-name, going with the office, Shūrādhikāra, is composed of the words *shūra*: hero, and *adhikāra*: administration. A similar title-name, Wīrādhikāra (*wīra*: manful) is mentioned in canto 75—1—1, and Āryādhikāra is a title-name of an Elder Mandarin, according to the Nawanatya (v. glossary), a retired commander-in-chief. So it is clear that the governor of Patukangan, having a title-name composed of such elements, was a very important man indeed.

As Patukangan probably belonged to Wīrabhūmi, the eastern vice-

royalty of which the King's niece and heiress-presumptive was the title-holder (see canto 6—3—1), it is remarkable that the Vice-queen nowhere is mentioned. In 1365 she still was unmarried, and probably she did not take part in the Royal Progress. Nevertheless the absence of any mention of the Vice-queen of Wirabhūmi during the whole of the time that the Court passed through the eastern districts seems to make it clear that the Viceregal titles of members of the Royal Family in many cases did not confer real power on the title-holders (see, though, the commentary on the charter of Karang Bogēm, in the present volume).

In canto 26 the offering of homage presents to the King by the assembled chiefs is mentioned, and their reciprocation by gifts of textiles. No doubt the homage presents consisted of local products or commodities imported by traders from the eastern islands, perhaps spices. In canto 60 the men who returned from the eastern districts are said to have brought home i.e. several kinds of spices. The King's gifts of textiles (probably the well-known *kain*s, waist-cloths, are meant) might be taken from the stock of presents he had received himself on earlier occasions. Even in Patukangan people from other districts offered him presents of textiles. On the other hand perhaps the caravan brought a stock of valuable commodities, including textiles, from Majapahit with the purpose to use them as gifts and for barter. In Majapahit the textile market probably was well stocked; the Indian and Chinese traders may have imported textiles (Indian batiks and Chinese silks), and moreover the hundreds of women, partly bond-women, in the Royal compounds, the mandarins' manors and the commoners' quarters produced hand-woven *kain*s from homespun cotton in great quantities, and according to Court fashion. The presence of a Court as a rule stimulates the production of fine textiles and other articles of art and fashion. From the 18th to the 20th century the capitals of the Central Javanese Kings, Surakarta and Yogyakarta, were centres of Court industry. There is reason to believe that Majapahit was such a centre in the 14th century, and that its products were exported to the outlying districts of the realm, together with the commodities that were brought to its port by foreign traders.

It is noteworthy that textiles took an important place among the King's gifts. Probably the design and the colours of the pieces were highly significant to the receivers. By giving some persons pieces of textile with special designs the King was able to do them a special favour. Textiles received in that manner probably were held in high

eneration ever afterwards; they even might become sacred heirlooms (modern Javanese: *pusaka*).

Canto 26, stanza 2. *Paśñaha* is the term for the present of honour that was offered by the governor to the King. In the poem *Sumana-sāntaka* ("Death by a *champaka*-flower", *Michelia champaka*) according to KBNW *paśñaha* is said of "a house prepared for a Royal guest". The Patukangan *paśñaha* in fact was a kind of house.

The governor's present was a work of value (*kīrti*), something extraordinary. It consisted of (small) houses with yards (*natar*) built on poles a short distance into the sea and accessible from the mainland by way of a foot-path (*laryya-laryyan*), also on poles. The description recalls the pavilions on artificial islets in ponds or lakes (*balé kam-bang*: floating pavilions) that were cherished places for recreation and quiet reflection to Javanese and Balinese Kings and gentlemen. The mention of *kīrti*, valuable, praiseworthy work, and the description of the festivities in the next canto suggest a special, sacral significance of the structures in the sea at Patukangan and at Kēja (canto 30—1). Prb. points to Smaradahana canto 2—9, where also *laryya-laryyan* is mentioned.

Probably the pavilions in the sea that were such a surprise to the Court were enlarged and embellished pile-houses of beach-combers and inshore fishermen. Pile-dwellings and watchmen's huts on poles belonging to large fish-traps constructed in the shallow coastal sea, made of palings (*séro*), are even to-day to be seen on the Java coast. The Majapahit Javanese were at home in the plains and the hills of the interior of the island. The sea and the shore, both on the north and on the south coast, always had their admiration, and surprised them. The note on the poles that seemed to shake (canto 26—2—3) probably refers to the refraction in the waving water; faintly visible (*lēyēp*) because the poet saw the phenomenon in sea-water. His mentioning it is an instance of his not feeling at home on the coast.

Canto 27, stanza 1. In this canto the festivities in Patukangan are described. The "mitigating of the feeling of heat" suggests a bath. Perhaps the first stanza refers to a bath of the King with ladies of the zenana, who are compared to celestial nymphs. It was an erotic feast, no doubt, in the pavilions in the sea, but it was more than that. The

mention of redemption (*mokta ng klesha*, canto 27—1—4) is found also, almost with the same expressions (*mukta pāpa*) at the end of the description of the great annual festival at Court (canto 91—9—3). The King took a prominent part in the sacred play that was enacted on that occasion. So there is every reason to assume that in Patukangan also a sacral ceremony was performed.

The esoteric meaning of that ceremony is not mentioned in the Nāg., no more than the meaning of the King's play at Court. It can only be surmised by studying Javanese tradition and myth. In the legendary history of the first King or Kings of the neo-Mataram Muhammadan dynasty in Central Java, in the second half of the 16th century, a marriage of the Javanese King with the Goddess of the Southern Ocean (Ratu Lara Kidul) is mentioned. That mythical marriage of the King, representing the social order of Javanese humanity, and the Goddess of the Ocean and the Sky, representing unlimited space beyond, is an image of the union of the two parts of the Universe, as described by Javanese cosmic-dualistic thinking. It seems probable that King Hayam Wuruk's erotic feast in the sea at Patukangan had the same or a similar meaning. It was the celebration of the King's nuptials with the superhuman Powers of the Ocean and the Sky. The choosing of the pavilions, surrounded by the ever moving waters, for the scene for the sacral nuptials, is significant. The artificial "floating pavilions" (*bale kambang*) of Javanese and Balinese manors perhaps originally were constructed for the same end: to experience the sacred union. It is a fact that in the mind of the public they were associated with eroticism.

The feeling of being released that is mentioned both in canto 27 and canto 91 was caused by the conviction in the onlookers' minds of being present at the consummation of the sacred union on which was founded the continuance of order in the Universe. The myth was enacted and made visible by sacred ritual. That gave them peace of mind and happiness.

What the public really saw from the shore probably was not more than a bath in public. In the Majapahit period neither men nor women as a rule wore clothing on the upper part of the body. The *kain* that was wetted by the bath (probably a shower) was quickly replaced by a dry one.

Canto 27, stanza 2. The impression that canto 27 gives of a sacral celebration is based also on the second stanza, that mentions the same

dances, plays and games as canto 87—2—3 on the occasion of the annual festival at Court. As the religious significance of that Court festival is beyond doubt the Patukangan celebration must have a sacred meaning too. Originally the dances, plays and games were "mysteries" enacting myths, especially the central myth: the duality and the unity of the Universe (see the present author's *Javanese Volkstexten*).

Karakēlan no doubt refers to performances of the sacral play that is described in canto 91. It is mentioned several times in the Nāg. Apparently it was en vogue at the time.

Shrama is a fighting-performance, probably with lances, either as a play or in earnest, as appears from canto 87—2. Fights and fighting-dances were appreciated as images of the antagonism existing between the two moieties of the Universe, according to dualistic cosmic thought.

Canto 28, stanzas 1, 2. In this canto the offering of homage-presents (*hatur-hatur*) by the mandarins of the eastern districts and of East Java is described. Those mandarins were commoners (*para*) like the common local authorities of Patukangan (*para mantry amañcanagara*) who are mentioned in canto 25—2: they did not belong to the Court. Evidently neither the mandarins of canto 25 nor those of canto 28 are to be identified with the people from the dependencies (*jajahan*) mentioned in canto 26. The term *jajahan* occurs again in canto 30 with reference to Kēṭa. Probably the chiefs of the commoners, the rural communities, are meant in cantos 26 and 30, as distinct from the mandarins, the gentlemen. Whereas the *mantris amañcanagara* of 25—2—1 were the King's representatives, civil servants, the mandarins of Bali and Madura etc. of canto 28—1 might be representatives of the local landed gentry, the *akawus*. They came to Patukangan to pay homage to the King as a token of their submissiveness (*bhakti*). The presents they offered were by way of tribute, consisting of cattle and textiles. Their quantity and quality was admired (canto 28—2—4); apparently they exceeded the homage presents of the commoners (*jajahan*) at Patukangan (canto 26—1—3).

Some of the districts or countries mentioned in canto 28, Bali for one, did not belong to the Majapahit realm from of old. The native gentry whose ancestors were vanquished by the Javanese arms made haste (trying to outvie each other, *masirasiran*) to protest their loyalty to the King, seeing that he came East himself, accompanied by the

redoubtable grand-vizir. It seems quite possible that one of the ends of the Royal Progress through East Java was a display of power in order to intimidate the recently acquired districts Sadeng and Kĕṭa and to make sure of the loyalty of the others.

The term for "trying to outdo each other" (*masirasiran*, though mentioned in KBNW sub voce *siran* probably the root is [a]sir) might be related to *kasir-kasir*, one of the words for name used in the Pararaton (text p. 27) with reference to King Hayam Wuruk (see *Javanese Volksvertoningen*, par. 454—463). The *kasir-kasir* Shri Hayam Wuruk Raden Tètĕp (probably meaning: the Illustrious Spotted Cock Sir Cockerel) might be the King's "personal" name used by him in his youth. Perhaps the original meaning of *kasir-kasir* (modern Jav. *kĕkasih* [ʔ]) was: name of glory, on which one prides oneself. In some Royal charters (v. glossary) the word is found in connection with the *pañji* title, referring to so-called heraldic names, names mentioning heraldic animals (like Cock, v. comm. Praniti and comm. Ferry Charter). Evidently the Balinese, Madurese and other people who tried to outdo each other had their own glory at heart. Though in canto 28—2 there is no evidence of the social implications of potlatch the idea of seeking worldly fame by means of great gifts and lavish entertainment is apparent. The same is the case in the descriptions of the great religious ceremonies and festivities in chapter 9 (the *Rājapatni*) and chapter 14 (the annual Court festival). The probability of the Patukangan festivities having a religious substratum appears the greater by this concurrence.

Perhaps the name of glory, on which he prided himself (*kasir-kasir*) of King Hayam Wuruk (Pararaton, p. 27) was sometimes used in a kind of sacral play called *pulir* described in the romantic Malay Pañji tale called *Galuh di-gantung*, partly edited and translated by Overbeck (Djāwā XII, 1932, p. 224). The essence of the play, according to the Malay description, was speeches in which persons belonging to different groups of the social classification glorified themselves, boastfully mentioning names. Unfortunately no Javanese description of *pulir* is known to the present author. In the Pararaton the King's *kasir-kasir* is mentioned in a list of names borne by him on various occasions when he filled a part in sacral plays or appeared in religious ceremonies.

The countries or districts that are mentioned in canto 28 are:

- | | |
|------------------|---------------|
| 137. Bali | : Bali. |
| 138. Madura | : Madura. |
| 139. Balumbungan | : Blambangan. |

140. Andĕlan : Bañuwangi (according to Prb., on the ground of a place in the Legend of Calon-Arang, which was translated by him).

It is worth notice that the tribute (in modern Jav. called *bulubĕkti*, cf. *bhakti* canto 28—2—1) of those countries consisted in part in cattle and pigs. In the 14th century Bali and Madura seem already to have had a surplus of those animals, just as they had in the 19th and 20th centuries. The dogs no doubt were eaten, as is mentioned in canto 90—2. As the gentlemen from Madura and Bali, and from Blambangan and Bañuwangi too (the overland route was constructed in the 19th century by order of the Netherlands East Indian government) came to Patukangan by sea, they could transport goods of some volume. The still active East monsoon made their crossing easy. Part of the stock of beasts for slaughter was probably consumed in Patukangan by the crowd that was assembled there. Perhaps another part was brought to Majapahit (v. canto 60).

The same holds true for the textiles. Until the beginning of the 20th century Madurese, Blambangan and Balinese woven goods made of home-spun native cotton were famous for their designs (dyed by means of the so-called *ikat*-technique) and their solidity. We cannot be sure that the stock of textiles brought over sea to Patukangan in Balinese and Madurese ships included the products of Sumba, Sumbawa and Timor that are so much appreciated today, for those beautiful cloths were primarily made for religious ends, to be used as shrouds etc. Probably they were not exported in bulk in the Majapahit period.

Canto 28, stanza 3. Some of the textiles were distributed even in Patukangan to the Royal servants (*bala*) as rewards for services rendered. Probably the Majapahit Royal servants found a part of their remuneration in those distributions of goods. The King did not pay them much in cash, but they could dispose of the received bounty on the way home as profitably as possible. For the rest they and their families lived at Court on the produce of their lands. What they brought home from the long journey to the eastern districts probably was sorely needed to supply their families with some extras. Being rewards given for services rendered *dadar-kains* also were worn at great ceremonies by way of state attire (cf. canto 84—1—4).

The distribution of goods in Patukangan might be prompted also by the consideration that it was impossible to load so many goods on

the carts of the caravan and to transport them all through East Java to Majapahit over the bad roads of the time.

The reference to the common poets in the last stanza of canto 28 being favoured also by the King's bounty is Prapañca's expression of thanks for what he received himself. In canto 98 he calls himself again a *parakawi*, a common poet. Probably it was a *captatio benevolentiae* by means of excessive humility. In other places, e.g. in canto 29, he gives himself the honorific predicate *sang* to which he had a right as member of the Buddhistic Court bishop's family, and the special title *rakawi*, honoured poet.

In Patukangan the extreme eastern point of the Progress was reached. There probably was no road that could be used by the caravan to proceed farther. The important sea-ceremony, the dances and plays and the distribution of rewards to the Royal servants all mark Patukangan as an important place, perhaps to be considered as the capital of the far eastern districts of the realm. The representation of the King's authority was complete: a governor, three high juridical officers and a number of civil servants of lesser rank.

Canto 29, stanzas 1, 2. As a conclusion of the Patukangan episode and as an anticlimax to the festive distribution of rewards the poet relates in canto 29 his private sorrow for his deceased friend. These stanzas on Prapañca's intellectual friendship for the talented Buddhist assessor Kértayasha, their common interest in literature and the poet's stoic resignation at his friend's death are humanly moving in a manner that is rarely found in the whole of Javanese literature. Compared with love between the sexes, love for children and worship of seniors, superiors, Princes and Masters, common disinterested friendship between equals is a human relation that did not draw much attention of Javanese authors who wrote on the life of their countrymen. Probably in Javanese life family ties supersede almost all other human bonds. Perhaps Prapañca's and Kértayasha's friendship was based in part on their belonging to the Buddhist clergy that formed a small minority at Court and in the country.

That friendship and the poet's expressions when referring to the deceased (he gives him the honorific pronoun *rasika*: his worship) render it most improbable that Prapañca was at that time bishop of the Buddhist clergy, as has been supposed by some authors. As a bishop

the poet would be of far higher rank than the assessor, and probably much older. As the bishop's son, on the contrary, their ranks and ages might be wellnigh equal.

The first stanzas of canto 29 afford an interesting insight in the intellectual activities of Majapahit poets. They were bibliophiles; they bought valuable manuscripts (written on palmleaves) to make private collections. Evidently in the Majapahit period the upper class of society was well aware of the fact that their culture had its roots in a remote past, hence their interest in books. The same attitude was to be observed at the Courts of the Central Javanese Kings in the 18th and 19th centuries. At the same time the Majapahit poets made excursions into the country (*mahas-ahas*) to look for inspirations for poems of their own. Prapañca's delightful description in cantos 32 and 33 of the sacred-circle community of Sāgara is an instance of that kind of poetry.

The poet's ambition to leave a thing of value, to be admired by posterity, is expressed by the word *kirti*. The clinging to survival and immortality, in the physical order expressing itself by the desire to have offspring, and by the worship of deceased ancestors, was strong also on a higher level in intellectual activity. It is strange to observe that that ambition was important in the lives of Prapañca and Kērtayasha, members of the Buddhist clergy, whereas it is completely at variance with the tenets of Buddhism to hanker after worldly fame. In this matter Prapañca proves himself a bad Buddhist (at least according to the original Indian conception of the Path) but a Javanese of the Javanese.

It is also remarkable that at the death of his friend the bishop's son does not say a word about the Buddhist's outlook on after-life. He only remarks that earthly pain and sorrow have ended for Kērtayasha, and he gives expression to his own resignation (*pīnahalalu*) at the loss of his friend. The anguish and wailing mentioned in the last line of stanza 2 seem to refer more to Kērtayasha's relatives who were taken by surprise by Prapañca's arrival than to the poet himself. A period of mourning ceremonies with (female) lamentations (most appropriate in a community strongly adhering to ancestor-worship) probably had set in. Not being a relative by blood or marriage the poet had to avoid this. Therefore he departed rather hastily, as is stated in the next stanza. He was one of the foremost to be on the way to Kēja.

Canto 29, stanza 3. The places that are mentioned on the route from Patukangau to Kēja, going westwards, are:

141. Tal Tunggal : ? ; situation unknown.
 142. Halalang Dawa : ? ; situation unknown.
 143. Pacaron : ? ; situation unknown.
 144. Bungatan : Bungatan (at the western foot of mount Ringgit).
 145. Toya Rungun : ? ; situation unknown.
 146. Walaṇḍingan : Mlaṇḍingan.
 147. Tarapas : ? ; situation unknown.
 148. Lēmah Bang : ? ; situation unknown.
 149. Kēṭa : Kēṭa, north-east of Bēsuki.

Berg's identification of Kēṭa with Madura (*Rijksdeling*, p. 256) is no more plausible than his identification of Saḍeng with Bali (canto 22) and for the same reasons.

Canto 30, stanzas 1, 2. In canto 30 the King's visit to Kēṭa is described. Like Saḍeng, Kēṭa was conquered in 1331. The fact that the Court stayed there for five days proves the importance of the place.

The description of the sea (*amarya*) mentioned in this stanza is remarkable. According to canto 58—1—4 the King made a *kidung* (a poem in the native Javanese metre, as distinct from the Indian metres) on a beautiful landscape. Probably the description of the sea at Kēṭa also was a poem made by the King. At the Javanese Courts until recent times the making of poems and singing (the two are closely connected) belonged to the marks of good breeding. King Hayam Wuruk's singing is mentioned in canto 91.

Though in Kēṭa again "foot-paths" (*larya-laryan*) are mentioned the stanza does not contain an indication that the same sea-ceremony was celebrated as in Patukangan. Delighting the common people (*anukane para*) is often met with in the Nāg. No doubt Kēṭa was of lesser importance than Patukangan: it had no judge (*dhyaksa*), only two assessors (*upapati*), and the Honourable Wīraprāṇa is not given the title governor (*adhipati*). The mandarins of Kēṭa who made obeisance (*nāmya*, if the reading is right) to the King at the order of Wīraprāṇa probable did so to protest their loyalty. Kēṭa was a conquest of the Majapahit arms. It is strange that in canto 22 no mention is made of a similar attitude of the Saḍeng mandarins: Saḍeng also was a conquest.

Canto 31, stanza 1. In canto 31 follows the account of the continuation of the Progress westward, back to Majapahit.

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 150. Bañu Hëning | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 151. Sampora | : Tëmporah, west of Bësuki. |
| 152. Dalëman | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 153. Wawaru | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 154. Binor | : Binor. |
| 155. Gëhang Kërëp | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 156. Gëlam | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 157. Kalayu | : Jabung. |

The personal retainers (*swabhërtya*) of canto 31—1—1 who joined the King's caravan in Këṭa going westwards in 1359 might be the same men, or their descendants, who conquered Saḍeng and Këṭa in 1331, under leadership of Gajah Mada, for the *Rājapatni*. In canto 49—3 that fact is recalled. The conquest of Bali in 1343, mentioned in 49—4, on the other hand, was effected by (common) Royal servants (*bala*). The Pararaton (p. 29 and 30 of Brandes' edition) has an account of the expedition to Saḍeng which contains some obscure expressions. It does not shed light on the question of the *swabhërtya*, and their returning to Majapahit after more than twenty years. Perhaps the Royal bondmen who were sent in 1331 to the eastern districts colonized Saḍeng and Këṭa and opened new lands for the Royal Family. In the charter of Karang Bogëm of 1387 a similar case of colonization by Royal order seems to be related (v. the text, notes, translation and comm. of that charter in the present book). The bondmen who returned to Majapahit in 1359 may have been allowed to do so in view of their services to the Royal Family in increasing the revenue by opening new domains. Their desire to go home to their native district (or the district of their ancestors) is just what could be expected from Javanese peasants.

Canto 31, stanza 2. Krom (notes on the Nāg.) identified, on the ground of its situation on the road from Binor to Këbon Agung (Këbwan Agëng, 31—5—2) the Buddhistic domain of Kalayu with the decayed Caṇḍi Jabung, which is Sajabung, according to the Pararaton (p. 27, line 26), the funeral monument, as such called Bajra-Jina-Paramitāpura, of Bhra Guṇḍal. The identity of the Princess Guṇḍal need not be discussed in this commentary on the Nāg. Anyway it is

clear that she (*stri*, female, in the Par.) was a relative of the Royal Family. The resemblance of the name of her funeral monument, Bajra-Jina-Paramitāpura, with the name of the *Rājaputni*'s, Prajñā-l'aramitāpurī, is conspicuous, and so is the similarity of the ceremonies described in canto 31 and in chapter 9, both suggestive of a close relation between the two Princesses. According to a manuscript note of Rouffaer's the Caṇḍi Jabung has the year 1276 Shaka engraved above its gate, presumably as the year of its foundation. That year corresponds with 1354 A.D., so in 1359, when the last ceremonies were performed, the Princess Guṇḍal's funeral monument was about five years old. The Buddhist divine abode (*Sugatapratisthā*) there probably was a statue with a Tantric character. The beginning of the sacral name Bajra-Jina vouches for that. The term *sudharma*, rendered eminent religious domain, seems to be used in the Nāg. by preference when referring to *dharma*s of members of the Royal Family.

The "cutting the warp", the concluding ceremony to be observed when founding a religious domain (*dharma*), is named after the last action when weaving a cloth on a Javanese hand-loom. It refers to the finishing touch. The expression is found in some charters. Rouffaer in a manuscript note mentions a charter of 1125 Shāka, 1203 A.D. (Groeneveldt, 1887, p. 327, 328 and 377) and another of 1191 Shāka, 1269 A.D. (O.J.O. 1913, p. 194). Schrieke's suggestion (*P'erdikan-instituut*, T.B.G. 58, 1918, p. 401) that "cutting the warp" refers to the "conversion of the secular charges of the surrounding peasantry into ecclesiastical ones", for the benefit of the new masters of the domain, is improbable. If such a thing as "conversion" took place at any time with a Royal ceremony, it is to be expected at the foundation of the religious domain and the beginning of the construction of the funeral monument (*caṇḍi*), not at the conclusion of the work (*wēkas ... inulak*). If there was previously any surrounding peasantry who could be set to work on the new domain their labours certainly would be commanded at an early time.

Stutterheim (BKI 95, 1937, p. 417), referring to customs of the *waktu tēlu* people (a superficially Muhammedanized group in the island of Lombok), has made clear that cutting the warp is a *rite de passage*. The similarity of an Old Javanese ceremony connected with ancestor worship and a Lombok rite, both referring to (sacred) webs, is interesting.

Canto 31, stanza 3. The terms of the ritual that are found in this

canto recur in some other passages in the Nāg. *Widhi-widhāna* is a collective expression for the offerings (v. canto 70—1—3); it is also mentioned in KBNW. *Upabhoga-bhojana* is a collective for cloths (*kains*) and food. Probably *widhi-widhāna* with *upabhoga-bhojana* offered to the deified ancestor at Kalayu are comparable to the offerings (there called *nivedya*, canto 65—6—1) to the deified *Rājapatni*. The latter ceremony was on a larger scale, evidently because the *Rājapatni* was higher in rank than the Princess Guphal. No doubt at the end of the Royal function the offerings were distributed.

The *igil*-dance is mentioned also in canto 66—1—3 on the occasion of the ceremony for the *Rājapatni*. It is to be identified with the modern Javanese *tayuban*, vulgo called *tandak*, i.e. a dance of one man or several men in front of and around a dancing-woman. In modern Jav. *ngigil* still is used when referring to the peacock's display. That erotic dance with loud music, all night long, is in accordance with the increase of the Royal zenana, mentioned in the next stanza.

The noisy merry-making with erotic dancing as conclusion of the ceremony for the dead ancestor is the celebration of her deification and her establishment as one of the worshipped Old Ones. The essential unity of death and new life is expressed by that feast. The worshipped ancestor ensures his (or her) descendants' well-being on earth (v. canto 67—1).

Canto 31, stanza 4. The Royal familiars of the rural districts who were visited in Kalayu probably were relatives of the King's ancestor whose deification just was celebrated. The religious domain was their centre. They are called country people (*pradesha*) to distinguish them from the Royal familiars at Court (canto 10—1—2), who held an important place there.

The King's visits were aimed at the *sakaparēk* families' marriageable daughters. They were examined and the King made a choice. The chosen ones were to be made ladies of the Royal zenana. As "serving others" (*parārtha*) is a euphemism for sexual intercourse the wedding was probably celebrated immediately. *Bini haji* is an intermediate rank in the zenana; in the Pararaton a Malay princess, Dara Pēṭak, is called a *bini haji*. That proves that the *sakaparēk* families whose daughters were in the Royal zenana were of good standing.

The Royal alliances by marriage in Kalayu probably had political and social ends, as is often the case with polygamous marriages. Politically the family tie connecting the collateral lines, the *sakaparēk*

families, with the main line of the Majapahit dynasty was strengthened by Kalayu girls' entering the Royal zenana. At all times Royal authority in Java was founded for a considerable part on the King's family relations. Socially the Kalayu families were freed from the care of looking for suitable husbands for their daughters and from the fear of misalliances. Being noble the Kalayu girls could not marry commoners, eligible husbands perhaps were scarce in the outlying districts, and their remaining unmarried would open the door to objectionable practices.

Probably the connection of the deification ceremony with the multiple marriage at Kalayu was perfectly fitting to the minds of the Majapahit Javanese.

Canto 31, stanza 5. From Kalayu the caravan proceeded westward touching the following places:

158. Kutugan : ? ; situation unknown.
 159. Kēbwan Agēng : Kēbon Agung.
 160. Kambang Rawi : ? ; situation unknown.

Kambang Rawi was the domain (called *sudharma*, because he was noble) of Nāla, to be compared with Madakaripura in Ḍaḍap, the *dharma* of the grand-vizir Gajah Mada (canto 19—2), both Royal grants (*anugraha nareshwara*). The differences between the two domains (a Buddhist statue and homage presents with a repast for the King in Kambang Rawi, a lodge to stay overnight in Madakaripura) have been pointed out in the commentary on canto 19. Probably they were partly a result of the difference in rank: Gajah Mada was by birth a commoner, Nāla was a nobleman.

Prb. tried to find a similar connection between the names Nāla and Kambang Rawi as exists between the names Gajah Mada and Madakaripura. Skt. *nāla* could mean: stalk of a lotus, and *kambang rawi*: flower of the marshes, i.e. a lotus. As *kambang* instead of *kembang*, for flower, is unusual, and as a Skt. name (like Madakaripura) would be expected, rather than a plain Javanese one, Prb.'s supposition is not satisfying.

Nāla is given the predicate: honoured vizir (*sang apatih*). Probably it is honorific. He was a retired soldier of renown and a man of substance and influence in the country. After Gajah Mada's death he was given the title Ārya Wira Maṇḍalika (v. canto 72—2).

Canto 31, stanza 6. The next places on the route were:

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 161. Halēsēs | : | ? ; situation unknown. |
| 162. Barang | : | ? ; situation unknown. |
| 163. Patufijungan | : | ? ; situation unknown, certainly another Patufijungan than the place mentioned in canto 22 1. |
| 164. Patētēnan | : | ? ; situation unknown. |
| 165. Tarub | : | ? ; situation unknown. |
| 166. Lésan | : | Lésan, east of Pajarakan. |
| 167. Pajarakan | : | Pajarakan. |
-

Canto 32, stanza 1. Cantos 32 and 33 contain the second intermezzo in the account of the Royal Progress: the excursion to the hermitage or friary of Sāgara. It is preceded by one stanza on the King's visit to Pajarakan. The first intermezzo was the description of Patukangan, cantos 25—29.

In canto 48 the capture of the fortified compound (*kuṣa*) of Pajarakan, in 1316, at the time that it was the capital of Nambi (or Tambi), by the second King of Majapahit, Jayanagara, is mentioned. Krom (*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, p. 371) thinks that the *kuta* Pajarakan of Nambi was situated near Kuṣa Rēnon and Lamajang further south than the Buddhist domain Pajarakan of canto 32. That seems plausible enough. Nevertheless the Pajarakan of canto 32 was also an important place: the King stayed there four days.

The mandarins, the Royal priests and the Honourable Sujana offered homage presents (cloths and food) that were requited with money. The Royal priests (*wiku haji*) in this list of the authorities of Pajarakan occupy the place that in the accounts of Patukangan and Kēṭa was given to law-officers (*dhyakṣa* and *upapattis*). Evidently Royal priest was a honorific title for a clergyman in the King's service, either at Court or in the provincial capital, as a law-officer, as distinct from the common clergymen or ordained priests who, living on their hereditary lands or in their domains, had no official function.

It is to be noted that the Honourable (*ārya*) of Pajarakan is not given the title governor (*adhipati*), any more than his colleague of Kēṭa. Neither of those places was as important as Patukangan.

The King's gift of money (*dhana*) no doubt consisted of strings of Chinese copper cash, the common Javanese currency of the period (v. the chapter on economics in the present volume). Only in Pajarakan and in Sāgara, not far away, requital of presents by gifts of money is mentioned. In Gēṇḍing (canto 34—3) the King gives gold and cloths, in Patukangan and Kēṣa (26—1 and 30—2) cloths. The Nāg. offers no explanation of those differences.

Another mysterious point in the account of Pajarakan is the character of its eminent religious domain. Instead of the usual Buddhist divine abode (*Sugatapratīṣṭhā*, which may be a statue of any god or goddess of the Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna pantheon) a Buddha-seat (*Sugatāsana*) is mentioned. Whereas Buddhist statues are frequent in the Nāg., canto 32 is the only place where the term Buddha-seat is used. Brandes seems to have thought that *Sugatāsana* is a name (according to a note of Krom's). In that case a locative preposition (*i* or *ing*) would be indispensable. *Sugatāsana* remains mysterious; to assume that it is just a variation for *Sugatapratīṣṭhā* is not at all in accordance with the poet's well-known accuracy in matters of religion.

As an explanation the following is offered. The term eminent religious domain (*sudharma*) suggests a domain of a member of the Royal Family. The poet does not mention any mark of respect or veneration on the part of the King, though. Perhaps in 1359 the domain was not yet completely opened. There only was a *place* for a Buddha, the statue was not yet erected and consecrated. In canto 82 several domains of members of the Royal Family that were in the way of being opened are enumerated. Though Pajarakan is not mentioned there by name it seems possible that it belonged to that group. The King's sojourning in a bivouac (*kuwu-kuwu*) outside would find its explanation in the state of unreadiness of the main buildings. In other religious domains the King used to enter and stay inside (v. canto 35—1). The open, uncultivated plain (*ara-ara*) also suggests a scarcity of people. Perhaps the use of the term Royal priests and the gift of money (as a contribution towards the costs of the building) are also to be explained by this supposition. If this is the solution of the mystery of Pajarakan it is a pity the poet was not more explicit about the unfinished state of the domain.

According to a note of Krom's, Brandes thought that the ruins at Kētompén, mentioned by Knebel (Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1904, p. 109) might be the remains of the eminent domain of Pajarakan. That needs further investigation.

Canto 32, stanza 2. The rest of canto 32 concerns the friary of Sāgara and the way there.

168. Pakalyan : Pēkalen (river of Pajarakan, with water-works; Rouffaer, manuscript notes, and Prb. BKI 80, 1924, p. 231).
 169. Buluh : ? ; situation unknown.
 170. Gēḍé : ? ; situation unknown.
 171. Sāgara : Ranu Sēgaran (a small crater-lake on the lower slope of mount Lamongan, with a hot spring: the *bwat-rantēn*, according to Niermeyer).

Sāgara was a well-known place. Krom mentions a charter of Batur (edited in the present book) and a charter found on mount Kawi (O.J.O. no 80); he doubts (without sufficient ground, probably) whether the same Sāgara is meant there. Van Stein Callenfels thought that Caṇḍi Kēḍaton is to be identified with Sāgara (O.V. 1918, I, p. 7).

In canto 78—7 the sacred-ring communities (*maṇḍalas*) Old-Sāgara (*Māla-Sāgara*) and Kukub are mentioned as places of friars (*rēshis*). The repeated use of the expression Sāgara proper (*Sāgara kēta*) in canto 32 is in accordance with the name Old-Sāgara. Evidently the "sacred ring" of mount Lamongan was the origin and the holy centre of quite a group of friaries spread all over the country. In the Tantu Panggēlaran Sāgara is mentioned several times; that text is especially concerned with the origin and the affiliations of the "sacred circles" (*maṇḍalas*) of Java.

Canto 32, stanzas 3, 4. The poetic, pastoral surroundings of Sāgara were attractive to the refined courtiers from Majapahit. Prapañca expressed his admiration in some stanzas with poetical embellishments. He had leisure to walk about alone in the hermitage, probably because, being a Buddhist, he was not obliged to pay his respects to the Shiwaite prior who held a learned conversation with the King.

In canto 32 three buildings or groups of buildings are mentioned as characteristic features of Sāgara: the *iṣpas* with terrace (*paṭhani*, canto 32—4—1, 2), the houses (*yashas*, canto 32—4—3, 4) and the artificial pond (*bwat-rantēn*, canto 32—5). It is interesting to discuss them separately.

The terrace (*paṭhani*) served as base for the sanctuary (*iṣpas*). The

surrounding wall of the terrace, perhaps something less than a man's height, was provided on the outside with reliefs cut in stone (*cacahan*), that had for subject-matter a mythological poem in Court-style, a *kakawin*. The illustration of episodes from mythological poems by a series of reliefs cut in stone is a well-known feature of pre-Muslim art in Java. Caṇḍi Kēḍaton, identified by van Stein Callenfels with Sāgara (an identification which is not at all sure) has reliefs illustrating i.a. the celebrated poem Arjuna's Nuptials (Arjuna Wiwāha).

In Old Javanese literature a *tēpas*, according to KBNW, is a small, open pavilion, sometimes used as a workshop. In Balinese *tēpas*, according to the same authority, is a column or pedestal, three or four feet high, made of stone, mostly square, for instance the pedestal of the earthen pot (*pane*) with lotus-plants (*tuñjung*). The *tēpas* used inside the house is made of earthenware, also square; it is used as a table. In Madura *tēpas* is a small Muslim private chapel (*langgar*). So the sacred character of the *tēpas* is sufficiently established. As to the shape of the Sāgara *tēpas* Prapañca does not say anything.

As the friars of Sāgara were Shiwaites it seems probable that their central sanctuary was a *lingga*-and-*yoni*, or a stone monument reminiscent of that religious symbol. In canto 65—4 houses on terraces (*yasha-pathani*) (on a small scale) are mentioned as offered by the princely family of Wēngkēr-Kaḍiri. Kaḍiri represented the male, Shiwaite aspect in the Javanese duality, in contrast to Janggala-Kahuripan. In canto 65 a pavilion on a terrace stands for Shiwaism. The Shiwaite friars' *tēpas* on top of the terrace may have been only a block of stone like the Balinese column (Prapañca's silence on that point suggests that it was not imposing, at least to a Buddhist), it certainly was their sanctuary.

Tēpas (Kern: *Elettaria*-shrubs, better according to Heyne: *Achasma foetens*, *A. megalochilos*, etc) is a zingiberacea, an aromatic herb. As it can grow to a height of ten feet or more perhaps it formed a small grove which hid the shape of the *tēpas* proper from sight. That may be another reason why the poet is silent on that point. Perhaps the simple sanctuary hidden in its grove of shrubs was the *maṇḍala* ("sacred ring") after which communities of the Sāgara type were named (v. canto 78—7).

The houses (*yashas*), the second feature of Sāgara, are mentioned three times. They stood in rows, their roofs were made of *duk* (fibre of the sugar-palm, black) and there were many of them. The names, inscribed (or scribbled) on the houses, improvised (*dadakan*), i.e. not

according to a fixed rule, and the sacred letters of Shiwaism (*pañcākshara*, to avert evil) suggest a community of scholarly people, something like a school. The learned discourse on the sense of priesthood (*katwikun*) is in accordance with this supposition. Probably the friary of Sāgara (and other friaries belonging to the same group) was a pre-Muslim prototype of the *ponḍoks*, the "huts", afterwards called *pasantrens*, places of *santris*, disciples of the *kyahis*, the Elders of Javanistic Islam, that are such an interesting feature in Javanese culture.

Kern thought that *pañcākshara* refers to the five letters (consonants) of the name Prapañca, and to its meaning (*pañca*: five). He supposed that the poet wrote his name on one of the houses himself. This violation of good manners on the part of a stranger and a Buddhist in the Shiwaite hermitage is improbable. Prb. is right in pointing to several sacred formulas of five letters, both of the Buddhist and of the Shiwaite holy lore. The well-known Shiwaite doxology *Na-Mash-Shi-Wā-Ya* (Veneration to Shiwa) is one of them, but this seems rather commonplace in the friary. *Sa-Ba-Ta-Ia-I* is the most probable five-letter-formula in 14th century Java. It is mentioned in Friederich's *Voorlopig Verslag* (Provisional Account of the Island of Bali, Proceedings B.G. vol. 23, p. 5) as being engraved on five small metal plates that were put into the mouth of the deceased at the funeral or the cremation. Friederich was told that the letters stand for the five gods: Shiwa, Brahma, Wishnu, Indra, Yama, Prb. found the names of Shiwa's five faces or aspects: Sadyojāta, Wāmadewa, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Ishāna (mentioned in Arch. Survey, South Indian inscription, vol. II, p. 30, note 3). It is also mentioned by Goris (*Balinese Theologie*). Whatever was the original meaning (or meanings) of the *Sa-Ba-Ta-Ha-I* formula evidently it was a symbol of Shiwa as the Universal Presence and it was put after the inscriptions to avert evil influences.

The last words of the verse on the *pañcākshara*: "somewhat obscured, resulting in charm" probably refers to the use of an unusual style of script embellished by figurations, which made the reading difficult. Prapañca, being a scholar, and familiar with Buddhistic formulas of the kind, probably saw what was the idea. It is doubtful, though, whether he was able to interpret the meaning correctly.

In Skt both *wilāpa* and *pralāpa* convey the meaning of lamentation. In Old Javanese literature that meaning is extended to love-letter, and further to letter in general. In view of the probability that the Sāgara friary partly had the character of a school, the prototype of a modern Javanese *ponḍok*, perhaps the inscriptions on the walls of its houses

indeed were love-letters written by adolescent pupils, voicing their yearnings and at the same time showing their pride in the newly acquired art of writing poetry. The erotic trend certainly always was strong in Javanese life and literature.

Canto 32—4 is the only place in the Nāg. where the word *parab* for name is used referring to another person than Prapañca-Wināda. Whereas *ngaran* no doubt is the usual word for name, referring to living beings as well as to objects and to localities, the use of *parab* seems to be limited to persons. Perhaps *parab* conveyed the meaning of a name by which a person was known or called. In Javanese literature of a later period *parab* or *pəparab* was used as a word for name in general, used in formal speech and in poetry.

Canto 32, stanza 5. The third building of note in Sāgara was the artificial pond (*bwat-rantēn*). Perhaps it was connected with the hot-water spring near the crater-lake, as Niermeyer suggested. That building had pictures or drawings in colours or in black and white (*tulis*), another thing than the reliefs (*cacahan*) that are mentioned as decorations of the terrace of the sanctuary. Pictures and drawings are well known in modern Balinese art. Javanese pictures dating from the Majapahit period of course have perished long ago by the influence of the moist tropical climate. As pictures or drawings could not be kept in good state even for a short time when exposed to the sun and the rain the Sāgara pictures no doubt were inside a building. Probably they were painted on loose sheets of cotton textile, suspended from the ceiling close under the sloping roof in order not to be reached by the sun-rays. In Bali similar decorations of the interior of houses still may be observed occasionally.

The Sāgara pictures were illustrations of tales (*kathā*), as distinct from the illustrations of poems (*kakawin*) on the reliefs. As in canto 86—3, wood-carvings illustrating tales from the Mahābhārata (*akathā parwa*) are mentioned, *kathā* in canto 32 probably also refers to the Mahābhārata tales that were well-known through Javanese prose-versions made several centuries before. Perhaps Pañcatantra tales might be meant too; they were known also in a Javanese version, the Tantri. But then Tantri tales, referring to animals, perhaps were mostly called *satwa* (Skt. *sattwa*, animal) in Java (v. KBNW sub voce).

As the shape of the *bwat-rantēn* at Sāgara is not described in canto 32 except by the mention of a parapet with polished stones it is only a supposition that it was a bathing-place. In Java and Bali bathing-places

near springs of mineral waters are well-known (*padusan*); some of them are considered sacred. The parapet (*patiga*) probably was a wall of piled-up stones that surrounded a square plot of ground (its corners are mentioned). Inside the wall there was a yard (*natar*) with several kinds of flowering trees and shrubs, the Javanese equivalent of a flower-garden. The ground inclined towards the pond that probably was supplied with water by the spring. Near the edge the slope was paved with cobble-stones (*pinarigi*) which made easy walking for persons entering the water and coming out of it bare-footed. If the pond was used for bathing by both men and women there probably was a division. But then in the Majapahit period no doubt it was already the custom, as it is now, to take a dry loin-cloth (*pasatan*) into the water to take the place of the wet one immediately when coming out of it. The change is made almost imperceptibly and most decently. Perhaps it was thought rather indecent to talk about a bathing-place, the equivalent of a modern bathroom, and for that reason the poet refrained from giving a more complete description.

The roofed-over place of the pictures might be in an open building (*bwat* conveys that meaning), a small kind of pavilion that served as entrance to the bathing-place and as waiting and recreation room to the bathers who were about to enter the water and who had just come out of it. Reference is made to the description of the Royal compound at Majapahit that probably contained a kind of bathing-place with many small pavilions in an outer courtyard (canto 8—5). In that place too the poet's words are rather obscure.

The trees and shrubs of the flower-garden are the following.

Nāgasāri (*Mesua ferrea* Linn.) is often mentioned; in the Nāg. it is called *nāgakusuma* and *nāgapuṣpa*. It is a tree cultivated in the courtyards of houses, its flowers are sweet-smelling.

Andwang, modern Jav. *andong* (*Cordylina fruticosa* Backer) is a cultivated shrub, often planted to make boundaries.

Karawira is the Skt. name of the oleander (*Nerium Oleander* Linn.), imported into Java.

Which plant is meant by *kayu mās* ("gold-tree") is unknown.

Mēnur is the Arabic jasmine (*Jasminum Sambac* Ait.), now mostly called *mēlati* in Java, a cultivated shrub.

Puring is the croton (*Codiaeum variegatum* Bl.), also a cultivated shrub.

Nyā-gaḍing is the ivory-coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera* Linn, var. *eburnea* Miquel), a low coconut-palm with nuts of a light ivory colour.

Canto 32, stanza 6. Remarkable in this stanza are the expressions of awe (*siluman*, the Spirits, and *mahogra*, most impressive) of the Buddhist courtier for the rural Shiwaite scholastic community of Sāgara. The palm-fibre roofs, probably only used for temples in the plains, but seen everywhere in Sāgara, seem to have impressed the poet also.

Kaki and *enḍang* (literally old man and old woman, but rendered: brother and sister) were the usual titles of the friars. It is worthy of note that not only those titles but several other characteristics of the rural religious communities as described in canto 32, in the first chapter of the *Pararaton*, in the *Tantu l'anggēlan* and in other pre-Muslim texts, have survived in the plays of the *wayang*, the national Javanese theatre of modern times, and in the *Cēṇṇini*, an eighteenth-nineteenth century Javanese encyclopedic poem that is above all things concerned with life and sacred lore of the Elders of Javanistic mystic Islam (see the present author's epitome of the *Cēṇṇini* in the *Proceedings K.B.G.* vol. 72).

The epithets beautiful and skilful (*ahayu wagēd*) are nearly identical (as Prb. remarked already) with *lituhayu wagēd*, used in canto 91—6, with reference to the dancers in the King's play on the occasion of the great annual festival at Court. It is most probable that the sisters of Sāgara were skilful dancers in stately country dances such as still can be seen in some places in Bali. Presumably they showed their skill also in female labours, though. According to Korn's excellent description of the Balinese sacred village Tēnganan-Pagringsingan the girls there were occupied especially with weaving. Though the resemblance of Sāgara with Tēnganan-Pagringsingan is not as striking as its resemblance with Javanese *ponḍoks* of the early Muslim period it is quite possible that in Sāgara and related communities also some specialization, prescribed by ancestral custom, in female labours like weaving was found.

Canto 33, stanzas 1, 2. Whereas in canto 32 Prapañca gives his own observations and impressions of Sāgara, in canto 33 the King's visit to the learned prior is described. The prior is distinguished by the highest honorific predicate and pronoun *sīva*, which is as a rule only used when referring to gods and members of the Royal Family.

Tapa, tapi and *patapan* (rendered: anchorite, and anchorites' place)

are frequently used in the Tantu Panggëlaran and the Pararaton. Evidently they belonged to the idiom of the religious fraternities who lived their lives in the hills and the forests far from the Court nor in close contact with the common rural communities in the plains. The veneration that was inspired by that manner of life becomes evident in canto 95 when Prapañca makes a plan for his own future.

The prior's learned and edifying discourse on the sense of priesthood (*kawikun*) reminds one of the lengthy conversations on religious subjects that are related in the Cēṭini and other works of that kind. The use of the word *wiku* (rendered: ordained priest) in this place (and also in canto 16—4—4) proves that to the minds of the Majapahit Javanese it was fraught with spiritual value. Probably the King's visit to Sāgara was prompted not only by curiosity but also by a longing for spiritual guidance which was not given him by his Court priests. A similar relation existed in the Muslim period between Kings and their *gurus*, spiritual mentors, in Javanistic mysticism.

Canto 33, stanza 3. The ceremonial leave-taking (that is the meaning of the King's saying that he wants to go home) is another mark of respect on King Hayam Wuruk's part for the prior of Sāgara. Canto 33 is the only place in the Nāg. where leave-taking of the King is mentioned. In the other places where people are taking leave it is perfectly clear that it is a compliment paid by an inferior in rank to his superior.

The last lines of canto 33, referring to the young girls of the hermitage who were in love with the King, contain a feature that is also found in other poetical descriptions of visits to places of anchorites. Assuming that those descriptions are at least partly based on truth it follows that the friars had families and that the spirit of the hermitages was not altogether hostile to worldly matters. This is in accordance with the scenes of erotic exuberance that are found in the Cēṭini. The resemblance of the Javanistic Muslim communities that are described in that encyclopedic poem with the hermitages or friaries of pre-Muslim times has been mentioned before.

Prapañca's stanzas on Sāgara are unaffected. His sympathy with the idyllic life of the anchorites in the hills is true. The Court, with its formality and hypocrisy, in Java in the Majapahit period just as elsewhere, found its counterpart in the romantically idealized communities of the venerated simple *wikus*. No doubt Indian literature (*Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*) was the model for the descriptions of hermitages in Old Javanese poems. It is not certain, though, that the sacred com-

munities of ordained priestly families in the hills of Java had their origins only in Indian religion. Native Javanese tribal customs of old date might survive in those venerated hermitages. The fact that, in the form of the *ponḍoks*, the "huts" of the Elders of Javanistic mystical Islam, they were able, as the only important element of pre-Muslim religion, to pass on into the Muslim period of Javanese culture, suggests their being rooted firmly in the Javanese mind. In the chapter on the religious organization in the present volume the position of the anchorites in the religion of the Majapahit period will be explained. The possibility that King Ilayam Wuruk's visit to Sāgara was the immediate cause of his issuing the Batur charter shall be discussed in the commentary of that charter.

Canto 34, stanza 1. As a parting compliment to Sāgara in this stanza the poet gives a poetical description of nature with personifications in the Indian style. He mentions as an example of that poetical manner a description in the Old Javanese version of the Mahābhārata, the Bhāratayuddha, canto 1, stanzas 10—16.

As an important contribution to the interpretation of Javanese poetry Prb.'s note on canto 34—1, is translated entirely (with some slight modifications). Prb. mentions the fact that the bamboo is often used in descriptions of sadness. In the Smaradahana ("The Burning of the God of Love"), canto 22, stanza 4, is found the verse: *pring nirwanata posiking wuluh ashabda tan hana mulat*, meaning: it is no use that the bamboo has eyes; the movement of the *wuluh* (a kind of bamboo) says that there is nobody who saw him (i.e. the person who is sought). The bamboo's eye is its node or joint. The nakedness of the bamboo, having forgotten her loin-cloth (*alupa ken*), refers to a well-known Javanese riddle: the mother is naked, her children are clothed, who are they? The bamboo: when she is old she loses the leaf-sheaths, the young bamboos still have them.

Concerning the betel (*sirih*) Prb. calls to mind how happy young ladies at Court (in Surakarta, in Central Java) used to be when they found in their portion of betel-leaves ready for chewing a "weeping leaf" (*suruh tangis*). Superstition said in that case that the lucky finder soon would be wept for. She put the leaf in her hair saying: *bèn ditangisi jdkd*, meaning: may a young man weep for me, i.e. may somebody fall madly in love with me. The "weeping betel-leaf" is a

leaf that has a flower immediately attached to its stem, without a separate flower-stem. Though Prb. thinks that the "weeping leaf" received its name after the young ladies' wish to be wept for it seems more probable that the young ladies' expressing her wish was derived from the name, whatever the origin of that name might be.

So far Prb.'s interesting note. The sugarpalm's tears of course are the drippings from the stalk that is cut. They are caught in a bamboo vessel to be drunk fresh or to be made into sugar.

The trisyllabic reading *sukṣṣka*, required by the metre in canto 34—1—1, instead of Skt. *sūkṣka* or *sukṣka*, two syllables, is another instance (like *paśṇaha*, canto 26—2—1, for *pa-saṇṇāha*) of Javanese corruption of Skt. words. However, there are many difficult Skt. words spelled correctly or only with small aberrations (in vowel quantities, in ç and ṣ, etc.) in the Nāg. The trisyllabic reading *sukṣṣka* makes it probable, though, that several correctly spelled Skt. words were pronounced in accordance with Javanese manners of speech, as distinct from the correct Skt. pronunciation. Even at the Majapahit Court the pronunciation of Javanese and Skt. words probably showed much more resemblance to the sounds of modern Javanese than the antiquated chancery and high-literature spelling would suggest. The case of the *h* at the beginning of words has been pointed out already (canto 25—2—3).

Canto 34, stanzas 2, 3. With this poetical description the Sāgara intermezzo is finished. The rest of canto 34 concerns the continuation of the Royal Progress.

172. Ārya : modern Jav. : *ngare* : the plains.
 173. Gēṇḍing : Gēṇḍing.

The jolting ride over the descending road is in accordance with the fact that Sāgara lies in the hills and that the first stop after leaving it is called "The Plains" (Ārya).

In Gēṇḍing again homage presents were offered and afterwards requited by the King. Mandarins representing local authority (*mantri amañcanagara*), under the Honourable Singhādhikāra, and further common Shiwaite and Buddhist clergymen, entered into the Presence. Although Singhādhikāra had an illustrious name, ending in *-adhikāra*, like the name of the governor of Patukangan, Shūrādhikāra, both certainly superior to Wiraprāṇa of Kēṣa, the Honourable of Gēṇḍing had not the title governor (*adhipati*), nor had he a judge (*dhyakṣa*)

at his side. The Shiwaite and Buddhist clergymen (common because they did not belong to the Court) no doubt were assessors-at-law, like their colleagues of Kĕṭa (30—2—2). Apparently Gĕṇḍing was a place of about the same importance as Kĕṭa.

Nevertheless the King's gifts in requital of the homage presents in Gĕṇḍing were far more valuable than any gift bestowed by him on the authorities of other places. In Gĕṇḍing he gave gold, in other places at the utmost money (*dhana*, *artha*, meaning Chinese copper cash on strings). Moreover some gentlemen in Gĕṇḍing were given names, i.e. they were promoted in rank with the right to use a name with a meaning referring to their new state. The custom of changing names on important occasions in life is well-known in Java. By the name one could tell the rank and the profession of the bearer.

Canto 34, stanza 4. The only explanation of the King's distinguishing the Gĕṇḍing authorities in that manner seems to be the long stay in that district that is mentioned in stanza 4. No doubt the hospitality in the manors (*kuṛou-kuṛou*) extended to so many guests of high rank for a considerable time was a heavy burden for the people of Gĕṇḍing. Perhaps the King thought it wise not to exasperate them by overtaxing. His generous gifts were meant to keep them in good humour.

The reason of the prolonged stay in Gĕṇḍing was the necessity to "wait for the month". This expression probably refers to a period of waiting for a propitious day to continue the trek. Divination in order to find propitious days and hours for starting perhaps was practised during all the time the Court was from home. Divination is a most important element in Javanese life: it is closely related to Javanese cosmic-classificatory thinking (v. the present author's paper on Javanese divination and classification). If in Gĕṇḍing the prognostics for coming days were bad no doubt the continuation of the trek was postponed.

At the end of canto 18 a similar stop is mentioned. It was ordered because the time of the day was thought unpropitious for travelling. Mahādhikāra seems to have been the best authority on divination (canto 88—1—3); perhaps he advised the prolongation of the stay in Gĕṇḍing too.

Just as in canto 18 (the mist) in canto 34 in Gĕṇḍing bad weather (Gĕṇḍing-wind) may have decided the divination doctor to give his advice. In the district that was just reached by the caravan a strong

wind coming from the hills in the south blows during the East-monsoon. It is considered very bad for health. The expression "to wait for the month" perhaps is to be understood in this sense that the Court was waiting till the blowing of the Gēṇḍing-wind was over.

From Gēṇḍing the trek was continued to Barēmi (Bērmī), where the route of the outward journey was reached, along the following places:

- | | |
|----------------|------------------------------|
| 174. Loh Gaway | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 175. Sumanḍing | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 176. Borang | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 177. Bangōr | : Bangēr, i.e. P'rābālinggā. |

According to the Pararaton (p. 8, line 24 seq.) *Ken Angrok*, the first King of Singasari, had a spiritual mentor, an Indian brahmin by origin, who was called *ḍang Hyang Loh Gawe*, i.e. probably: the Holy Man of the Canal (*loh gawe* means: artificial river, i.e. canal). *Loh Gawe* (modern Jav.: *Kali Gawe*) is not a conspicuous name, more than one place in East Java probably was called so. It is perhaps too bold to identify the Loh Gaway of canto 34 with the place of the Holy Man from India in the Pararaton.

Canto 35, stanza 1. Between Barēmi (mentioned in canto 21—1—3, no. 80) and Pasuruhan no places are mentioned because the route of the outward journey was followed. In canto 21 the name Pasuruhan is not found. Apparently it was not an important town in the 14th century.

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 178. Pasuruhan | : Pasuruhan. |
| 179. Kapāṅangan | : Bayangan (? Niermeyer). |
| 180. Andoh | : ? ; situation unknown (<i>Andoh wawang</i> is a stock phrase meaning: to retire quickly [from fear], v. canto 51—7—2. It is quite possible that the place north of Singasari also was called Andoh Wawang). |
| 181. Kēḍung-Pēluk | : Kēḍung Pēluk. |
| 182. Hambal | : Ampel Gaḍing, east of Lawang. |
| 183. Singhasari | : Singasari. |

A dyke-road (*ḍamārga*) also is mentioned in canto 88—2, in a list of useful works (*kīrti*), immediately after *setu* (dam). Probably the *ḍamārgas* of the Majapahit period were earthen dams or dykes crossing low and marshy places that were inundated during the season of rains. The note that the carts proceeded in single file (*madulur*) and that Andoh was reached quickly is accounted for by assuming that the dyke-road, though not broad, was a short cut branching off (*manin-pang*) from the main road. In cantos 18 and 86 the King's highway (*rājamārga*) is mentioned, not far from Majapahit. In 18—1—2 it is called broad (*atwa*). Probably that broad highway did not run far into the country.

Singasari was the Royal capital before Majapahit was founded. In 1292 it was taken by the forces of the insurgent Jaya Katong of Kadiri (v. commentary on canto 17). The Majapahit Kings considered themselves as lineal descendants of the last Singasari King. Hayam Wuruk's visit there had for purpose to pay his respects to his deified ancestors.

Apparently the Royal compound (*pura*) of Singasari still existed in 1359; so it was not completely destroyed in 1292. It is most improbable that it was destroyed but rebuilt after the disastrous end of the last King. Rebuilding a Royal residence once it had fallen into the enemy's hands was a preposterous idea to the Javanese mind: the majesty and the superhuman power of the place were gone. Even in the 17th and 18th centuries in Central Java Royal capitals that were taken by insurgents or enemies never were rebuilt. If the dynasty survived the disaster the Royal residence was moved to another place.

In the Singasari compound King Hayam Wuruk took his residence in the Royal religious domain (*rājadharmā*). The ancient Royal compound was made into a religious domain in remembrance of the last King. In canto 53—5—4 his Shiwa-Buddha statue (*Shiwabuddhārca*) in the Singasari domain is mentioned; it is also known by a charter. No doubt the Royal domain, ex-Royal compound, had enough room to accommodate the Royal Family. It is worth noticing, though, that Prapañca on his belated arrival in Singasari did not sleep in the Royal compound but in the quarter of the manors (*pakuwon*). Not being of the Blood Royal he probably was no more allowed to stay inside the compound in Singasari than he was in Majapahit (v. canto 49—8—3).

It is also remarkable that King Hayam Wuruk's father Kērtawardhana whose title was Prince of Singasari is not mentioned in the description of the Royal visit to the ancient capital. According to canto 11 Kērtawardhana resided inside the Royal compound of Maja-

pahit. His residence was situated side by side with the Houses of his son, the King, and of his daughter, the Princess of Pajang. The similar case of the Princess of Wirabhūmi, the heiress-presumptive to the throne, has been noted before: during the Royal Progress through her titular vice-regal domains in East Java (Lumajang) her name is not mentioned. She also resided in Majapahit. No doubt it was dynastic policy to keep all members of the Royal Family under the King's eyes. If the vice-roys' and vice-queens' subjects in the provinces had occasion to appeal to their titular suzerains they had to travel to Majapahit.

The note on "the last of the rural communities (*pradesha*) that is mentioned" refers to the fact that the Court stopped for some time in Singasari and its environs and that the poet's account of the Royal Progress is interrupted to make place for some intermezzos. Not before canto 55 is the account of the Progress taken up again.

Canto 35, stanzas 2, 3. The reason of the poet's visit to the cloister of Ārbaru (Indar Baru might be the full name, cf. Baru in canto 78—3), west of Pasuruhan, is not made clear. It does not sound plausible that it was a coincidence. Probably he was again visiting Buddhist cloisters and dependencies in order to ascertain the abbots' allegiance to his father the bishop in the same manner as he did before (v. canto 17—11). In Ārbaru he had success: he was offered an entertainment (*sēgēh*), the usual acknowledgment of allegiance, and he was shown the cloister's charter (*prashāsti*). As charters bearing the Royal Names in their preambles and often ending in terrible imprecations against malefactors no doubt were held sacred by the grantees the abbot's willingness to show it to Prapañca proves that he was a Buddhist, ready to please his bishop's son. It is most improbable that the abbot of a Shiwaite religious domain would show his sacred charter to a Buddhist envoy. The second half of stanza 3 contains another indication that Ārbaru was Buddhistic: no Buddhist would desire to live in a Shiwaite domain as Prapañca professed he would. Moreover from canto 75—2 follows that *kuṣis* (cloisters) and *wihāras* (monasteries) were terms specific to Buddhism. The Shiwaites and the friars (*rāshis*) used other terms.

Perhaps the name Ārbaru contains the word *baru*, the name of one of the groups of men officiating in popular (Shiwaite) ceremonies that are mentioned in the Tantu Panggölaran. The locality Ārbaru

or Inḍar Baru might be much older than the cloister. An estate Baru is mentioned in canto 78—3—2. As it was a Buddhist dependency (*angsha*) some relation with Ḍarbaru is not improbable.

The half-stanza 35—3—3, 4 is another instance of the poet's desire for freedom from the fetters of Court and of his admiration for simple life. In the description of Sāgara that inclination appeared already. As Sāgara was a friars' community Prapañca could not feel at home there. Perhaps he extolled the Buddhistic Ḍarbaru (and its eminent charter) on purpose as an antithesis to the friary of Sāgara. If the prior of Sāgara possessed a charter he did not show it.

Perhaps Prapañca's announcement that he would take refuge in the cloister if he became a poor man also was meant to stimulate the King's liberality. To put down his indigence to the lack of merit acquired in former generations seems a pious phrase. No doubt some generous gifts expressive of appreciation on the part of the Court for his literary merits could remedy his penury. In the last cantos (94—98) the poet hints at the Court's lack of appreciation for his work. The difficult word *purākṛta* (works of merit done in former incarnations) even might be chosen for its ambiguity. Kern's interpretation: works done at Court (*purakṛta* instead of *purākṛta*) also makes good sense. The absence of Courtly merits (that are duly appreciated) makes a courtier poor. It is not improbable that in the Majapahit period the Buddhist clergy, forming a small minority as compared with the Shiwaites and the friars, indeed was on the verge of indigence. The poet's repeated statements that Buddhist dependencies were mortgaged and had passed into secular hands makes the impression that Buddhism under the Majapahit Kings was not flourishing.

Probably the first half of the third stanza is in essence a quotation from the foundation-charter of Ḍarbaru; as a rule the cloister's possessions were recorded in its charter. The formula "like owned property with its vales and hills, a dominion, a dependency" probably means that Hapit (a more likely name than Hēpit) was the original nucleus of the Ḍarbaru lands. The cloister of Ḍarbaru was founded on lands belonging previously to rural communities (*bhuh pradesha*) that are explicitly named: the rural communities of Hujung (35—2—2). As *Hapit* conveys the meaning of enclave it is a fitting name in accordance with the situation. *Hujung* means: cape; apparently Ḍarbaru was not far from the sea. Probably the charter contained information about the foundation of the cloister and its relation to the original owners of the lands. Markaman and the ricefields in Balung Hura (meaning:

loose marshlands) and Hujung perhaps were later acquired dependencies.

In his voluminous book *„Herkomst, Vorm en Functie der Middel-Javaanse Rijksdelingstheorie"* (Origin, form and function of the Middle-Javanese theory of the division of the realm, Amsterdam 1953) Berg devoted much attention to Prapañca's visit to Ābararu. He assumed that what the poet read was not the cloister's charter (*prashāstī*) but some kind of historical document. The false reading *lĕpīt* (fold) instead of *lĕpīt* (the name) seems to have fortified him in that erroneous opinion. The document, according to Berg, contained notes on Javanese dynastic history, and those notes proved most important for Prapañca's conception of Javanese history which he formulated in cantos 38—49. Berg's abstruse theories about Prapañca's supposed activities as a historiographer are not discussed in the present edition of the Nāg. A discussion might be called for in a theoretical treatise on Javanese historiography. As a matter of fact the Nāg. certainly is not a History of Javanese Kings like the Pararaton. The twelve cantos of chapter 5 only form an intermezzo in the account of the Royal Progress to the eastern districts, which is a part of the Court Chronicle 1353—1364, chapters 4—11, cantos 17—72.

In the meantime Berg's speculations as formulated in his *Rijksdelingstheorie* are to be appreciated as serious attempts at reaching a clear apprehension of Javanese historiography starting from native Javanese ideas (as conceived by him). His interpretations of Nāg. verses have been mentioned in the Notes in volume II and in the present commentary. In several cases those translations seem to have been fashioned so as to serve as evidence for the truth of preconceived opinions.

Canto 35, stanza 4. The flower-offering mentioned in stanza 4 no doubt was the King's act of worship at the feet of the Shiwa-Buddha statue representing his great-grandfather Kērtanagara the last King of Singasari. It is quite possible that the Princesses also were present; the text is not decisive on that point. Probably the making of the *añjali* (in Javanese: *sĕmbah*) with a flower held between the tips of the fingers of the joined hands (palm to palm) was an integral part of the ceremony. Though the presence of an officiating priest is not mentioned in this stanza, in canto 57—2, on the occasion of a visit at another sanctuary of King Kērtanagara it is. The revenues of the religious

domains, coming from their dependencies, were meant i.a. to support the officiating priests and their families. Probably daily worship at the feet of the deified Royal ancestor was a part of the priests' duties.

At the conclusion of the religious ceremony there followed indulgence in sensual pleasure. The same sequence has been noted before (Kalayu, canto 31). It was in accordance with Javanese ideas on the close relation existing between death (the ancestors) and life (procreation).

The three places in the neighbourhood of Singasari that were visited perhaps were sacred springs with bathing-places. In canto 38 Burēng is described as having a pond (*talaga*) with a monument (*cayūḍi*) on an islet in the centre. Van Stein Callenfels identified Burēng with the village of Buring near Mēṇḍit or Wēṇḍit in the Malang district (TBG 58, p. 158), the place of a spring with a bathing-place. Kasuranggan was translated by Kern: The Nymphs' Bower. It reminded him of the Parc aux Cerfs of King Louis XV of France. The meaning of Kēḍung Biru is: Blue Pool. In the commentary on canto 19 some observations have been made on visits to sacred springs, sources of great rivers.

Canto 36, stanza 1. Cantos 36 and 37 contain the description of the King's visit to Kagēñengan to offer worship at the feet of his great-great-great-grandfather Rājasa, the founder of the dynasty. The ceremonies in Singasari and in Kagēñengan were parallels, they concerned the last and the first King of Singasari. Berg has a complicated theory (in *Rijksdeling* chapter 8) concerning the name of the founder of the dynasty that need not be discussed here. The importance of the Kagēñengan sanctuary is not doubted by him. As to its situation, van Stein Callenfels mentioned the village Gēñengan south-west of Malang (O.V. 1914, 4, p. 105); important remains of ancient buildings have not been found there, though.

From the ex-Royal compound of Singasari the Court went in a procession with music to Kagēñengan. The note that all those who belonged to the King accompanied him proves the importance of the ceremony for the whole of the Royal Family. The special mention of the propitious moment of departure also is significant. As the procession was extensive, comprising many men carrying offerings, it is improbable that Kagēñengan was very far from Singasari. In the commentary on canto 17 mention has been made of the *miḍang*-processions to sacred places in modern Java. As Jalagiri probably was

the special place of pilgrimage of the Majapahit townsfolk, Kagēnēngan may have occupied a similar place in the minds of the inhabitants of the ancient capital Singasari.

From the description of the procession it appears that the flower-offerings (*puṣpa*) were the most important item of the things that were to be offered. Probably the *puṣpas* are to be identified with the *kēmbar-mayang* (sometimes called *kēmbang-mayang*), the Sacred Twins or the Sacred Flowers, that still take a part in ceremonies in modern Java: flower-pots (now mostly brass cuspidors) filled with artistically arranged dry flowers and leaves that stand out as a round tuffet or bouquet. They are called twins (*kēmbar*) because they always appear in pairs. In the present author's book on *Javaanse Volksvertoningen* several occasions of the *kēmbar-mayangs'* appearing are mentioned: at marriage ceremonies, and in funeral processions. To the modern Javanese their purport is not clear. Perhaps they are symbols of life, forever germinating and renovating itself in perpetuity. Bosch's interesting book on Indian symbolism (*De Gouden Kiem, The Golden Germ*, Amsterdam 1948) contains much that might be related to the remarkable flower-pots and to the Majapahit *puṣpas*. In his edition of the Sundanese mythological text *Lutung Kasarung* Eringa stresses the phallic and erotic implications of the *mayang*, the flower (corymb) of the (areca) palm (p. 305 seq.).

The *puṣpa* effigy of the deified *Rājapatni* at her final ceremony (canto 67) is to be mentioned here also. It seems improbable that the King's *puṣpas* offered on several occasions to the gods always had the same shape. In canto 8—4 the flower-offerings on the temple-yard inside the Royal compound of Majapahit are mentioned; they are called ornaments (*racana*). This seems an adequate description of their function. Of course ornaments never were without a significance of their own in Javanese life and religion.

The valuables, luxuries and food (*dhana paribhoga bhojana*) that were the "companions" (*dutur*) of the flower-offerings are well-known from other places in the *Nāg*. As *paribhoga* (luxuries) is only used in this verse it is probably a substitute (metri causa) for *upabhoga* (clothing) which is found several times. Valuables (*dhana*) no doubt refers to money, Chinese copper cash. Cloths (i.e. textiles, *kains*) food and money were distributed to the Royal servants (*bala haji*) in the same way as in *Patukangan* (canto 28). The note "if there was a possible case" (*sasambhawa*) probably means that some selection as to the recipients was practised.

Prb. supposed that the "cloths on carriers of poles" (*wasandawawan watang*) were Javanese flags: bamboo poles provided with narrow strips of cloth attached to them all along their length, ending in drooping lappets at the top. As a matter of fact Javanese flags of that kind (*umbul-umbul*) are known to have been carried in processions, but Prapañca's description seems rather inept, if it is meant to refer to flags. It seems more probable that it means short bamboo poles with a hook on top on which a couple of valuable pieces of cloth are suspended. In the magnificent 19th century Gr̥sīk marriage procession described in the present author's *Volksvertoningen* they are called *sampirs*. The pieces of cloth, a kind of kerchiefs, no doubt were symbols significant by their colours. Similar bunches of kerchiefs in different colours dyed by old processes (*kẽmbangan*) were still seen in the 20th century suspended at the sides of the bed of state (*krobongan*, *patanen*) in the interior of noble houses in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, where the *kẽmbar-mayangs* also had their place. Those valuable textiles no doubt were not distributed in Kagẽnẽgan; they belonged to the King, like the drums, and they were only used for ceremonies. Sacred textiles are well-known in Bali (Tẽnganan-Pagringsingan).

Canto 36, stanza 2. From this stanza it appears that the King (or the Royal Family) went into the interior of the sanctuary for his (or their) devotion and came out into the open (*mijil ri heng*) at its conclusion. The Javanese words might even be interpreted in the sense that Royalty entered into the *cella* of the temple, where the cult-statue stood. This seems improbable, though, on account of the restricted space available in interior rooms of still extant temples (at present in ruins, of course). Probably Royalty sat down on the ground at a respectful distance in front of the Divine Abode of the deified ancestor during the time that the officiating priest presented the offerings.

The following public repast or community meal is to be compared with the *slamẽtans* of modern Javanese custom, inevitable ends of any pilgrimage to a sacred grave. Probably the meal was eaten in a hall or pavilion built for that end outside the inner temple-yard: the *pabhaktan* (refectory) mentioned in canto 37—4—3. One might consider whether the *surambis*, the outer halls in front of (and now mostly annexed to) the mosques in modern Mohammedan Java are to be compared with the Majapahit *pabhaktans*. It is a matter of fact that the Javanese *surambis* do not partake in the sacred character of the mosque proper, and that on special occasions, e.g. at the celebration

of the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday in the year marked *Dal* (*garèbèg Mulud Dal*, once in every eight years) in Yogyakarta a sumptuous community meal (*slametan*) presided over by the Sultan himself, was held in the *surambi* of the great mosque.

The coming out of Royalty is a ceremony in itself, even in modern Java (*mijil sinuwaka*). It is mentioned also in canto 65, in the Royal compound of Majapahit. Evidently the sacred ancestral sanctuary of Kagènéngan was put on a par with the Royal compound of the living King. In the Royal cemeteries of Central Java at Imagiri (i Magiri, Mahāgiri, the Great Mountain) even now the separate courtyards with the funeral monuments of the Kings of succeeding generations are called Royal compounds (*kaḍaton*).

Kagènéngan had an Honourable (*ārya*) as the head of the secular administration and priests (*wikus*), probable Shiwaite and Buddhist assessors (*upapatti*) who represented the law. Mandarins with local authority (*maniri amañcanagara*) are not mentioned; in Gēḍḍing (canto 34) they were. The King's remarkable condescension to sit at the repast on a line with the Kagènéngan authorities (*linggih i hiringnira*) leads to the supposition that the persons participating in the community-meal were considered as equals because they sat in the august presence of the deified ancestor. The dead King was the host; compared to him the living King was of no more consequence than his servants.

The absence of local mandarins might be explained by the fact that Kagènéngan was not an important town like Gēḍḍing, Kēṭa and Patukangan. Perhaps it only had an *ārya* and assessors-at-law because it was the residence of the deified King, who could not be served by persons of lower rank. Local mandarins were not needed there. A similar situation (officials of a rank far too high for the worldly importance of the place) existed far into the 20th century in the village near the cemeteries of the Central Javanese Kings at Imagiri.

Besides the founder of the dynasty only the last King of Singasari and the *Rājapatni* were worshipped by *puṣpa*-ceremonies, according to the Nāg. poet. The other ancestors whose sanctuaries were visited only received marks of respect (*manāmya marèk*). No doubt this difference is an indication of the relative importance of the Royal ancestors. The *puṣpa*-ceremony at Kagènéngan is the only one that is described at some length, and so are the Kagènéngan sanctuaries themselves.

The last words of canto 36 mentioning the pleasure of the onlookers refers to the fact that the Kagènéngan feast and the procession that led up to it was a public spectacle to be enjoyed by anyone who cared.

The character of public spectacle proper to many Royal ceremonies also in modern Java has been pointed out repeatedly in the present author's *Javaanse Volksvertoningen*.

Canto 37, stanzas 1, 2. In canto 37 the Shiwaite sanctuary in Kagēnēgan, that was in good state, is described in two stanzas; the description of the remains of the Buddhistic sanctuary takes also two stanzas. Of course Prapañca was especially interested in the Buddhistic temple; he added two extra stanzas trying to move the King to have it restored to its former glory. The character of a personal appeal to Hayam Wuruk's compassion is given to that request by the mention of the King's proper name instead of one of his titles or his official name Rājasaṅgara. An appeal is also made to the King's friendship for the poet personally (canto 37—6—4: *masih ring atpada*: loving the bringer of veneration, which is the term used in some more passages in the Nāg. when referring to the relation between Prapañca and his Royal master).

From the two descriptions it appears that the principal elements of a sanctuary in the Majapahit period were: a main gate (*dūwāra*, *gopura*), with an open space outside (*yawa*, *heng*), inside a courtyard (*natar*), with the temple-tower (*prāsāda*), containing the *cella* (*dalēm*) with the Divine Abode (*pratiṣṭhā*). The resemblance to the Royal compound of Majapahit as described in chapter 2 is remarkable. In both cases the gate was of the utmost importance as a division between the outside world and the sacral interior. The girdle (*mekhala*) of the Shiwaite place has its parallel in the wall (*baṅra*) of the Buddhist sanctuary and the wall (*kuṭa*) of the Royal compound. The terraces of the Shiwaite courtyard (*natar tinumpa-tumpa*) were found in the Majapahit compound too. In the Buddhistic temple-yard they had fallen into decay (*sampun arata*). In both yards *nagasari* (Mesua ferrea) trees were found, in the Shiwaite one also *bakula* (*tanjung*, *Mimusops Elengi* Linn). The *cella* (*dalēm*) and the Divine Abode (*pratiṣṭhā*) are mentioned in the Shiwaite description; in the Buddhistic one the words have other meanings. A Buddhistic temple-tower (*prāsāda*) is not mentioned. The comparison with mount Meru is remarkable because in modern Balinese the temple-towers (with roofs in many storeys) are usually called *meru*.

Canto 37, stanzas 2, 3. The description of the decayed Buddhistic sanctuary has some more interesting points. If "pit" is the correct translation of *gangka turunan* (literally: descending hole) probably the pit right under the statue in the *cella*, originally containing some religious symbols in gold and jewels, and part of the ashes of the deified ancestor (?) is meant. It was an essential part of the monument (*caṇḍī*). From the fact that the pit was open it is to be inferred that the temple was robbed by treasure-hunters; this happened frequently. Perhaps the original temple-tower was made of wood and burnt down, so the stone or brick base (*butur*) alone remained.

In the third stanza the same words *ri dalēm* and *pratiṣṭhā* are used as in the second stanza, but they have different meanings. Perhaps Prapañca did this on purpose to accentuate the difference between the complete Shiwaite sanctuary and the decayed Buddhist one. In the description of the Shiwaite temple "in the interior" (*ri dalēm*) clearly refers to the *cella* inside, the place of the statue, the Divine Abode. Describing the Buddhistic remains the poet evidently uses the words "in the interior" to refer to its situation in the interior of the jungle at some distance from the complete Shiwaite temple. The desolate condition of the decayed temple, overgrown by tropical vegetation is shown in the fifth stanza. Abode (in this case rendered: a god's abode) is the original meaning of *pratiṣṭhā* (The meaning Divine Abode, statue, which is the more usual one in the *Nāg.*, is secondary). In the description of the Buddhistic remains "god's abode" seems to refer to the entire complex, not merely to the (decayed) central monument. (Is it most improbable that *pratiṣṭhā* in stanza 3 refers to a forlorn Buddhistic statue, for in that case Prapañca certainly would describe it).

The question of the Divine Abodes (*pratiṣṭhā*) of deified Royal ancestors in the shape of statues, presumed with features reminiscent of the defunct, was discussed by Moens in a paper on *Hindoe-Javaansche portretbeelden* (portrait-statues), in T.B.G. 58, 1919.

The gods' houses (*sanggar*) of the Buddhistic complex probably resembled the modern Balinese structures of that name (KBNW sub *sanggak*): small-scale houses on a nearly man's high pedestal, like dovecotes, with high roofs, meant for temporary abodes of gods at the times they are worshipped. The Buddhist *sanggars* of course were sacred to divine beings belonging to the Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna pantheons, Bodhisattvas and their kind. The "places for worship" (*pamajan*) perhaps were similar structures as the "gods' houses" but

on a smaller scale and sacred to divine beings of lesser importance. Their being ordered according to rank (*tinitah*) points to a plurality; their number is not mentioned, though.

The refectory (*pabhaktan*) outside the main gate of the Buddhistic complex perhaps is to be compared with the extremely long building (*yasha wêkas ing apañjang*) near the market-place in Majapahit (canto 8—2—3) that was used for the annual meeting of the Royal servants in the month *Caitra* (canto 85). As the refectory had a yard (*natar*) of its own it was a building of some importance. The King's public repast outside the Shiwaite sanctuary (canto 36—2—3) perhaps took place in a similar hall. The modern Javanese *surambi* has been mentioned before in this connection.

Canto 37, stanzas 5, 6. The poetical stanza 5 is to be compared with canto 34—1. *Cawinîñ* is a modification of *cawiri*, which is well-known as the name of a motif of Javanese decorative art. In this stanza *cawiri*, being the parallel of *cāmara* (*Casuarina equisetifolia*), no doubt is the name of a tree, but as such it is not known to the present author. Linguistically *cawiri* might be related to *kamiri*, a well-known tree (*Aleurites moluccana*). The poet's attempt, by working up compassion, by flattery and by an appeal to friendship, at inducing the King to have the decayed Buddhistic sanctuary restored in its former glory, has been noted before.

Canto 37, stanza 7. The comprehensive description of the Kagē-nengan sanctuaries has an anticlimax in the very short notice on the Shiwaite domain of Kiḍal, sacred to the second King of Singasari, and on the Buddhistic domain of Jajaghu (now: Jago), dedicated to the third King. No elaborate flower-offering ceremonies were celebrated there. The Royal acts of worship were limited to bowing or making obeisance (*nāmya*, probably the prostration while sitting in *shila*-posture on the ground, that is called *makiḍupuh* in modern Javanese) and to entering into the Presence.

Canto 38, stanzas 1—3. The description of the sacred spring with bathing-place of Burēng (mentioned already in 35—4—4), is interesting for the monument (*candī*) that is said to be placed on an islet in the centre of the pond. This situation reminds one of the "floating

pavilions" (*bale kambang*) that have been mentioned before (commentary on canto 26). The use of stone (*shila*) is especially pointed out in several places in the Nāg. because as a rule in East Java brick was used for building purposes.

Monuments called *caṇḍis* are mentioned in several places in the Nāg. In cantos 56—2—1 and 57 - 1 - 2 it is made clear that the central building of a domain dedicated to ancestor worship, otherwise called temple-tower, *prāsāda*, could be called so. In the cases of several *caṇḍis* that are mentioned in the Nāg. (e.g. the locality Caṇḍi-Lima, the Five Monuments, near Majapahit, canto 17 4 4) there is no evidence of any ancestor worship on the part of the Court, though. Those *caṇḍis* might have belonged to noble families long extinct that were not related to the King. In that case it is remarkable that they occupied an important place in the minds of the public. But then they were erected on beautiful spots. The possibility remains that in the Majapahit period not only real funeral monuments containing part of the ashes of deceased ancestors (?) were called *caṇḍis* but also other monuments or sanctuaries. In modern Javanese all kinds of decayed ancient religious buildings are called *caṇḍis*. The local name Five Monuments near Majapahit suggests that it was a sanctuary dedicated to the cosmic classification of Five (the four points of the compass and the centre), which occupied a most important place in Javanese thinking. The resemblance of the Burēng *caṇḍi* (in the centre of a pond) with a "floating pavilion" (*bale kambang*) renders some association with ancient popular worship highly probable.

Belonging to a family of Buddhist courtiers P'rapasica's interest in popular religion not related to Royal ancestor worship seems slight. Nevertheless in some places in his poem it is possible to find references to customs and beliefs that are of interest to students of ancient popular culture in Java.



III. JAVANESE HUSBANDRY, SEE P. VIII.

CHAPTER 5 - NOTES ON THE KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF RAJASA,

from 1182 till 1313, and on their religious domains

Cantos 38/3—49, 47¹/₂ stanzas.

Canto 38, stanzas 3—6. Canto 38, second half, and canto 39 contain the introduction of the poet's informant: the abbot of Mungguh doctor Ratnāṅgsha. The abbey of Mungguh has been mentioned before. Its situation is unknown. From canto 38 the inference might be made that it was not very far from Singasari. The abbot's official name, doctor (*ācārya*) Ratnāṅgsha is not mentioned before the end of the chapter (canto 49). He was an ecclesiastical gentleman of noble birth (a Royal relative) and ample means (Mungguh owned dependencies in the eastern districts), loyal to the King (*satya*) and as a consequence of his great age (more than eighty years) considered an authority on history. His knowledge of religious observances and ceremonies (*kriyā*) is extolled, but the devotion (*brata*) is not mentioned. *Kriyā* and *brata* form a pair, probably related one to another as exoteric and esoteric religion. *Brata*, devotion, is often mentioned in connection with esoteric Buddhism. The fact that doctor Ratnāṅgsha's speciality was exoteric ceremonies is in accordance with his interest in dynastic history and the origin of Royal domains.

Prapañca's idea of including the notes on the deified Kings as an intermezzo in the account of the Royal Progress is not strange. The principal point of interest to the poet, writing these notes, was the identification of religious domains (*dharma*, see canto 38—6—2) containing Royal funeral monuments and statues, abodes of deified ancestors of his master (*pratiṣṭhā*). The notes on the Kings and their monuments that were spread all over the country fit perfectly well into a topographic description (*Dśha W'arnana*, the poet's name for his work). His intention in writing the poem that is now known as Nāgara-

Kĕrtāgama was in the first place to offer a topography. The main part of the fifteen chapters can easily be brought under that head. In this respect the Nāg. might be compared with the celebrated modern Javanese encyclopedical poem *Cĕṇṭini*, which also contains lengthy passages with topographical notes. The extracts taken from the *carcan*, the Register of domains, that are incorporated in the Nāg. (chapters 12 and 13), are comparable with the notes on the Kings and their domains in chapter 5. The same places are mentioned in both lists.

To the Javanese courtiers of his time who were familiar with many of the localities mentioned in the poem Prapañca's intention was clear enough. To the Balinese literary men of the 15th century and afterwards who did not know Java from personal observation it was not. Thinking that the descriptions of Court ceremonies that interested them were the principal thing in the poem they gave it the name Nāgara-Kĕrtāgama (Book of learning on the order of the Realm). Twentieth century European scholars, finally, being interested in the first place in history, considered the notes on the Kings the starting-point of the poet's activity. If it had been Prapañca's intention to write on history the plan of his poem would have been singularly inept. "Historians of South East Asia" a book on "Historical Writing on the Peoples of Asia" edited by Professor Hall of London, 1961, contains valuable contributions i.a. by Berg and de Casparis. Being Western historians the authors seem unconsciously to have overrated the Nāg. poet's interest in history.

Ratnāngsha's treatment of Prapañca who is his bishop's son and supposed to be an influential friend of the King, but who is by far his junior in years, is a mixture of friendliness and obsequiousness. *Labi* (literally: man, male, here rendered: friend) is to be compared with modern Jav. *fole*, which has a similar original meaning (derivation from *konfol*: scrotum). Both words are used by people who are advanced in years to address their juniors (even if they are no longer boys) in a friendly but slightly high-handed manner. On the other hand Ratnāngsha meticulously gives Prapañca the honorific Court predicate "honoured" (*sang*) which is his right. In his introduction of the old abbot the poet is full of reverence: he gives him the high predicate: "the worshipful" and the pronouns that are usually reserved for Divinity and Royalty "He, Him, His" (*sira*, *-ira*). Very correctly Prapañca does not address Ratnāngsha directly (and so in the beginning he avoids any title or pronoun), but he states his request impersonally, referring to himself by his Court title "honoured poet" (*rakawi*).

At the end of Ratnāṅgsha's discourse (canto 49—8) that indirect address is repeated when Prapañca takes ceremonious leave.

Canto 39, stanzas 1—3. This canto contains Ratnāṅgsha's answer to Prapañca's request which he finds commendable (*angde stuning rāt*) in a young man. It speaks of the poet's being old in mind (*wērdhha-buddhi*).

As Kern remarked already the second stanza of canto 39 is the *manggala*, the initial prayer before beginning the discourse.

The words (with the humble pronoun *nghulun*: your servant) are addressed to the two Deities: Shiwa (Girindra) and Buddha (the Holy One) in the same sequence as in the initial stanza of the Nāg. itself (canto 1—1—3/4). The formula "purified in his thoughts" means that no bodily purification ceremony was intended. Originally the "seven sacred watering-places" probably referred to the seven holy rivers of India (Heyting, OV 1923, p. 64). Probably in practice in the Majapahit period whenever a bodily purification ceremony was performed (e.g. after confinement, at the disposal of the dead) water was taken from seven wells or from seven places where water was usually fetched. Similar customs still prevail in modern Java.

Ratnāṅgsha mentions as his authorities oral tradition (*paṅgrēngō*) and the wisdom of the ancients (*jñāna sang wērdhha*). As the importance of oral tradition in cultures of the type of the Majapahit one is well established there is no reason to doubt his words. Nor need the historicity of Ratnāṅgsha himself be doubted. The abbey of Mungguh is mentioned several times in the Nāg. Perhaps it was the recipient of liberal Royal favours in the days of King Kērtanagara of Singasari, who was a fervent Buddhist. He is highly extolled in Ratnāṅgsha's account. The old abbot's relation with the Royal Family (he was a Royal relative) might be traced to the reign of the celebrated last King of Singasari.

The notes on the deified Kings bear the mark of their origin from a string of chronograms referring to important events, mostly Royal funerals. The chronograms (Sanskrit words with numeral connotations) apparently served as mnemonic sentences. If Ratnāṅgsha possessed a notebook with chronograms (it would be called a *primbon* in modern Javanese) he did not use it, according to Prapañca. He may have had its contents by heart. There is no reason to assume that Prapañca either in Singasari-Mungguh or on a previous occasion took cognizance

of a book on Javanese dynastic history or of written notes on that subject, as Berg would have it (*Rijksdeling*, Darbaru hypothesis). If he had, he probably would have mentioned it, as he repeatedly mentioned the Register (*carran*) of the Royal and other domains (*dharma*). The contents of the chapters 12 and 13 of the Nāg. apparently are taken from that Register.

Prapañca's part in editing the notes on the deified Kings and their domains probably consisted in the reproduction in poetry of Ratnāṅsha's commentaries on his chronograms. If this was the course of things (and there seems to be no reason to doubt it) chapter 5 of the Nāg. contains the Singasari-Majapahit Court tradition on the preceding Kings of the dynasty as seen from a Buddhist point of view. The discrepancies between the Nāg. notes and the contents of the Pararaton (which in part indeed is a book on dynastic history) have been a source of worry for some European scholars. They could have set their minds at ease by recalling the difference of outlook of the two principal sources of Majapahit dynastic history. The author of the historical part of the Pararaton was a Shiwaite Javanese who was not in close contact with Royalty. He was interested not so much in dates and names as in events that could be dramatized. Probably he had relations with the class of popular bards or storytellers (*widu amacangah*) who are mentioned also in the Nāg.

As the preceding remarks on the historical value of the Nāg. notes on the Kings seem sufficient for the present edition of Prapañca's poem the lengthy discussions of European scholars on Singasari and Majapahit history that began with Kern's translation shall not be reproduced. Readers who are especially interested in dynastic history of the period are referred to Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (Hindu-Javanese History). A new and revised English edition of that standard-work is in preparation. In the present Nāg. edition the notes on the deified Kings and their religious domains are translated and annotated as they are, without any references to other sources of history unless absolutely necessary for a good understanding of the text.

The last stanza of canto 39 contains the usual *captatio benevolentiae*. In Javanese books it is as a rule found at the end. In the Nāg. too the last cantos are meant to invite the reader's indulgence for the author's shortcomings. The initial prayer and the *captatio benevolentiae* mark Ratnāṅsha's discourse as a thing of importance.

Canto 40, stanzas 1, 2. Canto 40 is concerned with the founder of the dynasty who is called Rangguh Rājasa. In connection with his peculiar theory on Javanese historiography Berg posited that the name Rājasa was given to the first King by Prapañca in imitation of the official name of the poet's Royal master Rājasanāgara (Berg R. p. 172). The reverse seems much more plausible. Several members of the Majapahit Royal Family had Rājasa in their official names (v. the genealogical tree). The name might be considered as a family name. As the founder of the dynasty also is called Angrok (the Assailant, in the Pararaton) Rājasa (the Impetuous One) probably is a Sanskrit translation of an old name. *Rangguh* seems to be Rājasa's title. Perhaps the word is related with *canggah*: great-great-grandson and (consequently) great-great-grandfather. *Rangga* and *Raga* are better known as titles connected with (semi-) legendary personages: *Rangga* Lawe of Tuban and *Raga* Runting, mentioned in the Tantu.

Mount Kawi as a boundary is also mentioned in the Pararaton. Kuṭa Rāja is called "vanquished", i.e. probably: dependent. This qualification is in accordance with the description of its legal state as a manor and a mandarin's (i.e. a rural gentleman's) residence. The King of Kaḍiri was Rājasa's liege lord.

The poet's poetical praise of Royal virtues and Royal enemies' abject characters in high-sounding Sanskrit words reminds one of the preambles of Royal charters that as a rule contain similar expressions in the form of epithets bestowed on the Princes and their principal servants. No doubt Prapañca was well versed in the Court idiom; he had an extensive knowledge of Sanskrit as far as Sanskrit studies went in 14th century Majapahit.

Canto 40, stanza 3. The Kaḍiri King who was vanquished by Rājasa is called Kērtajaya. Jaya (Victorious) seems to have been a family name of the Kaḍiri dynasty up to the last King who was called for short Jaya Katwang (Jaya the Redoubtable, v. canto 44—2). In so far it is comparable to the Rājasa element in Singasari-Majapahit Royal names. Both in the Nāg. and in the Pararaton (where he is called Daṇḍang Gēṇḍis, probably: Brown Crow) Kērtajaya appears as a scholar well versed in Shiwaitic religious lore (*Tattwopadesha*, Instruction on Reality). It would be interesting to compare the scholarly Shiwaitic Kaḍiri King Kērtajaya who lost his kingdom with the learned Shiwaitic-Tantristic Singasari King Kērtanagara who met with the

same fate, but that digression on Javanese history and historiography would not fit into the present commentary on the Nāg.

Daṇḍang Gēṇḍis, Kērtajaya's Javanese name according to the Pararaton, is also the name of one of the native Javanese metres, now mostly called *Daṇḍang-Gula* (as distinct from the Sanskrit metres that are used in the Nāg.). At the Kaḍiri Court literary activity seems to have reached a high level. Another native Javanese metre is simply called *Kaḍiri*. The last Kaḍiri King Jaya Katwang made a poem (probably) on his native country when he was dethroned by the first King of Majapahit (v. commentary on canto 17—5).

The stanza on Kaḍiri (40—3) contains two Javanese words that are used only in this place in the Nāg.: *ajar*, meaning: a doctor of holy lore, and *pajurit*: a fighting-man. Both words are well-known in modern Javanese. Assuming that the words were specifically Kaḍirinese this leads to the supposition that the Kaḍiri idiom, as distinct from the Singasari-Majapahit idiom, was related as to its vocabulary to modern Javanese which is descended from the Pajang-Mataram idiom. It is a fact that the only *prajurit* (fighting-man) who is mentioned in the Pararaton proves to be a Kaḍiri courtier. The relation of the Shiwaitic Kaḍiri Court with the western districts Wēngkēr (modern Madiun), Pajang and Mataram is rendered the more plausible by this coincidence.

Canto 40, stanza 4. The reunion of Janggala (the districts on the lower course of the river Brantas) and Kaḍiri (on the upper Brantas, the western districts) that is mentioned in this stanza as the result of Rājasa's victory over Kērtajaya was considered the crown of any great King's life-work. The tales referring to an original division of the realm and subsequent attempts at reuniting the parts must be seen as acts in the mythical historical drama of Java. The bipartition of the Javanese kingdom was one of the aspects of the cosmic duality which was the foremost idea of Javanese social and religious thinking. In the commentary on the ninth chapter the conception of perennial division and reunion of the realm shall be discussed at some length.

No doubt the distinction between rural communities (*ḍapurs*) and lairds of manors (*juru-kutus*) also is an aspect of the social duality. In the Nāg. the *ḍapurs* (probably more or less democratically organized village communities of the well-known Balinese and modern Javanese pattern) seem to be identified with the down-stream, Janggala part of the realm, the *juru-kutus*, the landed gentry, lairds of manors, with the up-stream, western part. The introduction and consolidation of

social order in conformity with the basic conception of duality also was any great King's work. As Rājasa was the founder of the dynasty it was attributed to him, rightly or wrongly. The distinction between rural communities and manors in the economic life of the Majapahit period shall be discussed in the chapter on economics in the present volume. The commoners who were "penetrated" by the idea of the duality of *ḍapurs* and *kutuns* are the common people outside the Court sphere. As is the case in several other places in the Nāg. the formula "causing rejoicing of the world" (i.e.: of the public) refers to popular agreement with any measure that is in conformity with social and religious dualistic ideas. Prapañca's mentioning the common people (*sāmya*) in this verse makes it clear that neither the rural communities nor the landed gentry belonged to the Court-sphere.

Canto 40, stanza 5. Rājasa's two religious domains, one Shiwaite, the other Buddhist, in Kagēnēgan, are described in canto 37. "In olden times" is added perhaps to accentuate the fact of Rājasa's foundryship of the Singasari-Majapahit dynasty. The purely dynastic conception of history is apparent in this verse. What happened before the foundation of the dynasty does not come up for discussion.

The chronograms concerning Rājasa as mentioned in canto 40 are:

1. *abdhideshendū*; 1104 *Shāka*, 1182 A.D.: Ranggha Rājasa "appears".
2. *abdhikērtashangkara*; 1144 *Shāka*, 1222 A.D.: Rājasa's victory over Kērtajaya, King of Kaḍiri.
3. *syābḍhirudra*; 1149 *Shāka*, 1227 A.D.: Rājasa's death, monuments in Kagēnēgan, Shiwaite and Buddhist.

The discrepancies between the Nāg. and the Pararaton chronologies are not discussed in the present commentary.

No doubt the number of stanzas dedicated to any reign mentioned in this list is an indication of the poet's (and probably Ratnāngsha's) opinion on the importance (for the glory of the dynasty) of the King in question. Rājasa, the founder, is given five stanzas, his immediate successor only one, the third King three.

Canto 41, stanza 1. Canto 41 deals briefly with the two Kings who reigned between Rājasa and Kērtanagara, the great Buddhist King to whom very much attention is paid (cantos 42, 43 and 44). The Buddhist character of Ratnāngsha's notes on the Kings and their religious

domains and his admiration for Kērtanagara could be explained by assuming that the old abbot of Mungguh was a relative of the last King of Singasari.

The expression "was given the shape of a lamp in the likeness of Shiwa" (*winangun pradīpa Śhīwawimba*) is unique. Other Kings are given "Divine Abodes", i.e. statues (*pratiṣṭhā*). As there is no reason to assume that some scribe exchanged the (in the Nāg.) rather common word *pratiṣṭa* (Skt.: *pratiṣṭhā*) for *pradīpa* which is only found in this verse, the Nāg.'s information as to Anūṣanātha's funeral memorial in the shape of a lamp is to be trusted. Though the Kiḍal temple is relatively well preserved no stone statue has been found there. Perhaps the "lamp in the likeness of Shiwa" was a bronze statue of the god holding in his hands one or more oil lamps of the well-known type: flat open plates with spouts for the wicks.

Any reason why the second Singasari King should be given such an extraordinary memorial is speculative. Nor is it at all certain that his peculiar relation to Rājasa (according to the Pararaton he was his predecessor's stepson) has anything to do with it. Berg has extensive theories on the first Singasari Kings (in his *Rijksdeling*) and Poerbatjaraka has an idea of his own about the statue of Kiḍal (in his book on Agastya). Neither shall be discussed in the present commentary which is only concerned with the Nāg. text.

Nusapati (the Pararaton name of Anūṣanātha) is one of the few ancient Royal names that survive in (relatively) modern Javanese literature. Pañji Nusapati is the hero of one of the so-called Pañji-romances, the *Malat* (v. Poerbatjaraka's book on the Pañji cycle, Batavia 1940). As a Prince of Kēling he roams over the country in search of his beloved, a Princess of Kaḍiri. This quest for the beloved is the unvarying motif of all Pañji romances. The Javanese duality concept (Janggala-Kaḍiri) is very strong in them. If there is any relation between the second Singasari King and the romantic Pañji it is as yet unknown. Van der Tuuk's supposition that the name Anūṣanātha or Anusapati is a corruption of Mānuṣapati: Lord of Men, is unproved. Any other explanation of the name is lacking, though.

Canto 41, stanzas 2-4. The third Singasari reign according to the Nāg. was a diarchy of two Kings: Jaya-Wishnuwardhana and Nara-singha. The preceding short reign of King Toh-Jaya which is mentioned in the Pararaton does not appear in the Nāg.

Kern's explanation of the comparison with Mādhawa and his elder

brother as referring to Wishnu and Indra is improbable, because Wishnu-Indra seem to be almost unknown as a closely related pair in Hindu-Javanese mythology. Much more probable is the explanation that the comparison refers to Krēshna (who is Wishnu) and Baladewa, a pair of brothers (dissimilar in character and personal appearance, but nevertheless loving each other) which is popular in the modern Javanese *wayang* plays and may have been so for a long time. Their role in the Mahābhārata tales vouches for that. The comparisons (beloved in the Nāg.) of Kings and Queens with mythological or divine personages no doubt contain valuable information on the Royal characters and the relations inside the Royal families. In the chapter on the Majapahit dynasty in the present volume some of the comparisons shall be discussed.

Linggapati (in the Pararaton called Lingganingpati, of Mahibit) is not identified. Mahibit's probable situation not far from Majapahit is mentioned by Krum (HJG², 326). The Royal victories over Linggapati and other enemies were followed by the consecration of Kērtanagara and the changing of the original name Kuṣa Rāja (a name fit for a manor and a country district) into Singasari. The contrast between a rural district (*pradesha*) and a realm (*nagara*) is made very clear in this stanza. Apparently the credit of having made Singasari a Royal residence is given to the diarchy Kings. Wishnuwardhana's Royal charter of 1248, the year of the death of Anūṣanātha, which in its preamble mentions his grandfather, is the first charter of the Singasari dynasty that is known to us. The charters' preambles seem to refer quite often to events that were considered of paramount importance to the Royal Family. Berg's singular supposition that Wishnuwardhana was a conqueror from South India (*Rijksdeling*, p. 129) is not supported by any Nāg. verse, so it need not be discussed in the present commentary.

Wishnuwardhana and Narasingha are put on a par with Kērtanagara and Hayam Wuruk in being called divine incarnations (*dewamārti*). Probably this distinction conferred on the diarchy Kings has something to do with their being Hayam Wuruk's great-great-grandfathers. The last Singasari King Kērtanagara, Wishnuwardhana's son, had as his mother Queen Jaya Wardhani (according to the so-called Jaka Dolok inscription of Surabaya). She might be a Kaḍiri Princess (with a name containing the element Jaya), and so her son Kērtanagara was by birth a "reuniter" of the two moieties of the realm: Janggala (Singasari) and Kaḍiri. Perhaps that was the reason why he was consecrated a King

before his father's death, and why his consecration was celebrated with great pomp (*puṣpa*-flower-offering ceremonies). Even his name Kērtanagara ("Ordered is the Realm") might refer to the reunion, which is the unvarying achievement of any great King according to Javanese dualistic cosmic thinking.

The religious domains of Wisnuwardhana: Walèri (now Mèlèri, near Blitar) and Jajaghu (now Jago near Tumpang, east of Malang) are identified. Though the King's name referred to Wisnuism his funeral monuments were Shiwaitic-Buddhistic. As a rule the last part *-wardhana* (growth) in Royal names seems to refer to a collateral branch or a Prince-Consort (e.g. Kērtawardhana, Ilayam Wuruk's father). An explanation is not attempted in the present commentary.

The singular note on Narasingha's Shiwa-statue in Kunitir that was (in 1359) "recently" erected by the Prince of Wēngkēr, Ilayam Wuruk's energetic uncle, has given Berg food for speculations on the relations inside the Royal Family (*Rijksdeling*, p. 165 seq.), that need not be reproduced in the present commentary on the Nāg. Probably Berg is right, though, in assuming that the Prince of Wēngkēr's interest in his wife's great-grandfather (who was perhaps his own ancestor too) was prompted by dynastic considerations. Probably Kunitir is to be identified with Budhi Kuñcir (in canto 74) and Kumēpēr (in the Pararaton), its situation is unknown.

The chronograms mentioned in canto 41 referring to the second and the third reigns of Singasari Kings are:

4. *tilakādrishambhu*; 1170 *Shāka*, 1248 A.D.: Anūṣanātha's death, monument in Kiḍal, Shiwaitic.
5. *rasaparwatenduma*; 1176 *Shāka*, 1254 A.D.: consecration of Kērtanagara.
6. *kanawāwanikṣiti*; 1190 *Shāka*, 1268 A.D.: Wisnuwardhana's death, monuments in Walèri, Shiwaitic, and in Jajaghu, Buddhistic.

Canto 41, stanza 5 is the beginning of the notes on the life of King Kērtanagara of Singasari, who is given no less than ten stanzas in the cantos 41, 42 and 43. In this manner he is extolled above all the other Kings, even above the founder of the dynasty, Rājasa. Ratnāngsha's (and Prapañca's) predilection for the last King of Singasari appears most clearly by this excess. His most unhappy end (according to the Pararaton's dramatized story), at the hands of his Kaḍirinese enemies, is hushed up by his admirers.

Kĕrtanagara's enemy Cayarāja is called Bhaya in the Pararaton. Neither the correct name (the Javanese letters *c* and *bh* are very much alike) nor the identity are clearly established. In local Kaḍirinese legendary history as related i.a. in the Darma Gaṇḍul, a tale about the last Majapahit King's defeat in the struggle against rising Islam, a demon King Caya or I.o Caya, also called Sumbré, is known. Perhaps this legend justifies the supposition that the war of Kĕrtanagara and Cayarāja was just another instance of the struggle for the supremacy of Singasari and Kaḍiri.

The last verses of canto 41 refer to Kĕrtanagara's expedition to Sumatra (Malayu). No doubt the Javanese imperialistic efforts to dominate Sumatra are important features in the political and cultural history of the Archipelago, and they aroused a great deal of interest among European scholars. As the Nāg. reference is only casual the expedition's history need not be discussed in the present commentary. The very last verse "before that time was the demise" refers to the fact, related in the Pararaton, that the victorious expeditionary forces only returned to Java after King Kĕrtanagara's untimely death.

Canto 42, stanza 1. Cantos 42 and 43 are concerned only with Kĕrtanagara. In canto 42 his feats as a statesman are extolled. Mahiṣa Rangkah's identity is unknown. Berg has a theory on this matter (*Oriëntatie* 18) which need not be discussed here.

In the margin of the first stanza of canto 42 of the Nāg. palm-leaf manuscript some Balinese reader wrote: *kalahi Bali* (defeat of Bali). Apparently the Balinese literati who read Javanese books of the kind of the Nāg. were above all things interested in information on their own native country.

Ratu (with *haji* the only native Javanese Royal title) is applied several times in the Nāg. to members of foreign, non-Majapahit dynasties. (The Pararaton use of the title *ratu* is different). As the term "made captive" (*kahañang*) refers to women who are made inmates of the zenana of a conqueror (Berg points this out also in BKI 114, p. 11) the *ratu* (or the *ratus*) of Bali of canto 42—1—4 was (or were) a Princess (Princesses). In the so-called Pañji-romances an expedition to Bali and a Balinese Queen or Princess are mentioned. (Prb.'s *Pañji verhalen*, Jaya Kusuma). Some very vague relation between the romantic tale and Kĕrtanagara's expedition is imaginable.

Berg's conclusion that the Nāg. notice about the Balinese expedition

of 1284 is a fiction (*Rijksdeling*, p. 234, etc.) is mentioned here without comment.

Canto 42, stanza 2. Compared with cantos 13 and 14 this stanza gives a very concise list of overseas tributaries. According to Krom Bakulapura is to be identified with Tañjung-Nagara (canto 13—2—3), i.e. Borneo, and Gurun with Gorong, which might be a name for a whole group of islands (TBG 55, 1913, p. 323). The fact that Sumā is included is remarkable because as far as is known West Java never was really submissive to the Kings of East Java, nor is it mentioned in the extensive list of cantos 13 and 14. Probably the second stanza of canto 42 is rhetorical but not accurate in its praise of the great King.

Canto 42, stanza 3. The last stanza of canto 42 refers to the King's Buddhist religious zeal. *Samaya*, covenant, seems to stand for esoteric ceremonies (cf. commentary on canto 16—3—4) and *brata* for devotional observances such as fasting and giving alms. Both are Buddhist terms in the Nāg. idiom. Probably in the last verse of canto 43—3 nearly the same pair is referred to under the names *Gaṇacakra* (a special esoteric ceremony, cf. Prb. BKI, 80, 1924, p. 239) and *dāna* (gifts). Berg's interpretation of *samaya* as "agreements with other rulers" (*Rijksdeling*, p. 253) misses the point.

The Kings of the past who were imitated by Kērtanagara were the Pāṇḍawas, mentioned in the next canto.

Canto 43, stanza 1. Canto 43 is the second canto completely in praise of Kērtanagara, and mainly concerned with religion, as distinct from the political feats that are mentioned in canto 42. Kern mentions the date of the beginning of *Kaliyuga*, the present period of world-history according to Indian speculation: February 18, 3102 B.C. As the *Shāka* era begins 78 A.D. the Nāg. date 3179 years before the *Shāka* era is correct. The mention of *Dwāpara*, the period preceding *Kali*, and of the Pāṇḍawas, the heroes of the Mahābhārata tales, as being the righteous Kings of that age, proves that the scholars of the Singasari and Majapahit Courts possessed an extensive knowledge of Indian epical literature.

Śaḍabhijña, the possessor of the six transcendental accomplishments, the divine King (*dewaprabhu*) who saved the world in *Kaliyuga*, accor-

ding to the Nāg., is mentioned in the *Caṅṭakaparwa*, an Old Javanese encyclopedic work, quoted in KUNW. There he is identified with Tathāgata (the Buddha), Jina (Dhyānibuddha), Taya (Javanese: Nought, the Primeval) and he acts as a Saviour. Evidently in Mahāyānist Javanese lore *Ṣaḍabhijña* was a name for a Supreme Being. In the Nāg. idiom *sang hyang*, the Holy, as a rule refers to Buddhism.

Canto 43, stanza 2. Kern points to expressions like *Lokanātha*: Protector of the World, *Narendraraja*: King of Kings, *Mahishāsamaṇa*: Ruler of the Earth, that are used in the Mahāyānist *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* with reference to the Buddha. It is beyond doubt that in the Majapahit period Javanese Buddhist scholars were familiar only with Mahāyānist (and Tantric) Buddhological conceptions. Kērtanagara's devotion at the feet of the Shākya-Lion (*Shākyasingha*, i.e., *Siddhārtha*, the historical Buddha) is certainly to be understood as his acceptance of the tenets of Mahāyānist Buddhism.

The Five Commandments (*pañcashaīla*) that Kērtanagara kept are only the initial vows of Buddhist laymen. There is no evidence that the Ten Commandments of Buddhism incumbent on ordained monks were practised in Java in the Singasari and Majapahit period at Court, except perhaps by the *Rājapatni*. It is clear that the Buddhist Court priests did not observe celibacy, and there is hardly any reason to assume that Buddhist monachism in the strict sense was familiar to the Javanese of the period.

The mention of the Five Commandments preceding Kērtanagara's consecration as Jina reminds one of primitive initiation rites with observance of rules of abstinence before the attainment of a superior grade in sacral society.

Kern remarks that Jina and Dhyānibuddha (spiritual father of a Bodhisattwa) are synonyms. In the sixth stanza of canto 43 Kērtanagara is identified with Wairocana, the central, supreme person of the group of five Jinas, who has for attribute the *cakra*, the Ruler's Wheel. The King's consecration name *Jñānabajreshwara* (43—2—3) is found, slightly modified (*Jñāneshwarabajra*), in a charter of 1351 A.D. (BKI 1905, p. 655).

It is remarkable that in the Nāg. the very high rank of Jina is given only to Kērtanagara and to his father Wishnuwardhana (in canto 37—7). The other Kings' divine statues are described simply as "in the likeness of a Sugata", i.e. a Buddha.

Kērtanagara's important place in Javanese thought is apparent from

the fact that both his divine names survived him. In the *P'araraton Janeshwara* (a corruption of *Jñāneshwara*) is mentioned as one of King Hayam Wuruk's sacral names (*Volksvertoningen*, sub voce), and *Erucākṛā* (probably *Wairocana*, in contamination with *cakra*) is a name given i.a. to the (Mohammedan) Yogyakarta Prince *Dipānagārā* who in the first half of the 19th century constituted himself a Saviour of Javanese humanity and a Righteous King (v. the present author's paper on *Erucakra-Wairocana* in *India Antiqua*, 1947). Direct connection of *Erucākṛā-Dipānagārā* with King *Kērtanagara* of *Singasari* remains dubious, though.

In the *Majapahit* Court idiom *tarka-wyākaraṇa* (rendered: speculation and grammar) seems to be a Buddhistic combination of religious disciplines. *Nyāya-wyākaraṇa* (rendered: logic and grammar) is often found in ecclesiastical officers' epithets in the preambles of Royal charters; it seems to be pre-eminently Shiwaite. The contents of the books that were studied by *Singasari* and *Majapahit* scholars is unknown. As a consequence of the political and social disintegration in the time of the conversion to Islam the remnants of Old Javanese literature that are preserved in Bali and Lombok are very much mixed up. Buddhist religious texts are even rarer than Shiwaite ones. It seems safe to assume that books of religious learning in the *Singasari-Majapahit* period consisted of short Sanskrit texts with Old Javanese interpretations added. Manuscripts containing texts of that kind were found in Balinese collections.

Canto 43, stanza 3. *Kriyā* (rendered: rite) and *brata* (rendered: religious observance, devotion) often are mentioned together in the *Nāg*. The pair seems to represent the idea of religious life.

Kērtanagara's advanced age at the time he turned to esoteric rites probably is mentioned to extol his wisdom, increasing with the years. According to Kern a *Subhūti tantra* is not mentioned in authoritative Buddhistic literature. It is certainly a Tantric text. In the Mahāyānistic *Prajñā-Pāramitā* text, *Subhūti*, one of *Shākyamuni's* disciples, appears as teacher, which is of course a pious fraud. The *Prajñā-Pāramitā* text is by much posterior to *Siddhārtha's* times. *Subhūti's* appearance in that well-known text makes it probable that a minor, i.e. a Tantric text also was attributed to him. In the *Kamahāyanikan* (ed. Kats, p. 48, 98) *sang hyang tantra bajradhātu Subhūti* is mentioned. In the same Old Javanese Mahāyānistic text the terms *tarka* and *wyākaraṇa* are found (fol. 42).

The last two verses of the third stanza are concerned first with Shiwaism (*pājā-yoga-samādhi*), then with Buddhism (*Gaṇacakra* and *dāna*). It does not seem preposterous to assume that in the poet's mind the Subhūti *tantra* mentioned in the preceding verse taught the essential unity of the two denominations. Kērtanagara himself was a personification of the unity in his funeral Shiwa-Buddha statue. The importance in Javanese thought of the idea of primeval unity, division into moieties and subsequent reunion has been pointed out repeatedly before.

Though the connection of *pājā-yoga-samādhi* (rendered: worship, concentration, meditation) with Shiwaism does not absolutely exclude the use of those terms with reference to Buddhism, the mention of the King's activity in the material world (*amrih sthityaning rāt*) points to his veneration for Shiwa. In the very first stanza of the Nāg. the opposition Shiwaism-Buddhism is explained as material-inmaterial (*sakala-niskala*). It is to be noted that even in canto 43, especially made in praise of the great Buddhistic King, the sequence Shiwa-Buddha is observed. In the following stanzas the duality is mentioned again.

The sequence *pājā-yoga-samādhi* perhaps is a *niṣṭamadyamottama* (inferior, medium, superior) classification.

Gaṇacakra was found by Prb. (BKI 80, 1924, p. 239) in Schiefner's Tāranātha (p. 189). According to that work the Yogācārya Kukurarāja ("Dogs' King") or Kuṭarāja taught his disciples the Law by day and by night performed *Gaṇacakra* and other esoteric rites (*samaya*) on a burial-place. No doubt that quotation proves that *Gaṇacakra* is an esoteric, nocturnal Tantric rite. Kērtanagara's Tantrism arrested the attention of several European scholars (Moens, TBG 64, Berg, *Rijksdeling*, p. 62). Perhaps the name *Gaṇacakra*, i.e. Gaṇa-wheel, is to be connected with *Prayogakriyā* of the next stanza. Gaṇa is related to Gaṇesha, the Elephant-god, and in canto 1—2—4 *Prayoga* seems to stand for Gaṇesha. Both in the Tantu Panggëlaran and in the Korawāshrama (ed. Swellengrebel, an encyclopedic work on mythology) Gaṇa plays an important role. Evidently in Javanese esoteric religious thinking the elephant-god had the function of a guide, a preparer of the Way. The connection of the elephant with the vizir's function (Gajah Mada) and with chthonic powers has been mentioned in the commentary on canto 18.

In the district of Cērbon remnants of early Mohammedan so-called Pasisir (i.e. Coast) art have been found, i.e. boards with wood-carvings en relief representing various personages and figures generally belonging to the sphere of Javanistic Muslim mysticism. Among them

pictures of an elephant have been noted. Perhaps in the 15th and 16th century Mohammedan mystic communities on the North Coast (from where in the course of time Islam spread over the country) the elephant's function of a guide on the Path still was remembered. The elephant pictures might be considered as witnesses of the link connecting esoteric Tantrism with early Mohammedan Javanistic mysticism. Survival of religious symbols furnishing proof of the continuity in national culture has been noted in many countries.

King Kērtanagara's second Buddhist virtue, liberality (*dāna*) has been referred to in connection with the pair *samaya-brata* (esoteric ceremonies and religious observances) of canto 42—3. Perhaps in the quotation about Kukurārāja the same opposition is meant. King Kērtanagara's gifts might be religious instructions of an exoteric character (the Law).

Canto 43, stanza 4. In this stanza Kērtanagara's exoteric Shiwaite and esoteric Tantric perfection is pointed out as the cause of his descendants' glory as monarchs, reunifiers of the realm (*ekacchatra*) and divine Kings (*dewa-prabhu*). No doubt this very high praise is meant for Hayam Wuruk who was Kērtanagara's great-grandson. By means of the title *dewa-prabhu* he is put on a par with Śaṅkabhijña, the Saviour.

The antithesis between exoteric Shiwaism and esoteric Buddhism is represented in the fourth stanza, in the verses 2 and 3, by two times three accomplishments, each trio probably ordered in the *niṣṭamadhya-mottama* (inferior-medium-superior) classification. The three Shiwaite accomplishments are; *śaḍguṇa*, the books of learning and Reality Doctrine, the Buddhist ones are the Law, the veneration for the Jinas and the Tantric Prayoga rite.

Śaḍguṇa is a name for a group of six accomplishments that are useful for a politician. The KBNW has a list of them with Old Javanese interpretations. The Shiwaite character of *Tattwopadesha* (rendered: Reality Doctrine) has been pointed out before.

Canto 43, stanzas 5, 6. The last two stanzas of canto 43 contain the account of King Kērtanagara's two religious domains: one in Singasari ("here", where Ratnāngsha stayed, as Prb. rightly remarked) where he was represented as two persons: Shiwa-Buddha, and one in Sagala, also as two persons (with his Queen Bajradewī): Wairocana-Loanā. As the relation between Shiwaism and Buddhism was considered as male and female both statues were bisexual. The Shiwa-

Buddha statue is not identified with certainty and the situation of Sagala is unknown. The extensive archaeological literature on King Kērtanagara's statues need not be discussed in the present commentary. The interested reader is referred to Krom's books on Hindu-Javanese history and art.

Jinendra, Prince of Jinas, probably refers to Wairocana, the central person of the group of five Jinas. In the poem Sutasoma (quoted in KBNW sub Jina) Jinendra seems to be a name of another Jina: Amoghasiddhi, who was also much venerated by Javanese Buddhists. In any case King Kērtanagara's elevation to a very high rank in the Mahāyānist pantheon is certain.

By "the other rites" no doubt Shiwaism is meant. The mention of doctrines or instructions (*upadesha*), reminiscent of the Shiwaitic Reality Doctrine (*Tattwopadesha*) vouches for that.

The difference between the use of *arcā* (rendered: statue or cult-statue) and *pratiṣṭhā* (rendered for want of anything better: Divine Abode) seems to be that *arcā* in the Nāg. idiom may refer to any piece of religious statuary while *pratiṣṭhā* (literally: abode, namely of a divine being) always refers to a consecrated statue of a god or goddess with whom a King or Queen is identified. *Pratimā* is a small statue, a statuette.

As to the pair Wairocana-Locanā it is remarkable that Locanā is not Wairocana's Tārā (energy, represented as a goddess) but Akṣobhya's (another Jina), whereas Wairocana has for Tārā Wajradhātūśwari, according to authoritative Indian information (v. Pott, Tibetan collection, Leiden, 1951). *Wajradhātu* is mentioned in the Old Javanese *Kamahāyānikan* in connection with Subhūti. Evidently there were divergent traditions among Mahāyānist scholars concerning the inmates of the pantheon. The Queen's name Wajradewī is in accordance with Locanā's attribute the *wajra*, the Tantric magical weapon and the Tārā name Wajradhātūśwari.

Canto 43, being concerned only with religion, does not contain chronograms.

The chronograms referring to King Kērtanagara of Singasari are:

7. *bhujagoshashikṣaya*; 1192 *Shāka*, 1270 A.D.: victory over Cayarāja.
8. *nagḍsyabhawa*; 1197 *Shāka*, 1275 A.D.: expedition to Sumatra.
9. *yamashānyasūrya*; 1202 *Shāka*, 1280 A.D.: Mahiṣa Rangkah killed.

10. *angrawiyatarka*; 1206 *Shāka*, 1284 A.D.: expedition to Bali.
11. *abdhijandryama*; 1214 *Shāka*, 1292 A.D.: death of Kērtanagara, funeral monuments in Singasari as Shiwa-Buddha and in Sagala as Ardhanareshwarī: Wairocana-Locanā.

Berg (R. p. 15) remarks that the year of King Kērtanagara's death 1292 A.D. is just 70 years later than Kērtajaya's defeat, the beginning of the Singasari supremacy. As little is known with any certainty about the dates of the last Kaḍiri Kings and the first Singasari ones, 1222 A.D. as the year of Rājasa's victory over Kērtajaya of Kaḍiri might be a reconstruction *post eventum*, and so might be Rājasa's "appearance" 40 years before his great victory. Discussion of these matters is beyond the sphere of the present book, though.

Canto 44, stanza 1. In the cantos 44—47 an account is given of the Kaḍiri interregnum (4 stanzas) and the reign of the first Majapahit King (7 stanzas).

Kērtanagara's fame as a pre-eminently Buddhist King (notwithstanding his knowledge of Shiwaism) is apparent from the fact that he is said to return to the Buddhas. Other Kings are given places in an indefinite Heaven (*svarga*). Kērtanagara shares the honour with his son-in-law Kērtarājasa and his daughter the *Rājapatni*.

Kern explains the rather strange mention of *Kaliyuga* in canto 44—1—2 as a compliment to Kērtanagara who by his wise reign made people feel as if they lived in a golden age. Probably that explanation is right. Of course *Kaliyuga*, being the present period of world-history, can not be interrupted.

Canto 44, stanzas 2—4. The list of Kaḍiri Kings in canto 44 is one of the few sources of knowledge about that interesting dynasty. Damais (TBG 83, 1949) invited attention for them. The Kaḍiri Kings who are mentioned in the Nāg. seem to have Jaya as a family name. The value of the predicate Illustrious (*Śrī*) is apparent from the fact that it is given to Kērtajaya, the Kaḍiri King before the rise of the House of Rājasa in Tumapēl-Singasari. The Kaḍiri King Jaya Katwang who cut short the Singasari line of rulers by killing Kērtanagara is given the predicate *haji* (in the Nāg. idiom: our lord, and applied especially to Hayam Wuruk). Probably *haji* was a Kaḍiri

Royal title and its use in the case of Jaya Katwang was a borrowing from the Kaḍiri idiom. Hayam Wuruk's uncle the Prince of Wēngkēr also sometimes is called *haji*, and his vice-regal province was in the west (the present residency of Madiun). Jaya Katwang, Jaya the Redoubtable, of course is not a complete Royal name, *katwang* being a Javanese epithet (in modern Javanese poetical idiom also sometimes used as a Royal title, so perhaps it was also Kaḍiri idiom).

The name of one of the other Kings, Shāstrajaya, (*śāstra*; book of learning) points to literary activity in Kaḍiri, which is apparent from the fact that a great majority of the Old Javanese poems in Court style seem to have been made in Kaḍiri reigns. Jaya Katwang's own poem in the native Javanese metre (*kidung*) Wukir Polaman, probably made during his exile in remembrance of his native country, has been discussed before. It is only mentioned in the Pararaton. In modern Javanese literature Jāyābāyā, allegedly the author of the Prophecies on Java's history till the end of time, is the Kaḍiri King par excellence. He is not mentioned in the Nāg.

The repeated reference to Shiwa, the Lord of Mountains, in canto 44, even in connection with the great Buddhist King Kērtanagara, points to the Shiwaitic denomination's preponderance in politics.

The hushing up in canto 44 of Jaya Katwang's killing Kērtanagara, and of the Chinese invasion has been noted by several European scholars. In fact the Nāg. text says that Kērtanagara died before Jaya Katwang tried to become paramount King. The events are known from various sources, also Chinese, and the penetration of the Mongol Emperor's Kublai Khan's warriors (called Tatars in the Nāg., not wholly unjustly) far into the interior of the country probably was of real consequence to Javanese economy in the succeeding period. The Nāg.'s superficiality on those important events cannot be ascribed merely to Ratnāngsha's or Prapañca's desire to turn over a black page of Javanese dynastic history. Ultimately Wijaya won the victory and founded Majapahit. Even this fact is not mentioned in canto 45. The Nāg.'s silence on those matters is to be explained as in accordance with its character: it is not a book of history like the Pararaton. Its primary interest is in contemporary Court matters and religion in connection with the Court.

Wijaya's relation to Kērtanagara, the Illustrious Prince of canto 44—4—2, as "son" (*wēka*, in reality he was a distant nephew) and son-in-law explains his championing the Singasari cause in the war against Kaḍiri. There are reasons to believe, though, that Majapahit's

founder was also related by blood to the Kaḍiri Court. His father Lēmbu Tal was given a posthumous monument by the Prince of Wēngkēr, Wijayarājasa, who represented the western, Kaḍiri interest at the Majapahit Court. Wijaya's names, in full Narāya Sauggrāma Wijaya, and after his ascension: Kērtarājasa Jayawardhana contain the element Jaya which points to Kaḍiri descent. And lastly his adventures and acts during the period of Jaya Katwang's ascendancy and after the usurper's final fall show first the Kaḍiri King's lenience towards him and afterwards Wijaya's willingness to spare the exiled King's life (according to the Pararaton). Wijaya's title *dyuh* (rendered: the high-born) is an old one which in some charters is also given to King Hayam Wuruk. Its implications are not clear.

The chronograms in canto 44 referring to Kaḍiri Kings are:

12. *abdhimanusa*; 1144 *Shāka*, 1222 A.D.: flight of Kērtajaya.
13. *aṣṭaikaṇḍ*; 1180 *Shāka*, 1258 A.D.: Shāstrajaya King of Kaḍiri.
14. *triṇisanshangkara*; 1193 *Shāka*, 1271 A.D.: Jaya Katwang King of Kaḍiri.

Canto 45, stanza 1. Canto 45 is very short on the reign of the founder of Majapahit, who is no more given the Royal predicate Illustrious (*Śrī*) as the last King of Kaḍiri Jaya Katwang is. Both are called simply Princes (*nērpa*), which makes the impression that they are put on a par. Wijaya's title *ratu* is not an exalted one. Perhaps this is the view of the adherents of the Singasari Court (to which Ratnāngsha probably belonged by birth and allegiance), who mourned for their own great King Kērtanagara. The last two verses of canto 45 clearly imply that Kērtanagara's "daughters" were considered (by Ratnāngsha and the Singasari faction) as the rightful heiresses to the throne. Wijaya's legitimation is attempted in cantos 46—2 and 47—1 by an account of his own forbears. His charters of Pēnanggungan (ed. in *Inscriptions N.I.* 1940) and Buṭak (translated in the Pararaton edition) are partly legitimations of his own making. Perhaps the stress laid on his Royal names Kērtarājasa (relative of Kērtanagara and Rājasa) Jayawardhana (related by a side-line with the Jaya family of Kaḍiri), that are repeated in subsequent verses, also has for object a legitimation.

In the Buṭak charter Kērtarājasa Jayawardhana is called a consecration-name (*abhiṣekanāma*) but in the Nāg. no Royal consecration of

Wijaya is mentioned. He caused his son Jayanagara to be consecrated in due form, though. The use of the terms *linĕlah* and *panĕlah* (rendered: indicated and indication) referring to Prince Kĕrtarājasa Jayawardhana is not respectful. As a rule in the Nāg. idiom those terms are only used when referring to localities.

Remarkable is the epithet *anurĕga* (rendered: amiable) for Wijaya. It is more fitting for a woman than for a man; Kĕrtanagara's youngest "daughter" the *Rājapatni* is called so. In antithesis to Wijaya's other epithet *jayaripu* (victorious over his enemies) probably *anurĕga* refers to an ability to make himself popular with the public.

Canto 45, stanza 2. The comparison of Kĕrtanagara's four "daughters" with divine women (*surawadhā*) is noteworthy. The Princesses of Jiwana and Kadiri, daughters of the *Rājapatni* and grand-daughters of Kĕrtanagara, are said in canto 48—1—3 to surpass divine women. In the latter case the reference to personal appearance is made clear by the added comparison with Rati, the Indian Love-God's spouse. Perhaps the conception of beautiful nymphs being given to a victorious hero as reward for his prowess, as is told in the celebrated poem Arjuna Wiwāha (Arjuna's Nuptials), was the origin of the *surawadhā* comparison. The younger generation surpassed their mother and their aunts in that they became Queens in their own right.

Canto 46, stanza 1. Canto 46 is an attempt to legitimate Wijaya by mentioning his marriage with Kĕrtanagara's four "daughters", considered the rightful heiresses to the throne, and his own descent from Wishnuwardhana's (i.e. Kĕrtanagara's father's) cousin and co-regent Narasinghamūrti.

As the Pararaton only mentions two daughters of Kĕrtanagara the Nāg. cantos 45 and 46 have been a crux for European historians. In Kĕrtarājasa's own Pĕnanggungan charter of 1296 A.D. (ed. Prb., Inscriptions N.I. 1940) the four Princesses are mentioned with nearly the same titles and names. Evidently the Nāg. stanzas and the charter have the same source. Berg (*Indonesië*, vol. 4, p. 507) posited that the Nāg. group of Kĕrtanagara's four "daughters" is nothing but a fiction, invented for dynastic ends. Indeed the conception of a great King having by right four (or five) Queens distinguished by traditional titles was known in Java. Evidently the Queens are mentioned in cantos 45

and 46 only to legitimate Kērtarājasa. How the group of four was made up need not be discussed in the present commentary. The youngest Queen with the title *Rājapatnī*, *dyah* Gāyatrī by name, is the best known. Of course the terms "son" and "daughter" in Javanese texts may refer to any near or distant relation (by blood, marriage or adoption) belonging to a younger generation. Berg's hypothesis that Gāyatrī, the *Rājapatnī*, was of Čham origin, hailing from Further India, (*Indonesië*, vol. 4 and 5: her daughter the Princess of Kačiri's supposed funeral monument is said to show Čham characteristics in its architecture) is not to be discussed here. It is strange, though, that the *Rājapatnī* was deified as the goddess Prajñāpāramitā (canto 63—69) whereas according to canto 46—47—3 Princess Prajñāpāramitā was her elder "sister's" name.

The tangle of names, titles and persons shown above seems to be inextricable. The tendency to legitimate Kērtarājasa by mentioning his fourfold Royal marriage is the main thing that appears from cantos 45 and 46.

For the sake of completeness a list of Kērtarājasa's four Queens, their titles and their characteristics is given.

1. *Tribhuvanā*, title: *Śrī Parameśvarī*, the eldest.
2. *dyah* Duhitā, title: *Mahādevī*, beauty.
3. *Prajñāpāramitā*, title: *Jayendradewī*, harmony.
4. *dyah* Gāyatrī, title: *Rājapatnī*, amiability.

Probably Gāyatrī's being "used as the first one" means that she was the favourite.

Canto 46, stanza 2. Perhaps the repeated use of the word *rakwa* (rendered: so it is said) in this stanza refers to the common source of Ratnāṅgsha's communications and the Pēnanggungan charter.

The probability that Lēmbu Tal was an obscure man (he is mentioned by name neither in the Pararaton nor in the charter) is great. Mirēng is not found in the list of monuments and domains in canto 73—80. Lēmbu Tal is given the epithets of a warrior, and the predicate *dyah*, which indicates a lower grade of nobility than the Royal *Śrī* (Illustrious). Wijaya-Kērtarājasa also is given the predicate *dyah*.

The name Lēmbu Tal composed with an animal and a tree name (bull and *lontar*-palm) belongs to a great group of similarly composed names found frequently in romantic and historical works concerned

with the Kaḍiri, Singasari and Majapahit period. Though the implications of names with animal and plant references are not wholly clear it seems probable that they are heraldic indications. The gentlemen who bore names of that kind could use figures of the animal and plant (as the case might be) to mark their belongings, in the same way as the carts of the caravan of Iḥayam Wuruk's Progress to the eastern districts were marked (v. commentary on canto 18). Easily to be recognized big animals and trees (sometimes flowers) were most suited to that end (v. commentary of Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa: *pañji* Andaka, and of Ferry charter plate 3: *kasir-kasir*).

In this connection it is noteworthy that the bull appeared in the Royal Arms of Lasēm, one of the vice-regal provinces of the Majapahit realm (cantos 18—3 and 65—3, and commentary of the Karang Bogēm charter). Lasēm is situated on Java's North Coast. It seems quite possible that Lēmbu Tal, an obscure relative of the ancient Royal House of Kaḍiri, had interests in the North Coast province.

Canto 47, stanza 1, 2. In the first stanza Kērtarājasa's legitimation is recapitulated. The idea that the King reigned partly in the name of the four Princesses is put forward once more.

The rest of canto 47 is concerned with the reign of Kērtarājasa. His son's consecration name Jayanagara refers to Kaḍiri (Jaya family; he was made a vice-roy of Kaḍiri) and the great Singasari King Kērtanagara. His mother the Illustrious *Indreshwari* (his father Kērtarājasa was not Illustrious) is according to the Pēnanggungan charter of 1296 A.D. the eldest "daughter of Kērtanagara", the *Parameshwari* Tribhuvanā. Evidently the titles *Parameshwari* and *Indreshwari* are to be identified. The possibility that a son born from a woman of lower rank was passed on to a childless First Queen and adopted by her ought to be borne in mind, though. The epithets "manful, expert, clever" belong to Jayanagara, of course, not to his mother.

Canto 47, stanza 3. Simping, King Kērtarājasa's Shiwaite religious domain, is identified with Caṇḍi Sumbēr Jati, south-east of Blitar. The mention of the title Jina (Dhyānibuddha), an exalted rank in the Mahāyānistic pantheon, is remarkable. Kērtarājasa is not known to have had special religious interests. It is possible that his marriage with the great Buddhist King Kērtanagara's "daughters" made him worthy of the honour to be given a Jina Divine Abode.

Perhaps the honour was more his Queens' than his own. As no religious domains of Kērtanagara's three eldest "daughters", legitimate heiresses to the throne, are mentioned in the Nāg, nor known from other sources, it is quite possible that they were cremated with their husband. The Indian *suttē* custom of burning widows who desire in this manner to attain a very high grade in religion, together with their deceased husband's bodies, was still practised in Bali in the nineteenth century. There is no reason to assume that it was unknown in Java in the Majapahit period. Kērtanagara's youngest "daughter" the *Rājapāṃsi* lived to 1350 A.D., to be succeeded by her grandson King Hayam Wuruk. Perhaps her state of Buddhist nun (*cīwari wērdhamuṇḍi*) is stressed in canto 2—1 i.a. with reference to her surviving her "sisters", her co-spouses, who were cremated.

Antahpura probably was situated in the Interior of the Royal compound of Majapahit. So Majapahit had a Jina (with his spouses, perhaps) as a guardian spirit in the same manner as Singasari had Kērtanagara and Bajradewi's statues.

The chronograms referring to the first Majapahit reign, cantos 45—47, are:

15. *masarūparawī*, 1216 *Shāka*, 1294 A.D.: Kērtarājasa *ratu* of Majapahit.
16. *saptajanasārya*, 1217 *Shāka*, 1295 A.D.: Jayanagara consecrated King of Kaḍiri.
17. *matryaruṇa*, 1231 *Shāka*, 1309 A.D.: death of Kērtarājasa; funeral monuments in Antahpura (Jina) and in Simpang, Shiwaitic.

Canto 48, stanza 1, 2. This canto gives a short account, three stanzas, of the reign of the second King of Majapahit, Jayanagara. The duality in the realm was reinstated: the King's two sisters were made vice-queens of Jiwana (Kahuripan, Janggala) and Daha (Kaḍiri). In canto 4—1—4 the two Princesses were compared with Sudewī, in canto 48 with Rati, the spouse of the Indian Love-God Kāma. As Jayanagara was given three Wishnuitic funeral monuments it seems quite possible that the comparison of his sisters also refers to Wishnuism. Perhaps by Sudewī, the Good Goddesses, Shri and Lakṣmī are meant. Both were well-known in Hindu-Javanese mythology. (But then, in canto 18—4—3 Sudewī is mentioned as the name of King

Hayam Wuruk's *Parameshwari*, perhaps = Susumnadewi).

Nambi, whose real name was Tambi, according to the Pénanggungan charter, and his father Wīrarāja assisted King Kērtarājasa in the troubles before his ascending the throne. Discontented with the reward for their assistance they rebelled. The Pararaton tales concerning events like this one always are much more colourful than the dry Nāg. accounts.

Canto 48, stanza 3. Jayanagara's religious domains are not identified, though Shilā P'etak might be the same as Batu Putih ("White Rock") not far from Majapahit, and Bubat is well-known from canto 86. There is a place called Sukaila in the Malang residency. The principal Wishnuitic statue was in Majapahit, probably near the King's father's unspecified Jina-statue. The Jina Amoghasiddhi was identified with Wishnu, according to several quotations in KBNW.

Though there is not much known about Jayanagara's monuments (two of them having statuettes, *pratimās*, instead of full-sized statues, *arcās*), the fact of his being deified as Wishnu is remarkable enough. In this point he is unique among the Singasari-Majapahit Kings. Even his great-grandfather Wishnuwardhana who had Wishnu in his name was given Shiwaite-Buddhistic monuments after his demise. As the ancient King Erlangga, who according to tradition caused his realm to be divided into halves after his death, worshipped Wishnu, some connection of Jayanagara's Wishnuism with the old conception of duality seems possible. By his Royal consecration and his name (containing the element *Jaya*) Jayanagara was a Kaḍirinese. Perhaps in the old kingdom of Kaḍiri Wishnuitic traditions still were cultivated. The Prince of Wēngkēr, Jayanagara's brother-in-law, and the representative of the Kaḍiri interest at King Hayam Wuruk's Court, was given a Wishnuitic monument (v. commentary Biluluk II and Katiqen charters).

The difference between the statue (*arcā*) that was a Wishnu-likeness placed in the official religious domain (*dharma*), and the statuettes (*pratimā*) of Wishnu-incarnations (*Wishnumūrti*) is not clear. Perhaps the latter were more of the character of personal devotional statues placed by the King's order in specially made sanctuaries. Kērtanagara seems to have done something like that in Jajawa (v. commentary on canto 56).

Jayanagara did not have any issue to succeed him (another similarity with Wishnu) and so the succession was at the disposal of his aunt

the *Rājapatnī*, the only surviving daughter of Kērtanagara and the mother of the two Princesses.

Jayanagara's chronograms are :

18. *muktiguṇapakṣarāpa*, 1238 *Shāka*, 1316 A.D. : Nambi defeated.
19. *windusharasārya*, 1250 *Shāka*, 1328 A.D. : death of Jayanagara, funeral monuments in Majapahit, Shilā Pēṭak and Bubat, all Wishnuitic, and in Sukalila, Buddhistic (Jina Amoghasiddhi).

Canto 49, stanzas 1, 2. In this canto Ratnāngsha finishes his discourse on Kings and monuments with an account of the third Majapahit reign, the *Rājapatnī* and her daughter (4 stanzas).

Krom (HJG, p. 383) points out that during the rest of the *Rājapatnī*'s life, till her death in 1350, her eldest daughter, Tribhuwanā, was regent for her mother who, being a Buddhist nun, was unable to act as Queen. In 1350 she was succeeded by her grandson Hayam Wuruk. Those facts do not appear clearly from the Nāg. text but they are gathered by European scholars from other sources.

The religious aspect of the *Rājapatnī*'s position at Court and in the realm is apparent from her being called a bringer of fortune (*manggalya*) and a minder of all customary ceremonies (*rumakṣeng sakārya*) and from her being deified with great pomp in 1362. As the fundamental Javanese conception of reunion of moieties was paramount in the deification ceremony (cantos 63—69) perhaps in Majapahit Court religion and politics the Buddhist *Rājapatnī* represented the faction (headed by Gajah Mada) of Buddhist-Shiwaitic reaction against Jayanagara's Wishnuitic Kaḍiri policy of duality. Moreover the *Rājapatnī* appears after her deification as a mythical ancestress, probably a chthonic goddess whose feast was celebrated annually in the month *Bhādra* (August-September). In canto 2—1—2 she is compared with Parama-Bhagawatī. As Bhagawatī may refer to Umā-Durgā, Shiwa's spouse, that comparison adds to the *Rājapatnī*'s divinity.

Canto 49, stanzas 3, 4. The personal retainers (*swabhērtya*) who conquered Saḍeng and Kēṭa in 1331 are not to be identified with the Royal servants (*bala*) who fought in the Bali expedition in 1343. Some of the retainers seem to have returned west with the King in 1359 (v. commentary on canto 31—1—1). Perhaps it was their reward for

having opened new lands for the King's benefit. Royal servants (*bala*) were of higher rank than retainers, bondmen (*bhērtiya*). Probably the expeditionary forces to Bali were made up partly at least of some of the military *pangolasan* companies that are mentioned in canto 9. The account of the Bali expedition makes the impression that the struggle with the Balinese Kings (more than one: all of them, *sakweh*) was hard. Kērtanagara's expedition to Bali of 1284 (canto 42-1) that brought back the Balinese Princesses for the Royal zenana seems to have had no lasting results.

The reference in stanza 3 to the burden of the world's protection being passed on to Gajah Mada after the defeat of Saḍeng and Kēṭa is in accordance with a Pararaton tale. Gajah Mada is said to have made a vow not to *amukti palapa* before he had conquered many countries for his Masters. The interpretation of *amukti palapa* is difficult. Probably v. d. Tuuk's and Hooykaas' translation (TBG 79, 1939, p. 267): to enjoy leisure, is the most likely. The meaning of canto 49-3-3 no doubt is that Gajah Mada was raised to his high rank of grand-vizir as a reward for his victories.

Berg (in his paper on the Saḍeng war, *Indonesië*, vol. 5, and in *Rijksdeling*, p. 105 seq.) has a comprehensive theory concerning the Singasari and Majapahit wars against Saḍeng, Kēṭa and Bali. According to him, at the time of the expedition to Sumatra (Malayu) in 1275 (canto 41-5) King Kērtanagara of Singasari had a political and religious program to form a sacred alliance of all Hinduized states of the Archipelago. The Majapahit war against Saḍeng and Kēṭa (identified by Berg with Bali) in 1331 was, according to him, a sin against Kērtanagara's conception of a peaceful alliance. As the Nāg., such as it is, does not seem to contain any of the grave discrepancies or inexplicable passages that Berg set himself to disentangle by his theories, they need not be discussed in the present commentary. The harmonization of the Nāg. with other sources of history and with legendary tales lies beyond the scope of the present work. Stutterheim (TBG 76, 1936, p. 315) considered the East Javanese romance of Damar Wulan as based on the history of the Saḍeng war.

Canto 49, stanzas 5-7. Perhaps the difference between *devawangsha* (of divine family) and *devamārti* (divine incarnation) in canto 49-5-4 is the old antithesis *sakala-niṣkala*, Shiwaism-Buddhism. Rājasa is called Shiwa's son (40-1-2), Wishnuwardhana and Kērtanagara were incarnations (41-2-4 and 41-5-4).

Stanza 6 contains an edifying end to Ratnāngsha's discourse of the same kind as is found in later Javanese books. Submissiveness to the Princes is said to be able to avert disasters. The divine power of Royalty is clearly apparent from these words. In Indian theistic religions *bhakti* refers to the relation between the believer and his God.

Ratnāngsha's wish for Prapañca expressed in the last two verses of stanza 7 probably refers to a Royal reward for the poet's trouble in writing the eulogy of the dynasty. There are some more verses in the Nāg. that express the author's hope for a substantial reward or a rise in rank.

The quarter of the manors (*pakuwon*) in Singasari no doubt was outside the Royal compound where the King slept. No more than in Majapahit was Prapañca, not being of the Blood Royal, allowed to pass the night in the Interior of the (ex-)Royal compound in Singasari.



IV. RICE HARVEST, SEE P. VIII.

CHAPTER 6 - THE ROYAL CHASE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SINGASARI.

Cantos 50—54, 25 stanzas.

The dry and ponderous information on the Kings of yore and their religious domains is followed by way of anticlimax by a light literary description of a Royal Chase. The story about the animal kingdom ruled by the lion is in the style of the Tantri, the Old Javanese version of the Indian Pāncatantra. Tantri tales were popular in East Java. They were used as subjects for the reliefs in brick or in stone that were put up as ornaments on the walls of temples. In the five cantos description of a hunting party and animal story it was the poet's purpose to show off his proficiency in the literary Tantri style. Stylistic ornaments such as alliteration and learned Sanskrit words are put in frequently.

Just like the notes on the Kings and their religious domains the chapter on the chase is an *interniezzo* in the account of the Royal progress to the eastern districts which is finished only in canto 60. Hardly any connection of the chase episode with the preceding and the following chapters is visible. Neither eulogies of the Royal Family of Majapahit nor descriptions of known localities have an important place in it. On the other hand its comical and even burlesque character is apparent.

The mentioned characteristics of the chase chapter remind one of the *bañolan*, which is the name of the clowns' act in modern Javanese *wayang* plays. Like all acts in the first, sacral part of the *wayang* plays the clowns' act has its fixed place, about midnight, half way through the performance, which ends only with daybreak. The *bañolan* is made up of clownish pranks and innuendos. The clowns no doubt are survivals of divine characters who used to play important roles in primeval tribal sacral drama (v. *Volksvertoningen*). It is out of the question to compare the Nāg. as a whole with a modern Javanese *wayang* play. Probably the complicated structure of the modern plays, though its principles

are very old, originated in a time posterior to the Majapahit era. Nevertheless the similarity in composition of the Old Javanese poem and modern plays is remarkable. The chase chapter is placed just about the middle of the poem. The Javanese conception of duality, by division into equal moieties, no doubt was an important factor in the composition.

Another Javanese characteristic, also related to the fundamental duality idea, is the anticlimax of seriousness followed by joking. It may be observed both in the *wayang* plays and in the Nâg. Evidently a grave tension caused by dealing with an exalted subject (like the Kings and their religious domains) in the Javanese mind calls for a solution by jokes and merriment. The inevitable sequence of religious ceremonies and merry, often voluptuous feasting, which has been pointed out several times in the present commentary, is another instance of the call for an anticlimactic solution of tension.

Meanwhile the animal story and the comic scenes do not warrant the supposition that the chapter on the Royal Chase is merely a literary fiction without any foundation in real happenings. Berg (*Rijksdeling*, p. 143) considers the five cantos as a kind of allegory. According to him the hunting-ground stands for the Archipelago that is conquered by the Majapahit Kings. On the contrary, there is every reason to assume that real hunting and fishing parties were common pastimes at Court. A small party for shooting water-fowl is probably mentioned in canto 22—3—2. The only remarkable fact is the making up of the chase into a kind of clowns' act fitting into the composition of the poem.

Canto 50, stanzas 1—3. First the organization of the chase is described. It was a huge battue: the game was rounded up by beaters who fired the grasses (dry at the end of the East-monsoon). The beaters were partly Royal servants (*bala*, military men, armed), partly retainers (*bhërtya*, bondmen, lower in rank). As neither local peasantry (as beaters) nor local gentry (as hunting companions) are mentioned probably the hunting-grounds were far remote from villages and manors. The hunters were partly on foot, partly on horseback and partly riding carts drawn by oxen. The hunting-ground was a wilderness overgrown by high grasses. By the Skt. name *muñja* the Javanese *alang-alang* (*Imperata*, sword-grass, blade grass) is meant, which is always found in areas of the kind as described in canto 50. As the *glagah* and sword-grass vegetation is found mainly where the original

forest has been cleared for temporary fields that are abandoned after some harvests (*ladang* cultivation) canto 50 is another evidence that this kind of exhaustive husbandry is very old and that even in the 14th century it showed its disastrous consequences by leaving unproductive wastes. The fires of the King's beaters of course aggravated the situation by destroying the young growth of trees and bamboo that in time might make a new forest.

The comparison with the fire of the Khaṇḍawa forest is a reminiscence of Indian literature, well fitting into the context.

Canto 50, stanzas 4, 5. In these stanzas the behaviour of the animals at their wits' end is described very naturally. The use of Skt. animal names for the sake of literary effect instead of the native Javanese ones sometimes renders identification difficult. Kern's ingenious interpretation of *cihna* as a name for a hare (via *shashin*, the moon, bearer of the hare, *shasha*, as a mark, *cihna*) is improbable because neither hares nor rabbits are frequent in Java. It is much more probable that the chevrotin (Jav. *kañcil*, Malay *pelanduk*) is meant, an animal of about the same size as a small hare. It would be strange indeed if the chevrotin was missing in the list of wild animals, for it is very popular in Java and Sumatra. The Javanese and Malay native animal stories, as distinct from the Indian Pāñcatantra tales, have the chevrotin for hero, small but gallant. Perhaps the mark in the moon really was interpreted as a chevrotin. In modern Javanese folklore it is said to be a spinning woman (*nini ngantik*).

Skt. *gaṇḍaka* is a rhinoceros. In the 14th century rhinoceroses may have been more frequent in Java than they are now. Nevertheless the mention of the solitary big animal at the end of the list of small animals in canto 50—5—4 is strange. Moreover it is quite a question whether a rhinoceros would allow himself to be driven by beaters. Perhaps instead of *gaṇḍaka*, *gandhaka* is to be read. *Gandhaka* might refer to the Javanese civet cat (*rase*), for *gandha*, scent, is used in the sense of musk in Javanese.

Canto 50, stanza 6. This stanza is the introduction of the animal story in Tantri-Pāñcatantra style, beginning with a conference with the lion in the chair. Neither lions nor jackals are found in Java; they are borrowed for literary purposes from Indian tales. *Juru*, usually meaning: master, boss, has the sense of president in this stanza.

Canto 51, stanzas 1—3. The subject of the animal story is a moralistic dissertation on the behaviour of game as it is hunted by the King. Indian casuistry is very much in evidence in this canto. The jackal opens the discussion by stating three possibilities:

1. to remain inactive, waiting for death,
2. to fly,
3. to resist.

Prb.'s opinion that the comparison with the crab refers to a Buddhist Jātaka tale about an elephant, the Bodhisattva, attacking a giant crab in a Himālaya lake (Cowell, Jātakas, II, 235) may be right. But then the Jātaka tales have in common with the majority of Indian Buddhist literature that they were not translated into Old Javanese or rewritten in that language like the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa tales and many other non-Buddhist works. No doubt the crab simile may be found in other literary works too.

Neither gazelles (*hariṇa*) nor black-spotted antilopes (*kṛśṇasāra*) are found in Java. As deer (*ruru*) are mentioned, perhaps by *hariṇa* does (*kidang*) are meant. *Tarakṣa* probably stands for *asu ajag*, the Javanese wild dog. Beasts is a rendering of *kṛṇas*; this word refers to game in general.

Whereas the deer, being in favour of flying, think of material interest (*artha*), the cattle are alive to moral considerations and honour (*dharma*). *Dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* (love) and *mokṣa* (release from life in this world of suffering) are the four grounds for decisions and the four ends of all human actions, also mentioned in Old Javanese religious and moralistic literature (v. KBNW s.v. *caturwarga*). *Mokṣa* of course is the most exalted end. It is referred to in the lion's final speech in stanza 7.

Canto 51, stanzas 4—7. In these stanzas the reasoning is refined by applying two other classifications: worldly and unworldly (*wāhya - adhyātmika*, in another connection to be rendered: exoteric and esoteric), and inferior, medium, superior (*niṣṭa madhyamottama*). Bad people are to be encountered by inferior worldly actions: flight or resistance. When meeting good people, a distinction should be made in the required unworldly behaviour according to these people's spiritual rank. When meeting ecclesiastics of the three denominations (*tripakṣa*) one ought to fly in order not to lead them into the sin of killing living

beings. Evidently this consideration enters into the medium category. The superior conduct for game is to allow itself to be killed by a superior person: the Prince, an incarnation of Shiwa. In this manner it attains release from life in this world of suffering.

Kern remarks that religious suicide by drowning oneself in a sacred lake was known in India. Perhaps the lion's pronouncement on release for animals by suicide in the "Holy Mountain-lake" refers to a vague tradition, sometimes heard in the hills in Java, to the effect that wild animals and birds, feeling they are about to die, go to mountain-tops to throw themselves into the craters.

Cantos 52—54. As an anticlimax to the moralistic reasonings of canto 51 a realistic description, with some comic notes, of King Hayam Wuruk's hunt is given in the three following cantos. The lion and the jackal disappear from the stage.

In canto 52 the boars' resistance against the commoners, Royal servants, is described. This is in accordance with the lion's precept: to resist inferior people.

The hunters in cantos 52—54 are mentioned as usual according to rank, beginning with the lowest; 52—1—3 Royal servants on foot, 53—4—1; common mandarins, 53—5—1; priests (*wiku*), 54: the King, at first on a cart, then on horseback. *Wahana* in canto 53—4—1, rendered: conveyance, may refer to carts as well as to horses. The appearance of the mandarins turns the scale in favour of the hunters.

The priests who try to follow the example of the mandarins are ridiculed in canto 53—5: they run, being afraid of wild dogs. Helpfulness (*upakārya*) of course refers to not-injuring (*ahimsa*).

The killing of the deer in canto 54—2, probably refers to the lion's precept: to allow oneself to be killed by the King in order to obtain release from life in this world of suffering.

CHAPTER 7 - THE RETURN
FROM THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1359.

from Singasari to Majapahit.

Cantos 55—60, 25 stanzas.

The account of the Royal Progress to the eastern districts and back again that was interrupted in canto 38 for two large intermezzos, one concerning the Kings of yore and their domains, and the other giving a description of a Royal Chase, is resumed in canto 55.

Canto 55, stanza 1. The first stanza is transitional. Two opposite aspects of the hunt are mentioned: pleasure, especially the feasting with women at the home-coming, and war on the harmful beasts. The expression "common Prince's women" (*para nārpawadhā*) probably is synonymous with "our lord's women" (*wadhā haji*) in canto 7—3—2. Its use seems to imply that it was not the most important ladies of the Royal zenana who accompanied their master on the excursion into the hills.

The killing of game is justified by its harmfulness, its sins. The hunt indeed had for purpose beside pleasure and exercise the extermination of the excessive multitude of game that was harmful for agriculture. The deer and the wild cattle ate the crops of the mountain people's temporary fields (*ladang* cultivation). Apparently big beasts of prey, tigers, were not numerous enough to check the increase of the game.

The flesh of the killed deer and cattle probably was preserved as *deṇḍeng*, a kind of pemmican with spices added.

Canto 55, stanzas 2, 3. The mention of a propitious moment (determined by divination) for departing proves the importance of the last part of the Progress. A visit to Jajawa, King Kērtanagara's sanctuary at the foot of the Kumukus (mount Walirang) was an important feature of the last days before reaching Majapahit. Mount Walirang,

the Sulphur Mountain, is mentioned twice in the Tantu Panggëlaran. It is said to be made from earth fallen down from mount Mahameru at the time of its being moved from India to Java.

Only a few of the localities that are mentioned in canto 55 (in this respect the sequence of canto 35—1) have been identified.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 184. Bañu Hangët | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 185. Banir | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 186. Talijungan | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 187. Wēdwa-wēdwan | : Wēdjon, a hill north of Malang. |
| 188. Kuwarāha | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 189. Cēlong | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 190. Dadamar | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 191. Garantang | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 192. Pagër Talaga | : P'agër, cf. Talaga P'agër, Pararaton
p. 20—15, 20. |
| 193. Pahañangan | : cf. Kapañangan, canto 35—1—1, i.e. Baya-
ngan (? Niermeyer). |
| 194. Tambak | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 195. Rabut Wayuha | : Suwayuwa. |
| 196. Balanak | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 197. Pañjakan | : P'añjakan. |
| 198. Bhanarāgi | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 199. Padamayan | : Kēdamean, cf. Padameyan, canto 58—1—1. |
| 200. Jajawa | : cañdi Jawi. |
| 201. Kumukus | : mount Walirang. |

The King's visit to the religious domain of Jajawa involved a similar procession with flower-offerings and music (*midang*) as his pilgrimage to Kagēnengan, described in canto 37.

Canto 56, stanza 1. The description of Jajawa in this canto arrested the attention of many European scholars, mainly archeologists, after Krom's papers on the end of King Hayam Wuruk's travels (*T. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 1915) and on the Shiwa-Buddha temple (TBG 56, 1914). Jessy Blom, in her *Antiquities of Singasari* (1939, p. 129) and Pott, in his book on Yoga and Tantra (1946, p. 141), give synopses of the opinions that have been offered. Moens's papers on

Old Javanese Buddhism, published in TBG 58, 1919 and 85, 1957, brought out most clearly the Tantric character of Kērtanagara's temple. Berg, in his *Rijksdeling*, has a theory of his own. In the present commentary all archeological, historical and buddhological digressions are avoided. Only the meaning of the Nāg. description is matter for discussion.

The words "so it is said, there was nobody else" might refer to a legend that the wise King built the temple quite alone, by magic (and in an incredibly short time). Legends of this kind about great buildings are well-known, both in Javanese literature (Bandung tale) and elsewhere. The existence of such a legend about King Kērtanagara needs confirmation from other sources, though.

According to canto 56—1—2/3 the temple was built by Kērtanagara himself and alone (*śarīra*), apparently following his own ideas on cosmic and religious dualism. The last verse of stanza 1, beginning with "therefore", refers to the great Buddhist King's well-known belief in the essential unity of Shiwaism and Buddhism.

Canto 56 does not contain any indication that the Jajawa temple with its Shiwa-Akṣobhya statue was King Kērtanagara's funeral monument. King Hayam Wuruk's visit with full pomp as mentioned in canto 55—3—4 and the inclusion of Jajawa in the list of 27 Royal domains in cantos 73 and 74 warrant its being considered as a Kērtanagara shrine however. Apparently it is described at some length in the Nāg. because the Buddhist poet wanted to bring out the Akṣobhya miracle.

Canto 56, stanza 2. In this stanza the originally dualistic aspect of the central building (*caṇḍi*) of Jajawa is described. The first verse refers to the exterior: the ornaments on the walls of the lower part, probably the base and the body of the temple, were emblems of Shiwaism, the ornamentation of the top was Buddhistic in design. The second and the third verses refer to the interior of the sanctuary. The divine statue was a Shiwa who had a small Jina Akṣobhya statuette for a crown. In the last verse the miraculous disappearance of the Akṣobhya statuette is explained as being in perfect concordance with the Jina's character.

Kern has a quotation from the Old Javanese Kamahāyānikan (ed. Kats, 1910, p. 65) to the effect that Akṣobhya has as element (*dhātu*) the ethereal space (*ākāśa*) which is Nothingness. In Balinese glosses quoted in KBNW Akṣobhya is identified with Brahma. As in Java Brahma is the god of fire the statuette's disappearance in a thunder-

storm as mentioned in canto 57—4—2 is not to be wondered at. Moreover Akṣobhya has a thunderbolt (*vajra*) as attribute. No doubt the combination of a massive Shiwa statue with an ethereal Akṣobhya statuette that shows a tendency to disappear is another instance of the antithesis: material, exoteric Shiwaism — spiritual, esoteric Buddhism that has been pointed out before. Akṣobhya's manifestation of his ethereal, vanishing character was considered a proof of his supernatural power (*siddhi*).

Canto 57, stanzas 1-3. In canto 57 the poet tells the edifying legend of the vanishing Akṣobhya statuette, adducing as witness an illustrious Buddhist scholar. As the *Mahāguru*'s titles are too high for a Javanese clergyman, however learned, he probably was a foreigner, and Rājādihika (perhaps better: Rājyādhika) was his country or town. The very exalted predicate *Śrī*, Illustrious, is given to some other learned foreigners in the *Nāg*, as well. Perhaps Rājyādhika is to be identified with the Rājapura (probably in southern Siam) that is mentioned in canto 15—1.

Śrāṭvaka, a Buddhistic term, is used in the *Nāg*, only with reference to the *Mahāguru*. Though the original Skt. meaning is: student, it is used in Old Javanese in the sense of scholar. Probably it refers especially to foreign, Indian Buddhists. His being allowed to enter the Interior, i.e. the cella of the Jajawa temple is evidence of the high esteem the *Mahāguru* was held in.

Canto 57, stanza 4. In this stanza the vanished Akṣobhya statuette is called the spirit, the holiness (*hyang*, if that is the right reading) of the shrine. This is in accordance with the esoteric meaning of *hyang*, Spirit, especially connected with Buddhism, that appeared already in canto 1—1—4. For the poet's Buddhist religious sentiment the Jajawa temple was abandoned by its spiritual Master, Akṣobhya.

Canto 57, stanzas 5, 6. Nevertheless King Hayam Wuruk and his Court still thought enough of Kērtanagara's foundation with the Shiwa statue in the cella to make it the object of a pilgrimage with full pomp, similar to the Royal visit at Kagēnengan, the shrine of Rājasa, the founder of the dynasty. Probably for the predominantly Shiwaite Majapahit Court the Jajawa temple, besides being a monument sacred to the memory of King Kērtanagara, was also a sanctuary of Shiwa,

the Lord of the holy mountain Kumukus (mount Walirang, the Sulphur Mountain). Perhaps the pond or lake (*taṭṭaka*) Wulu Ḍaḍa ("Breast-hair", so called because of the fern vegetation) mentioned in canto 57—6—2 also was sacred to the Lord of Mountains. In the Tantu Panggëlaran the legends of several mountains are told. That compilation of Javanese folk-tales connected with Shiwaism has i.a. a story on lake Kombala where Bhaṭāra Guru (the popular Javanese name for Shiwa) washed his whiskers (*kombala*). As lake Kombala is situated in the Mahāmeru massif it is not to be identified with the pond Wulu Ḍaḍa at the foot of mount Walirang. Some similarity of conception is probable, though. Mount Pawitra with its friary, which was also visited by the King (canto 58—1—3), is mentioned in the Tantu Panggëlaran as one of Bhaṭāra Guru's residences.

The description of the Jajawa sanctuary does not mention special features. Perhaps the "quintessence of womanhood of the Royal Court" (if the proposed reading is right) refers to the scent of fragrant flowers. *Sāri*, in this passage rendered: quintessence, is also a technical term of the priesthood (v. commentary Rājapatiguṇḍala and Ferry charter plate 9 and 10). It refers to the laymen's gift to the officiating priest that goes with the offering to the deity. Perhaps in the corrupt verse 57—5—4 an allusion was made to the use of *nagasari* flowers in the *puṣpa* offerings which were made up by Court ladies and their female servants.

Canto 58, stanza 1. The localities that are mentioned in cantos 57—59 are:

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 202. Wulu Ḍaḍa | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 203. Pakalwangan | : Pēkalongan. |
| 204. Paḍameyan | : cf. Padamayan, canto 55—3—2: Kēdamean, north of Paṇḍakan. |
| 205. Cunggrang | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 206. Pawitra | : Bētra (v. St. Callenfels, Oudh. Verslag 1916). |
| 207. Rabut Tugu | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 208. Pahyangan | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 209. Banasara | : ? ; situation unknown. |
| 210. Sangkan Adoh | : ? ; situation unknown. |

Krom remarks that Cunggrang is mentioned in an inscription on a

stone found in Suci, on the east-side of mount Pēnanggungan, and also in the Nglawang charter. In the Suci charter Pawitra is called a hermitage (*dharmāshrama*). According to the Nāg. it was a friary (*karēṣyan*). Mount P'awitra is an old name for the Pēnanggungan.

King Hayam Wuruk's poem in native Javanese metres (*kidung*) on the beautiful perspective of mount Pēnanggungan (canto 58—1—4) probably was not the first one he made during the Progress. In canto 30—1—3 he is said to have made a description of the sea at Kēta, which may have been a poem too. The King's singing is mentioned in canto 91.

Canto 58, stanzas 2, 3. In Japan the King was bidden welcome home by the Royal servants (*bala*) who came out to meet him there. Japan is also the point from where the description of the Progress started (canto 17—10—1). The reunited Royal Family had a home-coming feast. Its beginning, at about 2.30 p.m., an auspicious time, is put on record just like the beginning of the great annual festival is in canto 89. In both cases the meticulousness is a mark of the high importance attached to the function. No doubt they are comparable to modern Javanese *slamētans*, whatever the Muslim religious justification of those well-known community meals may be. The re-tieing of the family bond was the principal purpose of the Majapahit Royal Family's eating together.

At the caravan's start from Kapulungan (canto 18—3) only the Princesses of Jiwana, Daha, Lasēm and P'ajang are mentioned beside the King. According to canto 17—7—3 the Princes came along, though. At the welcome-home party the Princes of Singasari, Wēngkēr, Matahun and Paguhan again were present. Evidently Majapahit-town could be left without representatives of the dynasty. The composition of the travelling party: in principle the King with the four Princesses, the most important persons of the Royal House as to legitimacy, proves once more that the purpose of the Royal Progresses in general was: political representation, dynastic religious observances and economic profit. Unfortunately the Old Javanese idiom does not make clear whether the four Princesses in person took part in all the ceremonies in the places where the caravan stopped. In any case the King was considered as representative of the Royal Family as a whole.

Hayam Wuruk's *Parameshtwart*, the First Lady of the Royal zenana, was not present at the welcome-home party. She was not considered an important member of the Royal Family in the dynastic sense. Nor

was the grand-vizir Gajah Mada invited, however great his merit in organizing the Progress. Being a Royal servant and not even of noble blood he was not allowed to sit down at a ceremonial meal on a foot of equality with his Masters. The extraordinary fact of the King's sitting down at a ceremonial repast on a line with priests and an Honourable at the end of the Royal visit at Kagēnengan has been explained before (canto 36). The significance of the great Court festival in the Majapahit Royal compound which also in part was a *slametan* shall be discussed in the commentary on chapter fourteen.

The two Royal "fathers" who sat at the top (the other members of the family, including the King, entered into their Presence) of course were the King's own father the Prince of Singasari and his uncle of Wéngkēr.

Canto 59, stanza 1. Cantos 59 and 60 contain the description of the triumphal entry into Majapahit. In canto 59 the Court procession is described, canto 60 is a burlesque report of the people's home-coming.

The poet had occasion to see his own family (*kulawandhu*) in Pahyangan, apparently a place on the outskirts of the Majapahit complex. Canto 59 is the only place in the Nāg. where Prapañca mentions his own family, his wife and children, and it seems to be another piece of evidence that the poet in 1359 was not Buddhist Court bishop (*dharmādhyakṣa*) as has been alleged by some European scholars. No doubt the bishops had to be present at the King's triumphal entry, they would not be allowed to absent themselves from the procession as the bishop's son did. Probably Pahyangan was not where Prapañca lived. As a member of the episcopal family he no doubt had a house of his own in or near the Buddhist bishop's compound which was situated in the southern part of the town (canto 12—5—2). As the Royal procession coming from Japan approached the Majapahit complex from the north-east, far from the episcopal compounds, Prapañca probably asked his family by messenger to come to Pahyangan at the house of some humble relative to meet him. The remark on the meanness of the house at Pahyangan is to be interpreted in that sense. So Prapañca had a coming home party with his own family in the same manner as the Royal Family had in Japan.

The name Rabut Tugu ("Venerable Pillar") for a place near Majapahit on the highway to Japan is remarkable because the custom to place pillars on crossroads has survived in Java and Bali down to the

present time. The Tugu at Yogyakarta, formerly outside the town on the highway from Surakarta to Kōfu, is well-known. Probably the pillars were meant to be guardians of the crossroads, at any time places of imminent danger from malignant spirits.

Canto 59, stanza 2. The name Sangkan Adoh may refer to travelers coming from far away (*sangkeng adoh*) who were given a place on the outskirts of the town as a kind of caravanserai. The original form of the name would be Pasangkan Adoh (place for people coming from afar).

The border of the Royal compounds (*paminggiring pura*) probably is the periphery of the area where the Royal compounds and the important manors were built, with the intervening open spaces (v. canto 12 and its commentary). The *paminggir* was the boundary of the town, if Majapahit could be called a town in the European and continental Asiatic sense of the word. Perhaps the distance from the *paminggir* to the centre of the town, the Royal compound, was considerable, as a consequence of the open spaces (*lebuh*). As neither any kind of fortification nor any city gate is mentioned at the boundary, Majapahit could not be defended as a town. Only the compounds and the manors had walls and gates. That state of things survived in all Javanese towns up to modern times. The importance of the boundary appears from the fact that the hour of the King's arrival there, about 1.30 p.m., is put on record. No doubt that was a propitious moment to come home, determined by divination, and the procession from Japan was timed accordingly.

The remark in stanza 2 on the crowd in town caused by the procession of carts and Royal animals (elephants and horses) colliding with the common people's work-buffaloes (if that is the right reading) perhaps is to be interpreted in this manner that at the end of the East-monsoon, the dry season, the buffaloes were idle and kept at home. Probably they were mainly used for plowing, which is done in the beginning of the season of rains, the West-monsoon. Anyway the presence of buffaloes in considerable numbers inside the town-boundaries is evidence of the specifically agrarian character of Majapahit economy in the 14th century and of its rural aspect, as seen from a modern point of view.

Canto 59, stanzas 3, 4. The triumphal entry into Majapahit was ordered in the same manner as the departure from Kapulungan (canto

18—3/4): the Princesses of Pajang, Lasēm, Daha and Jiwana, with King Hayam Wuruk coming last. At the return the Princesses were accompanied by their husbands, and the grand-vizir Gajah Mada is not mentioned. Perhaps he returned home before the King to organize the reception.

Canto 59, stanzas 5—7. With stanza 5 a literary passage connected with the burlesque description of canto 60 begins. As usual alliterations are frequent. This specimen of literary art at the end of the account of the Royal Progress to the eastern districts is meant to be the counterpart of a similar passage (canto 24) inserted before the reaching of the furthest point of the trek, Patukangan.

The stanzas 5 and 6 contain erotic allusions to undressed women and girls climbing trees (very indecent according to Javanese ideas) that are found more than once in Javanese literature. The women who were at work in the inner courtyards ran towards the gates of the compounds from where they could see the passing procession. *Salam-pur*, rendered by shawl, probably is to be identified with *sampur*, *sasampur*, in modern Jav. the name of a long scarf that is a requisite of dancers. The Majapahit *salampur* might be the same article of female dress as the modern *slenḍang*, which is a long scarf or stole that is thought indispensable for low- and middle-class women when appearing in public. As in the Majapahit period neither men nor women (except some religious people) wore sewn garments covering the upper part of the body, the scarf or stole came in useful. KBNW's explanation of *sēlēmpuri* and *salampura* as dark indigo-dyed textile of Indian origin (Serampore) may be right. But then *salampur* and *sasampur* no doubt are names of definite articles of dress.

The description of the common people's silent reverence during the passing of the procession (canto 59—7) is striking. It is in accordance with the custom prevailing in Java before European shouting became popular.

Donkeys and camels are not native to Java. Just like elephants they were probably imported (from India) only to be used in Royal processions to enhance the splendour of the display.

Canto 60, stanzas 1, 2. In this canto the Royal servants on foot appear. They are followed by their own bearers who carry the booty brought home from the eastern districts. As the products are chosen

for their alliterating names perhaps canto 60 is not so valuable a source of knowledge about Majapahit economy as it might have been. Anyway it is clear that part at least of what the Royal servants brought home to Majapahit consisted of spices, nuts, fruits and delicacies: pups, piglings and chickens. Just like in modern Bali dogs and pigs were eaten in Majapahit. In modern times *kalayar* fruits (*Erioglossum edule*) are not appreciated. As in Old Javanese literature *kalayar* or *kalayu* is mentioned as cultivated, perhaps in the 14th century, when several fine cultivated fruit-trees that were imported in a later period by Chinese and Europeans still were unknown or scarce, *Erioglossum edule* (if that tree is meant in the Nāg.) was considered a delicacy. As to spices *lombok* (*Capsicum*) is notoriously absent, whereas in modern times it is the most appreciated condiment of the rice-eating Javanese. The presumption is strong that *Capsicum* also belongs to the kinds of agricultural produce that spread over Java as a consequence of the expansion of trade with foreign countries beginning in the 14th century and gradually increasing up to modern times.

Canto 60, stanza 3. This stanza contains the burlesquely exaggerated description of a bearer who carries almost valueless things like winnows and steaming-baskets. Amurutuk looks like a name. Probably it is the name of one of the comic characters of popular plays. Burayut is also the name of such a character: he is the man with so many children that they are dangling on all sides from his body. *Burayut* is used in the Nāg. in the original sense of dangling. The original meaning of *amurutuk* might be: rattling or clattering (modern Jav. *klutuk-klutuk*), referring to the many valueless things that rattle as he carries them. The name Mpulutuk is mentioned in KBNW without any reference to farce.

Comic characters like Burayut and Amurutuk (?) are popular with the Javanese. They appear regularly in the modern Javanese *wayang* plays. The people's humour, as often as not making fun in a rather childish manner of the troubles of their equals or their inferiors, is apparent from those farces. A Balinese poem (of a much later date than the Nāg.) on the adventures and misfortunes of Burayut and his wife and children has been translated by Grader (*Djatwa*, vol. 19, 1939). Unfortunately a similar popular story about Amurutuk seems to be unknown.

Canto 60, stanza 4. The last stanza of canto 60 on the Princes'

home-coming in their own compounds ends with a reference to the presents given by them on that occasion to their relatives and servants of inferior rank. The custom of giving presents, supposedly brought home from afar, to members of the household who stayed at home, is observed in Java even in modern times.

Prb. (BKI 80, 1924, p. 243) calls canto 60 and cantos 95—98 late insertions, not genuine parts of Prapañca's work, because they contain many reduplications and other literary ornaments. Prb. goes so far as to declare considerable parts of such well-known Old Javanese poems as *Arjuna Wiwāha*, *Bhārata Yuddha*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhōmakāvya*, and *Smaradahana* spurious on the same grounds. There is no reason to assume that Old Javanese poets were averse from using the poetical ornaments their modern colleagues admire so much. Moreover in Indian poetical art similar ornaments are found (v. Hooykaas's papers on Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* compared with Indian sources, in BKI 1958). As canto 60 fits perfectly well into the Nāg. composition Prb.'s opinion is unacceptable.

At the end of the account of the Royal Progress to the eastern districts it seems desirable to ascertain how long the Court was away from home. Unfortunately the number of days passed in some important places is seldom stated precisely. Probably there was a continuous coming and going along the roads of parts of the caravan, nor did all groups follow exactly the same route. Prapañca himself made several excursions, joining his master perhaps only after several days' absence. On the whole it seems safe to assume that the Progress took some days more than ten weeks, perhaps two months and a half. As the King left Majapahit on the day of the new moon, i.e. the beginning of the month *Bhādra* (August-September) probably he was home again in the middle of November, just before the beginning of the West-monsoon, the season of rains in East Java.

CHAPTER 8 - THE ROYAL PROGRESSES
OF 1360 AND 1361,
to Tirib, Sompur and Blitar.
Cantos 61 and 62, 6 stanzas.

In combination with the three following chapters (9: the *Rājapātī*'s ceremony, 10: the visit to Simping of 1363, and 11: Gajah Mada's death in 1364) the short chapter 8 forms the end of the Majapahit Court Chronicle from 1353 to 1364, which (with its intermezzos) occupies an important place in the *Nāg.* (cantos 17 to 72). The main part of that chronicle is to be brought under the head: topographical description, which was the poet's own name for his work (*Desha Warṇana*).

The Royal Progresses mentioned in the *Nāg.* are:

- 1353: Pajang, west of the Brantas basin (canto 17, stanza 6)
- 1354: Lasēm, north of the Brantas basin (canto 17, stanza 6)
- 1357: Loḍaya, south of the Brantas basin (canto 17, stanza 6)
- 1359: Lumajang, east of the Brantas basin (cantos 17 till 60)
- 1360: Tirib-Sompur, Wānāgiri (?) (canto 61, stanza 1)
- 1361: Palah-Blitar, southern course of the river Brantas (canto 61, stanza 2)
- 1363: Simping, southern course of the river Brantas (canto 70).

The first four Progresses were made according to a plan: they reached the boundaries of the realm (except in Pajang, perhaps) in the directions of the four points of the compass (v. commentary on canto 17—6). The latter three tours seem to have been made for special purposes: hunting and visits to sanctuaries.

Canto 61, stanza 1. As Tirib is the name of a village in the modern district of Wānāgiri, south of Surakarta, in Central Java, it seems a likely supposition that the Royal Chase of 1360 was held in that far-off

hilly region bordering on the Southern Ocean. King Hayam Wuruk had a predilection for the seashore, and his last visit to the western districts (Pajang) was seven years ago. Tirip (ending in a *p*) figures in the triad Pangkur, Tawan, Tirip, mentioned in several old Royal charters of Central Javanese origin, but even in the Majapahit period not wholly forgotten. The names are supposed to belong originally to an ancient triad (*sang māna katriṇi* [possibly to be read: *mānak katriṇi*]) of rural community officials in the time of an extinct 10th century Central Javanese dynasty (v. comm. on Ferry Charter plate V). The identification of Nāg. Tirib with old Tirip seems too hazardous.

A village of the name of Sēmpu is known in the modern district of Pacitan, which borders on Wānāgiri. Sēmpu is the name of two villages in the district of Wānāgiri itself. As *sēmpu* or *sēmpur* is the name of a tree (*Dillenia*) it is not to be wondered at that it was used as a village- or a district-name. As far as is known the district of Wānāgiri has no remains of important buildings dating from Majapahit times or before. That is in accordance with the fact that the King did not visit any shrine in Sōmpur and Tirib; only the hunt is mentioned. The as yet rather mysterious remains of stone temples at Sukuḥ and Cēḥā are situated on the western and north-western slopes of mount Lawu, north-east of Wānāgiri. It seems difficult to associate them with the 14th century Tirib and Sōmpur.

As to the route taken from Majapahit to the Wānāgiri district nothing is known for certain. It seems probable, though, that in former times the route now followed by the railroad and the highway: north of mount Wilis and mount Lawu right through the interior of the country, was almost impracticable on account of the jungle, and the scarcity of provisions. Old trails leading from the Brantas basin through the districts of Tulung Agung, Trénggalek and Pacitan, south of the mountains along the coast to Wānāgiri and further, are indications that in former times that route was preferred. In the Cēḥāṇi, a 19th century encyclopedical poem in modern Javanese, a long trek of some people from Giri, on the North Coast not far from Surabaya, to Central Java is described. It is represented in the poem as being made in the 17th century. The route was as mentioned above. For people accustomed to travelling on foot hilly ground was not difficult to cover if a sufficient supply of provisions and water was ensured.

The possibility of the tour to Tirib and Sōmpur being i.a. a pilgrimage to the sources of the Běngawan, next to the Brantas the greatest river of East Java, is not to be discarded. Dīḥpih in the Wānā-

giri district is a sanctuary venerated by the Central Javanese Kings up to modern times, apparently because the great Bĕngawan was thought to have its source there. Perhaps in order to reach the district of Wānāgiri the King ascended part of the upper course of the Bĕngawan by boat.

Canto 61, stanza 2. The places visited during the tour of 1361 are for the main part well-known. Palah is the ancient Shiwaitic sanctuary now called Panataran (Krom, THG 56, 1914). Lwang Wĕntar or Lwa Wĕntar is identified by Krom with modern Sawĕntar. In Jimbĕ, on the river Brantas, a Ganesha statue was found.

Both the Royal Progress to the eastern districts of 1359 and the tour to Tirib and Sompur of 1360 began in *Rhādra* (August-September), the middle of the dry season, a likely time for travelling. For the visit in state (with retinue) to the Palah shrine the King already left Majapahit in *Waishākha* (April-May), just at the end of the season of rains. In the preceding month *Caitra* (March-April) the great annual Majapahit Court festival was celebrated. The description in cantos 83—91 makes its sacral character perfectly clear. Perhaps the Royal pilgrimage to Palah was connected with that festival. Canto 61 contains no indication to the effect that the Court used to go to Palah every year, whereas the *Caitra* festival was celebrated annually. But then in years that the King did not go in person to Palah he may have sent representatives.

Though Palah was an important sanctuary it is mentioned only casually in the Nāg. Perhaps it was not very interesting for the Buddhist poet. The only indication of its importance to the preponderantly Shiwaitic Court is the considerable time (*jambat*, with the connotation: superfluous) the King is said to have spent in the neighbourhood. In the list of canto 78 Palah is called an estate (*sīma*, as distinct from a duly consecrated religious domain, *dharma*) connected with the Shiwaitic denomination (*kashāwāṅgkuran*, as distinct from: belonging to the Shiwaite Court clergy) without an abode of divinity (*pratiṣṭhā*, a divine statue) and independent. As far as possible the meanings of those chancery terms shall be discussed in the commentary on chapter 12. Anyway it is in accordance with the classification of canto 78 that in canto 61 neither a Divine Lord (*Bhaṭāra*) of Palah is mentioned (*Hyang* Acalapati of canto 17—5 is less reverential than Bhaṭāra) nor elaborate flower-offerings with a procession and music (*puṣpa padāha*) as at Kagĕnĕgan. Stutterheim's opinion that Palah-Panataran was a

central sanctuary of the Majapahit realm seems to give it too much honour, though Prapañca, being a Buddhist, probably errs on the opposite side. It existed already in the Kaḍiri period: an early date found inscribed on a stone on the grounds is equivalent to 1275 A.D. Perhaps the Palah sanctuary was originally an ancient native place of worship dedicated to the Spirit of the Mountain, especially mount Kêlut (called Kampud in the Nāg.), in aftertimes identified with the Lord of Mountains, Shiwa. Fundamentally the *Caitra* Court festival at Majapahit probably also had an ancient native Javanese, non-Indian, origin and purport. The Royal visit to the ancient Palah sanctuary in *Waiśākha* might very well be connected with it.

Canto 61, stanza 3. Loḍaya had already had the honour of a Royal visit in 1357. The repeated visit of 1361 perhaps also had a devotional purpose. In Javanese folklore Loḍaya is a place of were-tigers: men who have a close relation to tigers. A sacred gong, called Braḍah, is worshipped there. In the present author's *Jawaanse Volksvertoningen* some remarkable legends of that district are mentioned. As it seems most probable that ancient beliefs recorded in the 19th century existed already in the Majapahit period, King Hayam Wuruk's visit to Loḍaya following his worshipping at the Palah sanctuary might very well be meant for some native Javanese sanctuaries. The possibility of Royal visits to the seashore being connected with Sea Goddess worship (Ratu Lara Kidul) has been pointed out before (canto 26). The combination of devotion at Palah and on the seashore is natural, for the native Javanese Mountain Spirits (in Central Java called *Sunan Lawu* and *Sunan Mēraji*) and the Maiden Queen of the Southern Ocean are considered to be akin.

Up to modern times the Javanese Kings of Surakarta and Yogyakarta used every year to send offerings to the mountains Lawu and Mēraji, to Dlēpih and to the Southern Ocean. Within living memory none of the Kings, being Muslims, went to those places themselves. They used to send official envoys, with some ceremony. It does not seem preposterous to suppose that in the pre-Muslim period Royalty used at times to go in person to sacred spots to pay their respects to the Ancient Spirits.

Canto 61, stanza 4. The Simping sanctuary has been identified by Bosch (Oudh. V. 1916) with the modern Caṇḍi Sumbēr Jati. The date 1283 *Shaka* (1361 A.D.) inscribed on a stone, referring to King Hayam

Wuruk's restoration mentioned in cantos 61 and 70, and a Shiwaitic statue (*Harihara*) probably representing King Kērtarājasa the founder of Majapahit (v. canto 47—3), leave no doubt as to the correctness of the identification. Before 1361 A.D. the Simping domain appears to have suffered severely probably from an earthquake: the temple-tower had fallen over. The separate mention in stanza 4 of the domain itself (*dharma*) and the temple-tower (*prāṣāda*) proves once more that those terms are not synonymous. Religious domains not possessing a temple-tower existed. The ruin of the Simping temple-tower seems to be imputed to its being built too far to the west. Therefore it was to be rebuilt on another place more to the east. No doubt in the Majapahit period places for buildings were determined by divination. Probably the kind of divination practised in choosing places for new constructions was the enclosure-lore (*panghapitan*), which distinguished propitious and unpropitious places according to their being enclosed (*hapit*) by features of the landscape like hills and rivers.

Canto 62, stanza 1. Apparently the original charter (*prashāsti*) of the foundation of the Simping domain contained a determination of its boundaries, mainly by naming the adjoining territories belonging either to rural communities or to gentlemen's estates or to other religious domains. In charters still existing, determinations of boundaries of that kind have been found. As it was considered important that the new Simping should be just like the old one as to its extent, the measures of the original domain were taken precisely in fathoms, no doubt with the assistance of dignitaries from the adjoining territories who had witnessed the charter (or their successors in law). The domain (*dharma*) determined in the charter was the possession of the deified ancestor King Kērtarājasa. It was out of the question to wrong him by giving him a smaller domain instead of the old one that had become uninhabitable by the disaster. To reconstruct the temple-tower on the same spot was a preposterous idea to the Javanese mind. The place had been proved to be unpropitious by the disaster that occurred there.

The remarkable transaction effectuated under King Hayam Wuruk's authority in order to secure a new domain for his deified ancestor consisted in a double exchange. The deified King was given a territory called Gurung-gurung which was owned by a cloister of Tantric Buddhists (*kūfi kabajradharan*). A hamlet called Gēgurung still exists in

the neighbourhood. The cloister was indemnified by the possession of Gontong Wishnu Rare. In the list of canto 77 Wishnu Wāla, which is synonymous with Wishnu Rare, is mentioned as a domain of married Tantric Buddhist (*kasugatan kabajradharan akrama*). Probably Pra-pāñca's interest in what happened at Simping was partly prompted by his desire to secure Buddhist rights. The presence of Wishnu Wāla in the list of canto 77 shows that that list was brought up to date in 1365. Gurung-gurung is not mentioned again in the Nāg. In canto 70 the consecration of the new Simping domain and the construction of the new temple-tower are described.

Some questions related to the old Simping domain and to Gontong Wishnu Rare are left unanswered in canto 62. As the old Simping domain, considered unhallowed on account of the disaster, was abandoned, it might have been given to the original owners of Gontong Wishnu Rare as a compensation. That is not mentioned in the Nāg. Perhaps it was considered as no longer being of any value to anyone. The name Gontong Wishnu Rare is remarkable. As *gontong* (modern Jav. *guntung*, *buntung*) probably means: cut, Gontong might be the original native name of a locality called: cut-off piece of land. The name Wishnu Rare refers to Wishnuism, but it is not found in the list of Wishnuitic lands in canto 78. Perhaps the original owners of the Gontong Wishnu Rare lands, having gone down in the course of time to the rank of commoners, had been prevailed upon to give up their hereditary property. The absence of any Wishnuitic ecclesiastical authority at Court deprived them of a place to lodge an appeal. Another possibility is that the original Wishnuitic family of Gontong Wishnu Rare was extinct, and that the King's authority transferred the ownership of the vacant domain to the Tantric cloister. If he had not done so probably the Gontong Wishnu Rare lands would have been occupied by the adjoining rural communities, causing an obliteration of the distinction between ecclesiastical and secular lands which was particularly objectionable to the Court. The Rājapatigunḍala (edited in the present book) contains some rules on ecclesiastical ownership of lands. Unfamiliarity with the law-terms makes their application to the Gontong Wishnu Rare case impossible.

Canto 62, stanza 2. Shūrabhāṇa (modern Surawana) was a domain of the King's uncle of Wēngkēr just in the course of being opened (canto 82—2—2). The other places mentioned in stanza 2 are unidentified. Coming from the south the trek followed another route than on

the occasion of the Progress to the eastern districts. Perhaps the remarkable name Bajra-Laksmī, containing a reference both to Tantrism (*bajra*) and to Wishnuism (the goddess Laksmī) is a result of a fusion of lands belonging to a Tantric and a Wishnuitic family. On that analogy Gontong Wishnu-Rare which was turned over to a Tantric cloister might in the course of time acquire an addition to its name to denote the Tantrism of its new owners.

Perhaps the stop at Bēkēl after leaving Shūrabhāṇa had for purpose to time the arrival in Majapahit at a propitious moment determined by divination. Though the Royal Progress to Palah, Blitar and Loḍaya is not described in detail like the tour to the eastern districts it probably was an important event for the Court and the authorities on divination had control over it.



V. A JAVANESE ORCHESTRA, SEE P. VIII.

CHAPTER 9 - THE POSTHUMOUS
CEREMONY IN HONOUR OF THE RAJAPATNI
IN 1362.

her shrines and her cult.

Cantos 63-69, 30 stanzas.

The Court Chronicle (v. commentary on canto 61) is continued for 1362 with an account of a great Tantric ceremony. Like chapter 14, the description of the annual Court festival, chapter 9 evidently was written with devotion to the subject and admiration for the splendour of the display. Perhaps the poet's intention was to show a parallelism between the esoteric Tantric ceremony and the worldly *Caitra* celebration. At the end of this chapter the probability of a close relation between the two ceremonies based on the old belief in cosmic duality shall be discussed.

Poerhatjaraka was especially interested in the contents of chapter 9. He made an integral translation of it (in Dutch, BKI 80, 1924). Like Stutterheim's paraphrase of the description of the Royal compound in chapter 2 Poerhatjaraka's translation offers several points of interest that will be commented upon hereafter.

Canto 63, stanza 1. Canto 63 contains the formal introduction to the ceremony. In Javanese literature descriptions of Royal audiences with ceremonious speeches are stock features. That is in accordance with the custom of Javanese social life where formality and dignified beginnings of all actions are considered indispensable. Of course the decision to perform the ceremony had been made some time before the grand-vizir's speech.

Gajah Mada's addressing the Royal Family with such a ceremonious speech is evidence of the political importance of the *shrāddha*. The re-union of the moieties of the realm, Janggala and Kaḍiri, was to be promoted by the elevation of the *Rājapatni* to the rank of a divine

patroness. The ceremony was attended by all the principal members of the Royal Family: King Hayam Wuruk, and the Princesses of Pajang, Lasēm, Daha and Jiwana with their husbands. Probably as a rule the family was complete at important events. The fire offerings mentioned in canto 8 were also attended by the King and the Princesses in company.

The hall (*widana*) where the initial audience with the grand-vizir's address took place no doubt was the great audience-hall in the courtyard of the Royal compound between the First and the Second Gates, mentioned in cantos 9—4 and 10—3. The Honourables (*āryas*) are also mentioned in canto 10; perhaps in canto 63 the ecclesiastical officers, the bishops and their coadjutors, are meant. Probably the common vizirs were in part summoned from their posts in the provinces. The presence of those officers of the realm, both spiritual and secular, was considered necessary on account of the importance of the occasion and of the contributions in kind or in labour that were expected from them. The Fellows i.e. besides the grand-vizir: the chamberlain (*dēmung*), the chancellor (*kanuruhan*), the aide-de-camp (*rangga*) and the commander-in-chief (*tumenggung*), who always appear in the preambles of Royal charters, are not mentioned expressly in canto 63. Probably they followed Gajah Mada as he entered the audience hall, ceremoniously shuffling with deeply bent knees and bowed head finally to sit down cross-legged (*sidd: shila*) on the bare floor at a considerable distance from Royalty to make his *añjali* (*sēmbah*) and to wait some time before he was given a silent hint to the effect that he was allowed to speak. This description of the ceremony of entering into the Royal Presence which is often mentioned in the Nāg. is made on the analogy of modern Javanese ceremonies performed at the Royal Courts of Central Java.

Canto 63, stanza 2. The last verse of stanza 1 and the whole of stanza 2 is direct speech in ceremonious words. The exalted predicate Illustrious (*Śhrī*) is several times repeated and the Royal name Tribhūwana Wijayottunggadewī is pronounced in full. At the modern Central Javanese Courts it also was the custom on great occasions for the Dutch governor to propose a toast to the King's health mentioning all the Royal names and titles, which was duly responded to by the King with a toast to the governor's health mentioning all that gentleman's names and titles.

The beginning of stanza 2, with: the Order of the Illustrious Protec-

tor (*Ajñā Śrī Nātha*) is in accordance with the initial sacral formula of Royal Charters, after the date: that was the time of the Order of His Magnificence the Illustrious Great King (*irika dīnashanyājñā Pāduka Śrī Mahārāja*).

King Hayam Wuruk's mother the titular Princess of Jiwana is mentioned as giving the order because she was the eldest living member of the Royal Family, and the *Rājapatni*'s eldest daughter. The importance of the female line of succession in the dynasty is made apparent by the preference given to the mother over the son. As Gajah Mada was originally a servant of Tribhuwana, promoted to high rank in the time of her regency, the influential grand-vizir's allegiance to his old mistress perhaps was a factor in the matter of the address.

A *śrāddha* ceremony is mentioned, both in the *Nāg.* and in the *Pararaton*, only for the *Rājapatni*. It seems not at all certain that they were performed for all members of the Royal Family nor for all Kings and Queens, at least not with such splendour as is described in chapter nine. No doubt the *Rājapatni* was an imposing character and her place in the Royal Family was unique. Moreover political reasons may have rendered the pomp of the ceremonies desirable, especially from the grand-vizir's point of view. The cutting-the-warped ceremony (*pamēgat sigi*) at Kalayu for Bhra Gundal (according to the *Pararaton*) in 1359 (canto 31—2) was also a Royal function (*rājakārya*) and conclusive (*wēkasan*). *Pamēgat sigi* ceremonies are mentioned in some more places in Old Javanese literature, in charters. Perhaps in accordance with her exalted spiritual rank (she was an ordained Buddhist nun) in the *Rājapatni*'s case the particularly splendid Tantric Indian ceremonies called *śrāddha* took the place of *pamēgat sigi*.

The word *śrāddha* survives in modern Javanese *ñadran* (with metathesis of the *r*), a common term for the customary (Muhammadan) pilgrimaging to ancestral tombs in the lunar month *Saban* (Arab. *Sha'bān*), which as a consequence is called *Ruwah* (from Arabic *arwāḥ*: Spirits) in Java. The survival of the word *śrāddha* in the name of a popular custom seems to warrant the supposition that in pre-Muslim times in Java posthumous *śrāddha* ceremonies (though not so splendid as described in chapter nine) were of more frequent occurrence than would appear from the sparse notices in Old Javanese literature. (The form with suffixed *-n*, *ñadran*, might be a diminutive or expressive of the ideas imitation, customary repetition). A similar case is the modern Javanese word *Pāsḍ*, the common name of the month of the Muhammadan Fast, *Ramadhān*, which precedes *Saban*. No doubt Javanese

Pāśā, Malay *Puasa*, is a corruption of Sanskrit *upavāsa*, fast. In Old Javanese literature the word *upavāsa* is seldom found. Probably the word *brata*, as a rule rendered: vow, in many cases refers to fasting and abstinence.

The survival of the word *upavāsa* in the common name *Pāśā* and the survival of the word *śrāddha* in the common *ñādran* custom have in common their relation to religious practices and ceremonies that seem to belong to Tantric Buddhism in its Old Javanese form. Buddhist "funeral masses" are known to have been a feature of popular religion in other countries of East Asia (v. de Groot, *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy Chinezen*, Verh. B.G. vol. 42, 1883). The common expression *jaman Buda* (Buddha era) used in modern Javanese when referring to pre-Muhammadian times might even find one of its explanations in the fact that in the eyes of newly converted Javanese Muslims, in the 15th century, the elaborate and expensive Tantric Buddhistic ceremonies at a death were one of the most characteristic differences between the old religion and the new one, which emphasized soberness and simplicity especially in the disposal of the dead.

A connection between the *Pāśā* fasting and the *Ruwah* *ñādran* pilgrimage to the graveyards is established in modern popular Javanese religious thinking by the belief that in the Fast the spirits of the deceased stay with their living relatives with the intention of returning the latters' visit, namely the *ñādran* pilgrimage in *Ruwah*. The widespread custom of lighting lamps at night outside the houses in *Ramadhān* is explained by saying they are of use to the spirits looking for the houses of their living relatives.

As the *Rājapatni* died in 1350 the *śrāddha* ceremonies took place twelve years after her death. That interval was intentional: the year that the ceremonies should be observed is mentioned in the grand-vizir's address. The *Bhādra* month (August-September, in the middle of the dry season) was the time for the beginning of several social and religious activities in Majapahit. That is accounted for by the fact that agriculture was at a stand-still, allowing people to spend their time and their labour on other matters. The name of the month, connected with Skt. *bhādra*: propitious, perhaps was taken to be of good augury.

As in the Majapahit period *Śrāwāṇa* was considered the first month of the solar year the *Rājapatni*'s *Śrāwāṇa-Bhādra* ceremonies probably partook of the character of a New-year's celebration. At the end of the

present commentary on chapter 9 this aspect of the great *śhrāddha* ceremonies shall be brought up again.

Old mandarins (*vērdhamantri*) seems to indicate secular officers of rank in general, as distinct from the Royal Family on the one hand and the common people on the other. In canto 66 the part taken by Royal officers in the ceremonies is described.

Canto 63, stanza 3. In this stanza the expenses of the ceremonies are discussed. They were found mainly by requiring contributions from the people. Levies of contributions to ceremonies and festivals at Court connected with Royal Family events probably belonged to the regular taxes laid on the people in the Majapahit period. That kind of taxation was known in the modern Central Javanese kingdoms till the end of the nineteenth century. In many cases the amount of the contributions that was received exceeded the real expenses, leaving a surplus. Perhaps the wily grand-vizir's intention with the splendid *śhrāddha* ceremonies was, beside dynastic unification, also economic profit for the Court.

The two groups that were expected to contribute are called *ḍapurs* (rendered: rural communities) and *mantris asuruhan thāni* (cf. canto 66—2—3, rendered: mandarins having lands in charge). The first group no doubt is just common, not belonging to the Court (their representatives Aputih and Sujyana are not given any predicate, being just countrymen). The second group probably consisted of the common vizirs (*patihs*) who were representatives of Royal authority in the countryside. Their chief was an Honourable (*ārya*). In Patukangan, Kēja, Gēḍing and Kagēnēngan local officials with the *ārya* title are mentioned. The mandarins with local authority (*mantri amāñcanagara*) who are mentioned in Patukangan, the capital of the eastern districts, are to be identified with the mandarins having lands in charge (*mantri asuruhan pradesha*) of cantos 63 and 66.

The names of the two representatives of the common rural communities Aputih and Sujyana are worth notice. The first name is common Javanese (White). In Old Javanese charters native Javanese names are much more frequent than they are in modern times in real life. Apparently the influence of foreign (Indian, later Muslim) culture spread in the course of time from the upper strata of society until it pervaded the whole of the country. Sanskrit Sujana is a common name even in modern Java; the meaning is just: Goodman. The Nāg. spelling Sujyana might be a variant, the origin of the modern Javanese name

Sudiyānā. Anyway the two names are perfectly fitting for commoners.

Pairs are of frequent occurrence in the groups of officials at the Javanese Courts, in modern times as in the Majapahit era. Probably the tendency to have pairs is connected with the fundamental idea of cosmic and social duality in the Javanese mind that has been mentioned repeatedly in the present commentary. Aputih and Sujoyana may have been representatives of two groups of common rural communities in East Java, whose inter-relation was of the same kind as the relation existing between the Kaḍiri and the Janggala moieties of the realm. Unfortunately no clear indications as to the place of Aputih and Sujoyana in Majapahit society are available. In the Biluluk charter of 1366 a distinction between Majapahit and Pinggir *ḍapurs* is apparent.

The title-name of the Honourable Rāmādhirāja, the chief of the group of mandarins, ends in the element *-adhirāja*, which is found in more title-names (v. canto 25—2). It was less exalted than the final element *-adhiḱāra*, which was used to form title-names for governors (*adhipatis*) and high Court officials.

In canto 40 the rural communities (*ḍapur*) are the opposite of the landed gentry, the lairds of manors (*juru kuwu*). Perhaps the gentry was to a certain extent independent of the Court. Probably many estates in the country were made exempt from dues under Royal charters. They could not be asked to contribute. If they offered contributions they did so probably through the intermediary of the *patihs*, the vizirs, the mandarins vested with local authority in the countryside. The local vizirs' task seems to have been mainly the administration of Royal and vice-regal lands that were cultivated by Royal bondmen. The close connection with the Court made them as a matter of course liable to levies. The rural communities' willingness to give contributions perhaps was founded on the common people's belief in the King's divine right to homage as the Head of cosmic and human society.

No doubt the deliberation on ways and means as described in stanza 3 was planned beforehand. Probably several mandarins and commoners came from distant districts, so they were summoned by messenger some time before the conference.

The main courtyard (*wanguntur*), mentioned in canto 8, is the place where the ceremonies took place. It is to be identified with the whole of the northern *alun-alun* in the modern Central Javanese Royal compounds. Prb.'s identifying it with the modern *Sitinggil* (an artificial hillock at the south end of the *alun-alun*) is improbable because that artificially raised place is mentioned nowhere in the Nāg. According

to de Graaf (Sultan Agung, 1958) no *Sitinggil* of any Central Javanese town was raised before 1625.

Canto 63, stanza 4. The lion's throne (*sthāna singha*, lion's place, in canto 63; mostly: *singhāsana*, lion's seat) named after the mythological lion of Indian literature (in Java lions are completely unknown) probably was a structure made of bamboo and brightly painted wood that appeared on several occasions. Perhaps it is to be identified with the structures that were in use in Bali to convey the remains of the dead to the pyre on the occasion of grand cremations. In the case of the *Rajapatni* only her "flower effigy" (*pustaka*) was placed on the lion's throne. Probably in Javanese cosmic mythology the lion represented the demoniacal chthonic spirit that was subdued by a representative of the upper world. The "flower effigy" or the remains of the dead were carried by the subdued spirit to a better world. The *singa barong* of modern Javanese country plays (described in *Volksvertoningen*) may also be considered as a manifestation of the chthonic spirit. Javanese dualism (chthonic-celestial) is manifest in the conception of the lion's throne used as seat by the to-be-deified *Rajapatni*.

The lion-throne is mentioned also in the Old Javanese *Nawaratya* (edited and translated in the present book). The Royal chancellor (*kanuruhan*) is said in that text to be in charge of the making of all requisites for a great ceremony. In accordance with the *Nawaratya sarwakṛtya*: all kinds of artisans, *citrakāra* of canto 64--f also is rendered: artisan, though as a rule the word refers specially to painters. As in the *Nawaratya tikēl-tikēlan* is mentioned before *singhāsana* in the *Nāg.* by *anika-nikēl* no doubt is meant: to make *tikēl-tikēlan*. Though the meaning of that word is not clear probably it refers to some kind of bamboo-work (cf. Malay *tikar*, *tikēr*: mat). The original meaning of *tikēl* is: bent. As in the *Nawaratya* several requisites are mentioned that were undoubtedly made of bamboo, i.e. *tangkēban* (probably the temporary roofing that is put up, for shadow, over any yard where a considerable number of people is expected to sit down) the rendering of *tikēl-tikēlan* by: bamboo plaiting seems likely.

The carriers (*wawan*) for food are identified by Prb. with the artificial mountains (*gunungan*) that are important features in the processions bringing food-offerings from the Royal compound to the mosque on the occasion of the half-yearly religious ceremonies (*garēbbēg*) in the modern Central Javanese capitals. In cantos 65 and 66 carriers of many

different shapes are described, so *wawan* seems to be a general appellation for carriers of consecrated food and offerings.

Probably the modern artificial mountains (*gunungan*) are better comparable with the *bukur-bukurans* of cantos 63—4 and 66—1. In KBNW *bukur* is described as a tower-like structure, made of bamboo, with storeys, from seven to eight in number, to be carried in a procession on the occasion of a great cremation ceremony. A description by Bosch (Oudh. V. 1916, p. 115) is in accordance with KBNW; he points to the shape which resembles the Balinese so-called Meru-roofs, referring to mount Meru. The duplicated form *buku(r)-bukuran* in the Nāg. probably refers to a plurality of shapes. The modern Central Javanese artificial mountains (*gunungan*) are of two kinds: male and female.

The figures (*tapèl*) are also mentioned in canto 66. Probably they resembled the modern Balinese wooden figures, painted with bright colours, that are used for decoration, not for devotional purposes. The products of the Majapahit artisans of course have decayed long ago.

Prb's translation of *paṇḍe ḍaḍap*: copper-smith is not founded on any known meaning of *ḍaḍap*. It seems more probable that the Majapahit *paṇḍe ḍaḍap* was an artisan who made chased and embossed work either in copper or in silver and gold. Some of the carriers mentioned in canto 66 probably were decorated with coverings of embossed metal and silver- or goldfoil. The original meaning of *ḍaḍap* seems to be: cover, covering. In some modern Javanese dances a *ḍaḍap*, which originally seems to have been a kind of small shield covering the forearm, is a requisite (v. *Volksvertoningen*).

The position of the artisans at Court and in the country shall be discussed in the commentaries on canto 78—6 (*kalagyans*), the Ferry and the Biluluk charters (*mangilala dīrwaya haji*), and in the recapitulation, chapter one.

Canto 64, stanza 1. In the first two stanzas of canto 64 the place in the main courtyard where the ceremonies are to be performed is described. According to canto 8—3, that courtyard, the *wangunur*, had a permanent hall (*witāna*) in its centre. Against that hall (which had a stone base) now another hall was built, a temporary structure, (made mainly of bamboo, probably) shaped like a *prisaḍi*. The pillars of both halls, open on all sides and freely communicating one with another, were made red (*rinakta*) and the ridges of the roofs were decorated (*hinyasan*). Even in modern Java a house where a marriage

or a circumcision is to be celebrated is usually enlarged by a temporary annex (*tarub*) to accommodate the numerous guests. The enlarged hall in the centre of the main courtyard of the Majapahit Royal compound was the place for the religious ceremonies. It is said to have its place opposite the *Rajapatni's* lion-throne, for whom the ceremonies were performed, not the reverse, for the lion-throne was the centre of veneration.

The pillars of the enlarged hall were made red (*rinakta*) probably by winding strips of red cloth around them. A similar custom still prevails in modern Java, but now common red paper is used. The decorations of the ridges of the roofs (*wuwung*) perhaps were the well-known *jagoans*, imitations of birds (*jagoan* means: cockerel) that still are seen in some districts of Java (v. *Volksvertoningen*). As the Majapahit hall was partly a temporary structure its roof-cockerels probably were made of bamboo or of plaited rice-straw. Figures very ingeniously made of plaited rice-straw still belong to the remarkable products of Javanese folk-art. The red pillars and the cockerels (?) on the roof made the enlarged hall a consecrated place (*templum*) fit for the performing of religious ceremonies. Originally the cockerels probably were spirit-birds keeping up the connection with the Upper World. Being the colour of Life red was particularly fit to be used in the hall where a ceremony for divine life was to be celebrated.

In KBNW several places from an Old Javanese Wariga, a book on divination, are quoted mentioning the worship (*mamaja*) and the throwing into the sea (*mangañut*) of a *prisadi*. Sub voce *pusadi* places from the Old Javanese Calon Arang (the tale of the mythical sage Bharaja) are quoted, also pointed out by P'rh. Probably a *pusadi*, *prisadi* or *bhrisadi* (canto 83—6—1, the spelling varies) was a steeple-like pavilion (with up to three storeys) providing a seat for a divine or deified person. Being made of wood and bamboo it could be carried about. In modern Bali a similar structure called *bade* is a requisite of great cremations. In the North-Pasisir districts (along the North Coast) of modern Java *pađe-pađe* or *puwađe* or *kuwađe* is the name of a decorated bench or throne provided for bride and bridegroom to sit in state on the occasion of their wedding feast (v. *Volksvertoningen*, par. 384). Probably all the mentioned thrones are related. In canto 64—1, the annex of the permanent *wanguntur* hall is only said to be made in the shape (*twir*) of a *prisadi*. As it is itself called a hall (*twitāna*) it probably was much larger and higher than the ordinary *prisadis* and it could not be carried about (v. canto 83—6—1), for it was connected with the

permanent hall. Its use in the ceremonies apparently was to receive the *Rājapatni*'s soul (*swah*) as it descended from the Upper World (v. stanza 5).

Canto 64, stanza 2. In this stanza the places of the public are described, all around the centre of the courtyard where the *Rājapatni*'s lion-throne with the enlarged hall opposite it formed the scene. That arrangement makes the ceremonies' character of a public spectacle very clear. The stands no doubt were temporary structures made of bamboo with palm-leaves for cover in a similar manner as in modern Java the public is provided with seats on festive occasions. Of course the idea was only to give shelter from the sun. In the middle of the dry season no rain was expected. Moreover temporary shelters would not be of any use in a tropical shower. The pavilions (*watangan*) that stood along the sides of the main courtyard (canto 8—3) probably were too small to be used as accommodation for the public looking on at the ceremony of canto 64. The stands only had flat roofs of plaited palm-leaves held up by bamboo poles; that is what is called a *tratag* in modern Java. The northern *alun-aluns* of the modern Central Javanese Royal compounds still have *tratags*, now semi-permanent. The northern *alun-alun* and the Majapahit main courtyard (*wanguntur*) occupy the same place in relation to the centre of the Royal compound (v. commentary on canto 8). Galestin (Houtbouw, p. 53) has interesting remarks and quotations from other texts referring to *tratags* and other structures of the Majapahit period.

The benches (Skt. *talpa*, modern Jav. *līncak*, *salu* or *amben*) no doubt also were made of split and plaited bamboo, without backs. As it was considered indecorous, especially for women, to sit with legs hanging down, people sat on the benches cross-legged. Probably many children sat or played or slept between or under the benches. In their separate small hall (*maṇḍapa*) Royalty of course sat on mats. Elevated stages were out of place there.

The situation of the Royal hall, west of the centre of the court-yard, facing east, probably was expressive of humility and veneration for the *Rājapatni*. In Javanese classification east, sunrise, takes priority over the other points of the compass. The hangings (*pralamba*) of the Royal *maṇḍapa* perhaps resembled the strips of red or red-and-white cloth that on festive occasions in modern Java are fixed horizontally along the rafters just under the roof all round the hall. In West Java, in the Sundanese country, a specially woven kind of thin red textile, called

kasang, is used for that end. Originally the encircling strip around the hall no doubt was a mark of consecration for an important place. The Royal Family, being the principal group concerned in the *Rājapātnī*'s ceremony, had a consecrated place.

The wives of the secular mandarins (*mantri*), gentlemen of the clergy (*bhujangga*) and brahmins (*wipra*) who filled the stands on two sides, north and east, of the main courtyard, are mentioned again in the same sequence in canto 65-6-2. The assessors (*upapatti*) of canto 65 no doubt belonged to the ecclesiastical officers. As in canto 65 the ladies are said to receive their parts of the offerings probably their presence (in great numbers) at the ceremonies was a reward for their trouble in preparing the food that was offered. The cooking and preparing of considerable quantities of food within a relatively short span of time (otherwise the food would go bad in the tropical climate) required many hands and active supervision of expert matrons.

The mandarins, gentlemen of the clergy and brahmins themselves probably were busy organizing the processions and performing the religious ceremonies. For that reason they are not mentioned in this stanza. The retainers (*bhṛtya*) who filled the stands at the south side of the court-yard, next to the Royal hall, may have been Royal bondwomen who served at Court, with their children. The bondmen probably were kept busy under the orders of the mandarins.

Canto 64, stanza 3. *Sarwajñapājā*, worship of the Omniscient, seems to be a comprehensive appellation of the Tantric ceremonies that had their centre in the sacred circle (*maṇḍala*), the image of the cosmos. The circle-drawing ceremony no doubt was performed in the enlarged hall, probably in the annex that had the steeple-like roof (*prisaḍi*). Tantric sacred circles are well-known from Tibetan sources (v. Pott, Tibetan Collection). An eight-petalled lotus as centre and *wajras* (thunderbolts) on the periphery, with a rigidly geometrical arrangement inside, are unfailing features of a *maṇḍala*. As the material from which the sacred circle in Majapahit was made is not mentioned, probably it was simply drawn in sand on the floor of the hall. It might be fashioned of cooked rice (dyed in different colours) too. Cones of cooked rice still appear in modern Javanese ceremonies. But then, if the *maṇḍala* in the sacred hall (where the poet saw it himself, being a member of the Buddhist clergy) was so spectacular probably it would be mentioned in the text.

The presence of "all Tantric priests" at the circle-drawing ceremony

excludes the other three denominations: Shiwaites, friars and Wishnuites. In fact the posthumous ceremony was in the hands of the Buddhist clergy exclusively. Members of the Shiwaite and Wishnuite clergy probably were present, though. The Wishnuite brahmins' wives are mentioned in cantos 64 and 65 and the ecclesiastical officers (*bhujangga, upapatti*) were mainly Shiwaites. As the friars (*r̥shis*) did not belong to the Court they were not put on a par with the other denominations. In canto 66—3 the *caturāshrama* and the *dwija* are mentioned separately.

The question whether in the Majapahit period Buddhist communities not performing Tantric ceremonies existed in Java is debatable. Probably even the *kawinayan* Buddhist communities, observers of the disciplinary regulations (*winaya*), mentioned in cantos 76—3/4 and 80—1, were Tantrists. The words *wiku Boddha tantragata*: ordained priests, Buddhists, Tantrists, seem to form a climax, so that Tantrism is represented as the spiritually most exalted stage of priesthood.

The old Court priest the abbot of Nadī, the principal performer of the ceremonies, was mentioned already in canto 12. In canto 63—3—4 the qualities that made him worthy of that honour are mentioned. *Labdhāwesha* (rendered: receiving inspiration, from *āwesha*: entering) is connected with Tantrism (v. canto 69—1—3). Probably the inspiration by a supernatural power (his spiritual Master) is meant, the consequence of meditation on the sense of the sacred circle. Moral qualities (virtuous, true) are indispensable to attain that end.

The three *tantras* (*tantratraya*) are identified by Krom with the three vehicles (*yānatraya*, in canto 18—7—3 used as a name), which is not plausible. *Kriyā*-, *caryā*- and *yogatantra*, also mentioned by Krom, probably are meant.

Canto 64, stanza 4. In this stanza the relation between the Court priest, more than eighty years old, and the actual celebrant (*prasiddha*) is mentioned: the latter was a disciple (*śiṣya*) of the venerated abbot of Nadī. No doubt spiritual allegiance was an important factor in ecclesiastical society. The disciples were submissive to their Master: they entered into his Presence in the same manner as the mandarins entered into the Royal Presence (*mar̥ḥ*) to proffer their services.

Assuming that the emendation *manēngēn* (towards the right) is correct the celebrant probably is said to perform the well-known Indian *pradakṣiṇā*, marching round the sacred circle keeping it on his right. As the *pradakṣiṇā* would not be out of place in the described ceremony

this seems a plausible supposition. Nevertheless "marching towards the right" (*manēngēn*) is an incorrect description of the *pradakṣiṇā*: to keep the object of worship on his right, during his marching round it, the performer begins by turning to the left. *Manēngēnakēn* (keeping something to the right) would be the correct Javanese rendering of Skt. *pradakṣiṇā*. A march round the sacred circle in inverse *pradakṣiṇā* sense, keeping it on one's left, would be exceptional. If the inverse round was meant probably it would be described in clearer terms.

Prb.'s emendation in verse 4 shows the importance of a correct pronunciation (*uccāra*) of the sacred Sanskrit words to the Javanese mind. No doubt for the Javanese the sounds of Sanskrit were very difficult to reproduce. In the Majapahit period the numerous Skt. words used in everyday Javanese parlance probably were pronounced in accordance with Javanese modes of speech. Therefore a correct pronunciation of sacred formulas was all the more appreciated. The modern Javanese attitude with regard to the sacred language of Islam, Arabic, is a perfect parallel of the pre-Muslim veneration for Sanskrit.

How far the four groups of three religious practices or exercises that are mentioned in stanzas 3, 4 and 5 are related remains for later investigation. In stanza 3 the three *tantras*, according to Krom: *kriyā-tantra*, *caryātantra* and *yogatantra*, are mentioned.

in stanza 4: *mudrās* (ritual gestures), *mantras* (sacred formulas) and *jāpas* (incantations),

in stanza 5, first: *sātra* recital (sacred texts), *homa*-worship (fire-offerings) and *parishrama* (labour, but perhaps: anphidromy), and lastly: *dhyāna* (reflection), *saṁādhi* (meditation) and *siddhi* (supernatural power).

All of them are technical terms of Tantrism. Perhaps the classification inferior-medium-superior (*niṣṭamadhyamottama*) accounts for their being in groups of three.

Canto 64, stanza 5. The last stanza of canto 64 contains the description of the remarkable ceremony that had for end the entering of the *Rājapatni*'s soul (*swah*) into the flower effigy (*puṣpa*) which was to be it's earthly abode during the rest of the ceremonies. The religious practices that are mentioned in the preceding stanza including the sacred-circle drawing evidently were only preliminaries considered useful as creating the required spiritual tension. The first half of the stanza is concerned with the invitation (*manḡiṁjēm*) tendered to the soul (*swah*) in order to persuade it to descend to the earth again

(*muwah*). The words "they were completed (only) at the arrival of the soul again" seem to imply that the practices or spiritual exercises were continued without interruption until the performers felt that the soul had descended from its heavenly abode to be in their midst again as it was at the time of the *Rājapatni*'s earthly existence. By what kind of token the priests were warned of the soul's presence is not mentioned in the text. Probably the decision lay with the old abbot. Of course "soul" is an unorthodox rendering of *swah*, seen from a Buddhist point of view, for Buddhism in general is wary of the concept of soul. As *swah* belongs in the triad *bhur-bhuwah-swah* (Nether World, Earth, Upper World) perhaps "celestial principle" would be an adequate rendering. Skt. *swar* (also in KBNW) means: sunlight. But then, the Tantric ceremony's affinity with shamanistic practices of closely related Indonesian peoples and its resemblance to still existing Javanese spiritualistic performances seem to warrant the use of the word soul in this case. In modern Jav. *swargi* (from Skt. *swarga*: heaven) means: late, deceased, referring to persons of high rank.

Sūtras, sacred texts, are not mentioned in any other place in the Nāg., so the name of the particular *sūtra* that was recited is unknown. Fire-offerings (*homa*) were performed regularly in the same courtyard where the *shrāddha* took place (v. canto 8—4—1). As the inviting of the soul was a nocturnal ceremony lighted mainly by the nearly full moon (shedding a profusion of pale light in the dry season) the fire probably was found useful for its warmth and for enhancing the tension of the performers and the public. By *parishrama* (labour, bodily exertion) perhaps is meant a rhythmic ring-dance (Skt. *pari*: around) with hypnotizing influence, rendered: amphidromy. *Shrama* is the name of a strenuous fighting-dance. The monotonous *sūtra*-recital served as musical accompaniment.

The sense of the last half of stanza 5 seems to be that the *Rājapatni*'s soul, that was felt by the old abbot as a spiritual presence hovering about in the vicinity, was persuaded or coerced to enter into the flower-effigy (*pুষpa*). That was the placing-ceremony (*pratiṣṭhākriyā*). The use of *pratiṣṭhā*: place, abode (the original meaning) in this name of a ceremony sheds light on "divine abode, divine statue", by which the word is to be rendered in most verses of the Nāg.

Apparently the inviting-ceremony was repeated three times: on the twelfth, the thirteenth and the fourteenth night. During the last night the placing-ceremony was performed, and in the morning of that night

the *Rājapatni*, materialized in her flower-effigy, was ready, seated on her lion-throne, to receive the salutations of her people.

Of course the flower-effigy was prepared some time before; it waited to be entered by the *Rājapatni*'s soul somewhere in the hall. As soon as it was possessed by the soul (perhaps the priests who carried it were warned of the *swah*'s presence in the *puspa* by its increased weight) it was placed on the lion-throne. Probably the *puspa* was a puppet made of plaited bamboo and covered with flowers. Puppets fashioned expressly to be temporary abodes of souls in shamanistic ceremonies are known from several countries, both in the Archipelago and on the continent. Prb. quite rightly points in the first place to modern Javanese parallels. The Tenggēr people in the mountains round mount Brāmā in East Java steadfastly refused to embrace Islam. Their ancient ceremonies have been studied repeatedly by Western scholars, lastly by Bernet Kempers and Tjan Tjoe Siem (TBG vol. 84, 1950). A picture of a flower-puppet, called by them *pētra* (either a corruption of Skt. *pīṭara*: ancestors, or of Skt. *paratra*: passed away, deceased, cf. canto 67—1—I) is to be found in the Proceedings of the Solo Congress of Ethnology, 1919 (p. 56). The Kalangs of Central Java, probably a remnant of a primeval tribal group (v. *Volksvertoningen*), though now professing Islam, retain some interesting myths and ceremonies. They call the puppet *puspa gambar* (flowers serving as image, v. Not. KBG 32, 1899, p. XXX). A very remarkable parallel not noted by Prb. is the Javanese hypnotizing girls' game called after the puppet Ni Towong (the Empty One). Lastly it has been described in Overbeck's *Javaanse Kinderliedjes en Meisjesspelen* (Javanese Children's Ditties and Girls' Games, Batavia 1938).

Though the relation is not perfectly clear the *Rājapatni*'s flower-effigy and the *puspas*, probably to be identified with the modern Javanese *kẽmbar mayangs* (v. canto 36), should not be separated. Juynboll (Cat. Ethn. Museum, 7, Bali and Lombok, 1912, p. 152) mentions the *puspa*- or *sẽkah*-ceremony of Lombok, to be identified with the Balinese *mẽmukur* (from *bukur*, v. canto 63). In KBNW *sẽkah* is described as a bamboo stick covered with flowers that is planted in a brass bowl filled with raw rice and cash money. So it resembles the Javanese *kẽmbar mayang*. The *sẽkah* is made to be thrown into the sea twelve days after the cremation.

The literature on *shrāddha* ceremonies on the continent need not be mentioned in extenso in the present commentary. Kern pointed to the well-known books of Waddell on Buddhism in Tibet and of de Groot

on the Amoy Chinese. Among Enthoven's papers on the Konkan and on Gujarat (Ind. Ant. 44, 1915) Krom found descriptions of the custom of using tufts of *darbha*- or *durva*-grass as representatives of the ancestors in religious ceremonies. No doubt many more parallels of the Majapahit *shrāddha* could be found.

Canto 65, stanza 1. Cantos 65 and 66 contain descriptions of the salute (*wārṣita*) and homage in the form of offerings brought before the *Rājapatni* on the throne. This part of the ceremonies was especially interesting for the public who admired the pageantry that was displayed continuously for seven days. It is doubtful whether the nocturnal ceremonies of the inviting and the placing (*mangijñm* and *pratiṣṭhā*) were attended by many people. Some members of the Royal Family probably were present, though.

Kāhala-shangka of canto 65—1 is to be identified with *kala-shangka* of canto 59—7: a musical ensemble consisting of wind-instruments, trumpets and (originally) conches. *Paḍaha-gaṇjuran* is another ensemble; drums (Skt. *paḍaha*) probably played an important part in it. *Gaṇjur* is a kind of lance. In modern Javanese *galagaṇjur* is the name of an air of music, perhaps originally the accompaniment of a stately fighting-dance of men carrying lances (v. *Volksvertoningen*).

The words of canto 65—1—2: in front, innumerable, in succession, indicate a procession that filed slowly past the lion-throne, every group in its turn sitting down on the ground before it and humbly (*sādara*) making the *añjali*, Royalty with a flower between the finger-tips (*amuṣpa*). The music was useful to keep the procession going. The common members of the Buddhist clergy (*para sagata*) who opened the saluting ceremony probably had not taken part in the previous inviting and placing ceremonies, not being sufficiently schooled in Tantric lore and practice. Perhaps Prapañca himself, a younger member of the Buddhist Court clergy, belonged to this group. Their worship probably consisted of reciting or chanting some Buddhist text in Sanskrit, sitting down on the ground and making the *añjali*. In canto 8—3—2 common Shiwaite and Buddhist clergymen are mentioned having their fixed places in the same courtyard where the ceremony of canto 65 is performed.

Canto 65, stanza 2. The sequence children and consorts (*tanaya dāra*) is the same as is usual in modern Javanese (*anak bojo*). *Dāra* seems to be a respectful word for wife; it is not used in the case of the mandarins.

In stanza 2 the order of the groups who pay homage is: 1: Royalty, 2: the Court mandarins (*mantri apatih*), 3: the landed gentry of the neighbourhood (*mantri akutu ring paminggir*) and 4: the common *ratus*. In the second group no doubt the common vizirs (*para patih*) of canto 63—1 were included. The common rural communities (*dapur*) apparently were not deemed worthy of mention as paying their respects to the *Rajapatni*. Probably they were represented by country gentlemen (*akutu*). This representation is recorded as taking place on some other occasions (chapter 14, the annual festival, and the charter of Rēnēk).

The *ratus* (Princes of foreign countries) were not mentioned before as being interested in the *Rajapatni*'s ceremony. They did not bring offerings nor were they required to contribute in the costs. Apparently their legal position was sufficiently independent to oblige the Majapahit Court to be satisfied with formal professions of respect on their part.

The landed gentry's being put on a par with foreign Princes is another piece of evidence of the country gentlemen's powerful position in the realm. The *akutus* of the neighbourhood of Majapahit (on *paminggir*, v. canto 59—2—2) were considered as representatives of their order. The gentlemen whose estates were situated at a considerable distance from town apparently could consider themselves excused from personal attendance.

Unfortunately the countries from where the *ratus*, the foreign Princes, hailed are not specified in the text. Perhaps they were members of the ruling classes of some neighbouring islands (Bali and Borneo) that to a certain extent recognized Majapahit suzerainty as a result of the grand-vizir's policy. The *ratus* are called common because they did not belong to the Court aristocracy. The words "all who were in the other countries" of canto 65—2—3 suggest a considerable number. If the poet is not exaggerating, the Princes must have been invited or summoned some times before August 1362 in order to be in time for the ceremonies. The prevailing East monsoon could bring ships from the eastern islands to East Java ports without great difficulties. Perhaps the *ratus* were not rulers themselves but members of foreign Princely Houses who represented their Courts, at the same time availing themselves of the opportunity to meet trading partners in Java. Some connection between the ceremonies in August and the annual Bubad fair in March (v. canto 83) seems probable.

Perhaps the poet collected his information on geography as displayed in the third chapter partly on the occasions that seafaring Princes came to Majapahit for business of state and commerce. The foreign Princes's

presence no doubt was highly gratifying for the grand-vizir Gajah Mada.

The ordering of the seats according to rank (*tinitah*) was the chancellor's (*kamuruhan*'s) task, according to the Nawanatya. In that text that important dignitary's knowledge of foreign languages, useful in his relations with people coming from the other islands, is mentioned. The Majapahit Court chancellor seems to have had partly the same function as the *shah-bandar* (port-warden) of Muslim principalities of a later period.

Canto 65, stanza 3. The next stanzas of cantos 65 and 66 contain descriptions of the homage presents (*hatur-hatur*) offered to the *Rājapati* seated on her lion-throne. For a week every day another group or family came forward with its homage which always consisted of food (*bhojana*) in different forms packed in artistically constructed carriers (*wawan*). The shapes of the carriers, mainly statuary (*tapēl*) made of bamboo and painted wood, were symbolic, referring to the names or the functions of the givers. The seven groups or families were ordered according to the cosmic classification system: the four points of the compass, the centre, zenith and nadir. In the following list the offerings of the seven groups are summarized.

1: Pajang-Paguhan	<i>handiwa</i>	65—3	South, classification II
2: Lasēm-Matahun	bull	65—3	North, classification IV
3: Daha-Wēngkēr	<i>pathani</i>	65—4	West, classification III
4: Jiwana-Singasari	woman	65—4	East, classification I
5: Hayam Wuruk	Mandara	65—5	Centre, classification V
6: Narapati, noblemen and bishops	<i>buku-bukuran</i> and ships	66—1	Zenith
7: grand-vizir, mandarins and commoners	various shapes	66—2	Nadir

In substance the order of the offerings in cantos 65 and 66 is identical with the sequence of the groups in the caravan starting for the Royal Progress in canto 18. In classification numbers it is II - IV - III - I - V, i.e.: South-North-West-East-Centre. The correspondence of the geographical situation of the vice-regal provinces and Majapahit with the points of the compass and the centre, though approximative, is clear enough.

In the caravan as described in canto 18 the grand-vizir was the

foremost whereas in canto 66 he is the hindmost. In canto 18 neither noblemen nor bishops are mentioned.

The classification sequence II - IV - III - I, i.e.: South-North-West-East, forms a cross. A similar cross-relation (but with the pairs in a different order: III - I - II - IV, i.e.: West-East-South-North) was found by the present author in the traditional sequence of ancient mask-dances in popular Javanese mask-play (v. *Volksvertoningen*, par. 362 and 373). Probably each masked dancer originally was the representative of one of the four quarters of primeval tribal society. The peculiar sequence with cross relation might be a reminiscence of ancient sacral masked dancing plays where representatives of the four quarters competed with each other in pairs in a fixed order which was demonstrative of the structure of their society.

Though consciousness of ancient contrasts between the quarters of primeval tribal society is hardly to be expected at the fourteenth century Majapahit Court the rivalry existing between Kadiri (Daha-Wēngkēr) and Kahuripan (Jiwana-Singasari) is well-known. In canto 68 the legendary tale of the division of the realm is related. In fact rivalry between Pajang and Lasēm could be reduced to the same ancient division, for the Princess of Pajang was a daughter of the Princess of Kahuripan and the Princess of Daha was the mother of the Princess of Lasēm.

No doubt in the offering of homage presents to the *Rājapatni* in August 1362 rivalry between the givers played an important part. Of course King Wuruk stood above the groups. Narapati with the noblemen and the bishops on one side and Gajah Mada with his mandarins and the commoners on the other side also were rivals. Narapati represented Court aristocracy; the grand-vizir was not of noble birth. Gajah Mada's association with chthonic powers (Ganesha, the elephant-god, wealth) is in accordance with his appearing as a representative of the Nadir in the classification sequence.

The offering rivalry as described in cantos 65 and 66 could not in reason be called a complete potlatch: the element of economic moderation and reasonableness seems sufficiently strong in it. Nevertheless by the rivalling groups' displays of gifts the prestige of the Court as a whole was enhanced in the eyes of the public and the structure of Majapahit society was demonstrated to the people both at home and abroad. Rivalry of the parts in accordance with sacred classification beliefs and unity in veneration for the divine Ancestress and Progeni-

tress were the elements of that structure. The seven-days offering ceremony was an excellent occasion to demonstrate them.

No doubt the potlatch aspect of the *Rājapatni's shrāddha* ceremonies is important if we wish to form an idea of their place in 14th century Majapahit social life. Perhaps the superlatively splendid potlatch-like display made the *Rājapatni's shrāddha* of 1362 unique, to be remembered by posterity (it is recorded in the Pararaton), not to be put on a par with ordinary *mēgat sigi* (cutting-the-war) ceremonies.

As every family or group had a whole day to display their offerings limitation to one specimen of every figure (*tapēl*) is improbable. Perhaps all figures mentioned in the cantos 65 and 66 were in several pairs, presenting male and female features, like the modern Central Javanese imitation mountains (*gunungan*) at the annual Court festivals (*garēbēg*). Only the King's Mandara, being central and unique, no doubt was single. As the food (*bhojana*) was the offering proper, the figures (*tapēl*), being only carriers (*wawun*), were multiplied in order to convey the considerable quantities that were no doubt offered. The seemingly unending daily processions of figures laden with food, carried on the shoulders of hundreds of bearers from the places where they were prepared to the centre of the main courtyard, to be placed there in rows before the *Rājapatni's* lion-throne, offered a splendid sight suggestive of opulence and fruitfulness. It certainly did not fail to make a deep impression on the public.

Though the Princesses, being the *Rājapatni's* descendants, were the offerers proper, their husbands are said to bring up the offerings. Probably the Princes were considered the most fit representatives of the Royal Family in this case, because the whole of the ceremony was a public affair.

The common people are not expressly mentioned in the description. As the carrying of the numerous figures required many bearers the main courtyard and the open spaces outside the wall probably were crowded with people in any way connected with the display or just looking on. Modern Central Javanese annual festivals (*garēbēg*) are examples of the sight probably offered by the 14th century processions in Majapahit.

The symbolic meanings of the carriers' shapes have been explained in the commentary on canto 18: the marks on the carts at the Royal Progress's start for the eastern districts. *Handiwa* (canto 65—3—2) probably is a name of the sugar-palm, modern Jav. *aren*, *Arenga pinnata*. It is associated with Pajang through the medium

of *ajang* or *aryan*: a leaf used as a plate to eat from. *Dukāla*, mentioned in the Old Javanese *Bhārata Yuddha* (canto VI—5) together with *cako* and *cawēli*, is according to Kern (BKI 7, I, p. 442) the name of a fine textile imported into Java from *Dukūla*. In KBNW *dukāla* is explained by a Balinese gloss: *sutra* (silk). Lallanji Gopal thinks that *dukāla* cloth, frequently mentioned in Indian literature, originally was made of treebark-fibre; the dogal or dāggāl shrub (*Textiles in Ancient India*, Journal Economic Social History of the Orient, IV, 1961). Probably valuable imported textiles and betel leaves were used as imitations of the sugarpalms' fronds and inflorescences. The duplicated form *handīwa-handīwa* may refer to a variety of imitation palms.

The association of the bull with *Lasēm* is by way of Skt. *nandana*: joy, and Jav. *kasēngsēm*: enchanted, and *mesēm*: to smile. The sage Wasiṣṭha's cow Nandinī is well-known in Skt. literature. She was *kāmaduh*, producing whatever she was asked for. This is in accordance with the description in stanza 3. The exchange of Nandinī for Nandaka (the bull in the *l'añcatantra* stories) in canto 18 is in accordance with the fact that the Princess of *Lasēm*, being a daughter of the Princess of *Daha*, belonged to the Kaḍiri, i.e. male moiety of the Royal Family. The white colour belongs to Nandinī.

Canto 65, stanza 4. *Daha-Wēngkēr's* terrace-buildings (*yasha pathani*) probably were small pavilions built on the kind of terraces that also were used for sacred trees (v. canto 8—1—3) and for sanctuaries (v. canto 32—4—1). Assuming that the *yasha pathani* were ithyphallic symbols their being used as carriers of the Kaḍiri offerings is in accordance with the male character of Kaḍiri in contradistinction to the female character of Kahuripan.

The birds with bodies of women of Singasari-Tumapēl (Jīwana-Kahuripan) (if the proposed emendation *khaga*: bird is right) are to be connected on one hand with some well-known bird-like figures of Hindu-Javanese art and on the other hand with the bird *ṭiṭ-ṭuwit* of modern Javanese popular mummary (v. *Volksvertoningen*). As the regular figures of Javanese mummary (to which also belongs the lion-dragon, *singa-barong*, mentioned in connection with the *Rājapatni's* lion-throne) probably are descendants of divine or demoniacal personages appearing in primeval tribal ritual pageantry and myth, mythical female birds are appropriate representatives of

the female moiety of the realm divided according to ancient cosmic-mythological concepts.

As a matter of fact the emendation *nāga*: snake instead of *khaga*: bird also would make good sense in canto 65—4—3, for snakes are representatives of the Nether World, fecundity and femininity. As *nāga* is unmetrical in canto 65 *khaga*: bird seems preferable, though. Moreover birds with female bodies no doubt were a more pleasing sight in the procession than snakes would be.

Canto 65, stanza 5. The King's pageant was a huge construction including an artificial mountain that could be turned round in the centre of a pond where live carp swam about in the water. The number of bearers who carried it on their shoulders must have been considerable. It was an image of mount Mandara used by gods and demons as a churning stick for churning the ocean. The carps' sickness probably refers to the poison that also came up on that occasion. The ocean-churning tale was popular in Java, it is related at some length in the Tantu Panggëlaran. Its mythical sense: the origin of earthly goods from the conjunction of a central mountain and the ocean, representing masculinity and femininity, made it fit to be associated with Royalty.

The ocean-churning myth was closely related to the floating pavilions (*bale kambang*) that have been mentioned before. In the commentary on canto 17 a fishpond and an ithyphallic sanctuary in Kaḍiri have been discussed. The floating pavilion of Burēng (cantos 37 and 38) was visited by the King. Probably sanctuaries of that kind: ponds with an artificial islet in the centre, were frequent in Java in the pre-Muslim period.

Canto 65, stanza 6. In the last stanza the difference between the figures (*tapël*), being mere carriers (*wawaw*), and the food-offerings (*niwedya*), the essence of the ceremony, is accentuated. Evidently the bulk of the food, after having first been offered to the *Rājapatni*, was destined for the Buddhist priests who performed the ceremonies. The offering-act consisted mainly in the placing of the carriers laden with food before the *Rājapatni*'s lion-throne. Another part was taken home again by the givers for their own use. The rest, all that remained of it (*sakarínika*) was allotted to groups who, though not belonging to the Buddhist clergy nor to the *Rājapatni*'s direct descendants, assisted in the preparation of the offerings and the figures. The allotment of food

"justly one by one" to the women probably refers to the fact that everybody received what was her right, i.e. the parts of the offerings on which she had worked. The wives of gentlemen of the clergy mentioned in canto 65-6-2, *upapattis* (assessors-at-law) and *wipras* (brahmins) were Shiwaites and Wisnuites, the mandarins probably professed Shiwaism. Perhaps the noble ladies (*kshatriyas*) who received gifts deserved well of the Royal Family by assisting in the organization of the ceremonies. The Royal servants who were given food also were concerned in the *Rajapatni's* feast.

The gifts of food in canto 65-6 are to be distinguished from the general distribution of presents and the eating and drinking of the public as described in canto 66-3. Probably the gifts of 65-6 were originally parts of the offerings (*nirwadya*) and so they were consecrated. The community of food by partaking of the offerings strengthened the bond between the living and the deified *Rajapatni* (cf. canto 67-2). Perhaps the most important persons received each a complete *tapêl* (figure) with its contents of food from the long processions of *tapêls* every day brought up before the lion-throne. In the same manner in modern Central Java part of the artificial mountains (*gunungan*) containing food, on the occasion of the annual Court festivals (*garêbbêgs*) brought in a procession to the mosque, is afterwards divided among Princes and Court officials. Even the Dutch governor used to be given two *gunungans*.

Though the kind of food contained in the carriers is not specified on the analogy of similar customs in modern Java it is to be surmised that different kinds of dry cakes made of rice-flour were used as decorations on the outside whereas raw rice in grains was put into the boxes that formed the bases of the figures. The raw rice of course was the most valuable of the two. The contributions that were received from the commoners and the vizirs presumedly were mainly in raw rice, though other kinds of durable eatables like dried meat (*dèndèng*, a kind of pemmican) also might be welcome.

Canto 66, stanza 1. The first two stanzas of canto 66 contain the descriptions of the offerings of the two groups that did not belong to the *Rajapatni's* direct descendants. The antithesis between the noble lord Narapati on one hand and the grand-vizir Gajah Mada on the other, the noblemen (*kshatriyas*) and bishops on one hand and the

mandarins and commoners on the other, has been pointed out before. The contrast of Narapati's and the noblemen's carriers, pavilions with storeys, to the grandvizir's figures, women in the shadow of trees, is to be reduced to the antithesis male-female, Upper World-Nether World. Narapati, the vizir of Kaḍiri, evidently belonged to the group of the noblemen. In canto 10—3 the bishops also are put on a par with the noblemen.

The ships as symbolic representatives of the Shiwaite and Buddhist bishops remind one of the well-known function of supernatural ships as means of communication between the world of the living and the abode of the dead. The bishops' spiritual authority and mediatorship is in accordance with that concept. The ships' colours, red-and-black (if the emendation *bang lan ahirēng* is right) probably are expressive of the same idea, for red is the colour of life and black is the colour of death. The musical instruments gongs and cymbals (*gong gubar*) are mentioned only in canto 66—1. Perhaps their booming was thought especially appropriate to the spiritual rank of the two bishops. The end of the verse: giving pleasure to the onlookers might refer to the public feeling of being witnesses of a pageant combined with music perfectly in accordance with their cosmic-religious beliefs. The Shiwaite and the Buddhist bishop are put on a par in 66—1—3.

The entering into the Presence said in cantos 65 and 66 both of the Royal Family and of their servants of course had the *Rājapatnī* for object. In the *Rājapatnī*'s divine presence all humans were considered equals.

Canto 66, stanza 2. The grand-vizir's figures: sorrowing women sitting in the shadow of *Mesua ferrea* and *Elaeocarpus grandiflora* trees, no doubt are symbols. The *Elaeocarpus grandiflora*, bearing the dynastic family-name *Rājasa*, represents the Royal Family. The *Mesua ferrea* *nagasari*-tree is a representative of the cosmic centre (v. Jacoba Hooykaas, "A White Stone Under a *Nagasari* Tree", BKi, 1957). The two trees are put on a par, for the King represents the centre in the cosmic classification. The sorrowing women at their feet probably represent the Nether World, the fruit-bearing earth. The association of the grand-vizir Gajah Mada's function with chthonic powers and fruitfulness has been pointed out before. Probably the women's sorrow is to be understood as a standing epithet of old Grandmother Earth who is burdened with the sorrows of mankind like the grand-vizir was

burdened with the world's protection (v. canto 49—3). Prb.'s suggestion that the sorrowing women referred to Gajah Mada's mood foreseeing his death (that occurred two years afterwards) seems too personal. References to personal feelings certainly were considered out of place in allegorical pageants with religious meanings. The association of sorrow with the Nether World has its counterpart in the numerous passages in the Nag. where Royalty is said to be amusing themselves. To be in high spirits belongs to the King.

The remarkable expression at the end of 66 2 2 about the two kinds of trees pressing each other and intertwining (if that is the right interpretation) seems to refer to a conception of two trees together representing the cosmic centre. In natural life intertwining of the two trees is improbable. A pair of intertwining cosmic central trees might be another expression of the fundamental Javanese religious idea of duality ending in union. Perhaps the *rājasa*-tree represented Royalty and worldly wisdom (exoteric Shiwaism), the *nagasari*-tree, always found in the yards of temples: spirituality and life eternal (esoteric Buddhism). To draw a parallel between the Majapahit pair of trees and similar pairs in the mythology of ancient peoples of the continent (the Tree of Wisdom and the Tree of Life) would carry the discussion too far.

The mandarins of rural districts and the representatives of rural communities have been mentioned before. Probably the four shapes of their carriers (no more figures, *tapèls*, are mentioned in connection with the country people) are to be divided into two pairs. The ships and the mountains might belong to the mandarins on the analogy of the bishop's ships and the noblemen's steeple-like structures mentioned in canto 66—1. Among the rural officers certainly many ecclesiastics were found. Following the example of the bishops they chose ships for their symbols. The secular officers were represented by artificial mountains reminding one of the high structures of Royalty and nobility. The artificial houses and fishes of the low-born rural communities, on the other hand, probably referred to the earth and the ocean, the nether spheres where the commoners lived. Allegorical interpretations of the shapes mentioned in processions are more likely to be right than literal ones. The whole of the pageant was meant to be a representation in symbols of Majapahit society ordered according to cosmic classification.

Canto 66, stanza 3. Whereas cantos 65 and 66, stanzas 1 and 2,

contain descriptions of the ceremonies and pageants on the seven days, every day by itself, the rest of canto 66 is concerned with the feast that went on in the main courtyard for seven days on end, probably day and night. It was offered by the Royal Family to all and sundry, anyone could take part in it, but it was destined especially for the amusement of the common people. Free gifts of money and textiles, free food and liquor, various plays and games were features of the feast in honour of the deceased one (*angiwō sang paratra*, canto 67—1—1), which no doubt resembled a huge fair. Everyone was in high spirits, the general aspect probably was comparable to what is seen in modern Central Java on the occasion of the annual Court festivals (*garèbbègs*).

No doubt the popular merrymaking was an important aspect of the Royal ceremonies. The inevitable sequence: religious tension-exuberant merriment of an erotic character has been pointed out before. In the framework of Majapahit Court policy the free feast for the populace perhaps is comparable to the well-known *panem et circenses*. The considerable costs of the free distributions of course were found by the levies mentioned in canto 63—2 and 3. The peasantry of the countryside had to pay for all in the end.

The "four hermitages" of canto 66—3—3 are also mentioned in cantos 1—5—3, 78—7—3 and 81—2—3. They are Pacira, Bulwan, Luwanwa and Kupang, known also from the Tantu Panggëlaran. Apparently "four hermitages" was a collective name (associated with the ancient quadripartite classification) for certain religious communities connected with the common people and country life. They are to be distinguished from the "four priesthoods" (*caturdwiija*, mentioned also in canto 81—2—1) the collective name for Wishnuite brahmins, friars, Shiwaite and Buddhist ordained priests, who were more intimately connected with the Court. The appearance of the *caturāshrama* people is significant in connection with the important role (presumably) played in the *shrāddha* ceremonies by native Javanese shamanistic practices (v. commentary on canto 67). In the *Rājapatni* ceremonies the fundamental relationship of Tantrism (the Tantrist *maṇḍala*) and ancient native cosmic and social classificatory thinking (the *maṇḍalas*, sacred-ring communities: "four hermitages" and "four ashmarks") becomes apparent (cf. the commentary on canto 78—7).

At the Majapahit Court the original Indian meaning of *caturāshrama*: the four periods of spiritual human life: pupilage, marriage, hermitage and supreme wisdom, was known also. Krom refers to some charters

(O.J.O. 79 and 83) where *caturāshrama* and *caturwarna* (the four castes) are mentioned together. In those places *caturāshrama* certainly does not refer to the popular priests. It seems to be just a high-sounding literary term for "people in all conditions of life", having no more connection with Majapahit society as it was in the fourteenth century than the four castes had.

In canto 66—3 four groups who profited by the free gifts and the feast are mentioned: the popular priests, the ordained clergy, the common mandarins (of low rank) and the chiefs of commoners (*juru sāmnya*). The latter perhaps belonged to the rural communities that have been mentioned before. Inebriation as mentioned in the last verse was a standing feature of Majapahit festivities (v. canto 90—4, 5, the description of the annual *Caitra* feast). The liquor (*larih*) probably consisted of various kinds of fermented sugar-palm sap.

Canto 66, stanza 4. The Princes' dancing (*mangigēl*) is to be identified with the modern Central Javanese *nayub*, which has for object a woman before whom and round about whom a man dances. It is commonly called *tandack*. Probably it also was one of the features at the great annual *Caitra* festival. The women (*bini*) before whom the Princes danced certainly were not the Princesses of Pajang, Lasem, Daha and Jiwana. For them it was unseemly to appear in a dance in public. Perhaps the women belonged to the Princely and Royal retinues, or they were *bini-hajis*, our lord's women, i.e. members of lower rank of the Royal and Princely zenana's. The remark that only women were looking on probably means that except the Princes themselves no men were admitted into the hall. Any close contact with zenana inmates was forbidden, of course. The professional female dancer and singer (*juru i angin*, if the interpretation is right) whose appearance at the *Caitra* festival is described in canto 91, is not mentioned in canto 66. Unfortunately the verse on the dancing of the Princes does not contain any indices about the order of the dance nor about the number of dancers who appeared together. In modern Central Java, especially in the countryside, *tandack* dances may be performed by one man and one woman, by two or four men and one woman, by two or four men and two or four women, and so on.

The Princes' performance of the erotic dance in the divine presence of the *Rajapatni* seated on her lion-throne in the centre of the main courtyard proves its social and religious significance. Probably the woman represented the chthonic power, the fruitful earth, the origin

of all life. The *Rājapatnī* herself is said to be the origin and protectress of her descendants' life and prosperity (v. canto 67—1). A close connection in the onlookers' mind between the divine *Rājapatnī* and the woman on the dancing-place is probable.

Perhaps originally in primeval tribal society the erotic dancing before and around the woman was a representation of the interaction of male and female powers who together generate and preserve cosmic life. As Royalty was considered the centre of human society the male members of the Royal Family were appropriate representatives of the masculine moiety of the cosmos.

Erotic tension no doubt was considered the proper sphere for the representation of male-female interaction. The words "some women forgot what they were doing" probably refer to erotic transports. Perhaps in primeval tribal society ecstasy of women who felt they were possessed by masculine spirits belonged to the dancing performance. In Javanese literature some more descriptions of women in erotic raptures at seeing men dancing before and around a dancing-woman are to be found.

Canto 66, stanza 5. The story-tellers (*widu amancangah*) probably recited rhythmically or sang stories about happenings in olden times. Berg edited some *pamancangahs* that might be literary adaptations in poetry of old orally transmitted stories. Singers of poems in native Javanese metres (*widu mangidung*) also are mentioned in Old Javanese literature. In the chapter on art and letters in the present volume some remarks shall be made on the entertainments mentioned in this stanza. A description of the *rakēt* play and the singing at the Majapahit Court is to be found in chapter 14. No doubt the performances for the public amusement mentioned in canto 66 were of less quality than the King's *rakēt* on the occasion of the *Caitra* festival.

Probably the "warriors eager for a fight" (*bhaja mapatra yuddha*) are to be identified with modern Javanese performers of fighting dances. Perhaps especially the *gambuh* dancers are meant (v. *Volksvertoningen*, par 313). They are often mentioned in East Java. Their fighting (with the ancient Javanese weapon, the long lance) is sham, of course. "Natural" (*sahaja*) probably refers to the natural imitation of a real fight they presented to the public, which was frightening. In the ancient dances of two equally armed parties there never was a winner; the fight ended in a draw. The indecisive sham fights in the Javanese art of dancing might be remnants of ancient sacral

fighting dances representing the never ending antagonism of the moieties of primeval tribal society.

The mendicants (*manasi*) no doubt were entitled to receive gifts on the ground of age-old custom and religious sentiment. It is not at all certain that they were mendicant Buddhist monks. No more than celibacy was mendicancy practised regularly by Buddhist priests of the Majapahit period. The Buddhist clergy, like the Shiwaite, lived with their families on the revenues of their lands. Probably the mendicants of canto 66--5- 1 included all kinds (*salvoir*) of beggars and poor people, no more lacking in fourteenth century Majapahit than in any other oriental or occidental town of the time. The last words of canto 66: "causing delight for all the world" refers to the public feeling that Royalty discharged their social and religious obligations in a fair manner.

Canto 67, stanzas 1, 2. In this canto the end of the ceremonies is described. Their purpose is made clear in the last verses of stanza 1. The *Rājapatni*, pleased with the splendid feast held in her honour is expected to favour the reign of her descendant King Rājasanagara of Majapahit.

The common Buddhist priests who released her soul from the flower-effigy in which she was incarnated are to be distinguished from the learned Tantrists who brought about the incarnation. The putting away (*larut*) of the flower-effigy that was left by the soul has a striking parallel in the throwing away of the puppet that is left by the spirit in the modern Central Javanese spiritualistic Ni Towong play. Probably the *puṣpa* was thrown away in some pool or eddy of a river, a place that was considered to be haunted by spirits.

The distribution among the retainers (*bhāṛiya*, probably bondmen and bondwomen) of the offerings (*cāru*) and the gifts (*gañjaran*) at the end of the ceremonies is to be distinguished from the presents to the wives of mandarins etc. mentioned in canto 65--6. The presents were taken from the daily homage offerings meant for the *Rājapatni* and afterwards divided. The *cāru*-offerings and *gañjaran*-gifts probably were set down at many places inside and outside the Royal compound for the benefit of local deities and spirits, patrons of crossroads, gateways, trees, roofs, watercourses and the like. They consisted of food and flowers. Even in modern Muslim Java similar customs still prevail. The petty gods and minor spirits (as often as not without

clear individualities and nameless) should not be forgotten at the time of a major religious ceremony. Probably the difference between *cāru* and *ganjaran* was the fact that *cārus* were offered to deities of uranic family inhabiting trees, roofs, open spaces and the like, whereas *gañjarans* were the due of chthonic spirits. In modern Balinese those terms still are in use, though not in precisely the same sense. It is easy to understand that the *cāru*- and *gañjaran*-offerings for minor deities that probably had lain for seven days on their places were left to the bondsmen and bondwomen at the end of the ceremonies. According to modern Balinese belief food once offered to chthonic spirits is unwholesome and its use may be the cause of disasters. The stress laid on gifts in canto 67—2—4 (*gañjaran tuwi*: gifts too) might point to an exceptional case: all was divided, even the gifts originally offered to chthonic spirits. Perhaps the *Rājapatni*'s sacrosanct majesty brought about the hallowing of all food whatsoever.

The seven days *shrāddha* ceremonies described in chapter 9 were a combination of: (a) Indian Tantrism (the sacred-circle drawing, the Tantric priests, the divine name Prajñāpāramitā), (b) ancestor worship of the Royal Family, both Indian and native Javanese by origin (the *Rājapatni*'s patronage of the Majapahit realm) and (c) ancient native shamanism (the inviting of the *Rājapatni*'s soul to descend to earth). The three elements are almost inextricably intermixed. Fundamental relationship of conceptions of Indian and native Javanese origin is evident. The ancient idea of cosmic and social bipartition and final reunion, known to be both Indian (Pāṇḍawas and Kaurawas) and native Javanese (Janggala and Kaḍiri), is expressed in many ways. A probable connection of the Majapahit *Rājapatni* cult with an ancient native vegetation (rice) myth shall be discussed at the end of the present commentary on chapter 9.

Notwithstanding the striking similarity in many points between the *shrāddha* ceremonies and the modern Javanese spiritualistic Ni Towong and Ni Dok games (v. Overbeck, *Javaanse Meisjesspelen en Kinderliedjes*, "Javanese Girls' Ditties and Games"): the preparing of a puppet, the inviting of the soul, at full moon, with incantations and singing, the incarnation of the soul in the puppet, the dancing and the procession, the worship and finally the releasing of the soul and her return to her proper abode, the modern games should not be called degenerated forms of the old ceremony. The popular Javanese girls' games are accompanied by many Javanese songs containing references to ancient native mythology that are difficult to under-

stand. Neither Tantrism nor ancestor worship is anywhere in evidence. Therefore the spiritualistic games should rather be called descendants or perhaps childish imitations of ancient shamanistic rites. Their survival, be it in a degenerated form, until modern times warrants the supposition that in the Majapahit era shamanistic practices were not uncommon. The *Rajapatni's* *shrāddha* ceremonies at Court might easily be influenced by popular custom and belief prevailing at the same time in the countryside. Perhaps in canto 66-3 the *catuṛāshrama* ("four hermitage") people are mentioned expressly as receiving gifts because shamanistic practices belonged to the religious customs of this group of sacred-ring communities (*maṇḍalas*) in particular (cf. the commentary on canto 78-7).

In fourteenth century Majapahit the combined Tantric and shamanistic spiritualistic ceremony probably was considered a meeting of the uranic and the chthonic element of the cosmos. The divine *Rajapatni* met her descendants on earth. That side of the ceremonies is in accordance with the idea of reunion of the moieties of the realm: Janggala and Kaḍiri, for their antithesis was seen also under the aspect female-male, low-high. Canto 68 contains the Majapahit Court version of the legend of the realm's division which was based on primeval tribal social ideas. Their connection with the *Rajapatni* cult is evident.

On the other hand Poerbatjaraka's identification of the Majapahit *shrāddha* ceremonies with modern Central Javanese *Sekaten* festivities, however ingeniously framed, is to be rejected. The *Sekaten* festivities are connected with *Mulud* (Javanese corruption of Arabic *Mawlid*), the celebration of the anniversary of the Prophet Muhammed's birthday. The date of *Mulud* circulates through the solar year, of course, because it is fixed by the lunar calendar of Islam. In some old-fashioned Muslim communities the Arabic songs sung in honour of the Prophet developed into a small religious drama. A puppet representing the baby destined to become Prophet was held in the arms and rocked asleep by some young men performing simple dancing-steps. That was called: lulling the golden puppet (*nglèla-lèla golek kèñcana*, v. *Volksvertoningen*, par. 285 and 304). It is difficult to see such a connection between the *Rajapatni shrāddha* ceremonies and the simple religious dramatization of the holy Prophet's birth and childhood as *Prb.* seems to suggest.

The significance of the *Rajapatni's* being called *Prajñāpāramitā*, Perfection in Wisdom, shall be discussed presently in connection with

the *shrāddha* ceremonies' aspect of a New-year's celebration and the related cult of an ancient chthonic goddess. Meanwhile in canto 46—1—3 *Prajñāpāramitā* is mentioned as the name of the *Rājapatnī*'s elder "sister". An explanation of that remarkable community of names is difficult to give. In the frame of Majapahit Court customs and religious belief it is improbable that it is meaningless. By the *Rājapatnī*'s divine *Prajñāpāramitā* name given her at the end of the ceremonies she was identified with the deceased human *Prajñāpāramitā*. The possibility that the three elder spouses of King Kērtarājasa (like many other Javanese Queens before and after them) were cremated together with their husband and so attained *suttee* rank has been mentioned in the commentary on canto 46. The *Rājapatnī*'s surviving her husband deprived her of the exalted *suttee* title. Perhaps her posthumous identification with her sainted elder co-spouse (called her sister in the *Nāg.*) was a kind of rehabilitation. Berg's supposition that the *Rājapatnī* was a foreigner by origin perhaps might be connected with her posthumous elevation to divine rank. Her identification with the *suttee* *Prajñāpāramitā* (supposing the latter was a Javanese princess by right) gave her a place in the group of sainted Royal ancestresses.

Canto 67, stanza 3. The ground-purification (*bhūmi shuddha*) ceremony of the *Rājapatnī*'s religious domain (*dharma*) at Kamal Paṇḍak was performed one year after her demise. The name of the ceremony is mentioned several times in the *Nāg.* It is not known how it was performed. Mrs. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp's book on the Ritual Purification of a Balinese Temple (Amsterdam 1961) contains a description of the elaborate ceremonies and the numerous paraphernalia deemed necessary in 20th century Bali on a similar occasion. The purpose of the 14th century *bhūmishuddha* no doubt was to prepare the ground for the religious domain with funeral monument of a deceased member of the Royal Family. Jñānawidhi's position shall be discussed in the commentary on canto 69. His predicates Illustrious (*Śrī*) and Holy (*rahyang*, in canto 69—2—2) point to an exalted rank.

Brahmayajña, interpreted by Kern as recitation of religious texts, is according to canto 83—6—3 connected with *homa*, fire-offering. No doubt *brahmayajña* is the name of a rite, like *bhūmishuddha*. Perhaps it was considered also as a kind of fire-offering, for *brahma* suggests fire. Even at a time so short after her death the *Rājapatnī* was offered divine worship (*pājā*) by a Buddhist priest of high rank.

In Berg's book on the division of the Javanese realm (*Rijksdelings-*

theorie) the last stanza of canto 67 and the next cantos receive very much attention. In the present commentary on the Nāg. text neither Berg's intricate theories nor his collations with other texts shall be discussed in extenso. It seems sufficient to point out where Berg's translations of Nāg. passages deviate widely from the present author's. The mention of *brahmajyāna* (interpreted as spiritual or fire-offering) in canto 67—3—1 is for Berg (*Rijksdeling* p. 162) sufficient foundation or confirmation of a theory of his that the illustrious Jñānawidhi "ritually" burned down a temple. That seems a preposterous supposition, completely at variance with what is to be expected. The Nāg. text read without any preconceived opinions is sufficiently clear. Kamal Paṇḍak, with its legendary and mythical associations as related in canto 68, was chosen already in 1351 to be the place of one of the *Rājapatni*'s religious domains. In canto 69—1 the domain's official name Prajñāpāramitāpuri is mentioned. According to canto 69—2 Wiśeṣapura, another domain, was founded in Bhayalangu, a district mentioned already in canto 19—1.

Canto 68, stanza 1. The legend of Kamal Paṇḍak as related in canto 68 is expressly called an oral tradition (*sampradāya*) by the poet. His version probably was the Majapahit Court version. In other texts other versions might be related. King Erlangga's division of his realm into moieties for the benefit of his sons and the assistance of the sage Bharaḍa no doubt are founded on the primeval conception of social and cosmic duality which has been mentioned many times in the present commentary. The reign of King Erlangga in the 11th century, more than three centuries before the time of the Majapahit Court described by Prapañca, is certainly historic, but on Erlangga's division of his realm only 14th century authorities are extant, the Nāg. canto 68 being the clearest among them. The division of the realm is not wholly contrary to reason: after King Hayam Wuruk's demise his kingdom seems to have been divided into two parts, the eastern districts under the King's niece the Princess of Wirabhumī and the western districts under his daughter the Princess of Kabalan. But then at the division of Hayam Wuruk's estates no mention is made of supernatural assistance like the sage Bharaḍa's at King Erlangga's division of his realm.

As the element of myth, connected with primeval dualistic thought, is preponderant in the Erlangga Kamal Paṇḍak legend the historicity

of the tale as recorded in canto 68 is not to be rated highly. Probably in the 14th century the evidently existing rivalry of Janggala and Kaḍiri was given a foundation (partly perhaps historical but for the greater part mythical) in the ancient King Erlangga's alleged division of his realm. In fact the Janggala-Kaḍiri antithesis probably was much older than the 11th century. The 14th century Majapahit view of it as a dynastic disintegration which came about in historical times was a late development of the primeval tribal conception of human society as forever splitting up into moieties. In the very remote past the Janggala-Kaḍiri antithesis may have been the natural rivalry of the moieties of a tribe (or the warring of two closely related tribes) settled in the basin of one river (the river Brantas), one upstream, in the hills, the other downstream, in the plains.

The *kamal* tree mentioned in canto 68 seems (according to KBNW) to be a variety of the tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indica*) lacking in its wood the hard pith (*galih*) of the common tamarind tree (*asēm*). The outward appearance of the two kinds is said to be the same. In the frame of Javanese dualistic thought probably the tree without pith was considered, rightly or wrongly, as female, and the other one as male. In the Kamal Paṇḍak legend als related in canto 68 a female tree as representative of the chthonic powers is well in its place. It comes into contact with the flying sage Bharaḍa and the celestial waters from his jar are at its foot.

In his notes on canto 68—4, 5 Krom calls the story about Bharaḍa's misadventure with the *kamal*-tamarind tree a simple aetiological legend meant to explain the name *Kamal-Paṇḍak*, i.e. dwarf tamarind. Probably there is more in it than that. The female tamarind tree, originally so high as to be able to stop the sage Bharaḍa in his flight, might be the mythical Tree of the Centre, the top of which reaches into the sky. Cursed by Bharaḍa to be stunted it remains standing in the interstice (*ring pantara*) between the moieties of the earth as a token (*tugu*) of man's first fixed dwelling-place. As Kamal Paṇḍak and Pulungan (i.e. Kapulungan) were considered as places of origin and centres of human culture, the founding in that place of the deified *Rājapatni*'s sanctuary, meant to effectuate Java's reunion, is not to be wondered at.

Probably the flying sage Bharaḍa also has a mythical origin. He is to be identified with Wērdah, Mērdah or Ordah, a personage belonging to the clowns' group (*pāṇḍkawan*) in Balinese *wayang* plays (v. *Volksvertoningen*, par. 457, 458 and 472). Bharaḍa's marking the boundary between Janggala and Kaḍiri is in accordance with

the mediatorship which is a characteristic feature of the clowns' appearance in the plays. The sage's attributes: the jar and the gown that was held up by the *kamal*-tamarind's top (or clitoris), are suggestive of clouds and rain. Perhaps Bharaḍa-Wērdah is related to the Spirits of the rain clouds that drift over Java's plains from west to east with the West monsoon. Bharaḍa's visit to Bali (east of Java) walking over the sea and his shedding the water jar might be connected with very old notions about natural phenomena. Gagak Ampuhan, i.e. Storm-crow, and Turas, i.e. probably Pourer, names of personages belonging to the same group as Wērdah (v. *Volksvertoningen*), corroborate this view. In this connection one of the names of the Javanese *wayang* mediator *pandakawan* Sēmar, namely Panḍak, the Dwarf, also should be mentioned.

Berg's hypothesis about the jar as a container of the fructifying liquid, i.e. sperma, seems plausible in connection with the (perhaps intentional) ambiguity of the expression "top (or clitoris) of the tree", the female *kamal*-tamarind tree which marks the centre of the cultivated earth. Generally Berg's observations (*Rijksdeling* p. 49 seq., p. 57 seq., p. 76 seq.) on Javanese myths related to the Nāg. tale about Bharaḍa seem right. Certainly they are worth considering, but in the frame of the present Nāg. commentary a survey of the main part of Javanese mythology would be out of place, the more so because it is doubtful whether the poet of the Nāg. attached so much importance to the Bharaḍa tale as Berg appears to do. Probably at the 14th century Majapahit Court the original meaning of ancient myths was forgotten: only the tales remained as scarcely credible traditions of olden times. Berg's hypothesis in the frame of his intricate theories on the political historiography of the Majapahit period, presupposing forgeries and change of names by Court officials who wrote history, seems too far-fetched. The Nāg. poet appears to be interested neither in history nor in mythology: he tries to give a description of his own surroundings and his own times, adding some picturesque details as the case may be. Berg's supposition (*Rijksdeling* p. 259) that the missing verse 2 in the first stanza of canto 68, where apparently the Prince of Janggala residing in Kahuripan was mentioned, was intentionally dropped out by Prapañca in order to skip over a chronogram, seems most improbable. The stratagem would be too transparent.

Canto 68, stanza 2. In this stanza, containing the eulogy of the

sage Bharaḍa, the graveyard of Lēmah Citra is mentioned as his abode. The Calon Arang, a mythological text in Old Javanese prose (edited and translated into Dutch by Poerbatjaraka) contains the same name. Bharaḍa's visit to his friend *mpu* Kuturan of Bali is there mentioned also. This part of the tradition about the sage seems fixed. Krom (*Hindu-Javaansche geschiedenis*, 1931 p. 274) pointed out, on account of the route described in the Calon Arang text, that Lēmah Citra probably is to be located on the northern slope of the Pēnanggungan massif. The well-known district Kapulungan (to be identified with Pulungan of canto 68—4—2) also is mentioned in that text. Perhaps in the 14th century the "graveyard of Lēmah Citra" was nothing more than a legendary name. The central position of the Pēnanggungan-Wēlirang-Arjuna-Kawī massif in the Majapahit conception of geography is undeniable, though. For that reason localization of the important places mentioned in cantos 67, 68 and 69: Kamal Paṇḍak, Lēmah Citra, Pulungan (i.e. Kapulungan) and Bhayalangu in or about those mountains is most plausible.

Canto 68, stanza 3. Berg's hypothesis that Kamal Paṇḍak was situated at the mouth of the Porong river is connected with his opinion about the river Brantas as the boundary referred to in this stanza. It is difficult to find any foundation for that view. The boundary's course was west-east, its eastern end reaching the sea, i.e. the Strait of Madura. The halves thus created were north: Janggala-Kahuripan and south: Pañjalu-Daha-Kaḍiri. The last words of canto 68—3—3: not far away, and the beginning of 68—3—4: (though) seemingly far away, with between them an (imaginary) ocean, only refer to the importance of the boundary and the efficacy of the sage Bharaḍa's marking it. The idea seems to be that the boundary line ran along the northern foot-hills of the mountain massif leaving the lower course of the river Brantas and the plains in the northern half. The line was imaginary.

Van Stein Callenfels and Krom pointed to the remnants of a wall running north-south, to be identified with the *pinggir-raksa* mentioned in the Pararaton, found far south on the boundary between the present Residencies of Malang and Bitar. Bosch' paper on *Kumbhavajrodakena* (TBG 1919) is also to be mentioned in this connection. In the present author's opinion the words used in the Nāg. do not warrant the hypothesis that Bharaḍa's legendary division of the realm and the *pinggir-raksa*, the defence, south of mount Kawī are connected.

Canto 68, stanza 4. This stanza refers to the western end of Bharaḍa's boundary line. The opening word: here, suggests that the place of the dwarf-tamarind was believed to be in the part of the country where the poet resided. In fact neither Pulungan (to be identified with Kapulungan) nor Bhayalangu, mentioned in canto 19, are situated very near the town of Majapahit, but their situation in the foot-hills of the mountain massif is fairly certain. The last stanza of canto 68 refers to the eminent importance of the dwarf-tamarind's place and the *Rājapatni*'s domain as centre of the cultivated earth. Such a distinction for a district is not easily understood unless that district was considered as intimately connected with the capital of the realm, the residence of the Majapahit King who was a re-uniter of the moieties that were parted in olden times.

Canto 68, stanza 5. Evidently in the frame of the Nāg. description of notable localities (Desha-Warṇana), canto 68 is to be considered as nothing more than a glorification of Kamal Paṇḍak and related places. King Erlangga is mentioned only incidentally. Just like the sage Bharaḍa he is treated more like a legendary person than as a historic ruler. Now Erlangga's historicity is sufficiently well founded and on the analogy of his King the sage Bharaḍa also might be considered a historic priest. This supposition is not disproved at all by the mythical character of the Bharaḍa tale in canto 68 of the Nāg. and in the Calon Arang text. In the beginning of the Muslim period of Javanese history *sunan* Kali Jaga, a sainted apostle of Islam in Central Java, and certainly a historic person, originally belonging to the ruling family of Tuban, on the North Coast, is given a similar mythical character side by side with the first Kings of the rising Muslim dynasty of Mataram. (v. *Volkvertoningen*).

Canto 69, stanza 1, 2. Canto 69 is closely connected with canto 67: both refer to the *Rājapatni* and her domain of Prajñāpāramitāpurī at Kamal Paṇḍak. The officiating priest Jñānawidhi is identified with the sage Bharaḍa to point out that he was qualified to restore the unity of the realm which was divided by his predecessor. Jñānawidhi is mentioned only in cantos 67 and 69. Evidently he did not belong to the regular Court clergy. Perhaps he was a descendant of the Bharaḍa of King Erlangga's time, and for that reason chosen to re-unite what his ancestor parted (according to the 14th century Majapahit Court

tradition). His predicate Illustrious might even point to Royal blood. The predicate *rakhyang*, Holy, he has in common with Bharaḍa. Where he resided is unknown. Did the historical Bharaḍa of the 11th century found a family of spiritual lords somewhere in East Java like the 15th century Muslim *sunan* Kali Jaga did in Kadi Langu near Dēmak in Central Java?

Jñānawidhi's name suggests Tantrism: it resembles Jñānabajreshwara, King Kērtanagara's name as a Jina, a Dhyāni-Buddha. On the other hand his knowledge of all religious doctrines (*sarwāgamajñā*) seems to refer also to Shiwaism. His being in function at the consecration of two sanctuaries: the Tantric Prajñāpāramitāpuri in Kamal Paṇḍak and Wisheṣapura in Bhayalangu is in accordance with this fact. The name Paramountcy Compound (*wisheṣa* refers to exoteric worldly power) has a Shiwaitic ring contrasting with the esoteric Tantric wisdom (*prajñā*) of the Kamal Paṇḍak foundation. In the second stanza where Wisheṣapura is mentioned the worldly Royal title *Rājapatnī* is used whereas in the first stanza the divine name Prajñāpāramitā is found. The references in the second stanza to having at heart the undertaking, and the mission of the chamberlain, also seem more worldly Shiwaitic than Buddhistic. No doubt the wish that the King might have a long and glorious reign (v. cantos 67—1—4 and 68—5—4) is meant by the having at heart (*ginōng tuas*). Wisheṣapura was deemed of paramount importance for the realm.

Whereas the situation of Prajñāpāramitāpuri is sufficiently well known by the mention of Kamal Paṇḍak and Pulungan, the situation of Wisheṣapura is uncertain. The Court's stay of three days at Bhayalangu on the occasion of the Royal Progress to the eastern districts in 1359 (v. canto 19) proves the importance of that place. It seems a suitable situation for Wisheṣapura, the second, Shiwaitic, sanctuary of the Reunion, not very far from Kapulungan and near Madakaripura, the grand-vizir Gajah Mada's estate. However, no important ruins seem to exist in that region. It is quite possible, though, that they were completely destroyed in course of time by people who needed stones and bricks for new constructions.

Krom and other scholars after him preferred to identify the Bhayalangu of canto 69 with a modern village Bayalangu in the district of Tulung Agung in the distant south-western corner of the Brantas basin. Near that village remains of an ancient building have been found and two inscriptions with year-ciphers corresponding with

A. D. 1369 and 1389, not very long after the date of the consecration of Wisheṣapura. Van Stein Callenfelds (Oudh. V. 1916, 4) was the first to point out that site. Except the village name Bayalangu, which is not an uncommon name in Java, the evidence for the identification of the remains with the Nāg. Wisheṣapura seems slight. The probability is great that both Reunion sanctuaries, Prajñāpāramitāpurī and Wisheṣapura were situated in or near the centre of the realm.

In the Pararaton (p. 31) Wisheṣapura and Iḥyalangu, there called Paramawisheṣapura and Lalangon, are mentioned for the year 1428 A.D. as the place of the religious domain of a later King of Majapahit called Bhra Ilyung Wisheṣa, King Hayam Wuruk's nephew and son-in-law.

Canto 69, stanza 3. Continuing the references to the two great religious domains Prajñāpāramitāpurī and Wisheṣapura in stanzas 1 and 2, in stanza 3 the existence of many smaller sanctuaries consecrated to the *Rājapatnī* is mentioned. In his translation of cantos 68 and 69 (*Rijksdeling* p. 36) Berg did not include this stanza, and generally it did not arrest the attention of scholars. Its contents is very remarkable, though.

The *caityas* (rendered: small sanctuaries, shrines) mentioned in canto 69—3—1 probably were buildings resembling modern Balinese village temples made of wood (Stutterheim, B.K.I. 76, p. 312). The word is used also in canto 82—3—2. *Caityas* are not places specially connected with ancestor worship like *dharmas* (rendered: religious domains). *Caṇḍi* often denotes a funeral monument; probably in some cases it is used for a religious monument in general, though (v. commentary on canto 38). If the ruins found in Bayalangu, Tulung Agung, believed by Krom to be Wisheṣapura, really are the remnants of a *Rājapatnī* shrine, they might have been a local *caitya*.

In canto 10—2—1 *weshapurī* (correct Skt. spelling: *waishyapurī*, rendered: gentleman's compound) is found in connection with *amātya* (well-born people). *Grāmas* (conjecture in canto 69—3—3 for *brahma*, which does not make sense in this verse) are villages. Probably the difference between *ṣakuwon* (rendered: manors' quarters) and *waishyapurī* (gentleman's compound) is slight. The latter expression seems to refer to somewhat humbler establishments than the first one. An *akuwu*, the laird of a manor, might be a petty king in his estates. *Amātya*, well-born people, perhaps is used to include both great and small landowners of the countryside. The common rural communities

(*dapur*) which often are mentioned side by side with the landed gentry are presented in this stanza under the name *grāma*.

In canto 69—3 the Javanese countryside's universal worship of the Great *Rājapatni* every year in the month *Bhādra* (August-September) is accentuated. That worship (*pājā*) is not described; it is probably alluded to, however, in canto 8—3 (if the reading *Shrawaṇa* instead of *grahana* is right). *Shrāwaṇa* (July-August) is the month preceding *Bhādra*. Probably the *Shrāwaṇa-Bhādra* ceremonies for the divine *Rājapatni* are the counterpart of the *Phālguna-Caitra* festival (February-March-April) at the Majapahit Court described in chapter 14. *Phālguna* also is mentioned in canto 8—3. In canto 83—5 very much the same words (*angiwō*, *pājā*) are used with reference to the living King on the occasion of the annual *Phālguna* festival as are found in cantos 67—1—1 and 69—3—3 referring to the deceased *Rājapatni*. The *Shrāwaṇa-Bhādra* worship and the *Phālguna-Caitra* festival were separated approximately by six months.

The half-yearly alternation of important religious functions at the 14th century Shiwaitic-Buddhistic Majapahit Court suggests a similar succession of religious feasts in modern Muslim Java, namely the celebrations (*garēbēgs*) of *Mulud* and *Bakdā Pāsā* at the Central Javanese Courts of Surakarta and Jogjakarta in the 19th and 20th centuries. *Mulud* (a Javanese corruption of Arabic *Mawlid*) is the anniversary of the Holy Prophet Muhammad's birth, the twelfth day of the Arabic lunar month *Rabi'ulawwal*, the third month of the year. *Bakdā Pāsā* (modern Javanese spelling, pronounce: Ba'dā Pāsā, i.e. After the Fast) often called *Lēbaran*, i.e. Termination, is the festival at the end of the Muslim month of fasting, *Ramadhān*, the ninth month of the year. As they are determined by the Arabic lunar calendar the dates of both *garēbēgs* circulate through the solar year. Javanese popular customs and beliefs associated with *Mulud* and *Bakdā Pāsā* seem to warrant the supposition, though, that the Majapahit *Shrāwaṇa-Bhādra* worship in part is related to the *Bakdā Pāsā* feast, and the *Phālguna-Caitra* festival to the *Mulud* celebration.

The *shrāddha* in the month *Bhādra* was already identified with the *Lēbaran* feast by *raden adipati aya Krāmā Jāyā Adinēgārā*, a Regent of the Regency of *Mājākērtā*, which is situated not far from the site of ancient Majapahit (O.V. 1923, p. 53). Though his reasons for doing so are not wholly acceptable he is probably quite right. The modern Javanese word *ñadran* for paying visits to the graves of ancestors, especially in the Muslim-Javanese month *Ruwah* (a cor-

ruption of Arabic *arwāḥ*, meaning Spirits), which precedes the month of fasting, probably is a corrupt derivation of *shrāddha*.

As to the Majapahit *Phālguna-Caitra* festival in February-March-April, the time of the West monsoon, the rice harvest and the annual fair, remarkable similarities with the modern Central Javanese *Mulud* celebration are to be noted. On the occasion of *garèbèg Mulud* a seven days fair, called *Sèkatèn*, is held on the *alun-aluns*, the outer courtyards of the Royal compounds of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The country-folk who go up to town to visit the fair and for merry-making somehow associate the *Mulud* festival with fruitfulness. Ancient fertility rites: cracking of whips, are occasionally practised. Once in eight years (the octennial cycle of the Javanese era) the *Mulud* celebration, called *Mulud-Dal*, is very special. In Surakarta one of its features was the ritual cooking of a pot of rice by the King and Queen in person, working together.

Returning to the Majapahit *Shrāwāṇa-Bhādra* worship mentioned in canto 69 it should be borne in mind that probably in Majapahit *Aṣāḍha* was considered the last month of the solar year and *Shrāwāṇa* the first one. So the *Rājapatni* ceremonies in *Shrāwāṇa* and the related cult of the ancient chthonic goddess in the country partook of the character of a New-year's celebration: passing-on from the old period to the next one, and resurrection. *Prajñāpāramitā*, i.e. *Māyā*, Nature, the name conferred upon the *Rājapatni*, is significant in this respect: she was revived at the year's beginning. The Muslim *Bakdā Pdsā* or *Lēbaran* festival also is celebrated like a New-year's day (though it is not, according to the official Arabic lunar calendar). Meanwhile it is a remarkable fact that the description of the *Phālguna-Caitra* festival in chapter 14 seems to show more characteristic points of a New-year's celebration (i.e. the great procession round about the Royal compound and the games of competition at Bubāt) than the account of the *shrāddha* ceremonies in *Bhādra*.

Besides the modern Muslim *Bakdā Pdsā* festival the Majapahit *Shrāwāṇa-Bhādra* ceremonies have another parallel: the *Karo* celebration of the non-Muslim Tenggër people (v. Jasper, Tenggër, and *Volksvertoningen*). Up to modern times the villagers of the Tenggër massif north of Java's highest mountain the Sumeru adhere to their pristine customs and beliefs. The volcano Brāmā (i.e. Brahma, in ancient Java the god of fire) takes an important place in their religious thinking. The *Karo* (i.e. Second) celebration, called after the second month of the Tenggërese solar year, coincides approximately with

the Majapahit *Shrāwāṇa-Bhādra* worship in July-August-September. As descriptions of 14th century *Shrāwāṇa-Bhādra* celebrations in the Majapahit countryside are lacking a comparison with the modern *Karo* festival in the Tenggēr mountains is difficult to make. It seems appropriate, though, to point out the resemblance of the ornamented food offerings brought from all sides by the Tenggēr village communities to the brim of the Brāmā crater to be thrown in by the priests, with the offerings of all members of the Royal Family of Majapahit and of their servants mentioned in cantos 65 and 66. The potlatch aspect of a competition in display of offerings in order to win social prestige is found also with the Tenggēr mountaineers. But then the Tenggērese Brāmā offering takes place in the month *Kasada* (i.e. *Aṣāḍha*, June-July), the month preceding *Shrāwāṇa*.

The time of the Majapahit *Shrāwāṇa-Bhādra* worship and the Tenggērese *Kasada* and *Karo* feasts is the middle of the dry season. Both the stopping of work in agriculture and the withered aspect of vegetation mark that season out for religious and social meetings in commemoration of the revered ancestors. The Royal Progress to the eastern districts also began in *Bhādra* (v. canto 17—7). No doubt the dry season was most suited for travelling. Probably the making of visits to the domains of deified ancestors (modern Javanese *ñadran*) also entered into the scheme of the Royal Progress, though.

Superficially read the third stanza of canto 69 might give the impression of explaining the wide-spread *Shrāwāṇa-Bhādra* worship of the Majapahit countryside (gentry and village-communities) only by the *Rājapatnī*'s *shrāddha* ceremony of 1362, three years before the finishing of the Nāg. text. That is improbable: the time seems too short for the custom to spread widely. Feeling this objection Poerbatjaraka translated the irreality mode suffix *-a* (*pakuwuwana*) in 69—3—2 as referring to the future (buildings should be constructed). In the rest of the stanza the irreality mode is not used, though.

Probably the poet meant to connect an existant religious custom of the countryside and well-known cult buildings (*caityas*) with the Majapahit Court *Rājapatnī* cult. The title-name *Mahārājapatnī*: Great Royal Lady is exceptional: it is used also in canto 49—2—1 in an eulogy referring to her grandson (*potraka*) similar to the one in 69—3—4. In canto 49 she is called a bringer of fortune (*mang-galya*). The title Great Royal Lady seems to refer especially to the *Rājapatnī*'s divine nature. The comparison with Parama-Bhagawatī

in canto 2—1—2 also points to divinity, for Bhagawatī is a name of Umā-Durgā, the Shiwaitic High Goddess. Perhaps *manggalya* is to be associated with Manggali, the daughter of Calon Arang (v. *Volksvertoningen*). Kern called Prajñāpāramitā, the Perfect Wisdom: a personification of Māyā, i.e. Nature, or the World, considered as an unreal semblance. One thing and another seems to warrant the assumption of an ancient Javanese chthonic Mother-Goddess cult existing in the countryside from time immemorial and identified in the Majapahit period with the Royal ancestress worship.

The name and the identity of the goddess who was presumably worshipped in the countryside sanctuaries before the *Rājapatni's* *shrāddha* ceremony in 1362 are not found in the Nāg. text. The literary Sanskrit name Prajñāpāramitā seems unlikely for a country goddess. In modern Javanese popular belief two names of goddesses are well known: the rice goddess Dewi Sri and the Southern Ocean goddess Ratu Lara Kidul, the Virgin Queen of the South. The latter is believed to rule in a country of the dead. On the ground of the Nāg. notes on the *Rājapatni* cult in the 14th century the identification of the Great Royal Lady's divine prototype as the Southern Ocean and Death goddess called by modern Javanese Ratu Lara Kidul seems probable. In the Old Javanese mythological poems *Suda Mala* (edition van Stein Callenfels) and *Sri Tañjung* (edition Priono) Ra Nini and Hyang Nini, Venerated Holy Grandmother, are usual names for the goddess who is identified with Durgā. As the *Rājapatni* was pre-eminently a grandmother (*matāmahā*: canto 2—1—1) Ra Nini or Hyang Nini perhaps were the names given to the goddess of the country sanctuaries (*cāityas*) of the Majapahit period.

On no account is the probability of Ra Nini-Ratu Lara Kidul's near relationship in native Javanese mythological thinking with the rice goddess Dewi Sri to be discarded. In the commentary on the 14th chapter, the description of the annual *Phālguna-Caitra* festival which probably is related to the modern Javanese *Mulud* celebration the connection with the ancient rice goddess Dewi Sri will be discussed again.

CHAPTER 10 - THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1363

from Majapahit to Simping and back.

Canto 70, 3 stanzas.

Canto 70, stanza 1. Canto 70 is a continuation of cantos 61 and 62. Setting aside the interinezzos the central part of the Nāg. (chapters 3—11, cantos 17—72) is a Chronicle of Court events. Therefore the information on the Simping sanctuary is dispersed over the chapters dealing with the events of 1361 and 1363, the years that the Court visited Simping.

Stutterheim (I.N.I. p. 21) made a list of the objects mentioned under the head *saji* in old charters of Central Javanese Kings. Probably ritual presents is the best rendering of the word. The objects were in part implements, axes etc., in part textiles. The beneficiaries were people (or spirits) who assisted in any manner at the sanctuary's consecration ceremony. Perhaps the value of the presents was symbolic, they were not meant for daily use. The idea was to establish a bond between the newly consecrated domain or building and the inhabitants of the surrounding lands. In modern Javanese the derived *sēsajen* means: flower and food offerings for local spirits set at many places (crossroads, sacred trees, house corners), mostly Thursday night, on the eve of Friday, the day of destiny.

The offerings called *widhi-widhāna* were meant for the deified ancestor (cf. canto 31—3—1). At the end of the ceremony they were distributed among the officiating priests.

Canto 70, stanza 2. According to Poerbatjaraka (O.V. 1921, appendix E) in 1358 A.D. the Honourable Rājaparākrama was bishop (*dharmādhyaksa*) of the Shiwaite clergy (v. King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry-charter, edited in the present book). No doubt *adhyaksa* (rendered: superintendent) refers to that fact. He is given first the honorific pronoun *rasika* (rendered: his worship), afterwards the still higher pronoun *sira* (rendered: He). Perhaps he was related to Royalty.

The Shiwaite *Tattvopadesha*, Instruction on Reality, is repeatedly mentioned in the Nāg. Perhaps it was considered the counterpart of Buddhistic Tantrism (v. commentary on 40—3).

Perhaps the *adhiṣṭhāna* ceremony (rendered: erection) refers to King Kērtarājasa's statue in the renewed sanctuary (Prb.'s supposition). But then *adhiṣṭhita* (canto 56—1—3) seems to refer to the whole of a religious domain (*dharma*) with sanctuary. If only the statue was meant probably either *arcā* or *pratiṣṭhā* would be used.

Krom identified Rājaparākrama with Krung, taking the first for a personal name. In the preceding canto 60—2—1 the supervision (*vēruh*) of the domain of Viśeṣajura is given to the chamberlain Bhoja whereas Jñānawidhi performed the religious ceremony. On account of the vicinity of the two pieces of information and the similarity of the expressions parallelism seems probable. Jñānawidhi and Rājaparākrama officiated as priests, Bhoja and Krung took care of the domains' temporal concerns, at least during the period of construction. Probably they (and their descendants) were made hereditary wardens of the domains as a reward of services rendered to the Royal Family.

Canto 70, stanza 3. In this stanza and also in canto 71—1—1 the grandvizir Gajah Mada is only given the honorific pronoun *rasika* (rendered: his worship). The appreciation for his success could not be expressed in giving him the higher pronoun *sira* to which he had no right either by birth or by spiritual rank.

CHAPTER 11 - GAJAH MADA'S DEATH IN 1364.
THE NEW OFFICIALS.

Cantos 71 and 72, 9 stanzas.

Cantos 71 and 72 are the concluding ones of the Court Chronicle that begins with canto 17. In canto 94 the year 1365 is mentioned as the date of the poem's completion. Just like the first 16 cantos of the poem the last 26 ones mainly contain descriptions and information on Court life and the condition of the country.

Canto 71, stanza 1. This stanza ends with two consolatory verses on the occasion of Gajah Mada's death. Consolation is to be found in the practice of Buddhistic virtues: abstinence from worldly desires (*tr̥ṇā*), compassion with the world, minding life's inconstancy and performance of good works on account of future births. The grand-vizir's demise is considered exclusively from the point of view of the Royal Family who lost a faithful servant. The poet does not mention the funeral. Any information about the great man's last resting-place (on his estate of Madakaripura? v. canto 19—2—2) was considered superfluous in the Royal panegyric.

Canto 71, stanza 2. The dynastic council mentioned in the second stanza had nine members: King Hayam Wuruk, the Princesses of Pajang, Lasem, Daha and Jiwana and their husbands the Princes of Paguhan, Matahun, Wēngkēr and Singasari. Krom (TBG 53, 1910, p. 161) points to the expression *Bhaṭṭāra sapta Prabhu*: the Lords the seven Kings, found in a charter of 1351 A.D. Apparently at that time the King's sister and his lady cousin were not yet married. Though as a rule next to the King the female members of the Royal Family, being lineal descendants of the *Rājapatnī*, were regarded as persons of higher rank than their husbands who only were Prince-Consorts, in canto 71-2 the Princes of Wēngkēr and Singasari are mentioned together with the King in one verse and the rest of the family in the next one. Probably the two elder Princes' prominent

place in the management of the realm (v. chpts 13 and 14) was the cause of their being distinguished in the list of the dynastic council.

King Hayam Wuruk's *Parameswari* (v. canto 7—3—3), on the other hand, was not a member of the council. This once more proves her subordinate position at Court. She was only First Lady of the Royal zenana. Poerhatjaraka (BKI 80, p. 259) calls her a *sirir*, a concubine. Probably that is an error on the other side. In canto 7—3—3 she is given the predicate Illustrious just like the four Princesses of the Blood Royal. In fact she was a half-sister of the King's cousin the Princess of Lasem.

Canto 71, stanza 2. Probably the difficulty in finding a suitable successor for Gajah Mada was, beside the defunct's matchless qualities, the ancient Kaḍiri-Janggala controversy. Apparently the two factions grudged one another the grand-vizir's place. It is remarkable that the vizir of Kaḍiri lord Narapati, the most important servant of the Court next to Gajah Mada (v. canto 12—3—4), is not mentioned in canto 72. He seems to be superseded by Ātmarāja who was previously vizir of Kahuripan, which belonged to the Janggala sphere of interest. But then Ātmarāja was not made a grand-vizir but only a senior mandarin.

Apparently the dynastic council's resolution was to reserve all decisions of any importance for Royalty. The well-born men (*amātya*) who were appointed in office only had to bring up cases for inspection by the Princes and to offer advice. Probably this was the reaction to Gajah Mada's administration. Perhaps the defunct grand-vizir used to make decisions singlehanded, omitting to ask the opinion of Royalty. In the case of a faithful servant such a proceeding is quite conceivable. In fact Gajah Mada may have been rather more feared than loved by the Royal Family.

Nevertheless Berg's hypothesis to the effect that the Princes caused Gajah Mada to be poisoned is not warranted by the text. Granting that such a proceeding is quite conceivable at a Javanese Court (and at any Court comparable with it), the preceding cantos contain too much praise of the grand-vizir to render a humiliating death by the King's order probable. Moreover if Gajah Mada really died by poison the Pararaton could be expected to mention it. Being professional story-tellers the Pararaton authors certainly would not allow such sensational news as the poisoning of the celebrated grand-vizir by his ungrateful master's order to escape them.

Canto 71, stanza 3. The existence of a grand-vizir's faction in opposition to the Court faction is rendered probable by the expressions used in this stanza. The eminent mandarin grand-vizir of 71—3—1 is contrasted with the well-born, virtuous (i.e. loyal) people of 71—3—3. Gajah Mada was a commoner, not a courtier by birth. The grand-vizir's faction is "the world there (outside)" that is to be ignored. The Nāg. poet belonged to the Court faction as a member of a bishop's family. In canto 66—1—2 the Court nobility (*kshatriyas*) and the bishops (*dharma-dhyakṣas*) with the noble lord Narapati on one hand are contrasted with Gajah Mada and the country people on the other.

How far the ancient Kaḍiri-Janggala controversy (the moieties of the realm) coincided with the party-strife of the Court faction and the grand-vizir's adherents in the 14th century can not be decided for want of data. Some connection seems quite probable.

Canto 72, stanzas 1—3. The Honourable Ātmarāja Sir Tanḍing was previously vizir of Kahuripan (Janggala) according to a charter discussed by Krom (TBG 58, 1918, p. 162). His name is also found in the Decree Jaya Song (Bendosari charter, v. Krom's paper on the Nglawang charter, TBG 53, 1911).

The commander-in-chief Sir Nāla is also mentioned repeatedly in charters. Krom quotes from the Sēkar charter a long string of Sanskrit epithets of the celebrated warrior almost identical with the third verse of stanza 2. The Nāg. poet's intimate knowledge of the chancery idiom and of Majapahit Court Sanskrit is proved once more by this conformity. Krom points to a remarkable gloss added to the charter's lengthy Sanskrit compound. Though the gloss also contains several Sanskrit words the construction of its sentence may have rendered it more easily comprehensible for Javanese readers.

The year of Nāla's expedition to Pōmpo (Island of Sumbawa) was 1357 (v. Pararaton p. 29—15). Just like Gajah Mada (canto 19) he was granted an estate (Kambang Rawi) by the King as a reward (canto 31—5—4). Probably Nāla was of noble birth, perhaps even of the Blood Royal. In canto 72—3—4 he is given the pronoun *sira* (*denira*), and two stanzas are filled with his eulogy, in contradistinction with Tanḍing, who only has one stanza. The tendency to set off the noble commander's valour as comparable to Gajah Mada's merit is clear.

Poerbatjaraka's translation of cantos 71 and 72 and his notes on

their contents contain interesting comparisons with 19th and 20th century conditions at the Central Javanese Surakarta Court, but they are not to the point. Expressions like cabinet minister and governmental department seem out of place in a description of the 14th century Majapahit Court. Some grave discrepancies between the present author's translation and Poerbatjaraka's rendering of the two cantos have been discussed in the Notes in the second volume.

Canto 72, stanzas 4, 5. The two mandarins Ātmarāja and Nāla had two duties to fulfill. In the first place they had to execute Royal orders as if they were hands and feet, without showing a will of their own. And in the second place they had to report difficulties. They were assisted by coadjutors like the bishops' *upapattis*, who were ecclesiastical officers and judges. The junior mandarin Dami had authority in the Interior of the Royal compound. Poerbatjaraka compares his position with the function of a *patih jero*, a vizir of the Interior, at the Surakarta Court in the beginning of the 20th century. Probably he is right. Krom remarks that in the charter of Sēkar Sir Dani is mentioned as holding the office of *rangga*, i.e. aide-de-camp, which implies an intimate companionship with Royalty. This is in accordance with the information of canto 72—5—2. Apparently the fourth function, described as witnessing the Princes' commissions, was a general secretary's. Probably the ancient office of Court chancellor (*kanuruhan*) survived in Sir Singha's charge.

Though several of the ancient offices of the Fellows of Majapahit (*pañca ri Witwatikta*, v. canto 10—1) are identifiable the list of canto 72 was meant to be a renovation. How long it held need not be discussed in the present Nāg. commentary. According to the Pararaton three years after Gajah Mada's death another grand-vizir took office. Perhaps that was the end of the Court faction's ascendancy.

Canto 72, stanza 6. However that may be, in the last stanza of canto 72 the good results of the renovation of 1364 are pictured. The world there, i.e. the public outside the Court, is said to be faithful and submissive as a consequence of the King's appearing as the master (*Ishwara, keshwaryan*). It is open to doubt whether the Majapahit Court during the reign of Hayam Wuruk (or afterwards), being divided against itself (Kadiri-Janggala controversy), really was up to the task of uniting the nation in loyalty around the throne.



VI. A FERRY, SEE P. VIII.

CHAPTER 12 - LIST OF DOMAINS

*belonging to the Royal Family
and to religious communities.*

Cantos 73—78, 21 stanzas.

Just like the first three chapters of the Nāg. (cantos 1—16) the last three ones (not to mention the Conclusion) 12—14 (cantos 73—91) are cataloguing and descriptive, not chronicling. The Court Chronicle ends with canto 72.

Canto 73. stanza 1. Canto 73 is linked up with canto 72: as a consequence of the renovation in the administration following the grand-vizir's demise Royal activities increased. Impartiality, gifts and meritorious works are mentioned as features of the King's reign. Probably the poet alludes to some redress of grievances nursed by people who felt slighted by the former administration. The stress laid on religion (*āgama*) might point to some restoration of ecclesiastical influence in state affairs. Perhaps, being a soldier, Gajah Mada had neglected the priesthood's interests, at least seen from their own point of view. Of course, being a member of an episcopal family, the poet was very much interested in ecclesiastical affairs. This comes out in the whole of his poem. The rest of the 12th chapter (the list of the domains) and a great part of the next one testify to the poet's belief in the good results expected from the renovated Royal administration under spiritual guidance.

No doubt the Court's care for domains belonging to the Royal Family and to religious communities was a dynastic interest seen both from a religious and from a political point of view. The deified Royal ancestors and the deities who owned the domains and were worshipped by their priests could be expected to help their descendants and servants by supernatural means. On the other hand the families of clergymen who enjoyed the advantages of the domains as hereditary abbots (*sthāpaka*) or priors (*dewaguru*) and the mandarins who had

the supervision as hereditary wardens naturally were loyal supporters of Royalty. Probably the Royal ancestors' domains had for abbots descendants by collateral lines of the deified Kings. Both the high-born administrators of ancestral Royal domains and the ecclesiastical chiefs of lands and sanctuaries dedicated to the cult of a variety of superhuman beings looked to the Court for support against the forever imminent danger from the side of covetous laical neighbours. Instances of usurpation of domains by commoners, either hereditary lairds of manors or rural communities, are to be found even in the small number of Royal charters that survived till modern times. The Register (*carcan*) of domains is referred to repeatedly in the Nāg. For the Royal administration it was useful to determine the number of spiritual lords and gentlemen on whose support one could count in times of distress. The revision of the Register as described in canto 73—2 served the purpose of consolidating the King's authority which was in the balance at the end of the Gajah Mada period.

Probably as a rule the Court did not take care of religious domains by affording them material support. The reconstruction of the Simping sanctuary as described in canto 70 seems to be an exception. That is the reason why it is mentioned. The Royal care for the domains was generally confined to issuing or renovating charters. In fact in Javanese epigraphy several renovated charters are known. For the hereditary administrators of ecclesiastical domains (and for the owners of temporal estates too) the Royal foundation charter or its renovated copy was valuable seen both from a spiritual and a juridical point of view. Containing in their preambles the titles and names of the members of the Royal Family and the aristocracy the charters were dumb representatives of the distant Court. Passed on from generation to generation (*tumus i satusunira*) they were kept as heirlooms. Probably they were wrapped up in precious textiles and put away in a high place under the roof of a small sanctuary. On special occasions the charters might be worshipped and incensed with frankincense in the same manner as the Royal heirlooms (*pusaka*) of the modern Central Javanese Courts still are worshipped and "fed" with incense. On the other hand ancient Royal foundation charters were valuable as title-deeds. In any contest with covetous neighbours over lands and rights the Royal charter was evidence and an appeal to the Court was surely admitted. No doubt the possession of a duly registered Royal charter was a boon to any landowner either spiritual or temporal, and its certification ought to make him a loyal supporter of Royal authority.

Canto 73, stanza 2. The words in this stanza mentioning domains not yet finished by their Royal founders (*turung pinahuwusnira*) refer to the absence of Royal foundation charters. Apparently in some cases the concluding act of the foundation of a domain, i.e. the making and issuing of a legal charter engraved on a copper plate was delayed and then omitted, perhaps on account of the expenses. Naturally King Hayam Wuruk's issue of charters for dominions founded in the time of one of his ancestors would be called a falsification in modern times. Probably the Majapahit Court regarded it as a correction of a legal error. As the modalities and dates of ancient foundations sometimes were forgotten or incompletely remembered the Royal re-issue prepared the way for false statements. By means of a legal charter containing falsified data landowners of King Hayam Wuruk's time were enabled to prove their rights on lands however dubious they might be. Perhaps the Court was not really very much concerned at this state of things (which could not be unknown to the public) as long as it procured loyal supporters for Royalty.

Canto 73, stanza 3. According to canto 74—2—1, in *Bhadra* (August-September) 1365, one month before the finishing of the *Nāg*. (v. 94—2—1), the Majapahit Court had the supervision over 27 domains of deified Kings. It is a matter for regret they can not be identified completely. It seems very plausible, though, that in the 14th century the 27 Royal ancestor domains were well known at Court, and always had been so. The re-issuing of charters mentioned in stanza 2 probably does not refer to the Royal domains of the Majapahit dynasty but to some of the other domains that are enumerated in cantos 75—78.

The 27 domains of deified Royal ancestors of the Majapahit King mentioned in cantos 73 and 74 are:

1. Kagēñgan (v. gl.), south of Singasari, King Rangguh Rājasa, the founder of the Singasari-Majapahit dynasty.
2. Tumapēl (v. Pararaton p. 25—4: Pūrwa Patapan), Singasari, King Kērtanagara (according to Krom's notes).
3. Kiḍal (v. gl.), near Singasari, King Anūṣanātha.
4. Jajaghu (v. gl.), near Singasari, King Wishnuwardhana.
5. Wēḍwa-wēḍwan (v. gl.), near Singasari (Lawang, Wēḍon), King ?

6. Tuḍan? to be emended Bubāt? (v. gl., and 48—3—3), near Majapahit, King Jayanagara.
7. Pikatan (in the Blitar district? according to Krom's notes) perhaps to be identified with Wéwé Pikatan (v. canto 17—4—4), in the Majapahit district, King?
8. Bukul?
9. Jawa-jawa (v. gl.), at the foot of mount Walirang, King Kērtanagara.
10. Antang, (v. O.J.O. no 68, 1057 *Shōka*, 1135 A.D., according to Krom's notes, at present called Ngantang), King?
11. Antarashashi (v. Pararaton p. 27—12, Antawulan), Trawulan, King Jayanagara.
12. Kalang Brat, district Kalang Brèt, regency of Tulung Agung, King?
13. Jaga, district Jagaraga, modern Ngrambé, residency of Madiun, King?
14. Balitar (v. gl.), King?
15. Shilāhrit (v. canto 17—5—2, to be emended Shilābrit), near Blitar, King?
16. Waleri (v. gl.), Mēleri, Blitar, King Wishnuwardhana.
17. Babēg (v. Krom, H.J.G.: Bērbēk, a district north of Kaḍiri; probably after his demise King Hayam Wuruk was given a domain and sanctuary in Tajung in the Bērbēk district), King?
18. Kukap?
19. Lumbang (v. Pararaton p. 18, Lumbang Katang), King Toh Jaya.
20. Pagōr (v. I.N.I., Stutterheim, p. 35: near Purwasari, between Malang and Surabaya), King?

Canto 74, stanza 1. The list is continued:

21. Antahpura (Majapahit), King Kērtarājasa.
22. Sagala (v. gl.), situation unknown, King Kērtanagara.
23. Simping (v. gl.), Sumber Jati, King Kērtarājasa.
24. Shri Ranggapura (v. Pararaton p. 27—11: Shrēnggapura), King Jayanagara (according to Krom's notes).
25. Buddhi Kuñcir (v. Pararaton p. 18—13: Wudi Kuñcir), King Narasinghamūrti (according to Krom's notes), perhaps to be identified with Kunitir (canto 41—4, according to Berg, *Rijksdeling* p. 165).

26. Prajñāpāramitāpurī (v. gl.), the *Rājapatnī*.
27. Bhayalāṅgō (v. gl.), the *Rājapatnī*.

The sequence of the list of 27 domains is neither chronological (according to reigns) nor geographical. No difference between the 20 domains of canto 73 and the 7 ones of canto 74 is apparent, except the fact that in 1365 the two *Rājapatnī* domains still were unfinished. Perhaps some others mentioned in canto 74 were also in a state of construction or reorganization (e.g. Simpīng). Krom points to the following domains mentioned in other Nāg. cantos but not included in the list of cantos 73 and 74:

1. Shilā I'ēṭak: perhaps Batu Putih ("White Rock") not far from Majapahit, canto 48—3, King Jayanagara.
2. Bubāt: perhaps to be read instead of Tuḍan (no 6), canto 48—3, King Jayanagara.
3. Sukalila (in the Malang residency?), canto 48—3, King Jayanagara.
4. Kūmitir: probably to be identified with Buddhi Kuñcir (no 25), canto 41—4, King Narasiṅghamūrti.
5. Mirēng, situation unknown, canto 46—2, Dyah Lēmbu Tal.
6. Kalayu, Jabung, canto 31—2: *Ihwa* Guṇḍal.

The Nāg. and the P'araraton information on domains of deified Kings show several differences. They are not discussed in the present commentary. Probably many places were known by more than one name.

Perhaps the 27 domains enumerated in cantos 73 and 74 were pre-eminently classed as Royal domains (*dharma haji*), placed under the authority of the Honourable Wirādhikāra, because of their economic importance for the Royal Family and the Court and their being considered political strongholds of Royal authority in the country.

The difference between Royal domains (*dharma haji*) and free domains (*dharma lēpas*) has been discussed by Bosch in a paper on Caṇḍi Jawi (O.V. 1918), quoting six stanzas from the Old Javanese poem Arjuna Wijaya by Tantular, a contemporary of Prapañca's. (Prb. pointed out the stanzas in the cantos 28 and 29). According to Tantular the free domains were to be considered as land-gifts (*bhādāna*) distributed by the King to poor people, friars, Shiwaïtes and Buddhists, to be *nivvadya* (offerings to the gods) and means of subsistence. The

Royal domains, on the other hand, were founded (*sinuk*) in order that the Royal Family, their relatives and their servants (*wira bala*) should benefit by them. Passing on to another canto Tantular remarks that it is only meritorious to give gifts to people who really need them: the poor ecclesiastics, the commoners (*para*). There is no good reason why the others should be flooded (*winahan*) with good things.

This quotation is to be understood in connection with the tale of the Arjuna Wijaya, of course. The absence of any mention of ancestor worship in the case of the Royal domains, and the stress laid on the economic value of the *dharma*s, are in accordance with Prapañca's use of the word. Certainly *dharma* is not to be rendered: temple, nor sanctuary. The best rendering seems to be: religious, or ecclesiastical, domain.

The term *bhīdāna* in the quoted passage of the Arjuna Wijaya is an unusual one. Probably Tantular used it to accentuate the character of meritorious, religious gift (*dāna*) to the ecclesiastics, inherent (in his opinion, and in connection with the tale) in the free domains, in contradistinction with the Royal domains which served primarily the economic, worldly interests of the Royal Family and the Court. The duality esoteric-exoteric, spiritual-secular is again apparent in this passage. Bosch's opinion on theoretical Royal ownership of (all the) land in the Majapahit realm does not find a solid foundation in Tantular's poetic expression.

Canto 74, stanza 2. In this stanza two groups of officials are mentioned as being in charge of the Royal domains. Well-born gentlemen (*amātya*) were wardens or guardians (*matunggu*) and ordained priests (*wiku*) were abbots (*sthāpaka*) performing religious ceremonies. This dualism was mentioned also on the occasion of the Royal visit to Kagēnēngan (canto 36—2) and the construction of Wisheṣapura at Bhayalangu (canto 69—2). Royal priests (*wiku rāja*, synonymous with *wiku haji*) probably were more closely connected with the Court than common priests (such as make their appearance continuously in the Tantu Pangḡlaran tales). Perhaps both guardians and abbots were chosen among the defunct King's relatives by collateral lines. All had to recognize the Honourable Wirādhikāra's authority.

Canto 75, stanza 1. In canto 75 four Court officers are mentioned as superintendents of the four groups of domains, divided into two categories: the Royal domains or domains of the Interior (i.e. the 27 *dharma*s of cantos 73 and 74, the *dharma haji* of Tantular's poem) and the free domains (*dharma lēpas*), to be enumerated in cantos 76—78. The list of the four ecclesiastical Court officers contains the names of the kinds of domains they had in charge.

1. the bishop (*dharmaḍhyakṣa*) of the domains of the Interior, the Honourable Wirādhikāra.
2. the Shiwaite bishop (*Shaitēḍhyakṣa*), in charge of sacred places (*parhyangan*) and artisans' places (*kalagyan*).
3. the Buddhist bishop (*Boddhāḍhyakṣa*), in charge of cloister-halls (*kufi*) and monasteries (*wihāra*).
4. the mandarin King's Servant (*mantri her-haji*), in charge of the friars' places (*karṭṣyan*) and the anchorites (*tapaswī*).

In the chapter on the ecclesiastical organization the interesting information of canto 75 shall be discussed at some length.

The second part of the title-name Wirādhikāra: *adhikāra* (Skt.: administration) is found in some other title-names (v. gl.). Evidently it points to a high rank at Court. Whereas the Royal domains' bishop (*dharmaḍhyakṣa*) Wirādhikāra is mentioned with his full title-name and predicates (*sang ārya*: the honoured Honourable) in the case of the other three dignitaries only names of offices are found (the Shiwaite and the Buddhist bishop and the mandarin King's Servant). Moreover Wirādhikāra is given one whole stanza for himself, the other three have one stanza together. No doubt Wirādhikāra's Court rank was higher than the free domains' bishops'. The remarkable fact of his not being mentioned in charters' preambles or in other Nāg. cantos is to be accounted for by assuming that Royal domains' bishop was a post of honour without much real influence. The lack of emoluments expressly mentioned in canto 75—1 renders that assumption plausible.

As the quartet brahmins, friars, Shiwaites, Buddhists (*wipra, rēshi, Shaiwa, Sogata*) is mentioned in another place in the Nāg. (v. gl.) perhaps the Honourable Wirādhikāra, being a brahmin himself, or related to an Indian brahmin family, was also in charge of brahminical ecclesiastical affairs. The other three functionaries (no 2—4) represented Shiwaite, Buddhist and *rēshi* interests. Being under the supervision (however perfunctory it might be) of a Court officer connected with

Indian brahmins the Royal ancestor domains were raised also spiritually to a higher rank than the free ones.

Probably the remarkable information about Wirādhikāra's care of serving others and Royal well-being (*kuminkin i parārtha swastha sang shrī narendra*, if that is the correct reading) refers to his being in charge of the Royal zenana, for in the Nāg. idiom *parārtha* may convey the meaning of sexual intercourse. In this sense it is used in some other places in the Nāg. (v. gl.). The connection of the Royal ancestor domains and the zenana is easily understood. In the commentary on canto 31 the entering of the Royal zenana by Royal kinsmen's daughters from a district near a Royal ancestor domain is discussed. The King's (and the other Princes') multiple marriages with girls from collateral lines of the Royal Family served both dynastic and social ends. A Court officer of high rank and good knowledge of genealogy as adviser in matrimonial matters certainly could be usefully active in the interest of the dynasty. Though intimately concerned with the affairs of the Royal Family (being perhaps himself related by birth to Royalty), Wirādhikāra's office and influence perhaps was not known very well outside the Interior, and so he was not mentioned in the charters' preambles where the Shiwaite and Buddhist bishops' names never failed to appear.

The information about Wirādhikāra's lack of emoluments implies that the other three ecclesiastical dignitaries did enjoy emoluments from their charges. Probably any abbot or prior making an appeal to his bishop for help to fend off covetous laical neighbours was expected to pay expenses. The Shiwaite and Buddhist bishops and their coadjutors (*upapatti*) certainly received part of the fines imposed both on evildoers and on the losing party in civil lawsuits. As presidents of the Royal court of justice their names were more in the public eye than either Wirādhikāra's or the mandarin King's Servant's who did not administer justice to commoners.

Canto 75, stanza 2. The mention of the Buddhist bishop *here* (*Boddhādhyakṣa sireki*) is another evidence of the poet's close relationship with the Buddhist episcopal House.

The office-name *her-haji* is remarkable because its components are Javanese, not Sanskrit. The only plausible rendering: King's Servant, is not closely connected with the function of supervisor of hermitages. The mandarin *her-haji* appears to be as much lower in rank than the three bishops (*adhyakṣa*) as the friars (*rēshī*) were esteemed less highly

than the regular Shiwaite and Buddhist clergy. Whereas the bishops are given the distinguished pronoun *sira* (He) the mandarin King's Servant is referred to by the common pronoun *-nya* (*inivōnya*: taken care of by him). As not a few of the domains or sacred places mentioned in canto 78 are called independent (*swatantra*) perhaps in fact the mandarin *her-haji*'s authority was not respected in many places.

In lists of *mangilala dērtiya haji*, collectors of the King's due (v. comm. Biluluk charters) in old Royal charters (e.g. the Waharu charter of 873 A.D., O.J.O. I, p. 12) an *er-haji* is included. It is impossible to ascertain the evolution of the office during the five centuries between 873 and 1365. Some connection with religion seems probable in the case of the 9th century *er-haji*.

Cantos 76, 77, 78 contain lists of domains and sacred places brought under 19 headings:

Canto 76, stanzas 1 and 2,

free domains, abodes of Shiwa (*dharma lēpas pratiṣṭhā Shiwa*), under the Shiwaite bishop's authority, four groups:

1. places, halls, manses with pavilions (*kufi balay*), 2 verses.
2. sacred places (*parhyangan*), 1 verse.
3. Royal temple-towers (*prāsāda haji*), 1 verse.
4. Divinity's crystals (*sphaṭikeyang*, i.e. *sphaṭika i hyang*), 4 verses.

Canto 76, stanzas 3 and 4; canto 77, stanza 1—3,

free domains of the Buddhist clergy (*dharma kasogatan*), under the Buddhist bishop's authority, two groups:

5. regular (*kawinaya*), 8 verses.
6. thunderbolt-bearing clergy (*kabajradharan*), 12 verses.

Canto 78, stanza 1,

free domains of the friars (*karēṣyan*), under the mandarin *her-haji*'s authority:

7. friaries (*karēṣyan*), 4 verses.

Canto 78, stanzas 2—7,

free estates and places of men of religion, miscellaneous, not immediately under any Court officer's authority, 15 groups:

8. estates without divine abodes, places of Shiwaite offshoots, independent (*sīma tan apratiṣṭhā karṣyangkurān swatantra*), 2 verses.
9. estates without divine abodes, places of Buddhist dependencies, independent (*sīma tan apratiṣṭhā kaboddhāngshān swatantra*), 2 verses.
10. estates without divine abodes, places of friaries' offshoots, independent (*sīma tan apratiṣṭhā karṣyangkurān swatantra*), 2 verses.
11. places of Royal kinsmen, independent (*kakadang-hajyan swatantra*), 2 verses.
12. regular estates, independent (*sīmāpagēh swatantra*), 2 verses.
13. Wishnu's family, independent (*wangsha Wiṣṇu swatantra*), 2 verses.
14. districts of Divinity's servants, sacred lands, free and independent (*desha mēḍang hulun hyang luput swatantra*), 2 verses.
15. interspersed artisans' places, independent (*kalagyan anēlat*), 1 verse.
16. manses with divine abodes joined by manses without divine abodes, independent (*kuṭi sapratiṣṭhā milu tang tanpa pratiṣṭhā swatantra*), 1 verse.
17. sacred-ring communities "Four Ashmarks", independent (*maṇḍala caturbhasma swatantra*), 2 verses.
18. places of recluses, "Four Hermitages", independent (*katyāgan caturāshrama swatantra*), 1 verse.
19. rural doctors, independent (*janggan swatantra*).

Religious life in the 14th century Majapahit kingdom appears to be richly variegated both as to beliefs and as to types of social organization. Poerbatjaraka was right in inviting attention for the two Buddhist denominations (BKI 80, 1924, p. 266). Kern remarked that some places or districts were sacred to more than one religious community. Walaṇḍit (if that is the correct reading) had a free domain with a Shiwa abode (canto 76—1—2) and a free domain of the Buddhistic thunderbolt-bearers (canto 77—2—1). In Srangan even three domains or estates were found: a free domain of the Shiwaites of the Divinity's

Crystal group (canto 76—2—2), a free domain of the Buddhist clergy observing the *winaya* rules (canto 76—3—3) and an independent place of Royal kinsmen (canto 78—4—1). If Lĕmah Surat is to be identified with Lĕmah Tulis, which is probable, that place or district had two domains: one belonging to the regular Buddhist clergy (canto 76—3—3) and another belonging to the Buddhist thunderbolt-bearers (canto 77—2—3).

As a rule the groups professing different beliefs seem to have kept friendly relations. Probably similar conditions prevailed at the time in other countries of the Greater India cultural sphere. But then in the 14th century Islam already began to spread in the northern districts of Sumatra. In the course of time the chequer of Old Javanese religious and social organization was to be replaced by the more uniform pattern of life according to the Holy Prophet's tenets. Of course the replacement was effectuated gradually, Muslim mysticism being the first aspect of Islam to be accepted by religiously minded Javanese. Whereas evidence as yet is lacking the question might be posed whether among the independent religious communities mentioned in canto 78 some were already influenced by infiltrations of popular Muslim mystic thought from India. Both Hinduism-Buddhism and Islam were introduced into the Archipelago as Indian outlooks on life.

As the sequence of the names mentioned in the lists of canto 76—78 is not geographical like the sequence of the Royal Progress's stations in chapters 4 and 7 the identification is the more difficult. Probably the number of clerical errors made by Balinese scribes unfamiliar with Java is great. Separations and connections of syllables and words are uncertain. Epigraphists and historians may set right some readings that are dubious. In the frame of the present Nāg. commentary the following transcription with notes, mainly borrowed from Krom's edition, seems sufficient.

Canto 76, stanzas 1, 2, group 1: Shiwaitic places, manses with pavilions (*kufi balay*):

1. Kañci, v. canto 17—10—2 and commentary.
2. Kapulungan, v. canto 17—11—1, glossary and commentary.
3. Roma (Roma is an old name belonging to a distant western district, v. *Volksvertoningen*. It is improbable that this western Roma is meant).
4. Wwatan (mentioned in O.J.O. no 62, a charter of 1041 A.D.,

a *dharma parhyangan* of King Erlangga's predecessor and father-in-law).

5. Ishwaragērha ?
6. Walaṇḍit (emendation for Palabdi and Palaṇḍi), v. canto 77—2—1 and glossary.
7. Tajung (to be identified with Tañjung: mentioned in O.J.O. no 46, 935 A.D. and in the Pararaton p. 30—32: Paramasukapura, connected with King Ilayam Wuruk's grandson and perhaps with himself, in the district of Běrběk).
8. Kuṭi Lamba ?
9. Taruṇa ?

Group 2: Shiwaitic sacred places (*parhyangan*):

10. Kuṭi Jāti ?
11. Caṇḍi Lima, v. canto 17—4—4 and commentary.
12. Nilakusuma ?
13. Harinandana ?
14. Uttamasuka ?

Group 3: Shiwaitic Royal temple-towers (*prāsāda haji*):

15. Saḍang (In the Pararaton, p. 14—4. a *wangbang* Saḍang is mentioned).
16. Panggumulan ?
17. Kuṭi Sanggraha (In the district of Kaḍiri some ruins called Caṇḍi Sanggrahan are found. But then they seem to be Buddhistic).
18. Jayashika ?

Group 4: Shiwaitic Divinity's crystals (*sphaṭikayang*):

19. Jaya Manalu ? (Poerbatjaraka remarked that in olden times a King of Bali had this name).
20. Haribhawana ?
21. Caṇḍi Wungkal (In a charter of 1216 *Shāka*, 1294 A.D. Jasun Wungkal is mentioned. Probably it was situated north-west of Kēḍung Pēluk, mentioned in canto 35—1—3).
22. Pigit ?
23. Nyū Dēnta ?
24. Katuda ?
25. Srgan, v. cantos 76—3—3 and 78—4—1 (Sarangan is mentioned in O.J.O. no 37, a charter of 851 *Shāka*, 929 A.D. from

the district of Mājākērtā. According to some other charters, O.J.O. no 94 sq. it was situated not far from Jiyu).

26. Kapuyuran ?
27. Jaya Muka ?
28. Kulanandana ?
29. Kanigara (v. Knebel, Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1908, p. 70: a village in the district of Blitar where a Shiwa statue is found. In the encyclopedic 19th century poem Cēntini a place Kanigara in the district of Giring south of Mataram is mentioned).
30. Rēmbut ?
31. Wuluhēn ?
32. Kinawōng, to be identified with Kinawē, mentioned in O.J.O. no 32, a charter of 849 *Shāka*, 927 A.D. from Tañjung Kalang in the Bērbēk district.
33. Sukawijaya ?
34. Kajaha ?
35. Campēn ?
36. Rati-Manmathāshrama (P'orbatjaraka's identification with Lingga Marabangun, canto 17—5, is dubious).
37. Kulang-Kaling, v. Notes, vol. II.
38. Batu Putih, "White-Rock", identified by P'orbatjaraka with Shilā Pēṭak (same meaning), King Jayanagara's Wishnuitic domain, and with an old cemetery of a Muslim Regents' family of Surabaya, descendants of Anggawangsa (16th century), situated on the bank of the Pagirian river, a branch of the great river Brantas, in the old part of the city. The sequence of denominations: Shiwaitic, Wishnuitic, Muslim, would be remarkable but not impossible at all.

The division of the Shiwaitic domains into four groups: *kufi balay*, *parhyangan*, *prāsāda haji* and *sphaṭikeyang* has been made on the analogy of the Buddhistic division into *kawinaya* and *kabajradheran* domains. True the quadripartition has not been found in other texts but then in canto 75—2—2 at least *parhyangan* is mentioned as the name of a group of Shiwaitic domains. *Sphaṭika*, crystal, in Old Javanese *paṣṭika*, *muṣṭika*, is connected with Parameshwara-Shiwa in the Korawāshrama tale (edition Swellengrebel, p. 44) about Wishnu and Brahma's quest for the foot and the head of the crystal pillar, the spike of Java (*pokuning Yawaduṣpa*). The reference to phallism is evident.

Perhaps in the *sphaṭikeyang* group of Shiwaite domains the phallic aspect of Shiwaism was prominent.

On the other hand Kern is right in remarking that the element *kufi* in any name does not necessarily imply connection with Buddhism, as might be concluded from canto 75—2—3. In several names *kufi* seems to refer merely to a (clergyman's) hall or manse.

It seems most probable that the four groups of Shiwaite domains *kufi balay*, *parhyangan*, *prāsāda haji* and *sphaṭikryang* were ordered according to religious and social importance. No doubt the last mentioned group *sphaṭikryang* was the greatest (4 verses, as many as the other three together).

On the points by which the four groups of 14th century Shiwaite domains in East Java were distinguished one from another little can be said with any certainty. The first group, *kufi balay*, places or manses with pavilions (a name which says little) seems to comprise some very old sacred domains like Wwatan and Tañjung, belonging to the age of the semi-legendary King Erlangga, who flourished three centuries before King Hayam Wuruk. Perhaps the name "manses with pavilions" refers to some characteristics which struck the 14th century Majapahit courtiers as archaic.

The name of the second group, called *parhyangan*, sacred places, contains the word *hyang*, Spirit, which is also found in the name of the 14th group: *desha mēḍang hulun hyang*: districts, sacred lands of Divinity's servants. Probably in those names *hyang* refers to native Javanese divine beings, patrons of mountains, wells or rivers, who were (as yet) imperfectly Hinduized (by identification with an Indian god, Shiwa or Brahma). Caṇḍi Lima, "Five Monuments" is called a Shiwaite *parhyangan*. In the commentary on canto 17—4—4 the possibility has been mentioned that the Five Monuments (four on the corners of a quadrangle and one in the centre) originally formed a sanctuary connected with primeval cosmic and social classificatory belief. Perhaps the difference in the Majapahit Court idiom between the Shiwaite *parhyangans* (4th group) and the *desha mēḍang hulun hyang* (14th group) was the fact that *parhyangans* were (at least in name) Hinduized (Caṇḍi Lima was occasionally visited by the Court), and *desha mēḍang hulun hyangs* were not (or were so only superficially).

Probably the third group, *prāsāda haji*, Shiwaite Royal temple towers, consisted of Royal domains of defunct Kings belonging to extinct dynasties, perhaps especially the House of Kaḍiri (*Ilaji* seems

to belong to the Kaḍiri idiom). It is not certain at all that the Kaḍiri Kings used to be given funeral monuments of the same kind as the Singasari-Majapahit Royal Family had. So any attempt at identification of the four Shiwaitic *prāsāda hajis* with Kaḍiri Kings seems futile.

The fourth group, the Shiwaitic *sphaṭikeyangs*, seems to comprise a kind of domains with sanctuaries which in the Majapahit age was considered as ordinary, not archaic or belonging to people who were in any respect outside the pale of common 14th century East Javanese Shiwaism. Besides the connection of the word *sphaṭika* with Shiwaitic ithyphallic conceptions the name *bale sphaṭika* for the most important part (the place of the mortal remains) in the Balinese *bade* (the tower-like conveyance of the dead from their temporary earthly grave to the cremation place) is to be mentioned (see i.a. Wirz, Totenkult auf Bali, 1928, p. 40).

Canto 76, stanzas 3, 4, group 5: Buddhistic domains under the regulations (*kawinaya*):

39. Wipulārama ?
40. Kuṭi Haji, v. canto 17—10—3.
41. Yānatraya ?
42. Rājadhānya ?
43. Kuwu Nātha ?
44. Surayasha: v. canto 17—11—3.
45. Jarak ?
46. Lagunḍi ?
47. Wadari ?
48. Wéwé, to be identified with Wéwé Pikatan, canto 17—4—4, and perhaps also with Pikatan, canto 73—3—3 ?
49. Pacēkan (In the Pararaton edition, 1920, p. 103, note 6, a place called Pa-tsieh, mentioned in the Chinese record of the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan's expedition to Java in 1292—'93, is identified with Pacēkan, south of Surabaya).
50. Pasarwuan ? (Possible emendation: Pasar Pwan, i.e. Pasar Pon, "Pon-market", *Pon* being one of the days of the Javanese five-days week).
51. Lēmah Surat, probably to be identified with Lēmah Citra, mentioned in canto 68—2—2 in connection with the sage Bharaṇa's legend and with Lēmah Tulis, mentioned in canto 77—2—3.

52. Pamanikan ?
53. Sangan, v. cantos 76—2—2 and 78—4—1.
54. Pangikētan ?
55. Panghapwan ?
56. Damalang (to be emended Damalung. In the Tantu Panggēlaran mount Damalung is mentioned. Brandes mentions a charter found in Singasari mentioning a sanctuary of Damalung; Tjanđi Singasari monograph, 1909, p. 39).
57. Tēpas Jita (Possible emendation: Tēpas Jati: "Teaktree-sanctuary". According to Krom the ruins called Tēpas in the district of Blitar seem to be younger than 1365).
58. Wanāshrama ?
59. Jēnar ?
60. Samudrawela ?
61. Pamulung ?
62. Baryang ?
63. Amērtawardhanī ?
64. Wēti-Wētih (Berg, *Rijksdeling*, p. 195 and 225, mentions Kamal Paṇḍak as a stage on the road from Wēwētih to Majapahit, according to the poem Wargasari, which is included in Brandes' *Beschrijving Jav. Hss*, III, 1915, p. 300).
65. Kawinayan ?
66. Patēmwan, perhaps to be identified with Patēbwan, O.J.O. no 65.
67. Kanuruhan ?
68. Wēng Tal ?
69. Wēngkēr: v. glossary, in the district of Pānārāgā.
70. Hantēn ?
71. Bañu Jikēn ?
72. Bata-Bata ?
73. Pagagan ?
74. Sibok ?
75. Padurungan ?
76. Piṇḍātuha ?
77. Tēlang ?
78. Surabha ?
79. Sukalīla, v. canto 48—3—4, connected with King Jayanagara (situated in the district of Malang; Knebel, Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1902, p. 350).
80. Pogara, v. canto 19—1—3, in the district of Pasuruhan.

81. Kulur, v. canto 18—8—1, near Bangil.
82. Tangkil, v. canto 77—2—1, in the district of Malang (Knebel, Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1902, p. 350).

In canto 76—4—3 *pamēwih* refers to a late addition to the Register (*pacarcan*; canto 77—3—4) which is the source of the information of cantos 76, 77 and 78. The same word is used in canto 76—2—4. The meaning of follower (*manganwaya*) in this stanza is not clear.

Canto 77, stanzas 1—3. This canto is dedicated entirely to the domains of the Tantric thunderbolt bearing Buddhist clergy (group 6, *kabajradharan akrama*). Perhaps the great number of domains of this denomination warrants the conclusion that the Buddhist episcopal House itself belonged to the *bajradharas*, which is in accordance with the poet's manifest admiration for the great Tantristic King Kērtanagara of Singasari. Kern remarks that the Tantric *wajracāryas* of Tibet and Nepal might be called a secular clergy because of their contracting marriages and forming families. No doubt the Javanese *bajradharas* did the same. *Akrama*, observing custom, is a refined expression for marrying. But then it is a matter of grave doubt whether the *winaya* observing Buddhists of 14th century Majapahit indeed kept the vow of celibacy. Old Javanese texts on the ecclesiastical organization seem to give little cause to believe that. Buddhistic texts in Old Javanese specifically dealing with *winaya* regulations are not known to the present author.

83. *Iṣhāna-Bajra*: v. canto 20—1—2, mentioned in O.J.O. no 62, a charter of 963 *Shāka*, 1041 A.D., discussed in TBG 55, 1913, p. 588—591, Kern VG VII, p. 102—114.
84. *Naditaṭa*: v. cantos 12—1—3, 64—3—3 and 78—4—3, and commentary.
85. *Mukuh* (to be emended: *Mungguh*, v. glossary).
86. *Sambang* (In O.J.O. no 111 *mpungku* Samba is mentioned).
87. *Tajung* (to be emended: *Tañjung*, v. 76—1—2 and glossary).
88. *Amērtasabhā* (In the *Pararaton*, p. 31—25, *Amarasabhā* is mentioned: a domain of Bhre Tumapēl, 1349 *Shāka*, 1427 A.D.).
89. *Bangbangir*, perhaps to be identified with modern Bangil.
90. *Boddhimūla* ?

91. Waharu, mentioned often: O.J.O. no 30, 31, 38, 42, 53, 117, and K.O. no 8, situated near Singasari.
92. Tampak Duri ?
93. Paruha, v. canto 64—4—3.
94. Tanḍara ?
95. Kumuda-Ratna ?
96. Nandi-Nagara ?
97. Wungañjaya ?
98. Palaṇḍit (To be emended: Walaṇḍit, according to Brandes, Not. B.G. 1899, p. 97; mentioned in O.J.O. no 38, 39, 43, 51, situated near Singasari. In a charter found in Iawajati the *Ithaḍra* i *Walaṇḍit* is mentioned. The name might survive in the modern Mēṇḍit, Wēṇḍit. The watering-place Burēng (v. canto 35—4—4, 37—7—4 and 38—1—1) is supposed to be situated near Wēṇḍit).
99. Tangkil: v. canto 76—4—4.
100. Asah ?
101. Samīci ?
102. Apitahēn ?
103. Nairañjana (mentioned in K.O. no 22, 861 *Shāka*, 939 A.D., a charter of *mpu* Siṇḍok for the benefit of *mpuku* i *Nerañjana*; also mentioned in O.J.O. no 55).
104. Wijaya-Waktra ?
105. Magēneng ?
106. Poyahan ?
107. Bala Masin ?
108. Krat ?
109. Lēmah Tulis, v. Lēmah Citra, canto 68—2—2 and Lēmah Surat, canto 76—3—3.
110. Ratna-Pangkaja, v. canto 17—10—3 and 20—2—2.
111. Panumbangan (Perhaps to be identified with Plumbangan in the Blitar district, mentioned in O.J.O. no 69).
112. Kahuripan, v. glossary.
113. Ketakī ?
114. Talaga-Jambala ?
115. Jungul ?
116. Wishnu-Wāla. The note of canto 77—2—4: addition (*panēwēh*) is to be connected with the history of Wishnu-Rare, mentioned in canto 61—1. *Wāla* (Skt *bāla*) and *rare* (modern Javanese *lare*) are synonyms.
117. Buḍur. The modern name of the world-famous Central Javanese

stāpa Bārā-Buḍur contains the element Buḍur. Probably several places mentioned in the rest of the list are situated in Central Java, till the 11th or 12th century the centre of the ancient Mataram dynasty (v. Bosch, on the Kadi Luwih inscription of 956 A.D., Not. B.G. 1920, p. 52, and Stutterheim, T.B.G. 67 1927, p. 182).

118. Wirun ?
119. Wungkulur (Stutterheim, T.B.G. 67 : Wungkuḍu : O.V. 1925, 42, and K.O. 1).
120. Mananggung (According to Bosch, Not. B.G. 1920, in Central Java).
121. Watu Kura, v. O.J.O. no 23 and 24. Rouffaer, in his Malakka paper, BKI 1921, p. 132, note 3, identified Watu Kura, "Tortoise-Rock" with Watu Paṭok in the north-west corner of the district of Pacitan, between the districts of Wānāgiri and Pānārāgā. Stutterheim, T.B.G. 67, p. 182, mentions Watu Kura in connection with King Balitung.
122. Bajrāsana ?
123. Pajambayan ?
124. Samalantēn ?
125. Simapura (Stutterheim, T.B.G. 67, p. 183 : Singhapura, in O.V. 1925, 42).
126. Tambak Laleyan ?
127. Pilanggu (Stutterheim, T.B.G. 67, p. 183 : Pilang, in O.J.O. no 29 : 7).
128. Poh Aji ?
129. Wang Kali (Stutterheim, T.B.G. 67, p. 183 : Wēngkal, in K.O. I : 3 : 8).
130. Bēru ? (In canto 78—3—2 Baru is mentioned).
131. Lēmbah (Mentioned in a charter of 1216 *Shāka*, 1294 A.D., situated between Kēḍung Pēluk and Kapulungan).
132. Dalinan (Stutterheim, T.B.G. 67, p. 183 : Dalinan in K.O. I and O.V. 1925, 41).
133. Pangadwan ?

Canto 78, stanza 1. The list in this stanza of the friars' domains under the authority of the mandarin King's Servant (*mantri her-haji*)

is small. The friaries are said to have three characteristics: assemblies of divine abodes or statues (*pratiṣṭhasabhā*), ithyphallic sanctuaries (*lingga-praṇḍala*) and the title of grand-master (*mahāguru*) for their abbots (*sthāpaka*). Probably *pratiṣṭhasabhā* is the name of an assembly of rather small stone statues put in a row or in a circle in the open air in a sacred place under high trees such are still found sporadically in modern Javanese village sanctuaries (*pṛṇḍen*) in the hills. Pañcod, a village on the western slope of mount Lawu and Bumi-Ayu, in the Brébès district, are to be mentioned in this connection. The style of the statues belonging to this group has been called l'olynesian by Dutch scholars in order to distinguish it from the Hindu-Javanese style of regular divine statues. Probably even in the 14th century the names of the deified ancestors or divine beings for whom the statues were originally erected were forgotten. Perhaps they used to be identified with Indian gods and goddesses. Certainly neither Pañcod nor Bumi-Ayu (not to mention the distant Baduwi community in Bantén [v. Geise]) could be identified with any friary in the list of canto 78. The probability of some connection is to be kept in mind, though, Iconoclastic Islam may have destroyed many sanctuaries of this kind, so in former times their number in the Javanese hills probably was greater than it is now.

Combination of a statues' assembly with an ithyphallic sanctuary in the same place seems possible. Perhaps the word *len* (and also, otherwise) points to a differentiation of two groups, though. Rural ithyphallic sanctuaries have been discussed in the commentary on canto 32, the Royal visit at Sāgara. Though Sāgara itself did not belong to the friaries of canto 78—1, being mentioned in canto 78—7, some resemblance between sacred places under Court authority and wholly independent (*swatantra*) places of friars and sisters such as the "Four Ash-marks" (*caturbhasma*) and the "Four Hermitages" (*catur-dhrama*) communities seems probable. Certainly a popular kind of Shiwaism (adapted to native Javanese social and cosmic classificatory thinking) was professed by all friars. *Lingga-yoni* sets (in the Nāg. idiom called *lingga-praṇḍala*) have been found in Java in quantities. Probably still more have been changed in after times beyond recognition, being utilized for household ends (*yonis* for rice pounding blocks, *linggas* for house foundations).

The grand-master (*mahāguru*) title for priors resembles the *dewa-guru* (divine master) title mentioned repeatedly in the Tantu Panggè-laran as belonging to chiefs of friaries of the Sāgara type. The

connection between the two groups, the Court friaries of canto 78—1 and the independent ones of canto 78—7 is apparent.

In canto 78—1 the following friaries (group 7, Shiwaite *karṣyans*) are mentioned by name.

134. Sumpud ?
135. Rupit (P'orbatjaraka remarks that Rupit is mentioned in the Calon Arang legend edited by him. As the Calon Arang legend and the Tantu P'anggēlaran have belief in popular Shiwaism in common, Rupit's appearance in one text confirms its classification in the friary group which is especially discussed in the other).
136. Pilan ?
137. Pucangan (Probably connected with King Erlangga's ancient hermitage in the P'enangungan massif, mentioned by Kern, V.G. VII, p. 113).
138. Jagaddhita ?
139. Pawitra, v. canto 58—1—3, Bētra. Pawitra is mentioned in the Tantu P'anggēlaran.
140. Butun (Perhaps Butun is to be emended Buwun, a sanctuary in the district of Surabaya, mentioned in canto 17—5—4. If the supposition about Buwun ("Well") being an ancient local sanctuary sacred to the chthonic powers is correct, its place with the friaries where popular Shiwaism was professed is not to be wondered at).

Perhaps the seven Shiwaite friaries under Court authority mentioned in this stanza were guardians of the religious tradition of the age of the ancient semi-legendary King Erlangga who flourished about three centuries before the time of King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit.

Canto 78, stanza 2. In this stanza the difference between the free (not Royal) domains (*dharma*) under Court guardianship (*rinakṣa*) and the independent (*swatantra*) estates (*śīma*) mentioned in the next stanzas is accentuated. The estates are subdivided into several groups. The three groups (no's 8, 9 and 10) mentioned first are called offshoots (*anḡhura*) or dependencies, members (*anḡsha*). Probably they were originally waste lands settled by people coming from older religious domains, either Shiwaite or Buddhist or friars. By right the colonies

of course belonged under the jurisdiction of the mother-domains. As the mother-domains were under the authority of a Court official (either a Court bishop or the mandarin King's Servant) the offshoots were indirectly under that authority too. But then in the 14th century or before several settlements seem to have made themselves independent, no longer acknowledging their bond with the mother-domain and so flouting the Court bishops' authority. In the commentary on chapter 4 some instances of Buddhist members (*angsha*) escaped from their rightful abbots' jurisdiction have been discussed. The offshoots' and members' characteristic: not owning divine abodes or statues (*tan apratiṣṭhā*) is in accordance with their acquired laical outlook on life.

Group 8: Shiwaite offshoots.

141. Bangwan ?
142. Tungkal ?
143. Siddhayātra (Krom points out a Siddhayoga, mentioned in O.J.O. no 51, in the district of Singasari).
144. Jaya ?
145. Siddhahajōng. Probably the modern Sidayu, on Java's North coast, was called originally Siddhahayu, which is synonymous with Siddhahajōng. Sidayu is mentioned in the Karang Bōgēm charter, edited in the present book.
146. Lwah Kali ?
147. Twas. Kern's translation: Twas-Washiṣṭa, "Heart of a Washiṣṭide, or Heart of Washiṣṭa" is improbable. No doubt Twas is to be connected with *tṛas*, found in ancient charters: the sacral centre of a rural community. Twas Washiṣṭa might be the name (Kern's opinion), but no parallels of such a name are known to the present author. The words *tṛas*, *twas*, *tyas*, *tos* are not discussed in the present commentary.
148. Wāshiṣṭa ?
149. Palah, v. canto 61—2—2, the great Panataran complex. Indeed in that place no divine statue has been found. As Palah-Panataran was independent (*swatantra*) its functioning as a central sanctuary of the realm (Stutterheim's opinion) is improbable. Its origin (according to 14th century Majapahit Court records) as an offshoot of a still older religious domain is a surprise, though.
150. Padar ?
151. Siringan ?

Canto 78, stanza 3, group 9: Buddhist dependencies.

152. Wañjang ?
153. Bajrapura ?
154. Wanora ?
155. Makëduk ?
156. Hantën (Hari, which is synonymous with Hantën, appears in several names, v. glossary).
157. Guhã ?
158. Jiwa ?
159. Jumpt (Jumpt is mentioned in a charter, O.J.O. no 111; v. *jumpt* in the glossary).
160. Shobha ?
161. Pamuntaran ?
162. Baru (Baru is mentioned in O.J.O. no 60, probably it was situated near Surahaya. Cf. Darbaru, canto 35—2, and *baru*, glossary. Bëru is mentioned in canto 77—3—3).

Group 10: friaries' offshoots.

163. Kajar ?
164. Dāna Hañar ?
165. Turas ?
166. Jalagiri, v. canto 17—1—2, not far from Majapahit.
167. Cēṇṭing ?
168. Wēkas ?
169. Waṇḍira ?
170. Waṇḍayan ?
171. Gatawang ?
172. Kulampayan ?
173. Tāla.

Though in the case of the rest of the groups, no 11—19, the qualification *swatantra* is only repeated once it seems certain all of them are to be considered both free (*lèpas, luput*, not connected with the Royal Family's ancestor worship) and independent (*swatantra*, not under any Court officer's authority). The estates of the next groups, no's 11 and 12, seem to be wholly secular, without close connection with any religious community. The possibility of domains and estates of different kinds being situated together in one place or district is to be borne in mind, though.

Canto 78, stanza 4, group 11: places of Royal kinsmen.

174. Dharmārṣi ?
175. Sawungan, v. canto 18—6—2. It was situated near Bangil. Prapañca visited some relatives there.
176. Bēlah ?
177. Juru ?
178. Siddha ?
179. Sranṅa, v. canto 76—2 and canto 76—3.
180. Waduri (Probably Skt. *waiḍūrya*).
181. Agēlan ?
182. Gandha Kērēp ?
183. Harashāla ?
184. Nampu ?

Group 12: regular estates.

Probably the "fixed" (*apagēh*) estates (*sīma*) mentioned in canto 78—4 (group 12) belonged to secular lairds of manors (*akuwu*), independent country gentlemen. Certainly in the 14th century Majapahit realm their number was considerably more than the ten estates mentioned in canto 78. Perhaps the ten estates were considered the most important ones, either for their age and political past or for their extension and wealth. Being not especially interested in political history the poet does not give any information on this point.

185. Sīma (Sīma is mentioned in canto 17—4—2, it was situated near Majapahit. The possibility that the correct reading is Sīma Nadi, in contradistinction from Sīma Kiyal, is to be kept in mind, though).
186. Nadi, v. cantos 12—1—3, 64—3—3, 77—1—2, and glossary (Perhaps in canto 78—4 Sīma Nadi is to be read, v. the preceding Sīma).
187. Abhaya ?
188. Tiyaṅ ?
189. Pakuwukan ?
190. Sīma Kiyal ?
191. Shuci ?
192. Kawiri ?
193. Barat (In a charter of King Erlangga, O.J.O. no 62, Barat is mentioned as a conquest).
194. Kacapangan ?

Probably the difference between Royal kinsmen (*kadang haji*) and lairds of manors (*akuwu*), seen from an economic point of view, was not great. For that reason their estates (*kakadanghayan* and *simapagèh*) are mentioned together in one stanza.

Canto 78, stanza 5. This stanza again combines two groups of lands (no's 13 and 14). Their common characteristic seems to be their belonging to people professing two minor religious beliefs, as seen from the Majapahit Court point of view: Wishnuism and ancient Spirit worship. In the present book the interesting history of Javanese Wishnuism is not to be discussed at length. The celebrated ancient King Erlangga was a Wishnuite. The relation in the 14th century between the venerated brahminical Wishnuite priest at the Majapahit Court (v. canto 83--3) and the Wishnu-family estates is not clear. Perhaps the families owning the estates were non-brahminical, settled there from time immemorial (*apagèh*).

Group 13: Wishnu family estates.

195. Kalating ?

196. Batwan (In a Singasari charter, O.J.O. no 38, Batwan is mentioned).

197. Kamangsyang ?

198. Batu ?

199. Tanggulyan ?

200. Dakulut ? (cf. glossary *kulut*, *kalutent*).

201. Galuh. In a charter, O.J.O. no 62, Galuh, just like Barat, is mentioned as a conquest of King Erlangga. Jung-Galuh, i.e. Hujung Galuh, "Cape Galuh", was the last Kaḍiri King Aji Katong's place of exile after his defeat at the hands of the Emperor Kublai Khan's Chinese warriors (Pararaton p. 24—32, cf. commentary on canto 17—5—3). Some Kaḍiri Kings were Wishnuites. Galuh is a well-known name in Javanese legendary history (v. Tantu Panggèlaran).

202. Makalaran ?

No doubt the Divinity's servants (*hulun hyang*) mentioned in this stanza are referred to again in canto 79—1. In the Walaṅḍit charter (edited in the present book) the same term is used. As no clear description of a *hulun hyang* community is available, by way of guess the name Divinity's servants is taken to refer to the worship of Spirits. Perhaps

in the 14th century in the Javanese hills isolated communities worshipping local Spirits of mountains, sources or rivers were found, who were steadfast in refusing to identify the objects of their cults with any of the great Indian gods, e.g. Shiwa, Lord of Mountains. No doubt identification of native local cults with Shiwa worship was the making of many pre-Muslim sacred places in Java. The Tantu P'anggèlaran contains several legends that only can be interpreted satisfactorily by assuming such an identification. Nevertheless some communities of Spirit worshippers might prefer to remain faithful to their own particular native tutelary godling. Though among the eight *hulun hyang* communities mentioned in canto 78—5 none can be identified with any certainty with the modern Těnggēr villages some relationship by common religious and social conservatism seems probable. The superficially Hinduized and non-Muslim Těnggēr mountaineers worship the Spirit of the Brāmā volcano in the northern offshoots of the Sumeru massif. In the 14th century similar communities living in districts impressive by the grandeur of their scenery may have kept up ancient local cults and customs in the same spirit of conservatism as possessed the Těnggērese.

Měḍang is an old name in legendary history and myth specifically given to places of origin or first settlement. Krom points to Měḍang, supposedly the capital of the ninth century Mataram kingdom in Central Java. In canto 78—5 *měḍang* corresponds with *hila-hila* (taboo, tabooed) in canto 79—1. Therefore sacred land seems an adequate rendering of *měḍang*.

Group 14: Divinity's servants' sacred lands.

203. Parung (In K.O. no 16 the *Bhaḍāra* (divine Lord) of Parung is mentioned).
204. Lunggé (In Pararaton, p. 25—27 an earthfall (*guntur*) at Lunggé, or, perhaps, of mount Lunggé, in 1233 Shāka, 1311 A.D., is mentioned. Krom's proposed identification of Lunggé with Lung, mentioned in Par. p. 31—14, seems doubtful).
205. Pasajyan ?
206. Kēlut ?
207. Andēl Mas ?
208. Paraḍah. The Praḍah charter issued by the ancient King Siṇḍok is transcribed in O.J.O. no 48. It contains the word *Bēsnaḥa*: Wishnuite (perhaps a name). The modern Praḍah is situated in the Kaḍiri district. In the Loḍaya jungle a sacred gong called

Pradaḥ is worshipped. Perhaps the name is to be associated with Bharada, Werdah, Mërdah, v. *Volksvertoningen*, par. 458, and Berg's *Rijksdeling*, p. 198).

209. Gëwëng ?

210. Pangawan (In a charter O.J.O. no 38 Pangawan is mentioned as a *kahyangan*, a Spirit's abode, near Singasari).

No doubt the note of canto 78—5—1: free from olden times (*luput ring dangu*) refers to the great age of the sacred lands belonging to group 14.

Canto 78, stanza 6. In this stanza two minor groups (no's 15 and 16) are mentioned without lists of names. Apparently the places or estates belonging to these groups were on the one hand numerous, on the other hand socially and economically unimportant, at least as seen from the Majapahit Court's point of view.

Group 15: artisans' places (*kalagyan*), Shiwaitic.

The rendering of *kalagyan* and *ungguaning lumagi-lagi* by artisans' places is hypothetical. It is founded on the meaning of *lagi*: being busy with any work, and on the sequence *kalang kalagyan kabanyagan*: presumably: places of traders, artisans and merchants, found in an old charter (O.J.O. I, p. 151). Some connection with *uṇḍahagi* (found in the Tantu Panggelaran) and modern Javanese *uṇḍagi*: craftsman, especially carpenter, seems plausible.

Probably in the 14th century in the Javanese countryside beside agricultural communities, estates and religious domains also small boroughs inhabited by tradespeople were found, comparable with the *desa karang kopèk*: village communities with (merely) compounds (without cultivated lands, at least without *sawahs*, terraced and irrigated fields) still known in modern Java. Just as in modern Java, so too in the 14th century people living in close borough communities plying their trades tended to a strict observance of religious rites: in modern times Muslim, in former times Hinduistic. Perhaps some pre-Muslim artisans' boroughs survive in communities of tradespeople like the *kalangs'* places described in the encyclopedic poem Cēṇṭini as centres of Javanistic Muslim mysticism and old-fashioned religious lore. The remark in canto 78—6 about the *kalagyans* being enclaves (*anḍlat*) found in all districts (*deshā*) is perfectly comprehensible assuming that they were traders' and artisans' boroughs.

Probably the isolation of artisans' places (small boroughs or detached compounds) in the midst of agriculturists' communities, domains and estates in the Javanese countryside is a consequence of the ancient connection of arts and crafts with sacred lore and religious worship. Originally the artisans' work was meant in the first place to supply articles for sacral use. Professional knowledge was kept secret, only to be transmitted orally from father to son. The artisans performed special religious ceremonies in connection with their trades. Close contact with craftsmen was considered dangerous for uninitiated people.

In Royal charters from the 10th century up to the Majapahit era lists of *mangilala dĕrweya haji*, collectors of the King's due are found (v. comm. Ferry and Biluluk charters). Several arts and crafts are mentioned in those lists. Probably in the 14th century the institution of the King's due was antiquated. In some cases it was replaced by a kind of tax. The artisans' isolation in the 14th century East Javanese countryside might be a survival of their special legal status in former centuries under the *mangilala dĕrweya haji* regulation, which was founded on ancient belief in the fundamental connection of art and religion (v. recapitulation, chapter one).

Group 16: manses, halls (*kufi*), Buddhistic.

Probably the *kalang-kalagyan-kabanyagan* places were (considered as) Shiwaitic. In cantos 76, 77 and 78 as a rule the sequence Shiwaitic-Buddhistic is observed. Therefore the halls (*kufi*) mentioned in canto 78—6—2 (group 16) are to be considered as places of Buddhists, which corresponds with the use of the word in other cantos (v. gl.). In some cases the special Buddhistic character of the *kufis* might be lost, though. Probably their low place nearly at the end of the list of 19 groups is an indication of the low esteem they were held in. Perhaps many Buddhistic halls or manses were small and unimportant places as seen from a social and economic point of view.

The difference between the Buddhistic places (*kasangghikan*, belonging to the *sanggha*, the Buddhistic congregation) and the artisans' boroughs (*unggwan ing lumagi-lagi*) is explained in canto 78—6—3/4 as a difference in law: the Buddhistic places possessed lawful evidence (*bhukti*) of their rights, the boroughs just religiously practised their trades, performed their (special) ceremonies and kept their vows (*kriyā brata*). From the stress put on this differentiation might be inferred that Buddhistic halls or manses (*kufi*) and Shiwaitic artisans' boroughs

(*kalagyan*) had something in common too. Perhaps some *kufis* were partly inhabited by tradespeople. Apparently it was the Buddhist poet's concern to make clear the Buddhist *kufis'* loyalty towards the Court (that gave them their *bhukti*) in contradistinction to the independent attitude of the Shiwaitic artisans.

Canto 78, stanza 7. The three groups (no's 17, 18 and 19) mentioned in the last stanza of canto 78 are distinguished (by *len*: otherwise) from the preceding groups. As they are not again referred to in canto 79 where the Royal land-revision is described probably Court authority had little influence on them, and Royalty did not impress them very much. In the commentary on the description of King Hayam Wuruk's visit at Sāgara the King's respectful behaviour in the holy Master's presence has been pointed out. The Tantu Panggĕlaran being especially concerned with the sacred-ring communities (*maṇḍala*) mentioned in canto 78—7 does not pay much attention to Princes and courtiers. Probably the two groups of four sacred communities and the *janggans* were socially and religiously so far outside the Court sphere that the poet's mentioning their mere names seemed sufficient.

Nevertheless in popular religious thought the sacred-ring communities certainly were important. Both in the Tantu Panggĕlaran and in the first part of the Pararaton they are mentioned repeatedly. The reference to ancient order (*pārwaśhiti*) in canto 78—7—1 proves their great age in the opinion of Majapahit courtiers. Like the *janggans* the *maṇḍalas* were intimately connected with agriculture (*maṅgāśhrayeng thāni*), and so with the common people in the countryside.

The number of four found in both groups (*caturbhasma* and *caturāśhrama*) might be connected with the primeval social and cosmic classification that was paramount in Javanese thought. In *Javaanse Volksvertoningen* the importance of the quadripartite classification system has been pointed out repeatedly, i.a. in relation with a sequence of four masked dances, representing the four parts of primeval tribal society and cosmos. Though evidence is lacking, the twice four sacred-ring communities might also represent the members of a primeval quadripartite-octopartite social classification system.

In canto 78—7—1/2 the sacred-ring communities Mūla Sāgara ("Old Sāgara") and Kukub seem to be distinguished from the younger *maṇḍalas* Sukayajña and Kasturi. *Mūla*, origin, is connected with the name *kamulan* for a group of sanctuaries mentioned in one of King Erlangga's charters (O.J.O. no 61). *Bhasma*, ash-mark put on the face

or the body, is found in the Tantu Panggëlaran too. The note: according to the friars (*ling sang rëshi*) accentuates the Buddhist Court poet's profession of ignorance about the customs and beliefs of the *maṇḍala* people.

Group 17: "Four Ashmarks" sacred-ring communities:

- 211. Sāgara, v. cantos 32, 33, 34 (repeatedly mentioned in the Tantu Panggëlaran).
- 212. Kukub (repeatedly mentioned in the Tantu Panggëlaran).
- 213. Sukayajña (mentioned in the Tantu Panggëlaran).
- 214. Kasturi (mentioned in the Tantu Panggëlaran).

The reason why the members of the *caturbhasma* group in canto 78—8 are called sacred-ring communities does not appear clearly either in the Tantu Panggëlaran or in other texts where the word *maṇḍala* is found. Most probable seems the supposition of the existence of sacred, tabooed rings being the central sanctuaries of the communities of this group. The Tantric sacred ring made by learned Court priests mentioned in canto 64—4 and the ancient rural worship of the *maṇḍala* people might have more in common than meets the eye, namely the idea of cosmic unity. Whereas the Tantric *maṇḍalas* of Greater India are pretty well known, parallels of the supposed circular sanctuaries in 14th century rural Java perhaps should be sought in distant islands in the Pacific.

The "Four Hermitages" group (*caturāshrama*) are mentioned in canto 66—3—3 on the occasion of the *Rājapatni*'s *shrāddha* ceremony where the Tantric *maṇḍala* was a prominent feature. This can not be a coincidence. The relationship of the great *shrāddha* ceremony with ancient Javanese beliefs and native shamanistic practices has been pointed out in the commentary on chapter 9. The *caturāshrama* people seem to have had the function of rural priests. They are mentioned again in canto 81—2—3, joined with the *caturbhasma*. In the Tantu Panggëlaran the name *katyāgan*, places of recluses, is given to the same four communities as mentioned in canto 78—7—3, but then their sequence is different.

Group 18: "Four Hermitages", places of recluses.

- 215. Pacira.
- 216. Bulwan.
- 217. Luwanwa (In the Tantu Panggëlaran: Hulu Wanwa, Luwano).
- 218. Kupang.

In the Tantu P'anggèlaran their sequence, well established in the text, is as follows:

Bulwan.
Kupang.
Luwano.
Pacira.

Comparing the two lists the Tantu P'anggèlaran sequence appears to be: 216 — 218 — 217 — 215. This remarkable cross-relation in sequences has been pointed out in other cases where a group of four units apparently had a cosmic significance, e.g. in the case of the masked dances discussed in *Javaanse Volksvertoningen*, and in the case of the four vice-royalties of the Majapahit realm. The supposition that the *caturāshrama* group is divided into four sub-groups in accordance with ancient social and cosmic classificatory thinking is rendered the more plausible by this remarkable cross-relation of the sub-groups. Moreover in canto 78—7—3 Pacira and Bulwan on one hand, Luwano and Kupang on the other, seem to be separated (by *mwang*) in the same way as Sāgara and Kukub in 78—7—1 are clearly distinguished from Sukayajña and Kasturi in 78—7—2.

In the last verse of canto 78 the great number and the variety of settlements or houses belonging to *katyāgan-caturāshrama* (and *maṇḍala-caturbhasma*) groups, and their dependence on agriculture for their livelihood is accentuated. As a rule ordained priests (*wiku*) were forbidden to work in the fields, so the "Four Ashmarks" and "Four Hermitages" people's interest in agriculture put them outside the sphere of the regular Court priesthood.

Group 19: rural doctors (*janggan*).

The *janggan*'s relation with agriculture is well established by a quotation from a Wariga (divination book) found in KBNW (sub *tampad*) to the effect that his office was to indicate (no doubt by means of divination and astrology) good, propitious moments for the beginning of agricultural activities. Probably in the 14th century *janggan* was the name for the rural doctor, astrologer and diviner who is called *dukun*, *dukun tani* or *dukun desa* in the modern Javanese idiom. In the Pacitan district's dialect *bərjangga* has been the name of the village diviner. Probably the words *janggan* and *bərjangga* are related to the Old Javanese *bhujangga* (rendered: ecclesiastical officer,

repeatedly found in the Nāg., v. glossary) and to the modern Javanese *pujangga*, a scholarly Court poet. In the present commentary on the Nāg. the etymology of these words is not to be discussed at length. Derivation from Sanskrit *bhujaga* (*bhujangga*: snake) is rendered dubious by the *janggan*'s native Javanese function. Contamination of Sanskrit *bhujaga* with an old word (perhaps related to *jaga*: to observe) seems a more plausible solution.

The last words of canto 78 referring to the *janggan*: officiating to the world (*prasiddhṅ jagat*) accentuate once more the difference between the public, the common people, the outside world, that is served by the rural doctor and the Court that is above believing in the simple country diviner's sayings.

The charter of Patapan of 1385 A.D. (edited and translated in the present book) was issued for the benefit of a family of *janggans*. Evidently this family, land-owners in the country, was of enough consequence at Court (and had sufficient means) to persuade the Shiwaite bishop Rājaparākrama to give an official rescript in their favour. Perhaps the case of the Patapan *janggans* is exceptional. The place at the bottom of the list of canto 78, and the fact that the rescript is issued by the bishop, not by a member of the Royal Family or by the King himself, suggest that as a rule *janggans* did not keep up close relations with Royalty and the Court. It is possible that as a reward for a successful cure a *janggan* sometimes was given land property (v. comm. Decree Jaya Song and Patapan charter).



VII. A WOMAN COOKING RICE, SEE P. VIII.

CHAPTER 13 - ORGANIZATION OF THE CLERGY AND ROYAL AUTHORITY.

Cantos 79—82, 14 stanzas.

The list of domains of chapter 12 is followed up by a description of the beautiful order in ecclesiastical and social matters resulting from the Royal Family's asserting their influence. The registration of domains and estates of different kinds mentioned in canto 79 served the end of giving the rural clergy and gentry an interest in the Court's paramountcy by showing them the Royal Family's willingness to consider their established rights and to defend them against usurpation. The repeated mention of the Rājapatiguṇḍala, Royal regulation, in the chapters 13 and 14 draws attention to the reign of law and order under the Royal administration. Though Gajah Mada is not mentioned any more in the poem the excessive glorification of the Royal Family in the last chapters seems expressive of the relief felt in ecclesiastical Court circles after the autocratic and warlike grand-vizir's demise.

Canto 79, stanza 1. Six groups of domains or estates are mentioned corresponding with fifteen headings found in chapter 12:

<i>dharma</i> s (religious domains)	: cantos 76, 77 and 78—1, under the headings 1 — 7.
<i>sīma</i> s (estates)	: canto 78—2, 3, 4, under the headings 8 — 12.
<i>wangśha</i> s (family-lands)	: canto 78—5, under the heading 13: Wishnu's family.
<i>hila-hila hulun hyang</i> s (sacred lands of Spirits' servants)	: canto 78—5, under the heading 14.
<i>kupis</i> (halls)	: canto 78—6, under the heading 16.
<i>kalagyana</i> s (artisans' places)	: canto 78—6, under the heading 15.

The sacred-ring communities (*maṇḍala*), hermitages (*katyaṅga catur-āshrama*) and rural doctors or diviners (*janggan*) mentioned in canto

78—7 under the headings 17—19 are excluded from the registration in canto 79—1. What is known from the Tantu Panggĕlaran about the sacred-ring communities and the recluses' places warrants the supposition that they were outside the Court sphere and so the Court registration did not reach them. Probably the case of the Patapan *janggans* mentioned in the commentary on canto 78—7 was an exception.

Perhaps the legal evidence (*pramāṇa*) mentioned in canto 79—1 was not in all cases a Royal charter (*prashāsti*). The renovation of Royal charters is referred to in canto 73—2. Probably many ecclesiastical and gentlemen's families in the country could not produce Royal charters to prove their rights to the lands they lived on. No doubt oral tradition 'from time immemorial' (as the text of King Hayam Wuruk's Decree Jaya Song, edited in the present book, has it) as stated by the neighbours was accepted as sufficient proof by the Court commissioners.

The censure (*siku*, if that is the right reading) given people who could not prove their presumed rights on their lands to the commissioners' satisfaction entailed reduction to the state of bondmen (*bhĕr-tya*). As the Royal Family and the Court depended largely upon revenues from lands cultivated by their bondmen certainty as to the extent of bondmen's lands and limitation of domains and estates were alike in the Royal interest. Though as a rule ecclesiastical domains and Royal kinsmen's estates were strongholds of loyalty to the dynasty they did not contribute regularly in kind to the support of the Royal compound and the manors of Majapahit.

The Honourable Rāmādhiraṇja who decided on the landed clergy's and gentry's claims to Court acknowledgment is mentioned in canto 63—3 as the principal of the mandarins in charge of cultivated lands (*mantri asuruhan thani*). The social position of this group of mandarins has been discussed in the commentary on chapter 9. Rāmādhiraṇja's activity in the Court's interest limiting the number of domains and estates as being not essential to the support of the Court, and adding to the expanse of bondmen's lands yielding revenue in kind, is in accordance with his sitting on the committee of ways and means for the Rājapatni's *shrāddha*-celebration.

Canto 79, stanza 2. Whereas Rāmādhiraṇja's examination of claims of ownership probably took place in Majapahit, messengers (*utusan*) of

the Princes of Wēngkēr and Singasari scoured the country to make notes of districts and rural communities (*ḍapur*). In the commentary on canto 40—4 the difference between *ḍapurs* and *kuwas* (gentlemen's manors) is associated with the ancient antithesis Janggala-Kaḍiri. In fact in canto 79 *desha* (district) seems to refer especially to domains and estates belonging to ecclesiastical people and gentlemen, and they are put under the supervision of the Prince of Wēngkēr who represents the western part of the realm, Kaḍiri. The Janggala part is represented by the Prince of Singasari who supervises the rural communities.

The difference between bondmen (*bhīrtya*) belonging either to the Royal Family or to other masters, and rural communities (*ḍapur*), free and independent, the compeers of ecclesiastical domains and gentlemen's estates, appears clearly from canto 79. Whereas the people of rural communities, surviving in modern Javanese and Balinese villages with democratic institutions, lived organized in their own social and religious cadres the bondmen were (as a consequence of various circumstances) ousted from their original social organization and incorporated as retainers in the household of their masters. As far as they were Royal bondmen they had to look up to the King as their master, not as their sovereign. Bondmen belonging to other masters than the Royal Family probably had no direct relation with Royalty at all. The increase of the number of bondmen as a consequence of Rāmādhira's examination of legal proofs was an advantage for the King.

Patik-guṇḍala reminds one of a text called Rājapatiguṇḍala or -kuṇḍala (Skt.: ring), edited and translated as far as possible in the present book. Prb.'s opinion (BKI 80, p. 267) on the meaning of the name Patik-guṇḍala (connected according to him with Javanese *patik*: subject and *goṇḍəl*: to hold) seems improbable. An exact interpretation is as yet unknown, though. The corruption in the Nāg. text (also Pratiguṇḍala, v. glossary) points to an old name no longer understood even in the Majapahit period, for a text (or texts) on social and political order. Perhaps "the Illustrious Prince's *śhāsana*s (precepts)" of canto 79—2—4 is meant to be a paraphrase of the name. In the Leyden codex the Rājapatiguṇḍala (v. the edition) is found connected with several *śhāsana*s: Dewashāsana, Wratishāsana, Rēṣishāsana.

Complete identification of the Nāg. Patik-guṇḍala and Pratiguṇḍala with the Rājapatiguṇḍala, ascribed to King Kērtanagara of Singasari, seems precarious. Perhaps the Nāg. poet only refers to (compilations of) regulations given in different reigns and in his time known at the Majapahit Court. Anyway the Rājapatiguṇḍala, edited in the present

book, can serve as an example of this kind of legal and administrative texts.

Probably in canto 79—2 the people's obedience is represented as a result of Princely activities in order to set off once again the salutary influence of the renovation of Royal authority.

Canto 79, stanza 3. The list of Buddhist sanctuaries in Bali and Sumatra is inserted in cantos 79 and 80 to draw attention to the Court's care for domains even outside Java. For the rest the list is a sequel to the great register of chapter 12. Sanctuaries situated on Madura are not mentioned in the Nāg., unless some of the unidentified places in canto 73—78 are situated on that island. Apparently in the Majapahit period Madura was simply considered as a part of Java.

In canto 79—3—2 the sequence *dharmā-grāma* (emendation for *grama*)-*kuwu* is found: ecclesiastical domains, village communities and gentlemen's manors. According to the Court poet those three groups included all inhabitants of the Javanese countryside living under the Royal authority. Evidently in this sequence *grāma* takes the place of *ḍapur* (elsewhere rendered: rural community). In canto 69—3—3 the pair *amātya-grāma*: well-born people and village communities, is found.

The two districts of Bali distinguished in canto 14—3—2, Baḍahulu and Lwā Gajah, had a Buddhist bishop each. The lack of both a Shiwaite bishop and a mandarin King's Servant (*mantri her-haji*) is remarkable. Judging from the information of canto 79 Majapahit Javanese rule in Bali was Buddhistic. Perhaps in the 14th century in Bali Court Buddhism professed by Javanese Royal servants and Javanized Balinese noblemen contrasted with Shiwaism and ancient belief popular with the native Balinese gentry and peasantry. The absence of a Shiwaite Court bishop in Bali might be accounted for by the supposed disloyalty of the Balinese Shiwaite clergy: perhaps they regretfully remembered their native Balinese Royal families who were ousted by the Javanese. The information on Buddhism in 14th century Bali as connected with Javanese rule is in accordance with cantos 16 and 68 where Buddhist priests sent by Royal order to the eastern islands are mentioned (the Bharāḍa-Kuturan legend). In modern times Shiwaism no doubt preponderates over Buddhism in Bali. But then the disintegration of the Javanese realm and the victory of Islam in the western islands from the 15th century onwards probably were disastrous especially for Court Buddhism, having no strong following among the common people. Perhaps the modern Javanese name for the

pre-Muslim period: Buddha-time (*jaman Buda*) is partly to be explained in this connection too. Buddhism was identified with the Majapahit Court and Javanese rule; the fall of the Javanese realm implied the decay of Buddhism, and so in after years Muslim Javanese took Buddhism for the religion of their forbears who were ruled by the great Majapahit Kings of yore.

Another explanation of the expression *jaman Buda* (in connection with the Tantric disposal of the dead, Buddhist "funeral masses", deemed characteristic of pre-Muhammadan times) has been mentioned in the commentary on canto 6.³ 2. The two explanations have in common the idea that to the speech-making community in the 16th and 17th centuries certain aspects of Tantric Buddhism (esoteric Court ceremonies, sumptuous and expensive funeral rites) were more characteristic of pre-Muhammadan religious and social life than the Shiwaitic cult and myth. In fact the great Lord of Mountains, Shiwa Javanized as Bhaṭāra Guru, and his divine Family, in Javanese popular belief survived the Holy One, Buddha and the Jinas. The Bhaṭāra Guru and Dewi Umā of the Taitu Panggëlaran and similar texts of the Majapahit age were Javanese of the Javanese, and remained so in modern times (in the *wayang* plays). For a long time they have not been specially characteristic of the pre-Muhammadan era, being rather considered as belonging to the Java of all times.

The Buddhistic domains in Bali were for the greater part places of the thunderbolt bearers (*bajradhara*), just as in Java. There was but one place of observers of the disciplinary regulations (*winaya*). The names of the domains manifest either their connection with the Javanese rulers or their recent foundation as a consequence of the Javanese conquest. They were meant to be strongholds of Javanese cultural and dynastic loyalty. Except perhaps Baḍung (if that is the right reading) the situation of the Buddhistic domains in Bali is unknown or uncertain. They seem to have left no clear traces in the country. Perhaps this fact is another indication of the ephemeral existence of Majapahit Court Buddhism in Bali.

Canto 80, stanza 1. The names of the Buddhistic domains in Bali are:

1. Kādhikāraṇan, *kabajradharan*, situation unknown, "Administration Place".

2. Kuṭi Hañar, *kabajradharan*, Tianyar, N.-E. Karang-Asēm (Lekkerkerker) "Newhall".
3. Pūrwanāgara, *kabajradharan*, situation unknown, "East-town" or "Origin-town".
4. Wihāra, *katwinayan*, "Monastery".
5. Baḍung: the modern Den Pasar.
6. Ādirājya, *kabajradharan*, situation unknown, "Beginning Royal Residence".
7. Kuturan, *kabajradharan*, v. canto 16—3—4, l'adang lay. S.-E. Karang-Asēm (Lekkerkerker).
8. Ārya Dadi, a hall or manse, situation unknown, "Developed Plain".
9. Rāja Sanmata, a hall or manse, situation unknown, "King's Delight".

Probably most domains had Balinese names too, and those names might survive till the present day. But then the Javanese Court poet did not mention Balinese names except in two cases: Kuturan and (perhaps) Baḍung.

In canto 80—2 Prb. recognized Lampung, i.e. South Sumatra. Probably the foundation of a Buddhist dominion with a Royal charter (*prashāsti*) in Lampung served the same end as similar foundations in Bali: consolidation of Javanese political and cultural interests. The remarkable fact of the specially mentioned laical officiant in the ceremonies (*bhūmishuddha* and *pratiṣṭhā*) is to be connected with the information of canto 16—2—3 about Buddhist ecclesiastical officers of the Majapahit Court not going to the West. Lekkerkerker's identification of Lampung with Lampuyang in eastern Bali (Gedenkschrift 1926 R. Institute T., L. V. The Hague, p. 190) is not plausible. The reference to another country (*anyawasudhā*) after the mention of the places in Bali is clear.

The word *upāsaka*: Buddhist layman, is very seldom found in Old Javanese literature. The founder of the domain was the Princess of Jiwana (Kahuripan), the mother of King Hayam Wuruk who was four years old at the time (1338 A.D.). Perhaps the foundation in the distant western island was connected with King Kērtanagara's Sumatran expedition (v. canto 41—5). The famous Buddhist King Kērtanagara of Singasari was the Princess of Kahuripan's grandfather. Probably the Royal charter (*prashāsti*) with the year of its issue as mentioned in canto 80—2—2 was known to the poet, having read a copy of the

text in the Majapahit archives. The name Tathāgatapura and some other words perhaps are copied from the original text. This might be the explanation of the use in canto 80—2 of the learned Sanskrit words *upāsaka* and *gṛhasthadhara* (if that is the correct reading). The tentative rendering: land of pious householders, might refer to the laical character of the foundation (consecrated by a layman). Probably the domain was owned and ruled by a community professing a similar kind of Tantric Buddhism as the Javanese thunderbolt bearers who lived married according to custom (*bajradhara akrama*) mentioned in canto 77.

The situation of mount Sulang Iĕmah is unknown. *Bukit* is a Malay word: many Malay words were known by Majapahit intellectuals. As *sulang* means smoke in Malay Rouffaer advanced the opinion (in a handwritten note in his Nāg. copy) that the dead volcano Raja-Basa in South Sumatra formerly was called by that name.

The purpose of the Royal confirmation of legal instruments mentioned in canto 79 is made clear in this stanza: it was done in order to increase the number of families who, being under obligations to the Court, could be relied on as supporters of Royal authority in the country.

Canto 80, stanza 3. In canto 80—3, 4 and canto 81 the discussion of the Royal activities in behalf of dominions and estates (*dharma* and *śma*) either under Court bishops' supervision or independent (*swatantra*) is followed up by a note on Royal foundations of public utility (*kīrti*: roads, bridges, fountains and market-places), and by information on the protection of religious communities against usurpers. Probably knowledge of the sequence *dāna* (gifts), *kīrti* (public utility foundations), *puṇya* (good works) mentioned in canto 82—3 is presupposed in canto 80. The foundation of religious domains and estates probably consisted in fact in giving (*dāna*) the beneficiaries Royal support both material (labour of bondmen) and spiritual (a charter with the Royal names). Domains and estates have been discussed at length in chapter 12.

The shortness of the note on the public utility foundations in canto 80—3 is a consequence of the learned Court poet's lack of interest for those profane objects. No doubt in the Majapahit era roads and bridges were not constructed in quantities and qualities in any degree comparable with similar structures of modern times. Nevertheless the founders, both members of the Royal Family and gentlemen, were proud of them and so they expected posterity to remember their names

by their achievements. In King Hayam Wuruk's Decree Jaya Song (edited and translated in the present book) a pavilion in some sacred place founded by a gentleman as a *kirti* is mentioned. Being provided with a date hewn in stone the *kirti* served to prove the gentleman's family's ancient lineage. Perhaps the mention of Royal *kirtis* contains a reference to King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry Charter (also edited in the present book).

Canto 80, stanza 4. According to the poet King Hayam Wuruk's good works (*puṇya*), lastly, consisted in the protection given to religious communities and in the maintenance of social order (canto 81). As the practising of the anchorites' virtues was considered beneficial to the world the protection given the holy men was highly meritorious both religiously and socially. Perhaps this stanza contains a reminiscence of the story of Rāma's heroic defense of the hermits known from the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa. *Tapas* (anchorites) are frequently mentioned both in the Nāg. (Sāgara), in the P'araraton and in the Tantu l'anggēlaran (*taṭa* Wangkēng and *taṭa* l'alet). In canto 80—4 they are distinguished by the high-class pronoun *sira*, as a rule reserved for divine beings and Royalty. The King's majesty is enhanced by his having under his protection such illustrious men of religion.

Canto 81, stanza 1. Canto 81 contains a survey of the religious and social groups and classes ordered and protected by Royal authority as seen from the courtier's point of view. In the first half of the canto, two stanzas, the religious groups are mentioned, in the second half, also two stanzas, the classes of secular society.

The three denominations (*tripakṣa*) mentioned in the first stanza are the friars, Shiwaites and Buddhists (*rṣi-shaiwa-sogata*). The mention of the charters (*prashāsti*), the Patik-guṇḍala text (regulations), the lawbooks, doctrines and precepts refers to canto 79—1 and 79—2: the examination of rights. The words *adhigama* and *śāśana* appear in the names of well-known Old Javanese texts: Pūrwādhigama and Rēṣishāśana. Probably in the last verse of stanza 1 authoritative lawbooks of the Majapahit period are referred to.

Canto 81, stanza 2. In this stanza the (Wishnuite) brahmins (*wipra*) are added to the three denominations (*tripakṣa*) to make up

the four priesthoods (*caturdwija*). The addition is marked by the use of *mwang* (and) between *wipra* and the compound *rēṣi-shaiwa-sogata*. In fact, being foreigners or of foreign (Indian) extraction and considered by birth the native Javanese clergy's superiors, the brahmins may have been exempt from the examination of rights mentioned in canto 79. Probably they were not numerous in the Majapahit period. Their being added to the far more numerous native religious groups gratified the Javanese desire to have a quadripartite classification of the regular clergymen (*caturdwija*) in contradistinction to the quadripartite classification of popular anchorites (*caturāshrama*) and the quadripartite classification of social classes (*caturjana*). In canto 1—5—3 the four castes (*wipra-kṣatriya-waiśya-śūdra*) are mentioned in connection with the *caturāshrama*.

In canto 81—2 the regular clergy (*caturdwija*) and the popular anchorites (*caturāshrama*) are distinguished by their pursuits. The clergymen are said to mind their (respective systems of) wisdom (*widyā*), the other quartet is interested in vowed duties (*brata*) and religious works or rites (*kriyā*). Probably the in Java well-known *trikāya* (three bodies) classification determined that distinction, wisdom corresponding with the exalted *trikāya* component *manah* (mind), vowed duty with the medium component *wāk* (Skt. *vāc*: speech) and religious works with the inferior *kāya* (body). This classification is analogous to the sequence inferior-medium-superior (*niṣṭa-madhyama-uttama*) which has been mentioned in another place in the present commentary. In canto 81—2 its application accentuates the high appreciation at Court of the regular clergy (*caturdwija*) who cultivated wisdom and the lower appreciation of the popular anchorites (*caturāshrama*) who were only interested in vowed duties and religious works (*brata kriyā*). The *caturāshrama* and *caturbhasma* groups have been discussed at some length in the commentary on canto 78—7.

Canto 81, stanza 3. In the second half of canto 81 the classification of secular social groups (*caturjana*) is explained. Though well-known in Old Javanese literature the Indian system of four castes seems to have had no validity in actual life. Influence of the Indian system on the Javanese classification as explained in canto 81 stanzas 3 and 4 is undeniable, though.

Just like the religious groups mentioned in the first half of canto 81 the secular classes in the second half are distinguished according to rank. The first pair of *sujanma* groups correspond with the regular

clergy (*caturdwija*): they belong to the Court sphere, either thoroughly or superficially Hinduized. Perhaps the Javanese quadripartite classification of well-born groups did not strain the truth of actual social life in the Majapahit period very severely. Probably the reference in canto 81—3—I to precepts (*śāśana*) points to the existence of Old Javanese texts on behaviour suitable to each class. The addresses given by the Princes of Wēngkēr and Singasari and by King Hayam Wuruk himself to the assembled gentry on the occasion of the annual Court festival (v. cantos 88 and 89) might be related to the *śāśanas*. A *gunḍala* text (Royal regulations) is mentioned in canto 89—I, the Nawanatya in canto 91—8.

The four well-born classes (*caturjana*, *śujanma*) according to the Majapahit Court poet are:

1. mandarins (*mantri*); the two Honourables (*ārya*) are *pu* Tanḍing and *pu* Nāla, mentioned in canto 72.
2. noblemen (*kṣatriya*) and officers (*wali*).
3. lesser gentry (*waishya*).
4. common people (*śūdra*).

Being divine and exalted above mere humanity Royalty is not mentioned at all in this list.

The difference with the Indian four-castes system consist further in the substitution of the mandarins for the brahmins (who are classed with the religious groups, *caturdwija*) and the addition of the Javanese higher gentry (*wali*).

No doubt the word *kryan* (rendered: noble gentleman) is related to *rakryan*, the grand-vizir's predicate (*rakryan apatih*, rendered: Right Honourable). Probably *kryan* is to be identified with *ken*, an ancient Javanese predicate of nobility found i.a. in the Pararaton (*ken* Dēdēs, *ken* Angrok). As the *kryans* in canto 81—3 seem to be classed with the *kṣatriyas* who in the Majapahit period were Royal kinsmen this verse might prove of interest to determine some other predicates.

The *walis* (rendered: officers or higher gentry) are to be identified with the Balinese *pērbalis* (v. KBNW sub *bali*): "a class of people below the third and above the fourth caste, --- many *pēmēkēls* (chiefs of districts) belong to this class, and also *pasēks* are reckoned to belong to it". According to the KBNW "*pasēk* is the name of a class of people said to be descendants of the Dewa Agung" (the King of Klungkung, the suzerain of the other Balinese Kings) "by a *śūdra* (common)

woman; many *pasèks* are *mangkus* (guardians of village sanctuaries). They presume to be higher in rank than the *përbalis* and to belong really to the third caste".

The Majapahit classing of the *walis* with the *kṣatriyas* according to canto 81—3 is higher than the Balinese *përbalis*' rank between the *waishyas* and the *śūdras*. As social classing is a matter of historical development the identification of *walis* with *përbalis* is not rendered doubtful by the difference in standing. The Balinese *përbalis*' office: administration of districts is in accordance with the zeal in management (*yatineng naya*) attributed to the *walis*.

Van der Tuuk (KBNW sub *bali*) thought the *përbalis* were "ancient Balinese families to whom the Javanese immigrants became related by marriage in the course of time". Probably he connected the word with the name Bali. Kern's hypothesis is much more plausible. Translating *wali* by "peer" he points to a Macassarese word *bali* meaning: colleague or peer, a Malegasi word *vady* meaning wife, *vinady* meaning: married and a Mota word *qaliga* meaning: kinship, kin. Perhaps Old Javanese *wali* is related to common Javanese words like *bari*, *sẽmbari*, *barik* with meanings originating from the idea: equal, and to *palibaya* (v. gl.).

The note on the lesser gentry (*waishya*, third estate) refers to the spreading of gentlemen's manors (*kuwu*) all over the country. The mention of the common people (*śūdra*)'s own concerns (*suakārya*) is appropriate. Probably this note refers to customary ceremonies of agriculture. Perhaps the *Śrāwāṇa-Bhādra* cult of the Great Royal Lady (Mahārājapatni) mentioned in canto 69—3 is meant (v. commentary).

Canto 81, stanza 4. In accordance with the parallelism of the poem's structure the four groups of popular anchorites mentioned in canto 81—2 are given counterparts in the low-born people (*kujanma*) of canto 81—4. They are communities or classes living outside the Court sphere, only superficially touched by the influence of Hinduistic law and higher culture. The difference between the well-born classes (*caturjana sujanma*) of canto 81—3 and the low-born people is explained by the first four classes' having their origin from Holy Order (*hyang Widhi*). In the Nāg. idiom *widhi* seems to refer to cosmic and religious order as known from Indian religious literature. In modern Muslim Javanese *Widi* is used frequently as a synonym of Allah. The Indian identification of *Widhi* and *Brahma* is significant in this respect.

Probably the free going eventually allowed to people of the four well-born classes (*wēnang sagatya*; canto 81—4—2) refers to their

being admitted into Royal compounds (*ing pura*) by Princes' orders. As Prince (*narendra*) is used without any predicate (*Shri*, Illustrious) nor apposition (name of a kingdom) it is meant to refer in general to any Prince residing in any Royal compound. Probably from the admittance reserved expressly for people of the four well-born classes a ban on entering the Royal compound laid on low-born people is to be inferred. The three low-born classes *caṇḍāla*, *mleccha* and *tuccha* may have been to a certain degree "untouchable". They are distinguished from the well-born classes yet by another feature; whereas the *sujanmas'* good behaviour (*śīla*) is mentioned the *kujanmas* seem to have only customs (*krama*).

Caṇḍālas and *mlecchas* are mentioned in old charters (O.J.O. no 21, 998 A.D. according to Krom). In Old Javanese literature the words are found several times referring either to classes of people or to tribes. *Tuccha* seems to have only the meaning: good-for-nothing. In view of the accuracy of the poet's information (he mentions own particular customs, *swakrama*, of *caṇḍālas*, *mlecchas* and *tucchas*) mere meaningless copying of Indian lawbooks seems improbable. In 14th century Majapahit society the three names may have been given to well-known living groups of people. It certainly is a matter for regret that identification with groups or classes known from other sources as yet seems impossible. The triad of the low-born people (*kujanmatraya*) in contradistinction to the quartets of the other groups (*catur sujanma*, *caturāśrama*, *caturdwiija*) might be explained as non-conformity to cosmic order (*widhi*) which is pre-eminently quadratic.

Canto 82, stanza 1. In the last canto of chapter 13 the social and religious merits of others beside King Hayam Wuruk are briefly mentioned.

The word *kirti* in this stanza seems to be used ambiguously: both in the original sense of glory and in the secondary sense of foundation. Probably the King's resoluteness (*nora sandeḥa*) is mentioned in this connection as a consequence of the good example set by his "guardians" (*amwang*): his father the Prince of Singasari and his uncle-and-father-in-law the Prince of Wēngkēr.

The word *penan* of canto 82—1—4 is found also in canto 6—1—1 referring to King Hayam Wuruk's "brothers-in-law" the Princes of Paguhan and Matahun, who were his juniors (*pranuhā*, v. Notes,

vol. II). According to KBNW *penan* means aunt (Dutch: *tante*). Referring to the Javanese word *paman*: uncle, younger than father or mother, derived from a hypothetical *ama*, which survives in *rama*: father, Van der Tuuk mentions sub voce *penan*: Balinese *ina*: mother, "Alfuric", i.e. Minahassa languages *painan* and *inapatinañ*, Magindanao language *pakiinan*, Lanipung language *kaminan* and Makassarese *parina*. No doubt the terms of relationship of Indonesian languages deserve the attention of anthropologists. In the case of the Nāg. *penan* the translation "brother-in-law", sister's husband (including cousin-by-marriage, husband of mother's sister's daughter) seems clearly indicated by the context.

No doubt *dharma kushala* is to be identified with the well-known word *dharma* (religious domain) used in canto 82—2—1. In KBNW (sub *kushāla* and sub *subhikṣa*) both *dharmakushāla* and *kushāladharma* are mentioned referring to religious foundations or buildings. Perhaps the usual term *dharma* really is an abbreviation of either of these. The development of the meaning: religious domain is not to be discussed in the present commentary. Beside *kushāla* (written with a long *ā*) meaning: structure, *śālā* is mentioned in KBNW meaning: place of men of religion and *dharmashālā* as a gloss on *dharma*: religious domain.

Canto 82, stanza 2. The four members of the Royal Family who are referred to in canto 82—1 are called by name in the second stanza. They are the Princes of Singasari, of Wēngkēr, of Paguhan and of Matahun. Why the names of the latter two vice-regal provinces belonging to the King's brother-in-law and to his cousin-by-marriage are both disguised in this stanza is not clear. Disguises of this kind (Wilwa Tikta for Majapahit) are anyhow not unusual in Javanese literature. Whereas the solution of the riddle Watsari (Matahun, via Skt. *watsara* meaning: year, Javanese *tahun*) is easy, to find the title and the name of the Prince of Paguhan in *Buddhādhiṣṭhāna* is difficult. If instead of *Buddhādhiṣṭhāna* (which does not make good sense in this verse) *Śrī nāthe Sthāna* (the Illustrious Protector of Sthāna) is read, Sthāna (Skt.: standing-place) might be considered a disguise of Paguhan (probably a derivation of *pagēh*: fixed, immutable). In Malay *istana*, a modern form of Skt. *sthāna*, is the usual word for Royal compound or palace, also found occasionally as a place-name.

The expression: opened a domain (*anaruka dharma*) makes clear that in the Nāg. idiom *dharma* did not refer to any building only but

to the whole complex of (in many cases newly opened) cultivated lands of which the sanctuary with the priests' dwellings was the religious and administrative centre. Evidently in 1365 A.D. at the conclusion of the poem the opening of the domains was not yet finished. That is the reason why they are not mentioned in the list of chapter 12.

The four Princes' domains are:

Sagaḍā, situation unknown (according to Krom mentioned in the Wargasari text), belonging to the Prince of Singasari.

Shūrabhaṇa, mentioned in canto 62—2, modern Surawana in the district of Kaḍiri, belonging to the Prince of Wēngkēr.

Pasuruhan, mentioned in canto 35—1 without any reference to a religious domain, belonging to the Prince of Wēngkēr. As the Prince of Wēngkēr's domains were situated in the western, Kaḍiri districts of the realm the identification of the Pasuruhan of canto 82—2 with the well-known East Javanese district of canto 35—1 seems doubtful.

Pajang, the well-known western vice-regal province bordering on Wēngkēr. The name of the Prince of Wēngkēr's domain to be opened in that district is not mentioned.

Rawa, the word, meaning swamp, could be taken just as well for a common appellative noun as for the name of a locality. The official name of the Prince of Paguhan's domain is not mentioned.

Kapulungan, the well-known central district of the realm, mentioned repeatedly in the Nāg. No domain belonging to the Prince of Paguhan situated in Kapulungan is known, though.

Locanapura is an official, sacral name referring to the Tantric goddess Locanā mentioned in canto 43—6 in connection with the great Buddhist King Kērtanagara's queen Bajradewī. The situation of the Prince of Paguhan's domain of Locanapura is unknown.

Tigawangi, mentioned in the Pararaton, p. 30—21 as the place of the Prince of Matahun's funeral sanctuary. Tigawangi is situated near Surawana in the Kaḍiri district.

On the analogy of Tigawangi, by Pararaton evidence proved to be the place where the Prince of Matahun's remains were deposited after his death in 1310 Shāka (1388 A.D.), the other Princely domains might be surmised to be intended for funeral sanctuaries too. But then the places connected in the Pararaton with members of the Royal Family can only partly be identified with places mentioned in the Nāg. In the

case of King Hayam Wuruk's nearest relatives mentioned in canto 82—2 the attempts at identification are failures except for Tigawangi. Probably double or triple names for one locality are the cause of this confusion.

Assuming that the domains at least partly were intended for funeral purposes and ancestor worship after the death of their Princely founders the absence of domains ascribed to female members of the Royal Family is significant. No doubt in dynastic matters the Princesses of the Blood Royal, King Hayam Wuruk's mother, maternal aunt, sister and maternal cousin, were more important than their husbands who only were Prince-Consorts. If the Court poet nevertheless refrains from mentioning female domains the inference must be that the Princesses were economically and socially as a rule represented by their husbands. The probability that cremation of widows, sutteeism, was practised in the Majapahit era has been mentioned in the commentaries on cantos 46 and 67.

Probably the common people's contentment mentioned in canto 82—2 was a consequence of the expansion of arable land and the improvement of irrigation systems brought about by the land development under Royal and Princely authority. The construction of irrigation canals of any length particularly was well-nigh impossible without using organized groups of labourers. Probably Royal and Princely bondmen were called up for this end.

Canto 82, stanza 3. The meaning of *kĕrtawara* (rendered: distinguished) in the Nāg. idiom is made clear by the mention of Royal gifts of estates (*sinungan sima*). The cases of the grand-vizir Gajah Mada and Sir Nāla being given estates as rewards for their services have been mentioned in chapter 4. Rivalry in the construction of buildings for religious ends is nothing to wonder at.

In this stanza three kinds of religious structures are distinguished. *Caityas* (rendered: small sanctuaries, shrines) have been mentioned in canto 69—3 in connection with the cult of the *Rājapatni*, presumably identified with a primeval Ancestress, a chthonic goddess. Probably *caityas* were rather unobtrusive structures. *Prāsādas* (rendered: temple-towers) on the other hand were high buildings of the pagode type, abodes destined for celestial deities. The stress laid by *tapwa* (rendered: as a matter of fact) on the *caityas* and *prāsādas* in the mandarins' estates in contradistinction to the *linggas* (ithyphallic sanctuaries) is to be explained by the character of commonness inherent in the *lingga-*

prañāla cult, found everywhere. In canto 78—1 the ithyphallic sanctuaries are associated specially with the friars' communities which did not belong to the Court sphere.

Probably the three objects of religious reverence (*bhakti*): the gods (*hyang*) the ancestors (*pitṛgaṇa*) and the sages (*muniwara*) mentioned in this stanza are borrowed from Indian literature. As the brahmins who occupied the third place in Indian thought had not the same importance in 14th century Majapahit society they are replaced by sages. In the Nāg. idiom *muniwara* is used referring to learned clergymen. Krom's opinion that Buddha is meant by *muniwara* in canto 82—3 lacks plausibility.

In the last verse of canto 82 the mandarins' merits are partly attributed to the King whose good example they follow. The triad *dāna kīrti puṇya* (rendered: gifts, public utility foundations, good works) has been discussed before. Probably in the Nāg. idiom *puṇya* referred mainly to benefits conferred on religious persons.

The absence of religious domains (*dharma*) in this stanza, which is concerned with mandarins, as contrasted with the members of the Royal Family mentioned in the preceding stanzas, confirms the opinion that *dharma*s were as a rule in some way connected with Royalty and nobility. Probably the difference between Royal and Princely domains on one hand and estates (*sīma*) given to mandarins on the other lies in the special religious character connected with ancestor worship conferred on the *dharma*s. Nevertheless temple-towers (*prāsāda*) could be built both on secular estates and on religious domains. It follows that remains of a temple-tower, in modern Javanese always called *caṇḍi*, do not prove of necessity that in olden times the locality was part of a Royal or Princely religious domain, nor that the remains of some member of any Royal Family were deposited in that place: not all *caṇḍi*s were Royal funeral monuments in olden times.

In cantos 19—2 and 31—5 *dharma*s are mentioned in connection with the estates (*sīma*) granted to the grand-vizir Gajah Mada and to Sir Nāla. Perhaps in these cases Royal favour is to be taken into account.

CHAPTER 14 - THE ANNUAL COURT
FESTIVAL IN MAJAPAHIT.

Cantos 83—91, 45 stanzas.

Whereas the chapters 12 and 13 deal with Royal activities in the field of ecclesiastical organization chapter 14 has the secular administration of the realm for subject. The duality religious denomination — social class is apparent also in the list of groups and classes in canto 81.

Apart from the concluding cantos, chapter 14 is the last chapter of the poem. It contains the apotheosis of Royalty surrounded by secular pomp at the occasion of the annual festival in the months *Phālguna* and *Caitra* (February, March, April), in contradistinction to the description in chapter 9 of the religious ceremonies of the *Rājapatni's* *śhrāddha* in the months *Śhrāwṇa* and *Bhādra* (July, August, September). The relation of the two high-days has been discussed in the commentary on canto 69—3. Probably the *Phālguna-Caitra* Court festival is related to the celebration of the anniversary of the Holy Prophet Muhammad's birthday called *garēbbēg Mulud* in modern Javanese, and the other *garēbbēg*, commonly called *Lēbaran*, the end of the Muslim Fast, has for prototype the religious *Śhrāwṇa-Bhādra* ceremonies.

Canto 83, stanza 1. By way of introduction to the description of the Court festival's pomp canto 83 opens with a eulogy of the King and his rule. The comparison of the lotus-flowers is used also in canto 7—1, but in a reverse order. Whereas in canto 7 the King is compared to the sun in canto 83 he is compared to the moon, and this entails reversed comparisons for good and bad people. The double use of the lotus-flower comparison and its reversal cannot be a coincident. Perhaps the poet's idea was to let the King appear as a beneficial giver of light in all circumstances, both by day and by night. Being a courtier he probably thought it a good occasion to show off his proficiency in handling Indian poetical comparisons, hoping to earn the approval of the connoisseurs whose names are mentioned in the next stanzas.

The list of three Royal possessions: retinue, treasures and conveyances is not in accordance with the triad, referred to in canto 17—1, 2, 3: Royal works, Royal zenana and expanse of dominions. Probably both lists are borrowed from Indian literature. Elephants and horses are numbered among the King's treasured possessions, being means of conveyance (*wāhana*) apparently reserved for special occasions. Where the animals are mentioned in the description of the Royal Progress (chapter 4) they seem to be used more for display than for practical ends.

Canto 83, stanza 2. In this stanza the magnificence of King Hayam Wuruk's realm and Court is extolled by calling Java the equal of India. No doubt this is a sample of poetical exaggeration on the part of a courtier. Though he had a fairly extensive knowledge of Indian literature as far as accessible by means of Javanese translations and adaptations, Prapañca certainly never was in India (or he would have mentioned it) and he knew the actual condition of the country only from hearsay. As a matter of fact Indian literature is not well suited to give the reader an accurate idea of the country and the people.

According to the poet Java's condition of purity (*kapawitran*, probably the equivalent of blessedness) which rendered it a "good country" (*sudesa*) was connected with the presence of a number of men learned in *aji*. As in the next verses the Court officers of the law are mentioned, probably by *aji* (to be rendered as a rule by lore) are meant the Old Javanese law-books and especially the apophthegms which were the core of jurisprudence. The examination of Old Javanese legal apophthegms promises to be fruitful for Javanistic studies. The expression "expert in *aji*" (*widagdheng aji*) is used in canto 73—2—3 with reference to the scholars who drafted the Royal charters (*prashāsti*) which were legal instruments.

The three ancient title-names *Pañjyangjwa*, *Lekan* and *Tangar* are mentioned, together with some others, in the Purwādigama. The preamble of this Old Javanese law-book is edited in the present commentary, and the remarkable title-names shall be discussed in the commentary on the Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa. In the Nāg. idiom *kārya* (rendered: concern) mostly refers to customary functions and ceremonies. Both at sessions of the court of justice and at social ceremonies the speaking of a number of sacral formulas was considered indispensable, and for that end experts in those matters were required. In canto 91—2 in the description of the musical performance at Court the singing (*pangidung*) of the *Manghuri* and the *Kaṇḍamohi* is men-

tioned. They belonged to a similar group as *Pañjyangjwa*, *Lekan* and *Tangar*. Probably their singing was a constituent part of considerable importance in the sacral celebration.

The men of learning mentioned in canto 83—2 are Javanese scholars in the law and in customary ceremonies (modern Javanese: *adat*). They are not pre-eminently men of religion nor priests of any of the denominations mentioned in canto 81—2. In the present chapter 14 the secular aspect of Javanese kingship and society is illustrated: both were ruled by ancient custom and surrounded by sacral ceremonies rooted in pristine beliefs. Though a Buddhist ecclesiastic himself the poet had sufficient Javanese cultural sentiment to appreciate his people's traditions and ancient ceremonies. Java's *kapawitran* (purity, blessedness) seems to be connected in his mind with the presence of men of learning especially because they were upholders of law and ancient custom. The poet thought his country was blessed in King Hayam Wuruk's reign because it was ruled by justice as he understood it.

Canto 83, stanza 3. Whereas the law-officers mentioned in the second stanza no doubt were Javanese, the three scholars whose illustrious titles and names are found in the third stanza probably were Indians. Two of them, Brahmarāja and Wishnu, are given the predicate *śrī* which as a rule is reserved for divine beings and Royalty. Probably they were Indian brahmins of high rank (at least in the poet's eyes) residing for some time as honoured guests at the Majapahit Court. The King's glory was felt to be enhanced by their presence. In canto 12—1—2 Brahmarāja (with the predicate *ḍanghyang*, holy) is mentioned occupying a residence east of the Royal compound of Majapahit. He was a Shiwaite priest (*dwija Śhaiwa*). In the undated charter of Nglawang (edited in TBG 56, p. 237) he is the beneficiary. As he is given two verses of stanza 3 apparently he was more important than the other two Indians. The list of his accomplishments is long. In addition to his merits as a poet (perhaps Sanskrit *ślokas* in praise of his Royal patron as mentioned in canto 93—2: in the Majapahit idiom the word *kawi* refers to Sanskrit scholarship) and his knowledge of the (Shiwaite) *āgama* (religious doctrine) his proficiency in the four varieties of philosophic lore known at the 14th century Majapahit Court is extolled. No doubt by *tarka* etcetera is meant *tarka wyḍkaraṇa* (rendered: speculation and grammar) and *sāṅghya naiḍyika* (assuming that is the correct reading) refer to arithmetic and logic. The four of them are repeatedly mentioned as accomplishments of Royal

law-officers in the preambles of charters (v. glossary). Penetrating studies of the four systems of Indian philosophy on the part of Majapahit Court scholars seem improbable. As far as known Old Javanese literature does not contain translations or adaptations of Sanskrit philosophical texts belonging to any of the Four Systems. Therefore the learned names of doctrines both in the Nāg. and in the charters might be considered chiefly as embellishments meant to enhance the glory of the Royal Court. It is not impossible that some rather elementary Old Javanese texts went under the names of the Four Systems, though. The quartet appealed to the Javanese sense for quadratic classification.

The second scholar mentioned in canto 83—3, the holy Bhāmāna, applied himself to religious observance (*brata*), the Weda (probably recitation of some Weda texts) and the six pure activities (*ṣaṭkarma śuddha*). According to Kern a brahmin's six allowed activities are: studying, teaching, offering in behalf of himself, officiating at offering ceremonies in behalf of others, giving alms and receiving alms. So Bhāmāna appears to be a religiously minded brahmin. No preference for any denomination is mentioned. His name might be a corruption of Skt. *wāmana*, dwarf, and this would point to Wishnuism, because of Wishnu's dwarf-incarnation. Probably Bhāmāna is not the whole name but an abbreviation used at Court for convenience' sake.

The same is the case with the third Indian scholar the Illustrious Wishnu. He knew *Sāmaveda* incantations (if that is the right interpretation of *sāmajaṣa*) suited to promote the people's increase. Probably he was an Indian physician whose prescriptions joined with Wedic magic were considered beneficial in cases of barrenness and impotence. In the Nāg. idiom *wērddhi*, increase, seems to refer very often to procreation.

It is impossible to assess the three brahmins' real scholarly merits according to Indian standards of the time. Perhaps they were considered nonentities and charlatans by their learned Indian colleagues. On the other hand it is quite possible they possessed a real knowledge of Indian literature and science. In both cases the lucrative position of a honoured guest at a Royal Court may have prevailed over the brahmin's disinclination for leaving his native country to throw in his lot with a foreign semi-barbarian people in a distant island over the sea. In the next stanza Indian voyages to Java are mentioned.

In canto 83—3 the absence of Buddhistic scholars is remarkable. Perhaps in the 14th century both in India and in Java secular scholar-

ship and science had passed out of the hands of Buddhists. The correspondence of on the one hand: Shiwaism with worldly concerns (*sakala*) on the other: Buddhism with esoterism (*niṣkala*) has been pointed out several times in the present commentary. It is in accordance with the absence of Buddhist scholars in canto 83—3. The Buddhist monsignor of Nadi who officiated at the *shrāddha* ceremony (canto 64—3) is mentioned in canto 12—1 (if the emendation is right) next to the Shiwaite Brahmarāja, but he does not appear in canto 83.

Prb.'s identification of the three scholars of canto 83—3 with the two Court bishops (*adhyakṣa*) and the mandarin King's Servant (*mantri her-haji*) of canto 75—2 (v. BKI 80, 1924, p. 273) is unacceptable. The three Court officers are not even mentioned by name nor are they spoken of highly for their scholarship. They certainly were not entitled to the predicates Illustrious (*śrī*) and holy (*daṅghyang*). The three scholars on the other hand were venerated persons, but being foreigners they were not invested with authority.

Further Prb. identified Brahmarāja with the Honourable Rājaparākrama who officiated at Simping (canto 70—1). From five charters dated between 1323 and 1358 Prb. collected the names of the office-bearers following the title-name Rājaparākrama. He found: *pañji* Elam, *daṅg ācārya* Dharmarāja, *daṅg ācārya* Shiwamūrti, *daṅg ācārya* Wishwanātha. Taking Rājaparākrama for the personal name of the man Prb. called the other four names surnames and remarked that Brahmarāja might be a fifth surname of the same person. In accordance with Krom (note on canto 25—2, referring to Wangśādhirāja) the Honourable Rājaparākrama is to be called a title-name connected with an office, and regularly conferred upon any person promoted to that office, the Shiwaite bishopric. Prb.'s "surnames" are more like personal names. But then in Java a man as a rule had several personal names given him in the course of his life on occasions of some importance for his social or spiritual standing. Probably the doctor's names (with the predicate *daṅg ācārya*) were given on the occasion of an ecclesiastical ordination.

Equally unacceptable is Prb.'s identification of the second scholar of canto 83—3, the holy Bhāmana, with the Buddhist bishop (*dharma-dhyakṣa*) doctor (*daṅg ācārya*) Nadendra the Honourable (*saṅg ārya*) Adhirāja mentioned in the Sēkar charter. As Bhāmana was a Vedic scholar his taking office as a Buddhist bishop is improbable. Probably Prb.'s idea that doctor Nadendra was Prapañca's father is right, though.

Canto 83, stanza 4. The shipping from continental countries to Java mentioned in this stanza is connected in the poet's mind with the presence of law-officers and scholars at the Majapahit Court. Probably his idea was that for one thing law and order in the Javanese kingdom made foreign traffic safe and for another thing the merchants' vessels made the passage to Java easy for cultured people from the continent. The names of the continental countries have been discussed in the commentary on canto 15. Canto 83—4, dealing with foreign trade, is the only place in the Nāg. where China is mentioned.

The foreign Buddhist monks (*bhikṣu*) and brahmins (*wipra*) are referred to again in canto 93—1. Perhaps the Illustrious Buddhāditya of Kāñcīpurī and the Illustrious Sahēdaya who made Sanskrit verses in praise of King Hayam Wuruk did so in acknowledgment of hospitality received at the Majapahit Court. As they had their places of residence in India perhaps their stay in Java did not last long and they were not in Java in 1365. So the two Indian poets and the three brahmin scholars of canto 83—3 are not to be confounded. Though probably the latter Illustrious and holy men were also Indians by origin in 1365 they were considered as residents of Java. At least one of them, Brahmarāja, was a beneficiary mentioned in a Royal charter.

In the Nāg. the word *bhikṣu* is only used twice, both times apparently with reference to foreigners. The word *wiku*, on the other hand (rendered: ordained priest), is used repeatedly both in the Nāg. and in other Old Javanese texts. It does not refer exclusively to Buddhists. Though the linguistic relationship of the words *bhikṣu* and *wiku* (by way of Pāli *bhikkhu*) seems probable it is difficult to construe the transition of meaning. The presence of a (corrupted) Pāli word in 14th century Javanese would be interesting.

The moving in Majapahit Court-circles of scholars and learned priests from abroad, coming to Java as passengers on merchant vessels, is suggestive of similar conditions prevailing in the Muslim era at native Courts of Java, Sumatra, Borneo and elsewhere in the Archipelago. Both in the pre-Muslim period and afterwards the scholars followed the highways of commerce, offering worldly advice and spiritual guidance at the Courts of semi-barbarian chieftains and Hinduized (afterwards Islamized) Kings who could be prevailed upon to receive them. Even in the Muslim period travelling scholars preaching Islam at first were Indians by origin. In the first period they came from Further India (Champa). The Arabs came afterwards. All of them, whatever their persuasion and their spiritual merchandise, felt entitled

to a substantial reward for their trouble in bringing Indian (c.q. Muslim) civilization to distant countries over the sea. According to canto 83—4 in 14th century Majapahit their reward was satisfactory. On the whole the contacts of Indian (and Arabic) scholars and priests with native Royalty and nobility in the Archipelago remained the same for many centuries, beginning long before the time of the Singasari-Majapahit dynasty in East Java and lasting far into the 19th century. Only the intensity of the contact varied from one reign to another.

The last word of canto 83—4—4: waiting (*npanganti*) refers to the time of waiting for the turning of the monsoon. Ships sailing from Asiatic continental ports for Java with the West monsoon and arriving in Bubad, the Majapahit river-port on the Brantas before the beginning of the *Caitra* fair (February-March) had to wait some months for the coming of the East monsoon before they were able to return to their ports of origin. As the selling of the cargos brought from the continent and the buying of merchandise suited to bring home required a considerable time, probably many continental merchants stayed one year over in Java. In that way they could profit by trading with the merchants who with the East monsoon came to the Java ports bringing merchandise from the eastern islands, especially spices. Probably the latter merchants were by origin Javanese or natives of any other island of the Archipelago. The presence of many merchants both foreigners and natives, selling and buying, and the fitting-out and provisioning of many sea-going ships caused much stir and bustle in the Majapahit ports.

Canto 83, stanza 5. The splendour of the Majapahit Court, enhanced by the presence of notable scholars and the bustle of trade patronized by Royalty, serve as introductions to the description of the annual *Phalgun-Caitra* festival which was the apotheosis of Javanese kingship and at the same time the annual culmination-point of economic and social activities. Of course the arrival of mandarins from all sides even from the other islands bringing tribute was of the utmost importance. The last verse of stanza 5 seems to refer to a fair.

In canto 83—5—2 lairds of manors (*juru katon*) on the one hand and judges with their assessors (*dhyaksa sarwopapatti*) on the other are distinguished. All and sundry are called mandarins (*mantri*), which refers in this connection to their social standing in general (modern Javanese: *priyayi*). The distinction between lairds of manors and judges is accentuated by *len* (on the other hand). Whereas the owners of manors were private gentlemen the judges and their assessors were

Royal officers. The list of attendants at the *Phālguna-Caitra* Court festival of canto 83—5 is comparable with the list of canto 65—2: the men who were present at the *Rājapatni's shrāddha* ceremony in *Shrāwaṇa*. In the commentary on chapter 9 the position of the representatives of the landed gentry and the foreign Princes has been discussed.

Prabhṛti was translated by Kern: gift of honour. Perhaps he thought it was connected with Skt. *prabhṛta*. Whereas *prabhṛta* is not mentioned in KBNW *prabhṛti* is, having the usual Skt. sense of beginning. In connection with the *Caitra* festival's position in Majapahit social and economic life (West monsoon, rice harvest, annual fair) *prabhṛti* (beginning) of canto 83—5 might refer to a first fruits tribute. The mandarins' obligatory annual attendance at Court in *Phālguna-Caitra* was the time of the paying of dues. Probably the great worship (*paripāja*) offered the King is to be connected also with tribute, for *pamuja* is found in some charters as the name of a tax, originally a customary contribution towards the cost of an annual religious celebration (*pāja*, v. glossary). In the 18th and 19th centuries in the Central Javanese kingdoms the customary pay-days of rent (*pajēg*) owed by tenant-farmers to their landlords were *garēbēg Mulud* (to be identified with the *Phālguna-Caitra* festival) and *garēbēg Ba'dā Pāsā* (corresponding with the *Shrāwaṇa-Bhādra* ceremony). But then in the Muslim era the dates of the annual high-days circulated through the solar year which was an inconvenience for the peasantry, of course.

The worship offered to Royalty and the celebration (*iwö*) according to canto 83—5—1 have their counterparts in canto 69—3. It is interesting to note the difference of the religious *Shrāwaṇa-Bhādra* ceremonies in honour of the Great Royal Mistress (probably identified with an ancient chthonic goddess) and the mainly secular *Phālguna-Caitra* festival, the apotheosis of the living King.

The influx of foreign merchants and the crowds of mandarins attending the Court festival, all of them followed by numerous servants, was good for business. The tradespeople (*byāpāri*) of canto 83—5—4 have been mentioned already in canto 18—8—4. Probably the Javanese tradeswomen are meant, selling victuals, cooked food and delicacies in the marketplace, in the Majapahit era as well as in modern times a standing feature of the towns and boroughs of Java. Probably the merchants (*wanik*) were for the greater part foreigners.

Canto 83, stanza 6. This stanza contains the description of the initial ceremony of the festival. Probably *paripāja* (rendered: proces-

sion worship) of canto 83—5—1 finds its explanation in the first verse of stanza 6 where a circulating (*idēran*) procession (*arak*) is mentioned.

The *Phālguna-Caitra* festival at Majapahit as described in chapter 14 was a succession of ceremonies and gatherings. The following synopsis might be useful.

1. Procession of the *bhrisadīs*, last week of *Phālguna*, offerings in the main courtyard (*wanguntur*) of the Royal compound, canto 83—6.
2. Procession of the Royal Family in palanquins, last day of *Phālguna*, canto 84—1/6.
3. Purification of the King in the main courtyard, first day of *Caitra*, canto 84—7.
4. Assembly of mandarins etc., reading of the Ajar ing Rāja Kapakapa text, first day of *Caitra*, canto 85—1, 2.
5. Public amusements on the Bubat plain, seven days, first half of *Caitra*, canto 86—1 to canto 87—3.
6. Gathering of the Royal Family and the mandarins, speeches on statecraft, second half of *Caitra*, canto 88—1 to canto 89—5.
7. Community meal and sacral dancing and singing performance in the Royal compound, conclusion, second half of *Caitra*, canto 89—4 to canto 91—9.

The portable pavilions (*bhrisadī*) mentioned in canto 83—6 have been discussed in the commentary on canto 64—1. Made for the greater part of ingeniously plaited bamboo they were filled with food offerings (*nivedya*) and placed in the main courtyard as conclusion of a circulating processional course. The place where the pavilions were made and loaded is not mentioned. The same is the case with the statuary (*tapāl*) made of bamboo and filled with food-offerings mentioned in canto 65 that is comparable with the *bhrisadīs*. As the making of the structures and the preparation of the food required much time and space perhaps it was done in several places at a time in the outer courtyards of the Royal compound or in mandarins' manors.

The words "seven times, every day increased by one" of canto 83—6—2 allow of two different interpretations. In the present author's *Volksvertoningen* the words have been translated as if referring to one pavilion that was carried about continuously, on the seventh day seven times. On reflection this seems improbable: the structure would have collapsed before the end of the week and the effect of sumptuous

majesty would not be achieved. Much more probable is the interpretation in the sense of one procession every day, continued for a week, every time with one pavilion more than the preceding day. In this way at the end of the week twenty-eight pavilions would be placed in the main courtyard. This interpretation is in accordance with the description in canto 65. The figurative structures (*tapél*) offered by the members of the Royal Family and the Court certainly were made in considerable numbers. Just as on the occasion of the *Śhrāwṇa-Bhādra* ceremonies described in chapter 9 probably the offerings (*nivedya*), packed in the portable pavilions, were placed in a fixed order in the main courtyard. Their number, four times seven, is suggestive of cosmic completeness. Perhaps the pavilions were lined up in square formation.

Probably part of the offerings brought to the main courtyard in the portable pavilions was offered up in the fire-offering ceremonies (*homa*) mentioned in canto 83—6—3, performed by Shiwaite and Buddhist priests. The fire-offering places (*pahoman*) in the main courtyard mentioned in canto 8—4 might be used for that end. The absence of Wishnuitic brahmins is remarkable, though. Probably canto 83—6—3 is to be connected with canto 8—3 where Shiwaites and Buddhists are mentioned sitting in the main courtyard and saying prayers (holy texts, *aji*) for the well-being of the world at the purification ceremonies (*prāyashcitta*) in *Śhrāwṇa* (if the emendation is right) and *Phālguna*. The resemblance of the ceremonies' intention (beginning with: having for fruit, *makaphala*) in canto 8—3 and canto 83—6 is striking. Perhaps the recital of sacred texts (*mucap aji*) of canto 8—3—3 is to be identified with the spiritual offering (*brahmajajña*) of canto 83—6. The fire-offerings (*homa*) are referred to in both cantos. The Wishnuitic brahmins (*wipra*) who are not mentioned in canto 83—6 appear in canto 84—7 offering holy water.

Canto 84, stanza 1. The expression *i wijil shri narapati* could be interpreted as referring to the King's birthday (modern Javanese *wēton*, from *wētu*, synonymous with *wijil*, cf. canto 1—4—1: *ri wijil nērpati*). Probably if the *Phālguna-Caitra* Court festival indeed was primarily the celebration of the anniversary of King Hayam Wuruk's birthday or closely connected with it the poet would have mentioned the remarkable fact with some emphasis. Moreover as a rule in modern Java and

Bali (except under European influence) birthdays are not celebrated annually but once in 210 days (the native *wuku* year of 30 weeks of seven days each) or once in 35 days (at the return of the conjunction of the days of the five-days week and the seven-days week that occurred at the birthday). Probably this custom prevailed already in Majapahit times. Therefore the usual sense of *wijil*: coming forth, in this case: sunrise is the most plausible in this verse. *Shri narapati* refers to the Royal Family as a whole, as follows from the description of the procession in the next stanzas.

Nevertheless it is evident that the *Phālguna-Caitra* festival partakes of the character of a New-year's celebration. But then primarily the celebration referred to the agricultural and economical year (West monsoon, rice harvest, annual fair). The poet's placing the description of the festival at the end of his work is significant: the poem is completed at the year's end and the apotheosis of Royalty. The ceremonial leave-taking mentioned at the end of canto 91 is suggestive of the ending of one period and the beginning of a new one. In a list mentioned in a Wariga text (divination, quoted in KBNW sub *titir*) *Caitra* appears as the first month of the year.

According to the Indian calendar *Phālguna* is not as a rule considered the last month of the year. But then readjustments of the calendar occurred in historical times in several countries. Perhaps in the Majapahit period officially the year began with *Śrāwṇa* (July-August), for in canto 20—2 the ceremony of the eighth month (*kaṭawalu*) is mentioned, which is to be identified with the *Phālguna* festival. The mention of *Aśāḍha* (if the emendation is correct) in canto 88—4—2 also points to *Śrāwṇa* as the first month of the year. This is in accordance both with the modern Javanese so-called *mangsa*-calendar and with the calendar of the non-Muslim Tenggerese people. The connection of the *Śrāwṇa-Bhādra* ceremonies with a New-year's celebration has been discussed in the commentary on canto 63—2.

Circulating processions are regular features of passing-over celebrations. In modern Java they occur on the occasion of marriages, circumcisions, promotions in rank and birthday celebrations. Both the seven processions of the portable pavilions of canto 83—6 and the following procession of the Royal Family in palanquins of canto 84—1 are typical passing-over ceremonies rounding off the old period and inaugurating a new one. Probably the number of 28 pavilions lined up in the main courtyard in square formation also was meant to suggest the completion of a cycle.

The course of the Royal circulating procession mentioned in canto 84—1 is described (if the emendation is correct) as: along the body of the Royal compound. *Kaṣṭha pura* of canto 84—1 is comparable with *kaṣṭhaniṅg puri* of canto 17—3 and with *kaṣṭhaniṅg nagara* of canto 12—1—1. Probably the procession moved along the wall of the Royal compound on the outside, leaving and re-entering it by the main gate, and keeping it to the right (*pradakṣiṇa*). The seven processions with the portable pavilions took the same course. Majapahit was not a coherent mass of buildings, between compounds and manors wide spaces were left open.

Dadar (rendered: state attire) is also mentioned in canto 28—3. Probably the cloths only consisted of *kains*, Javanese loin-cloths, Royal gifts given to meritorious officers as rewards for their services. Prb. translated *dadar*: state dress. But then in the Majapahit period neither men nor women except some religious people, Royalty and courtiers on special occasions wore jackets.

Probably the expression *marasuk bhāṣaya*, found in this stanza and in some other passages (canto 84—4—4 and 91—7—1), describing important Court ceremonies, refers to the wearing of jackets (modern Javanese *rasukan*).

Canto 84, stanza 2. In the description of the music one must distinguish the musical instruments and the singers. The musical instruments consisted for the greater part of drums and trumpets. Probably the words *sinrang ni paślur* contain technical terms of Majapahit music. Perhaps "pressed on" refers to the cutting in of the vocal music in the instrumental rhythm (modern Javanese: *mbarang*) and "chain" (*səlur* is also mentioned in KBNW as a technical term) to choral singing. Some resemblance with modern Javanese music used in processions is probable. In modern Java tambourines and a kind of trumpets are in evidence on those occasions and the singing is done by a choir of boys or young men in their best attire. The songs are of Muslim religious character (v. *Volksvertoningen*). Perhaps the salutation (*abhiwāda*) is to be compared with the modern *pañcubrāṇḍā*, a salutation song, as a rule in (corrupted) Sanskrit metres, sung by a choir.

The Sanskrit verses (*ślokas*) coming from abroad (*sangkeng para-pura*) perhaps are to be identified with the panegyric (*bhogāwali*) of the Buddhist monk Buddhāditya of Kāñcīpurī mentioned in canto 93—1. In that case the comparison of King Hayam Wuruk with Rāma

and Kēṣṇa is a quotation from a Sanskrit poem. The divine or semi-divine character of the two Indian heroes is in accordance with the Javanese King's claim to divine origin.

The Javanese singers are distinguished by the learned Sanskrit name *bhaṭṭa*. Probably they were sons of good families and well educated. Nevertheless the appearance of Javanese young men or boys singing Sanskrit verses in 14th century Majapahit is worth noticing. Perhaps their singing is comparable with the Arabic songs of modern Javanese Muslim boys' choirs. Just like in modern times the Majapahit singers perhaps were given uniform waist-cloths (*kain*s and girdles) and head-dresses, and they were trained to sing their songs to the accompaniment of the instruments while marching slowly in a serried formation performing rhythmical dancing-steps and gestures with heads, arms and fingers.

Canto 84, stanza 3. The general description of the procession and the music in canto 84—1/2 is followed by the mention of the principal persons: the members of the Royal Family of Majapahit seated on five state palanquins, in couples. In the Nāg. idiom *singhāsana* (lion-throne) and *sthāna singha* (lion's place) refer to portable thrones or throne-like palanquins. The name lion-throne is suggestive of palanquins shaped like monsters or griffins, accessories of Princely marriage and circumcision processions occasionally seen in Java even in the 20th century (v. *Volksvertoningen*), in modern times in many cases altered into state-carriages, called *garuda* or *galudra* coaches (after Garuḍa, Vishnu's mount). The idea of those state palanquins perhaps was: originally the monster (*singha*, the lion) represented the chthonic power that was subdued and used as mount by the victorious representative of the upper world, man in his splendour. Seen from this point of view the appearance of the Majapahit state-palanquins at the occasion of the *Phālguna* procession is significant: it was the apotheosis of Royalty.

The explanation of the comparisons of canto 84—3 is tentative. Shuddhodana's son is Siddhārtha, the historic Buddha. His coming from heaven (called Jinapada on the analogy of Viṣṇupada: Vishnu's abode) might refer to his descending from the Tuṣita-heaven on a palanquin before his birth on earth as Māyā's son, according to the Indian Lalitawistara text. The reference to Siddhārtha's birth, the beginning of a new era, is significant in the frame of the *Phālguna-Caitra* celebration which partook of the character of a New-year's feast, and its relation with the modern Javanese *gorēbbēg Mulud*, the

anniversary of the Holy Prophet Muhammad's birthday. The connection of Siddhārtha Buddha with Muhammad is no more to be wondered at than the identification of Widhi, Cosmic Order, Brahma, with Allah. Probably to the Mahāyānistic Buddhists of the time the comparison of King Hayam Wuruk to Siddhārtha Buddha was no more offensive than to the Shiwaites the repeated identification with Shiwa.

As the five state palanquins of the Royal Family conveyed a married couple each the corrupted Trisurasurendra must contain a goddess's name. Tripuraharendrā seems the most likely emendation. Mistress Destroyer of the Three Strongholds (Tripura) might refer to Durgā, spouse of Shiwa, who is the real victor of the demons. Durgā was a prominent figure in Old Javanese religion and literature: she is repeatedly mentioned in the Tantu Panggëlaran as Dewi Umā. As the identification of Buddha and Shiwa was generally accepted at Court, to Javanese courtiers of 14th century Majapahit Siddhārtha having Durgā at his side was not a preposterous idea. Perhaps the goddess's unusual name referring to Shiwa's victory over the demons was also chosen as an allusion to the inauguration of a new era.

She who had the honour of sitting at the King's side in the state palanquin could only be the *Parameshwari*, the First Lady of the Royal zenana, the daughter of the King's uncle of Wëngkër. As King Hayam Wuruk had no Queen of equal birth the *Parameshwari* served as substitute. Her entering into the Presence at the King's side (*umarāh i himbangnira*) is in accordance with her lower rank. Evidently the sacral procession around the Royal compound required the principal persons to appear in couples and for that reason alone the *Parameshwari* was ordered to join her Royal master. On no other occasion is she mentioned as appearing in public. Probably her being well-matched with the Prince (*sawawe nareshwara*) mentioned in canto 7—3 refers to her role in the *Phālguna* procession. The last verse of canto 84—3 extols the appearance of the King and the *Parameshwari* together as a perfect pair. Perhaps the reference to Shiwa contained in the name Tripuraharendrā is to be explained by the *Parameshwari*'s Kaḍiri origin, being a daughter of the Prince of Wëngkër, the principal representative of the realm's western moiety which was associated with Shiwaism. The appearance of the seemingly incongruous couple Siddhārtha Buddha and Durgā might refer to the well-known duality Buddhism-Shiwaism that pervaded religious life of the Majapahit Court.

In his explanation of canto 84—3 with the help of the Chinese

Buddhistic pilgrim Hiuen Tshang's description of a ceremony seen at the Court of the Indian Emperor Harṣa (Shilāditya) Kern suggests that the persons in the state palanquin wore costumes and had regalia with them suggestive of the gods they impersonated. The sacral procession around the Royal compound was at least partially a pageant in costume. Though not corroborated by unmistakable references to costumes in the text, Kern's hypothesis seems probable enough. In their funeral monuments dead Javanese Kings were given portrait statues with full divine apparel and provided with divine regalia. There seems to be no reason to doubt that dressing up as gods in a pageant was thought fitting for living Royalty in 14th century Majapahit.

For the rest neither Kern's nor Krom's nor Prb.'s interpretations of canto 84—3 are satisfactory. The undeniable fact of the state palanquins being destined as conveyances for couples was ignored by them.

The description of the Royal palanquin in canto 84—3 precedes the mention of the order of the procession because the King was the centre of interest in the pageant. As usual he came at the end of the procession as culmination of splendour. Apparently he was seated in his state palanquin stationed in the main courtyard seeing the other four palanquins filing out before him through the main gate.

Canto 84, stanza 4. According to this stanza the head of the procession was formed by the state palanquin (*siṅghāsana*) of the Princess of Pajang and her consort. The escort (on foot) was composed of, firstly, Royal servants (*bala*), i.e. probably armed guardsmen, secondly: mandarins, i.e. gentlemen belonging either to Pajang or to Paguhan, but forming on this occasion one group (*sapaṅṣa*), and thirdly: retinue, bondmen (*bhārtiya*), probably commanded to carry the heavy palanquin on their shoulders (*pikul*). The banners (*dhwaja*) and the drums (*paḍaha*, if that is the right reading) also were carried by bondmen.

In the Nāg. banners are only mentioned in canto 84. Probably the Javanese pennant-like banners are meant: narrow strips of cloth attached all along a long bamboo pole, with a long streamer hanging down in a graceful curve at the end. Probably banners were as important in Majapahit times as they are in modern Java. Their colours are symbolical, white-and-red (*gula-klapa*) being the most sublime combination, in accordance with the Javanese quadripartite classification system applied to colours (v. *Volksvertoningen*).

Canto 84, stanza 5. As only two state palanquins (*siṅghāsana*), of King Hayam Wuruk and of the couple Pajang-Paguhan, are mentioned,

the first being given two stanzas and the latter one whole stanza, evidently their riders were the principal persons in the procession. The three remaining couples of the Royal Family: Lasēm-Matahun, Daha-Wēngkēr and Jīwana-Singasari, are given one verse each. Probably they rode on a simpler kind of palanquin. As King Hayam Wuruk and his own sister the Princess of Pajang were the first heirs to their grandfather King Kērtarājasa's throne, their prominent place in the *Phālguna* procession which was an apotheosis of Javanese kingship is explicable. For the rest the order of the couples in the procession as mentioned in canto 84 is just the same as the order of the groups in the caravan of the Royal Progress to the eastern districts described in canto 18:

Pajang
Lasēm
Daha
Jīwana
King Hayam Wuruk.

The significance of this sequence has been discussed in the commentary on chapter 4. The principal persons, the Princess of Pajang and the King, rode at the head and at the tail of the procession. Probably for that reason the Princess of Pajang had a band (drums, *padaha*, if the emendation is right) just like the King. The other three couples with their retinue had not. The issuing forth in succession of the palanquins out of the main gate of the Royal compound of Majapahit certainly was an imposing spectacle. The deep impression it made on the public is described in stanza 6.

Canto 84, stanza 6. Open spaces (*lɛbuh*) were found everywhere between the manors (*kuwu*). They could be used as roads: the procession moved over them, but they were not planned to accommodate the traffic. Originally the compounds and manors of the Majapahit Royal Family, their relatives and servants, were constructed at places in the countryside thought conveniently situated and auspicious according to Javanese geomancy. The spaces remaining open between them were called *lɛbuh*. The modern idea of constructing city-roads before building houses is not to be expected in 14th century Java. Of course regularity in the city-plan prevailed in a measure as a consequence of the orientation on the points of the compass and the distribution of

the principal compounds and manors over the available space, all in accordance with ancient ideas about cosmic classification, as explained in the commentary on chapter 2.

As all compounds and manors were surrounded by walls or fences the doorways (*dawara*) and the watch-towers (*panggung*) were the only features of the dwelling-places of the populace visible from the outside. Probably the care spent on the doorways (gates of the same kind as the main gate of the Royal compound but of less majestic aspect) consisted in cleaning. In the Majapahit period the modern Javanese mania of white-washing all buildings both on the outside and the inside did not yet prevail. In canto 8—2 the white colour of the Royal compound's great tower is expressly mentioned. As walls and other structures usually were laid without mortar, the bricks being meticulously lined almost without visible joints, it was enough in the way of cleaning to remove the tufts of weeds which inevitably reappeared every year in the season of rains. The *Phālguna-Caitra* festival took place at the end of that season. The annual tidying up referred to in canto 84—6 is to be considered as another consequence of the New-year's character of the *Phālguna* festival.

Probably the comparison of the gate-buildings to banners (*hoir dhwaja*) is to be explained by their steeple-like roofs standing out high above the walls. Perhaps the gate-buildings were decorated (*rinṅgga*) as well as the watch-towers. Probably the decoration consisted of festoons made of strips of leaves, suggesting the fluttering of the strip of cloth on a Javanese pennant-banner. Apparently the gate-buildings are called well-balanced (*sawawa*) because in several places there were seen pairs of them facing each other across an open space (*lɛbuh*). In accordance with their dualistic way of thinking symmetrical order always was appreciated by the Javanese.

The women mentioned in the beginning of canto 84—6—4 probably sat on the flat terraces of the towers (*panggung*) looking down over the parapet into the open space where the common people moved and the procession passed. For well-born women it was deemed unseemly to be seen in public in the midst of a crowd. The *bacingah* is mentioned as the place of the greatest accumulation of people (*atimbun*). Probably it is to be identified with the great open space (*lɛbuh agṅg*) just outside the entrance to the main gate of the Royal compound mentioned in canto 8—I. No doubt the carts that were used as stands (*pinanggung*) by people looking at the passing procession always had their places

in the open spaces because they could not enter into the courtyards of the manors over the high thresholds and through the narrow gates.

In the Codex at the side of canto 84—6 has been written a marginal note by a Balinese reader: *panggung ring Wilwa Tikta* (watch-towers in Majapahit). Evidently he found the resemblance of the Nāg. description with Balinese town scenes well-known to him striking and worth of notice. No doubt it was.

Canto 84, stanza 7. The first verse refers to the annual recurrence of the procession. Nevertheless every time it was seen it caused again the same enthusiasm.

The ceremony mentioned in the last verses of stanza 7 took place in the morning after the great procession, apparently the first day of *Caitra*. The *angastrèni* (rendered: consecration) ceremony seems to be the first thing done in the morning inaugurating the new year of Royal rule. Though it was done only once a year it was thought most important; the whole of the main courtyard was called *pangastryan* (consecration-place) after it (v. glossary).

Unfortunately the mention of the consecration ceremony in canto 84—7 is short, perhaps because it was not very spectacular. As usual ecclesiastical persons and secular gentlemen are separated. Probably by brahmins and so on (*wiprādī*) are meant ecclesiastics of the four denominations: Wishnuite brahmins (*wipra*, the most venerated group because of their Indian origin), Shiwaite and Buddhist ordained priests (*wiku*) and friars (*rēshi*) as mentioned in canto 81—2.

In modern Balinese-Hinduistic religion holy water is thought essential in several ceremonies. The carriers (*wawan*) of canto 84—7 are to be identified with the jars or stoups (*kundī*). Probably the finely wrought bronze so-called zodiac-cups are meant, that are on show in several museums both in Europe and elsewhere. The name zodiac-cup has been given them by European scholars because they are decorated on the outside with the twelve zodiac signs en relief. Probably the twelve figures are suggestive of the year's completion. If the likes of them were offered to the King on the occasion of the *Caitra* consecration ceremony which partook of the character of a New-year's celebration, the reference to the completed year-cycle was appropriate.

The words of canto 84—7—3 suggest a gift (*aweh*) of jars or stoups (*kundī*) and so on. Perhaps some more objects belonging to the priestly requisites are meant. The annual present of holy water in a jar or cup offered by the four religious denominations (perhaps each denomination

one cup) might take the place of a homage present due to Royalty even by ecclesiastical persons. No real homage presents (*hatur-hatur*) offered by priests are mentioned in the *Nāg*. The finely wrought bronze objects were valuable. As the King had no use for the objects perhaps the same set was offered many years on end, being redeemed at the end of the *Caitra* festival for a fixed sum in cash or a tribute in kind. A similar custom of redeeming is known to prevail with reference to the Muslim religious *ṣītra* (modern Javanese *piṭrah*) alms due in kind at the end of the Fast (*Ramadhān*): the bowl of raw rice is immediately redeemed by the giver with a sum of money.

In canto 84—7—3 the ecclesiastical persons are given much honour (by the illustrious pronoun *sira*: They, their worships) and the King is considered almost their inferior in rank, at least spiritually, for the ordinary word for giving (*aweh*) is used, not the respectful (*anghatur-akṣṇ*). This subtle differentiation is characteristic of the relation of ordained priest and layman.

From quotations found in KBNW (sub *jayasunu* and *tarañjana*) the character of the *angastrēni* ceremony becomes clear. It was a purification (*ngilangakṣṇ pāpa-kleshaning jagat*: removing evil and impurities of the world). The holy water was used to wash the face (*ṛiṭha rahup*). Perhaps in the course of the *Caitra* purification ceremony the priests sprinkled the water on the King's face as he was sitting in a reverential attitude on a mat. No doubt recitation of sacred formulas was indispensable.

In contradistinction to the officiating priests who on this occasion were considered the King's superiors, spiritually, the secular gentlemen (*mantris*) entered into the Presence reverentially. They made the well-known *añjali* gesture with a flower held between their fingertips (*pupṣāñjali*), which was a gesture of divine worship. Probably the *pupṣa* ceremony mentioned several times in the *Nāg*, in many cases was a flower-*añjali*.

Pamēgṣṭ or *samēgṣṭ* seems to be an ancient word with (originally) the sense of gentleman vested with authority (van Naerssen, *Saptopapatti*, BKI 90, 1933, p. 258). In the Majapahit period it was used in charters as predicate of the ecclesiastical assessors-at-law (*upapatti*) with the ancient titlenames *Kaṇḍamohi*, *Manghuri*, *Pamṣwatan*, *Jambi* etc. According to the Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa and the Purwādigama preamble *Pañjyangjitwa*, *Lekan* and *Tangar* mentioned in canto 83—2—4 also belonged to this group. As they were scholars especially versed in legal texts and ancient custom, as such distinguished from

the secular gentlemen (*mantris*), their appearance at the Royal purification ceremony in *Caitra* perhaps was considered as a sanction of law and custom. Probably in the expression *para pamēgēt*, *para*, common, refers to the fact that the *pamēgēt*'s superiors, the bishops, having officiated in the major *angastrèni* ceremony, did not take part in the subsequent *puṣpañjali* worship.

Canto 85, stanza 1. The great assembly described in canto 85 is the fourth ceremony belonging to the *Caitra* festival. The Royal Family was not present. Probably the conference was held in the place outside the main gate of the Royal compound near the market where according to canto 8—2 a building of great length (*yasha wēkasing apañjang*), a long open hall with benches fixed between the pillars was found. The origin of the expression *pulung rahi* is not clear, but the meaning is. It is explained by the following words: to have a conference in great company (*ahēm apupul*). It is also found in King Kērtanagara's Sarwadharma charter (v. glossary).

Canto 85—1 contains a list of all groups considered as belonging to the Court or connected with it. As usual the list is ordered systematically. The Royal servants (*balagana*) proper are given two verses first, the other groups not immediately serving the King are mentioned in the last two verses. The sequence of the Royal servants is according to rank: *mantris* (mandarins, gentlemen), *tanḍas* (headmen, subaltern officers), *gustis* (yeomen) and *wadwa haji* (menials). Gentlemen and subaltern officers seem to be distinguished (by *len*: on the other hand) from yeomen and menials. In canto 9—2 *gustis* and *wadwa haji* are put together in the same way. Probably the Royal servants meant in canto 85—1 are to be identified with the *bala haji* mentioned in canto 8—6 waiting for their turn to mount guard and in the meantime sitting in the *pasewans* in the outer courtyards of the Royal compound. They were partly military men.

Bondmen (*bhērtiya*) are not mentioned in canto 85—1. Probably being unfree and only under the authority of their masters bondmen were not considered as standing in any direct connection with Royalty and the Court.

The groups connected with the Court without being Royal servants are again divided into two categories. In canto 85—1—3 country people and foreigners are mentioned: their activities were in places at some

distance from Court and as a rule Royal authority did not bear heavily upon them. In the second category noblemen (*kshatriya*) and clergymen (*wiku*) are put together.

As usual with the country people the landed gentry (*mantri akuwu*, lairds of manors) and the rural communities are mentioned apart. In this connection the general meaning of *mantri*: gentleman (modern Javanese: *priyayi*) is apparent. The rural communities are represented by chiefs (*juru*). *Buyut* (rendered: elder) seems to be the general title of headmen or prominent members of rural communities (modern Javanese: *desa*, as a rule rendered: village). Probably the *mantri akuwu juru-buyut* of canto 85—1 refer to the same pair of groups as the *buyut wadana* of canto 88—1.

The foreigners (*uwang ring parapuri*) mentioned in canto 85—1 are to be identified with the people from Bali etcetera who attended the *Phalguna-Caitra* festival according to canto 83—5. Whatever their standing in their native country, at the Majapahit Court they were put on a par with country gentlemen.

Being Royal kinsmen the noblemen (*kshatriya*) were considered as belonging to one category with the priesthood, on account of their birth and spiritual standing. In canto 10—3 the two groups are also mentioned together (separated by *len*: on the other hand) as having places near another at Royal audiences in the inner courtyard of the Royal compound. As the episcopal families no doubt were included in the Royal priesthood (*wiku haji*) mentioned in canto 85—1—4 the poet attended the conference too. Perhaps *waradwija* (eminent priest) refers to the bishops. The Buddhist bishop (*dharmādhyakṣa*) was Prapañca's father.

Canto 85, stanza 2. The reading of the Teachings of the Kings of Yore (*Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa*, cf. the *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa* edited in the present book) in the crowded assembly of Royal servants and gentlemen, but in the absence of the Royal Family, on the first day of *Caitra* is a remarkable ceremony not well comparable to anything of the sort known at modern Javanese Courts. (The speeches on statecraft of members of the Royal Family mentioned in cantos 88 and 89 are, though). As in the description in canto 85—2 the reader is not mentioned perhaps a man of no great consequence was chosen for that office. Probably the reading through being repeated every year did not meet with much interest of the public. Perhaps the inevitable noise of a crowd sitting together for a considerable time drowned the reader's

voice so as to make his words unintelligible. Both in modern Java and in Bali public readings of old texts (sometimes accompanied by explanatory glosses given by a second reader) are known, but then as a rule the text is religious and literary (in East Java and Madura the Javanese version of the tale of Joseph, *sīrat Yūsuf*) and it is not done on an occasion of political importance.

Probably the reading of the text on the first day of *Caitra* was considered a good beginning of a new year of the King's rule. As in the tropical climate social gatherings of great numbers of people in the daytime are avoided on account of the heat, probably the assembly and the reading took place in the evening, lighted by the rising moon, aided by many oil-lamps. The centre of the gathering, the long hall, was situated not far from the market place. The illuminated evening-market (modern Javanese *pasar malām*) with the character of a fair may have offered a fantastic sight. The probable relationship of the Majapahit *Phālguna-Caitra* festival with the modern Javanese *garêbêg Mulud* celebrations followed by the *sĕkatèn* evening fair in the great courtyard of the Royal compound has been mentioned several times in these pages. The aspect of the typically Javanese popular rejoicing must come to the mind of anyone who saw it in the first half of the 20th century.

Unfortunately no manuscript containing the Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa text in Old Javanese is known to the present author. A version in modern Javanese, called *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa*, has been edited by Brandes. It is translated and annotated in the present book. The modern Javanese version does not contain moralistic rules of conduct like those mentioned in canto 85—2. It is a list of Court titles and offices. No doubt the knowledge of title-names and the places of offices on the social scale was of great importance for courtiers. So it seems probable that the modern *Praniti* is a part of the 14th century Old Javanese Ajar, which originally included also some chapters on rules of conduct.

In canto 85—2 three rules are epitomized. They refer to keeping to the right way, to forbidden clothes and to respect for divine property. Probably the first rule is to be understood metaphorically as referring to forbidden marriages. In canto 88—4 in Prince Kĕrtawardhana's speech an allusion to forbidden sexual relations seems to be made. In Javanese society of the pre-Muslim period the bans on certain connubial relations were enforced by heavy penalties. Beside incest, breaches of the rules regulating marriages of people belonging to different social

groups were considered serious crimes, breaking up social and cosmic order. Viewed in that light the mention of forbidden sexual relations (if the interpretation of the "not to be entered path" is correct) as the first rule of good conduct is easily understood. In fact the other two rules epitomized in canto 85—2 also refer to crimes deemed injurious to social and cosmic order, and such an admonition on the first day of the year was certainly not out of place.

Though the second rule's reference to clothes is clear enough the corrupt *wastrādyaharaṇa* allows of different interpretations. Kern and Prb., reading *wastrādyaharaṇa*, thought it referred to theft of clothes etcetera (*haraṇa*) being forbidden (*aharaṇa*). As common theft seems rather out of place in an admonition on a New-year's day in an assembly of men of standing the reading *abharāṇa* (not wearing) seems more probable. The rule refers to the well-known Javanese social custom to the effect that the use of certain patterns of cloth (in modern times: of baticking) for waist-cloths (*kains*) and of certain articles of attire (gold and silver ornaments, sandals, betel boxes and so on) was reserved for people belonging to certain groups. In Javanese law-books lists of patterns and articles coming under that head are not uncommon. In the Sarwadharma charter a list, referring to *walis*, scarfs, is included. Infraction of the rules on clothing and ornaments was considered detrimental to social order.

The third rule referring to divine property (*dewaswa*) is called the principal one. Probably divine property refers to the lands of ecclesiastics. The religious domains (*dharma*) suffered repeatedly from their secular neighbours' infringements on boundaries. The separation of ecclesiastical and secular lands was considered important because Royal authority leaned on the clergy to a high degree. King Kērtanagara's Sarwadharma (All Domains of the Clergy) charter is concerned with this matter. The reference to the prosperity of the Royal compound in the last verse of the canto 85 is significant. The political interest of the Court made the rule on divine property more important than the two preceding ones.

Canto 86, stanza 1. In cantos 86 and 87 the fifth feature of the *Phalguṇa-Caitra* festival is described: the public amusements on the Bubāt plain going on for seven days on end in the first half of *Caitra*. Contrary to the present author's former opinion (v. *Volksvertoningen*) the *singha*-places (*sthāna singha*) of canto 86—1 are to be identified

with the *singha*-seats, lion-thrones (*singhāsana*) of canto 84. Probably the remark "with differences" (*apadudwan*) refers to separate palanquins, for each couple one, and to different shapes of the palanquins, just like the description in canto 84. As the distance from the Royal compound to the Bubat plain was greater than the way covered by the procession (*idēran*) more men (bondmen, *bhṛtiya*) were required for reliefs to carry the heavy palanquins.

Canto 86, stanza 2. From the description in canto 86 it is evident that the Bubat plain (*tṛgal*) was situated at some distance from the Royal compound outside the town of Majapahit (as far as the Majapahit complex could be called a town in the modern sense of the word), on the southern bank of the river Brantas. Probably its extension was about 100 acres or something more than 4 hectares. This moderate extension is in accordance with the fact mentioned in the commentary on chapter 2 that in 14th century Majapahit dimensions of buildings, courtyards etc. were smaller than in modern Javanese towns. No doubt the population too was smaller and so was the cultivated area of the country.

A Royal highway (*rājamārga*) is mentioned also in canto 18—1. It was situated in the district of Kapulungan at the starting-point of the Royal Progress to the eastern districts. Probably both highways were rather wide unpaved roads expressly made in order to facilitate the passing of crowds of people and caravans of carts in the neighbourhood of important centres. No doubt the Bubat highway mentioned in canto 86—2 was the principal line of communication between the Majapahit complex and its river port, accommodating the (for 14th century conditions) lively traffic of travellers and merchandise. The Royal *Caitra* procession passing over it every year required much space too. Probably the rest of the roads in the country were far narrower.

Bubat was the river port of Majapahit on the river Brantas. As a consequence of the relatively sparse population large tracts of land in the hills still were covered by forests. As the well-wooded mountain slopes regulated the water-supply, in the 14th century the Javanese rivers had a higher water-mark and a more regular supply than at present. Probably Bubat was reached by the sea-going craft of the time. At least large river-vessels could be brought up from Surabaya either by sail or by paddling and poling. At the time of the West

monsoon fair in Majapahit the Bubat water-front may have been full of ships of many nations.

Bubat is repeatedly mentioned in Old Javanese literature. According to the Paraton and other texts a gory battle was fought there in the time of the grand-vizir Gajah Mada against a Sundanese King. In the Nāg, this episode is not mentioned at all, probably because its memory was distasteful to the King on account of the Sundanese Princess's death. No doubt the Sundanese force reached the Majapahit river port by way of the Brantas and the Java sea, having sailed from some port in West Java where the Sundanese people still were master of the coast. In after years westward expansion of Muslim Javanese along the North coast cut off the Sundanese from the sea forcing them to settle in the Priangan highlands.

The Bubat plain, i.e. the river-front, was surrounded (on three sides apparently) by *bhawanas* (rendered: large buildings), manors of mandarins, densely crowded, in groups. Probably this description refers to crowded quarters of a town (not to be found in the Majapahit complex) consisting of warehouses and strong dwelling houses inhabited by merchants of high standing, mostly of foreign extraction. The remark that they were built in groups (*mapanfa*) is reminiscent of the ancient custom of foreign merchants to keep trading-posts (formerly called factories) in the ports they traded to regularly. Merchandise was kept safe in the warehouses and the strong house was the place of the factor and his staff who sold the imported wares and bought a new cargo for the home-going ships. Of course rivalling factories owned by merchants of different nationality were built apart. No doubt this situation is meant by the remark on the groups of buildings around the Bubat water-front.

Beside trading-posts of foreign merchants (probably the Indians and Chinese mentioned in canto 83—4) Javanese traders may have had their houses in 14th century Bubat too. In Javanese traditions on the beginning of Islam in Java in the 15th and 16th centuries the existence of a class of native traders and ship-owners in the sea-ports Surabaya, Grěsik and Tuban is presupposed. Perhaps even in pre-Muslim times many of those men were of mixed blood, having intermarried with families of foreign merchants and shipmasters. Being in constant contact with their foreign trade partners and relatives those traders were the first Javanese to learn something about Islam. In the course of time this led to conversions. From the houses of well-to-do traders

Islam spread in the sea-ports and ere long an important part of Javanese society was Islamized.

The possibility of Muslim traders, either foreigners or Islamized Javanese, forming a group even in 14th century Bubad in King Hayam Wuruk's reign, is not to be discarded. The first Muslim sultanate in the Archipelago was founded in Aceh even before the founding of the Majapahit kingdom by King Hayam Wuruk's grandfather.

Canto 86, stanza 3. Various temporary structures (*buat-buat*) in the centre of the Bubad plain are mentioned. Probably the *panggung*s (here rendered: stands) are meant where the Court sat to look at the games. As the popular sporting events took place in the daytime the stands were certainly roofed to provide shadow and shelter against unexpected showers. Probably the *panggung*s in Bubad were open halls raised on pillars of man's height allowing the onlookers a free sight over the heads of the people who sat below on the ground.

In canto 32—5 tales (*kathā*) are mentioned used for decoration and in canto 11—2 pillars (*saka*) with wood-carvings (*ukir-ukiran*) are found. As the stands were temporary bamboo structures (they were taken down, "pulled up" at the end of the seven days sports) wooden pillars are improbable. Perhaps in canto 86—3 *stambha* refers to wooden panels decorated with carved figures en relief, suspended between the bamboo poles of the stands to fill up the gaps and by way of decoration. Wooden panels, rectangular, often with a triangular top, with carved figures of spectacular personages like Hanuman and Bhīma, have been found in Cērbon, a West Javanese sea-port on the Java sea where numerous relics of so-called Pasisir (i.e. Coast) art and culture have been preserved. As many Cērbon panels have two small holes near the centre fit to fix a loop of string in, they are supposed to have served as places where gentlemen temporarily hung up their crisses, passing the weapons' sheaths through the loops. As sitting for a long time on end with a criss in one's girdle is most uncomfortable, in modern times Javanese gentlemen readily avail themselves of the opportunity to lay aside their crisses.

As the Skt. word *stambha* is related to *stambhana* which is used in Old Javanese in the sense of a (magic) defence against disaster (modern Javanese: *tolak*) the wooden panels with carved figures of Indian heroes may have been considered at the Majapahit Court as guardians of peace and safety. At the Majapahit Court the use of *stambhas* as pegs to hang crisses on seems improbable because the wearing of crisses

was not yet as general and popular at the time as it became in the flowering period of the post-Majapahit Coast art and culture.

The Royal camp (*skandhawara*) at Bubad was separated by the length of the plain from the Royal highway by which the procession descended from the Majapahit complex in the foot-hills of the mountain massif. It crossed the Bubad plain which was the centre of the foreign establishments on the river. Certainly the Royal procession was made up to make an impression of grandeur on the foreigners. The fame of the Majapahit King being a god on earth was spread in the Archipelago and along the coasts of the continent mainly by sea-faring people; many of them may have seen the Royal *Caitra* procession.

No doubt the camp consisted of temporary structures made of bamboo and leaves. It was used only for seven days. Apparently the distance from the Royal compound of Majapahit to Bubad on the river Brantas made a temporary sojourn in the plains necessary. The identification of the camp with the Interior of the Royal compound refers to the perfect accommodation (as seen from the point of view of a 14th century Majapahit courtier) offered by the temporary structures.

Canto 87, stanza 1. From the description of the stands the favourable position of the Royal Family and the noblemen is apparent. As they looked west they did not have the sun in their eyes during the morning. Probably during the afternoon the sporting competitions were suspended on account of the heat, or at least the Court retired for the midday repast and a siesta. Perhaps the reference to a selection (*pinik*) means that only a limited number of favoured members of the lower nobility (*para kshatriya*) was allowed on this occasion to sit next to the Royal Family, although in separate stands. The higher nobility, in the first place the Prince-Consorts and their relatives, of course sat with the Royal Family in the central stand. No doubt the bishops (*dharmaadhyakṣa*) are mentioned expressly among the gentlemen sitting opposite the Royal stand because the poet was with them, being a member of the Buddhist episcopal family. As no more stands are mentioned probably the mandarins, however exalted their rank, had to sit on the ground on their own mats surrounded by their own relatives and servants. Perhaps it was considered irreverent for anybody not of the Royal kin to sit in public on a place at a level with the seat of Royalty, or at the same height with them. As in the Royal presence

the use of sunshades (the well-known marks of rank) probably was forbidden the gentlemen sitting opposite the King on the ground with the sun in their eyes may have felt rather uncomfortable.

In the last verse of canto 87—1 the arena for the sporting events at Bubat is very aptly compared to the great field (*lěbuh agōng*) before the main gate of the Royal compound at Majapahit, mentioned in canto 8—1. The Majapahit field had in its centre a ring for cock-fights (if the interpretation of *iděran* is right) comparable to the arena in the centre of the Bubat plain. From the watch-tower (*panggung*) of the Royal compound people commanded the great field just like the Royal stand (*panggung*) in Bubat provided a good view on the plain. The two *panggungs* served similar ends.

The designation *pamanggung* (mounting the stand), used in canto 86—3 for the Royal attendance at the Bubat sporting events proves the importance attached by the Court and the populace to this function, one of the few occasions on which Royalty appeared in public outside the Royal compound for a considerable time on end, and apparently not observing etiquette very strictly. The common people and the foreigners could have a good look at King Hayam Wuruk and his Court during their seven days sitting on the Royal stand. Great sporting events of the kind described in canto 87 do not occupy an important place in modern Central Javanese Court life. The Yogyakarta Court's regular attendance at the annual horse races (a late nineteenth century Dutch import) might be compared in some respects with the Majapahit Court's Bubat week, though.

In the 19th century on great occasions (but not annually on fixed dates) the Javanese Kings (and also, imitating them, Regents of districts) used to arrange *parampogans*, vulgo called *rampog*-parties, in the outer courtyards of their compounds. Inside a wide closely serried ring of men armed with long lances, standing at attendance, a tiger, caught some time before and kept in a cage, was set free. Trying to escape from the ring the animal was caught on the points of the lances and killed. Sometimes a particularly strong tiger managed to clear the ring of lances, though. Another spectacle of the same kind, arranged in the same surroundings, was a fight of a tiger and a buffalo. Invariably the tiger was spitted on the horns of the buffalo. Probably these and similar animal fights were connected in the onlookers' minds with the fundamental cosmic dualism, the tiger representing chaotic, unruly chthonic powers, to be subdued by Royal authority representing cosmic order (v. *Volksvertoningen*). The spectacles were often attended by high

Dutch officials and the excitement of the onlookers was great. Though the Bubad sporting contests certainly were not animal fights, in the frame of popular festivities they may have occupied a similar place as the 19th century *rampog*-parties. In the commentary on canto 8—4 the tigers' cage on the *alun-aluns* of the modern Surakarta and Yogyakarta Royal compounds has been mentioned.

Canto 87, stanza 2. In this stanza various competitions and fights are mentioned. *Prang tandung* (rendered: fight of competition) probably refers to fighting dances of armed men or groups of men, always ending in a draw. In Javanese dancing art they are not uncommon (v. *Volks-vertoningen*). The grace and the agility of the performers are greatly admired by the public. Fights with blows (*prang pupuh*) with stakes of wounds might be real fights of men armed with clubs and possibly provided with bucklers. In modern Javanese dancing performances such fights are well known, but then, being transported into the sphere of art, they are not sanguinary any more. *Kañjar* seems to have the sense of a lunge or a thrust with a sharp weapon. In modern Javanese dancing art at the Yogyakarta Court *kāñjar* is a triumphant dance of a victor round his defeated enemy lying prostrate.

Perhaps the distinction between on the one hand fights and combats and on the other boxing and tug-of-war (accentuated by *len*) points to the chivalrous character of the former performances (by men-at-arms) and the more popular amusement afforded by the latter. Boxing (*prēp*) might refer to a free fight without weapons. Tug-of-war (*matali-tali*) is well known as a public amusement. Both give opportunity to groups opposed one to another either by different nationality or on other grounds to vent their wrath and to show off their strength. A remarkable tug-of-war of Princes of different nationality pretending to the hand of a Balinese princess is described in a legendary history of the Majapahit period (*Sērat Kaṇḍa*) mentioned in Brandes' Pararaton edition (1920, p. 218).

In the description of the sporting events no mention is made of any musical accompaniment. It seems certain, though, considering what is seen and heard in similar popular gatherings in modern Java and Bali, that the spectacle of the contests and the fighting dances was enlivened by music, probably drums and trumpets of different kinds, which at times made a deafening noise. Probably the excitement caused by the looking at the contests, the music and the betting was one of the

principal attractions of the Bubat festival, both for the Court and for the commoners.

Cock-fights are not included in the description of the Bubat sporting week. Probably cock-fights as a rule were arranged in smaller gatherings in specially made rings. The crowd and the noise of Bubat may have been thought unsuitable for cock-fights and injurious to the health of the valuable birds.

Though it is not mentioned in the text no doubt betting was done on a great scale during the seven days sporting at Bubat. As gambling and betting on the issue of all kinds of fights play an important role in Javanese social life it would be very strange indeed if the gentlemen, commoners and foreigners assembled at Bubat would voluntarily have refrained from it. Perhaps the presence of foreign traders with (for the time) considerable sums of cash money at their disposal and adventurous (trade was an adventure all the time) added a zest to the gambling at Bubat.

In the 19th and 20th centuries popular contests, fights and betting (also cock-fights) were discouraged and partly suppressed by the Dutch Government (acting in accordance with the *pangulus* of the mosques, the representatives of orthodox Islam), on account of the disturbances of the peace and the waste of money inherent in the betting. Nevertheless in many country districts not only cock-fights but also customary free fights (e.g. between cattle-herds belonging to neighbouring villages) used to go on regularly. As gambling-debts no doubt were taken seriously in the Majapahit age, betting being an integral part of the sacral game of social life, perhaps in the frenzy of sporting and betting at Bubat some men lost all they had and even their freedom, becoming bondmen-for-debt of their luckier opponents.

It is not certain that the Royal Princesses and the ladies of the zenanas took part in the sporting festival at Bubat. The text is not clear on this point. The same is the case in some more places where information on the role played by the ladies would be welcome. Perhaps from 19th century Javanese customs it is to be inferred that the Bubat sporting festival, where Royalty was surrounded by a great crowd, including foreigners, was considered an unsuitable place for ladies of high rank. It is quite possible that in the zenanas the ladies had meanwhile an exclusive female celebration, but information on zenana life is not to be expected from a 14th century Court poet.

The seven days (four and three, according to canto 87—2—4) of the Bubat sporting are in accordance with the seven days of the procession

with the pavilions mentioned in canto 83—6. Just like the other features of the *Phālguna-Caitra* festival the competitions and fights with betting at Bubāt fitted into the frame of a New-year's celebration. Fighting performances and the excitement caused by betting are often found at passing-over ceremonies. Probably primeval antagonism of moieties of an ancient tribal society lies at the back of it (v. *Volksvertoningen*).

Perhaps the reason why the fights were held at Bubāt instead of somewhere in or near the Majapahit complex is the character of the port being an entrance and an outlet for people of many nationalities and the character of the river being the way to lands beyond the sea. Both features might strike Majapahit Javanese as making the riverport pre-eminently fit to be the place of a passing-over celebration from one year into another. The choice of the place on the life-bringing river is reminiscent of celebrated sacred towns and places of pilgrimage on rivers in India.

Canto 87, stanza 3. The pleasure alluded to in canto 87—3—2 was caused by the taking down of the stands (and the Royal camp too, perhaps). The temporary bamboo structures were left to the populace. No doubt the men of Bubāt found the materials useful for their own ends.

The common village communities (*grāma*, if the emendation for *shrāma* is right) and their ceremonious leave-taking (*amwit*), having received presents from the King, perhaps had assisted in the construction of the stands and the camp at Bubāt and afterwards taken part in the games. Their being rewarded with gifts of textiles and food is evidence that they were not unfree men like the Royal bondmen (*bhērtya*) who were commanded to carry the palanquins. The commoners of canto 87—3 are distinguished from the elders and speakers (*buyut wadana*) whose leave-taking is mentioned in the beginning of the next canto as taking place in the Interior (*i dalēm*). The *buyut wadanas* are given a more respectful word (*umantuk*) to designate their going home than the *grāmas* (*umulih*). Though the modern Javanese distinction between synonymous words with implications of rank does not hold good in all cases in the 14th century Majapahit Court idiom (cf. the case *laku-lampah* of canto 84—4/5) certainly the elders and speakers of canto 88—1 are to be considered as men of higher standing than the common villagers of canto 87—3.

Canto 88, stanza 1. In cantos 88 and 89 the sixth feature of the *Caitra* Court festival, the formal gathering of the Royal Family and the representatives of the country, the speakers, is described. Probably attendance at this function in particular was obligatory both for governors (*adhipati*) and for important landowners, lairds of manors. Absence without suitable excuse could be construed as rebellion, at least contempt of Royal authority. In the *Pararaton* (p. 25—50) is mentioned the case of *Wirarāja*, a lord of the eastern districts (Iamajang) in the reign of King Jayanagara who, feeling slighted, refused to go up to Majapahit for the *kawolu* ceremony. This name for the *Phalguṇa-Caitra* festival is found also in canto 20—2 (v. commentary). *Phalguṇa* was the eighth month (*wolu*: eight) of the Javanese calendar of the Majapahit period.

Probably the elders (*buyuts* of rural communities) and the speakers (*wadanas* of the landed gentry) mentioned in canto 88—1 were the same persons as the chiefs of elders (*juru buyut*) and the lairds of manors (*mantri akuwu*) of canto 85—1. As usual the two groups of countrymen are distinguished. No doubt their being received in the Interior of the Royal compound was a distinction. The place meant in canto 88—1 is the inner courtyard between the First and the Second Gates just outside the Royal Family's private courtyards (v. canto 10). It is comparable to the inner courtyard, the place of the great *pṛṇḍāpḍ*, in the modern Central Javanese Royal compounds.

The two Honourables (*ārya*) have title-names ending in *adhikāra* (administration), which points to their high rank in Majapahit Court officialdom. They are mentioned again in canto 91—4 as masters of the ceremonies. Divination (a tentative rendering of *padḥlḥgan*) certainly was indispensable in the organization of important gatherings because the moments of the principal actions had to be fixed beforehand by means of divination tables. Perhaps the two Majapahit Honourables' office survives in the function of the two *gaṇḍḍeks*, a kind of Royal heralds and messengers at the modern Central Javanese Courts, always appearing together. Probably the remark on the time of day (in the morning) of the governors' entering into the Royal Presence (*umarḥk*) points to the practising of divination in order to find an auspicious moment for the important meeting.

The Honourable *Raṇḍadhikāra* introduced the governors (*adhipati*). In the commentary on chapter 4 the position of the governors in the outlying districts has been discussed. Certainly their appearance at Court on the occasion of the *Caitra* festival was deemed of the utmost

importance. Either they belonged by birth to the class of the landed gentry (*juru kuuu*, *mantri akuwu*, lairds of manors) or they were vested with authority by the King to keep the country gentlemen in their districts in order. No doubt they were followed by many men of that class (mentioned in canto 85—1—3); they took the lead of them as speakers (*wadana*).

Probably the fellow-headmen (*pañca tanḍa*) who were introduced by the second Honourable as their chief (or chairman, *juru*) were representatives of rural communities. The compound *pañca tanḍa* is also found in the Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa. *Pacotanḍa* (charters of Katiḍen and Shela Maṇḍi) seems to be a corruption, found frequently in more recent texts (*pēcat tanḍa*). As *tanḍas* (rendered: headmen) no doubt were men of lower rank than *mantris* (mandarins, gentlemen) the elders or speakers of rural communities who were allowed to enter into the Royal Presence as representatives of their class perhaps were given the *tanḍa*-rank to distinguish them from their betters the country gentlemen, and at the same time to do them justice as being above the level of common villagers.

The last verse of canto 88—1 seems to accentuate the equality (*paḍa*) of the two groups of country representatives, the powerful governors and the humble rural headmen, in the eyes of Royalty. In fact neither group belonged to the Court, both were entering into the Royal Presence to give proof of their allegiance. The three speeches made by the Princes of Wēngkēr and Singasari and by the King himself were addressed to the two groups in turn or together. Their purports are partly different, though.

"Waited upon in company" (*linangkil apupul*) seems to imply the presence at the audience both of the Royal Family and the Court. The description of the great hall in cantos 9 and 10 is to be connected with the *Caitra* audience. The places of the principal groups of Court officers are indicated there.

Canto 88, stanza 2. The speeches refer to conditions of the countryside. The title *andyan* (or *handyan*, *anden*, rendered: squire, the modern Javanese *rahaden*, *raden*, to be rendered: Sir) is used several times. Probably it belongs to the representatives of the landed gentry, the lairds of manors. The addition etcetera in canto 88—2—1 perhaps points to the common village-elders, who are otherwise rather neglected. There is evidence of their presence, though, in the description of the community meal in canto 90—1. The squires, the country-gentlemen,

are called commoners (*para*) because they did not belong to the Court. For the same reason the expression *waishya*-condition (third estate character, *kaushyān*) is used with reference to the country people. In canto 81—3—4 *waishya sabhāmi* (the third estate all over the country) evidently is used in contradistinction to the clergymen and the noblemen at Court identified with the two superior castes of the Indian system.

The four foundations (*kīrti*) mentioned in the Wēngkēr speech in canto 88—2—4 were meant to serve the public weal. Dams (*setu*) were necessary for irrigation. Dyke-roads (*damārga*) made traffic possible through marshes and complexes of irrigated fields. *Ficus* trees were planted to give shadow and shelter to travellers. Probably in many places way-side markets were held under high and venerated trees. In the Nāg. idiom *gērha* refers to buildings of higher standing than *yasha*. Perhaps by *gērha* are meant halls or pavilions built by men of wealth and influence in favourable spots to accommodate people (in the first place their own relatives and descendants) with a place for social meetings and conferences. In King Hayam Wuruk's Decree Jaya Song (edited and translated in the present book) reference seems to be made to the foundation of a pavilion for that end in the courtyard of a sanctuary. It is remarkable that among the foundations for the common weal no wells or fountains are mentioned. In a similar Rājapatigunḍala passage on *yasha* (p. 15a) ponds and fountains are given the first place, though.

Canto 88, stanza 3. The interesting information of this stanza is evidence of the large area of not yet opened land available in 14th century East Java. At that time over-population had not yet set in. On the contrary, in that period, and for several centuries after it, there was a shortage of agriculturists. Landowners, both private persons and Princes, were bent on attracting people to have lands opened up. Not before the 19th century over-population seems to have gradually set in in Central and East Java as a consequence of enforced peace (*pax Neerlandica*) and improved sanitary conditions (putting down of endemic diseases).

Neglect of agricultural lands both terraced and irrigated (*sawah*, so-called paddyfields) and un-terraced (*gaga*, fields in the hills, mostly temporarily under cultivation) seems to have been much in evidence in the 14th century. In the Prince of Wēngkēr's speech special stress is laid on permanent cultivation. Attracting and keeping immigrant agriculturists willing to open up new land was thought a good expedient

to have the area of cultivated land increased. Rural community territory (*karāman*, lands of the *rāma desha*, Fathers or householders of rural districts) and resident farmers (*kulīna*, members of old agricultural families native in the district, descendants of founders), mentioned in this stanza, point to rural communities of the *ḍapur* type. No doubt the *kulīnas* are to be identified with the nucleus of village people (in Dutch terminology: *kerndorpers*) who are known to have ruled the more or less democratically organized rural communities for a long time. In some modern Javanese dialects *kraman* means: a member of the nucleus of farmers. The *kulīnas'* reason for driving away immigrants was fear lest their own influence in community affairs might decline as a consequence of the presence of strangers from other districts, probably having other customs and speaking another dialect of Javanese. Opposition against new settlements on the lands of their villages on the part of the nucleus-farmers has been noted in recent times. It was not altogether unreasonable.

The interest in rural expansion shown by prominent members of the Majapahit Royal Family is an instance of the influence exercised by the Court on the development of the country. No doubt it was the Royal Family's own interest that prompted them. In canto 89—2 the economic relation of the Royal compound and the rural districts is shown most clearly. That does not alter the fact that on the whole Javanese rural economy probably profited by Royal rule.

Neither religious domains nor secular estates (*dharmas* and *sīmas* owned by the landed clergy and gentry) are included in the Prince of Wēngkēr's admonition against neglect. Probably domanial and estate lands were for the greater part cultivated by unfree labourers, bondmen standing under the landowners' authority. The ecclesiastical and secular landowners were considered sufficiently aware of their interest in keeping their lands under cultivation. They were not in need of admonitions.

No doubt the *pratigunḍalas* (regulations) of cantos 88—3—4 and 89—1—1 and the *patik-guṇḍalas* of cantos 79—2—3 and 81—1—3 are related. The difference in spelling is difficult to explain. The *pratigunḍalas* seem to refer to regulations given by King Hayam Wuruk and his mother.

A Balinese reader of the Nāg. codex saw fit to make a marginal note on canto 88—3 thus worded: the keeping in good state of rural districts (*pamaywaning desha*). Evidently the importance of the information on Majapahit rural economy did not escape him.

Canto 88, stanza 4. Whereas the Prince of Wēngkēr's speech on economics is given two stanzas his brother-in-law's the Prince of Singasari's only occupies one stanza. The latter is said to approve of the former's words. In fact the Prince of Wēngkēr seems to have been the most energetic of the two.

In contradistinction to the general remarks on economics in canto 88—2/3 the two admonitions in canto 88—4 seem to refer to social and religious order. Probably the first warning is against potential evil-doers. Perhaps in the 14th century the custom to register both convicted and suspected thieves and to keep an eye on them, eventually compelling them to dwell together in special wards, was known already. It prevailed till recent times in some districts of Central Java.

Any specification of the transgressors by negligence is lacking. Probably the date at the end of the month *Āṣāḍha* (June-July) refers to the ordered registration, not to the transgression. As *Āṣāḍha* (if the interpretation of *Sada* is right) was the 12th month of the official Majapahit calendar the making an account of transgressions put on record during the year, eventually to be punished by the Royal judges, seems a plausible interpretation of the difficult verse.

The last verses of canto 88—4 also refer to offences. Probably the expression "practising deceit in companionship" (*añidra lawanan*) refers to incest and adultery and to forbidden sexual relations of couples belonging to different social groups. As offences of that kind were considered nefarious and obnoxious to social and cosmic order their penalties were heavy.

The fines inflicted by the judges on the miscreants were partly due to the King. That is the meaning of the last verse mentioning the *Prabhu's* property (*dārwaṃ sang Prabhu*, synonymous with *dārwaṃ haji*, the lord's property, the usual term in the charters' idiom for the Royal revenue). Offenders who were unable to pay their fines were made Royal bondmen (*bhērtiya*, *kawula*). Some justification of this procedure is offered in the last words of the stanza: the Royal revenue was indispensable for the King in his taking care of the country.

The Prince of Singasari's two admonitions seem to be addressed more to local authorities, governors and gentlemen, than to elders of rural communities. In fact the Royal audience was attended also by assessors-at-law (*mantri upapatti*, mentioned in canto 89—3). The reason why the gentlemen were ordered to be diligent in criminal cases was the public weal and the benefit to the Court. Most probably, though, the authorities and the judges themselves benefited too, namely by a

part of the fines inflicted on offenders who were brought up for trial by their diligence, and subsequently convicted.

Canto 88, stanza 5. King Hayam Wuruk's speech is given three stanzas, as much as the two previous speeches together. It seems to be addressed to the commoners (*sāmya*) in general, without special reference either to the gentry or the peasantry. Living all of them outside the Court sphere they were equally considered commoners at Court.

The King's admonitions tend to reconciliation of the interests of the country and the Court, no doubt a suitable stand for Royalty to take. The characterization of his speech as soothing (*angupashama*, also said of the grand-vizir Gajah Mada in canto 12—4) perhaps refers to reconciliation. It is called a continuation (*sumantēn*) of the two Princes' speeches because especially the last stanza (canto 89—2) is recapitulation.

The play upon the words *sāmya* (commoner) and *tan wiṣama* (not troublesome) is typically Javanese. Being visited (*katēkan*) is to be understood in connection with the next verses as referring to visits of officers of the Court or members of the Royal Family at houses of commoners in the country. Probably especially collectors of taxes due to the King are meant.

Rājakārya, Royal function, was in the Majapahit official idiom applied both to ceremonies and activities at Court (the *Rājaputri's* *shrāddha* is called a *rājakārya*) and to labour and levies in kind and in cash required from the people in order to make those activities possible. In the latter sense *rājakārya* might be rendered: Royal taxes.

Palawang (rendered: door-tax on account of the meaning of *lawang*: door) is mentioned in several charters. Probably it was due by every householder. Its modalities are unknown. *Pasēgēh* (rendered: obligatory regalement, from *sēgēh*, regale, treat offered to a guest, several times mentioned in the *Nāg.*) perhaps was only due to messengers from the Court as mentioned above. People who "want to pass by" probably refers to householders who tried to back out of their obligations. The reflection on oneself in the last verse of canto 88 is to be connected with obliging conduct (not troublesome) expected from commoners (*sāmya*).

The King's right to those taxes seen from the point of view of 14th century Javanese is expressed by the name *rājakārya*. Being the social and divine head of the community he expected all members, i.e. all

responsible Javanese men, to offer him contributions in kind, in cash or in labour on all important occasions, in the same way as all members of a family used to contribute on the occasion of a family celebration or house-building of the head of the family. Probably in the 14th century several obligatory contributions already had acquired the character of taxes without visible connection with the ends for which they were originally destined, though.

No doubt the Royal taxes were a heavy burden laid on the commoners' shoulders. Especially the Royal Progresses must have consumed a considerable part of the supplies of rice and other victuals of sparsely populated districts. Probably the King had ample occasion to observe the straits wherein rural communities and country gentlemen were as a consequence of his passing. His attempt to conciliate the interests of the Court and the country was prompted partially by a sense of social justice.

Canto 89, stanza 1. The regulations (*pratigunḍala*), two times mentioned in the course of the speeches, seem to be Royal Decrees issued by successive Kings. The *Rājapatigunḍala* that is edited and translated in the present book appears to be issued by King Kērtanagara of Singasari. In fact it consists of rather loosely connected regulations. The texts of the Decrees mentioned in cantos 88 and 89 seem to be lost.

Under a regulation of King Hayam Wuruk's mother the Princess of Jiwana who acted as Regent of the realm from 1328 till 1350 (according to Krom's H.J.G.) the commoners' obligation to prepare food for guests entitled to regalement (*paṣṭgēh*) seems to be limited to the morning by daylight (*eñjing yan paḍang*). As light (*paḍang*) also refers to a clear sky and absence of rain perhaps during the time rain was falling people were not expected to cook. As many preparations for the preparing of food were done in the open air the heavy tropical showers made cooking impossible.

Probably this regulation meant an alleviation; the commoners henceforth had to cook for their guests only once a day, not at night. No doubt by cooking (*angratēng*) is meant cooking of a rice meal, rice being the only food considered worthy of the name by the Javanese. Pastry and cakes, though not unknown, were delicacies. As cooked rice can not be preserved very well in the moist tropical climate, for every meal rice was to be cooked anew. For travellers arriving late in

the evening after a strenuous day it must have been disappointing to find their hosts unwilling to furnish a cooked meal. Perhaps they were served with dry cakes, though.

The second half of canto 89—1 refers to another alleviation of the commoners' burden. Evidently Court officers and Royal relatives, requiring regalement, sometimes were violent. In case of injuries suffered (*lara*) the commoners had the right to lodge a complaint with the King (*angajarakèn*). Though probably the commoners seldom had the courage to denounce Royal officers and noblemen who injured them the regulation may have had a deterrent effect.

Canto 89, stanza 2. The end of the King's speech is a summary of the reasons for the issuing of the regulations mentioned in the preceding speeches. Addressing in general both the Court and the country representatives the King stresses their community of interests. As lions (*singha*) are unknown in Java the comparison is suggestive of an Indian origin. Nitishāstra (ed. Poerbatjaraka, K.B.G., 1933) canto 1—10 is a parallel of the King's peroration. The lion can not live without the wood where he finds game, and so the Court can not live without the country that sustains it. The references to the destruction of agriculture and shortage of food are to be connected with the Prince of Wēngkēr's speech on economics. Perhaps unlawful requisitions and oppression as mentioned in canto 89—1 ruined the country by causing the peasants to fly abandoning their fields.

The King uses the word *bhērtiya* (rendered: retinue) in the general sense of country people, subjects. The modern Javanese word *kawula* originally had the same sense as *bhērtiya*: bondman. In the course of time *kawula* was also used by Kings referring to their subjects in general.

The King's warning against attacks from foreign islands (*paranāṣa*) is remarkable. As far as known in the 14th century the Majapahit kingdom was not menaced by invasions from the other islands of the Archipelago. Probably the warning is given only in general. Any supposed reference either to the Chinese invasion of 1292 or to Madurese immigrants in East Java (who assisted in the founding of Majapahit) seems rather far-fetched.

The duality peasant's lands/town (*thāni-nagara*) mentioned in canto 89—2 is to be identified with the couple rural community/ town (*desd-nagård*) often found in modern Javanese parlance and literature. It is used in the old saying: the town is the exponent of order, the village is the exponent of custom (*nagård mādwd ldtā, desd mādwd cdrā*), at

present sometimes applied in loose talk to the evident differences in regulations and customs all over the country. No doubt the couple country-side/ town appealed to Javanese dualistic thinking. It is most appropriately mentioned at the end of the speech of the King who is by right the reconciliator of antitheses. The stability (*pagèh*) mentioned in that connection refers to social and cosmic order of which Royalty was the exponent.

Cantos 88 and 89 do not contain faithful reports of speeches actually spoken in the Royal compound of Majapahit. The poet produced the two Princes and the King having a speech each in order to break the monotony of the descriptions. Nevertheless Royal admonitions on occasions of state are not improbable. Even in the 20th century the Surakarta King used to give sometimes short admonitions in public to his assembled officers and servants of all ranks on the occasion of the weekly gatherings (*sènen-kĕmis*: Monday and Thursday) in the *sitinggil* hall. The essence of the speeches as reproduced in cantos 88 and 89 seems well applicable to the circumstances, the *Caitra* New-year celebration.

Canto 89, stanza 3. In the "common speakers" (*para wadana*) of this stanza the representatives of the landed gentry and of rural communities seem to be taken together. Probably the men sat in rows on the ground before the great hall (*witana*) of the inner courtyard (between the Second Gate and the First Gate) mentioned in cantos 9 and 10. The bowing (*pranata*) refers to the attitude of reverence called in modern Javanese *makidupah*. The unanimous approval (*eka hatur*) of the assembly is typically Javanese. It is to be identified with the so-called bird's answer (*sahur manuk*) of modern Javanese custom and literature: the shouting of a formula of approval (mostly *sandikd*: as you are pleased to order) by all persons present at a gathering. It was the customary answer to Government officers' orders or proposals in village assemblies till far into the 20th century. Voting by majority is contrary to the Javanese sense of social order. Measures binding all should be approved unanimously by all.

The presence of the assessors-at-law (*upapatti*) has not expressly been mentioned before. Probably the audience was attended by all Court officers of any importance (v. canto 88—1—4). In the description of the inner courtyard in canto 10 the bishops and the assessors are standing near the great hall. Perhaps the gentlemen of the law in waiting served as witnesses at the moment the country representatives were

to enter into the Royal Presence to do homage. Eventually they could form a body-guard.

In the same way as in the first verse the representatives of rural communities must be included in the common squires (*para handyan*) of the third verse of stanza 3. If they were excluded or had retired before the poet would have mentioned it. Retiring while an audience is on would be considered an act of contempt of Royalty.

Probably the ceremony of entering into the Royal Presence (*umarêk*) was on the part of the country representatives the most important feature of their going up to Court. Though the manner in which they did homage to the King is not specified it seems reasonable to suppose they were called upon (perhaps by the assessors) one by one or in small groups to enter the Royal hall (mounting some steps), reverentially to make the *añjali* and to retire to their places in the halls where their meals were served. The ceremony of wiping the Royal Feet (*umusap padatala*) mentioned in canto 91—9 seems to have been performed as a conclusion of the sacral feast. The initial entering into the Presence was socially and politically the most important feature.

Just like the ceremonial meal of the Royal Family happily reunited after the Progress to the eastern districts described in canto 58—3, the community meal at the end of the *Caltra* festival began at the stroke of three (*ghaṣita traya*), i.e. three times 48 minutes after midday, a little before 2.30. Apparently that time was considered auspicious for the beginning of a communion by eating together. In modern Java the beginning of the well-known community meals called *slamētans* is also timed by divination tables.

Probably at the 14th century Majapahit Court the time of the day was determined simply by the position of the sun above some mark in the landscape or by the length of the shadow of some tree or building. In the tropics not very far from the equator this simple method need not lead to grave errors. As large bronze bells were not in common use for secular ends in the Majapahit era the time of the day could only be made known to the public by strokes on a very large hollowed-out block of wood. In modern Javanese those blocks, also used for signalling, are called *kēñjongan*, in modern Balinese *kulkul*. Though the presence of a signalling-block in the Royal compound of Majapahit is not mentioned in chapter 2, it is not improbable at all that there was one. Perhaps it even had its place in the same courtyard where the audience was held, near the Second Gate where many officers were permanently on guard.

The use of "here" in canto 89—3 suggests the poet's presence in the inner courtyard. Being a member of the Buddhistic episcopal family he was entitled to a place among the ecclesiastical Court officers.

Canto 89, stanza 4. The position of the halls in the courtyard becomes clear by referring to cantos 9, 10 and 11. Evidently there were five halls: one central (probably placed before the First Gate, the entrance to the King's private courtyards) and four in the corners. The great audience was held in the central hall. For the repast the Royal Family retired to the (smaller) hall in the north-eastern corner. Probably the great hall's august majesty was incompatible with eating and drinking, at least in company with commoners. Perhaps the character of a community meal was accentuated by the Royal Family and the Court officers sitting with the country representatives in halls of the same type. The Royal hall was especially decorated anyway. In the inner courtyards of the modern Central Javanese Royal compounds special dining halls used for great banquets are found.

Probably the choice of the north-eastern hall as place for the Royal Family was determined by its being on the same side of the courtyard as the First Gate and (perhaps) annex to the great audience hall. North-east was the direction of the centre of the Majapahit complex as seen from the Royal compound; the sacred cross-roads (v. canto 8—2). Perhaps that direction also influenced the choice. Probably the food was prepared by women in the private courtyards and so the situation of the Royal hall near the First Gate from where the food was brought out also was convenient.

Unfortunately the order of the places in the three other halls is not mentioned in canto 89—2. Probably the Court officers sat in the south-eastern corner on the same side of the courtyard as Royalty, the landed gentry had their place in the north-western corner opposite the Royal Family and the representatives of rural communities were placed south-west in the most distant corner. However the order may have been, in the 14th century places at an important function certainly were not left to the discretion of the guests.

Probably in the description of the ceremonial courtyard in canto 9—4 beside the great sacral hall only the Royal dining-hall (in daily use as waiting-hall for Court officers of high rank) is mentioned. The other three dining-halls of canto 89—4, in the corners of the courtyard, are called houses (*weshma*) in canto 9—4.

The carriers (*wawan*) of gold mentioned in canto 89—4 are to be

connected with the silver plate (*bhājana*, emendation of *bhojana*) of canto 90—1. No doubt both are to be identified with the large round plates of about 50 cm (20 inches) diameter, often beautifully engraved, that have been found in many places in Java. The surviving plates are of beaten copper, the gold and silver ones in use at Court have long ago disappeared.

As to the food and the manner of its being served two groups are distinguished. The first group, consisting of the Royal Family and the courtiers, were served with ritually pure food on gold plate set before them according to rank (*atitah*). The second group eating impure food from silver plate probably was formed by the country people. No special order of serving is mentioned in their case. Probably all plates had a conical heap of cooked rice in the middle surrounded by several kinds of meat as mentioned in cantos 89—5 and 90—2. A small group of men of equal rank or belonging to the same family were invited to eat (with their fingers, of course) together from one plate. Perhaps the highest in rank, the King and his male relatives, were served with a gold plate each. If modern Javanese table manners are still nearly the same as those prevailing in 14th century Majapahit, finishing the plates was considered unmannerly and an indication of greed. The partly emptied plates were given to the servants to finish.

The *Rājapatni's shrāddha* ceremony as described in chapter 9 was performed by the Royal Family and the Court in company. Probably on that occasion the huge quantities of food were prepared in the compounds and the manors of the persons who offered them. At the *Caitra* festival, on the contrary, the King (or the Royal Family) was host. Probably all the food was prepared in the private courtyards behind the First Gate by women of the Royal household: bondwomen under supervision of the ladies.

There is no indication (nor is it probable) that the ladies of the Royal Family and of the Court were present at the audience and the following community meal. Whether in the private courtyards a ladies' party was going on at the same time as the gentlemen's repast beyond the First Gate is a matter for conjecture. The poet does not describe zenana life. Though the ladies had their own parties at their own time, no doubt, on the day of the great audience they probably were too much preoccupied by the preparation of the food for the sacral community meal.

In the four halls where the men were sitting the heavy plates with rice and meats no doubt were served up by men or boys. For women

that service would be unseemly and moreover too heavy. Again the poet does not specify "those who served up according to rank" (*humarēp-harēpakēn atitah*), because he knew his readers were familiar with Court manners. Probably the ancient rural custom of ordering boys and young men, relatives of the hosts and the guests, to serve up the food at community meals prevailed too at the Majapahit Court. In modern Javanese the groups of young people are called *sinoman* (from: *nom*, *anom*, young; v. *Volkstvertoningen*, and comm. Biluluk plate II verso 4). Some Old Javanese charters containing descriptions of community meals held on the occasion of the founding of a domain refer to that custom (v. BKI 114, 1958, on Javanese gold). The mention of the order according to rank, the etiquette, refers to young people of good family having the honour to serve the Royal Family and the Court as pages. Probably the young men in their best attire with the plates held high in their hands were seen entering the Royal courtyard from the side of the First Gate in a small procession, the best born, carrying the food for the Royal Family, in front.

Of course all gentlemen in the four halls sat on the ground on mats. In modern Java in similar circumstances Royalty and nobility are approached and served squatting. It is difficult to carry a heavy plate in one's hands while proceeding slowly, squatting on one's heels with a curious crab-like gait. Of course the heads of the illustrious gentlemen sitting on the ground should not be overtopped by those who served them. It is a matter for speculation whether in 14th century Majapahit etiquette rules were enforced with the same strength as in the 18th and 19th century Central Javanese Royal compounds. No doubt the divine Kings of Majapahit were approached with the utmost subservience. In the Tale of Hang Tuah, a Malay legendary history, a wily Malay gentleman, not being allowed by etiquette to raise his eyes in the august Presence and wanting very much to have a good look at the King, availed himself of the ruse of throwing back his head while eating some serpentine vegetables like purslane or some food of the macaroni kind that was slipped with the fingers into the wide open mouth. Though the same or a similar story is told also of other Oriental Courts and so need not be true, it is significant of the religious awe which was expected from people entering into the Royal Presence on great occasions.

Canto 89, stanza 5. The bees (*madhupa*) mentioned in the list of the ritually pure meats are to be identified with the honey-combs with

young bees still occasionally eaten in modern Java. The combination of fish and ducks is a consequence of their being aquatic animals and caught at the same time on lakes and rivers. It is a matter for regret that the text of the Old Javanese Lokapurāṇa is not available. Guesses on its probable Indian prototype and its contents have proved fruitless.

The ritually impure meats mentioned at the end of the canto seem to be divided into two groups. Dogs, tortoises, worms and mice are called absolutely forbidden (*hila-hila*, *tabu*). Frogs are only mean (*alpa*). The reason of this difference is unknown. Probably the absence of any mention of cows (as distinct from buffaloes), either in the list of the pure meats or with the tabooed ones points to Indian influence. The idea of killing a cow seems to have been abhorrent to 14th century Majapahit courtiers in the same way as it was to Indians. Nevertheless in the Royal Chase described in chapter 6 wild cattle (modern Javanese: *banṭeng*) were killed. Other peoples of the Archipelago, e.g. in Sumatra and Borneo, practised sacrificial slaughter of buffaloes. Probably by *meṣa* (rendered: mutton) goats are meant, animals that are more frequently found in Java than sheep. Sanskrit *meṣa* is used as a synonym of Javanese *wēḍus*, which means both goat and sheep.

The last verse of canto 89 seems to be a quotation from the Lokapurāṇa (with *rakwa*: so it is said). It is remarkable that the sanctions on transgression of the food taboos are merely social and material. No divine punishment is threatened.

As Kern remarks the list of tabooed meats in canto 89—5 is far from complete, compared with Indian food laws (Manu V, 11 seqq.). The five impure animals seem to be mentioned because they really belonged to the Javanese diet in the 14th century as they do even now. In canto 90—2 they are mentioned again as served to the common people. The worms are found inside rattan stalks, sugar-palms and coconut-palms. They are eaten roasted. In Javanese they are called *gēṇḍon*. The queen (called *gūṇḍik* in Javanese) of the so-called white ants (*rayap*, Javanese termites, *Termes fatalis*, *Termes gilvus*) and the flying males (*laron*) also are eaten roasted. The eating of frogs is not to be wondered at in a country where they thrive so well as a consequence of the moist tropical climate.

Canto 90, stanza 1. The expression rendered: the common people (*terwang akweh*: the many) seems to refer to the countrymen in contradistinction to the Royal Family and the Court. As even the commoners

were served on silver plate and regaled with many kinds of food and drink it is improbable that the lowest classes are meant. The difference between the guests mentioned in canto 90 and the Court's ceremonious repast referred to in canto 89—4 is characterized by unseemly haste (hurry-skurry, soon) and custom (*krama*) in succession (consecutively, *anuwarta*) as opposed to order according to rank (*titah*). No doubt the common countrymen were brought their food by boys and young men of lower rank than those who served the Royal Family and the Court.

Canto 90, stanza 2. The second half of this stanza refers to differences in diet and preferred food between Javanese country districts. The same is the case even now. The superiority of the Royal feast is said to be apparent by the fact that all people were served with the food they liked best.

Canto 90, stanza 3. The diversity of alcoholic drinks mentioned in Javanese literature is great. Islam and foreign import (both Chinese and European) caused many native drinks to fall into disuse. In Raffles' History of Java several kinds of liquor are mentioned that could not be produced by any means at present. The opinions on their recipes differ. *Sajëng* (rendered: liquor) seems to be the general name for native alcoholic drinks in the Majapahit Court idiom.

Probably the drinking began after the eating. Alternating eating with drinking is considered unmannerly. The golden carriers (*warwan*) mentioned in this stanza are the utensils for the drinking of liquor. Probably they had the shape of a common water-bottle or a decanter with a long neck provided with a loose hollow stop with a spout, through which the liquor was poured in a graceful jet into the opened mouth of the drinker. No beakers or cups were used, nor was the bottle brought into contact with the drinker's lips. As this manner of drinking is in use among old-fashioned people in Bali and Java to the present day probably at the 14th century Majapahit Court it was the usual one. Perhaps in some cases cylinders of bamboo joints with the partitions for bottoms, or imitations thereof, also were used as drinking vessels.

Of course the bottles or decanters all of gold mentioned in canto 90—3 have long since disappeared. The several kinds (*anekawarna*) of them perhaps survive in the variety of loose stops with spouts made of beautifully carved wood still found in Bali. In Java public drinking bouts have been brought into discredit by Islam and twentieth century European influence.

Canto 90, stanza 4. Probably it was the custom for a small set of men together to use one drinking bottle which was passed from hand to hand. The pots and jars contained the different kinds of liquor. As soon as a drinking bottle was empty it was filled again from one of the jars by means of a ladle. The circulating of the bottles is referred to by the "rushing around" of the liquor (*larih alinwër*). The panting (*anggapun*) perhaps was caused by choking as a consequence of the pouring of the jet into the open mouth.

The carouse at the 14th century Majapahit Court is to be compared with the drinking bout of the Tenggërese villagers on the occasion of their *Karo*-celebration (in *Ihâdra*, August-September). With the Tenggërese it was the custom to use cow-horns for drinking (*carat*).

At the Central Javanese Surakarta Court far into the 20th century a tradition was known about an annual ceremony called *Maesa-Lawung* ("buffalo at large") to be observed in the first month of the (Muslim-Javanese) year. Meat and drink of all kinds were to be prepared for that occasion. The reason of the celebration seems to have been forgotten long ago and the observance was perfunctory. The similarity with some features of the Majapahit *Caitra* festival (different kinds of meat, also impure, a New-year's celebration) is worthy of note, though.

Canto 90, stanza 5. In this stanza another remarkable feature of the Court community meal is mentioned. The rules of etiquette were suspended and Royalty did not exercise their prerogatives. Perhaps the gentlemen in the three corner halls were even visited (*pınaran*) by the Princes who for that end left their own hall and crossed the courtyard. Acts of geniality and fraternization of that kind are completely at variance with the distance at other times meticulously preserved between the divine Royal Family and common humanity. The poet's giving a whole stanza to the description of gentlemen behaving very unceremoniously and yet going unpunished warrants the supposition that Royal geniality was exceptional and unfitting, unless on the occasion of the *Caitra* community meal. The text does not mention any reason for the Princes' strange behaviour. Probably in the Majapahit period the significance of Royalty fraternizing with commoners on the occasion of a New-year's celebration was forgotten. The custom might have its origin in a remote past: the unapproachable King waiving for one day his right to divine worship and mixing with all sorts of people on a footing of equality. Similar customs, sometimes including the one-day's rule of a mock King, are well known from

other countries and other times. Combined with the sacral procession in state palanquins (the King perhaps appearing in divine attire) mentioned in canto 84 the exceptional geniality and fraternization of Royalty with commoners on the occasion of the *Caitra* festival is strongly reminiscent of Carnaval and all it stands for. The sacral performances of dance and music and the concluding purification ceremony described in canto 91 are in accordance with this conception. The demonstration of social and cosmic community by fraternization, rejoicing at the beginning of a new period and feasting on an abundance of good things are closely related.

Canto 90, stanza 6. In cantos 90 and 91 three different performances of music and dancing are mentioned:

1. singers (*gitada*) of Javanese songs (*kidung*), canto 90—6.
2. a (female) dancer (*juru i angin*) with companion or companions (*buyut*), canto 91—1/3.
3. a play with dancing and singing (*rakét*), canto 91—4/8.

Kern found the explanation of the Skt. word *gitada* in an Indian commentary on Bhāṇa's *Harṣacarita* where both *bhāṣakawī* and *gitida* (synonymous with *gitada*) appear with the meaning: a maker of songs, a vernacular poet. In Old Javanese *gita* and *kidung* are synonyms, both referring to songs in Javanese metres distinct from the Indian metres as used in the *Nāg*.

The description of canto 90—6, especially the reference to the singing in turns (*maganti*) and the competition (*alaga*, if the emendation is right) are suggestive of a performance of alternate singing of quatrains still well known in Malayan countries. The quatrains (Malay: *pantun*, modern Javanese, East Java idiom: *parikan*) consist of two initial verses containing a rather cryptical allusion and two final ones, rhyming and assonating with the preceding ones, containing an information or expressing a thought in response to the allusion. If quatrain singing is done by two singers or by two equal parties of singers one side begins by singing two verses with an allusion and the other side responds singing two verses to match, followed by another pair of allusive verses that are responded to in their turn by the beginning singer or singers. The allusions may have the character of riddles. The playing on words by assonance called *wangsalan* is very popular with Javanese quatrain makers. Of course the rhymes, the assonances

and the allusions are for the greater part fixed by tradition. Sometimes ingenious singers may invent a new allusion. Then it is up to an equally inventive mind on the other side to answer the challenge. At last both sides have exhausted their supply of quatrains, or one side fails to respond correctly. That is the end of the game. According to canto 90—6—4 the penalty for the losing side seems to have consisted in mockery, perhaps also in some traditional form.

The hearing of well-known quatrains sung by popular singers was a pastime well adapted to the Javanese mind incurious of novelties. The glorious foundations (*krthi*) of the Royal Family known by name by all present provided good material for the making of allusions. The more the pleasure of the public when their guess of the right response to a challenge proved to be right by the song of the other side. The combination of quatrain singing with drinking is also found in the Tenggërese *Karo* celebration. Of course the long time (*sowe*) it took before one side was compelled to acknowledge defeat was evidence of the superiority of the performance in the presence of Royalty and the Court.

Probably the quatrain singers mentioned in canto 90—6 were country men, for in the second performance, the *juru i angin* dance, courtiers appeared and the *rakhi* play was performed by members of the Royal Family. The sequence of rank from low to high was observed. In their quatrains the commoners could give utterance to their admiration for the King. Perhaps the two parties presupposed by the quatrain singing game were taken on the one hand from the landed gentry and on the other from the representatives of rural communities. Singers proficient in the game no doubt were much admired. Any group would be proud to have a champion in its midst.

Canto 91, stanza 1. The identification of *Juru i Angin* (the "Mistress of the Wind", no doubt the original form of *juruiyangan*) of canto 91—1/2 with a female dancer is founded primarily on the synonymy of the appellation with the name Ratu Angin-angin ("Ruler of the Winds") which belongs to a native Javanese deity apparently closely related to the Ratu Lara Kidul, the Maiden Queen of the Southern Ocean. The significance of this connection of the female dancer appearing at the Majapahit Court festival and the two native deities shall appear forthwith. The present author's previous opinion

on *rĕrangin*-dances (*Volkstvertoningen*, par. 418) is to be modified in this sense that probably the relation of the female dancer with *rĕrangin*-dances is not as close as he supposed.

Assuming the "Mistress of the Wind" of canto 91—1 was a female dancer and singer of Javanese songs (*kidung*) her appearance at Court is explicable. Two parts of dancing and singing of hers as described in stanza 1 and stanza 2 are to be distinguished.

Probably *Juru i Angin* and *Buyut* in canto 91—1 are as much title-names as *Manghuri* and *Kaṇḍamohi* in the second stanza. In the following *rakĕt* play *Shori*, *Gitada* and *Tĕkĕs* (canto 91—5) also are title-names: names of personages whose appearance is essential to the sacral performance. The fact of their being really names, not mere nouns is made apparent by the absence of the definite article *ang*.

Juru i Angin, the Mistress of the Wind, had two parts of dancing and singing, described in stanza 1 and stanza 2. The first part was essentially comical (witty, *cucud*) and perhaps erotic. The female dancer was accompanied by *Buyut* (Great-grandfather, and old man), probably a follower and astute servant (*pāṇḍkawan*) of the kind that is indispensable in Javanese plays. In the case of the *Juru i Angin* performance the contrast of the witty young woman and the (perhaps decrepit) old man might be thought funny by the Javanese gentlemen. Perhaps a pair or some pairs of *Buyuts* made their appearance.

The gifts of clothes by the countrymen (assuming the emendation *ring* is correct) were tokens of their appreciation for the dancer's art. In modern Java in rural districts the custom for men to throw articles of their own apparel, girdles e.g., on the floor at the feet of a female dancer as a token of admiration and erotic excitement still prevails, and in Javanese literature (*Cĕṇṭini*) it is described. The mention of this characteristic incident in canto 91—1 is a confirmation of the opinion that *Juru i Angin* was a female dancer.

Though in the Nāg. female dancers are not mentioned expressly probably they were not unknown at the Majapahit Court. In the *Nawanatya* (edited in the present book) the word *ringgit*, originally meaning figure, figurine, seems to refer to female dancers at Court (v. glossary). In modern Javanese the same word still is in use in formal parlance as a synonym of *talĕḍĕk* or *taṇḍak*, the usual appellation of a female dancer (at present as often as not a light woman) who appears professionally in the dancing feasts where men dance round about her (modern Javanese *tayuban*, in the Nāg. idiom *man-gigĕl*, v. canto 66—4).

The wording of the second verse of canto 91—1 is not clear. No doubt the poet was familiar with the performance he described and so explicit information seemed superfluous to him. Probably the taking of a companion (*umambil i sadulur*) refers to the choosing of a male dance-partner. The expression *dinulur* (rendered: taken for companion, *sadulur*) of canto 91—2—2 is to be considered as a technical term of the dance. In modern Java the custom for professional public female dancers is to offer ceremoniously a dancing-scarf to the gentleman whom she intends to be her partner for one dance. After the dance the scarf is returned to her with a fee. In the choosing of partners rank and stations in life are important. The Nāg. poet's description is too short to allow of any conclusion on the manner how the female dancer behaved. The reference to merriness and pleasure caused by her doings is suggestive of erotism both in the dancing and the singing.

As *Juru i Angin* came in dancing (*prāpta manērtta*, probably through one or the other of the gates opening into the courtyard) and was ordered to enter into the Presence at the end of her first part of dancing this first part took place in the centre in the open air, probably near the countrymen's halls. Unfortunately only the time of the beginning of the meal is mentioned: about 2.30 p.m. (v. canto 89—3). As in the tropics darkness sets in all at once at six and as the community meal with the drinking and the singing competition must have taken a great deal of time probably at the appearance of *Juru i Angin* it was already dark in the courtyard. In fact in modern Java dancing parties with professional female dancers usually begin at night. Though there is nothing in the poet's text that suggests it *Buyut's* task might have been to light the way for his dancing mistress with a big torch. Dances performed by the light of torches carried by serving companions are mentioned in the Cēṇṭini. No doubt they offered a fantastic sight. Perhaps the special mention of the dancer's coming on (or having come on, *prāpta*) refers to her appearing suddenly in the courtyard in the light of the torch.

With reference to the role of *Buyut* in the female dancer's performance on the occasion of the *Caitra* festival the appearance of the remarkable *Caṇṭang Balungs* of the modern Surakarta (formerly also Yogyakarta.) Court especially on *garēbbēg Mulud* is to be mentioned. In the 19th century (and probably before) the *Caṇṭang Balungs* (two headmen, as usual, with subordinates) were overseers of the public women in town, having them in charge as Royal officers. Wearing a singular attire and false beards they performed a dance accompanied

by a small drinking bout on the *sitinggil* of the Royal compound at the end of the official celebration of the *garèbèg Mulud* (which probably is related to the Majapahit *Phalgunā-Caitra* festival) at Court. They also used to appear in bridal processions of Royal Princesses. Their performances always were clownish and erotic (v. Brandts Buys in *Djāwā*, vol. 13, 1933, p. 258, and Stutterheim's *Studies on Indonesian Archeology*).

In the present author's opinion Stutterheim's suggestion that the *Cañtang Balungs'* performance was a survival of a Tantric rite lacks plausibility. Some connection between the clownish aged (bearded) overseers of women and *Buyut*, the "Old One" of the "Mistress of the Wind" seems much more probable. It is even to be taken into consideration whether in canto 91—1 *Buyut* is a plural (grammatically quite possible) so that two (or four) *Buyuts* made their appearance, in accordance with the pair of *Cañtang Balungs*. If the *Juru i Angin* appeared in the courtyard lighted by torches it seems probable that she was accompanied by a pair or even two pairs of *Buyuts*.

Canto 91, stanza 2. The combined liquor-drinking and singing in front of the Royal hall mentioned in the second stanza is suggestive of the modern Javanese custom of inviting the male and the female dancer to have a drink together. The invitation is brought out at the approaching of the dance's end by another dancer carrying a bottle and a glass; it is called *nglarìh* with the Old Javanese word *larìh* (rendered: liquor) also found in canto 91—2. In fact in modern Java professional public female dancers seldom sing while dancing with a male partner. Some of them seem to do, though. Perhaps in the Majapahit period alternate quatrain singing as described above was practised also by two dancers, a male and a female, and it was concluded by a drink of liquor as a token of community.

The assessors-at-law who were taken for partners by the female dancer belonged to the immediate entourage of the King. They are mentioned in canto 89—3. Perhaps their taking part in the dance points to youth or middle age, which is in accordances with their being the bishops' subordinates. Anyhow their drinking and singing in the company of *Juru i Angin* is strong evidence of the latter's importance and high standing in the frame of the *Caitra* festival. The assessors with the singular title-names are always mentioned in the preambles of Royal charters which proves they held a high rank at Court. Two of them, *Manghuri* and *Kandamohi*, are even honoured with the exalted pronoun

sira (*pangidungira*) belonging to Divinity, Royalty and ecclesiastics of high standing.

Juru i Angin's second part in the singing seems to end when *Manghuri*, *Kaṇḍamohi* and King Hayam Wuruk himself come into prominence. Perhaps *Juru i Angin* could easily end her dancing and singing part when she was tired by ceasing to invite another partner and sitting down to rest. The alternate quatrain singing was continued by the gentlemen of the Court.

In modern Java a dancing and drinking feast on the occasion of a Court festival would give umbrage to the public. The fact of its taking place at the 14th century Majapahit Court on an occasion of great importance proves the high significance of *Juru i Angin's* appearance. The synonymy of the title-name with a native Javanese deity's name (*Ratu Angin-angin*, the Ruler of the Winds) is suggestive. Probably the female dancer originally was a personification of the goddess. As to the personality in pristine Javanese belief of *Ratu Angin-angin* few data are available. She is called the spouse of *Prabu Jākā* of *Mēṇḍang Kamulan*, the mythical place of origin of the Javanese (v. *Cabolang*, canto 26). The identification of this couple with the divine pair *Dewi Shri*, the goddess of vegetation, and her brother and companion *Sēḍānā* (*Sādhana*) seems probable. Tropical agriculture is dependent on rain which follows the West monsoon wind. The *Phālguna-Caitra* festival took place at the end of the West monsoon season and probably it had a connection with the annual rice harvest. Viewed in that light the appearance of *Juru i Angin* personifying fecundity at a culmination-point of the sacral New-Year's celebration at the Majapahit Court is not to be wondered at.

Juru i Angin's originally divine character implies for the vulgar modern Javanese public dancer (*talèḍèk*, *taṇḍak*, *ringgit*) performances an origin in ancient sacral ceremonies. Nor is that improbable at all. In many rural districts the dance of a female dancer belongs to the most important features of celebrations on the occasion of marriages. At festivals held in honour of the Maiden Queen of the Southern Ocean (*Ratu Lara Kidul*) as a rule a female dancer makes her appearance. The relationship of the latter goddess with *Dewi Shri* the patroness of agriculture has been pointed out in the commentary on chapter 9, the *Rājapatni's* *shrāddha* ceremony. Though the available data on pre-Hinduistic native Javanese mythology are both scarce and difficult to interpret the connection of several mythical female personages with fecundity and chthonic worship seems indisputable.

A female dancer representing a chthonic power and connected with ancient cosmic religious ideas appears in the *buṇḍan* or *bonḍan* performances sometimes seen in remote rural districts of Central Java. In one version of *buṇḍan* a female dancer appears dancing with a mock baby in her carrying scarf (*slenḍang*) under a sunshade and singing a song to the effect she is going to Grèsik (on the north-east coast). She is accompanied by a clown of the common Javanese *pāṇḍkawan* type. In another *buṇḍan* performance a female dancer with a mock snake round her neck makes dancing gestures with arms and head standing on a Javanese earthenware waterbottle. The implication that she represents chthonic power (the snake) and water is clear. The original meaning of *buṇḍan* or *bonḍan* seems to be: free from bonds, which is in accordance with the unruly, chaotic character of the chthonic powers as contrasted with uranic order.

Most remarkable are the implications of the *wayang* play *Srikanḍi ambuṇḍan* (*Srikanḍi*, i.e. the Javanese version of Indian Shikhaṇḍin, the hermaphrodite, acting as a *buṇḍan* dancer). Though as a rule in *wayang* plays of the *purwa* type the *dramatis personae* are epic heroes taken from *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* tales, in many cases the plots are suggestive of a native Javanese origin and not a few characters are modified according to Javanese ideas. *Srikanḍi* is one of them. In the Javanese *wayang* tales she is Arjuna's junior wife and very energetic. In the play Arjuna is gone on one of his amorous escapades and *Srikanḍi* resolutely sets out to find him in the disguise of a female *buṇḍan* dancer. The name *Srikanḍi*, containing the element *Sri*, is reminiscent of *Dewi Shri*, the goddess of vegetation. The plot of the *wayang* play, a temporary separation of husband and wife redressed in the end, returns in many mythical tales, also in a manner in the myth of *Dewi Shri* and *Sēdānā* (*Sādhana*). The connection of the goddess (via *Srikanḍi*) with the *buṇḍan* dance is a confirmation of the opinion that the female dancer of canto 91—1 probably was a personification of a deity.

Probably at the 14th century Majapahit Court the original meaning of the *Juru i Angin* performance was forgotten. Nevertheless the place it was given in the frame of the sacral festival and the esteem showed the female dancer by ordering her to enter into the Royal Presence are evidence that some consciousness of the peculiar importance of the dance survived.

Pañjyangjwa, *Lekan* and *Tangar* mentioned in canto 83—2 are similar title-names as *Manghuri* and *Kaṇḍamohi* of canto 91—2, but

the latter belong to assessors-at-law regularly included in the lists of the Royal charters' preambles and the former are not. In King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry Charter *samēgēt i Kaṇḍamohi* is a learned gentleman having the doctor's name *ḍaṅg ācārya* Jayasmara and *samēgēt i Maṅghuri* is *ḍaṅg ācārya* Agreshwara. Belonging to the board of seven assessors at Court (*saptopapatti*, not always complete) probably *Kaṇḍamohi* and *Maṅghuri* were higher in rank than the common assessors in the districts mentioned in chapter 4, and also more important men than *Pañjyangjwa*, *Lekan* and *Tangar*.

The singing of these distinguished courtiers mentioned in canto 91—2—3 seems to be a sequel to the *Juru i Angin*'s performance with other assessors for partners. Perhaps the pair *Maṅghuri-Kaṇḍamohi* alternately sang quatrains in the same manner as the preceding performers. But then being scholars of high standing at Court no doubt their singing was superior and highly praised by the public (*inalēm*). The remark on its unceasing repetition (*titir*) is to be interpreted in the same sense as the mention of the long time (*sowe*) the common singers of canto 90—6 were competing (*alaga*, if the emendation is right). Apparently *Maṅghuri* and *Kaṇḍamohi* were well matched. Probably their entering into a singing competition one with another points to an opposition of their functions at Court in real life and an antagonism founded on custom. Unfortunately data on this matter are lacking (v. comm. Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa).

Whereas in canto 90—6 (the common *gilṭadas*) the subject of the songs is mentioned: the King's glorious foundations (*kīrti*), in canto 91—2 this point is left undecided. Assuming *Juru i Angin* was a personification of a vegetation goddess the sequel of her part in the performance might consist of songs referring to agriculture. Being of paramount importance to 14th century Majapahit economy singing of quatrains containing lessons on the cultivation of rice, propitious times and required offerings to superhuman powers connected with it seem not at all out of place in the *Caitra* festival. In modern Javanese popular performances of dancing and singing in rural districts poetical lessons on agriculture still may be heard occasionally (v. *Volksvertoningen*, Döblang). The game of challenge and response in half quatrains might acquire the character of a catechism on agricultural lore.

Of course the King's singing mentioned in canto 91—2 and described in canto 91—3 was perfection. It was the conclusion of the quatrain singing of which the beginning was mentioned in canto 90—6.

Probably the expression *manulanggapi* (rendered: join in) was a technical term of the game referring to a third person taking part in it superseding one of the others or both of them. At the Tenggèrese *Karo* celebration a court of honour was instituted with authority over the merry-makers. The five members were given traditional titles. The chairman presided over the feast and the games. Perhaps King Hayam Wuruk's function at the Majapahit *Caitra* festival was comparable to a patronage or a presidency, requiring at times personal action and interference. In the third part of the feast, the *rakèt* performance, Royalty was in full action. At the end of the second part, the *kidung* singing of the courtiers, the King's activity began.

Canto 91, stanza 3. In this stanza the public admiration for the King's singing is voiced. Three parts are distinguished in it. It is sometimes poetically charming (*alangö*), sometimes sweet (*amanis*), at other times awe-inspiring (*rēs*). The first qualification is found many times in Old Javanese literature. The word *langö* seems to refer especially to scenes and sounds of nature or reminiscent of nature giving the impression of loftiness and divine presence. Though not completely absent in modern Javanese poetry (e.g. in the *Cēṇṇini*) this romantic attitude towards nature is much more in evidence in Old Javanese literature. Probably the influence of Indian art and letters still was strong at the time.

The quatrains that are supposed to have been sung at the 14th century Majapahit Court are lost. The Old Javanese poetry that has been saved by Balinese scribes is of epic, legendary historical and religious moralistic character. Lyrical and dramatical poems form a very small minority. But then even in modern Java lyrics and drama (*wayang* plays) have been written down only at relatively recent times. If in modern times East Javanese quatrains (*parikan*) were committed to paper they were so without any literary pretence, merely to help the singer's memory. They never were published or printed before interested European scholars found them (v. Overbeck, *Pantoens in het Javaans*, Djāwā X, 1930). In the same way the poetry sung at the 14th century Majapahit Court may have been primarily learned by heart and only secondarily written down in notes that were not kept for long.

The supposition that the songs sung at the Majapahit *Caitra* festival were of the legendary historical type (*kidung* *Suṇḍa* etc.) is to be discarded. No doubt the *kidung*-singing had some reference to the

festive occasion. In canto 90—6 the glorification of the Royal foundations is mentioned as subject of the songs. Legendary history had no close connection with the central idea of the *Caitra* festival, the annual apotheosis of divine kingship and a New-year's celebration.

Neither in the description of the singing nor in the following *rakṣit* performance is any mention made of instrumental music as accompaniment. Now dancing as mentioned in canto 91—1 and presupposed in the *rakṣit* play is impossible without some rhythmical instrument. In Javanese music different kinds of drums are known. One drum at least seems essential to a dancing performance. Instrumental music is mentioned several times in the *Nāg*, but then the occasions are generally processions where music was loud and dominant. Perhaps the reason why musical instruments are not mentioned in cantos 90 and 91 is their being used merely as accompaniment of the singing and dancing. Moreover instrumental music perhaps was not as frequent on festive occasions nor were the ensembles or orchestras as big in 14th century Majapahit as they are at the modern Central Javanese Courts (v. Kunst, Javanese Music). Probably the tendency to expand was active in Central Java from the 18th century onward as much in music as in architecture. No doubt the modern Royal compounds of Central Java are more extensive than their distant prototypes of 14th century Majapahit.

Canto 91, stanza 4. The third and probably the most important performance of dancing and singing of the concluding feast in *Caitra*, the Royal *rakṣit* play, is given not less than five stanzas, canto 91—1/8. It has been discussed in the present author's *Volksvertoningen* (par. 464 seq.). In the present commentary the Dutch text of that book is reproduced in an abridged form.

The two Honourables *Raṇādhikāra* and *Mahādhikāra* are also mentioned in canto 88—1 introducing the commoners who came to pay homage to the King. In canto 91—4 they act as masters of the ceremonies. The description of their behaviour is suggestive of a ceremonious address spoken by the two men together and answered by Royalty according to a tradition of long standing. As it is most improbable that the Honourable *Raṇādhikāra* really would forget his traditional duty the remark on his forgetfulness is the poet's (and the Court's) explanation of the two men's acting and speaking together. Now it is remarkable that at the modern Central Javanese Courts the same explanation is given for the same custom, duplication of a

ceremonial act, this time with respect to the two *ganḍeks*. Evidently the strange double ceremony was puzzling already to 14th century Majapahit courtiers. Probably the real explanation of duplicated ceremonies is; originally the functionaries represented the two moieties of primeval tribal society. In fact at the modern Central Javanese Courts the bipartite classification (mostly called Right and Left) is even more extensively applied to groups of Court officers than apparently it was in Majapahit.

The two masters of the ceremonies addressed the Royal Family as a whole. The duplicated form *rakṣt-rakṣt* (rendered: musical plays) refers to the two performances described in the following stanzas: first the King's father than King Hayam Wuruk himself appeared. The precise meaning of *adadak-dadakan* is not clear. Probably it refers to some preparations for the coming performances, though. The singers and dancers who appeared in them were called and ordered to prepare. They did not belong to the guests in the courtyard.

Just as in the case of the *Juru i Angin* performance the time of the beginning of the *rakṣt* plays is a guess. It is not mentioned in the text. Building on the assumption that *Juru i Angin* appeared at sunset and taking full account of the long duration of most Javanese feasts a beginning of the first *rakṣt* performance at midnight seems probable. As the second *rakṣt* performance ended in the afternoon (canto 91—9) perhaps it began in the morning. All in all probably the feasting went on for a whole day, beginning and ending in the afternoon. Feasts of that duration are not extraordinary events at all even in modern Java.

Canto 91, stanza 5. Pañjak (rendered: initiator) is said of the King's father beginning with his own *rakṣt* performance by way of introduction to the King. No doubt it is a technical term of 14th century musical and dramatical art. In East Javanese dialects of modern times *pañjak* is the drummer who with his drumming marks the rhythm of the dance. It is not improbable at all that Prince Kērtawardhana played the drum himself in his *rakṣt* play just as the King himself appeared as singer in his own *rakṣt* performance. *Pañjak* seems to be related to *ajak*, meaning: to invite a person to join in some activity. That is just what the drummer does in East Java with respect to the dancer; he prompts him to make his steps in a certain rhythm.

The great hall in the centre of the courtyard where the *rakṣt* plays were performed was empty since the Royal Family left it at the end

of the great audience to retire to their dining hall in the north-eastern corner. Apparently the great hall was considered too good to be used for dining, but it was an appropriate place for the *rakṣt* performances. This is clear evidence of the *rakṣt* plays' importance in the frame of the feast. In the great hall they succeeded the Royal audience. Some decoration was provided for. Probably that was the work of the two Honourables making provisions (canto 91—4). The specially mentioned decorations were not yet in their places at the time of the great audience. Evidently they were significant in connection with the sacral performance. Perhaps the four central pillars that presumably enclosed the stage were wrapped round with some red cloth. A similar red decoration is described in canto 64—1 for the central hall of the outer courtyard where the *Rājapātnī's* *shrāddha* ceremony was performed.

Shori, *Gītada* and *Tēkṣs* are the names of fixed characters appearing in every *rakṣt* performance at the Majapahit Court. Both Kērtawardhana and his son the King had a troupe of dancers and singers of his own, and in each troupe actors of the three characters were found. The probable contents of the *rakṣt* plays shall be explained forthwith. Suffice it to say at present that *Shori* and *Gītada* were male characters and *Tēkṣs* a female one.

The difference between the performances of father and son is accentuated in the stanzas 5 and 6. The first one was comical, the latter one exciting and pathetic. Probably the specially explained contrast points to the existence of emulation between the two. Troupes of actors belonging to different masters emulating one another are not to be wondered at. The significance of the emulation of father and son shall be explained presently.

Canto 91, stanzas 6, 7. In these stanzas the qualities of the actors of the King's troupe are extolled. The mention of the *Shori's* insinuations (*anghirib-hirib*) and of his manful doughtiness (*sushrama*) point to erotism, which is in accordance with the contents of the play. The remark that the King playing the part of *Gītada* was neat (*wagus*) and completely dressed (*arasuk*) suggests some kind of costume befitting the occasion. As in modern Javanese ceremonial parlance (*krdmd*) *rasukan* is used as a synonym of *klambi*, jacket, perhaps on this occasion King Hayam Wuruk wore a priest's jacket. Indeed his part in the play was related to the sacerdotal office.

The *Tēkṣs* part was filled by no less than eight *upabhāryas*. No doubt Skt. *upabhārya* means secondary wife (*bhāryā*) and in this sense

it is used in King Hayam Wuruk's own Ferry Charter. But then the masculine ending of *upabhārya* in canto 91—7—2 sets one thinking. It would be well in keeping with Javanese Court customs to have the female parts in the play filled by boys or young men in travesty. In the grand performances of *wayang wong* (comparable to classical opera with many ballets) at the Central Javanese Court of Yogyakarta, especially in the reign of Sultan Hamengkū Buwana VIII (dec. 1939), all female parts were filled by boys. In the case of King Hayam Wuruk it seems improbable that he would allow inmates of his own zenana to appear on the stage filling a part in a play where they had a beautiful young man (*Shorī*), not the King himself, for partner.

Whereas in the play (that shall be told forthwith) *Shorī* and *Tēkēs* are of different sex, in Court performances, as far as known, for actors filling the parts persons of the same sex were chosen, either all men or all women. Probably at King Hayam Wuruk's Court all dancers and singers in the *rakēt* performance were men. At other Courts where similar performances are recorded sometimes all actors were women. In the Surakarta *bēḍāyā-kētawang* performance which shows a distant relation with the *rakēt* play the King was the only male actor and so was the Malay King in a performance described in a Malay tale (quoted in *Volksvertoningen*, par. 470).

Probably the remark on the King's *Tēkēs*'es being worthy (of the honour, *saphala*, if that is the correct reading) and of good family points also to boys or young men chosen among the sons of courtiers. Perhaps among the young men who presumedly served out the meal at the great community dinner some were to appear later on in the night in a *rakēt* performance.

Canto 91, stanza 8. The Old Javanese Nawanātya text is edited and translated in the present book. It is not easy to determine how it was adapted to the *rakēt* performance. Nevertheless it seems certain that this text is meant in Nāg. 91—8. Kern's emendation Nawanātya (v. Notes, vol. II), Nine Dances (still accepted by the present author in *Volksvertoningen*, par. 474), is to be discarded as superfluous, since the spelling Nawanātya (rendered: Nine Physiognomies) is found repeatedly in the text.

The description of the impression the performance made on the public seems to point to a variety of songs and scenes following the gamut of human feeling. Alternation of pathos and buffoonery is characteristic of Javanese dramatic art. The last verse of canto 91—8

seems to refer to the pleasure derived from the King's performance by people of different turns of mind, either superficial or profound. The same used to be said of superior *wayang* performances in modern Java.

The probable meaning of the *rakṣi* performance in the frame of the Caitra festival has been treated by the present author in *Volksvertoningen*. Comparison with information and descriptions found in other texts (P'araraton, Tantu P'anggèlan, a Malay Pañji tale) led to the hypothesis of an ancient sacral representation and dramatization of a myth. Probably the best known and widest spread version of the myth underlying the Majapahit Court performance was given a literary form in the Old Javanese Calon Arang tale (edited by Prb.). The *Shori* of canto 91—5, 6 is the representative of male, cosmic Order, in the Calon Arang tale: Bahula. The *Tṛkṣ* is (or: the *Tṛkṣ*'es are) female, chaotic, in the tale: Manggali, the daughter of the witch Calon Arang. The third part, in the Nāg. only called *Gitada*, the Singer, in other texts *Pèrèt*, Gagak Kētawang, Ordah, Braḍah, is most important because this personage is the wise mentor who leads *Shori* to the conquest of his wife. The union of the male and female principles is indispensable for the weal of the world. Chaos, the Earth, the chthonic region is the origin of the jewel, the treasure, riches and fecundity.

The Old Javanese Nawanantya text deals with Court life and behaviour of courtiers. Perhaps in King Hayam Wuruk's *rakṣi* performance especially the first part was used, where the nine aspects of a courtier's service are described, referring to Game, Fish, Drink, Gambling, Love-making, Pleasantries, Fighting, Sports and Enjoying scenery. Whereas enough matter for allusions and facetious sayings (couched in *pantun-parikan* songs: quatrains consisting of challenges and responses) might be found in this mirror of Court life, its connection with the ancient myth is not obvious. Apparently at the 14th century Majapahit Court the deep sense of the *rakṣi* performance was not clearly understood any more, in the same way as at the 20th century Surakarta Court the sense of the annual *bṛḍḍyā-kētawang* dance was forgotten, though serious and thoughtful people were aware of the fact that something must be behind the beautiful form. At the Surakarta Court as accompaniment of the *bṛḍḍyā* dance love-songs were sung, which could only with difficulty be considered as referring to the central theme of the fundamental myth. It is quite possible that in the Majapahit *rakṣi* performance love-songs of the *Shori* and the *Tṛkṣ*'es also formed an important part of the repertoire.

The important place in King Hayam Wuruk's *rakṣt* performance given to the Nawaratya, the Nine Physiognomies, perhaps is an indication that the songs were also didactic and moralistic, referring in general to polite behaviour. A didactic and moralistic strain in a performance of *parikan* singing would be nothing to wonder at. The expressions of canto 91—8, referring to the deep impression made upon the minds of the public, are in accordance with the character of a mirror of human life presented by the songs. The number nine no doubt refers to completion in this connection, as usual. King Hayam Wuruk's role as *Shori*'s wise mentor (perhaps wearing sacerdotal garb for the occasion) is a counterpart of his joining in the singing of *Manghuri* and *Kaṇḍamohi* at the end of the *Juru i Angin* performance. In the case of the singing of the two *samṛgḥts* also a didactic tenor has been supposed.

For more speculations on the significance of the myth the reader is referred to *Volksvertoningen*. In modern Javanese art it survives in the fixed Bañjara Sari scene of *wayang* plays having the Pañji tales for subject (*wayang gḥḍog*) and also in the sacral *bḥḍḍyd-kḥḥta-wang* dance, an annual performance of nine female dancers in the presence of the King of the Central Javanese Court of Surakarta.

The name *Shori* is to be identified with Skt. Shauri, i.e. Kṛṣṇa-Wiṣṇu. Now in the Javanese rice myth the goddess of vegetation Dewi Shrī has a male partner called Sḍhana. Skt. Sādhana is also in use as a name for Wishnu. The connection Shori-Wishnu-Sādhana is another indication for the existence of a vegetation myth underlying the *rakṣt* performance. For all that the other names: *Tḥkḥs* and *Pḥrḥt* are of Javanese origin. Perhaps the Skt. spelling *Shori*, reminiscent of Shauri-Kṛṣṇa-Wiṣṇu, is the result of an adaptation of a native Javanese name Sori to Indian mythology.

The interpretation of the *rakṣt* performance as originally a representation of an ancient vegetation myth is in accordance with the presumed identification of *Juru i Angin* with a chthonic goddess. In both performances the King filled an important part. He joined in the singing following the *Juru i Angin* dance and in the *rakṣt* performance he was the *Gitada*, the Singer. His joking (*bañol*) mentioned in canto 91—7 has its counterpart in the joking scene (*bañolan*) of *wayang* plays, one of the fixed scenes where the hero's servants and mentors (*pḍndka-wans*) appear. Now the King's *Gitada* part was essentially that of a mentor.

Perhaps the succession of two *rakṣt* performances, the first under

leadership of the father (Kĕrtawardhana) the second produced by his son the King, is to be interpreted in connection with the existence of a pair of mythical mentors (v. *Volksvertoningen*, par. 457). As King Hayam Wuruk was identified with the younger one his father might be seen as a personification of the elder. The succession of an elder and a younger performer might be connected with the *Caitra* festival's character of a New-year's celebration. The younger performer initiated the new year. The coupling of two identical performances one after another and the presence of emulation between the two troupes was noted in Acheh by Snouck Hurgronje with respect to the *sadati* (v. *Volksvertoningen*). According to that eminent scholar's observations a complete double Achehnese *sadati* performance might go on for up to 16 hours on end. In the case of the Majapahit Court double *rakĕt* performance some connection with the pristine Javanese bipartite classification seems probable.

The description of the *rakĕt* performance at the Majapahit Court has drawn the attention of several scholars. After Kern, Krom and Poerbatjaraka explanations have been offered by Gonda (BKI 88, 1931, p. 467) and Stutterheim (BKI 90, 1933, p. 269). The present author hopes to be excused from reproducing their opinions. However ingenious, they do not reach the heart of the matter: the *Caitra* festival's significance in the frame of ancient Javanese ideas on social and cosmic order.

Canto 91, stanza 9. In this stanza the end of the community feast and so of the whole *Phālguna-Caitra* festival is described. The time of the day is only approximately stated: in the afternoon. As has been mentioned before, the feast in the inner courtyard of the Royal compound went on for a whole day. No doubt during that time after the initial meal food and drinks were served repeatedly. They are not mentioned in the text because apparently they were not of functional importance.

The common squires (*handyan*) mentioned in this stanza were the same gentlemen as are referred to in canto 88—1. Probably the representatives of rural communities are included in the group. The leave-taking is particularly reverential, suggestive of Indian customs. In modern Java kissing (that is to say: sniffing at) the knees or the feet of a person who is sitting on the ground cross-legged is the most reverential gesture. Perhaps that is what the poet meant.

In modern Java reverential kissing the knees of elder relatives or

superiors in rank is a customary ceremony belonging to the *Lēbaran* celebration, the end of the Muslim Fast. Just like the Majapahit *Phālguna-Caitra* festival the *Lēbaran* or *Ba'dd Pdsd* celebration has the function of a New-year's feast, though neither really marks the beginning of the official calendar year. At *Lēbaran* juniors and inferiors are expected to ask their seniors and superiors for forgiveness for anything that was done amiss during the year. This custom is of Muslim origin. Its general acceptance in modern Java might be influenced, though, by a remnant of an older custom related to the *Caitra* ceremony at the Majapahit Court. The reference to release from evil (or remittance of sins, *muktapāpa*) is remarkable in this connection.

Assuming that the Majapahit *Phālguna-Caitra* festival was an apotheosis of kingship in the frame of Javanese social and cosmic order the feeling of being released and reborn in a better world at the end of it is comprehensible. The people's religious ideas on rule and order culminating in the divine King had been given a grandiose affirmation by the ceremonies and performances. No doubt that was just the intention of the Court in organizing the sumptuous pageant.

The descriptions of chapter 14 make the impression of referring to an annual festival. Nevertheless in composing cantos 83 till 92 the poet no doubt had in mind the festival as he saw it in one particular year or in several consecutive years. Probably the pageantry was not equally grand every year. Perhaps the year or the years after the grand-vizir Gajah Mada's death when the Royal Family was at the zenith of their power supplied the poet with models of his descriptions. The repeatedly affirmed subservience of the rural gentry and the Royal interest in the condition of the country might be interpreted as the tokens of improvement the poet saw or wanted to see after the King's taking the reins in his own hand. Viewed in this light the description of the *Phālguna-Caitra* festival might be called a political pamphlet in favour of direct Royal rule, without grand-vizir. In the composition of the poem the chapters 9 (the *Rājapatni*'s *shrāddha* ceremony where the grand-vizir filled an important part) and 14 (the Royal apotheosis in the *Caitra* festival) balance one another approximately, but the description of the *Phālguna-Caitra* ceremonies and performances is more extensive and more colourful.

CHAPTER 15 - CONCLUSION.

*Glorification of the King.**The Poet's Captatio Benevolentiae, 1365 A.D.**Cantos 92—98, 18 stanzas.*

The description of the annual Court festival in chapter 14 makes a sublime end to the panegyric of King Hayam Wuruk and the patriotic description of Majapahit. In the concluding chapter 15 the poet, returning to the King's glorification in the first chapter (cantos 1 and 7), first mentions other eulogists, and after that sheds light on his own merits.

Canto 92, stanzas 1, 2, 3. The identifications of King Hayam Wuruk with Buddha and Shiwa are well-known from the first chapter. But then in the beginning of the poem as a rule the sequence is Shiwa-Buddha, exoteric-esoteric. *Mahārdhika*, referring to wisdom, is only used in canto 92—1 in the Nāg. Apparently it forms a contrast with youth (*anvam*).

In the second stanza Shiwaitic worldly power is opposed to Buddhistic esoteric wisdom. Probably in the first verse manfulness (*kauśryan*) is considered the means of attaining magnificent luxury. In canto 40—5 power and luxury (*prabhawa wibhawa*) are connected.

In the second half of canto 92—2 the baneful influence of disobedience is contrasted to the luck brought by faithfulness. Regular attendance at Courth was considered the best means to prove one's loyalty.

In accordance with canto 91—1 (*Juru i Angin's* singing) *shwara stuti* of canto 92—3 is to be rendered: songs of praise. Perhaps the poet refers to some well-known songs of his time expressing the people's good wishes for the King.

Canto 93, stanza 1. In canto 93 four different kinds of literary

eulogies of the King are mentioned. Probably the order is from exalted poetry to rather common-place popular songs. The poet mentions:

1. Sanskrit verses (*śloka*s) made by Indians and attempted by Javanese.
2. Narrative poems (*wawacan*) in Javanese.
3. Preambles of Royal charters (*prashāsti*), mixed Sanskrit and Javanese.
4. Songs (*gīta*) in Javanese.

The *bhikṣu* Buddhāditya's country Conjeveram and the brahmin Sahērdya's Tamil title *Mutali* (according to Kern belonging to people of the Vellala caste and in Ceylon marking a high rank in society) point to South Indian connections with Java. Kern understood *Ṣaḍ-wihāra* as meaning Six Monasteries, the name of a place in Conjeveram. Evidently the panegyric (*bhogāwali*) of many *śloka*s by the Buddhist monk impressed the poet more than the brahmin's *śloka*s: the former is given two verses, the latter only one verse of canto 93—1. Perhaps the *śloka*s in praise of the King chanted by singers (*bhaṭṭa*) on the occasion of the great *Caitra* procession (canto 84—2) are to be identified with the panegyric from Conjeveram. No doubt the Indian pundits were rewarded for their troubles. The poet's statement that all foreign poets were making verses in honour of King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit is an exaggeration, of course.

The repeated mention of *śloka*s in the *Nāg.* points to a literary culture of the Javanese courtiers at least sufficient to understand the general meaning of Sanskrit verses. Probably 14th century Javanese scholars had a considerable *copia verborum Sanscriticorum*. While using Sanskrit words perhaps they were not aware of the fact they borrowed words from another language. To them Sanskrit was merely the idiom of higher culture.

Probably in the Majapahit period the literary idiom consisting mainly of Sanskrit words was already called *kawī*, as appears from the expression *wruh kawī*: knowing the poetical idiom. In canto 25—2 it is used with reference to a learned assessor-at-law whose lawbooks no doubt contained many Sanskrit words borrowed from Indian *dharmaśāstras*. By this example the identification in the Majapahit courtiers' mind of (the Indian language that now is called) Sanskrit and *kawī*, the literary idiom, becomes evident. The word *kawī* has been in use in this sense up to modern times (v. comm. *Nāg.* canto 17—9).

Meanwhile the existence of a Sundanese word *kawih*, meaning: a song, is to be borne in mind. It seems not impossible that at an early date a Javanese word related to this Sundanese *kawih* was connected with the Indian word *kawi*, a poet (used in this sense also in the Nāg.).

Canto 93, stanza 2. The remark in this stanza about Javanese scholars discussing (*agoṣṭi*) the making of *ślokas* seems to point to some difficulty. As far as known in the Singasari-Majapahit period some Sanskrit verses were made for inscriptions on Royal monuments. No doubt it was a difficult task for the Court scholars to compose them. Probably they asked Indian scholars to assist them. Assuming that the remark on Java-made *ślokas* refers to Sanskrit inscriptions of the type of the verses on the so-called Jaka-Dolok monument in Surabaya, the word *śloka* is to be understood in the general sense of Sanskrit verse or sentence in lofty style. The Indian *śloka* metre seems not to have been applied to poetry in Old Javanese.

In this stanza the Javanese scholars are given the respectful pronoun *sira* and so they are put on a par with the two Indian poets. Partly this distinction for the Javanese is to be explained by their merits in handling the sacred idiom, Sanskrit. Probably the two initial verses refer (partly at least) to well-known Majapahit poets, some of whom may have been dead at the time the Nāg. was written. Perhaps Prapañca's father and grand-father (v. canto 17—8/9) are meant by the Javanese *śloka* poets. Tantular, the poet of the Sutasoma, was a contemporary of Prapañca's.

By *wuwacans*, referred to in the second place in canto 93—2, are meant narrative and descriptive poems that were read (*waca*, from palm-leaf manuscripts) in a recitative manner and probably after each stanza interpreted in common vernacular parlance by a second performer sitting side by side with the reciter. Though as a rule in the Old Javanese idiom the term *wuwacan* seems to be limited to poems in Javanese metres perhaps in canto 93—2 *kakawins*, i.e. poems in Sanskrit metres like the Nāg., are included. Certainly *kakawins* were also originally meant to be recited. The absence of any mention of the most spectacular part of Old Javanese literature, the great *kakawins*, both original and versions of Indian epical works, would be astonishing.

As to the poems in Javanese metres, some of them, relating episodes of the reigns of previous Majapahit Kings, could well have been known to the poet of the Nāg. Certainly he knew the great *kakawins*, both original and versions of Indian works. The poems of the narrative

and descriptive kind as a rule contain eulogies of Royalty, either the reigning King or one of his predecessors. In so far the mention of the *wawacans* in the list of literary works made in praise of the Royal Family is justifiable. In the case of those *kakawins* that were dedicated in their preambles to the poets' Royal patrons the intention to extol Royalty is very clear.

The preambles of Royal charters invariably contain the names of the issuing Kings followed by the names of their principal servants, all of them provided with many epithets couched in lengthy Sanskrit compounds. Sometimes the compounds are followed by interpretations in Old Javanese. No doubt these preambles are meant in canto 93—2—3. Perhaps they are put only on the third place of the list of literary eulogies because they are in prose, not in poetry like the preceding ones. Probably the epithets in artificial style contain some interesting information on Royal activities; it is a matter for regret their interpretation is difficult.

Probably the assessors-at-law in charge of ecclesiastical domains (*sudharmopapatti*) who are mentioned as authors of Royal charters are the same men as those referred to in canto 73—2 as experts in lore (*sang widagdha ring aji*), ordered to make charters for domains that as yet had none. Scholarship seems to have been a requirement of the *upapatti* function.

Probably the fourth kind of literary eulogy was the making of Old Javanese quatrains (*gita*), mentioned before in the course of this commentary. The alternate singing by the countrymen celebrating the King's foundations (*klrti*) on the occasion of the *Caitra* community meal (canto 90—6) might be connected with the laudatory poetry generally known in the Royal compound in the Interior (*stotra lumreng puri jro*). Apparently the poet had a particular set of quatrains in mind that was popular at Court and sung by the women of the inner courtyards (*i jro*). In canto 95 gentlewomen appear as critics of the poet's merits. It is not improbable at all that at the Majapahit Court the ladies' voice was conclusive in matters of literary criticism. At the South Celebes Courts up to the 19th century Buginese literature was cultivated especially under female patronage.

Canto 94, stanza 1. In canto 94 the poet passes on to relate his own achievements in literature. In modesty he denies any aspiration

to fame. His poems are not popular in Majapahit like those others that are sung in the Royal compound (canto 93—2). His desire is for the general good: to praise the King out of the fullness of his heart.

The exclusive mention of Shiwa (Girinātha) and the absence of any mention of Buddha are remarkable features of canto 94—1. For the rest the wording resembles the beginning of the poem (canto 1—1—1): praise at the Feet of the Lord (*stuti ri pada bhaṭāra*). Perhaps the worldly, exoteric aspect of the Deity as represented by Shiwa is advisedly brought into prominence because King Hayam Wuruk's world-conquering rule (*kadigwijayan*, canto 94—2) is celebrated in the poem.

Canto 94, stanza 2. In this stanza the real name of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama as intended by its author is mentioned. It is Desha-Warṇana: Description of the Country. The poet meant the descriptions in his poem to be illustrations of King Hayam Wuruk's majesty, his world-conquering rule (*kadigwijayan*). The name Nāgara-Kērtāgama is only mentioned in the colophon. Probably it was given by a Balinese editor of the poem. As this name now is generally accepted by scholars it is retained in the present edition. The original name should not be forgotten, though. In 1914 (TBG 56) Poerbatjaraka already pointed out the name Desha-Warṇana.

Canto 94—2 is to be connected with canto 17—9 where the noting of the names of districts on the way (*desha riniñci tat hawan*) is mentioned referring to the Royal Progress to the eastern districts. Apparently the poet considered the making of those notes an important achievement and probably it was in 14th century Java. The list of the Majapahit dependencies in the Archipelago outside Java in chapter 3, the notes on the Kings of the House of Rājasa in chapter 5, the reports of the two Royal ceremonies in chapters 9 and 14, and the surveys of the Royal compound and the organization of the realm in chapters 2 and 13 are easily classed in the category of descriptions. In fact the name Desha-Warṇana could be rendered by Survey of the Realm. The opinion held by some European scholars that the historical and archeological notes in chapter 3 are of paramount importance in the frame of the poem is false.

Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1958, p. 228) mentions the exact date of the poem: 30/IX/1365 Julian calendar.

Canto 94, stanza 3. Both in canto 17—9 and in canto 94—2 the poet expresses his hope of a substantial reward. The last verse of canto

94—2 seems to refer to some disappointment on his part that for a considerable time (*alawas*) his merits were not acknowledged. The same idea returns in canto 94—3 where he enumerates his literary works. Unfortunately none of the other poems could as yet be identified with sufficient certainty with any Old Javanese text in the known collections of manuscripts. The names of the five works allow of some inferences on their contents, though. They are:

1. Shākābda or Shākakāla (Shāka-years), probably Chronicles, i.e. a list of chronograms of the kind repeatedly found in the Nāg. Perhaps the Nāg. chronograms are taken from the poet's earlier work.
2. Lambang. In KBNW the word is connected with *kakawin*, a poem in Indian metres, but the original meaning: interchange or transposal, is suggestive of a deeper sense. In the concluding stanzas of the Sutasoma of Tantular, a younger contemporary of Prapañca's, quoted in Brandes' Pararaton edition (p. 163), poets of songs and *lambang*s (*kawi gita lambang*) are mentioned, apparently praising the King. As *gita* and *kidung* seem to refer to Javanese poetry of the *pantun-parikan* kind perhaps *lambang* was the name of similarly artificial poems in Indian metres. Perhaps canto 97 of the Nāg. where two consecutive half-verses contain the same syllables in inverted order was called a *lambang*.
3. Parwa-Sāgara, rendered: Ocean of Tales. The name is reminiscent of Kathāsaritsāgara, the famous Indian compendium of tales. On the other hand in the Old Javanese literary idiom *parwa* seems to refer especially to epical or legendary tales. No doubt the origin of this use of the word *parwa* is the Ādiparwa (and the other *parwas*) of Mahābhārata, well-known in Old Javanese prose epitomes.
4. Bhīṣma-Sharaṇa, rendered Bhīṣma-protection, is to be connected with the Bhīṣma Parwa of Mahābhārata where the wounded Bhīṣma gives wise lessons to his junior relatives.
5. Sugata-Parwa-Warnaṇa, rendered: Description of Buddha Tales, would be the only distinctly Buddhist work of Prapañca's. It is a matter for regret it is not available, for probably it could shed light on Buddhist legendary history (Jātaka-stories perhaps) circulating in 14th century Java.

Canto 94, stanza 4. The last stanza of canto 94 begins with a recapitulation of the first one. The Desha-Warnaṇa, i.e. the Nāgara-Kērtāgama, is called the poet's principal work in praise of his Royal

master. Perhaps *shloka* (Sanskrit verse) refers to Chronicles, for the chronograms, at least those of the Nāg. make use of Sanskrit words. As *kidung* refers always to Javanese poetry in Javanese metres probably the poet's attempts at making songs alluded to in canto 94—1—2 are meant.

The expression: having for stake only shame means that the poem offered to the public is worthless and only a token of the poet's insolence. It is an instance of self-abasement not unfrequently found at the end of Javanese poetical works.

Canto 95, stanza 1. The last cantos of the Nāg. contain information on the poet's person and circumstances. Though some notes on the author's country and home are sometimes found at the end of Javanese works the rather detailed particulars of cantos 95—98 are exceptional. It is a pity the allusions to circumstances unknown to us are difficult to interpret.

Prb.'s opinion (BKI 78, 1922, p. 452—460) that the last cantos are spurious seems insufficiently founded. Samples of artificial poetry are found quite often in Old Javanese poetical works, e.g. in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Arjunawiwāha. Cantos 24 and 60 of the Nāg. have similar features as cantos 96 and 97. In the frame of the poem cantos 24 and 60 have the function of marking important stages reached in the course of the Royal Progress: the arrival in Patukangan, the furthest point of the trek, and the return to Majapahit. In the same way cantos 96 and 97 are functional marks of the end of the poem. The references in cantos 95—98 of the lack of appreciation at Court of the poet's work make it probable, though, that the main part of the Nāg. was made known to the public before the last cantos were added.

Perhaps the description of the poet's doleful circumstances in canto 95 is exaggerated in order to provoke pity. There seems to be no reason, though, to doubt the truth of the story. Prapañca means to tell us he had disappointments in his Court career as a result of his being out of favour with the ladies. Perhaps his allusions to love, sensual pleasure and activities refer to the contents of his poems. In fact the Nāg. does not contain love scenes nor descriptions of fights with so many particulars as is usual in other Old Javanese poems. The criticism of the Majapahit Court ladies was endorsed by Javanese posterity: Prapañca's poems were not well received and soon forgotten. The Nāg. is known

only from one text; it never had a wide circulation like other Old Javanese poems that were copied many times. The Court opinion on Prapañca and his work seems to have been that they were dull.

The rather obscure allusions to love might allow of the interpretation that the poet was disappointed in his love for a Court lady. Though love affairs no doubt occurred as frequently in the Majapahit Royal compound as at any other Royal Court before and since, any avowal to an intrigue with a lady seems improbable in a 14th century Javanese literary work. Perhaps the disappointment in love refers to the poet's feeling of having lost the King's favour. That is why he repeatedly points to his love for his master (canto 94—4: *asih anātha*). By all means he tries to retrieve his fortune. The unfavourable criticism of his work is a heavy blow to him.

In canto 95—1/2 the poet gives to understand he despises superficial qualities such as are appreciated at Court. Virtuously he practises asceticism and religious vows (*tapa-brata* of canto 98, in canto 95—2 called *kriyādwaya*, the two observances). He left the Court to live retired in a self-built hermitage called Kamalasana.

Canto 95, stanza 3. Probable Kamalasana as described in canto 95—3 was the poet's home at the time he finished the Nāg. It is not unusual for Javanese authors and scribes to mention the date when and the place where they finished their work. The date has been stated already in canto 94—2.

Perhaps the rather idyllic description of Kamalasana is flattered. Its difference from a common gentleman's countryhouse may have been slight. No doubt the word *umah* is used on purpose. It is only found in this place in the Nāg. Probably in the 14th century East Javanese idiom it especially referred to a farmhouse or a countryhouse. In modern Javanese *umah* is the usual word for any house. The *pahomans* (rendered: fire-offering places) in the outer courtyard of the Majapahit Royal compound described in canto 8—4 were high structures of the pagoda type. In the Rājapatigunḍala (edited in the present book) *pahomans* seem to be connected with commoners' worship also. This is in accordance with the building of a *pahoman* in Kamalasana far from Court. Perhaps the presence of a religious building for the reception of a god marked a countryhouse as a dwelling of a man of some importance.

Kamalāsana, lotus-seat, is a manner of sitting connected with Brahma. Perhaps the house was named after the god of learning (Brahma-

Wāgindra: canto 1—2). The description of the trees in the yard is inserted as a play upon the words *kamala* and *asana*. As a growth of lotus-flowers (Skt. *kamala*) is improbable where no pond is mentioned, perhaps the Monkey-face tree, *Mallotus philippinensis*, modern Javanese *kapasan*, the producer of a dye of the *kamala* (orange) colour is meant.

The remark in the last verse of canto 95 on the hermitage being found attractive (*amatik*) is to be connected with the poet's idea to settle in Darbaru if his Court career proved disappointing (canto 35—3). The reference in canto 95 to an idea expressed in canto 35 makes Prb.'s opinion that canto 95 is spurious the more implausible.

Canto 96, stanza 1. Cantos 96 and 97 are samples of the playing with words so often found in Javanese poetical works. Perhaps the name Lambang of canto 94—3 refers to this kind of word-craft. In modern Javanese literature stanzas in a similarly mannered style sometimes are used as texts by professional singers. Perhaps cantos 96 and 97 also were meant to be sung.

In canto 96 the poet is playing with assonances, starting from the name Prapañca. The four quarters of the first stanza consist of one small sentence each, and in each sentence all the words assonate either with *ca* or with *pa*, the two consonants of *pañca*. Moreover the four quarters all begin with *pra*, the first syllable of the name Prapañca. In the first verse *cacah*, *cacad*, (po)*capan* and *cēcēd*, assonate with (Pra)pañ(*ca*), in the second verse *pōngpōng*, *pipi*, *puca* and *pērēm* with (Pra)pañ(*ca*) and *congcong*, *cēt* and (pa)*cēh* again with (Pra)pañ(*ca*).

Assuming that beside mere consonant assonance also some sort of rhyme comes into play perhaps canto 96—1 contains an indication of the 14th century Majapahit pronunciation of the name Prapañca. If the syllable *ca* of Prapañca rhymed with *cēcēd*, *cēt*, (pa)*cēh* and also with (pra)*congcong*, and if the syllable *pan* of Prapañca rhymed with (pra)*pōngpōng* and *pērēm* perhaps the sound of the *a*'s in the last two syllables of Prapañca was not clear or full. The same is the case with the *a* sound in similar positions in modern Javanese, Madurese and Balinese. In modern Javanese the name is pronounced Prapāñcā. Perhaps canto 96—1 allows of the inference that in 14th century Majapahit the sound of the *a* in certain positions was already unclear. For a precise determination of the sound of the *a* in 14th century Majapahit Javanese the data are insufficient.

The meaning of the artificial stanzas is difficult to grasp. Probably the sound was more important than the sense. According to Kern the Skt. word *prapañca*, originally referring to expansion and diffusion, acquired the sense of error, deceit, worldliness, an obstacle to pure spiritual life. In Old Javanese *prapañca* means passion, excitement. *Pracacah* (from *cacah*: piece) has the sense of divided as to activities and connections. In Balinese the word is used with reference to a lover of several women at a time. *Pañca* in canto 96—1 no doubt is the Javanese word (rendered: fellow, modern Javanese: *kāñca*, often to be rendered: friend) not the Skt. *pañca* (five). Divided as to fellows or friends makes passably good sense and the connection with passion, excitability is conceivable. It seems superfluous to cast about for a perfect explanation of the words, though.

The second quarter of canto 96—1: fault-finding: sayings of the *cēcēd*-bird is to be connected with Old Javanese *Bhāratayuddha*, canto 1—16, quoted in KBNW: the *cod*-bird finds fault with the *siyung* (i.e. the *béo*-bird that can talk). According to a quotation in KBNW (sub *bandung*) the expression refers to ridiculous over-estimation of one's own qualities. It is used by poets disclaiming any intention to be praised: they compare their own poetry with the ridiculous prattle of the *cod*-bird that thinks he outrivals the *béo*. This literary reminiscence makes good sense in the Nāg.'s concluding chapter which contains the poet's obligatory self-abasement by way of *captatio benevolentiae*.

Perhaps *prapōngpōng* in the third quarter of canto 96—1 is related to modern Javanese *plēng* which means vanished, forgotten, forgetful and perplexed. As the "cheek separated from rest" may refer to insomnia the sentence is not altogether devoid of sense.

Pracongcong in the fourth quarter of canto 96—1 seems to refer to insolence and boyish behaviour. On the one hand the word is to be connected with modern Javanese *clongcongan* and *clongclongan*: walking in an insolent way, on the other modern Javanese *kacung* and Balinese *cocong*: a little boy, might be brought forward. Probably the original sense of *cong* is: protruding. In the case of *kacung* and *cocong* the genitals are referred to. The merrymaking (*pacēh-pacēh*) perhaps points to eroticism. Therefore boyish behaviour seems also a good rendering of *pracongcong*.

Canto 96, stanza 2. This stanza is an accumulation of alliterating words. *T* is the dominating consonant. The meaning of the sentences is sufficiently clear. *Tantri* is the name of the Old Javanese version of

the Indian book of fables *Pañcatantra*. The order of existence (*taleng tatwa*) seems to be a summary of the contents of the book of fables which is a mirror of human life.

Canto 97, stanzas 1, 2, 3. The metre of canto 97 is another kind of *wipuldwaktra* than that used in canto 96. In canto 97 two consecutive half-verses consist of just the same syllables but their order is inverted, and so is the sequence of short and long feet in the metre, of course.

It is remarkable how much sense the stanzas convey in spite of their artificiality. In the first verses of the three stanzas the poet seems to point to his worldly aspirations: substantial rewards eventually gifts in gold, for his troubles, and victory in the struggle against want of appreciation. The concluding verses of the stanzas form anticlimaxes: they refer to spiritual life. They speak of renunciation and keeping of vows. The very last verse seems to mention the possible reconciliation of the two points of view more or less in the *Bhagawadgita* spirit: not to desist from striving, provided it is directed to an exalted end.

In canto 97—1 the Skt. word *samsāra* (course of re-births) is used in the modern Javanese sense of distress. Though the doctrine of *karma* and *samsāra* was well-known in 14th century Majapahit society it was not predominant in the Javanese mind. The mention of emotion in connection with giving in canto 97—2 (*yan ateweh magawe abra*) seems to refer to the happiness caused by liberality: freedom from base earthly fetters.

The construction of the three stanzas of canto 97 resembles in a remarkable degree the *pantun-parikan* poetry to be identified with the songs (*gita, kidung*) repeatedly mentioned in the *Nāg*. The rule of division of the stanza into halves showing some correspondence as to their contents applies as much to the native Javanese *parikan* songs as to the *wipuldwaktra* stanzas of canto 97. The supposition that the name *Lambang* (canto 94—3) refers especially to stanzas of the canto 97 type becomes the more plausible by this resemblance.

Another remarkable feature of canto 97 (and 98) is the repeated mention of the name *Wināda* (four times) and the absence of the name *Prapañca* which is used in the preceding canto. Probably *Wināda* was another name of the poet who calls himself repeatedly *Prapañca* in all the preceding cantos of the *Nāg*. Whereas in canto 96 the poet is playing upon the word *prapañca* in canto 97 and 98 he does the

same, though in another way, upon the word *wināda*. The name Wināda is preceded by the same predicate *sang* (rendered: honoured) as the name Prapañca, and moreover the former is connected with the title *pu* (rendered: Sir) which is not used in connection with the latter. At the Majapahit Court the title *pu* seems to have been used especially before original personal names (v. glossary: *pu* Tanjung, *pu* Nāla, *pu* Singha), not before subsequently acquired consecration or doctorate names. Therefore it seems most probably that Wināda is the poet's original name.

Canto 98. The meaning of the word *wināda* is alluded at in the last verse of canto 98 (blamed in the Interior, *cinala ri dalēm*). Probably the meaning: abused, scoffed at (from Skt. *wāda*, in modern Javanese: abuse) was attached to the name. Giving children names with an unpropitious meaning or connotation is a custom still prevailing in out-of-the-way districts of modern Java. The idea is to protect them by their unpretentious names against the malignancy of evil spirits. Seen from this point of view Wināda is not an unlikely name for the son of a bishop. No doubt his father hoped for him to be his successor in time, but then he foresaw his son would meet with envy and malignity at Court. The relation of the poet's original personal name Wināda with the bishop's name Nādendra which is mentioned in the Ferry charter is not perfectly clear. Perhaps doctor Nādendra was the poet's father. As to the name Prapañca perhaps it was only the poet's *nom de plume*. This supposition seems to be confirmed by the fact that the name Prapañca is mentioned in the Nāg. especially in connection with poetry (*sang kawy aparab Prapañca*).

In canto 98 the poet comes to an end, giving a summary of his own attitude towards life. In exaggerated modesty he twice uses the word *para* (common, commoner) referring to himself. Elsewhere in the Nāg. he calls himself the honoured *kawi* (*rakawi*). *Kērtā* (rendered: good conduct) is often used in the Majapahit Court style referring to cosmic and social order. After King Kērtanagara of Singasari several members of the Royal Family were given names containing the element *kērtā*. Apparently the word was suggestive of sublime deeds. *Tyāge sukha wibhawo* (renouncing pleasure and luxury) is reminiscent of *tyāga ring rasa* (renunciation as to sensuality) of

canto 97—1. The reference in the last verse of the canto to the want of appreciation for Wināda-Prapañca's poetry shown by the Court ladies has been pointed out before.

The information on the poet's person and circumstances scattered through the Nāg. would allow of the writing of a romantic biography of the Majapahit Court bishop's son. The present commentary is not the proper place for that. In the appended chapter on the composition of the Nāg. the qualities of the poet shall be dealt with.

THE NĀGARA-KERTĀGAMA COLOPHONS.

Since the 14th century Wināda-Prapañca's poem was copied many times. It is impossible to determine which number the text of codex 5023 Leyden University Library would have in the sequence of copies. As in the moist tropical climate manuscripts written on palm-leaves do not last very much longer than 75 years, unless exceptionally well cared for, perhaps the text of codex 5023 is about the 7th or 8th descendant of the author's copy. The custom of copying scribes (who used to act in a manner as editors) of adding a colophon to their own copy was not followed by all, or several colophons were superseded by later ones. Certainly the two Nāg. colophons of codex 5023 are not by the same author. The first colophon's survival is a consequence of its mentioning the name Nāgara-Kērtāgama by which the poem has been called ever since.

Colophon 1.

Both the bad Javanese grammar and the contents prove the first colophon to have been by a copying scribe, not by the author of the poem himself, which, moreover, would be most unusual. Therefore Nāgara-Kērtāgama is to be considered as a name given by some scribe who acted as editor, not by the author himself. The author meant his poem to be called Desha-Warṇana (Description of the Country, Survey of the Realm), as mentioned in canto 94—2.

Probably the meaning of the name Nāgara-Kērtāgama is: Book of learning on the Good Order of the Realm. Both the words *nāgara* (usual meaning in the Nāg. idiom: the capital Majapahit) and *āgama* (usually referring to [Shiwaite] religious doctrine) are used in this name in a sense slightly different from 14th century Majapahit Court custom, but in conformity with more recent Balinese literary usage. The un-Majapahit-Javanese ring of the name is another indication of its not being given by the 14th century Javanese author but by some Balinese scribe.

In the first colophon the name Nāgara-Kērtāgama is followed by a summary of the poem's contents as the scribe-editor viewed it: a tale of the King (or the Kings) of Majapahit (*sangkatha śhrī mahārāja Wīlwa Tikta*). This is a reminiscence of canto 1—3: the tale of the Protector of Majapahit (*kateng nareśhwara sang śhrī nāthari Wīlwa Tikta*). Apparently the Javanese author's purpose to make a panegyric of King Hayam Wuruk, his family and his realm escaped the editor's attention. Being a Balinese living a century or more after the author he was not very much interested in the unique descriptions of Majapahit Court life given by an eye-witness. From his Balinese point of view he considered the poem as a collection of tales about the great legendary Majapahit Kings and consequently as a useful Mirror for Princes, a manual of dignified conduct and good policy. Hence the name Book of learning on the Good Order of the Realm.

The unique Nāg. manuscript's appearance in a Lombok Prince's library perhaps was a consequence of its being considered as a Mirror of Princes fit to be studied by courtiers even in distant islands. Beside the Nāg. several other Old Javanese texts were copied in the same palm-leaf book that is now codex 5023. The other texts seem to be chosen on the one hand for their being Buddhistic or at least suggesting Buddhism to the Balinese editors, on the other hand for their moralistic contents. Certainly they are neither descriptive nor historical works. The classing of the Nāg. with those moralistic works points to the instructive value attached to the poem in after-years by Balinese scholars.

The Balinese nationality of the first colophon's unnamed author is apparent from his bringing Bali into prominence. In fact Bali is mentioned several times in the Nāg. but there is no doubt the poet was primarily interested in Java. "Stable in its place" (tentative rendering of *pratiṣṭhangkana*) seems to be an epithet of the Balinese kingdom (*Balirājya*) of the same kind as "most excellent in the world" (*adiningrat*) that is affixed to names of Royal capitals in the modern Javanese Court idiom (Surakarta Adiningrat).

The mention in the first colophon of sacred charters (*sang hyang prashāsti wasita*) in connection with the Balinese kingdom refers to the supernatural power attached by latter-day Balinese to the copper-plates engraved with (to them) almost undecipherable characters. The charters were venerated as palladiums of order and stability. To the Javanized Balinese upper classes they meant their link with the Majapahit dynasty and so with the social and cosmic order represented by

the divine Kings. Probably even in the 14th century Royal charters with lengthy preambles mentioning the names of Kings and their servants were held in high veneration and kept for generations as heirlooms in the families of the original beneficiaries. That is the reason why the considerable costs of the material and the engraving were thought worth while. But then a 14th century Majapahit scholar like the poet of the *Nāg*, still understood the contents of a charter he read (v. canto 35—2, *Īdarharu*) and so he did not give it the predicate holy (*sang hyang*). The difference between the culture of the 14th century Javanese courtier and his Balinese editor of a century or more after is apparent from the latter's religious veneration for Royal charters which he probably could hardly read.

Colophon II.

The name of the second colophon's author is difficult to read in the manuscript. On account of the auspicious meaning of the word *artha* (profit, money) Artha Pamāsah seems a more likely name than either Arca Mamasah or Arsa Pamasah, both of them possible readings. As the topographical names in the second colophon are given in figurative forms perhaps Artha Pamasah (probably meaning: Profit-Prince) was not the scribe's real personal name. The use of names of the Javanese type, composed of Skt. or Javanese words, in 18th century Bali is remarkable, for at present pure Balinese names are the rule.

No doubt Kañcana Sthāna (meaning: Gold-place) is another name for the well-known borough Mas (Gold) in South Bali. Probably Kawyan is to be identified with Abian, Abian-Sēmal being the name of a district. Perhaps Talaga Dwaja (meaning: Pond and Banner) refer to the villages Taman (meaning: Plantation) and Punggul (*tunggul* meaning banner). Dr Swellengrebel, lately of Den Pasar, South Bali, has been so kind as to point out these identifications.

Perhaps the pronoun *-ira* in the second colophon used with reference to the author himself (which would be called impertinent in 14th century Majapahit) is to be connected with the Balinese honorific predicate *Ida*, belonging to *pṛdandas* (Balinese priests, calling themselves brahmins) and (according to KBNW) ruling Princes. It seems not impossible to see a learned *pṛdanda* in Artha Pamāsah of Mas.

The parenthetic clause: at the time he was imperiled by enemies (*sẽđẽnging tinanggung ripu*) might refer to an event unknown to us. But then it seems most probable the author only meant to say that he was a poor man in straitened circumstances. Similar information calculated to evoke the readers' pity is not uncommon at the end of Javanese manuscripts by way of *captatio benevolentiae*.

Artha Pamāsah's avowal that he did not understand the text very well and that he copied his model as well as possible are important for our judgment on the deficiencies of codex 5023. Apparently two centuries ago, in the 18th century, Balinese scholars already found the Nāg. difficult to understand.

As codex 5023 evidently was made for the Balinese Lombok Prince (or for one of his ancestors) in whose library it was found in 1894, and as the script is not essentially different from the modern Balinese style of writing, one or several copying scribes have been at work between the 18th century copy made by Artha Pamāsah of Mas and the text as given in the present edition. The relatively good state of the text (setting aside the mistakes in metrical quantities) is a compliment to the Balinese scholars' scrupulousness.

Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1958, p. 229) found the exact date of Artha Pamāsah's colophon: 20/X/1740 A.D.



IX. A MASKED DANCER, SEE P. VIII.

MINOR WRITINGS
COMMENTARIES

N A W A N A T Y A.

The Nawanatya in the redaction of cod. 5091 Leyden is a manual of good conduct for Court officials. The meaning of the name is "Nine Physiognomies, or Instances of Polite Demeanour", and this refers to nine situations in which a courtier may find himself, and to the faces suitable for each occasion in turn that are to be shown by him. The present text contains two groups of nine cases each (p. 1a-3b and p. 5a-7b, the *Nawanatya* proper) and moreover a group of five similar situations (p. 7b, the *Pañcawīṣaya*), almost certainly all of them borrowed from Indian literature. Those rules of good conduct have been amplified by Javanese authors with notes on Court officials (the concluding chapters *Nagarakrama* and *Rājyawāsana*). Though Majapahit is not mentioned the resemblance of these notes with the descriptions in the Nāg. is so great that the author or authors must have been Majapahit courtiers themselves. The notes on the Court officials and, to a certain extent, the explanations of the nine situations contain interesting information on Majapahit Court life. The chapters on 14th century Javanese culture at the end of the present book are founded for a considerable part on the contents of the Nawanatya. The interested reader is referred to them.

The Nāgara-Kērtāgama, of course, is Buddhistic, but Shiwaism is not neglected. The Nawanatya, on the other hand, does not mention Buddhism or Buddhist functionaries. It is interesting to note that in the Nawanatya the Chief Justice at the Majapahit Court is called a *shaiwa*, a Shiwaite (but in modern Balinese idiom: a priest in general), whereas both in the Nāg. and in the charters several times two *dharmādhyakṣas* (bishops), a Shiwaite and a Buddhist, are mentioned as heads of the Royal court of justice. It is just possible, though, that in the last sentence of p. 18b a Buddhist priest sitting a little lower than the brahmin *purohita* was mentioned. Even in the Buddhistic Nāgara-Kērtāgama, and in the charters too, the Shiwaite clergy's precedence of the Buddhist priests, especially in Court matters, is

evident. In this case the Buddhist *rakawī* Prapañca, having read Royal charters, and having access to the Register (*carcan*) of religious domains and estates, no doubt is a better authority than the author or the authors of the notes on Court officials in the Nawanatya. The latter seem to be interested mainly in secular Court customs, rules and ceremonies. This makes the collation of the two texts all the more fruitful.

The following comments are ordered according to the pages of cod. 5091 and the numbers of the selections from the Nawanatya text as indicated in the Notes in vol. II and the Translations in vol. III of the present book.

p. 1a (selection 1). The Nawanatya's introduction seems to lack order, but its meaning is sufficiently clear. Nine subjects are recommended for special attention to candidates for office at Court. The number of nine corroborates the statement of *p. 5a* that Nawanatya means Nine Physiognomies.

The pages *2a* and *2b* contain short discussions of the first seven subjects. In the present edition and translation they are skipped as not being very interesting. The last two discussions are published and translated because *shrama*, sports, and the enjoying of scenery are mentioned several times in the Nāg.

p. 2b, 3a (selection 2). Apparently *shrama* in the Nawanatya is a display of fighting passes and runs. As is to be expected it has several technical terms. *D̥rta* (Skt. *dh̥rta*, *dh̥rti*) probably means: stop, position. In KBNW three texts are quoted mentioning *mbuntulu* in connection with fighting or dancing. The exact meaning is unknown. *Polèng bintulu* is the name of a chequered pattern of textile or batik showing the four cardinal colours of the Javanese classification system: white, red, yellow and black. In the *wayang* plays and literature it is worn by Bhīma, the great warrior. This makes some connection of *mbuntulu* and *bintulu* (and of the *shrama* display of fighting passes and Javanese mythology) conceivable. Originally Bintulu or Buntulu may have been a name of a native Javanese mythic personage afterwards identified with the Indian Bhīma. Several Javanese local legends and *wayang* tales about Bhīma are only to be explained by the assumption that in the Javanese mind he has been identified with a person belonging to native Javanese mythology.

In *Puṣpakajaya* the name of the aerial Puṣpaka chariot of Indian mythology is discernable. *Lingga-praṇāla*, in the Majapahit idiom the name of the pair Lingga-and-Yoni, also shows some connection of the dance with religious thought. *Pangkaja-Nawang* probably means: Praying Lotus. It is a matter for conjecture what the name implies.

As technical term of Javanese fighting dances *rangin* seems to be a synonym of *ḍaḍap*. The original meaning of *ḍaḍap* is: cover. *Ḍaḍap* is the name of a tree (*Liriodendron variegata*) and of a rather small oblong shield covering the fore-arm. *Ḍaḍap* fighting dances performed by men armed with crisses and fore-arm shields have persisted in the Royal favour at the Central Javanese Courts up to the beginning of the 20th century (v. *Volksvertoningen*). The connection of the *ḍaḍap* shield and criss appears in the Nawanatya on p. 13a.

The *galah* probably was a kind of pike. The *gala-gañjur* dance and music (v. Nāg. canto 65—1: *gañjuran*) no doubt is connected with this weapon.

The *lameng* is the round shield or buckler. The *buntal* lance that was used with it perhaps had spear-heads at both ends; *buntaran* means: lower end spear-head. The *watang* mentioned in p. 13a is the long lance, now mostly called *tumbak*, the common Javanese weapon, held with both hands and used without a shield. Perhaps *waos*, the synonym of *tumbak* in the modern ceremonial idiom (*krḍmḍ*), is a "commuted form" of *watang*.

The enjoying of scenery (*kalangwan*) is the last item of the nine situations or circumstances mentioned in the beginning of the texts. No doubt *amēng-amēngan abhasa* (emendation of the corrupted word in cod. 5091) refers to poetical descriptions also found in the Nāg. (e.g. in canto 32—34, the visit to Sāgara).

p. 3b—4b. The following passage of the Nawanatya, referring to the *patih* and the *dhyakṣa*, has no connection with the preceding discussions of nine subjects to be studied by candidates for office. Probably it has been moved. Its right place seems to be on p. 9a, at the beginning of the paragraph where the organization of the Royal Court is described. At the end of the *patih*-and-*dhyakṣa* passage the text continues with a discussion of the second group of nine cases or situations that are to be borne in mind by courtiers.

The opposition of the grand-vizir (*patih*) as the Keeper of the country to the Chief Justice (*dhyakṣa*) as the Keeper of the King's estate is in accordance with the antithesis *desha-nagara* that is evident in some

places in the Nāg. It is interesting to note that the two high dignitaries were distinguished by the colours of their palanquins and state sunshades: the *patih* had them yellow or gilt, the *dhyakṣa* dark-coloured, probably indigo dyed. Red and black (if the emendation is right) were the episcopal colours in the pageant on the occasion of the *Rājapātnī's* *shrāddha* ceremonies (Nāg. canto 66—1).

According to Nāg. canto 75—2 *kalagyans* (rendered: artisans' boroughs) were under the authority of the Shiwaite bishop. The use of this word in connection with the *dhyakṣa* is another piece of evidence that the latter was a Shiwaite spiritual lord. The *kufis* (rendered: halls) that were under the authority of the Buldhist bishop, according to that Nāg. stanza, are not mentioned in the Nawanatya.

p. 5a (selection 3). After the probably displaced passage about the *patih* and the *dhyakṣa* the Nawanatya codex returns to its proper subject, mentioning the second group of nine cases or situations. They are borrowed from Indian literature, and so are the first nine situations, probably.

The last sentence of p. 5a: "physiognomies (*smita*) are the result of tactful behaviour" probably means that a tactful courtier knows how and when to change the expression of his face.

The pages 5b—7a contain discussions of various situations in social intercourse. The main thing is to talk about subjects that are interesting to the other person. As it is dispensable in the frame of the present book this passage is skipped.

p. 7b—8b (selection 4). The *Pañcaviṣaya* text deals with the third group of cases or situations that are to be considered by courtiers. The subject, the Five Senses, seems also to be borrowed from Indian literature. The pages of the Nawanatya codex referring to it are skipped.

The name *Pañcaviṣaya* is mentioned in the introduction, p. 1a. For that reason it seems probable that the other names mentioned in connection with it: *Nagara-krama* and *Rājya-wāṣaṇā*, also refer to chapters of the Nawanatya. Their respective meanings: "Customs of the Town" and "Notion of the Royal Residence" fit well with the contents of the next following passages of the codex. In fact the name *Nawanatya* only fits for the beginning of the text: the groups of nine cases or situations. The circumstance that in the introduction *Nagara-krama* and *Rājya-wāṣaṇā* are mentioned before *Pañcaviṣaya*, whereas

in the codex they come after it, is to be accounted for as one of the numerous irregularities of the text.

In the introduction the four chapters are placed on a line, and so it seems certain that the "Nine Physiognomies" proper and the "Five Senses", both of Indian origin, are meant to have for counterparts the very much Javanese "Customs of the Town" and "Notion of the Royal Residence". In a typically Javanese classifying manner the introduction refers to this duality with its last words: "Nawanatya outside and inside". The "Nine Physiognomies" and the "Five Senses" are meant to rule the courtiers' behaviour in public, the "Customs" and the "Notion" deal with things belonging to the Interior of the Royal compound.

According to Nāg. 91—8—1 the Nawanatya was used as a textbook or libretto of King Hayam Wuruk's *rakṣit* performance on the occasion of the Majapahit Court festival in *Caitra*. Assuming that the 14th century Nawanatya's contents was in essence identical with the text of cod. 5091 it seems probable that especially the chapters on the "Nine Physiognomies" and the "Five Senses" were used to provide themes for the *rakṣit* play's facetious and touching songs (*kidung*). The Nāg. description implies that the gamut of human feeling: merriness, laughing, pity and anguish, was contained in the songs. Offering a mirror of Court life the Nawanatya indeed is suitable to be used as a textbook. In a way it is comparable with modern Javanese *wayang* theatre performers' manuals called *pakṣm dalang*.

p. 9a—14b (selection 4). Probably these paragraphs belong to the chapter called "Customs of the Town". The contents is most interesting: together with the "Notion of the Royal Residence" (p. 17b—23b) the "Customs" are a rich source of information on 14th century East Javanese Court culture. They are of the utmost importance for the interpretation of several Nāg. passages. Unfortunately, as a consequence of our deficient knowledge of the Javanese idiom of the time, they are sometimes difficult to understand.

The *Nagarakrama* seems to start from the idea of a system of five high Court dignitaries: *patih* (vizir), *tumĕnggung* (commander-in-chief), *dĕmung* (chamberlain), *kanuruhan* (chancellor) and *juru pangalasan* (master of the guardsmen). But then in the following explanations another system appears: *tumĕnggung*, *dĕmung*, *kanuruhan*, *rangga*, *juru pangalasan*. The *patih* and the *dhyaksa* have been dealt with before. In quotations in his KBNW van der Tuuk mentions (sub *dya*h

and sub *kalang*) yet other systems. The Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa has: *tumenggung*, *dĕmang*, *rangga*, *kaṇḍuruwan*, *patih*. The "cabinet" of four Court dignitaries that took office after the grand-vizir Gajah Mada's death (Nāg. canto 72) forms another system. The varying composition of the group at the top of Majapahit officialdom makes it improbable that a really very old fixed organization of offices was a permanent feature of Court life in 14th century East Java. Perhaps the idea in the foreground of Majapahit political thinkers' minds was only the suitability of a group of five (or eventually four) high dignitaries taking office as the heads of Court officialdom and prominent servants of Royalty.

The Nawanatya's information on Court offices is on the whole clear and full of particulars. The Court officers' revenues shall be discussed in the chapter on the Royal Court (v. the Recapitulation in the present volume). Suffice it to say that probably the value of 100 Chinese cash (the currency of the Majapahit realm) was about 0,055 gold U.S. dollar.

To be noted is the account of the *dĕmang*'s office in p. 10a. He seems to have been the head of a department of arts and crafts and of female services in the Royal Compound. Probably the last words of the passage: "anything having hands' marks on it" is a stock phrase meaning: anything wrought by hand. It seems to refer to the relation of the *dĕmang*'s office with (female) craftsmanship.

On account of well-known facts about other oriental Courts the question might be raised whether the Majapahit *dĕmangs* were eunuchs. Eunuchs as Royal servants having the supervision of women inside the Royal compound would not be at all surprising. But then as far as known to the present author Old Javanese literature does not offer clear evidence of the existence of eunuch officers at Royal Courts in the pre-Muhammadan period. At the Muslim Courts of Central Java eunuch officers never seem to have been in evidence. The very observant Dutch ambassadors who visited the Mataram Court in the beginning of the 17th century probably would have noted them, and so would the excellent describer of early 19th century Surakarta Court life J. W. Winter (*Beknopte Beschrijving van het Hof Soerakarta in 1824*, ed. Rouffaer, BKI 54, 1902). At the modern Central Javanese Courts a hierarchy of female officers served in the Interior of the Royal compounds. In some periods there even was a female armed body-guard for the King. It seems most probable that at the Majapahit Court female servants also were ordered according to rank.

The *pisangan* of p. 10b and the *patēh-patēhan* (modern Javanese: *patahs*) of p. 11b probably were of different rank. No doubt the author of the *Nāg.* was very well informed on these matters, but then being a rather prominent courtier he meticulously refrained from mentioning private concerns of the Royal Family.

The ancient triad *Hiṇo*, *Sirikan*, *Halu* is mentioned two times in the *Nagarakrama* (p. 9a and 13b). Whatever may have been its original function (it is mentioned already in early Central Javanese charters, four centuries or more before King Hayam Wuruk's times), at the Majapahit Court the ancient titles seem to have been conferred upon junior members of the Royal Family. It is remarkable that they are not mentioned in the *Nāg.*; they are, though, in King Hayam Wuruk's Decree *Jaya Song*.

The absence of any mention in the *Nagarakrama* of the *upapattis* (assessors-at-law) with their strange title-names: *Manghuri*, *Kaṇḍamohi* etc. and their predicate *paṁṛgēt* or *saṁṛgēt* perhaps is to be explained by the fact that the *Nagarakrama* almost exclusively deals with the secular aspect of the Royal Court. The assessors were subordinates of the bishops, and only by way of introduction the (Shiwaite) episcopal see (the *dhyakṣa*'s office) as a counterpart to the secular vizirate (the *patih*'s function) is mentioned.

p. 14b—17a (selection 6). The last part of the *Nagarakrama* contains firstly precepts for messengers and envoys, secondly rules of good behaviour, especially with regard to sitting and in case of meeting a woman, and thirdly pieces of advice on the choosing of companions and on social intercourse. The whole of this part shows a moralistic trend of thought. Though it is not without interest it is skipped in the present edition and translation as being dispensable in the frame of a description of 14th century Majapahit society.

p. 17b—18b (selection 7). The initial words *tata pura*: the Royal compound's order, are an indication that this is the beginning of the last chapter of the text, in the introduction called *Rājyaśāṇḍa*: Notion of the Royal Residence. The idea seems to be that, whereas the preceding chapter *Nagarakrama* deals with the Royal servants in the last chapter the appearance and the actions of the King himself, residing in his Royal compound, are described.

The description of the King's sitting in state on the occasion of an audience is very interesting. Several points of it deserve an ample

discussion: they could easily be elucidated by mentioning parallels in 19th and 20th century Central Javanese Court customs. Going into details of costumes and manners would carry the present description of 14th century East Java too far, though.

The passages following the paragraph on the Royal audience deal firstly (p. 18b—19a) with the King's manner of speaking to his courtiers, and secondly (p. 19b—21a) with the treatment of servants and the measuring out of punishments. They have been skipped for want of space; only the conclusion of the *Rājyaśāstra* chapter, forming the end of the *Nawaratya* text, has been included in the present edition and translation.

p. 21b—23b (*selection 8*). The last paragraph of the *Rājyaśāstra* is particularly interesting for the light that is shed by it on the Javanese Kings' deficiency of real power and on the rather Machiavellian policy Royalty is advised to adopt in order to protect the Royal compound and to get rid of dangerous elements. In fact the impression one receives from the reading of this paragraph is completely at variance with the Nāg. poet's high-flown poetical expressions about King Hayam Wuruk's world-conquering rule. It seems safe to assume that such expressions are not to be taken literally and that in reality the Javanese Kings' power at all times was both limited and unstable, founded as it was on the (as often as not untrustworthy) allegiance of a rather small group of Royal relatives, Royal servants and ecclesiastics. Probably for the great mass of the Javanese people, the rural communities and the gentry, and the unfree bondmen, it was a matter of indifference who was King in Majapahit and to which dynasty he belonged. Some passages of the Nāg. (e.g. the Princely and Royal speeches addressed to the speakers of the country people on the occasion of the *Caitra* festival in canto 88) and the Majapahit dynasty's vicissitudes as related in the *Pararaton* are to be viewed in that light.

It is a surprise to find mentioned in a Majapahit text the custom of carrying off enemies' heads (p. 23a). In KBNW sub *adu* v. d. Tuuk translates *adu-aduan*: "people sent out (on an expedition) to hunt heads in the enemies' districts", and *kadu*: "being sent out to carry off a head, for instance: by way of punishment for an offence a man belonging to a high caste is sent out with the understanding that, if he does not bring home a head, he loses his caste. For a minor misdemeanour an ear or another limb suffices. Women also can be carried off and brought in". No doubt this remarkable note of v. d. Tuuk's

refers to 19th century Bali, but the resemblance with the policy advocated in the *Rājyaśāsana* is unmistakeable. Certainly head-hunting is not a practice to be expected from the highly cultured Majapahit Royal Court as it is described by Kern and Krom. But then those eminent scholars' ideas of Old Javanese society and civilization sorely need to be put to the test. In the present author's opinion Van der Tuuk who lived a lifetime among the peoples of the Archipelago is an excellent authority on matters of Balinese and Javanese cultural history.

p. 23b. The last lines of the text contain some information on Royal titles. Probably they have been added as an afterthought. Unfortunately they are incomplete. Reliable information on the exact values of Old Javanese titles and predicates is sorely needed.

RAJAPATIGUṆḌALA. ---

The literal meaning of the name Rājapatiguṇḍala is unknown. *Guṇḍala* (Skt. *kuṇḍala*), ear-ring, is mentioned in Old Javanese literature as one of the Royal insignia. It is remarkable that in the Nāg. in two places *patik-guṇḍala* and in two other places *pratiguṇḍala* is found. Probably both words are corrupt: neither makes good sense. Evidently the names must be understood as referring to Royal regulations. In the Nāg. they are mentioned with reverence, and therefore it seems strange that the correct name should have been forgotten or corrupted. Perhaps the words *pratiguṇḍala* (Nāg. cantos 88—3 and 89—1) and *patik guṇḍala* (cantos 79—2 and 81—1) partially owe their strange forms to the exigencies of metres.

In the Nāg. Royal regulations of King Hayam Wuruk and his mother are mentioned. Apparently they referred to the registration of title-deeds (cantos 79 and 81, chapter 13) and to the rights of common countrymen (cantos 88 and 89, the King's speech), matters which are not expressly dealt with in the Rājapatiguṇḍala text of cod. 5056. Therefore it seems improbable that this text is identical with the 14th century Majapahit Royal regulations. The Rājapatiguṇḍala text is edited and translated in the present book on 14th century Java in the first place as an example to show what King Hayam Wuruk's collection of regulations probably was like. Moreover the text contains valuable information on the condition of the clergy in 13th and 14th century East Java. Probably it has been copied and consequently preserved for posterity by Balinese priests who were especially interested in ecclesiastical matters. Dealing with secular matters, the 14th century Majapahit regulations did not particularly interest scholars of Bali where social order and economic conditions were different, so they were not preserved for posterity.

In codex 5056 the name Rājapatiguṇḍala is mentioned so many times that it cannot be doubtful that at least for this text it is the correct form of the word. Several times the Rājapatiguṇḍala mentions King Bhatati as its author, and both in the preamble and at the end

it is suggested that Bhatati is the same person as King Kērtanagara (who ruled in Singasari just about a century before King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit). Kērtanagara's care for the clergy is well known. His Sarwadharma charter of 1269 A.D. (edited and translated in the present book) contains rules on the separation of religious domains (*dharma*s), in general, from the secular commoners' lands (*thani*). The same subject is referred to in some passages of the Rājapatiguṇḍala. Therefore the authorship of King Kērtanagara does not seem improbable. In the Tantu Panggĕlaran Bhatati is mentioned as the name of a King of Galuh who was interested in the doings of the clergy. It is conceivable that King Kērtanagara's personal name by which he was known among the common people outside the Royal compound of Singasari was Bhatati, just like King Rājasanagara's personal name was Hayam Wuruk (Tètèp, according to the Pararaton).

The Rājapatiguṇḍala is a loosely connected collection of rules concerning the clergy and the religious domains. In the translation in vol. III the text has been divided into paragraphs to make the reading easier. It seems impossible to find a definite system in the composition of the text which would make it comparable for instance to the Nawatya, which is a handbook of good conduct. The Rājapatiguṇḍala resembles the Javanese lawbooks, loosely connected compilations of rules and maxims, interspersed with a kind of legal apophthegms that are difficult to interpret. *Sasalah paḍa sila* (p. 16a of the Rpg text) probably is such an apophthegm.

On the other hand it is remarkable that the Rājapatiguṇḍala has a preamble and an ending like a Royal charter. In the preamble, which is short and corrupt, King Kērtanagara is mentioned, and the ending contains the well-known maledictions on the evil-doers and the disobedient. Preamble and ending corroborate the statement of the text itself that it is the work of the King, or at least of one of his courtiers. None other would have dared to use the sacrosanct formulas.

Though the composition of the text is very loose it seems possible to make a rough division into four parts:

the first part, following the corrupt preamble, refers mainly to *maṇḍalas*,

the second part, from the middle of p. 13b to the middle of p. 15a, deals chiefly with *dewagurus* and *wikus* who are inhabitants of *maṇḍalas*,

in the third part, to the middle of p. 16b, *yogīśhwaras* are often mentioned,

and the last page, to the middle of p. 17a, where the maledictions begin, contains information on *dharma*s.

The whole of the text is interspersed, moreover, with pious exhortations, and with holy syllables like OM. Some passages seem to be intercalations.

The points of most interest in the Rājapatiguṇḍala will be discussed in the following comments, ordered according to paragraphs as indicated in the translation in vol. III. Some passages will be mentioned again in the chapter on ecclesiastical organization (v. Recapitulation).

In advance it is worthy of note that the text is religiously neutral, neither Shiwaite nor Buddhist. King Kērtanagara's Sarwadharma charter is Shiwaite. In the Rājapatiguṇḍala the third religious denomination, the *rēśhis*, are mentioned several times (in the first and second parts). The term *devaguru* for the chief of a *maṇḍala* is frequently used both in the Rājapatiguṇḍala and in the Tantu Panggëlaran. In the Nāgara-Kērtāgama it is not found. That is a remarkable point of agreement between King Kērtanagara's 13th century Rājapatiguṇḍala and the Tantu Panggëlaran which probably belongs to 15th or 16th century popular religious literature.

In its first and second parts (p. 13a—15a) the Rājapatiguṇḍala contains several technical terms of the ecclesiastical organization that are difficult to interpret.

Sari (rendered: pick) seems to be a synonym of *dakṣiṇā*: the priest's fee. In this place in the Rājapatiguṇḍala it refers to the ecclesiastics' revenues in cash that apparently were (originally) fees for spiritual services rendered to the public or for religious ceremonies celebrated in their behalf. According to v. d. Tuuk (KBNW sub *sari* and sub *dakṣiṇā*) in 19th century Bali *sasara* (read: *sasari*) was the name of the sum in cash money that was added by the public to any offering or recipe (no doubt with the understanding that at the conclusion of the ceremony or the cure [accompanied by magic incantations] the money would be appropriated by the priest or the magician as their due). In King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry charter plate 10 recto 4 *sāri* is mentioned in connection with *puṣpa*, flower-offering. In modern Muhammadan Javanese parlance similar fees accompanying offerings (*saḍen*) are called *tiṇḍih* (literally: what is placed on top), or *slawat* (from Arabic *ṣalawāt*: plural of *ṣalāt*: ritual worship: the money is considered a fee for the trouble the recipient is supposed to take to perform supererogatory ritual worship at the intention of the giver).

Pangarëmban (rendered tentatively: family men's retribution) is to be connected with *angarëmban* (found in the Tantu Panggëlaran). The meaning of the latter word is not clear. It seems to refer to householding and rural economy.

The tentative translation of *panguluwung*: empty land's retribution, is founded on the supposition that the word *kuluwung* is related with *kuwung*, which means hole and hollow.

Evidently the third technical term, *padagang daluwang*, refers to the trade in tree-bark. Tree-bark was used for clothing especially by religious people. In the Tantu Panggëlaran it is mentioned repeatedly.

On account of similar expressions (beginning with *pa-*) found in some charters (e.g. the Sarwadharma charter of King Kërtanagara) it seems probable that the three items belonging to the priests' emoluments (*sari*) originally were fees given them by the public for spiritual services or succour. It is nothing but a conjecture that *pangarëmban* and *panguluwung* refer to religious offices connected with householding (perhaps housebuilding or the foundation of a new settlement), and with opening of new lands, whereas *padagang daluwang* might be a retribution for the handling of tree-bark that was paid by the public to the ecclesiastics because tree-bark was understood to be a material by right reserved for religious ends.

The paragraph referring to the sacrosanct character of the *kayangans* (rendered: holy domains) contains some unusual expressions. *Para wulu para tanða* is tentatively translated: common men and common headmen. In charters the chancery term *wulu-wulu para wulu* is found (v. glossary): its meaning as yet is imperfectly clear. In this paragraph with the words *ngäshraya ri sang hyang manðala* (if that is the correct reading), meaning: who come to the holy *manðala* domain begging for help, a kind of right of sanctuary of religious domains seems to be recognized. The many times repeated admonition to respect the *manðalas'* rights may refer also to the case of people who took sanctuary there.

The expression *hyang matuwä* (rendered: Holy Old Ones, or Old Holy Ones) on the second place of the list beginning with the *prabhu*, the consecrated King, seems to refer to people of religion in general, comprising the well-known group of four denominations: *räshis*, brahmins, Shiwaites and Buddhists. No doubt the idea underlying this list is a classification of Javanese society divided into two categories: religious people (*hyang matuwä*) and laymen (*manuh*), both under the overlordship of the consecrated King. Common *räjar* also are con-

sidered as belonging to the laity. The meaning of *bahan purwa* (rendered literally: original matter) in this connection is a matter for conjecture.

The following paragraphs (beginning middle of p. 13b) might be considered as forming the second part of the text. They contain many words, technical terms of ecclesiastical organization and religious life, that are not yet completely clear. Many of them are found also in the Tantu Panggelaran. In vol. III tentative translations have been given, provided with query-marks, and in the glossary in vol. V some references to parallel places have been included. As a matter of fact many of those terms of Old Javanese priesthood could provide matter for interesting speculations on social and religious life in 13th and 14th century East Java. In the present commentary on the Rājapatigunḍala there is only place for some notes on points that otherwise perhaps would escape the reader's attention.

The paragraph on the *tanḍa* seems to be an attempt at explaining the word by popular etymology (*tan*: not). The use of the word *guru* in the sense of master is found in some more expressions in the text (*guru panti*: master of a house). Perhaps the well-known name of the Javanese Supreme God Bhatāra Guru (the Javanized Shiwa, Lord of Mountains) is to be explained in this sense.

The next paragraph on the priests and the commoners' lands (*wiku* and *tani*) is to be understood as another instance of the enforcement of the legal and social separation of spiritual and secular land property. King Kērtanagara's Sarwadharma charter is concerned with that matter.

The expression *mimikuni* in the following paragraph is rendered: constitute himself a *wiku*. In fact this was a practice deemed nefarious to the last degree. The form *mimikuni* might be thought interesting from a grammarian's point of view. The difficult word *den-wishishi* (rendered: to be tortured to death) perhaps is related to the modern Javanese *micis*, explained as: torture by cutting away the living flesh from the body in small slices. The note in the great Javanese dictionary of Winter and Wilkens that in olden times this was the Javanese King's punishment for counterfeit coiners seems to be founded on the assumption that the word is a derivation of *picis*: a small coin, which is debatable.

Probably the paragraph mentioning again *pangarēmban* (family men's retribution?), *pakris* (if that is the correct reading, rendered:

retribution for the wearing of a criss ?) and the *bhawā* (the priestly headdress) refers to fees to be paid by to-be-ordained men to the priest (*yogīśhwara*) celebrating the ordination ceremony (*saṅgaskāra*). *Guru paṇi* (master of a house) and *guru pajaran* (master of a religious teacher's place ?) seem to be names of social functions for which a religious ordination was required.

In the next paragraph *amañca karma*, rendered: artisan, might contain as well the Old Javanese word *pañca* (fellow) as the Sanskrit word *pañca* (five). The mixing of those words seems to be very old.

The sentence beginning: as to the *rēshi* (friar) is defective. It should be connected with the following words on physical defects that make a man unsuitable for the office of *devaguru*.

Unfortunately the next paragraph (middle of p. 14b) seems to be defective too. It contains an interesting information on exorcism (*ruwat*) in case of illness or affliction (*utpāta*). The identification of mount Lalawu mentioned in this paragraph with the Central Javanese mountain is not improbable because the latter is also mentioned in the Tantu Panggëlaran and the Spirit of the Lawu is held in veneration by the people of Central Java up to modern times. Perhaps in the Rājapatigunḍala paragraph an incantation of tutelary Spirits is referred to. *Kidung rumēksa ing wēngi*, the "Song to Watch at Night", is the name of a well-known incantation in verse that used to be sung regularly up to modern times by watchmen inside the Surakarta Royal compound.

The period of seven months and seven nights that a candidate for ordination should stay with his spiritual master (serving him, probably) makes 210 days, that is one Javanese *wuku* year of 30 weeks of 7 days each. The connection of ancient native Javanese chronology (probably related to agriculture and rice cultivation) with priestly ordinations is an indication that the men of religion mentioned in this part of the Rājapatigunḍala probably were observers of ancient native customs as well as believers in the Indian gods.

Whereas the two preceding parts of the text seem to be concerned mainly with the *maṇḍalas* and the *rēshis* (rendered: friars), the popular men of religion who were near to the country people and their ancient native beliefs and customs, the third and the fourth parts (beginning with the paragraph on the *yogīśhwara*, middle of p. 15a) deal with the property of ecclesiastics who are under Royal protection, and the *dharma*s (religious domains). The term *yogīśhwara* seems to be used

in the Rājapatiguṇḍala in a general sense, referring to any man of religion having some connection with the Court. The separation between *r̥shi* and *yogīśhwara* is not strict, though.

In several paragraphs of the third part religious ceremonies (*pāja*) performed by a *yogīśhwara* are mentioned and also legal instruments (*bhukti*) forthcoming from Court are referred to. That are indications that the connection with the Court is in the foreground in this part. As a consequence of the good information provided by the Nāg. poet the contents of the third and the fourth parts of the Rājapatiguṇḍala are easier to understand than those of the first and the second parts which are concerned with the *r̥shis*.

It is remarkable that in the Rājapatiguṇḍala the word *brāhmaṇa* is used which in the Nāg. is not found. There its place is taken by *twipra*. In other Old Javanese texts *brāhmaṇa* is not an unusual word. It is not clear why the Nāg. poet avoided it. Was it a consequence of his Buddhist persuasion?

The presence of the paragraph on the messenger (p. 16a) in the regulations of the priesthood is to be explained by the assumption that in controversies of some importance sometimes priests were employed as mediators. No doubt this function is connected with the Court priest's chairmanship of the Royal court of justice.

The fourth part of the text, beginning in the middle of p. 16b, is concerned with the *dharma*s (religious domains). The paragraph on *sanggata dharma*s (domains that are joined by an alliance or a covenant?) is difficult to understand. Perhaps the reading of the word *sanggata* is incorrect. *Samaya* (covenant, probably to be understood in the sense of an esoteric rite, also found in the Nāg.: Bharaḍa and Kuturan) seems to be an alternative of *sangaskāra* (regular consecration by a priest). So the first paragraph seems to refer to the existence of religious domains that were not consecrated in the ordinary manner but by some (ancient) mysterious rite.

In the second paragraph the ordinary consecration (*sangaskāra*) of religious domains is explained with a reference to their foundation. Though the words are not very clear no doubt the idea is that as a consequence of the consecration the domain would be in the possession of the descendants of the founder forever, just like the founder's enjoyment of heaven is prolonged for endless celestial existences. The connection of these consecrated domains with ancestor worship is clear. Consequently the other kind of domains, with *samaya* instead

of *sangaskāra*, perhaps might be considered as being free from any link with ancestors.

The last paragraph of the text preceding the maledictions which form the conclusion is a list of nine groups or persons together comprising Javanese society, ordered according to rank from low to supreme. They are: 1: *dārwa* (property, in this case apparently including unfree people, bondmen), 2: *gustis* (masters, in relation to bondmen, *kawula*), 3: *tanḍas* (headmen), 4: *mantris* (mandarins), 5: *ratus* (Princes), 6: *wikus* (priests), 7: *devas* (gods), 8: *hyangs* (holy spirits), 9: *Shānya* (Supreme Non-Being). The conformity of this list with some passages in the *Nāg*, where the respective ranks of Royal servants are enumerated is striking. Probably in the opinion of the author(s) of the list Royalty was to be classed with the gods. In Bali for a long period the King of Klungkung was given the title *Dewa Agung*, Great God. In this list *hyang* seems to refer to all beings in general belonging to the invisible, supernatural sphere. *Shānya* is the Supreme Unity.

The maledictions spoken over persons who would disregard the Royal regulations are a standing feature of Old Javanese charters. They might be considered as evidence of the limitations of the Kings' real power to enforce their orders. Supernatural powers were called on to do that. Of course it is impossible for 20th century scholars to ascertain whether in the 13th and 14th century East Javanese humanity really believed in the efficacy of the curses. Perhaps anyway their presence enhanced the venerability of the charters, and without them the texts would have been thought incomplete.

PURWĀDIGAMA.

Preamble.

Both the Nawanatya and the Purwādigama are Shiwaite books. Their neglect of the Buddhist persuasion is remarkable. In modern times in Bali Shiwaite rites take a more important place in the people's life than Buddhist ones and Shiwaite priests are more numerous than Buddhist ones. Probably that relation between the two denominations prevailed already in the Majapahit era. Perhaps Shiwaism was especially preponderant in state ceremonies, whereas Buddhist rites were practised at funerals. The Shiwaite character of a manual of good conduct like the Nawanatya and a lawbook like the Purwādigama might be explained in this manner.

The sentence of the Purwādigama preamble where the word *dharma-dhyakṣa* is used could be translated in the plural to be in accordance with the Nāg. passage canto 10—3—3. The two *dharma-dhyakṣas*, the Shiwaite and the Buddhist Court bishops, and the seven *upapattis*, the assessors-at-law, of this Nāg. passage and the Royal charters of the time no doubt are the same officials as those who sat on the Purwādigama's board of Royal judges. But then the Purwādigama's Shiwaite persuasion is so strongly expressed in other passages that it seems difficult to give a place in this text to the Nāgara-Kērtāgama's dualism.

Many Royal charters mention the *dharma-dhyakṣas* and some members of the court of justice in their preambles, but it seems impossible to find a charter where eight holders of lawyers' seats are mentioned. The Purwādigama's list must be considered as theoretical. Probably it was made up to show a group of nine *bhujangga hajis*: one *dharma-dhyakṣa* and eight *upapattis*, in accordance with the fundamental Javanese concept of a social and cosmic organization consisting of groups of eight units with one superior unit in the centre.

The Purwādigama list does not tally with the Praniti Raja Kapakapa list (see the commentary on that text). On the other hand the *Kanḍangan Rarē* and the *Kanḍangan Atuha* who are mentioned in some Royal charters (v. gloss.) are not found in either text. Van

Naerssen's paper on the *Saptopapati* (BKI 90, 1933) deals with the assessors-at-law mentioned in a number of charters.

As to the history of the inexplicable title-names, in ancient 10th century Javanese charters some of them (*tiron*, *manghuri*) are mentioned. They are found in lists of officials together with *Pangkur*, *Tawun* and *Tirip* and the *mangilala dërwaya haji*, the collectors of the lord's due (v. comm. Ferry charter, plate 5, and Biluluk charters). Originally their function may have been that of scholars of religious lore and specialists in some rites or magic practices. Probably the formation of a standard group of seven (more or less) *bhujaangga hajis* and moreover their association with the Royal administration of justice was an innovation (of the Singasari era?).

The office name *bhujaangga haji* is not found in the Nāg.; the compound *wiku haji* is used frequently, though. It is clear that *haji*, our lord the King, appended to these words, creates a dividing-line between the *bhujaanggas* and *wikus* at Court and the common functionaries. In the Nāg. canto 8—3—2 common *bhujaanggas* of low rank are mentioned, and in Old Javanese texts on the social position of ecclesiastical persons the word is used frequently.

Some Dutch scholars, in the first place Dr Rassers, have offered learned and interesting speculations on the original meaning of the word *bhujaangga* (modern Javanese *pujaangga*) and its relation to Sanskrit *bhujaga*, snake. However this may be, in the Majapahit era the word seems to have meant nothing more than scholar or clerk. In the present author's opinion some relation of the word *bhujaangga* with *janggan* (probably a rural doctor and diviner, in modern Javanese: a *dukun*, connected with agriculture), *bërjangga* (a village diviner concerned with auspicious times for the beginning of work on the fields, modern Pacitan dialect) and the common Javanese word *jaga*, to observe, to take heed, is probable.

PRANITI RAJA KAPA-KAPA.

The preservation of this modern Javanese poetical version of the Old Javanese Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa is something to be grateful for. Though sometimes difficult to understand owing to the versification and to mistakes of the scribes the Praniti is useful, in combination with the Nawanatya, for determining the meaning of otherwise unclear Nāg. passages and chancery terms of Royal charters.

The following comments are ordered according to the stanzas of the Praniti (v. notes in vol. II).

Stanzas 1 and 2. The Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa has much in common with the third chapter of the Nawanatya called Nagarakrama (p. 9a—14b) of the present edition). Both texts begin with a note on the word *mantri*. The Praniti gives a pseudo-etymological explanation of the word connecting it with the numeral three, the Nawanatya mentions the really very old triad *Hino, Sirikan, Halu*. (v. comm. Decree Jaya Song).

Stanzas 3 and 4. Both the Praniti and the Nawanatya continue with a passage on the five *mantris amāñcanagara*. In the commentary on the Nawanatya the discrepancies between lists of these officials found in different texts have been pointed out.

The Praniti's description of the *rangga's* function as an architect (if the interpretation is right) does not tally at all with the Nawanatya's interesting notes on his partnership in sports with the King. The two functions are not incompatible, of course. The Nawanatya strikes one as a reliable description of things seen at the Majapahit Court. The Praniti, on the other hand, is systematic and accurate. It would be interesting to have more information on the *rangga's* double function.

The Nawanatya's chapter on the *mantris* ends with the description of the *juru pangalasan's* function. The Praniti continues systematically with a list of the *mantris bhujaṅga*. In the preambles of Royal

charters this group always is mentioned after the *mantris amañcanagara*. The lawbook *Purwādigama* contains in its introduction a list of nine officials belonging to this group, calling them *bhujaṅga haji*.

Stanzas 5 and 6. The dividing-line between the *patih* and the *dhyakṣas*, representing the military-civil and the religious-juridical halves of Majapahit Court officialdom, is marked clearly at this point in the *Praniti*. The *Nawaratya* mentions the distinction in the beginning (p. 3b—4a). In the *Nawaratya* commentary the significance of this duality has been pointed out.

The *Praniti*'s information on the eight *mantri bhujaṅgas*' functions is unique. As far as known to the present author no other Javanese text has it. The more is it to be deplored that the original *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* is not available.

In the stanzas 5 and 6 most functionaries are mentioned twice: once in an enumeration and the second time provided with a short characterization. Their title-names are:

1. Manguri.
2. Leka.
3. Jamla.
4. Tiron.
5. Papati.
6. Aṇḍamohi.
7. Pañjang Jiwa.
8. Tangar.

The modern Javanese poetical version of the text is difficult to understand. The most plausible interpretation of the *Praniti*'s information is that originally the functions of the eight *mantris bhujaṅga* consisted in the practising of different kinds of magic. This finds some confirmation in the honorific Sanskrit epithets given them in some Royal charters. Several title-names seem to have been associated with the Bhairawa denomination, a few with Buddhism, i.e. Tantrism, and with the Sora denomination. The standard epithets referring to learning (*nyāya*: logic, *wyākaraṇa*: grammar, *śaṅkhyā*: numbers, *tarka*: speculation) found in the same Royal charters are indications of the *bhujaṅga*'s position of Court scholars. This is in accordance with the Court *pūjaṅga*'s official position in 18th and 19th century Central Javanese kingdoms.

In the meantime the Purwādigama and the preambles of Royal charters are there to prove that in the Singasari-Majapahit era several *mantris bhujangga* were (in the first place?) lawyers, assessors-at-law, *upapattis*. Again, as in the case of the *rangga*, a double function is possible. Probably the *mantris bhujangga* represented scholarship of all kinds known at the time, knowledge of ancient native Javanese lore and magic practices included. Legal apophthegms and magic incantations, *mantras* too, have some points of contact.

It should be noted that the Praniti's, the Purwādigama's and the charters' lists of *bhujangga* titles do not tally. The Praniti's *Papati* is not found in the other texts. Probably *papati* is a corrupted form of *upapatti*, assessor-at-law and member of the Royal court of justice. On the other hand the charters' *Pamotan* is found in the Praniti incorporated in another group, and the charters' *Kaṇḍangan Rare* and *Kaṇḍangan Atuha* are found nowhere else.

Both the Praniti and the Purwādigama mention the names as official titles of persons, preceded by the honorific predicate *ārya*. The Nāg. mentions a *Kaṇḍamohi* and a *Manghuri* singing at the Court festival. They are honoured with the honorific pronoun *-ira*, which is reserved for deities, Royalty and ecclesiastical persons of the highest rank. Probably their singing was important in the frame of the sacral *Caitra* festival (v. comm. Nāg. canto 91).

The Royal charters, at least in the Majapahit era, have: *samēgēt i Tiruan*, etc., which suggests (without sufficient reason, probably), that the names are geographical, like the triad *Hino*, *Sirikan*, *Halu* (originally). Probably in the Majapahit era the original meanings of the eight title-names were forgotten and so they could be used in either sense.

The words are unusual; only in a few cases a plausible etymological construction is known to the present author. Some texts have *Kaṇḍamohi*, other ones *Oṇḍamohi*, and such variations are known of some other words too. V. d. Tuuk included in his KBNW sub *kudur* a quotation from an Old Javanese book of philological notes called *Raṇayajña* which is repeated here: *simapati ngaranya: wadahaḥi* (read: *wadihati* ?), *makudur*, *warahan*, *pulaya*, *tangar*, *gurang*. The exact meanings of the words are unknown, but it is clear that they refer to functionaries attending the fixing of the boundaries of a newly established estate (*sima*). The inclusion of *tangar* in this group makes it plausible that the word originally was a noun, not a geographical name,

and moreover, that the Praniti's statement concerning the *tangar's* magic is founded on some knowledge of ancient custom

A similar corroboration of the Praniti's information on this group of *bhujaṅgas* is found in the Rēshishāsana, an Old Javanese treatise on the social position of ecclesiastical persons, quoted in the appendices of the Tantu Panggĕlaran edition (p. 299). The text mentions the Dewashāsana as being intended for men of religion in general, and this group includes *soyatas* (Buddhists) and *salwir dāṅhyang salingsingan*, *wulusan*, *tigangrat*, *rajaḡambi*, *airbulang*, *airasi*, *mangulihi*, *taji kamulan*, *paryungan*. The exact meanings of most of these words are unknown, but some of them remind one of known words: *salingsingan* of the *palimpingan* of the Praniti, *tigangrat* of the *legas* or *tyāgas*, rendered recluses, mentioned in the Tantu Panggĕlaran and the Pararaton and the *paṅgĕt i Tigangrat* mentioned in the Sukamĕrta charter (ed. Poerhatjaraka), *rajaḡambi* (probably honorific prefix *ra-* and *jaḡambi*) of the *bhujaṅga ārya Jambī*, *airbulang* (probably an ancient title *air* or *er* and *bulang*) of the just quoted Raṇayajña's *gurang*, *airasi* (probably the same *air* and *wasi*) of the *wasis*, probably female shamans, mentioned in the Tantu Panggĕlaran, *mangulihi* of the *manguri* (by contraction?), *taji kamulan* of *māla*, origin, and *paryungan* of the *hyangs*, the spirits. Whatever the other references may be worth, the *jambi* is clearly recognizable and his appearance among men and women of religion probably belonging to a remote period is worthy of note.

Probably the Nāg. spelling (canto 83—2—4) *Pañjy Angjġwa* is better than the Praniti's *Pañjang Jġwa*, the latter ("long of life") being the result of popular etymological speculation. *Pañji Angjġwa* might be explained: *pañji* (the ancient title) with the "heraldic" name (*kasir-kasir*): *jġwa-jġwa* (i.e. a kind of duck). *Pañji Angjġwa* would be comparable with *Pañji Andaka*: "Bull *pañji*", mentioned in the Praniti stanza 9. On "heraldic" names v. comm. Ferry charter, plate 3.

The different kinds of magic mentioned in the Praniti's stanza 6 as practised by the *bhujaṅgas* are not very clear and the sentences are twisted owing to the versification. *Pandġlġgan* is rendered: divination. The etymology is unknown. The word is found in the Nāg., and in some modern Javanese historical texts functionaries called *pandġlġgan* are mentioned (v. comm. Ferry charter). Fish magic ascribed to the *Leka* (if the interpretation is correct) might be connected with different methods of fishing, e.g. with fish poison, and also with giving protection against alligators.

Stanza 7 mentions a group of officials, the *mantri pasāpan ing praja*, which is not found in any other text. The title *ārya* which is given them proves that they belonged in the category of scholars and clerks, although inferior to the *mantris bhujangga*. In the Nawanatya's last chapter, the Rājyawāsana (p. 18b), Senapati, Āryādhikāra and Wīra-rāja are mentioned as title-names of Elder Mandarins. As *ārya Wīra-rāja* is the title-name of one of the Praniti's *mantris pasāpan* this group probably is identical with the Nawanatya's Elder Mandarins. *Ārya Adhikāra* is the *tumenggung*'s title-name when he retires from office (v. Nawanatya p. 10a).

Pasāpan (from *asāp*, incense) means censer. Burning incense and keeping watch at night give protection against evil influences. This makes the connection of the incense-mandarins or Elder Mandarins and the scholarly *mantris bhujangga* with their knowledge of magic sufficiently clear. Probably in the Majapahit era the Elder Mandarins did not burn incense or keep watch regularly, no more than the *mantris bhujangga* actually made fish magic. They were scholars, lawyers and advisors to the King.

The *ārya Pamotan*'s function is not explained at the end of stanza 7. As a geographical name Pamotan means: place of a bridge (*wot*). It seems plausible to connect *ārya Pamotan* with the art of bridge-making. The remarkable fact of his different places in the Praniti and the Purwādigama remains unexplained.

Stanzas 8 and 9 contain groups of lower rank. They must go without the title *ārya*, and their functions are explained superficially. *Palimpingan*, *pakulutan* (if that is the correct reading) and *surantani* are not found in other texts, as far as known to the present author. *Surantani* might be a contraction of *suruhan tani* (v. Nāg. 63—3 and comm. 79—I) which is synonymous with *asāḍahan tani*: officer in charge of commoners' lands, an official who is mentioned in the Shela Maṇḍi charter (plate 1 *rto* I).

"Releasing the King's possessions" probably means: releasing from evil influences by means of exorcism. The modern Javanese words for exorcising: *ngruwat* and *nglukat* originally mean: to release. The "guarding of the Royal Court" (or, possibly, of the Royal Family) probably also refers to magic or exorcism. It is to be regretted that the text's information on this point is so superficial. It would be interesting to know for certain that in the Majapahit era exorcism by means of a *wayang* performance, for instance, was practised at Court.

The low appreciation of the title *senapati* in stanza 8 is not in accordance with the Nawanatya (p. 18b) where Senapati is the first of the three Elder Mandarins. On the other hand, in the ritual of a rural religious festival of the Tenggër mountaineers (v. Jasper's description in *Javanse Volksvertoningen*) *senapati* is the title of the "chairman" of the feast. In this case the association of the title with rural communities' customs is apparent. The Praniti's definition of the *senapati's* function: giving orders to people, is in accordance with the use of the word as a title-name of prominent chieftains of rural estates given by the 15th and 16th century (Muslim) Kings of Dĕmak and Pajang in Central Java, who were *diadochoi* of the Majapahit realm. The Royal chanceries of that era seem to have conferred the title-name Senapati i.a. on a powerful laird of Pasir in the distant western Baŕumas hills, the borderland between the Javanese and the Sundanese tribes, and on the local chieftain of Mataram who was to be the founder of the modern Mataram line of Kings. He was revered by his descendants under the name *Panĕmbahan* Senapati (v. de Graaf, *Panĕmbahan Senapati*, and Senapati ing Alaga: Commander of Warriors, was one of the Mataram Kings' consecration names ever afterwards. Since the Royal Families of Dĕmak, Pajang and Mataram professed Islam some secondary association of the ancient title-name Senapati with Arabic *amīr* seems probable.

The Praniti's connecting the word *pangalasan* with the Royal compound is in accordance with the *pangalasans'* functions as mentioned in the Nāg. and other texts, where they appear as guardsmen. It is to be noted that the word *pangalasan* of stanza 8 returns at the end of stanza 9. If there is no clerical error one might deduce from this coincidence that originally the word did not belong exclusively to the Court sphere. Perhaps etymologically it is related to Malay *alas*: foundation, and so its original meaning might refer to a low rank in society.

The numbers given in stanza 9 for the numerical strength of the Royal servants' groups do not strike one as exaggerated, and this enhances the confidence in the Praniti's information in general. *Mantris* are all the officials mentioned in the stanzas 1—8. The given number of 150 makes it clear that many *mantri*-offices must have had several holders at the same time. The number of 1500 men refers to the lower ranks: *taṇḍa*, *wado haji*, *pañji andaka* and *kajinĕman*.

In the Pararaton an *angabehi* seems to be a military leader, a captain. Gajah Mada was an *angabehi* before he was raised to the

rank of *patiñ*, vizir. In the Nāg. the word *angabehi* is not found. In modern Javanese chancery idiom the title *ngabehi* or *behi* is frequently used. The supposition of some relationship between the ancient words *kabayan*, *pali-baya* and *angabehi* is not to be discarded.

As far as known to the present author *Pañji Andaka* is not found in any other text except the Wadu Aji, which borrowed the word from this place in the Praniti. *Pañji* is a very old title (v. comm. Ferry charter, plate 3). *Andaka* means bull, it is a corruption of *Nandaka*, the name of the bull in the Indian *Pañcatantra*. Sometimes *andaka* is used as a "ceremonial" word instead of *lumbu*, bull, and *Lumbu* is found in some texts, e.g. the Pararaton, as the first part of composite names. Names of this type, having the name of some "heraldic" animal for their first part, seem to have been popular in the Singasari and Majapahit eras. *Hayam Wuruk* and *Gajah Mada* are examples of this kind of name-giving. The Praniti's *Panji Andaka* is to be explained as: *pañji* with the "heraldic" (*kasir-kasir*) name: Bull.

Kajinñman is a derivation from *jinñm*, which means quiet and bedroom. It is remarkable that neither *kajinñman* nor the probably synonymous *kapññngan* (from *pññng*: dark) are frequent in the best known Old Javanese texts, whereas in modern Javanese historical books dealing with village life they are not uncommon. Their function seems to have been no more than a watchman's. The words have their formation (prefix *ka-*, suffix *-an*) in common with some other old names of officials or craftsmen. It is unusual in modern Javanese.

It is possible that the *pañji andakas* and *kajinñmans* of the Majapahit era had functions outside the Court sphere. Certainly the officials mentioned at the end of the list in stanza 9 did not belong to the Court. They are people from countryside communities, lairds of manors and country gentlemen. The separation between Court and country, *nagara* and *desa* in modern terms, and the inferiority (in the courtiers' eyes) of countryside dignitaries is once again made clear by the place at the end of the list, in four lines, allotted to all Javanese living outside the Court sphere.

It is to be noted that in the Praniti the religious aspect of society is ignored. In the Court sphere the *bhujaṅgas* are only mentioned because of their function of Royal scholars. The religious domains (*dharma*s) and the sacred-ring communities (*maṇḍala*s), important features in 14th century Javanese religious life, are not mentioned at all, neither are the denominations of the priests: Shiwaism, Buddhism etc. It is clear the Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa (and its original the Old

Javanese Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa) is a secular text written for use at Court. In this respect also it is comparable with the *Nawanatya*.

The end of the *Praniti*, the comparison of the tree and the rain and the reference to the prosperity of the realm, make the *Nāg.* passage about readings in public on the occasion of the annual *Caitra* festival at the Majapahit Court well credible



X. A WOMAN WITH A BABY, SEE P. VIII.

CHARTERS

COMMENTARIES

SARWADHARMA CHARTER

1269 A.D.

Though the Sarwadharma charter was not issued in the time of King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit but in the reign of his great-grandfather King Kĕrtanagara of Singasari (1268—1292) it is included in the present book because of its important information on the social position of religious domains (*dharman*). The main point in the charter is the separation of religious domains and *thāni bala* (rendered: lands of the Royal servants). The different kinds of *dharman* are specified in plate 5 recto 7. Apparently even in the Singasari era several domains of men of religion were boroughs or separate wards of artisans and traders, or tended to become so. The social standing of religiously minded middle-class people living under Royal or Princely protection shall be expounded in the Biluluk charter's commentary and in the Recapitulation, chapter 3.

The Royal servants from whom the *dharman* are separated are mentioned in plate 4 verso 3. In this charter the term *bala* seems to refer to all kinds of free secular landowners, both lairds of manors (*juru kuru*) and elders of rural communities (*buyut*). The Royal servants (*bala haji*) of the Nāg. appear to have come from the ranks of the same groups of free secular landowners. The bondmen and bondwomen, unfree people, in the Nāg. called *bhĕrtiya*, are referred to under the usual name *kawula* in the charter. The far-reaching rights exercised by the chiefs of religious domains over their bondmen and bondwomen are mentioned in plate 5 verso 5.

The Sarwadharma charter begins with the customary preamble mentioning the date, and the names of the King and his principal officers. The year 1269 is in the beginning of King Kĕrtanagara's reign. Perhaps his issuing the Sarwadharma charter at that time was like the proclamation of a programme: he meant to continue the policy of his predecessors the dyarchy Kings Wiṣṇuwardhana and Narasinghamūrti. Probably the privileging of the religious domains, making them exempt from several taxes and retributions due either to the King or to

neighbouring secular landowners, was done with the intention of binding them securely to the Court and making them staunch supporters of Royal authority in the rural districts. A similar policy on the part of the Royal administration in King Hayam Wuruk's reign has been signalized in the commentary on chapter 12 of the Nāg.

The probability that the lengthy epithets of Royalty in the preambles of charters in the grand Court style contain allusions to historical facts or circumstances shall be mentioned again in the commentary on King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry charter. In the present book on 14th century Majapahit the possible references in the Sarwadharma charter's preamble to 13th century Singasari history shall not be discussed.

The preamble occupies 14 lines, a sixth part of the whole text. It ends as usual in the formulation of the Royal order to have the charter made. The *kabuyutan* of Lokeshwara that is mentioned in this connection in a damaged part of the second plate is not identified.

The second part of the text beginning with *sambandha* (rendered: motive) is an introduction to the case that is decided on by the King in Council. The religious domains of the realm (called by the dual name Janggala-Pangjalu), complaining of the heavy burden of taxes and retributions required from them, alleged that King Kertanagara's father King Wiṣṇuwardhana had ordered them to be separated (*sapih*) from the secular lands (*thāni bala*). This separation ought to be carried into effect. The principal officers of the Court fell in with that suggestion: they advised the King to order the separation. The King did so.

This second part of the text occupies about 21 lines. The names of the taxes and retributions mentioned in the beginning of plate 3 *recto* return in part in plate 4 *verso*.

The third part of the text, beginning with plate 4 *verso*, also occupies about 21 lines. It contains the most interesting information on 13th century social and economic conditions in East Java. It is the principal part of the charter, for the Royal decision on the religious domains' complaint is formulated in it.

The ordered separation of the religious domains and the secular lands appears to be carried into effect by several measures:

1. the religious domains are declared exempt from paying some taxes and performing some duties for the benefit of the Court (plate 4 *verso* 1, 2).
2. the religious domains are declared exempt from giving some custo-

mary fees to "the lands of their Royal servants", that is to say: to the lairds of manors and to the elders of rural communities with whom they had relations, especially by common boundaries. As it was of great importance for chiefs of religious domains to remain on friendly terms with powerful neighbours probably they used to offer them presents regularly. Perhaps the religious chiefs' desire to be exempt from those customary fees points to a tendency on the part of powerful secular neighbours to exact immoderately valuable presents by way of blackmail. The irrigation-water retribution (*panghulu bañu*) was particularly effective for blackmailing purposes because the water supply of land-owners downstream, if they were unwilling to pay up, could be cut off by their neighbours upstream. The mention of irrigation water in the Sarwadharma charter is another proof (if any was wanted) of the agricultural character of most *dharmas* (rendered: religious domains or domains of the clergy in the present book). Their relation with divine worship is hardly alluded to in the charter.

An exception to the exemption from water retribution is made in the cases where the secular neighbours upstream had to buy the water themselves from people still farther up the river or the canal. The intricate system of irrigation revealed by the charter is known in the Javanese rice cultivating districts from time immemorial. As a token of the unsevered tie binding the religious domains to the surrounding secular lands (called: *pamarashraya* in plate 4 *vsq* 7) the latter were to receive (probably annual) contributions for their religious festivals (*pamāja*). In fact the abolition of ancient customary fees and the stress laid on the annual payment of *pamāja* are in accordance with similar measures taken by the Royal administration with respect to some retributions due to the *mangilala dēwya haji* (collectors of the lord's due) mentioned in the Biluluk charters (v. the edition with commentary in the present book).

3. The religious domains were put under the bishop's authority, excluding both Royal interference and demands and claims of secular landowners. This decision as to the principle seems very important indeed. Its consequences in practice are difficult to trace, though.
4. The religious domains were ordered to worship the Royal charter, the palladium of their independence, with befitting ceremonies.

They were to abstain from doing some things (difficult to determine) during the worship, apparently to enhance the solemnity. They were authorized to use specified personal adornment (sacred unguent) while worshipping (the end of plate 5 *recto*). The stress laid on the annual worship of the Royal Sarwadharma charter is to be compared with the importance attached to the worship of King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry charter (v. the edition in the present book).

5. As a token of their independence the chiefs of religious domains were not liable to fines for the using and wearing of some specified personal ornaments and clothes. Apparently those ornaments and clothes were reserved for authorities. Similar prerogatives in respect of patterns of clothing have been known in the Central Javanese towns of Surakarta and Yogyakarta up to the beginning of the 20th century. To the same category belongs the authorization vouchsafed to the chiefs of religious domains to ornament their houses in a specified way, to treat their bondmen and bondwomen in a lordly manner, to eat specified meats belonging to the prerogatives of Royalty (*rājamāngsha*) and to plant some plants in their yards.

Unfortunately the text is silent as to the persons who were empowered to impose and collect fines for infringements of those rules of prerogative. Perhaps anybody in authority belonging himself to the privileged class could do so as soon as he felt offended by a commoner's lack of deference. No doubt it was at any time difficult to enforce rules of prerogative against the people's sense of justice and propriety. Probably the abrogation of some of the rules was only the admission of the fact of the religious domains' chiefs' emancipation.

6. In the beginning of plate 6 *recto* the charter comes to its conclusion. Remarkable is the mention of the unification of the realm's moieties Janggala and Pangjalu as one of the Royal achievements. The importance of the idea of a bipartite realm to be reunited by any truly great King has been pointed out before in the Nāg. commentary.

The customary homage (*pamusa*) of the chiefs of religious domains offered to King Kērtanagara consisted in gold (the value is difficult to determine). The ferrymen's homage offered to King Hayam Wuruk according to the Ferry charter consisted only of valuable cloths. Perhaps this is a token of the scarcity

of gold in the Majapahit period as compared with the preceding centuries. The Chinese invasion which coincided with the fall of the Singasari kingdom might be the cause of the disappearance of gold from East Java since the end of the 13th century.

On the other hand according to the Majapahit Ferry charter several Court officers were given confirmation gifts (*paśēk-paśēk*) not mentioned in the Singasari Sarwadharmā charter. Perhaps at King Hayam Wuruk's Court the officers had greater influence and consequently more emoluments than in his great-grandfather's time.

The last 13 lines of the Sarwadharmā charter (plate 6 verso and 7 recto) contain the usual curses on anybody who would dare to alter the sense of the text and to disobey the Royal order. The use in this part of the charter of the terms *pinghay akurug anak-thani* (whites, i.e.: men of religion, local chiefs and common countrymen) is remarkable. Terms of this kind are commonly found in charters of an older time. In the Singasari period those names for three classes of rural society seem antiquated.

The Sanskrit verses at the end of the text are less corrupt than might be expected. They prove once more that in the 13th century the Court scholars' knowledge of Sanskrit was not negligible.

King Kērtanagara's Sarwadharmā charter as found in Pēnampihan is purely Shīwaitic. No Buddhist bishop is mentioned in the preamble. It ends with homage to Shīwa only. As King Kērtanagara is known (at least in his maturity) to have been a believer in the Unity Shīwa-Buddha, there must be a good reason for the omission of Buddha and Buddhism (including names of Buddhistic domains like *wihāra* and *kuṭi*) from the Sarwadharmā text. Speculations on this point seem out of place, though, in the present commentary on the 14th century Nāg. text.

Some notes on the meanings of names of taxes or fees and their implications may be useful in order to elucidate social customs probably still prevailing in the Majapahit period and long afterwards.

Byēt hajyan and *lakwa-lakwan adoh aparō* (rendered: constructions for the lord and goings far and near) are mentioned three times in the Sarwadharmā charter. No doubt the well-known corvée was meant by these terms. The Royal Progresses and the construction of the Royal stands in Bubāt as described in the Nāg. were possible only by commanding corvée labour. As the head of the cosmic and social

community the King was entitled to assistance in kind and in labour in all matters appertaining to social life just like the head of a family was in his own sphere.

Turun-turun sagēm sarakut (rendered: tithe, one bundle: one handful) is mentioned only once (plate 4 verso 2). Apparently it was due at the time of the rice harvest and taken from the field in kind. It seems impossible to ascertain the rate of this rice tax, for even in modern Java the quantities of fresh rice called a bundle and a handful differ from district to district. The name *turun-turun* returns in the modern Central Javanese term *lakër-turun* for a tax due to the King. *Turun* is related to *uruman*: contribution. Evidently the idea was that the King was entitled to a part of the profit made by any member of the community of which he was the sacral head.

Probably in the Javanese kingdoms from olden times up till the end of the 19th century the rice tax was the principal source of Royal revenue. In the Nāg. it is referred to in canto 83—5 where *prabhērti* (rendered: first fruits tribute) is mentioned. In the Majapahit period the vizirs (*palih*), Royal stewards in the rural districts, perhaps were charged to collect the rice tax and to store the stock till it was required for the use of the Court. Probably the annual *Caitra* festival (March-April) was connected with the rice harvest and the tithe. The King's abandoning his claim to the annual rice tax no doubt meant a decrease of revenue. But then he had reserved his right to ask the bishop for contributions. The bishop was always at hand. Perhaps the head of the clergy had more effective means to press his subordinates than the King's vizirs had to collect tithes from the religious domains in their districts.

Padadar, *paṃdāhan* and *pagagarēm* (rendered: contribution for state attire, contribution for state cloths and salt fee) were customary fees due to the chiefs of neighbouring secular lands, both lairds of manors (*juru kuwu*), elders of common rural communities (*buyut*) and headmen (*kabayan*). Perhaps the *kabayans*, being subordinates of important local chiefs, were most frequently in personal contact with the owners of religious domains bordering on their masters' lands. No doubt originally the fees were small marks of friendship and good neighbourhood, but in the course of time they seem to have become a burden on the religious domains' budgets. Therefore the owners requested a Royal statement to the effect that they were not legally obliged to give them. In the frame of social life in the rural districts

it seems improbable, though, that an ancient custom was discontinued suddenly.

The salt fee is mentioned several times in charters (v. glossary). Perhaps in many cases the connection with salt (salt-making or the transport of salt from the places where it was made) was lost, and *pagagarēm* had become the name of a customary fee (cf. salary and gabelle).

Patumbak tamui (interpretation uncertain), *panghulu bañu* (irrigation water retribution, still well known in modern Java), *papinḍah panti* (contribution for moving a dwelling) and *patikēl anggas* (contribution for the plaiting of dry weeds) were due not to the secular chiefs or their subordinates personally but to their lands (*thani*). On the analogy of the water retribution the other contributions are supposed to be connected also with agriculture. Perhaps the moving and the plaiting refer to the annual camping of a number of agricultural labourers on or near the fields during the time of the ripening and the harvest of the rice, in order to guard the crop against raids of wild animals, birds and thieves. In the Tantu P'anggēlaran (beginning with a creation myth) plaiting of weeds (*manikēl anggas*) is mentioned as primitive man's means to provide shelter before house-building was known. Probably *patikēl anggas* referred originally to primitive shelters made of plaited weeds where the men and boys who were in charge of the crops camped for some time.

As a rule ordained priests (*wiku*) were not allowed by their regulations to perform manual labour in agriculture, so the chiefs of religious domains who had not enough bondmen had to resort to their secular neighbours for tilling their fields and guarding their crops. Probably just as in the case of *padadar*, *pamēḍihan* and *pagagarēm* ancient custom was not abrogated by the Royal charter but the religious chiefs were put in a position to defend themselves against extortion.

Pangāshrayan (rendered: place where to ask for support) and *pamarāshraya* (rendered: support-seeking, i.e.: dependence) seem to be the legal terms for the particular relation existing between religious chiefs and their secular neighbours. The word *āshraya* is used in the same sense in the Nāg. canto 78—7.

Panulis (rendered: writing fee) is to be identified with *pasusur tulis* (fee for the rubbing of the writ, viz. with powder, to blacken the writing that is scratched on the palmleaf) mentioned in KBNW. As *kalagyans* (rendered: artisans' boroughs) perhaps as a rule had no irrigated fields (being comparable to the modern Javanese *karang-*

kopèk villages), instead of the retributions connected with agriculture they were expected to give fees for the writing. Originally the *panulis* or *pasusur tulis* may have been a registration fee of contracts or bonds concluded with a third party, due to a neighbouring secular chief who was called in to be a witness. Up to modern times *pasèksen*, witness's fees, are part of the legal emoluments of Javanese village headmen. Probably the mention of the registration fee in connection with *kala-gyans* is an indication that some business of lending money on security was carried on by those gentlemen. The comparison with similar businesses run by members of religious communities of modern times, the Muslim *kaum* people, dwelling near the mosques, is self-evident.

Pagut (interpretation uncertain), *pajōng kuning* (yellow sunshade), *curing* (bells, music) belong to the worship of the Royal charter. The things the worshippers were to abstain from as derogating from the solemnity of the occasion are difficult to determine. Perhaps *abañwa-bañwa* is related to *bañol*: joke (mentioned in the Nāg., referring to a popular comical play) and *wara-waranga* to *warang*: to wed (referring to the merry-making at a wedding party).

Jumput (picked out, reserved) is found several times in connection with lands (v. glossary). The implication is not clear. As *jumput* domains are mentioned both in the Sarwadharma charter and in the Rājapatigūṇḍala text (edited in the present book) together with traders' and artisans' boroughs (*kalang kalagyan*) perhaps the term refers to lands with a special legal status comparable to the boroughs.

The list of the personal adornments allowed to the religious domains' chiefs is also difficult to interpret. Perhaps the *wali* (rendered: scarf) was worn in 13th century Singasari thrown loosely over one shoulder. Like the modern Javanese *rimong* it could be used as protection against coolness, the upper part of the body being as a rule uncovered. (The attire or modern Javanese *wayang* puppets sometimes gives valuable indications as to ancient clothing and adornment).

The names of the patterns of *walis* are difficult to identify, of course. Probably in 13th century Singasari the patterns were woven into the cloth, perhaps by the ancient *ikat* process (partial dyeing of the weft yarns before weaving). There seems to be no evidence that batikting already was commonly practised in Java at the time. *Tiwuh watu* (growth on rock, or [with the] life of a rock [?]) is still known as a weaving pattern. It is described as grey in the middle with white or bluish borders. In the case of *kèpèt sang ratu* (if the emendation is right) the reason why this pattern was reserved for the higher class

of society is clear. *Stelechocarpus Burahol* bears fruits that are appreciated particularly by zenana ladies for their odoriferous quality. *Nawagraha* (perhaps originally *nawagṛha*: the nine abodes) and *nagasari* (*Mesua ferrea*) also are associated with divinity and Royalty. Textiles with a sacred character are mentioned frequently in descriptions of Java and Bali.

Anusun salō (rendered: to have a storey for a couch) and *agunting i ruhur bale* (rendered: to have scissors on top of the pavilion) give interesting information on ancient house-building. As *salō* (modern Javanese *salu*) seems to be a couch for sitting and sleeping, the expression *anusun salō* must refer to a building with a place for sitting on an upper storey. Perhaps the watch-towers or stands (*panggung*) mentioned several times in the Nāg. are related to this *salu*. The possibility of 13th century Singasari Javanese sometimes building storeyed houses with a roofed sitting room on the upper floor is not to be precluded, though. The upper room might be used for religious retreat. The construction is suggestive of the *langgar*, the private place of worship, elevated above the ground, that in modern times is found frequently in the yards of religiously minded Javanese and Madurese Muslims. It is not strange to find the possession of a structure like that mentioned as a prerogative of high-class people.

Scissors (made of wood or bamboo, astraddle) on top (of the high roof) of a pavilion are reminiscent of the decoration of the ridge of the sacral hall's roof in the main courtyard of the Majapahit Royal compound mentioned in the Nāg. canto 64—1. The supposition made in the commentary on that verse that the decoration consisted of cockerels need not be revised. Probably the 13th century Singasari scissors gave expression in a more primitive form to the same idea: to establish a connection between the earth and the upper world. The pavilion (*bale*) mentioned in the charter may have been a small hall used for meetings and conferences. The social importance of the possession of a *bale* is made apparent by the mention in King Hayam Wuruk's Decree Jaya Song of a pavilion built in a sacred place and provided with a stone slab with an inscription mentioning the year of its erection.

The Royal meats mentioned at the end of plate 5 *verso* are specially prepared. KBNW (sub *sirara*) quotes another charter mentioning *karung mating gantungan pējah anirara*: a boar dead by hanging having died like a dry leaf.

The reason why the plants mentioned in the beginning of plate 6 *recto* were planted in the yards of religious chiefs seems to be the

yellow colour of their flowers or fruits. *Gading* (rendered: ivory bamboo) might also refer to *nyu gading*, ivory coconut palm, also mentioned in the Nāg. The bark of the *glugu* (in the charter spelled *galuguh*), the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) is made into clothing material (*fuya*) since olden times. No doubt the *dahawang* clothes mentioned frequently in Old Javanese literature as worn by men of religion were made of *fuya*. The use of the bark for writing and packing purposes seems to be not so very old. Though in the 17th century writing paper made of bark was in general use in Central Java it seems doubtful whether in 13th century Singasari *fuya* was made for that end. The Palmyra palms (*Borassus flabellifer*) apparently still were found in sufficient numbers in Java to supply the required quantity of *lonlar* leaves, a more durable material than *fuya*, unless the latter is particularly well prepared.

Though the exact meanings of several expressions of the Sarwadharma charter still are obscure the importance of the text especially with reference to the social position of men of religion is evident. It is to be considered a parallel text of the Rājapatigunḍala, the collection of Royal regulations which is attributed to the same King Kērtanagara of Singasari who issued the charter. Especially the Rājapatigunḍala's second half is concerned with the *dharma*s, the religious domains which stand in some relation with the Court, acknowledging Royal authority.

The *maṇḍalas*, the sacred-ring communities, which are mentioned repeatedly in the first half of the Rājapatigunḍala, in the Tantu Panggëlaran and other texts, are ignored in the Sarwadharma charter. Probably that is another indication of the fact that the *maṇḍalas* were (to a considerable extent) outside the Court sphere. Living their lives in the country, in the hills far from the towns and the areas of cultivated land, the sacred-ring people probably did not need any Royal protection against covetous and overbearing secular neighbours, and so the *maṇḍala* chiefs were not particularly desirous to be mentioned in Royal charters. Perhaps the sacred-ring communities in the hilly woodland did not till terraced and artificially irrigated fields (*sawah*), adhering to the ancient *ladang* husbandry on clearings in the forest. So the King's regulations referring to agriculture and irrigation meant nothing to them. In the commentary on the Nāg. cantos 32 and 33 (Sāgara) the relation of the *maṇḍala* people and the Royal Court has been discussed.

DECREE JAYA SONG

about 1350 A.D.

Whereas most Old Javanese Royal charters are deeds of foundation of religious domains several of King Hayam Wuruk's charters make an exception. The Ferry charter of 1358 A.D. is a grant of privileges, and the Bendosari copper-plates that in the present book are called Decree Jaya Song refer to a lawsuit. Jaya Song, the name of the Decree, is a hybrid compound. Song, "sunshade", refers to the protection afforded to the winner of the lawsuit by the charter written in due form and provided with a preamble with the Royal names. Jaya probably is an abbreviation of *jayapattra*: "victory-leaves", the term for a legal instrument given to the winner of a lawsuit as evidence of his victory.

The fragmentary charter of Parung (K.O. no XIV and XIX) is also a Decree Jaya Song. It is not included in the present book on account of its incompleteness. It seems to be closely related to the present Decree Jaya Song of the estate Manah-i-Manuk. Moreover there are some Old Javanese Decree charters of the 10th century (v. Stutterheim, *Jayapattra*, O.V. 1925, and v. Naerssen, *Oork. D.D. besit* 1941, p. 4). One, of 922 A.D., is translated and annotated by Stutterheim in T.B.G. 75, and another, of 927 A.D., is published, translated and annotated by Brandes in his *Jayapattra* paper: T.B.G. 32, 1889. The long interval of 400 years renders the 10th century Decree charters difficult objects for a comparison with King Hayam Wuruk's Decree Jaya Song of 1350 A.D.

Of the remaining six copper-plates of the Decree Jaya Song of Manah-i-Manuk (the first one is lost) the three initial ones are occupied entirely by the preamble. Just like in the Ferry charter's preamble three groups of men who together constituted the Royal Court are mentioned. The first group consists of the principal members of the Royal Family: King Hayam Wuruk, his mother and father, and his aunt and uncle, and the Three Great *Mantris* Hino, Sirikan and Halu, called Ishwara, Ipo and Kañcing. It is worthy of record that Ipo(h) was *rake Halu* at the time of the issuing of the charter of Nglawang

(O.J.O. LXXXIV, p. 206, before 1350, v. Krom, T.B.G. 53). Krom's supposition that Ipoh has been promoted in rank in the interval between the charter of Nglawang and the Decree seems very probable. The epithets of the Three Great *Mantris* in the charter of Nglawang: *sushtla surūpa*: "virtuous and handsome" are found in the Nāg. referring to the King's brother-in-law, the Prince of Paguhan, joined with *anwam*, young. That is a confirmation of the opinion (i.a. Krom, H.J.G., 1926, p. 179) that the Great *Mantris* were younger members of the Royal Family, sometimes probably from collateral lines. The principal of the *Mahāmantris*, Hino, has "of Kahuripan" added to his title in the charter of Nglawang, and according to the Nāg. (1—4—2) King Hayam Wuruk himself in his youth had borne the title of Prince of Kahuripan. The use of the term Great *Mantri* as a title of a young prince is remarkable. In this case *mantri* seems to have the general sense of gentleman, *priyayi*.

The second list of men of the highest rank at Court opens with two *āryas*. They are the Old *Mantris*, also mentioned in the Nāg. and in the Nawanatya. The *ārya* titles at Court consisted of Sanskrit names, often containing the word *rāja*, preceded by *ārya*. They were given only to the Old *Mantris* and to some ecclesiastical officers of the highest rank. Outside the Court sphere, in the country, sometimes officers of lower rank seem to have been called *āryas* also (v. gloss.).

The second list is made complete by the well-known civil and military officers. The *dēmung* (chamberlain) the *kanuruhan* (chancellor) and the *rangga* (aide-de-camp), being the lowest in rank, are not given *epitheta ornantia*. Nāla and Gajah Mada of course are distinguished by most elaborate Sanskrit eulogies. It is remarkable that between those two high officers of state the *juru pangalasan* (master of the guardsmen), as a rule not considered as one of the most important officials, also is honoured by a Sanskrit epithet.

The high Court officials' personal names preceded by the predicate *mpu* (Sir) are for the greater part Javanese, not Sanskrit. This state of things is apparent in many Old Javanese charters (v. the commentary on the charter of Rēnēk). Pě(ṇ)ṭul (i.e. Knob, Knobble, referring to the shape of the nose) is the name of a well-known character, a clownish *pāndkowan*, of the modern Javanese maskers' plays.

The second group, consisting of the highest civil and military officers at Court, is followed by the third list with the titles and names of the heads of the clergy: the two *dharmaḍhyakṣas* and the *upapattis*.

Krom (T.B.G. 53) and van Naerssen (B.K.I. 90, Saptopapatti) have made good use of these and other lists of names of officials to reconstruct the chronology of the period, for several ecclesiastical officers appear to have gained promotion in the course of time. Van Naerssen also pointed out that the Buddhist clergy formed a very small minority at Court.

Perhaps the long preambles of Royal charters containing the names of all persons of any consequence at Court served the end of immortalizing the names of those persons for coming generations and of including them in the religious worship that would be offered to the charter. A second suggestion concerns the *epitheta ornantia* of the members of the Royal Family; perhaps they contain allusions to important facts that happened not long before. The Royal charter with its elaborate preamble perhaps was meant to be a commemorative plaque referring to the history of the Court and at the same time a legal instrument. The suggestion concerning the Ferry charter is that it contains an allusion to King Hayam Wuruk's marriage with the Sundanese princess. Perhaps the Decree Jaya Song refers to the death of the King's grandmother the venerated *Rājapatni*, in 1350.

The Sanskrit eulogy of the King's mother Tribhuwanā, after the *Rājapatni*'s death the eldest living member of the family, contains the word *manggala*, fortune. Perhaps the use of that word in the charter was meant as an indication that Tribhuwanā was her mother's successor as a bringer of fortune. If there is any truth in this suggestion the Decree Jaya Song of Manah-i-Manuk was issued not long after 1350 A.D., the year of the *Rājapatni*'s death.

The part of the Decree that deals with the lawsuit only begins half-way the fourth copper-plate. The parties are of nearly the same rank: both have a man with a *pañji* title. Among the defendants there is one *pañji* who has a "heraldic" name (*kasir-kasir*): Ajaran Reka (Horse as Figure?). In the Nāg. *pañjis* as a rule are ecclesiastical officers. In the third group of the Decree's preamble the *samēgāt i Kaṇḍamuhi*, the second in rank of the *upapattis*, the scholars, appears to have a *pañji* title. Perhaps that distinguished gentleman *pañji* Manākara Ajaran Reka was the cause that the defendant succeeded in bringing his suit before the Royal court of justice. A suit of people of lower rank probably would have been dealt with by one of the Princes or, in the case that a member of the clergy was involved, by one of the *dharmādhyakṣas*. The charter of Rēnēk is an instance of

a Prince doing justice, in the charter of Patapan the *dharmādhyakṣa* pronounces judgment.

The claimant in the Decree's lawsuit probably was related to some Court. His party is called *samasanak*, noble family, and his land is *Sīma Tiga*, the Three Estates. That name may infer that the claimant's ancestors had received a grant of land under a Royal Seal, for that can be the meaning of *sīma*. In the course of the lawsuit the Royal Seal was not produced, though. *Sīma Tiga* was at least one hundred years old, for the claimant refers to his great-great-grandfather. The relation with the Court (of Singasari?) probably was nearly forgotten in the course of time.

The defendant did not belong to a noble family. But then he brought three fellows (apparently not relatives, among them *pañji* Manākara Ajaran Reka) to the sitting of the court, and their evidence must have weighed heavily. They were probably included in "the people who acknowledge me as owner" (*amadērwakēn*).

The expression "because of the magnitude of the happiness, or confidence" occurs also in the Ferry Charter. The most plausible interpretation seems to be that the litigants were grateful to be allowed to bring their suit before the complete court of justice (*ri dalēm nagara*) instead of being heard only by one of the Princes or by a *dharmādhyakṣa*.

It is remarkable that the speech of the defendant precedes the few words of the claimant. What weighed most heavily was mentioned first in the text. The charter is not a report of a session of the court of justice.

The case in question is the ownership of an estate called Manah-i-Manuk. The claimant, representing the noble family of *Sīma Tiga*, claims to be the rightful owner. The fact that the estate is in the defendant's hand he explains as follows. His great-great-grandfather had borrowed one-and-a-half measure of silver from an ancestor of the defendant, giving the estate as security. The defendant contends that the estate has been owned by his ancestors for seven generations. Being owners from time immemorial there is no written evidence of their ownership available. The defendant does not know the origin of the estate. As evidence of his hereditary ownership he points to three facts. He is able account for the 67 *lirihs* of *sawah* fields that make up the estate, and he brings three persons who acknowledge him as the owner of 33 of those 67 *lirihs*. Secondly he mentions a tradition living in his family, that a pavilion standing in the compound of the

sacred-ring community of Kasēḍahan, and bearing the date *Shaka* 919 engraved on a stone in its basement, was founded by one of his ancestors at the time of the laying out of the *sawahs*. Thirdly the defendant denies that the claimant's family at any time owned *sawahs* in the district of Pakanḍangan. The Pakanḍangan fields have been owned by the defendants' ancestors exclusively and from time immemorial. Evidence of their hereditary ownership is the fact that for those fields there has never been paid the *tahil* due, that no names of witnesses in any case concerning those fields are known, nor any relation with commoners' communities.

The statements of the litigants are remarkable in many respects.

The claimant's great-great-grandfather must have lived at least one hundred years before 1350 A.D., the probable year of the Decree. In 1250 King Wiṣṇuwardhana was just beginning to reign in Singasari. Majapahit was not yet founded. According to the claimant at that time there had been no Chinese copper cash (*piśis*) in Java, and for that reason the loan for which the estate allegedly was given as security was noted in silver (*pirak*), one-and-a-half measure (*takḥr*). Krom (H.J.G., 1926, p. 418) uses the expression "scarcity of money" in his note on the Decree. That interpretation is open to doubt. The Javanese text does not contain a word meaning "scarce". The only plausible explanation seems to be that in the middle of the 13th century Chinese copper cash was not yet the common currency of East Java. The charters of King Hayam Wuruk's reign show that a century later the Javanese currency was Chinese copper. Chinese economic power must have been on the increase during those hundred years. Probably the invasion of the Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan's expeditionary forces in 1293 which led to the founding of Majapahit has had considerable consequences in the economic field. The sack of the two Royal compounds Singasari and Kaḍiri within a few years must have resulted in a great loss of gold and silver from the treasuries. The Chinese troops pressed far into the country; it is improbable that they left the economy of the countryside undisturbed on their passage. The history of Javanese economy deserves more attention than has been paid to it in the past.

The family of Sima Tiga claimed the estate of Manah-i-Manuk as their own although they admitted that the lands had been in the defendant's family's possession for at least one hundred years. This claim is based on the rule of Javanese customary law which renders the ownership of land indefeasible and inalienable for most practical

purposes. The bond between the land, especially the cultivated fields, and its owner (with his descendants) should never be severed. On the same rule is based the defendant's statement: in the 67 *lirih*s of his estate he includes 19 *lirih*s that had been gifts of his ancestors to three different religious communities: the *katyagan* of Pakandangan, the *maṇḍala* of Kukub and the *janggan* of Panglé. Evidently the defendant still considered himself as the rightful owner of those 19 *lirih*s. That rule of law concerning the ownership of land has been put on record many years ago by Dutch students of Javanese customary law (van Vollenhoven and his school). There never has been any doubt that the said rule is very old. The 14th century Decree is a corroboration of that opinion.

The defendant's statement that his ancestors had been hereditary owners of the estate for seven generations leads back to the second half of the 12th century. At that time the Court of Kaḍiri still held the hegemony in East Java. Singasari was not yet founded. The manor of the local laird still was called Tumapël. Finally the defendant's statement about the pavilion in Kasēḍahan bearing the date *Shaka* 919 (i.e. 997 A.D.) brings the origin of the estate back to the reign of King Dharmawangsha or his predecessor. At that time the East Javanese Royal dynasty that succeeded the Central Javanese Kings in the hegemony was still young. About the reasons of the shifting of the hegemony from Central Java to East Java nothing is known with any certainty. It seems not improbable, though, that the dynastic change was attended by a migration of common agriculturists from Central to East Java. The laying out of the Manah-i-Manuk *sawah*s in the 10th century perhaps was the work of colonists who settled in previously uncultivated land. The absence of any written document referring to the ownership of the estate could be explained by the fact that originally it had been a settlement of squatters.

The friendly relations between the Manah-i-Manuk family and three different religious communities, finding expression in gifts of land, fit in with that theory, for the founders and inhabitants of the religious domains probable were colonists themselves. The terms *katyagan*, *maṇḍala* and *janggan* are mentioned in the Nāg. rather disdainfully as not belonging to the Court sphere. The legendary history of religious communities of the *maṇḍala* type is the subject of the Tantu Panggëlaran, though, and opening up of new land is mentioned frequently in that text. According to the Tantu Kukub was founded by Bhaṭāra Guru himself on the Mahameru, which is the name of the

Sumeru massif in East Java. Yet it is not at all certain that the places that are mentioned in the Decree were situated in the Sumeru mountains, for important religious domains seem sometimes to have had possessions in different parts of the country.

The meaning of *kayon* in this text is: "measured area". It is related to modern Javanese *ngayoni*, to measure. The *sawah*-measure *lirih* instead of the usual *jung* is strange. The original meaning probably is "track". The special measure for plantations, probably fields with tuberous plants, *kuñci*, is an old name of some eatable tubers. The name of the defendant's estate, Manahimanuk, is unusual. The reading Manah-i-Manuk, "Bird's Heart", seems the most plausible. The estate consisted of several tracts of *sawahs* and some plantations situated in different places. In Pajënon was an *umah*. This word, in modern Javanese the usual word for house, probably referred especially to a farm-house in the 14th century.

The pavilion (*bale*) in the compound of Kasëdahan probably was used originally on the occasion of communal festivals of the family. Kasëdahan must have been a religious centre in the 10th century. It is a remarkable instance of the tenacity of tradition in a rural community that after more than 360 years particulars about the foundation still were known. The meaning of *kirti* comes out well in this place in the text: it is a foundation for some practical end in remembrance of some fact and at the same time in honour of the founder. The founder's name, in the text Wayuhanëngah, perhaps should be read Wayah Anëngah. *Wayah* is a title of honour for an old venerable man (cf. *yayah*). Wayuh seems to be a name, though, in a charter of 879 A.D. (O.J.O. no XIII, b 5). Stones with inscriptions of dates (i.e. *Shaka* years) sometimes with a short note or a name have been found in several places in Java. Probably the origin of many of them has been similar to the stone in the old pavilion of Kasëdahan.

The defendant's third contention against the claim of the Sîma Tiga family is based on the history of Pakanðangan. Pakanðangan must have been a district. Its situation is unknown. It should be noted that the *katyagan* community that had received a gift of not less than 16 *lirih*s is defined as belonging to Pakanðangan (*katyagan Pakanðangan*). If Pakanðangan had been its name the correct construction would have been: *katyagan ing Pakanðangan* (cf. *manðala ring Kukub*). (It is quite possible that a plurality of *katyagans* is meant). The defendant states that his family has been sole owner (*dawak*) of the Pakanðangan lands from time immemorial, and that

the claimant's family never owned land in that district. That statement must be understood in connection with the preceding information about the old foundation stone in Kasēdahan. The district of Pakaṇḍangan probably was the first to be opened in the 10th century. The defendants' ancestors were the first colonists and consequently they had the oldest rights. The Sima Tiga estate must have been younger.

The *tahil* seems to have been a retribution or customary fee connected with the *dēwya haji*, the King's revenue. It is mentioned in the Biluluk charters. The fact that the Pakaṇḍangan lands were "without *tahil*" probably means that they were not liable to the *dēwya haji* tax. They had never been legally made exempt by a Royal charter, though. That served as evidence that the lands had been exempt from time immemorial. Perhaps at the time of their being opened up, in the 10th century, the lands still were beyond the sphere of control of the Royal Court. That supposition is difficult to prove, though.

The second statement in evidence of the antiquity of the title: "not witnessed" means that there never had been issued any charter concerning the lands. That fits well with the preceding statement about the tax.

Paran-ati in the defendant's third statement means "friend" or "beloved" (*paran ing hati*: the aim of the heart's desire). Friendly relations between Pakaṇḍangan and some community (*desha*) could only be caused by a common origin. That would mean that another community equalled Pakaṇḍangan in age. That is what the defendant denies. According to him his estate is absolutely the oldest in the neighbourhood.

Desha is used in this passage in the Decree to include all kinds of communities in the country. The almost uniform village community of modern Java, which is now called *desa*, is a result of political and economic developments of a later age.

The incomplete Decree Jaya Song of Parung (K.O. XVI and XIX) has the same introduction to the judgement, with the sending of a messenger included. This proves the close relationship of the two Jaya Song texts.

The interpretation of *guru kaka* as "masters of yore" is uncertain.

The judgement was given not only for lack of evidence on the side of the claimant but also because the defendant's statement about the old age of his estate was accepted. That is interesting in connection with the conclusions from that old age that have been made above.

FERRY CHARTER

1358 A.D.

In the present book the charter of 1358 is called Ferry charter because of its subject: privileges and duties of the ferrymen of the rivers of Java. Its list of ferries is of great interest for historical geographers. It has been studied by van Stein Callenfels and van Vuuren (*Tijdschrift Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 41, 1924). The ferries that are mentioned in the plates that are left are those over the Brantas and the Bĕngawan or Solo-River, both in East Java. From the point of view of the geographer and the historian this list places the Ferry charter as an authentic document next to the Nāg. with its description of the Royal Progresses and its lists of religious domains. In the present book there is no place available, though, for further geographical and historical research. The interested reader is referred to the special papers dealing with those subjects.

It is worthy of note that Old Javanese literature possesses another charter dealing with a ferry. This is the Panambangan Ferry charter of 903 A.D. published and translated by Stutterheim (T.B.G. 74). The Panambangan ferry was situated on the upper course of the Bĕngawan in the district now called Wānāgiri, in Central Java. There is no connection between the old charter of 903 A.D. and King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry charter, as far as known. Together the two Royal charters dealing with ferries, separated by 450 years, prove the existence in Old Java of an inland traffic by road of some importance. The reference to the loss of merchandise from a *kalang*'s cart in the charter of 1358 is particularly interesting in this respect.

The Ferry charter's text (the part of it that has come down to us) is to be divided into: 1, the preamble with the Royal names etc. (plates 1 and 3); 2, the end of the list of the ferries and the beginning of the Royal grant of privileges (plate 5 [?]); 3, the end of the Royal grant and the beginning of the conclusion (plates 9 and 10). The intervening plates and the concluding one are lost.

The following comments, including some references to the contents of older charters, are ordered according to the sequence of the plates.

Plate 1. As a Royal charter composed in the old Court style (therein entirely different from the charters of Biluluk, Rĕnĕk etc.) the Ferry charter begins with an elaborate date containing references to several chronologic and astronomic systems. The interested reader is referred to Damais' papers on chronology in Old Javanese charters (in B.E.F.E.O. vol. 45—49). In the present book it is needless to enlarge upon this subject.

It is an interesting question, though, who was the Court astronomer who made those difficult calculations. The Wadu Aji, an 18th or 19th century commentary of an old text on Court offices, probably the Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa, translates *padĕlĕgan* by magician or astrologer (v. gloss. sub *dĕlĕg*), and *padĕlĕgan* or *padĕlĕgan* has been found in several texts in connection with ecclesiastical officers of high rank. In plate 3 *verso* of the Ferry charter the *dharmādhyakṣa* of the *Sogata*-clergy is called *mpungkwī padĕlĕgan*. Perhaps this was a manner to honour him as an appreciation of his part in the composition of the charter. It is worthy of note that the Padĕlĕgan charter of 1116 A.D. (O.J.O. II, p. 151) begins with a Royal order to have the holy charter made, addressed to the fathers *para duwan's* (? an unusual term) of *padĕlĕgans* and also of *kalang-kalagyans* and *kabanyagans*. The latter terms probably refer to tradespeople. Perhaps in this list *padĕlĕgan* is the name of places of divination doctors or magicians, who might be comparable with the *janggans*, rural doctors mentioned in the Nāg. and in the charter of Patapan.

The elaborate date of the Ferry charter is followed by a list of four members of the Royal Family: King Hayam Wuruk, his mother, his father and his maternal aunt, who were issuing the charter jointly. The second plate is missing; it is probable that the King's uncle of Wĕngkĕr and some others were mentioned in it.

The genealogical note in the preamble is characteristic for Royal charters. Probably i.a. it served the end of connecting the religious worship that was to be offered to the holy charter once it was engraved on copper-plates with the Royal Family. The same is the case with the high officers of the Court who are mentioned in plate 3. The Royal charters were made to be heirlooms (*pusakas*) in the families of the beneficiaries, and in those communities they represented the Royal

Family and the Court. They were worshipped like fetishes. This side of their function might be compared with the function of portraits of the sovereign, national flags and coats of arms as representatives of Royal or Government authority in other countries.

The making of learned Sanskrit sentences in praise of the Royal Family, to be incorporated in the preambles, is especially mentioned in the Nāg. (canto ७१ 2 3) as belonging to the task of the *dharmopapattis*, the scholars at Court, who are mentioned in the following part of the preamble.

The Royal Family's Sanskrit epithets in the Ferry charter are interesting because they seem to allude to actual facts. Probably that is the case with other charters' preambles too. Perhaps King Hayam Wuruk's epithet that mentions his matrimonial alliances with daughters of vanquished foreign kings refers to his marriage with the Princess of the Sundanese kingdom of West Java. In 1357, the year before the Ferry charter was issued, the Sundanese King brought his daughter with a numerous retinue on ships to Majapahit in order to give her in marriage to King Hayam Wuruk. The Majapahit Court refused however to recognize the Sundanese Princess as a suitable Queen, equal in rank with the King. This political dispute ended in a sanguinary battle in the river-port Bubat where the Sundanese were vanquished. The Sundanese Princess seems to have died shortly afterwards. It is remarkable that these events are not mentioned in the Nāg., eight years afterwards. Probably the unfortunate end caused the Court to keep silence. The Pararaton tells the story to some extent, and it was made into a romantic poem called *Kidung Suṇḍa* (edited by Berg). If the supposition that the Ferry charter's preamble contains an allusion to the unfortunate Sundanese Princess is correct it seems probable that at the time of its issue she still was living. Otherwise the allusion would have missed the point.

King Hayam Wuruk's mother has an epithet that refers to her skill in the art of dancing, which is in keeping with her personal name *Gitārja*. *Gita*, song and poem, is repeatedly mentioned in the Nāg. The King's father's epithet refers both to his fatherhood and to his care for the people's welfare, which is mentioned in the Nāg. (canto 88—4). According to the Ferry charter he was called *Kērtawardhana* after King *Wiṣṇuwardhana* who died almost a century before. Perhaps he was descendant of that King by a collateral line. The other members of the Royal Family were mentioned on plate 2, which is lost.

This second plate no doubt contained as conclusion of the Royal

Family list a mention of the Three Great *Mantris*: *Hino*, *Sirikan* and *Halu*. It is not necessary to discuss them here.

In charters of the kind of the Ferry charter the list of the Royal Family always was followed by the two lists of the secular and the spiritual high officers at Court. The first list is lost with the missing second plate. Plate 3 begins with the list of the spiritual officers, the *dharmopapattis* and the *dharmādhyakṣas*.

Plate 3. The names, titles and epithets of the high ecclesiastical officers or scholars at Court in the 14th century have been discussed at length by van Naerssen (B.K.I. 90, 1933, Saptopatti), who made interesting observations of the promotions in rank of several persons during the period that is covered by the known charters.

Not before the end of the third plate are the ferrymen mentioned, with one of their *pañjis*. In the Nāg. *pañji* is a title of ecclesiastical and law officers, *upapattis*, in the outer districts. It is probable that the ferrymen's *pañjis* belonged to the ecclesiastical class. They were charged with the supervision of the annual religious festival in honour of the "holy Charter of the Lord's Order".

The Ferry charter's plate 3 contains words and expressions that are unknown from elsewhere. *Padasihan* (plate 3 *recto*) seems to be the official term for the *upapattis'* *ārya* title. Probably the word *padasihan* is related to Sanskrit *awastha*, which in its modern Javanese form *wastā* or *wēstā* is a word of formal speech (*krāmā*) for "name". *Puṣpa-pāta*, flower offerings' dropping, is the name preceded by the predicate *ḍang ācārya*, rendered: reverend doctor. Perhaps the word *puṣpapāta* refers to the ecclesiastical ordination ceremony with *puṣpa* offerings. *Puspata*, a high-sounding word for "name", found already in Old Javanese texts, and in modern Javanese poetry, is a corruption of *puṣpapāta*.

In many places recorded in KBNW *naryama* means chief, but in the Ferry charter, especially in plate 10 *verso*, where the military and civil officers are said to have for *naryamas* the spiritual officers, it is clear that the word refers especially to order of rank or spiritual precedence. Its etymology is unknown.

Kasir-kasir is a name of honour, or: of glory, modern Javanese *kēkasih* [?]. Its connection with the expression *masir-asiran*: trying to outvie each other, with an ancient sacral play called *pulir* and with the potlatch idea have been discussed in the commentary of Nāg. 28—1. The charter of Jaring-Kēmbang Arum of 1181 A.D. (O.J.O. II p. 168)

mentions many *kasir-kasirs*. Hayam Wuruk, probably meaning "Spotted Cock", was one of the King's *kasir-kasirs*. The *pañjis'* *kasir-kasirs* refer to animals: *ajaran*, modern Javanese *jaran*, is a horse. The connection of *pañji* titles with animal names has been mentioned in the commentary on the *Praniti*.

The fact that both *pañjis* were given names of honour with "horse" probably means that "horse" was associated with ferrying, traffic or trade. Perhaps the *pañjis* had the right henceforth to use the horse as their *lañcana*, their mark. The second words of the *kasir-kasirs*: *rata* (car) and *ragi* (a kind of basket?) might be chosen to distinguish between the two marks. The *pañjis'* connection with animals probably used in effigie as marks of personal belongings seems to warrant the expression heraldic name as a rendering of *kasir-kasir*.

In the Ferry charter the *pañjis* have no predicate (*sang*), only sometimes *ki* (rendered: goodman) before their *kasir-kasirs*. This proves that they did not belong to the Court aristocracy. Nevertheless in the country they must have been men of consequence.

In plate 3 *verso* only *pañji* Mārgabhaya of Canggu is mentioned. Angrakṣāji of Těrung occupies the second place in plate 5 *verso*. Both localities were situated on the river Brantas, Canggu west and Těrung east of Majapahit's ferry, which is called Nagara in the list of plate 5 *recto*. Probably this is another instance of the duality that has been noted more than once in the structure of Majapahit society. The ferrymen of the western districts (Kaḍiri, Wěngkěr) no doubt worshipped in Canggu, the eastern ferrymen, from Janggala-Kahuripan, came to Těrung. Both places are mentioned in the Pararaton, Těrung moreover is mentioned in the Babad, the History of the (Muslim) Central Javanese dynasty, as the residence of *radèn* Husèn, an *adhipati* of Chinese extraction, who must have lived in the 15th century.

As to its contents King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry charter is comparable with the Biluluk charters of 1366, 1391 and 1395 A.D. In both cases the antiquated dues collected by the *mangilala děrwaya haji* were replaced by a kind of capitation tax called *pamāja* because it was connected with the annual religious festival of the community (*pāja*) that was celebrated under the supervision of the *pañjis* of Canggu and Těrung. The ferrymen's *pamāja* was paid in cash as a subsidiary gift (*sāri*) going with the flower-offering (*puṣpa*) for the "holy Charter of the Lord's Order" (v. plate 9 *recto* 5). *Sāri* of offerings has been discussed in the commentary on a Rājapatiguṇḍala passage.

At the end of plate 3 *verso* reference is made to copies of the Ferry

charter on copper-plates, on *ripta* (probably palmleaves, according to van Naerssen, *O.J.O. in D.D. vers.* p. 32) or on stone. It is impossible that all the ferrymen of the list should have been possessors of a copy. Probably the two *pañjis*, Mārgabhaya of Canggu and Angrakṣāji of Tērung, were keepers of complete sets of copper-plates. The fact that in 1902 one plate was found in Pēlēm and in 1918 the other ones in Trawulan might be explained by the existence of two sets. But then it is possible, of course, that originally the Pēlēm and Trawulan plates belonged to the same set.

Probably in the 14th century the copper-plates were kept, carefully wrapped up in valuable textiles, in small temples or pavilions in the *pañjis'* compounds. Once a year they were taken out and worshipped with flower-offerings by the ferrymen or their representatives who came either to Canggu or Tērung.

Plate 5. As the plates' numbers are not indicated clearly we can not be certain that the missing ones indeed were the numbers 4, 6, 7 and 8. The total number of 11 plates is made probable by the fact that at the end of plate 10 (of which the number is clear) evidently the text is coming to a conclusion. Plate 11 may have contained the usual curses on people who showed contempt of the charter's holiness.

At the end of plate 5 *verso* begins the list of exemptions from dues which also has been discussed by van Naerssen. The meanings of many words are still obscure. Probably in the 14th century neither scholars nor scribes understood the meanings of the antiquated words, hence the numerous mistakes. For practical purposes the list had lost its significance.

It is obvious that a distinction should be made between the *winawa sang māna katriṇi Pangkur, Tawan, Tirip* and the *mangilala dērwya haji*, the collectors of the lord's due. Perhaps in this case *winawa* means dependant; *amawa* is: to rule. *Sang māna* is only found in this connection as a title. The translation in vol. III: Bold Ones, is only tentative, of course. The suggestion to read *mānak katriṇi* instead of *māna katriṇi* is not to be discarded. *Mānak* (from *anak*) might be rendered: progenitor. In the charter of King Balitung of 907 A.D. edited by van Naerssen (BKI 95, 1937, p. 442) *sang mānak Pangkur, Tawan, Tirip* is mentioned. Some relationship between the old titles *mānak* and *ménak* seems possible. *Ménak* *Jingga* (usually rendered: The Red Knight) is the name of a legendary King of Blambangan in

East Java. The tale of his defeat at the hands of the East Javanese culture hero Damar Wulan shows traces of a myth originally referring to the fundamental duality in human society.

The enigmatic *Pangkur*, *Tawan*, *Tirip* are mentioned already in the very old Kalasan charter of 778 A.D., which is in Sanskrit verses (editions and translations by Brandes, TBG 31, and by Bosch, *Inscriptie van Kěloerak*, TBG 68, 1928). Jointly they are given the epithets *ādeçaçastrin* (probably meaning: armed, provided with authority), *deçādhyakṣa* (superintendent of districts) and *patti sādhu* (virtuous, loyal chieftains; probably *patti* is a sanskritization of Javanese *patih*). In the 4th line of the Sanskrit poem they are said to have caused a *Tārā* abode (*Tārābhawanam*) to be made for the King and for the Honourable *bhikṣus*. In the 7th line they appear as witnesses (*sākṣinaḥ*) of the gift of the village (*grāma*) of Kalasan to the Buddhist congregation (*saṅgha*), and in the 9th line protection of the Royal foundation is enjoined upon them and their groups. In the latter passage they are given the Javanese honorific predicate *sang* (*sang pangkurādibhiḥ sang tawānakādibhiḥ sang tiripādibhiḥ*).

Probably the 8th century *Pangkur*, *Tawan* and *Tirip* were men possessing spiritual influence in the country. They assisted the King in founding the *Tārā* sanctuary. Perhaps the repeated mention of the triad in the 8th century charter is an indication of the importance of their support for the (recently imported?) *Tārā* cult, which still was considered foreign in the country.

According to the Kalasan charter *Pangkur*, *Tawan* and *Tirip* seem to have been representatives of groups. In the Tulang Air Ratu charter of 853, the Waharu charter of 873, the Kwak charter of 879 A.D. and in some other old charters (edited in O.J.O., vol. I) the triad appears in lists together with officials like *tiruan* and *manghuri* who (in the 14th century) belonged to the group of scholars, and with the collectors of the lord's due (*mangilala dēwya haji*).

No doubt in the five centuries between the Central Javanese Kalasan charter and the 14th century East Javanese Ferry charter the functions of officials evolved. Perhaps in the 10th century, in the reign of King Siṇḍok, *Pangkur*, *Tawan* and *Tirip* were title-names of officials (vested with spiritual authority?) who could personally or by means of their dependants exact contributions or fees (connected with religion?) from rural communities, unless the latter were made exempt. The triad's precedence over the *mangilala dēwya haji*, that is observed in most charters since the 10th century, may refer to the distinction between

spiritual and temporal powers. The collectors of the lord's due were mainly concerned with temporal arts, crafts and trades.

The hypothesis of the triad's ancient connection with religious offices finds some corroboration in the fact that in modern Javanese *pangkur* is the name of a strophic metre and the tune of music belonging to it. Perhaps the *pangkur* metre is a remnant or an imitation of an incantation, a *kidung*, in former times chanted by the *Pangkur* as a part of his office. Moreover, according to v. d. Tuuk (KBNW sub voce), *Pangkur* is mentioned in the *Updakan Pangrus*, a Balinese-Javanese so-called *Pañji* romance, as a name of *Togog*. *Togog* is one of the well-known clownish servants and mentors (*pāṇḍakawans*) of Javanese literature, as a rule in modern *wayang* plays appearing as an opponent of *Sēmar*. The *pāṇḍakawans*' connection with ancient religious ideas and rites is beyond doubt, and *Sēmar*'s songs are a standing feature of his appearance in *wayang* plays. So it seems plausible that in antiquity the *Pangkur* was an officiant in religious rites.

Probably in the 14th century the words *tan katamāna deni winaton sang māna(k) katriṇi Pangkur, Tawan, Tirip*, etc., including the long list of the *mangilala dērtaya haji*, as found in the Ferry charter, were borrowed from older charters. To 14th century Majapahit courtiers they may have meant nothing but a literary embellishment and an amplification of the statement of the exemption from dues.

Several 10th and 11th century charters contain lists of officials. As a rule they have functions in connection with the foundation of a new *kudur* (apparently the sacral centre of a rural community). Bosch' notes on the Kěmbang Arum charter of 902 (O.V. 1925) are most interesting for the description of the order of the officials attending a foundation ceremony. It is clear that the lists always begin with a number of members of the Royal Family and courtiers, among whom the *rakēs* Hino, Sirikan and Halu are conspicuous. Some charters have more than 3 *rakēs*. They are discussed in Krom's Hindu-Javanese history (v. comm. Decree Jaya Song).

The importance of the 10th century charters' lists for the interpretation of old names of functions lies in the fact that the major group of officials, mentioned at the end, is to be placed in the commoners' sphere. The *wadīhati*, for instance, officiated at the establishing ceremony of a new *sīma*. So it seems probable that the long list in the Ferry charter, plate 5 verso, up to the *rawèh*, originally also consisted of functionaries belonging to the sphere of the rural communities, as distinguished from the Court sphere.

The Ferry charter's list mentions *apinghe*, White Ones. Now it is remarkable that in some charters *habangan*, Red Men, seems to occupy the place of *tawon*. No doubt "White Ones" refers to men of religion. Even in modern, Muhammadan Java this term is known (*putihan*). Its counterpart is *abangan*: men who do not care about religion, but then the Old Javanese *habangan* could not have had precisely that meaning.

The *raweh* is treated with some distinction in the Ferry charter. The term is seldom found in other charters (v. gloss.). Probably the word *raweh* is related to modern Javanese *latu*: help, assistance.

As a consequence of our lack of sound knowledge about rural society in 10th century Java it is impracticable to give translations of the terms in the list of functions. Too many translations would be mere guess-work. The appearance in the Ferry charter of this list of rural community functionaries beginning with *sang māna(k) katrini* down to *raweh* seems in general to refer to an exemption from retributions and customary fees otherwise due by the beneficiaries, the ferrymen, to those rural communities. So the ferrymen were made exempt both from dues to rural communities in the neighbourhood where they resided and from dues to the King (*dērwya haji*). If this is the correct interpretation of the difficult words, the Ferry charter might be considered a parallel of the Sarwadharma charter in that in both regulations a group (the ferrymen and the religious domains, respectively) is declared free from obligations to the neighbouring rural communities and placed under the supervision of Royal functionaries (the *pañjis* and the *dharmādhyakṣa* respectively) instead.

It seems improbable that in the 14th century Majapahit realm all 10th century rural communities functionaries mentioned in the list still were known, and by the same names. Nevertheless the general sense of the exemption could be understood very well.

As the *mangilala dērwya haji* were collectors of the King's revenue the exemption granted to the ferrymen with reference to their demands would seem to be prejudicial to the Royal interest. But then probably in the 14th century Majapahit realm the ancient institution of the *mangilala dērwya haji* was antiquated and wholly ineffectual. No doubt the King's treasury profited more by the annual *pañja* fees that were offered by the ferrymen to the two *pañjis* (and by them, partially at least, transferred to the Royal compound, perhaps on the occasion of the *Caitra* festival) than by the precarious revenue brought in by the *mangilala dērwya haji*. The probable working of this antiquated institution shall be discussed in the commentary on the charters of Biluluk.

Soḍara (Skt. *soddhāra*) *haji*: all the lord's part, also found in the Ferry Charter, seems to refer to the same thing as *dēruya haji*: the lord's own.

W'ulu-wulu para wulu, mishra para mishra, the opening words of the *dēruya haji* list at the end of plate 5 verso, have been discussed by van Naerssen (*Oudjavaanse Oorkonden in D.D. verz.*, 1941, p. 10 and p. 95). Probably the two expressions originally were synonymous. Apparently *wulu-wulu* and *w'ulu* (also found in the Korawashrama and other Old Javanese texts) refer in general to men of low standing, different from gentlemen, men of religion and even from common freemen. Some relation of *wulu-wulu* with *hulun*, an old word for servant, slave, seems probable. In Old Javanese literature Skt. *miçra* (mixed) seems to have been used in the same sense of: person of low standing (according to KBNW). But then *wulu*: hair (on the body, French: *poil*) is a common word in Javanese. In the expression *sawu-luning dwal*: the proceeds of the sale, found also in the Ferry charter, and in the modern Javanese expression *wulu-pamētu*: agricultural produce, *wulu* seems to mean: growth. The question whether *wulu-wulu* (of low standing) and *wulu* (hair, growth) are of common origin is not discussed in the present book.

Plate 9 recto. The privileges that refer to the annual festival are very old. The Ngadulēngēn charter of 1023 A.D. (K.O. Cohen Stuart p. 13, plate 6 recto) contains almost the same list. Probably in the 14th century the words *acuring kinangryan* were understood as referring to any kind of music. The Ngadulēngēn charter mentions at the end of its description of the festival that the music was performed day and night and that the gambling went on for five days (a native Javanese *pasar*, i.e. market week). Probably this is also meant by the word *daṣārdha diwaça pūrwaḥpara* in plate 9 recto of the Ferry charter. No doubt the Canggū and Tērung festivals were great fairs that brought prosperity to the inhabitants and good incomes to the *pañjis* from the gambling dues and the collection of the ferrymen's *pamāja* tax (the *sāri*).

About the division of the *pamāja* proceeds nothing is mentioned in the charter. According to the Walaṇḍit charter of 929 A.D. (O.J.O. I p. 69) the *dēruya haji* should be divided equally among, firstly, the divine Lord of Walaṇḍit, secondly, the keepers of the sanctuary and thirdly, the collectors (*mangilala*) of the lord's due. After the replacement of the *dēruya haji* dues by the *pamāja* tax perhaps the part of the *mangilala* was expected to be turned over by the *pañjis* to the Court. As keepers of the holy charter the *pañjis* probably appropriated

two thirds of the proceeds: one third for the cost of the worship of the charter (i.e. the annual festival) and one third for their own livelihood.

The expression *sangka ri gēngnyadhimukti*, rendered: because of the magnitude of the great happiness (or: confidence), should be understood as referring to the ferrymen's gratitude for the Royal favour of making them exempt from the ancient dues and impositions. The sentiment of gratitude is difficult to express in Javanese. The words *sangka ri gēngnyadhimukti* are also used in the Decree Jaya Song (v. glossary). Of course it is impossible to ascertain whether the 14th century ferrymen really had reason to be grateful for the replacement of the ancient dues by the *pamāja* tax. Presumably just as in the case of the Sarwadharma charter and some other charters the Royal Court mainly gave its sanction to a social and legal status that had been developing out of ancient custom for a long time. It seems quite probable that the Brantas ferrymen's annual festivals in Canggū and Tērung existed long before the issue of King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry charter. It was in the King's interest, while acknowledging the change in the ferrymen's social and legal status and the uselessness of the antiquated *mangūlala* institution, to bind the men who controlled traffic to the Court by means of the grant of the holy charter.

Perhaps in many places on the great rivers the ferrymen had grown to be chiefs of boroughs where transport by water and by road and inland trade were the means of subsistence of the inhabitants. The 15th century half-breed Chinese *adhipati* of Tērung might be a successor of a Majapahit *pañji*. The appearance of Chinese in riverports on the Brantas is an indication that transport and trade were profitable. Perhaps even in the 14th century the boatmen and traders of the boroughs near the river-ferries in part were of foreign, Chinese extraction. The grant of the Royal Ferry charter gave them a fixed position in Majapahit society and sanctioned their legal separation from neighbouring agricultural communities that were ruled by ancient rural custom. Perhaps the fixation of their social and legal status was the principal thing for which the ferrymen, a middle class in embryo, had to be grateful to the King.

Unfortunately the political history of East Java in the 15th and 16th centuries, especially the sanguinary and devastating wars attending the Muhammadan Central Javanese Kings' rise to hegemony, were unfavourable for the development of small boroughs of middle class traders to townships of some importance. Under more favourable

circumstances the Biluluk community (whose charters are edited in the present book) also might have developed into a free township controlling inland trade in its part of the country.

In plates 9 and 10 *recto* a number of privileges is granted to the ferrymen: exceptions on legal rules that otherwise might be prejudicial to them while doing their work. The style of this part of the charter is well known from the Javanese law-books. Probably the fact of the inclusion in the Ferry charter of those legal privileges is an indication that the ferrymen's legal status was henceforth fixed: they were under the jurisdiction of the Royal court of justice that applied Old Javanese law as laid down in the law-books. No doubt in the 14th century and long afterwards the majority of causes, both civil and criminal, was settled by chiefs of domains, lairds of manors or headmen of rural communities according to ancient native rural custom. Only cases in any respect affecting the King's majesty, identified with cosmic and social order, were brought before the Royal court of justice. Being beneficiaries of a Royal charter the ferrymen *ipso facto* became justiciaries of the King's judges.

On the whole the cases mentioned in plates 9 and 10 are clear. They are not discussed in the present commentary. The expression in plate 9 *verso*: *dāśadāśi bhāryopabhārya*, rendered: male or female servants, wives or concubines, is deserving of attention, though, because it contains the word *upabhārya* that is also found in the Nāg. canto 91—7. In that passage it is translated: companion.

Plate 10. The list of gifts at the end of the text is a constant feature of Royal charters. It is remarkable that the *pañjis'* gift to the King consisted of valuable textiles whereas in older charters as a rule the gifts consist in gold. Perhaps this is another corroboration of the surmise that in the Majapahit era bullion was scarce in East Java. Assuming that the ferrymen and their *pañjis* partly were traders, and of foreign, Chinese or Indian, extraction, gifts of valuable textiles (Chinese silk and Indian batiks), their stock-in-trade, would be more natural to them than gold that was difficult to procure. As the gifts offered to the Court officials are not specified probably they also consisted of valuable textiles.

The expression in plate 10 *recto*: *angkēn sārī ni puṣpanya*, rendered: every time the gift that goes with their flower-offering, is an indication that the *pañjis*, as representatives of the ferrymen, were expected to go up to the Royal compound annually to pay homage with a religious

puṣpa ceremony, which included the offering of a substantial gift of valuable textiles as *sāri*. Though cash money is not mentioned in this passage probably part of the proceeds of the ferrymen's *paṇḍja* tax in cash was also expected by the Court officers who received the homage gifts. Presumably this passage of the Ferry charter is to be understood as referring to the annual *Caitra* festival in Majapahit which is described in the *Nāg*, chapter 14.

The confirmation gifts (*paśek-paśek*) for the Court officers were due only once, at the time that the charter was issued. They partook of the character of witnesses' fees. In the meantime it is not improbable that the Honourable gentlemen at Court expected a present from the *pañjis* every month of *Caitra* when the King's homage was due.

The remarkable fact of the absence of any mention of the grand-vizir among the Court officers (only the chamberlain, the chancellor, the aide-de-camp and the commander-in-chief are mentioned) is difficult to explain. As the charter's second plate which must have contained the list of the secular Court officers is missing it is impossible to ascertain whether the grand-vizir was not mentioned in the charter at all. Probably he has been left out by mistake, either by the engraver of the copper-plate of 1358 or by the Dutch scholar who made the transcription of the plate in 1902.

CHARTER OF BATUR.

Fragmentary.

These fragmentary copper-plates are the remnants of a Royal charter issued by King Hayam Wuruk for the benefit of the sacred-ring communities (*maṇḍalas*) of Sāgara and Talun, proposing to them to maintain the cult of the sanctuary of Kalyasēm (Kali Asēm) in the manner as it was instituted by the founder. The sacred-ring community of Sāgara is described in the Nāg. and its legendary origin, and the origin of the sanctuary of Kalyasēm too, is found in the Tantu Panggë-laran. The legends are too long to be repeated here. It is sufficient to mention that Kalyasēm was believed to be founded by a holy man called *ĕmpu* Palyat, who really was Bhaṭṭāra Guru himself. Talun, Wasana (probably plate II *recto* 4 contains this name) and Sāgara were founded by a servant-disciple of the founder of the sacred-ring community of Kukub, which is also mentioned in the Nāg. and the Decree Jaya Song. By the descriptions in the Tantu Panggë-laran and by the fact of the Batur copper-plates' being found in the district of Kraksaan it is made clear that the places mentioned therein were situated in the Hyang mountains. The Batur charter offers reliable historical information on the remarkable sacred-ring communities mentioned in the Nāg. and treated in detail in the Tantu Panggë-laran. For that reason it is considered fit, however fragmentary it may be, to be included in the present book.

The Batur charter's first copper-plate is lost. It must have contained the usual preamble: the date and the King's names and titles, written on one side of the plate, the other, outer side remaining blank, as usual. The six lines on the large fragment's *recto* side (which in O.V. 1915 erroneously is called *verso*) would form the second half of the first page of the charter according to the Old Javanese manner of arrangement of palmleaf manuscripts and copper-plates. The large fragment's *verso* side contains the first half of the second page.

The Sanskrit epithets of Kings and Court officials were considered high literature at the Majapahit Court. They are expressly mentioned in the Nāg. canto 93—2—3. It is remarkable that the secular officials' epithets are not always in accordance, as to their meanings, with the bearers' offices or functions as described in the Nawanatya. In the latter text, the *dēmung* (chamberlain), for instance, appears to be a steward of the King's House, but the Sanskrit epithet (Batur *I recto* 2) calls him an annihilator of heroic enemies. The epithets seem to have been mostly mere literary ornaments. Only the grand-vizir Gajah Mada's epithets are fixed and significant. The word *praṇḍa*, in the Majapahit Court idiom meaning *youi*, but in this context translated: base, is also found in the Nāg. canto 18—2—3 as an epithet of the great *patih*.

Among the scholars (*upapattis*) it is interesting to meet the *samēgēt i Kaṇḍangan Rarē* who is not mentioned in the Praniti's and the Pūrwardigama's lists. Side by side with his elder colleague *Kaṇḍangan Atuha* he appears as a Buddhist scholar in the Ferry charter and the Decree Jaya Song. In the Batur charter the epithets, including the Shiwaite *dharmādhyakṣa*'s, are all the same, appropriate for learned ecclesiastics as to their meaning. With slight differences they are found in other Royal charters also. The Buddhist bishop's epithet has *tantra*, esoteric rites, instead of *śāstra*, lore. *Tantra* of course refers to Tantrism. The Decree Jaya Song gives him an epithet with *śāstra*, though.

The preambles of Royal charters of the Majapahit era contain enough material to compose lists of men who held high offices at Court and of their promotions in the course of time. This has been done i.a. by Krom (TBG 58) and van Naerssen (*Saptopapatti* paper). The Batur charter contains a remarkable list of secular Court officers, ordered according to their ranks from low to high: 1: the vizir of Kahuripan, 2: the chamberlain (*dēmung*), 3: the chancellor (*kanuruhan*), 4: (perhaps the aide-de-camp [*rangga*]), 5: the commander-in-chief (*tumēng-gung*), 6: the grand-vizir, vizir of Janggala and Kaḍiri. The inclusion of the vizir of Kahuripan Sir Taṇḍing, also mentioned in the Nāg. 72—1—4 and in the Decree Jaya Song, is exceptional.

The Batur charter's middlesized fragment is more damaged than the large one so the contents is more difficult to understand. The original meaning of *maṇḍala*, of course, is ring, circle, but in the charter by *sang hyang maṇḍala* the sacred ring-community as represented by the Head is meant. In plate II verso 5 the *maṇḍala* is mentioned as accompanied by the *kakis*, the commoners of the community, the friars

(v. Nāg. canto 32—6—3). In the Pararaton *maṇḍala* also is used as a title of the Head of a *maṇḍala* community. No doubt originally the title was *amaṇḍala* (cf. *akudur*, Head of a *kudur* community).

In the middlesized and small fragments the months *Caitra* (March-April), *Ihādura* and *Asuji* (i.e. *Ashwayuj*, August-September-October) are mentioned in connection with the cult of the Kalyasēm sanctuary. In the Tantu Panggelaran the great Kukub festival in *Asuji* (September-October) is described. According to the Nāg. the annual worship of the Great Royal Lady, probably a chthonic goddess, was in *Shrāwāṇa-Bhādura* (July-August-September). The Majapahit state festival was in *Caitra* (March-April). No doubt those half-yearly religious celebrations were connected with the season, the monsoon (v. comm. Nāg. chapters 9 and 14).

Probably many pilgrims visited the Kalyasēm sanctuary regularly, bringing contributions to the feast, just as is described in the Tantu Panggelaran. *Tumurun* (descend) in plate II recto 2, perhaps also the *tu* at the end of plate III recto 2 might refer to those contributions, modern Javanese: *urunan*. Perhaps *labuṇanaya*, Sanskrit: *lābhapanaya*: means to have profit, is the technical term for those gifts.

The mats and the state sunshade (*pagut payung*, also in Sdh. 5 recto 4) mentioned in plate II recto 5 probably were marks of dignity of the Heads of the sacred-ring communities who worshipped together in *Asuji* at the Kalyasēm sanctuary.

The reference to the King's life in plate II recto 6 proves that at Court Kalyasēm was considered as a religious centre of some importance. The *maṇḍalas'* Kalyasēm cult was considered beneficial for the stableness of the realm.

Apparently the second half of the middlesized fragment refers to another ceremony, in the month *Caitra* (March-April), than the first half. The terrace (*batur*) of Talun where the friars (*kahis*) should mount guard or reside temporarily (*atunggu*) might be connected with the local spirits who were fought and vanquished by the community's legendary founder, according to the Tantu Panggelaran. In the Nāg. canto 8—4—2 a *batur patawuran* is mentioned, apparently used to bring offerings to chthonic powers. The name Batur of the place where the copper-plates were found in 1915 might even be an indication of the site of the old community of Talun. *Atunggu* is a technical term for residing (temporarily) at a sacred place or on a spot believed to be connected with religion and ancient custom. People who *atunggu*

take part in the holy sphere of the place. Probably the *batur* was the local sanctuary of Talun.

Kaṇḍawa (from the Sanskrit epic's Khāṇḍawa-wana) means forest. The original meaning of the word *talun* or *dalun* is: clearing. Probably it is related to *alun-alun*: the great courtyard of the Royal compound. In plate II recto 4 a (sacral?) quartet of *maṇḍalas* seems to be mentioned: Kaṇḍawa, Talun, Wasana and Sāgara, perhaps comparable with the Four Hermitages and the Four Ashmarks of Nāg. canto 78—7.

Makadon (in order that) is the introduction of the King's motive for issuing the charter. The use of the words *mangkāna rasa ni pang-hayubagya pāduka śrī mahārāja* in plate II verso 4, meaning: such is the sense of His Magnificence the Illustrious Great King's recommendation, implies that the Royal charter was not an order (*ājñā*) but a gentle hint. Probably in the Majapahit era the Court could not give outright orders to Heads of religious communities like Sāgara. King Hayam Wuruk's visit to that place was not a display of power.

The King's motive for giving this gentle hint to the Heads of religious communities in the remote Hyang mountains is not well known. The last lines of the small fragment where the words "dissensions in future" and "be in the wrong" are found might lead to the supposition that the *maṇḍala* communities had quarrelled about their parts in the religious celebrations at Kalyasēm, perhaps especially about the contributions to the festival, and that the King tried to restore the peace. If the charter's date was known the possibility that King Hayam Wuruk's visit to Sāgara in 1359 was the cause of his taking action could be considered. If that really was the case the Batur charter would all the more deserve a place in the present book next to the Nāg.

CHARTERS OF BILULUK.

1366, 1391, 1395 A.D.

The three Biluluk charters concern the economic position of two territories in East Java, Biluluk and Tanggulunan, owned by noble families, related to the Majapahit Court (*samasanak* or *parawangsha*, v. the commentary of the charter of Rĕnĕk). The three copper-plates contain neither Royal charters with the well-known preamble, like the Ferry Charter, nor legal instruments issued by one of the Royal Princes, like the charter of Rĕnĕk. They are in the form of letters (*surat*) addressed to three different groups of persons: to the noble families of Biluluk and Tanggulunan, to the chiefs of tradespeople (in or near Majapahit) and to the collectors of the *tahil* due (who came down from Majapahit).

The sender of the three letters does not mention his name and title, he calls the two last letters Royal Seals (*rājamudrā*), and the second is a confirmation of a charter issued by a deceased Prince who according to v. Stein Callenfels (O.V. 1917, p. 118) was King Hayam Wuruk's uncle of Wĕngkĕr (died, according to the Pararaton, in 1388). In fact the Biluluk plates have the idiom and spelling in common with the Rĕnĕk charter of 1379 which certainly was issued by the Prince of Wĕngkĕr, so v. Stein Callenfels' supposition has some probability. In the Katiĕn charter of 1395 the same Parameshwara Released in Wishnu's Abode is mentioned. Probably the Prince of Wĕngkĕr's Wishnuitic final resting-place was a consequence of his relation with Kaḍiri, the western moiety of the realm, where remnants of the ancient dynasty's Wishnu cult still survived (v. comm. Nāg. canto 48—3). It seems plausible that the first of the Biluluk plates was issued by the Prince of Wĕngkĕr, King Hayam Wuruk's uncle, who was also the author of the Rĕnĕk charter of 1379, and that the other plates (and the charter of Katiĕn of 1395) were issued by his successor not long after his death in 1388.

The use of the term *rājamudrā*, Royal Seal, in the charters issued

by the Prince of Wěngkěr's chancery is an indication of the Wěngkěr-Kađiri family's close relationship with Royalty. In fact the contents of the Biluluk and Katiden charters seems to be binding not only on Wěngkěr subjects but on all the Majapahit King's people. Probably Biluluk (in Lamongan), Rěněk and Katiden were situated outside the Wěngkěr-Kađiri vice-regal province. Evidently the Prince of Wěngkěr's position was such that he could issue charters, if not in the King's name, then with an authority equalling that of Royalty.

The rescripts of 1391 and 1395 are grants or confirmations of privileges given to the noble families of Biluluk and Tanggulunān referring to the exemption from certain taxes or dues. That is why they are addressed to the people who collected the taxes or the dues. The letter of 1366 is addressed to the noble families themselves. It is a reminder of a privilege owned by visitors to Biluluk and Tanggulunān: at the time of the annual festival visitors were exempt from certain dues otherwise throughout the year collected by the noble families. The three letters were considered as title-deeds, to be kept by the noble families. The letter of 1366 ends with the maledictions on breakers of the rules that are found in Royal charters. This is a token of its importance.

The copper-plate of 1366 shows the noble families of Biluluk and Tanggulunān as owners of a saline spring where people from other territories came to buy salt or to make it for themselves after paying dues. Probably the saliferous water was scooped from the spring and exposed to the heat of the sun till a great deal of the moisture was evaporated. The residue, saliferous matter called *latěk* in the copper-plate of 1395, was the material for making salt by a further process of evaporation and drying. Salt-making is still practised in this manner in Java and Madura.

The noble families of Biluluk and Tanggulunān made salt for their own use and sold what they did not use. Being small in number they could not supply all the neighbouring districts with salt. Therefore the inhabitants of those territories used to visit Biluluk and Tanggulunān to make their own salt from the saliferous water they scooped from the spring, or from the saliferous matter, the *latěk*, they bought from the noble families, according to the plate of 1395. Both the selling of salt and the dues collected from the salt-makers from other territories were considerable sources of income for the owners of the saline spring.

According to the plate of 1366 the outsiders who came regularly to

Biluluk to make salt were expected to pay 300 cash (probably about 0.15 gold U.S. dollar) as *pamāja*, contribution for the annual religious festival (*pāja*) in that place. Probably the *pamāja* was to be paid by the heads of communities as representatives of their dependants. The *pamāja* is also mentioned in the Ferry charter. The supposition made in the commentary on that charter that part of the proceeds of the *pamāja* (perhaps one third) was to be transferred by the receivers in the country to the Royal treasury at Majapahit might apply also to the Biluluk *pamāja*. As the Biluluk charters were issued by Princes of Wēngkēr perhaps the Wēngkēr compound's treasury profited by the salt-makers' *pamāja*. The Princes of Wēngkēr's issue of charters for the benefit of the noble families of Tanggulunan and Biluluk might be prompted by the material profit they had from those districts.

Beside the annual *pamāja* contribution the outside salt-makers at Biluluk were expected to pay *pagagarēm*, salt-duty, every month 7 *ku*. *Ku* is an abbreviation of *kupang*, in the Majapahit era: one hundred cash. Probably the sum amounted to about 0.40 gold U.S. dollar. It is not clear why in plate I recto 4 the term *ku(pang)* is used. As a rule in the charters that are discussed in the present book sums of money are stated in figures. Probably the 7 *ku* represents the total of the salt-duty monthly to be paid to the noble families by all outside communities together. The latter's monthly quota may have been fixed by ancient custom.

The fixed income from annual *pamāja* and monthly *pagagarēm* payments must have made the owners of the saline spring men of substance. It is not surprising at all to learn that at some time (their history is unknown) the family of Biluluk and Tanggulunan was ennobled (by means of a matrimonial alliance with a Royal Prince or even with the King himself) and that further the Princes of Wēngkēr paid much attention to the district whence part of their revenue came.

The salt-makers from other territories had a privilege, though. At the time of the annual religious festival in Biluluk and Tanggulunan they were allowed to scoop salt water from the saline spring without paying any dues. For a period of five days the water was free for everybody. The noble families' rights were suspended: members who acted as if they still owned the water, by selling it or even by giving it away, were put on a par with people who take rice from fields not their own. They could be fined, probably by the person who had received the salt from their hand. This privilege of the common outsiders at the time of the annual religious festival probably was a sur-

vival from antiquity, dating from before the time of the establishment of the noble families as owners of the saline spring. It is a pity that the letter does not contain any reference to the character of the annual *pajā* at the saline spring of Biluluk and Tanggulan.

The common salt-makers are called *adapurs* and *paradapurs*. Probably these terms refer to rural communities that were organized on democratic lines, more or less comparable to village communities in modern Java and Bali. Certainly the *adapur*-people were just commoners, not related to the Court like the noble families of Biluluk and Tanggulan. Two groups of *adapur*-people are mentioned, those of Majapahit and those of Pinggir. This distinction makes it clear that at the time of the Biluluk plates Majapahit was the name of the central province of the realm mainly consisting of the basin of the river Brantas, whereas the outlying provinces Lumajang, Pajang etc. were called by their own names. It is interesting to note that the provinces of the *paradapurs* are called Pinggir, i.e. Border, and that in the 17th century at the Central Javanese Mataram Court a group of Pinggir people was kept, mainly to provide wet-nurses for the Royal children (Soehari, Prince Adiwijaya of Surakarta, in *Djdwā* IX, 1929). The Mataram Court tradition that those people originally were captives from Blambangan, an eastern province of the realm, is partly confirmed by the Biluluk charter's use of the name Pinggir, apparently as a collective name for the outlying provinces.

The Pinggir people are called *si paradapur* and the Majapahit people *kang adapur*. Perhaps this differentiation refers to the higher rank of the Majapahit *adapurs* who lived nearer the centre of the realm. In the Nāg. canto 63—3—2 two groups of *adapurs*, represented by (or, perhaps, called) Aputih and Sujanya, are mentioned. Some relation with the fundamental Javanese concept of bipartition of society seems probable.

It is remarkable that, whereas the plate of 1366 has *si samasanak ing Biluluk* the plates of 1391 and 1395 have *si parawangsha ring Biluluk*. The Rēnēk charter has both terms, and on that ground it is plausible that the three Biluluk plates refer to the same group of families. Perhaps the difference is that, by the use of the term *samasanak* the relation (by a left-handed marriage) with the Court was accentuated. Being addressed to the *samasanak* of Biluluk the plate of 1366 has a claim to be considered as a document of greater importance than the two later plates which are addressed to commoners. The

maledictions at the end of the plate of 1366 also are indications of its importance.

The copper-plate of 1391 refers to the noble families of Biluluk and Tanggulunan (here called Kasiman) showing them as tradespeople. Whereas the number of the trades that were followed in Biluluk is eight, the text mentions expressly: four in all. The charter of Watu Kura issued by King Balitung in 892 A.D., almost four centuries before the Biluluk rescripts, has at the end of a list of *mangilala dèrwaya haji*, collectors of the lord's due (much longer than the Biluluk list of trades) the words: four is their aspect (or: total, *pat ika luirnya*). Van Naerssen, the translator (*Oudjavaansche Oorkonden in Duitsche en Deensche verzamelingen*, 1941, p. 84) could not explain them. As far as known no other charters have them.

In the present author's opinion this number of four refers to the number of four families residing at Biluluk (and at Watu Kura). Anyone of the four families of course could have members who followed one or the other of a closely connected pair of trades. There were eight trades in all. The remark about Kasiman: one (family) in all seems to imply the possibility of any member of that family following any of the eight trades.

The number of four Biluluk families renders it possible to form an idea of the population figure of a 14th century East Javanese borough. Four or five generations and sixty or seventy persons in all seem to be a fair estimation for one family. So the total of the five families of tradespeople of Biluluk and Kasiman would amount to at the utmost four hundred persons. Certainly besides the members of the five noble families the two allied communities included a considerable number of lower class people such as are mentioned at the end of plate II *verso*, bondmen and dependent distant relatives. Perhaps these servants and dependants would raise the total number to six or seven hundred. This does not seem much for two communities of some importance, both economically and by their relation to the Court. The low number of inhabitants is in accordance with the estimations founded on other data, e.g. the Nawaratya's notes on the numbers of dependants of the principal Court officers. In the 14th century Java still was very thinly populated.

The number of four families in all in Biluluk and in Watu Kura, and of one family in Tanggulunan (if the interpretation of "four" is right), might lead to the supposition of an ancient organization of

society. Originally the four families might have been clans, quarts of a tribe, maintaining fixed connubial relations one with another. Considering the fundamental Javanese belief in quadripartite cosmic and social classification, which has been mentioned several times in the present book, a tribal society divided into four quarts (with a fifth related group outside), persisting in 14th century East Java in an ancient district of salt-makers, would not be surprising. Unfortunately material for the founding of a sound hypothesis on the structure of native Javanese tribal society is very scarce.

If there is anything in the supposition of originally four clans in Biluluk it seems plausible that the eight trades were divided two by two over the four clans. Assuming that the list of the trades is ordered according to tradition (which seems reasonable) probably in ancient Biluluk belief the following classificatory connections existed.

The merchants belonged to the IInd group of the classification system (South, Sanḍang Garba).

The tappers of sugar-palms belonged to the IIIrd group of the classification system (West, Katung Malaras).

The butchers belonged to the IVth group (North, Karung Kalah).

The bleachers belonged to the Ist group (East, white, Mangukuhan).

The classification system and the names of the mythical ancestors or "Kings" of the groups are mentioned i.a. in the Tantu Pangḡelaran and discussed in *Volksvertoningen*.

It seems hazardous to fix the place of the remaining four trades in the system. These trades soiled the hands and were therefore probably rather despised. Nevertheless it is most probable that each of them was in some way affiliated to one of the clean trades.

The sequence of the groups: II—III—IV—I is not identical with the cross-wise sequence found in some passages in the Nāg. (e.g. canto 65). The significance of the Biluluk trades' sequence is not clear. Perhaps it only refers to the economic and social importance of the groups in the Biluluk community.

No doubt it is more than a coincidence that the list of *mangilala dḡruwa haji* in the Watu Kura charter of 892 A.D. contains 64 items. Probably the number of 64 offices, functions and trades is to be divided into four groups of sixteen each. Evidently the last group of sixteen, beginning with the goldsmiths (*paṇḍe mas*) consists of artisans and craftsmen. The similarity of the 9th century Watu Kura charter and the 14th century Biluluk rescript in respect of quadripartite lists is

another piece of evidence of the importance of the number four in Javanese social and religious thinking.

The chiefs of tradespeople who are addressed in the Biluluk plate of 1391 seem to have exercised the right to collect certain dues or contributions from the members of their trades, at least in so far as the latter were not made exempt from paying dues by some special privilege such as is mentioned in the text. Probably the 14th century "chiefs of trades" were related to the "collectors of the lord's due" (*sang mangilala dērwya haji*) who are mentioned frequently in Royal charters beginning from very old times.

The *mangilala dērwya haji* probably were people who were dependent on the King or on some Prince or nobleman for their maintenance. This state of dependence may have had any one of the following causes. Some of the "collectors" seem to have been bought slaves brought over from foreign countries. Some were common Javanese men who were expelled from their communities as a penalty for some offence or because of their being generally undesirable. Perhaps wanderers, waifs and strays, and also bandits, were found in this group. And some were craftsmen and artists of all descriptions. The last group had in common with the other ones the lack of a regular income such as is provided by agriculture.

Originally the *mangilala dērwya haji* groups seem to have exercised the right to live on the country by asking customary fees, contributions or alms. If their demands were not readily complied with some of the "collectors" may have had recourse to blackmail and violence.

Perhaps in primeval native Javanese society the institution of the "lord's due" (*dērwya haji*) was founded on the idea of a sacral bond between men not belonging to the class of regular agriculturists in the country and the head of the social and cosmic community, the laird or the King. In olden times the "lord's due", paid voluntarily or under pressure by the countrymen to the "collectors", perhaps had some connection with religious worship and an annual festival, like the *pamāja* tax that took its place in a later period (v. comm. Ferry charter).

Craftsmen and artisans who had their shops near their masters' compounds probably were in duty bound to work for them as often as called upon to do so. Nāg. canto 63—4 refers to such a case: the preparation of requisites for the *Rājapatni's* posthumous ceremony. No remuneration is mentioned. Probably the craftsmen "on their lord's service" exercised the right to collect contributions or fees from their

colleagues working in communities at some distance from the Royal and seigneurial compounds, using the proceeds for their own maintenance. This is what is meant by "collecting the lord's due", at least with reference to the craftsmen. The King or the laird had the Court artisans' products at the expense of common craftsmen in the country.

Probably at the Majapahit Court a similar system prevailed to provide regular cash incomes for high officers of state. According to the Nawanatya those incomes came from the market. Apparently the chiefs of merchants in or near the capital paid them, reimbursing themselves by a system of compulsory buying of lots of commodities (*tiban*) imposed on small traders in the country. In this manner the King had his Court officer's services at the expense of tradesmen all over the country.

The connection of small countryside and provincial artisans and tradesmen with masters of crafts and great merchants who maintained relations with the Royal Court and the nobility might evoke the picture of corporations resembling the guilds that once flourished in the towns of Europe and the continent of Asia. In fact it seems possible that in course of time a guild-like organization might have developed in Java. The information on the *mangilala dèrwaya haji* that is available seems insufficient, though, to warrant the proposition of the existence of craftsmen's and tradesmen's corporations in Java either in the 14th century or in following centuries, comparable with the powerful and influential guilds of Christian and Muhammadan countries.

The disreputable groups of "undesirables" and wanderers who also incidentally or regularly "collected the lord's due", i.e. in the lord's name provided themselves with an income by begging or by means of blackmail, were of no use to the Court and a nuisance for the country. Both these unsocial groups and the artisans "on their lord's service" seem to have descendants in modern Java (v. Recapitulation, chapter 1, social order).

In the Biluluk plate of 1391 the dues collected in the name of the chiefs of trades are called *arik purih*. The term is found in several chapters as the collective name of fees or contributions of different kinds (v. Casparis, I.N.I., p. 10). Perhaps *arik* is related to *tarik*; *narik*, to pull, also means: to collect dues. *Purih*, which means: activities, probably refers to the cases in which the contributions were due. The five *arik purih* dues mentioned at the beginning of the list (plate II recto-4) seem to refer to family affairs: birth, marriage and

death, the next seven ones to housebuilding and the last one to the entertaining of guests of high rank.

Probably all these *arik purih* contributions were collected in the country by messenger when one or several of the mentioned cases did occur in the chief of the trade's family. This is in accordance with the collecting of similar contributions by Javanese landlords from their tenants which still was in use in Central Java up to the beginning of the 20th century.

Padadah is related to *ndadah*: the massaging of a new-born baby. So in the roundabout way often found in Javanese law terms *padadah* refers to a birth.

The meaning of *pawiwaha* is clear: the word refers to the bridal procession, an essential part of the wedding ceremonies.

Patatar is tentatively translated: for the ladder of the pyre. Its place between the wedding and the posthumous ceremony (*sadran*) suggests that it refers to the end of life. *Tataran* is the name of the notches in a tree-trunk that make a ladder of it. If this interpretation of *patatar* is correct the word would, in the usual roundabout way, refer to the costs of the cremation ceremony, which no doubt were considerable.

Sadran is seldom found in Old Javanese texts. In modern Java *ñadran* is the usual name of the Muhammadan "All Souls" celebration in the eighth month, *Sha'bān*, of the Muslim lunar year, which month is called accordingly *Ruwah* (from Arabic *Arwāḥ*, Spirits). Evidently in the 14th century Majapahit idiom *sadran* also referred to a religious ceremony in commemoration of the dead. The *pasadran* would be meant originally as a contribution towards the expenses of that ceremony.

For some time the etymology of modern Javanese (seemingly) Muhammadan *ñadran* has not been established beyond doubt. The use of the word in a pre-Muslim text now makes it clear that it is a corrupted form of Sanskrit *śrāddha*. The *śrāddha* ceremony is well known by the description in the Nāg. chapter 9. The expenses of such a ceremony are expressly mentioned in that passage.

The survival of the originally Tantric *śrāddha* ceremony in the name of the very popular modern Javanese Muhammadan "All Souls" celebration is another instance of the strong tie which binds pre-Muslim and Muslim Javanese customs together. It is worth notice that by the *ñadran-śrāddha* ceremony popular Muslim custom in Java stands in a distant relationship with Tantric Buddhist beliefs

and ceremonies ("Souls' masses"), wide-spread in East Asia. The probable connection of the 14th century East Javanese *shráddha* ceremony with ancient native shamanistic practices has been discussed in the commentary on the Nāg. chapter 9.

Ryangkatan is not found in the known texts. Probably it is a corrupted form of (or a mistake for) *byaya angkatan*, which means: costs of transport, or travelling. Perhaps *angkatan* should be understood in the military sense: marching.

Palalandēp, related to the name of the second *wuku*-week *Landēp*, which name means: sharp, probably refers to a ceremony in *Landēp* (once in 210 days: a *wuku*-year of 30 weeks) connected with the sharpening of implements which were to be used in the following period of activities, or with the supply of sharp implements. Perhaps originally the *palalandēp* contribution marked the beginning of the house-building to which the following *arik purih* dues seem to refer.

The interpretations of *palalajēr* (for poles), *pararajēg* (for hedges), *pabata* (for bricks), *pabale* (for pavilions), *parahab* (for roofing material) and *pasusuk* (for pegs) as connected with housebuilding are clear. *Susuk* has several meanings, all connected with putting or pushing some pointed object into a soft material. Probably *pasusuk* refers to *usuk*, rafter. This supposition is in accordance with the preceding *parahab*, from *rahab*: material for roofing, straw or sugar-palm fibre.

No doubt the last item of the list, *parawuhan*, refers to the entertainment of guests of high rank. *Rawuh* is related to *ḍawuh*: to come down. As usual in Javanese parlance activities of people of high rank referring to their inferiors are represented as descending upon those inferiors.

Entertainment of persons of high rank, Royalty, nobility or courtiers was obligatory for commoners. Neglect could be construed as contempt of the King's majesty or disregard of official authority. The preparation of considerable quantities of food, drink and delicacies for the use of the distinguished guests and his suite of servants of all ranks (who probably were exacting and grasping, thinking thus to give proof of their master's august position in society) must have been a heavy burden on the budget of commoners who were honoured in that manner. It is not surprising to learn that they tried to defray their expenses as well as possible by asking their own subordinates for contributions.

No doubt King Hayam Wuruk's speech to the commoners on the

abuses of the *pasǝgǝh* in Nāg. 88-5 must be understood in connection with the *parawuhan* contribution. The meals that were offered to Prapañca when he visited Buddhist clergymen while travelling in the King's suite no doubt were considered as obligatory entertainment. Probably Prapañca's personal servants (certainly, being a courtier of standing, he never went out without a suitable number of retainers accompanying him and carrying his belongings) were no less exacting towards their master's ecclesiastical hosts than could be expected from Majapahit men travelling in the country. No doubt the Heads of the religious domains which were visited by the Buddhist bishop's son tried to defray their expenses made on that occasion by asking their subordinates (Heads of dependencies, if they had any) for *parawuhan*.

The *titiban*, mentioned in plate II verso 2, was probably considered as the counterpart of the *arik purih*, both being compulsory contributions of countrymen towards the income of chiefs of trades residing in or near the capital. *Titiban* is to be rendered: compulsory buying of lots of commodities. It was especially imposed on traders. Probably the system worked as follows.

The chief or chiefs of merchants who probably resided in Bubat or in another port in the centre of the realm had at their disposal stocks of various commodities that were bought from traders, either foreigners, such as are mentioned in Nāg. canto 83-4, Javanese or natives of the other islands of the Archipelago. Moreover the principal merchants in the ports accumulated stocks of commodities in exchange for the dues they paid in cash to Court officials. According to the Nawanatya the *tumenggung* (commander-in-chief) received 8000 cash (about 4,4 gold U.S. dollars) *per diem* from the markets. Probably small traders in the markets all over the country were obliged to hand over part of their stocks as due to their chiefs the principal merchants, and the chief paid the Court officials in cash.

The Court officials served the King. So the King had his Court officers' services at the expense of small tradesmen in the markets all over the country in the same manner as he had his Court artisans' products at the expense of small craftsmen of the countryside.

The relation existing between chiefs of merchants in the ports and Court officials probably has been of the utmost importance in Javanese history, especially at the time when interinsular and international trade passed into the hands of Muslims.

The chiefs of merchants in the ports disposed of their stocks of

commodities partly by a system of compulsory buying that was imposed on the traders in the country. The provincial traders were obliged to buy lots of commodities against prices fixed by the chiefs. Such a lot or consignment was called *tiban*, i.e.: what drops into one's lap. The receivers of course tried to dispose of their lots against remunerative prices.

The list of commodities in the *tiban* lots in plate II verso 2 contains four kinds of spices. The spice trade always has been of great importance in the Archipelago. In Nāg, canto 60-1 some kinds of spices are mentioned among the commodities brought home by Royal servants from their tour in East Java. The iron-ware and the earthenware dishes that are found in the *tiban* list probably were of Chinese or Further Indian origin. The rattan and the cotton came from one or the other of the islands of the Archipelago. Cotton is also mentioned in the Nāg. At the end of the present commentary the Biluluk charter's list of commodities shall be discussed at some length: it contains interesting information on the borough's economy.

Tahil padugi (emendation for *paduging*, which does not make sense) is the third due (after *arik purih* and *titiban*) from which Biluluk is made exempt. Probably in chancery idiom *tahil* refers to a kind of surtax. Originally one *tahil* was sixteen *masa* (a weight). The cash value of the *tahil* in the Majapahit era is unknown. *Tahil padugi* seems to refer to the "coming down", i.e. the expenses of the messengers of the chiefs of merchants who came from Majapahit or Bubad to Biluluk to collect the dues for their masters, and at the same time to deliver the *tiban* lots. It is clear that when the dues were no longer collected as a consequence of the exemption, the messengers' fee was not paid.

Pamihos, the name of the tax that according to plate II verso 3 was imposed on Biluluk instead of *arik purih* etc. is translated: capitation tax, because the following words: five hundred (cash, about 0,275 gold U.S. dollar) each, seem to imply this. The word *pamihos* has been discussed in the Notes in vol. II.

It is clear that the proceeds of the *pamihos* tax at least partially went to the chiefs of trades and the merchants. Certainly it was not the intention to deprive them of their incomes. The charter's text does not contain any indication of the manner how the *pamihos* was collected, transferred to the Princely compound of Wēngkēr in Majapahit, and subsequently divided among those who had a right to part of it. It seems probable on the analogy of the ferrymen's *pañjis'*

offering of *sāri* in *Caitra* at the time of the annual Court festival, that Biluluk representatives also had to go to Majapahit annually to pay homage and offer the proceeds of the *pamihos* tax. No doubt the Princely treasury and the Wēngkēr compound's servants found their account in this arrangement.

The imposition of a fixed tax instead of the old dues with their insecure proceeds and their cumbrous system of collection probably was meant to be to the good of all: the treasury, the chiefs and the families of Biluluk. The capitation tax was the end of the ancient Javanese system of *mangilala dērwya haji* and *tiban* and a step in the direction of a modern economy based on money. It is a pity that we have no data to answer the question how the relation between the chiefs of artisans and merchants in the capital and their Royal or noble masters was affected by the evolution.

Originally the *tahil* "for provision on the way and for stuffing the sack" mentioned in plate II verso 4, like the *tahil* "for the coming down" and the metayers' *tahil* mentioned in the charter of 1395, was collected by the messengers of the chiefs who came from Majapahit to Biluluk. The well-to-do sugar-palm tappers of Biluluk had dependants who tapped their masters' trees on a basis of metayage, the tree owners receiving one half (more or less) of the sugar that was made and the dependants keeping the rest. At the time that the owners, members of the noble families, were made exempt from the old dues, it was just that their dependants were made exempt too from dues related to their part of the sugar production. Moreover, it certainly was not worth while to send messengers from Majapahit only to collect dues from some dependants of sugar-palm owners in a distant province.

Originally *jaka*, *jajaka* may have referred to members of the "youngster", nearly-adult, class of primeval native tribal society. Probably the *sinoman* groups (from *anom*, young), still extant in some rural districts of modern Java (v. *Volksvertoningen* and comm. Nāg. canto 89—4), in olden times were youngster organizations. They were obliged by ancient custom to perform some services on the occasion of sacral celebrations. In Javanese folklore *Jaka* is frequently used as a predicate of young and valiant heroes who go in search of adventures. According to KBNW in Bali and Lombok *jaka*, *pajaka* and *parajaka* refer to pupils and to unfree labourers. In the Biluluk charter *jajaka* seems to have the latter sense. The (probably interrelated)

words *santri* and *cantrik* are comparable with *jaka*; they have the meanings: young companion, pupil and servant.

The word *sangkul* is used in the Cërbon lawbook edited by Hazeu (cf. the present author's translation of 18th century Bantën charters, *Djêud IX*, 1929) referring to bond-women. In KBNW a lawbook passage is quoted mentioning a *sangkul* who, having been taken by a creditor of his (or her) master as security for a debt, is not redeemed. Evidently in this case the translation bond-servant is adequate. In some dialects of modern Java a *sangkul* is a member of a rural community while performing his day or days of obligatory service at the house or on the fields of the village headman. A headman can be said to have a right to a certain number of *sangkuls* a day.

Kaponakans, nephews, of plate *II verso 4*, probably refers to distant relatives, perhaps the issue of connubial relations with low-born women or bond-women, who were not *ipso facto* included in the privilege of exemption from dues that was enjoyed by the members of the noble families.

The third Biluluk charter, of 1395, is a supplement of its predecessor of 1391, and the case is the same. In the beginning *ananaṇḍa-ananaṇḍu* is used as a legal term. In modern Javanese both *saṇḍa* and *taṇḍu* are known as radicals of verbs referring to tenancy of land. Considering the general practice of Javanese landowners desiring to make their property pay, metayage probably was the legal relation established between the owners of the saline spring and the men who worked at the salt-making. Therefore *ananaṇḍa-ananaṇḍu* is translated: metayers.

Probably the saliferous matter (*latèk*) was made (partly?) on the basis of metayage, the members of the noble families receiving one half (more or less) of every "crop" and the people from other communities who came to work at the salt-winning keeping the rest to make salt for themselves. This was called "working in metayage buying *latèk*". In the past messengers of the chiefs of merchants in Majapahit used to ask *tahil* from the salt metayers in the same way as they asked *tahil* from the sugar-palm tappers. At the time that the owners of the saliferous spring were made exempt from the old dues, it was just that their metayers were declared exempt too from dues related to their part of the salt business.

The three Biluluk charters together afford a singularly interesting view into the economy of a 14th century community under the

authority of one of the Majapahit Princes. No doubt Biluluk and Tanggulunan were old salt-makers communities. Perhaps the Prince of Wēngkēr who must be meant in the charter of 1391 had at the same time granted the exemption from old dues and raised the old communities to the rank of "Noble Families" and "My family of Biluluk and Tanggulunan". That this rise in rank was a consequence of the Prince's having taken a girl from Biluluk into his zenana is a likely supposition. In Nāg. canto 31-4 King Hayam Wuruk's taking *bini haji* in the district of Kalayu is mentioned. Probably the relation that was established by *bini haji* marriages between the Royal or Princely compound and some rural community was meant to be to the good of both parties: the King or the Prince could henceforth be reasonably certain of the loyalty of his family-in-law in the province and the rural community was raised in rank and could make an appeal to the King or the Prince ("enter into his Presence") to get redress of wrongs.

The expenses of the annual religious festival at the saline spring were (partly?) paid out of the *pamāja* dues of the commoners, the *dapurs*, who used to come from far and near, even from the district of Majapahit. It is not difficult to imagine that this annual *pāja*, with its concourse of people from many districts, had the character of a fair, which brought prosperity to the inhabitants of Biluluk and Tanggulunan. Though not numerous, the members of the Noble Families were held in great respect in their part of the country, both for their relation with the Court, their possession of three Princely charters engraved on copper-plates and their wealth. Probably the copper-plates were kept as heirlooms (*pusdhd*) and worshipped on the occasion of the annual fair.

Especially the second charter, of 1391, contains interesting information on economic activities in Biluluk. Commerce certainly was the principal source of income: it stands at the head of the list of plate II recto 3. The merchants sold the salt and the saliferous matter (*latēk*) of Biluluk and a number of other commodities that were brought from elsewhere. The annual fair offered a good occasion to establish trade relations.

Next to salt, palm-sugar seems to have been an important produce of Biluluk: the sugar-palm tappers are mentioned in the second place in the list, and the end of the charter of 1391 refers once more to their trade. Possibly the soil of Biluluk was favourable for the growth of sugar-palms, Palm-sugar of course was an important commodity at

the time that the making of cane-sugar was not yet generally practised.

Following the list, the butchers' trade seems to have been the third important trade in Biluluk. In the tropics fresh meat can not be kept long enough to be an important article of trade, so the Biluluk butchers must have been meat-packers. The meat (buffalo, goat, sheep, pork, perhaps also dog, fowl and game) was salted, cured, dried and made into *dèndèng*, which is a kind of spiced pemmican. *Dèndèng* of course is a luxury, and rather expensive. Trade in Biluluk *dèndèng* must have been lucrative. Probably the Biluluk meat-packing business was promoted by the abundance of salt and the low price of cattle. The soil of the district (now called Lamongan), being calcareous, was unsuited for agriculture but it could be used as pasture. Probably the spice trade (the *tiban* lots) in the Biluluk market had some relation with the meat-packing business.

Perhaps the trades of the bleacher of textiles and the dyer with indigo were promoted by the finding of lime in the Biluluk soil. The lime-burners' trade which is mentioned at the end of the list also depends on the finding of lime. It seems improbable, though, that the indigo which was used by the dyer was a produce of the calcareous Biluluk soil.

The translation of *anutër* by miller (because of *putëran*, an implement that turns round) is not based on parallel texts, but it seems rather probable. The product of the Biluluk mills (moved by oxen or buffaloes) must have been some kind of oil. It is improbable that in the 14th century sugar-cane (not yet extensively cultivated), cereals or tubers were milled to make sugar or flour. The common method of making flour was by pounding, and flour was not an article of trade. Perhaps the oil that was made by the Biluluk millers was *jarak*, i.e. ricinus oil, which was used in the past not only for medicinal but also for household purposes. In older charters the list of the *mangilala dërwa haji* sometimes mentions a *malurung*, who must have been a maker of *lënga lurungan*, i.e. ricinus oil.

Makers of *lakša*, i.e. vermicelli (called by a name of foreign origin) are also mentioned in older charters. *Lëtëh*, which means dirty, grimy, was a name for a vermicelli maker's servant, and this points to the unpleasant side of the trade. Vermicelli was a luxury, and vermicelli making was one of the methods to preserve farinaceous food-stuffs that otherwise could not be kept for a considerable time in the tropical climate. The vermicelli is cooked in the vegetable soup that is a side-dish eaten with the daily rice. The material for the

vermicelli making is flour of cereals or tubers. Perhaps the Biluluk vermicelli was made from some kinds of tubers that were grown in the calcareous soil of the district. In modern Java the manioc or cassava tuber is used to make farinaceous foodstuffs, but this very profitable tuber was imported by the Netherlands East India Government from America not before the 19th century.

The products of the eight trades mentioned in the list of 1391 appear to be mostly luxuries. Even salt and sugar probably were reckoned among the luxuries in 14th century Java.

The annual fair must have promoted trade, and so Biluluk and Tanggulunan became prosperous communities. Probably it is right to call them boroughs, on account of their relation, fixed in charters, with their liege lord the Prince, and because of their economy, based on trade. It seems dubious that the calcareous and saliferous soil of the district could produce enough rice for the inhabitants. So the main food would be imported by the common agriculturists who used to come to Biluluk from far and near to provide themselves with a supply of simple luxuries.

It is probable that boroughs and small townships of the Biluluk type or comparable with it existed in several districts of East Java under the rule of the Majapahit Kings. Mention should be made of the traders' and artisans' boroughs (*kalang kalagyan*) and the places of ferrymen on the great rivers. Their internal organization is mostly unknown, and so is their later history. Probably the majority did not survive the political troubles of the end of the Majapahit period and the wars of the 16th and 17th centuries fought between the rulers of Central and East Java.

CHARTER OF RĚNĚK

1379 A.D.

The charter of RĚnĚk is a legal instrument, a deed of assignment concerning some lands originally belonging to the Family of RĚnĚk, at some time taken by the laird of Tambak, and now ordered to be returned to the original owners. It is interesting i.a. because it was issued not by the King but by the Prince of Wĕngkĕr, whose activities in the field of land law are known from the Nāgara-Kĕrtāgama. The differences in idiom and spelling noticeable between this Princely charter and the Royal charters drawn up by the highest Court officials have been pointed out in the Notes in vol. II of the present book.

The rusticity of the charter's subject-matter: land-tenure, appears in the names of 34 men who are mentioned in the text: at least 24 among them are purely Javanese names. There are two cases of men from different territories bearing the same name: Pagon and Bĕlang. In modern Java purely Javanese names of this kind only are borne by children. All adults, even of low standing, nowadays use to have names made up from Sanskrit (or Arabic) words, comparable with the Guṇandika, Guṇita and Guṇa of the charter. The prevailing of names of foreign origin in modern Java is a result of the Court culture's spreading all over the country. The scarcity of such names in a 14th century country-side document can be taken as a proof of the distinction between Court culture and popular custom (*nagara* and *desha*) being still strong at the time.

Among the 34 men not less than 3 bear the names of days of the week: Monday (Soma), Wednesday (Buddha, i.e. Budha) and Saturday (Tumpĕk, emendation for Umpĕk). As could be expected, the men belonging to the party of the "low-born" nearly all have purely Javanese names. The *māladharma* of Mangĕnĕb's name is not mentioned. Probably he had a Sanskrit name like his equals the *māladharmas* of Pagĕr and of Gilang, all belonging to the *parawangsha*, the noble families. In plate I verso 4 between *māladharma* and Pagon the *māladharma*'s name fell out; Pagon is the name of the first of his

attendants. This is evident because three *Mangēñēb* men are recorded in the list.

The charter's construction is systematic. The ceremony of the assignment of the Rēñēk lands mentioned in plate II *recto* 5 was attended by four groups of men, probably sitting at the sides of a quadrangle. The author of the charter, the Prince of Wēngkēr, who issued it, and the *ārya* Guṇandika were not present. The five groups of men concerned in the Rēñēk case are:

- I. The Prince of Wēngkēr and *Ārya* Guṇandika.
- II. The *pañjis* (Masters) Gobēr and Harṣa Lēwih and the *kabayans* (beadles) *mantri* Narotama and Mēñēng.
- III. The *wragaḥi* families (Royal relatives).
- VI. The *parawangsha* families (noble families).
- V. The *wong lēmbah* (low-born).

Group I. The Prince of Wēngkēr has been mentioned before. In the Nāg. only one living man has the title *Bhaṭāra*: Narapati (cantos 12—3—4 and 66—1—1). The other *Bhaṭāras* are gods or deified ancestors (v. glossary). Narapati was the Prince of Wēngkēr's younger brother. Evidently the *Bhaṭāra* title when borne by a living man was lower in rank than the illustrious *Shrī*. Probably the modern Javanese courtesy predicate *Bēndārā*, often rendered: Sir and: Madam, has developed from *Bhinaṭāra* (infix *-in-* is sometimes found in titles and names of offices). Perhaps the charter's not giving the Prince his real title *Shrī* but only a predicate of courtesy is to be explained by the rusticity of the style. In the Par. the Royal title mostly is *Bhaṭāra*, in the book's second part abbreviated: *Bhra*.

Ārya Guṇandika's office is not mentioned. Evidently he was the Prince's right-hand man, the executor of orders and the intermediary between the Princely compound in Majapahit and the people outside. Even in modern times such intermediaries are indispensable in Javanese society. The *ārya* title (rendered: Honourable) belonged to Court officers of high rank, mostly ecclesiastics, scholars and lawyers.

Group II. With this group begins the separation between the two parties in the Rēñēk case. Plaintiffs were *andens*, rural gentry, defendants were the *wong lēmbah*, the low-born.

No doubt *anden* (in plate I *recto* 4 an emendation for *andon*) is the same word as the *handyan* of the Nāg. and the modern Javanese

title *rahaden*, *raden*. The English equivalent is: gentleman, in the plural: gentry. Perhaps some *andens* were related to some Royal Family by blood or by marriage, but their title does not imply a Court office, only a prominent position in the country. Though belonging to the group of the *wong lembah* which is put in the wrong, the laird of Tambak is called *sang anden* in plate II recto 3. Apparently he was a powerful and rich country gentleman.

The Elders (*atuha*) of plate I recto 4 are the headmen of the *wong lembah*, group IV.

The four men who were ordered by the Honourable to execute His Grace's Word represented the two parties. The two *pañjis* took the place of the *andens*, Narotama and Mēnēng were *kabayans* of the Elders. Probably all had acted as solicitors or pleaders.

The title *pañji* is old and its implications probably have varied considerably in the course of time. In the Nāg. the bearers of the title seem to be scholars and lawyers.

The origin of the word *kabayan* has been discussed by many scholars (see i.a. Aichele, *Oud-Javaansche beroepsnamen: kabayan, widu, bhu-jangya*, in Djāwā 11, 1931, and Rassers, *Kabayan*, in BKI 100, 1941). In the 14th century East Javanese idiom it is the name of an office or a function. In most cases headle or assistant seems to be a good equivalent. Certainly the Elders needed legal assistance as opponents to the *andens'* *pañjis*, who were men of higher rank. The mention of *kabayans* in this passage is in accordance with their well-known function in modern Javanese village life as the headman's messengers.

The first *kabayan* has the title *mantri*. In the Nāg. *mantri* is the name of a class of officials: Royal servants of all ranks. But then in some passages in the Nāg. *mantri* seems to be a courtesy title for men of some standing, comparable with the modern Javanese *mas*. Probably that is the case in the charter too.

The Elders' second *kabayan* is a man without any title, bearing the purely Javanese name Mēnēng: Silent.

Group III. With this group begins the list of the families or communities who attended the assignment ceremony either as plaintiffs or as defendants. The groups III, IV and V have each three communities, one of them acting as "speaker" for the other two in the group, and every community is represented by three men: a headman and two attendants. An exception is made for the laird of Tambak, apparently the most powerful, who brought six attendants.

Wragaji is a contraction of *warga haji*: the lord's family, rendered: Royal relatives. In plate *I verso 1* the term seems to refer only to three communities: Pañangan, Talaga and Pamanggihan; in plate *II verso 1* *wragaji* is used as a collective noun comprising beside those three communities also the *parawangsha* families of Mangēñb, Pagēr and Gilang. In plate *II* Pañangan, Talaga and Pamanggihan are called *para jinurus*, rendered: those under chiefs. In fact two men from Pamanggihan have for title *juru*: chief. In the Nāg. *juru kutus* are mentioned: chieftains or lairds of manors. So the three territories Pañangan, Talaga and Pamanggihan may have contained manors: walled-in compounds resembling the Royal compound on a small scale.

The term *warga haji* is found several times in the Sunghé charter of 1194 A.D. (O.J.O. II, p. 172), which belongs to the Kaḍiri region. It seems improbable that *warga haji* or *wragaji* refers to near relatives of the Majapahit Kings. Perhaps in the 14th century it only indicated families of ancient lineage who pretended to be related to some Royal House of olden times.

Several names of localities mentioned in the Rēñēk charter are found in the Nāg. canto 55: Pagēr, Pahañangan, Talaga and Tambak. The places were passed by King Hayam Wuruk, returning from his hunting party in the Singasari hills, on his way to Jajawa at the foot of mount Wlirang. So it is probable that Rēñēk also was situated in that district.

Group IV. In the Biluluk charters *samasanak*, *wangsha* and *parawangsha* are used as synonyms in the sense of Royal relatives. (In an old charter of Adulēngēn, issued by King Erlangga [K.O. Cohen Stuart no V, p. 12] *samasanak* is already used). The Rēñēk family was *samasanak*, and so it belonged to the *parawangsha* group of the charter.

Now the three *parawangsha* families of Mangēñb, Pagēr and Gilang had Heads who bore the title *māladharma*. The component parts *māla* and *dharma*, meaning origin or original and religious domain, imply that those territories were foundations under Royal charters, inhabited by descendants of the originally favoured family. It is just possible that the Rēñēk charter's Pagēr, in the Singasari region, is to be identified with the Pagēr of Nāg. canto 73—3—4, one of the twenty-seven Royal *dharmas*. The district of Pagēr, mentioned in the Shela Maṇḍi charters, on the other hand, seems to have been situated on the lower course of the river Brantas.

So probably Rĕnĕk was a religious domain, a *dharma*, the posthumous residence of a deified ancestor of Royal blood. The name is not found in the Nāg. lists of religious domains and estates. But then foundations of forgotten Kings of ancient dynasties are passed over by the poet. The loss of part of the Rĕnĕk lands to the laird of Tambak shows how much old religious domains were in peril of disintegration. The Prince of Wĕngkĕr's decision in favour of Rĕnĕk was a re-establishment of an old family of noble descent in its rights.

Perhaps the difference between the *wragaji* communities (group III: Pañangan, Talaga and Panunggihan) and the *parawangsha* families (group IV: Mangĕnĕb, Pagĕr and Gilang) is the same as the distinction between secular estates (*śīmas*) and religious domains (*dharmanas*) made i.a. in the Nāg. canto 78. The Rĕnĕk charter's term *wragaji* being used as a collective noun for both makes it clear that the two groups had much in common, in the first place their noble descent, by which they were distinguished from commoners.

Group V. The word *lĕmbah* has not yet been found in other texts. The meaning low-born becomes clear by the opposition *wong lĕmbah-wragaji* in plate II recto 5. Nevertheless the use of a word presumably meaning low (cf. *lemah*: ground) for commoners is remarkable in a Javanese text. In modern Javanese the usual expression is: *wong cilik*: small people.

The laird of Tambak's following is greater than any other, so evidently he was the most powerful chief of all. In plate II recto 3 he is given the courtesy title *sang anden*, but the fact of his belonging to the *lĕmbah* group could not be changed.

The description of the ceremony in plate II recto 5 and verso 1—5 is short but it is sufficient to make the purport clear. The defendants, the *lĕmbah* group, being put in the wrong, acknowledged that the land was property of the plaintiffs, the *wragaji*. The two sub-groups of the *wragaji* returned the land to the original owners the Rĕnĕk family.

Certainly it was in the Royal interest to defend religious domains and territories of noble families against encroachment by commoners, for Royal authority in the country was supported mainly by the chiefs of religious domains and Royal relatives' estates. King Kĕrtanagara's Sarwadharma charter is another instance of Royal intervention in favour of religious domains in their struggle with covetous neighbours. Unfortunately it is impossible to ascertain whether the powerful laird of Tambak respected the Prince of Wĕngkĕr's decision because he was

forced to do so by some display of real power, a draft of men-at-arms from the Wēngkēr household company (*pangalasans*). If that was not the case the effect of the ceremony probably was not lasting.

No doubt the legal assignment of the lands to the rightful owners was confirmed by some religious ceremony. The term *amalrakēn*, used twice in plate II verso I, is connected with the modern Javanese word *wēwalēr*, which has the sense of interdiction. In Old Javanese *walēr* is boundary. Probably the Old Javanese equivalent of an oath was sworn.

Pasēk-pagēh is the usual name of the confirmation fee. The men from the nine territories who received it witnessed and confirmed the agreement and were expected henceforth to enforce compliance with it. *Pirak satak* means: 200 Chinese copper cash, worth about 0.11 gold U.S. dollars. Apparently in the charter's Old Javanese idiom *pirak* meant money. In Malay *perak* means silver.

The charter's systematic construction is accentuated at the end by the notice mentioning the number of *deshas*: nine. Rēnēk itself did not take part in the ceremony. Probably the 34 men sat down at the sides of a quadrangle, which was orientated in accordance with the fundamental quadratic cosmic sense of the Javanese. In the Kēmbang Arum charter of 902 A.D. edited by Bosch (O.V. 1925) and in King Balitung's charter of 907 A.D. edited by van Naerssen (BKI 95) arrangements of officials attending a ceremony in a quadrangle are mentioned. It seems safe to surmise that at the Rēnēk ceremony in 1379 the men from the Majapahit Court, being the highest in rank, occupied the east side of the quadrangle. Coming next in the list in plate I verso the *wragaji jinuru*, the chiefs of manors, probably sat in the south (the sequence following the sun's course). The *parawangsha*, inhabitants of religious domains, had the west side, and the *wong lēmbah*, the commoners, led by the laird of Tambak, occupied the north side. No doubt the 34 men whose names and qualities are recorded in the charter did not attend the ceremony unaccompanied. In accordance with Javanese custom everyone, the attendants of the chiefs included, was followed by one or several servants, bondmen or junior relatives, who carried their master's personal belongings and tokens of dignity. Consequently the Rēnēk ceremony of April 1379 must have been a great gathering of people that was long remembered in the country-side. The communities and families who were invited or ordered to be present as witnesses enhanced their social prestige by their attendance, sitting in the sacral quadrangle on a par with representa-

tives of the Majapahit Court, and having their names and functions immortalized, being recorded in the charter.

The "meal of the writ", *likhitabhukti* "eaten and drunk by the honoured men present altogether" is an apt description of the community meal, modern Javanese *slametan*, which was the sacral confirmation and the conclusion of the ceremony. In Old Javanese charters of the tenth and eleventh century interesting descriptions of community meals are preserved (v. the present author's paper on Javanese Gold, BKI 114, 1958). The eating and drinking together was another confirmation, comparable with the *pasèk pagèh* fee, of the bond binding the nine *deshas* who were witnesses of the assignment of the Rĕnĕk lands. The term *likhitabhukti*, meal of the writ, shows how the word *bhukti*, already in the Majapahit age, came to have the sense of legal evidence and legal instrument. In modern Javanese this is the usual meaning of (*cihna*-) *bukti*, the original meaning "meal" being almost forgotten.

It is probable that the community meal at the end of the Rĕnĕk ceremony was enlivened by music, dancing and theatricals comparable (on a small scale) with the performances accompanying the great Royal *slametan* concluding the Majapahit Court festival in *Caitra*. The Rĕnĕk ceremony and the Court festival took place in the same month. Apparently the month of *Caitra* (March-April) at the end of the East Java West-monsoon and the beginning of the rice harvest was a good time for community festivals.

Probably for the populace of the country-side, common agriculturists and bondmen, though they had no interest in the legal proceedings of the assignment, the ceremony attended by many men of consequence in their districts and even by Majapahit courtiers formed a spectacle never to be forgotten. The day of music, dancing, theatricals and merriment, and the display of abundance at the great community meal were features of considerable importance in their tedious life in an inland district of East Java. Perhaps on this great day the fortunate Rĕnĕk family exercised bounty by distributing small presents of food and delicacies among the men, women and children of the lower classes in the country, beggars, waifs and strays included, who flocked to Rĕnĕk to have a look at the festivities. In the Nāg. canto 66—5—4 in the description of a popular festival the King's bounty to mendicants is not forgotten.

Though the charter is not explicit on this point it seems probable that the Rĕnĕk family who benefited by the ceremony bore the expense:

the confirmation fees, the community meal. No doubt the expenses were considerable; perhaps that was one of the reasons why the ceremony was fixed in the month of Caitra when rice was abundant.

Of course the date of the ceremony was most important. According to KBNW in Bali on Wednesday-*Wagé* in the *wuku Pahang* offerings were set down in the fields. *Pahang* is the 16th *wuku* week, occupying the centre in the native Javanese agricultural *wuku* year of 30 weeks (210 days). The fixing of the Rĕnĕk ceremony on an important date of the agricultural calendar is just what one would expect. But then according to Damais (v. Notes in vol. II) the week-day of the charter's date was not Wednesday but Saturday. It is difficult to decide if a mistake was made somewhere in the chronological calculations and where.

Certainly the making of the copperplate of the Prince of Wĕngkĕr's rescript by the *kanuruhan* Parashi was done at the expense of the Rĕnĕk family who benefited by it. The cost must have been considerable. Probably the copperplate was destined to be a heirloom, a *pusakā* of the Rĕnĕk family for ever and ever, perhaps even to be worshipped as a fetish regularly every year on the anniversary of the day of its being issued, in *Caitra*. As every man whose name was mentioned in the charter's text probably was believed to benefit by the worship, the *kanuruhan* seems to have seen fit to include his own name. The Court *kanuruhan*'s rank in Majapahit was not much lower than the grand-vizir's. He was the King's chancellor. As the Rĕnĕk rescript was issued by the Prince of Wĕngkĕr Parashi probably was a *kanuruhan* belonging to the compound of Wĕngkĕr.

The Rĕnĕk rescript has yet another feature of interest beside the account of the legal proceedings, namely the names of offices or titles belonging to the sphere of the rural communities mentioned in it. Some of the words are deserving of special attention.

One of the men of Gilang is a *gusti*, and so is the third man of Kapalang, which is one of the *lĕmbak* territories. *Gusti* is the opposite of *katavala*: master and bondman. In Javanistic Muhammadan mysticism the words refer to the relation between God and man. In modern Bali *gusti* is the title of a class of countrymen who are considered as being *waishyas*, men belonging to the third caste of the Indian system. Probably the 14th century East Javanese *gustis* were men of some standing in their communities by their descent from old families. They did not belong to the gentry, though. As a (military) rank

in the Nāg. *gusti* is rendered: yeoman. Anyway the mention of *gustis* in the Rēnēk rescript is evidence of the existence of social classes inside 14th century Javanese rural communities.

Juburuh is a contraction of *juru buruh*: chief of labourers. Perhaps the *juburuh* was a foreman working under the steward of an estate. In plate II recto 4 a *juburuh* of Tambak is mentioned, and Tambak was an estate.

The headman of Talaga, a *werajaji* territory, has for title *buyut*, and so has the headman of Lawadan, a *lĕmbah* community. *Buyut*, originally meaning: venerable old man, great-grandfather, is used as a title for men in authority, comparable with *kyahi*, often found in Javanese historical works. Both *buyuts* and *kyahis* often are men of religion, or deriving their authority from religion. Perhaps this also was the case with the *buyuts* Tumpĕk and Sangu.

Malambangan, the function of the third man of the important *werajaji* territory Pamanggihan, is a word unknown from other texts. It is a derivation of *nylambangi*: to exchange (used in some modern Javanese local idioms), and so the meaning must be: substitute.

Each group of three communities or families (groups III, IV and V) had one community or family as leader or speaker. Pamanggihan was speaker of the *werajaji* group, Gilang of the *parawangsha* group and Tambak of the *lĕmbah* group. The difference between the words for this leadership is remarkable. Pamanggihan and Tambak are called *wadanas* (Sanskrit: mouth, therefore rendered: speaker). In the modern Javanese chancery idiom the word *wadana* has become the usual name of a district officer's office. Gilang, the speaker of the *parawangsha* group, is called *pawidigan*. This word, unknown from other texts, is a derivation of *widig*: a mat made of palm-leaves. The implication of *pawidigan* is: sitter on the mat, i.e. president. Probably the special term was used because Gilang and the other *parawangsha* territories were religious domains. In 14th century East Java it was considered important to mark the distinction between the secular and the spiritual sphere.

The laird of Tambak's second man is called *angalihi*, again a word unknown from other texts. It is a derivation of *kalih*: two (ceremonial idiom), so the meaning must be: second, giving good sense in this place.

Mantĕn is a "commuted" form; this remarkable commutation of word-endings is frequent in Javanese. In modern Javanese *mantĕn* is known as a commutation of several words, but none gives good sense

in this passage of the Rĕnĕk rescript. Probably in the 14th century Rĕnĕk idiom it was a commuted form of *wali*. In the Nāg. *wali* (rendered: officer) is mentioned next to the members of the second caste of the Indian system (v. comm. canto 81—3). Another word that might be related to *wali* is: *pali-baya* (mentioned in KBNW) probably meaning: assistant (The element *haya* might be related to *kabayan*).

In the present book dealing with 14th century Javanese culture *desha* always has been rendered: territory, district, instead of: village, which is the usual translation of the modern Javanese *desd*. Just from the present Rĕnĕk charter the differences between the landowners' legal positions appear most clearly. Evidently in the text the word *desha* is used as a collective noun comprising all kinds of rural territories. The use of the translation "village" might lead to the supposition that all the mentioned *deshas* were purely agricultural communities. Quite possibly *kuwas* (Tambak) and *dharmas* (Mangĕnĕb, Pagĕr and Gilang), containing walled-in manors and perhaps sanctuaries, were places of more than rustic appearance. The chequered pattern of Old Javanese society must always be borne in mind.

CHARTER OF WALANḌIT

1381—1405 A.D.

Walanḍit is mentioned several times in the Nāg. (v. glossary). Its situation in the Tēnggēr massif in East Java is apparent from the repeated mention in the charter of mount Brāmā, the extinct volcano that is worshipped by the Tēnggēr mountaineers up to the present time. In fact the Walanḍit charter is important as evidence of the antiquity of that worship. Casparis (*Inscripties N.I.*, 1940, p. 50), editing another Walanḍit charter, made interesting notes on the place and the worship, mentioning several passages in older charters (i.e. King Senḍok's of 939 A.D.) where Walanḍit is an important district. Interesting in Casparis' charter (a Jaya Song) is the litigation between the Fathers (*mpu rāma-rāma*) of Walanḍit and the common rural community (*para ḍapur*) of Hēmad.

The *titilēman* dues no doubt are connected with the last quarter of the moon (*tilēm*). The term is not known from other texts. Perhaps it refers to the annual homage due at the new moon of *Caitra* (March-April) as described in the Nāg. canto 85. The people who came to Walanḍit claiming *titilēman* may have been emissaries of local authorities in the plains pressing the mountaineers to contribute for the annual *Caitra* festival at Court. Probably *titilēman* is approximately to be identified with the *ḥamūja* of other texts of the time (intended for the *ḥūja*, the worship). Contributions for festivals seem to have been an important source of income for the Court and the usual tax laid upon the people of the rural districts.

The term *desha hila-hila* and *hulun hyang* (sacred district, Spirits' servants) are found also in the Nāg., cantos 78 and 79. The freedom (*luput*) and the antiquity are expressly noted in those stanzas. But then it is remarkable that in the Nāg. Walanḍit is not included in the group of the sacred districts of canto 78—5. It is quite possible, of course, that the mountainous district of Walanḍit contained several religious domains (*dharma*), both Shiwaite and Buddhist, as mentioned in Nāg. cantos 76—1 and 77—2. Perhaps the remarkably wide

formulation in the charter: all people living in the shade of the district of Walaṇḍit (*sakwehing wong sakahuban dening desha i W'alaṇḍit*) was chosen in order to include both the religious domains (*dharma*) that probably were free *co ipso* and the rural family communities (*para warga*).

The reason that Walaṇḍit was made exempt from *titilēman* contributions as stated in the charter appears to be its state of sacred district worshipping mount Brāmā. Probably the people of Walaṇḍit alleged that being Spirits' servants (*hulun hyang*) they ought not to be pressed for contributions towards the Court worship at Majapahit. That would be taxing them too heavily. Their exemption from *titilēman* is evidence of the sacral character of that tribute, intended for the annual worship of the divine King.

The date of the original charter, in the fifth month of the year '3 can not be determined, of course. Similar vague dates are found in other charters belonging to the same group, that is to say: couched in the popular idiom and without the classic preamble of the grand old Court style. Brandes thought the year might be 1303 *Shāka*, i.e. 1381 A.D.

The elaborate date of the charter's addition has been translated by Brandes; it is the equivalent of Sunday, June 21, 1405 A.D. As King Hayam Wuruk died in 1389 he is called by his posthumous name Wēkas-ing-Suka, also mentioned in the Pararaton. The addition proves that popular idiom charters like this one were issued both by Princes of the Blood Royal (v. the charter of Rēnēk) and by the King himself. The Royal charters in the grand old Court style were only issued on occasions of special importance to the Royal Family. They were state documents and at the same time pieces of historiography and panegyric literature (v. the commentary on Nāg. canto 93).

The supposition of a pious fraud or a mistake on the part of the addition's author, wrongly ascribing the original charter to King Hayam Wuruk, whereas its real issuer was a Prince, seems implausible. Nobody but the King could exempt communities from the paying of taxes that were intended for the annual *Caitra* festival of Royal apotheosis. Moreover, as the addition is only some decades later than the original the mistake would soon be noticed.

The name of the *kabayan* (rendered: beadle) Made is reminiscent of modern Balinese. In modern Javanese Made is not a usual name.

CHARTER OF PATAPAN

1385 A.D.

Like the Biluluk and other charters edited in the present book the Patapan copperplate contains a rescript addressed to a rural community in the country. But unlike most other charters of this kind the author gives his title-names. *Ārya Rājaparākrama*, the Patapan charter's author, was the title-name of one of the most important ecclesiastical officers of the Majapahit Court, the Shiwaite bishop. The name is mentioned in the *Nāg.*, in King Hayam Wuruk's Decree Jaya Song and in his Ferry charter. The doctor's name, *Wishwanātha*, is known also from the charter of Tuhafiaru and Kusambyan of 1323 (O.J.O. II, p. 199, 2 b) where a *ḍang ācārya* *Wishwanātha mapañji* *Parāgata*, who is *paṃḍgēt i Kaṇḍamohi*, is mentioned.

Probably offices and title-names were hereditary in certain families. *Prapañca* belonged to a Buddhist ecclesiastical family. The identification of men who bore the same title-name and doctor's name in subsequent generations is difficult.

Patapan, meaning Anchorites' Place, is the appropriate name of the community of men and women of religion that received the rescript. Its situation is unknown. Apparently the *janggan* family of Patapan, acknowledging the Shiwaite bishop's authority, was Shiwaite.

In the charters' idiom *rāma*, father, is the usual term for the heads of families, members of a rural community. It does not refer to men of religion only. *Buyut*, great-grandfather, is the title of a headman of a rural community. It is frequently found in Old Javanese texts.

The absence of any honorific predicate such as *sang* or *si* in relation to the inhabitants of Patapan is remarkable. Even the *janggan* is not honoured with a predicate. Probably the fact of their being altogether *sāmya*, commoners, barred them from the right to any predicate. The Noble Families of Biluluk at least were honoured with the lowest predicate *si*. The *akutu* of Tambak, in the Rēnēk charter, surely owed

it to his power and the number of his dependants that he is called *sang andèn*. The Patapan *janggans* were neither related to Royalty nor rich or powerful.

Probably the only reason why the most reverend bishop Rājaparākrama of Majapahit minded the community was the fact that the Patapan lands were owned by a family of *janggans* whose ancestor had been beneficed under a Royal Seal by one of the Princes. Perhaps the history of Patapan might be reconstructed as follows.

Many years before a religiously minded man with some dependants opened some new land and founded a community which was ruled by certain religious precepts. The Tantu Panggëlaran contains almost nothing else than legendary histories of such communities. The founder of Patapan called himself a *janggan* (v. below) and he or one of his descendants obtained a charter under the Royal Seal making him and his family hereditary proprietors of the Patapan lands, free from dues. The men who had helped to open up the lands and their descendants remained dependants of the *janggan* family. One of them was made headman, *buyut*, of the lands. Perhaps there were more *buyuts* than one.

The immediate cause of the Court bishop's issuing his rescript to the Patapan commoners and headman might have been the following. After some time the Prince who had given the Royal seal to the *janggan* died, and the *janggan* died too. This seemed a good occasion to the Patapan commoners and headman to free themselves from the obligations towards the *janggan* family that were confirmed by the Royal Seal. They refused to acknowledge the deceased *janggan's* heir as their master and landlord and to work for him. The commoners' headman wanted to become Chief of a free rural community.

The heir exercised his right as a member of the Shiwaite clergy to appeal to the Head of his denomination, the bishop. This led to the issuing, by the heir of the dead Prince, of a second Royal Seal confirming the contents of the first one. Then the bishop informed the commoners and headman that the Patapan lands had legally passed to the deceased *janggan's* heir, and that this man was henceforth *janggan* of Patapan.

The Patapan rescript was meant to put a stop to the headman's attempt to make himself Chief of a community freed from obligations to the clergy. It is a pity that we never will know how the new *janggan* enforced obedience from his commoners and headman.

The original Royal Seals must have been addressed to the *janggan*. They are lost. The bishop's rescript is addressed to the commoners

and headman as a reproof of their disobedience to their lawful landlord. The "written document" (*pañĕlĕk*) refers to a letter written on palmleaf with the same text as the present copperplate. A *pañĕlĕk* was also given to the party that was put in the right soon after the end of legal proceedings in order to enable him to take immediate action. The making of a copperplate of course took considerable time and moreover it was expensive.

The Bhaṭāra Hyang Wisheṣa who issued the second Royal Seal is mentioned in the Pararaton. He is the same person as Wikramawardhana, Prince of Mataram, husband of King Hayam Wuruk's daughter the Princess of Kabalan, who is called in the Pararaton *Bhre Lasēm the Fair* (*sang ahayu*). It is very probable that Bhaṭāra Hyang Wisheṣa's Royal Seal was made at the order of the Princely compound of Lasēm, because the Patapan copperplate, closely connected with that Royal Seal, has in its upper left-hand corner a drawing of a bull. Now the bull is the symbol or the mark of the Arms of Lasēm (v. comm. Karang Bogēm charter).

It is improbable that the Prince of Mataram should have consented in the making of a copperplate mentioning his name and referring to Lasēm before his wife was Princess of Lasēm. According to the Nāg. in 1365 King Hayam Wuruk's daughter was Princess of Kabalan. Apparently she succeeded to the Lasēm title (which is mentioned in the Pararaton) at the death of the previous Princess of Lasēm, King Hayam Wuruk's cousin, who is mentioned repeatedly in the Nāg.

In the Pararaton neither the elder Princess of Lasēm's death nor the place of her funeral monument are recorded. It is very probable now that she died not long before 1385. As she had no issue her title could pass to her niece, King Hayam Wuruk's daughter. According to the Pararaton after King Hayam Wuruk's death in 1389 Bhaṭāra Hyang Wisheṣa and his Queen *Bhre Lasēm the Fair* inherited the western districts of the realm.

The Royal person "released in Paring Malaya" who was the author of the original Royal Seal given to the benefit of the Patapan *janggan* family is difficult to identify. The name Paring Malaya seems corrupt. It is superfluous to offer a supposition on this point. Certainly some elder member of the Royal family, of King Hayam Wuruk's generation or before, is meant.

Janggans are mentioned in several Old Javanese texts. Nāg. canto 78—7 is an indication of a low estimation of *janggans* and of their connection with agriculture. Both are found in the Patapan rescript.

Probably *janggans* were rural doctors practising divination with reference to agriculture.

The relation of the Patapan *janggan* family to the Princely compound of Lasēm is remarkable. The charter does not contain an indication that the *janggan* family was related to Royalty, which would be improbable anyway. The only indication that the Patapan *janggans* were men of some consequence is the title *ĕmpu* (rendered Sir) of their ancestor. Perhaps the original Royal Seal was granted to the *ĕmpu* of Patapan out of gratitude for some service rendered. In King Hayam Wuruk's Decree Jaya Song a gift of land to the *janggan* of Panglé is mentioned. Both the Royal Seal and the land may have been given to the *janggans* in lieu of payment for some successful medical treatment.

CHARTER OF KARANG BOGĚM

1387 A.D.

The name of the author of the Karang Bogĕm charter is not mentioned, but the copperplate has in its upper left-hand corner a drawing of a bull in a bower and at its end the words: bull, *katang*. *Katang* is the name of various kinds of Ipomoea, resembling convolvulus, and growing in marshy places. According to the Nāg. canto 18—3 (cf. comm. canto 46—2) the bull is the symbol of Lasĕm. A *kaḍatwan ring Katang-katang* is mentioned in the Sunghé charter of 1194 (O.J.O. II, p. 172) as the name of a Royal compound, probably in East Java. According to the Pararaton (text p. 18) Katang Lumbang or Lumbang Katang is the place where *Apañji* Toh Jaya of Tumapĕl, the unfortunate son of the founder of the Singasari-Majapahit dynasty, *Ken Angrok*, died in 1250, and where a religious domain (*dharma*) sacred to his memory was founded. So it seems probable that the words bull and *katang* at the end of the text are explanations of the drawing at the beginning, and that both symbolically refer to Royal or Princely compounds.

The assumption that the compound of Lasĕm took an active part in the issuing of the Karang Bogĕm charter is plausible on account of the drawing of the bull. It seems probable that one of the authors was the Princess of Lasĕm, King Hayam Wuruk's daughter (v. comm. Patapan charter). Now that Princess was married to a Prince of Mataram; together they inherited the western moiety of King Hayam Wuruk's realm (according to the Pararaton). It seems possible that the *katang* symbol encircling the bull, as drawn on the Karang Bogĕm copperplate, refers to the Princess of Lasĕm's consort, in 1365 bearer of the title Prince of Mataram. So probably King Hayam Wuruk's daughter and son-in-law who together were to inherit the western moiety of the realm were the joint authors of the Karang Bogĕm charter of 1387.

The situations of the district of Tirah and of the estate of Karang

Bogēm are unknown, but as the text repeatedly mentions the sea as the estate's northern boundary it is certain that it lay on the North Coast. From the fact that the east and the west sides of the estate also stretched to the sea it must be concluded that it was situated on a tongue of land. Lasēm, Sidayu and Grēsik, well-known places on the North Coast, are mentioned in the charter.

Probably the two *āryas* Songga and Carita, residing at different places in the district of Tirah, were *upapattis*, lawyers and judges belonging to the ecclesiastical class. In the Nāg. two representatives of the Royal administration of justice in country districts, one a Shiwaite, the other a Buddhist clergyman, are mentioned (cantos 25—4 and 29—1). It seems possible that *ārya* Songga of Pabayēman and *ārya* Carita of Purut belonged to different denominations.

No doubt the vizir of Lajēr was the civil head of the district, a steward, representing the interests of the Court and the Princely compound of Lasēm in a country district containing territories with various legal positions.

Certainly the geographic name Karang Bogēm was in use before the establishment of the estate. Probably it refers to *karang*, a rock. *Bogēm* is the name of a kind of box. So the name Karang Bogēm, "Box Rock", must have been given to the tongue of land on which the estate was established on account of a conspicuous feature of the landscape.

Tambak, originally meaning dam, is the name of the well-known salt and brackish water fisheries on the North Coast, where fish is cultivated in undeeep basins communicating with the open water through sluices in low dams erected in the coastal sea. In modern times the *tambak* fisheries have been greatly developed as a result of the encouragement and scientific research by Netherlands East India Government specialists. It is curious to learn that in the 14th century Princes of the Majapahit dynasty also were interested in those fisheries.

The estate contained one *jung* (i.e. 4 *bahu*, 28.386 square metres, approximately 7 acres, according to modern measures) of land that could be terraced (*pasawahan*, but probably the terraced fields, *sawah*, were not yet made) and one *kikil* (i.e. half a *jung*) of clearings. Probably this is the clearing of *dēmung* shrubs mentioned in the beginning of line 3. It is not clear whether those shrubs were of any use. The small area of cultivable land certainly could not feed a population of many families.

Kawula is rendered: bondman. It is remarkable that in the Nāg.

the word is not found, whereas in the Pararaton it is very common. No doubt the *katwula* mentioned in the Karang Bogēm charter was a debt-bondman and the rescript was the conclusion of the following legal proceedings.

A fisherman from Grēsik whose name is not mentioned contracted a heavy debt of 120.000 cash (about 66 gold U.S. dollars) in Siḍayu. This debt was a fine for some offence imposed by a Royal judge residing in that place. The note "exactly" (*gžnžp*) is an indication that it was a fine, for 120.000 seems to have been a current sum for a heavy fine.

A considerable part of the original fine of 120.000 was due to the sovereign, the King, and the rest was to be divided between the Princess, the judge and perhaps some others. Being unable to pay, the fisherman was made a debt-bondman at the mercy of the King and the vice-queen of the province, the Princess of Lasēm. The bonded fisherman was set to work at the exploitation of the Karang Bogēm fisheries. The Interior, i.e. the Majapahit Court was to receive a fixed part of the produce and the Princely compound of Lasēm would get the rest. Probably the fisherman's bond was never undone because he never could pay the amount of 120.000 cash, and according to custom after some years an unpaid debt made the debtor a bondman for life, with his descendants included.

The Grēsik fisherman brought his family and some associates, probably relatives, and under his leadership as the Princess's steward of fisheries (*patiḥ tambak*) the small colony was to live at Karang Bogēm on the products of the new estate and on trade.

As to the time when the Karang Bogēm consignments of *acan* (i.e. *trasi*) fish preserve to the Majapahit Court were due, *Kawolu* is the name of the eighth month of the Old Javanese year. No doubt by *Kawolu* the great Majapahit Court festival in *Phālguna-Caitra* (February-March-April) is meant. That was the time for the collection of all kinds of contributions and taxes. The Court needed considerable quantities of the Karang Bogēm delicacies for the great community meal described in the Nāg. cantos 89 and 90.

Galangan resembles *Galungan*, which is the modern Balinese so-called New-years day, Wednesday-Kliwon of the eleventh *wuku*, *Dungulan*, in Java also called *Galungan*, of the Javanese-Balinese *wuku*-year of 210 days (30 weeks). The *Galungan* celebration is mentioned in the Nawanatya. If *Galangan* indeed is the same as *Galungan* the dates of the two consignments must have been sometimes close together,

which was very inconvenient for the steward of Karang Bogēm. As the Court required his products for sacral festivities the fisherman's convenience probably was not taken into account.

It seems possible, though, that in this passage of the Karang Bogēm charter *galangan Kawolu* means: at the beginning of the *Kawolu* festival. If that is the correct interpretation the fisherman had to bring his *acan* to Majapahit only once a year.

The conclusion of the rescript, referring to the traders', *anggo-gonḍoks'* (whatever they may have been) and sugarpalm tappers' exemption from the ancient *arik purih* dues, and the imposition of the *paṃāja* tax instead, is comparable with the contents of the Biluluk charters. Evidently some of the steward's dependants exercised trades, and as traders they could be asked to pay *arik purih* dues. The *paṃāja* (festival tax) that was imposed instead no doubt was paid in Majapahit at the same time, in *Caitra*, as the regular consignments of Karang Bogēm *acan* were delivered there.

There is one remarkable difference with the Biluluk charters, though: the Karang Bogēm rescript mentions *warga taman* as paying only half the amount of the *paṃāja*. The translation of *warga taman* by: family-communities living (as Household bondmen) on estates owned by members of the Royal Family, is only tentative, for as far as known to the present author the term has not been found in other texts. *Taman* means: enclosure, Royal domain, in modern Javanese: park, garden. (Perhaps the legendary *Juru Taman*, a wonder-working servant of the 17th century Mataram King Sultan Agung, in fact was a Household bondman). It does not seem unreasonable that bondmen or dependants of bondmen who had heavy obligations were made liable only to one half of the *paṃāja* tax that was paid by free traders and craftsmen.

The Karang Bogēm charter is of particular interest for the insight into 14th century East Javanese economy and the development of Majapahit society that is afforded by it. Apparently in 1387 the district of Karang Bogēm where the Royal fisheries were to be established was no-man's land. No mention is made of previous owners, either rural communities, lairds of manors or religious domains. By settling the Grēsik fisherman with his dependants in the district of Karang Bogēm the Majapahit Court opened new land, which was beneficial both for the Royal treasury and for the national economy as a whole. Unfortunately, being formulated concisely, the charter does not contain

any indication how the Court conceived the idea of the establishment of fisheries in Karang Bogem. No doubt fisheries are very old in the Archipelago, but perhaps Royal interest in them manifested itself in relatively recent times.

The Majapahit Court's appointment of a *katwala*, a debt-bondman, probably for life, to the newly created post of *patih*, Royal steward of fisheries in a recently opened district, shows how in the 14th century, and probably long before that time, the population of the Javanese countryside was increased by settlements of unfree families, directly dependant on Court and paying substantial contributions into the Royal treasury. It is to be surmised that in the course of time Javanese rural society, consisting originally of ancient communities of agriculturists (*ḍapurs*), lairds of manors (*kuwus*) with their dependants and religious domains (*dharmanas*), was deeply affected by the presence in their midst of a new group whose life was not ordered according to age-old tradition, being subservient to Royal stewards (*patih*s) who had only the Royal interest at heart. Probably in many cases the stewards themselves were unfree bondmen, like the fisherman from Grēsik: they were *ministeriales*. Being disengaged from the communal and family societies to which they originally belonged, bondmen probably were not expected to observe ancient custom, and so they were the more free to work in the interest of their masters. In the commentary on Nāg. canto 31 the possibility has been mentioned that the district of Kēṣa was opened and brought under culture by Royal bondmen for the King's benefit.

Probably in the Majapahit era the number of unfree families, Royal bondmen, constantly increased as a consequence of the dispensation of justice by Royal courts, minor judges and headmen. The penalties for most misdemeanours seem to have been fines. Probably hardly anyone who was condemned to a heavy fine was able immediately to pay up, and the consequence was loss of freedom and entry into the state of bondman. As a matter of course wives and children followed the fortune of husbands and fathers, and release seems to have occurred infrequently. Study of Old Javanese law-books affords insight into this matter. Probably common debts, gambling and wars also were instrumental in increasing the number of bondmen.

In the course of time the mass of unfree families and groups in the Javanese countryside may have grown so as to outnumber the ancient rural communities, the manors and the religious domains. In the 17th century the Muhammadan Mataram Kings of Central Java

considered almost all Javanese as their *kawulas*, and probably with good reason. Nowadays ancient tribal customs, family and connubial relations originally founded on belief in cosmic and social classification are hardly anywhere to be found in the Javanese countryside. Probably that state of things is a consequence of the original free rural communities being merged into or being put on a par with the mass of unfree bondmen. The Karang Bogēm charter contains enough indications that the rise of the *kawula* class and the decline of ancient free rural communities was a development fraught with serious consequences for Javanese culture.



XI. A PEASANT, SEE P. VIII.

CHARTER OF KATIĐEN

1395 A.D.

The rescript is addressed to the inhabitants of a great expanse of land: the valley of the upper course of the river Brantas (the "water") from its origin to the point where it branches off to the west, in the district of Turen. For that reason quite a number of officials are mentioned. The *wadanas* are representatives of the *akuswas*, the landed gentry (v. the commentary on the charter of Rĕnĕk). The *jurus* are lairds of manors (*juru kuteu* in the Nāg.) but of less importance than the *wadanas*. The *buyuts* are headmen of rural communities. The *pacatanđa* of Turen is a King's officer. Probably he was of lower rank than the *patihs* who are mentioned in other charters of the time as representatives of the King's authority in the country. *Paca* is a corruption of *pañca*: fellow (v. gloss.). In modern Javanese historical texts the word is spelled *pĕtjat-tanđa*. Certainly in the valley of the upper course of the Brantas, where the old Royal compound of Singasari was situated, many more Royal officers, and of higher rank, had their residences. The *pacatanđa* of Turen probably is mentioned only because the Katiđen communities were situated in his district.

The deceased Illustrious Prince Parameshwara of the Katiđen charter is also mentioned in the second Biluluk plate. He is to be identified with King Hayam Wuruk's uncle of Wĕngkĕr, and so the Katiđen charter was issued by that Prince's successor. Just as in the case of the Patapan charter (Paring Malaya) identification of the person who is referred to by the second name (Kĕrtabhuwana) in the Katiđen charter is difficult. One can be reasonably sure, though, that both persons were elder members of the Royal Family.

The situation of the district of Katiđen with its eleven communities is unknown, but the mention of the turtles' eggs is an indication of the vicinity of the south coast.

The rescript is divided into two parts. The first part refers to the exemption of the Katiđen communities from taxes and duties because of their care for the *alang-alang* grass on mount Lĕjar. The names of

the taxes and duties are known from other texts except *jalang*, "blade or stalk of corn". Perhaps *jalang palawang* is the complete name of the tax that is called usually *palawang*. The meaning might be: 'bundle of rice in the blade for every compound-gate'. *Takër-turun* is still known in modern Javanese.

The second part of the rescript refers to Katiqen's right to make use of two Royal prerogatives: wood from a forest of *kayu gati* and turtles' eggs. Poerbatjaraka placed an interrogation-mark in his transcription of the text behind *kakayu gaten* and translated it as if it were a name: *het bosch Kakayugaten*. That seems unidiomatic; one would expect in that case: *alas ing Kakayugaten*. The translation of *kakayugaten* by: "place of *gati* or *gaten* trees" is much better. If the reading *jaten* instead of *gaten* is allowed the rescript of 1395 would contain an interesting reference to the existence of forests of teak trees (*tectona grandis*) in a coastal district of East Java in the middle of the 14th century. It is beyond doubt that the teak tree was imported into the Archipelago from Further India, and it is probable that the cultivation was encouraged by the Courts and the clergy who needed much timber for their building activities. It is possible that *kayu gati* and *kayu jati* are synonyms; the meaning would be: valuable or durable wood.

Several ancient charters issued by East Javanese Kings, e.g. the Gandakuṭi charter of 1042 (O.J.O. I, p. 141) contain lists of Royal prerogatives the use of which was given by way of favour to the owners of the domain that was founded by the charter. Most prerogatives refer to personal adornment and clothing, and to bondmen. The Royal food that is made free for the privileged family consists mostly of specially prepared pork, goat and dog (gelded). The same is the case in King Kērtanagara's Sarwadharma charter (plate 5 verso). In ancient charters two kinds of tortoise are mentioned: *kura* and *baḍawang*, but not turtles' eggs. That delicacy is still well known in Java, though.

Evidently the second part of the Katiqen rescript refers to Royal prerogatives that were guarded (*angrakṣa*) by the communities for the exclusive use of the Court. Probably the passage beginning *tan ananing anglarangana* is to be understood in the sense that the Katiqen communities, being guardians of the *alang-alang* hills, the valuable wood and the shore where the turtle eggs were found, were allowed to use those commodities for themselves, the more so because it was impossible to keep them from doing so (*tan wēnang [ng]larangana*).

No doubt the Court and the clergy needed great quantities of good

alang-alang grass (*Imperata*) for roofing. Whereas religious buildings had roofs made of sugarpalm-fibre (*duk*) the common people probably used rice-straw, which is not durable. Apparently the quality of the *alang-alang* grass of mount Iĕjar was extraordinary and much appreciated at Court.

It is remarkable that the rescript does not mention any duty of the Katiden communities except the rather vague *angraksa*. One would expect that the delivery of supplies of *alang-alang* grass, timber and turtle eggs to the Court was regulated. Perhaps the explanation is that the Katiden communities were free and independent. Living in a remote district they could not be forced to bring in considerable quantities of the products of their native soil. The purpose of the charter's issue may have been only to confirm the bond existing since long between the Katiden communities and the Court, and to prevent outsiders, rural communities or lairds of manors in the plains, taking possession of part of the valuable products by persuasion or by force.

The difference between the Court's treatment of the people of Biluluk, of the *patih* of Karang Bogēm, and of the Katiden communities is noticeable. The men of Biluluk were Royal relatives and the *patih* was a bondman. Both had close relations with the Court, and so they could be prevailed upon to bring in considerable contributions towards the cost of the Royal household. The Katiden communities were neither Royal relatives (*samasanak*) nor bondmen. The Court was not in a position to make great demands on them. By confirming the contents of a charter of about 25 years before, the Wĕngkĕr Prince of the end of the 14th century, living in the reign of King Hayam Wuruk's successor, his nephew and sun-in-law Wikramawardhana, probably tried to strengthen the Royal authority which was on the decline after the old King's death in 1389. As far as is known his efforts were in vain. The 15th century saw the end of the old order of a Royal Court and a Shiwaite-Buddhist clergy in Java. Islam was in the ascendant.

CHARTERS OF SHELA MAṆḍI
1394, 1395, 1396 A.D.

These three rescripts of the last years of the 14th century, referring to the exemption from dues of an estate, do not differ essentially as to their contents from the great Royal charters that have been issued by Javanese Kings since the ninth century. The rescripts' simple style and the nearly modern idiom make the explanation of their meaning easier than is the case with the older charters.

The first rescript, dated *Shāka* 1316, takes both sides of the first copperplate. The text has two parts. In the first part the essential points of the exemption from dues and the independence of Darani's estate are mentioned. The second part, on the verso side of plate I, deals with the boundaries of the estate and its extent.

Just like the contemporary Katiḍen charter the Shela Maṇḍi plates begin by mentioning the district where Shela Maṇḍi was situated: Pagër (hardly the same Pagër as is mentioned in the Nāg. canto 73—3 and in the Rēñēk charter). As Sahuman is unknown as the name of a district perhaps *sahuban*, *sakahuban*: "all in the shadow of" should be read instead.

Darani's lands were situated in the district of Shela Maṇḍi. As the charter mentions some places in the neighbourhood that are well-known (Tērung) this district must have been at some distance from Majapahit on the lower course of the river Brantas.

Most names of dues that are mentioned in the Shela Maṇḍi texts are well-known from elsewhere (v. gloss.). Perhaps *palawang tahi* is a mistake for *tahi palawang*, for *tahi* is the name of a weight and of a certain amount of money (how much is unknown), and *palawang* must have been a house tax. *Lawang* is the principal gate of a compound. The exact purport of *titisara* (rendered: tribute) is unknown.

Adēg ringgit, the standing of the *ringgit*, is a legal term in charters referring to independence. Poerbatjaraka supposed that the expression refers to the setting up of the *wayang* puppets before the beginning of

the play. In modern Javanese *ringgit* belongs to ceremonial speech and one of its meanings is *wayang* puppet. It seems probable, though, that both the "standing of the *ringgit*" and the following *amitāna*: "making of the sacral hall" (*witāna*) refer to ancient ceremonies connected with the establishment of an independent estate.

Perhaps *adṛg ringgit* in the Shela Maṇḍi charter refers to a ceremony comparable with the ceremonial acts of a rural man of religion centring on the rock or stone (*kulumpang, lṛas*), as mentioned in ancient Royal charters, issued in Central Java. Probably the rock or stone was the sacred centre of the rural community. In the ancient charters' descriptions the sacral hall is mentioned too.

It is doubtful whether at the end of the 14th century the ancient *witāna* and *adṛg ringgit* ceremonies or sacral acts resembling them still were performed. Perhaps even the original sense of the legal term *adṛg ringgit* was forgotten. The meaning: independence ceremony is clear enough, though.

The profusion of dates in the three Shela Maṇḍi rescripts is remarkable. The two years in plate I *recto* 6, 1316 and 1317 *Shaka*, seem to refer to the *adṛg ringgit* ceremony and the "meal of the writ" (*bhukti*) respectively. The date in plate I *verso* 3, in 1316 *Shaka* (month unreadable) belongs to the first rescript. The reason why the *adṛg ringgit* and the *bhukti* were put in two consecutive years is a matter of conjecture. As both ceremonies were expensive, calling for lavish entertainment of numerous guests and fees for the witnesses, perhaps Darani's means were not sufficient to have both in the same year. No doubt the survey of his lands by the *buyuts* as mentioned at the end of plate I *verso* was paid for, by free meals and small presents, too.

According to the result of the survey Darani's estate was not much more than 10 acres. The Rēnĕk estate was nearly 30 acres. As Darani's lands were all terraced fields (*sawah*), situated in the fertile Brantas plain, they may have secured him a handsome income, though.

The second rescript, of 1395, on the *recto* side of plate II, was issued to ensure Darani's peaceful enjoyment of his possessions. It takes the place of that part of the great Royal charters of ancient Kings wherein the boundaries of newly established estates were described. At most times in Old Javanese history the owners of freeholds under Royal charters seem to have found it difficult to hold their own, surrounded as they were by commoners' communities and the estates of *akuwus*. Both the commoners and the lairds of manors were envious of the

freeholders' prerogatives. It seems probable that, as soon as the Majapahit Court lost its power and prestige, many freeholds, both secular estates and religious domains, were usurped by their neighbours.

In this rescript of 1395 Darani's possession is called a *sima salawang*, an estate established under a Royal charter provided with one gate. This term is unknown from other texts. The presence of a gate no doubt enhanced the freeholder's standing. Perhaps the limitation to one gate (*salawang*) distinguished the freehold from Royal and Princely compounds that were entered through several gates, one after the other (see the Nāg. description of the Royal compound of Majapahit).

Darani's gate probably was connected with the hedge or fence which enclosed his possession. The rescript expressly recommends the making of this *walër*. The neighbouring lands (*kang angrakṣa*) were to be separated in every respect from the fields belonging to Darani's estate.

The *sawi* is a cord made of sugar-palm fibre held up by bamboo poles of about 9 feet long and often provided with streamers of coco-palm-leaves attached to it at regular intervals (then called *sawi janur*). Even in modern times it still is used in rural districts to mark lines across fields; entrance to an estate by roads or paths that have a *sawi* suspended over them is forbidden. The "pulling up" refers to the bamboo poles that hold up the cord.

The difference between the fence (*walër*) and the demarcation-cord (*sawi*) as to the security afforded by them against trespassers is made clear by the rescript's words that only the *walër* was effective, by drawing attention (*ngapekṣakṣen*), in keeping evil-minded persons off. Ancient Royal charters sometimes contain detailed descriptions of a newly established estate's boundaries, but as far as known to the present author recommendations about fences are not found in those old texts. In this respect the Shela Maṇḍi rescript perhaps contains an innovation. It is possible that at the end of the 14th century the security of freehold property was decreasing as a consequence of a decline of the Royal Court's power. Moreover landowners may have tended to retrench open spaces originally separating their own lands from their neighbours' as a consequence of a beginning local shortage of arable fields.

The third Shela Maṇḍi rescript, of 1396, on the verso side of plate II, deals with the exemption from dues. The mention of the *yawi*, in the Nāg. and the Nawanatya the place before the main gate of the Royal compound of Majapahit, is remarkable. Perhaps *yawi*, in contradistinction to *dalēm*, Interior, in this text refers to authorities outside the

Royal compound, Royal servants of lower rank. The distinction between the Interior and the Outside in the last years of the 14th century resembles the similar distinction between the *Kraton* and the *Kapatihan*, the grand-vizir's compound, that existed in the 18th and 19th century Central Javanese kingdoms.

The lists of exemptions from dues in plate *I recto* and plate *II verso* are not identical. In the Notes in vol. II of the present book the term *putajenan* has been discussed. The supposition that it is a synonym of *dérwya haji*, the Lord's due, and related to *arik purih* is made the more probable by the fact that several words of the Shela Maṇḍi charters are found in a similar context in the Biluluk plates (see the commentary on that charter).

The earthing of roads (*urug-urugun dalan*) and the keeping in order of the port of Canggū on the river Brantas (*běbēnēraning Canggū*) are indications of the Court's interest in trade. No doubt part of the Royal revenue came by an indirect way from trade, and the best informed members of the Royal Family must have been aware of it.

Sosorohan garēm, rendered tentatively: offering salt, perhaps is related to (or to be emended:) (*so*)*sorogan*, in modern Javanese: a present offered by an inferior to his superior with the intention of winning favour. The original meaning of *sorog* or *sorok* is: to shove.

The three Shela Maṇḍi charters do not contain data that help one to find the name of the author. According to the Pararaton King Hayam Wuruk was succeeded, after his death in 1389, by his daughter and his son-in-law the Prince of Mataram, at least in the central and western provinces of the Majapahit dominions. The second and the third Biluluk charters, of 1391 and 1395, contemporaneous with the Shela Maṇḍi plates, seem to have much in common with them. Perhaps the successor of King Hayam Wuruk's energetic uncle of Wēngkēr who died in 1388 was the author of both sets of charters.

It remains an unanswered question why *si* Darani was favoured by having his lands made a freehold exempt from all taxes and dues. No doubt the Court always had good reasons for proceedings like that, and as rule they are mentioned or at least hinted at in the foundation charter. Unfortunately the state of *si* Darani is nowhere clearly indicated, and so the study of the otherwise interesting Shela Maṇḍi charters is not satisfying on all points. The predicate *si* is an indication of medium rank, found several times in the Biluluk charters. Perhaps

si Darani was related to the Court in the same manner as the "Noble Families" of Biluluk and Tanggulunan.

The Shela-Manḍi texts are interesting because they contain several titles of officials that are not found in other texts. Most of them refer to rural administration, but the officials' functions are not well known.

The *wadanas* (speakers), representatives of the landed gentry, the *buyuts*, Elders of rural communities and a *pacatanḍa* (*pañca landa*, *pṛcat-tanḍa*) residing in Těrung, a representative of the Court, are mentioned in the same sequence as in the Katiḍen charter. According to King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry Charter Těrung was the residence of one of the chiefs of the ferrymen on the river Brantas: the *pañji* Angrakṣaji ki Ajaran Rāgi. It is difficult to say whether the *pacatanḍa* and the *pañji* were colleagues.

Having his place in the list of officials between the *buyuts* and the *pacatanḍa*, apparently the *asṛḍahan tani* (officer in charge of commoners' lands) was lower in rank than the *pacatanḍa*. The name of the office is synonymous with *mantri ārya asuruhan pradesha* of Nāg. canto 66—2 and *mantri wineh tani suruhan* of Nāg. canto 63—3 and probably with *surantani*, mentioned in the Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa (stanza 8). *Patih* seems to be the title of the *asṛḍahan tani*; in this sense the word is to be interpreted in some more passages (see glossary). Nadi was the name of an important place, the residence of a Buddhist clergyman of high rank. It is unknown whether the name of the locality, mentioned in the Nāg., and the name of the man (*patih* Nadi) should be associated.

Whereas the *wadanas*, the *buyuts*, the *asṛḍahan* and the *pacatanḍa* were local men, the first pair representing the rural population, the latter pair: Royal authority in the district, the *angucap gawe tani* (director of activities in the commoners' lands) resided in Majapahit. The name of the office is reminiscent of names of ranks in the official hierarchy of modern Central Javanese Courts. In the Nāg. canto 71—3 the expression *mucap kira-kira*: reporting on ways and means, is used with reference to the Court officials who were installed after Gajah Mada's death in 1364.

The names of the *asṛḍahan*, the *pacatanḍa* and the *angucap gawe* are mentioned in the charter. The later two gentlemen were *āryas*. Probably this means that they belonged to the class of ecclesiastical officers.

The second part of the rescript of 1394, on plate I verso, contains some interesting titles belonging to the rural district of Shela Manḍi.

Probably the *ambèkèl tuwuh* (rendered: officer of agricultural produce) was a subordinate of the *asèḡahan* and the *pacataṇḡa* of Tèrung, sent to the district of Shela Maṇḡi to represent Royal authority on the occasion of the survey of Darani's lands. In the modern Central Javanese idiom a *bèkèl* is a lease-holder or a farmer of land, at the same time headman of a hamlet.

Binuyut (*buyut*, Elder, with infix *-in-*) has been discussed in the Notes in vol. II. The six representatives of the Shela Maṇḡi district had as principal an *ārya*, who probably belonged to the ecclesiastical class. This is an indication that Shela Maṇḡi was a district of some importance.

Paṇarikan has replaced the old title *kanuruhan*. In modern Javanese *carik* still is in use in the sense of clerk.

The lowest in rank of the Shela Maṇḡi district officials was a *rangga*, probably a rural constable, the predecessor of the modern village policeman. In the Nawanatya the *rangga*'s function in the Royal compound is described in terms that make it clear he was a fighting man and a sportsman.



XII. FIGHTERS, SEE P. VIII.

RECAPITULATION

*JAVANESE CULTURE IN THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY*

CHAPTER 1 - SOCIAL ORDER IN 14th CENTURY MAJAPAHIT.

Being the outcome of many centuries of social and economic development Majapahit society was particularly complex. On the one hand some survivals of primeval tribal social order might be pointed out, on the other hand features of modern Javanese life are identifiable

On customary rules regulating matrimonial relations between family groups belonging to the same or to different communities in 14th century East Java in fact nothing is known with any certainty. Probability is for assumption of the existence of such connubial rules as are known to have prevailed up to recent times among closely related peoples in the surrounding Archipelago. On the other hand pressure of Royal authority, bondage or peonage of a considerable number of people, and political disturbances, resulting in migrations of groups to remote districts, perhaps caused the early decay of ancient rules founded in native tribal organization. In one case, an ancient salt-makers' community (Biluluk), survival of a quadripartite organization of society founded on belief in social and cosmic classification seems probable.

The matrimonial relations inside the Majapahit Royal Family are the only ones that are relatively well known. They shall be mentioned in a separate chapter of the present recapitulation. Royal usage need not have been identical with common practice of the country, though.

Whereas the common people's private family affairs (birth, puberty rites, matrimony, obsequies) in 14th century East Java are almost completely unknown, on public status and social rank at least some information is available. As Javanese economy was essentially agricultural (as it has been before and since), social order was closely connected with rights on land. Probably most free families lived on the produce of lands they cultivated with their own hands or by using the labour of others. Both the Royal revenue and the incomes of the gentry, the ecclesiastics and the Court officers were produced mainly by agriculture. It shall be discussed in the chapter on economy of the present recapitulation.

In the following outline of Majapahit society classes and groups as distinguished in contemporary literature are mentioned in due order.

In 14th century East Java the names of the four castes of the classical Indian system were known but they hardly corresponded to the reality of social order. The mention of the *caturwarna* is a scholarly embellishment of Court literature.

In the Nāg. canto 81 an adaptation of the Indian quadripartite system to contemporary social facts is attempted. Society is seen exclusively from the point of view of the Court. Being exalted above mere mortals the divine Royal Family is not included in the system, nor are the three low-born "untouchable" classes. The notion of "untouchability" of some groups of people seems to have existed in 14th century Java; information on it is extremely scarce, though.

Probably Javanese society as a whole in the 14th century (and in the preceding and following centuries too) could most appropriately be divided into four classes: rulers, men of religion, commoners and bondmen. Being regarded as property of their masters bondmen are never mentioned as a social class in Old Javanese literature.

The resulting division into three classes is in keeping with the lists of functionaries mentioned in ancient Royal charters. In those lists "white men" (*apinghay*) as a rule stands for men of religion. Even in modern Muslim times the association of the white colour with religion survives. Nowadays *kaputihan* communities (*putih*: white) consist of people who are familiar with (Muslim) religious tenets and practices. In ancient charters the mass of the agriculturists is often referred to as "men of the soil" (*anak thāni*, *anak* having the meaning "man, human", as it has in *anakbi*: woman). In modern Javanese *wong tani* (with the same meaning) still is the usual term for common agriculturists. The ruling class is represented in 11th century charters by people called by several titles that are no longer in use. This tripartite division of the ancient charters refers to the rural districts, excluding the Court. Nevertheless it may be used with advantage for gaining a general view of 14th century Majapahit society as a whole.

In his recent book "The Religion of Java" (scil. in modern times) Clifford Geertz applies a similar tripartite division, using the modern Javanese terms: *priyayi* for the upper class, *santri* for the religiously minded intermediate class, and *abangan* for the mass of the people. The choice of the terms is not wholly satisfactory.

The men of religion of the Majapahit era are to be discussed in the next chapter of the present recapitulation. The last chapters have

the Court people and the Royal Family as their subject. In the present chapter on society in general the available information on the mass of the Javanese people in the rural districts is recapitulated. At the end of the chapter some notes on "undesirables", slaves, "untouchables" and foreigners in 14th century East Java will be added.

Probably the modern pattern of *désas* (village communities), consisting of families of agriculturists and ruled (after a manner) by elected headmen, owes its present uniformity to historical circumstances: pressure of Royal authority from the 17th century onward, and rural reorganization by order of the Dutch government in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the 14th century Majapahit realm the rural population seems to have been variegated to a greater extent than now seems possible. The religious domains (*dharma*) and the boroughs (*kalang*, *kala- gyan*, *kabanyagan*), spread all over the country, are to be discussed in the chapter on religion, because as a rule the families who owned them belonged to the religious middle class. Beside those men of religion of higher or lower standing in the country, varying from venerable abbots (*sthāpaka*) and masters of religious communities (*dewaguru*) to rural doctors and diviners (*janggan*), in the mass of countrymen three groups could be distinguished:

- A: landed gentry, squires (*andèn*), lairds of manors (*akuwu*);
- B: families of free agriculturists (*rāmas*: "fathers"), members of common rural communities (*ḍapur*), ruled by Elders (*buyut*);
- C: bondmen (*bhērtiya*, *kawula*) of the country districts, living as labourers and servants in religious domains, Royal and seigneurial estates as well as in common rural communities of the *ḍapur* type.

In Wertheim's book on "Indonesian society in transition, a study of social change" the variegated pattern of ancient native society seems to have been overlooked in several chapters.

A. In the 14th century Majapahit realm the landed gentry seems to have been an important factor in country politics and economy. The history of the Singasari-Majapahit dynasty begins with a laird (*akuwu*) of Tumapël. Probably some lairds of manors were petty kings in their estates, or tended to become so. The attendance of the *andèns* at the annual Court festival in Majapahit was considered essential. In the Nāg. canto 81 they seem to be identified with the third caste (*waishya*)

of the classical Indian system. In the list in the Nāg. chapter 12 some very important independent estates (*sīma*) seem to be connected with places of Royal kinsmen (*kakadanghajyan*). Some relation between the landed gentry and the ancient Kaḍiri kingdom on the upper course of the river Brantas might be inferred from the Nāg. canto 40. Some gentle families might be descendants of recipients of grants of land given by former Kings as rewards of services rendered to the Royal Family. Though the estate of Madakaripura given by King Hayam Wuruk to the grand-vizir Gajah Mada is called a clerical domain (*dharma*, probably because of the ancestor worship established there) in the Nāg. canto 19, similar grants in former reigns may have resulted in gentlemen's estates (*sīma*). In the course of time Madakaripura seems to have grown to be a small principality (Sengguruh, v. the commentary on Nāg. canto 19).

On the other hand some important estates in 14th century East Java might date from a remote past. Their origin was forgotten. If the identification of the estate (*sīma*) of Barat mentioned in the Nāg. canto 78 with a conquest of the ancient King Erlangga (11th century) is correct, a dynasty of Barat might have appeared in history as Kings of East Java if the fortunes of war had turned against Erlangga of Kahuripan.

As a matter of course information on the existence of native tribal kingdoms in Java dating from the times before Indian influence on political organization became paramount is lacking. The indigenous Javanese words for king, *ratu* and *haji* (there are counterparts of both in kindred languages in the Archipelago) might be adduced as arguments for the antiquity of native Javanese kingship.

On the internal organization of 14th century East Javanese estates little is known with any certainty. Probably the lairds of manors (*akuwu*) surrounded themselves with officers of different rank in the same way as the Kings did in their Royal compounds (see the commentary on the charter of Rēñek). Perhaps as enclaves in extensive estates rural communities of the *ḍapur* type retained some measure of independence. Religious domains (*dharmas*) and boroughs may also have existed as enclaves.

Probably in the 14th century in the case of new estates or new religious domains, the opening of the lands, building and cultivation was done by unfree labour, bondmen (*bhērtiya*, *kawula*), who could be commanded at will to perform heavy work in difficult circumstances far from old centres of population. To be sure Royalty (and rural

authority too) could command *corvée* labour of free agriculturists for certain ends, i.a. building activities, brick-making etc. But then it seems doubtful whether Royal authority was sufficient to induce free people to labour in remote districts. As uncultivated land still abounded free people who felt oppressed could quit, leaving their fields to turn to waste, to the detriment of the Court.

Perhaps desertion by the agricultural population, fleeing oppression exercised by Kings and lairds, occurred several times in the course of Javanese history. It has been pointed out by Schrieke (Indonesian sociological studies II, p. 301) as a possible cause of depopulation in 10th century Central Java, resulting in the shifting of the centre of Royal authority from ancient Mataram to the basin of the river Brantas in East Java.

The use of unfree labour in opening up new land is mentioned in the Pararaton tale (text p. 22—6) on the foundation of Majapahit in 1292 by *kawula Madura*, apparently bondmen belonging to the governor of Madura (*adhipati Sungěnb*).

Probably in the 14th century lands belonging to one manorial family as often as not lay dispersed over the country, adding to the chequered pattern of Javanese economy. Lands opened up by people originally belonging to an estate, a religious domain or a *ḍapur* community remained by right part of the dominions of the manorial or sacerdotal family or the community. Instances of settlers refusing to acknowledge the seigniorial rights of their former masters (or their ancestors' landlords) have been pointed out in the commentary on the Nāg. chapter 4.

B. Probably the 14th century *ḍapurs* are related on the one hand to rural communities mentioned in 10th century Royal charters issued in ancient Central Java, on the other hand to the modern uniform type of Javanese village spread all over the country. They represent the oldest, native form of territorial organization, comparable to so-called village communities found not only in the neighbouring islands of the Archipelago but also in India. The scarcity of reliable information on the rural communities' internal organization in the 14th century is regrettable. It is a consequence of their being outside the Court sphere and also outside the sphere of the men of religion. Javanese literature was written for an audience interested in the Court and in religion: the common people was not thought interesting at all.

Several ancient Central Javanese Royal charters dating from the 10th century contain descriptions of ceremonies attending the foun-

dation of estates, and lists of functionaries of rural communities who were present (see van Naerssen, *Twee koperen oorkonden van Bali-tung*, BKI 95, 1937). It is not certain whether those pieces of information are applicable to conditions in 14th century rural districts; moreover their interpretation is difficult. On the other hand identification with the modern uniform type of Javanese village, though useful to form an idea of the rustic self-sufficiency of the people in general, might lead to false conclusions as to the internal organization and the classes existing in 14th century rural districts, and certainly as to the country's outward appearance.

Probably history wrought notable changes even in remote districts of rural Java. A chequered pattern of rural communities (probably existant even inside the *dapur* group, an abundance of virgin land waiting only for settlers willing to put it under cultivation, and straggling farmhouses might be named as characteristic features of the 14th century Majapahit countryside. They are replaced nowadays by a nearly uniform village organization, rural over-population resulting in restricted territories of the rural communities without possibility of expansion, and populous villages built on a uniform pattern with houses standing in serried ranks along narrow lanes.

Though, as a matter of course, no statistical information is available, probably in the 14th century the majority of Javanese freemen lived as agriculturists in rural communities of the *dapur* type. Their legal position, especially their ownership or supposed usufruct right to the fields they cultivated have been studied by Dutch scholars interested in customary law (v. Schrieke, *Geschiedenis van het Adat-grondenrecht*, TBG 59, 1919, etc.). Probably in the 14th century (and long before and after) scarcity of population on the one hand and abundance of unopened land on the other tended to strengthen the common rural communities' position in case Royal officers or powerful neighbours detracted from their ancient rights. Arable fields relinquished by the cultivators were of no use at all. For all people in authority, both members of the Royal Family and their servants, ecclesiastical gentlemen and lairds of manors, the existence of populous rural communities able to furnish labour in their neighbourhood was of more importance than theoretical ownership rights to land. In the Nāg. cantos 88 and 89 the Royal interest in increase of the population is put foremost; no territorial aspirations are mentioned. Evidence (and probability too) of the 14th century Majapahit Kings considering themselves by right owners of all lands in the country is completely lacking.

In 14th century texts the *ḍapurs* seem to be divided into two groups. In the Nāg. canto 63—3 Aputih and Sujyana are mentioned as representatives (or names) of two (groups of) *ḍapurs*, and in the Biluluk charter a distinction is made between *para ḍapur ing Pinggir* and *kang ḍapur ing Majapahit*. It seems quite possible that in the sphere of the rural communities the fundamental Javanese idea of bipartition of society resulted in a division of the *ḍapurs* into two groups, to some extent comparable with the Janggala and Kaḍiri moieties of the realm well-known in the Court sphere.

Probably life in the rural communities was regulated by ancient native custom even to a higher degree than was the case in the seigneurial manors, the religious domains and at Court. Dissensions between people belonging to the class of the common agriculturists were looked into by the Elders. Perhaps only grave crimes and misdemeanours (sometimes, if detected) were brought up for trial before Royal judges, because cosmic and social order, the King's demesne, was involved. Penalties consisted in fines. Probably people who were unable to pay their fines were made bondmen (with their families). They lost their status of freeman and their place in the rural community. Their master, either the King himself, a member of the Royal Family or any other man in authority could henceforth command their labour. Probably insolvent debtors were treated in the same way. The cockfights with their betting offered occasions for incurring heavy debts. Perhaps even inside the rural communities debt-bondmen and their descendants were numerous.

C. Probably bondmen and bondwomen (*bhṛtya*, *kawula*), repeatedly mentioned in the Nāg. and in other texts, were a most important feature of 14th century Majapahit society and economy. Wertheim (Indonesian Society, chapter nine, Labour in Early Indonesia) refers to bondmen and bondwomen, calling them sometimes serfs, sometimes slaves. Probably in almost all cases mentioned by him (17th century reports of Dutch ambassadors to the Mataram Court) the unfree men and women who were seen working for the King were bondmen and bondwomen (*kawula*), not slaves acquired by purchase.

Being completely under the authority of their masters (*gusti*), bondmen did not constitute an acknowledged organized class and they are never called so in literature. Perhaps their number was considerable, though, both at Court, in the manors and houses of men in authority and in the country, in the rural communities. Probably all servants at

Court and in great houses as a rule were bondmen and especially bondwomen. Bondwomen could be taken as concubines. Families of bondmen perhaps were commanded to settle in distant eastern districts in order to open up new land for the benefit of the Royal Family (v. commentary on Nāg. canto 31).

Inside the bondman class some social ranks were distinguished (v. comm. Nāg. canto 18—1). Trusted bondmen could be made stewards (*patihs*) of Royal domains and families of bondmen cultivating those domains (*warga taman*) seem to have had a special status (v. comm. Karang Bogēm charter).

The origin of bondage in 14th century Majapahit seems as a rule to have been insolvency. Debts incurred by borrowing or gambling might lead to bondage. Failure to pay fines inflicted as penalties for a misdemeanour might make a man with his family a bondman of the King. Though reliable information on the status of bondmen is scarce probably release was an exception and a favour. A majority of the men and women living in bondage in 14th century Majapahit was perhaps born in that state. Probably they were considered as by right belonging to their masters' estate (the *familia*). As bondage for debt, comparable to peonage (in Dutch called very appropriately *pandeling-schap*: pawnship), is a well-known institution in the Archipelago, its existence in 14th century Majapahit (and long before that time) is not to be wondered at.

No more than land, do bondmen seem to have been sold for cash. They could be given as security for a debt, though, and their original master might for a long time be unable to redeem them.

Probably defeat in war might result in bondage, at least for the families of defeated rulers and their dependants. The women might be made inmates of the victor's zenana. Reduction of the whole population of a vanquished country or district to bondage seems improbable in 14th century Majapahit because of the limited man-power of the Royal companies of guardsmen. But then, in the 17th century the Muslim Kings of Central Java (Mataram) seem to have been able to march off considerable numbers of people captured in vanquished districts as "slaves", to labour at works near the Royal compound. Certainly the Muhammadan Mataram Kings' authority in the interior of the country reached farther than King Hayam Wuruk's did in his time. No doubt those forced migrations were attended by terrible hardships for the victims.

Sometimes Majapahit Kings seem to have called their subjects in

general their bondmen (*bhērtva*). For want of a better word belonging to the sphere of public law in modern Javanese *kawula* became the usual term for subject of any Government. The use of words, originally meaning bondman, with reference to subjects should not lead to the inference that from antiquity all the King's subjects were in fact his bondmen, though.

In the 15th and 16th centuries ancient Javanese society was profoundly disturbed as a consequence of the shifting of political hegemony firstly from the Shiwaite-Buddhist inland Majapahit Court to Muslim mercantile principalities on the North Coast and secondly by the overthrow of those principalities by the Muslim inland kingdom of Mataram. Probably wars, devastations and ensuing famines resulted in migrations of considerable groups of country people to remote districts. The Muslim Mataram rulers seem to have been in a position to march off country people of distant districts to the centre of their realm or elsewhere to work for them. Probably under the rule of the first, despotic Muslim Mataram Kings in the 16th and 17th centuries originally free rural communities of the ancient *ḍapur* type were unable to maintain their position. They amalgamated with the mass of the rural population, henceforth considered as unfree (*kawula*, *abdi*).

As a matter of course after the decline of the Majapahit realm its successors, the principalities all over the country, fell to quarrelling. As soon as one of the families of *diadochoi* was in the ascendant wars were waged against the other ones with a view of eliminating them. Probably in their time the ancestors of the Majapahit Kings, and of the dynasties preceding them, had done the same. In the wars of the 16th and 17th centuries in Central and East Java many families of rural gentlemen descending from Majapahit *andēns*, lords of manors, or from chiefs of (originally Shiwaite or Buddhist) religious domains may have been ruined. Just like the *ḍapur* families they sank to the state of unfree agriculturists, unless they availed themselves of an opportunity to flee the country, to try their fortunes elsewhere.

The 18th century charters of West Javanese Bantēn Sultans for Lampung, South Sumatra (translated by the present author, Djāwā IX, 1929), and 18th century lawbooks of Cērbon Sultans (*Pēpakēm Cērbon*, edited by Hazeu, 1905) contain interesting information on the bondmen's legal status. Belonging to the group of Muhammadan *Pasisir*, North Coast, principalities, *diadochoi* of the Majapahit realm, the Bantēn and Cērbon Sultanates preserved many features of pre-Muslim culture.

Ancient Royal charters of the 10th century and later contain lists of men not belonging to the major social classes of common agriculturists, men of religion and rulers. They were partly foreigners and slaves, partly "undesirables", partly professionals: artisans, craftsmen and traders, musicians and artists. No doubt their arts and accomplishments were traditionally kept secret and only transmitted orally from father to son. Their professions were connected with religion and ancient lore. The practice was considered dangerous for uninitiated people. Having no regular income from agriculture like the major social classes they subsisted on fees given by patrons: Kings, Princes, lairds and chiefs of religious and agriculturists' communities in the country. The intricate system of collecting those fees, called the "lord's due" (*mangilala dërwaya haji*) was antiquated in the 14th century Majapahit realm (v. comm. Nāg. 78—6, Ferry and Biluluk charters).

Probably in the Majapahit era professionals (and "undesirables") still were considered as clients of patrons who were responsible for their maintenance. At Court and in the manors of powerful lords they may have stood on a par with superior bondmen, socially.

Artisans, and *kala-wija* or *pala-wija* (blind men, cripples, simpletons etc.) still are kept as Royal servants at the Courts of modern Central Javanese Kings. In 17th, 18th and 19th century Java a class of wandering craftsmen, musicians and artists, in some way connected with ancient lore and Muhammadan religion, was known (v. *Volksvertoningen*, par. 9). In theory they professed allegiance to the King or to some powerful lord. The descent of this rather disreputable social class from the group of professionals mentioned in 10th century charters (and probably existing in Old Javanese society long before that time) seems plausible enough.

Local gangs living by blackmailing rural communities have been known for a long time in Java. In some districts (especially Bantën) they had an organization, observing a kind of code of honour among themselves, and pretending to entertain friendly relations with local rulers or even with Princes. (v. D. H. Meyer, *Over het bendewesen op Java: On gangs in Java, Indonesië* III, 1949). Fearing the gangs' retaliation, in many cases the peaceful peasantry did not dare to ask Government officials for protection.

Some fundamental relation between modern organized rural gangs and Old Javanese "collectors of the lord's due" seems probable. The modern peasantry's unresisting compliance with the gangs' extortionary

demands can give an idea of the 14th century commoners' terror at the appearing of "collectors" in their districts.

Probably the Javanese Kings' granting many estates and domains exemption from the "lord's due" was well-intentioned. It seems doubtful, however, whether the "collectors" indeed were restrained by Royal authority from making demands upon exempted communities. The survival of gangs in modern Java seems to be an indication that at all times organized blackmailing and robbery were scourges of the Javanese countryside.

Perhaps in the 14th century bought or captured slaves were brought to Majapahit by interinsular and continental trade. As they are not even mentioned by the Nāg. Court poet their position and number can not have been important. Slaves (probably females) bought or captured in the eastern islands were perhaps exported in small numbers from Java to the continent (China).

The existence of socially discriminated groups of people, perhaps "untouchables", in 14th century Majapahit society has been pointed out in the commentary on the Nāg. canto 81. As the country was sparsely populated, rural communities, domains and estates of several kinds probably were separated from each other by extensive regions of uncultivated land, mostly jungle. The possibility of the East Java jungle in the 14th century being the habitat of small tribal groups living outside the sphere of Hinduized Javanese culture is not to be discarded. The survival of small tribes living outside the pale of settled society in Celebes, Borneo, Sumatran and Malayan forests even in the 20th century is a well-known fact.

No doubt foreigners, both Indians and Chinese, were frequent visitors at the East Javanese sea-ports. The existence of foreign trading quarters in Bubad, the Majapahit port on the river Brantas, probably is referred to in the Nāg. canto 86. The Chinese and Moorish *kampung*s (*pacinan*, *pakojan*) still extant in modern Javanese towns and partly dating from the 17th century are indications of the existence of foreigners' quarters in several mercantile towns of the 14th century Majapahit realm. In the chapter on economy the foreign trading quarters shall be mentioned again.

Apart from the traders living either permanently or temporarily in their quarters in the ports, there was another group of foreign visitors

in 14th century East Java: scholarly men of religion from India who were received at Court with marks of honour. They are mentioned in the Nāg. canto 83. In his treatises on Indonesian trade and society van Leur called Indian scholars at native Royal Courts the principal bringers of Indian culture in the Archipelago from the beginning of Hinduization in the first century of the Christian era onward. His separating them strictly from the traders who, in his opinion, did not represent Indian civilization, seems overdone. In the commentary on Nāg. canto 83 the Indian scholars at Court in Majapahit are compared with the Muslim divines (also of Indian extraction, originally) who are known from the 17th century onward to have combined the offering of wordly advice and spiritual guidance to Kings and Princes with the pursuit of wealth by commerce for themselves.

CHAPTER 2 -- RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND
ECCLIASTICAL ORGANIZATION
IN 14th CENTURY MAJAPAHIT.

In the following chapter an attempt is made to give an outline of the 14th century Majapahit cultural background. The writing of an exhaustive description of Javanese culture of the Majapahit period is out of the question, nor should the following notes be considered as wholly applicable to the preceding and subsequent periods of the history of East Java. The reigns of the preceding Singasari Kings, all belonging to the House of Rājasa, are several times referred to in the Nāg. The Singasari and Majapahit periods may be coupled without losing sight, though, of the interruption caused by the Chinese invasion at the end of 13th century, which seems to have exercised an important influence on East Javanese economy. The culture and history of the nearly two centuries of Kaḍiri hegemony (beginning in the middle of the 11th century) is less well known than the Singasari-Majapahit period, and information on the latter should not be applied off-hand to the former. On the other hand the 15th and 16th centuries offer many problems connected with the decline of the Majapahit kingdom and the increasing influence of Islam.

Balinese culture was only superficially in contact with Islam, to be sure, but then in isolated Bali, surrounded from the 16th century onward by Muslim countries, religion, society and art developed on lines proper to the people's character. Therefore the eastern island is not to be considered as a replica of Majapahit on a small scale.

The ancient culture, flourishing in Central Java about the year 1000 and culminating in the world-famous Bāṛa Buḍur and Prambanan temples, is almost completely left out of discussion in the present book. Probably the 14th century Majapahit courtiers, inhabitants of East Java, knew next to nothing about that bygone era of the cultural history of the island.

As the Nāg. poet belonged to the Buddhist episcopal family at the Majapahit Court he was interested in ecclesiastical organization and divine worship as seen from a Buddhist courtier's point of view. His communications impress the reader with the importance of Buddhism in 14th century Majapahit perhaps to a higher degree than is compatible with truth. No doubt in actual life both at Court and in the country Shiwaism was preponderant. The remnants of pre-Muslim religious ideas surviving in modern Muslim Javanese culture (in the *wayang* plays and in folklore) point to Shiwaism, which was at an early date integrated with primeval native Javanese belief in cosmic, religious and social order. The modern Javanese name for the pre-Muslim period, *jaman buda* (Buddha era) seems to be a consequence of Buddhism (i.e. Tantrism, with its ritual) being felt as foreign and belonging to another period whereas Shiwaism (Bhaṭṭāra Guru and the *wayang* heroes) was familiar and always remained so.

Being a courtier and a scholar the Nāg. poet was not interested in the common people's beliefs and religious worship. The survival of primeval native Javanese religious ideas in Majapahit times and long afterwards is apparent from literature (e.g. the Pararaton and the Tantu Panggëlaran) and theatre (the *wayang* plays). Shiwaite influence was strong in this sphere of thought. The refined Buddhist scholar's aversion to popular belief and folklore is comprehensible. Nevertheless his poem contains some information on matters of much interest for the student of primeval Javanese culture. The relation between primeval native Javanese belief and imported Indian religious ideas is the subject of several studies by Dutch scholars (v. the present author's Tantu Panggëlaran edition and Bosch's *Uit de grensgebieden tussen Indische invloedssfeer en oud-inheems volksgeloof op Java*: From the borderland between the sphere of Indian influence and primeval native belief in Java, BKI 110, 1954).

In the following pages some account shall be given of 14th century East Javanese religion, for convenience' sake divided into two halves:
A: primeval native Javanese belief, and
B: religion under Indian influence.

At the end of the chapter some notes on Chinese religion and Islam will be added.

A. Probably, in 14th century East Java, primeval native Javanese religious speculation and popular belief in fact still dominated life of the majority of Javanese, both high-born and common, at Court and in

the country. The primeval conception of cosmic and social bipartition and quadripartite classification was prominent in their minds. The idea of the dual realm of Janggala-Kadiri and its reintegration by every truly great King probably belonged to this most ancient stratum of thought. The importance of that conception has been pointed out repeatedly in the commentaries in the present book. In the *Korawāshrama* (edited and translated by Swellengrebel) a Javanese thinker worked it out in a remarkable manner with respect to the Indian legendary struggle of Kaurawas and Pāṇḍawas. Held's book on the *Mahābhārata* contains many references to the cosmic duality idea as expressed in Indian literature.

Ancestor worship was considered indispensable for the maintenance of cosmic order. The tie connecting the moieties of humanity, the living and the dead, the visible and the invisible world, was strengthened by it. Ancestor worship is referred to several times in the *Nāg.* (chapters 5 and 9).

In the Singasari-Majapahit period (and probably long before) Royal ancestor worship was coupled with reception of the deceased Kings in the pantheon, either Shiwaite or Buddhistic or both. No doubt this was an adaptation of pristine belief to imported Indian religion. On the ancestor worship of common people who were not deified after death information is very scarce. Stutterheim offered a hypothesis on this matter (*Begrafenisgebruiken*, i.e. Burial Customs, in *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, translated from the Dutch, 1956). It seems very likely that differences in the manner how dead bodies were disposed of and the connection with deceased relatives was maintained were found all over the country.

Closely connected with ancestor worship is shamanism. In the commentary on the *Nāg.* chapter 9, the *Rājapatni's shrāddha* ceremonies, the existence of shamanistic practices in the Majapahit period has been made probable. The modern Javanese children's games called *Ni Towok* etc. seem to be imitations of ancient shamanistic rites. Perhaps the persons called *wasi* and *manguyu* (v. glossary) were shamans.

Probably practices of this kind were resorted to in case of illness, to find a medicine, or in case of loss and theft, to find the lost goods.

Exorcism of bad spiritual influences in case of illness or dreaded calamities (*ruwat*, *lukat*, meaning: release) by means of the performance of a special *wayang* play (*Baṭārā Kālā*, the Evil One), as practised in modern times, is not mentioned in Old Javanese literature. It seems most probable that it existed, though, alongside with other

exorcist rites. Probably, being thought dangerous, in daily life exorcism was tabooed. Perhaps the paucity of notes on the *wayang* theatre (v. the chapter on plays and games) is to be explained by the uncanny and awe-inspiring character of the rites (exorcism and perhaps ancestor worship) wherein the *wayang* puppets appeared in 14th century East Java.

Worship of the powers ruling nature, both chthonic and celestial, was an essential part of ancient religion. In the commentary on the Nāg. chapter 9, the *Rājapatni's* posthumous celebration has been connected with the supposed worship of a chthonic Mother Goddess and the modern Javanese cult of the divine patroness of agriculture, especially rice-growing, called *Dēwi Sri* (i.e. *Shrī*). As the cultivation of rice was the key-stone of Javanese economy in the pre-European period, the chthonic deity ruling its growth no doubt occupied a most important place in the common agriculturists' religion. The *wuku*-year of 30 weeks, called by individual names (*Sinta*, *Landēp* etc.), has been known in Java for a very long time. There are reasons (the meanings of some names and the *Watu Gunung* myth, told to explain the series) to assume some connection of the *wukus* with rice-growing. The Nāg. poet's neglect both of the rice patroness cult and of the *wuku* year is significant: being a Buddhist courtier he was not interested in concerns and religious needs of common country people. Perhaps the *janggans* (rendered: rural doctor) mentioned in Nāg. canto 78 were i.a. officiants of the cult of the rice goddess and diviners for the phases of rice-growing.

The two great ceremonies described in the Nāg. chapters 9 and 14 as taking place respectively in the months *Shrāwṇa-Bhādra* (July-August-September) and *Phālguna-Caitra* (February-March-April) have been connected in the commentary on the one hand with supposed primeval native semi-annual community feasts, on the other hand with well-known modern (Muslim) Javanese popular celebrations. The supposed primeval community ceremonies would be respectively: in July-August-September the feast of an ancient chthonic goddess ruling in the realm of Death, and in February-March-April the festival connected with the cult of the rice goddess, and the annual rice harvest. The well-known modern Muslim celebrations are respectively: the feast at the end of the month of the dead (*Rūwah*, i.e. *Sha'bbān*) and the month of fasting (*Ramadhān*), called *Garēbbēg Ba'dd* or *Garēbbēg Pāsē* or *Lēbaran*, and the celebration of the Holy Prophet's Birthday in the month *Rabi'ul Awwal*, called *Garēbbēg Mulud* (i.e. *Mawlid*:

Birth). As a consequence of the fact that the modern Muslim feasts' dates are determined according to the lunar calendar of Islam their places in the solar year are not fixed. Their interval is about six months, though, the same as in the case of the great semi-annual 14th century Majapahit ceremonies.

King Hayam Wuruk's repeated visits to the sea-shore, both north and south, mentioned in the Nāg. chapters 4 and 8, have been connected in the commentaries with the cult of the divine Patroness of the Southern Ocean and the realm of Death called in modern Javanese *Ratu Ldrd Kidul* (the Virgin Queen of the South). The existence of the cult of mountain deities in the 14th century (and long before) is apparent from the Walañdit charter. De Casparis's notes mentioned in the commentary in the present book are very interesting in this respect. In the commentary on the Nāg. canto 57—5 the Royal visit to Jajawa has been connected with the cult of a mountain deity. The Mountain Lord (Acalapati) of Palah (Panataran) is mentioned expressly in canto 17.

Religious worship at the source of a river has been supposed in the commentary on the Nāg. chapter 4 on the occasion of King Hayam Wuruk's visit to Burēng described in canto 38. The mention of *cañdis* (rendered: religious monuments) in several places is suggestive of the existence of local cults. Cañdi Lima ("Five Monuments") mentioned in Nāg. canto 17 has been connected tentatively with the ancient conception of classification: the five points of the compass and the centre. The "floating pavilions" (*balé kambang*) referred to in literature: pavilions or small sanctuaries situated on artificial islets in the centre of ponds, might be dedicated originally to worship and religious concentration in a spot reminiscent of the centre of cosmos.

The fetishistic worship of Royal charters engraved on copper plates kept by the recipients as heirlooms is attested by King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry Charter. No doubt it was customary from very old times. The cult is reminiscent of the veneration for heirlooms (in modern times called *pusakaks*) characteristic of Javanese family religion. The relationship with ancestor worship is obvious.

Royal charters of an earlier period, partly issued in Central Java, sometimes contain descriptions of religious ceremonies connected with the establishment (*susuk*) of an estate (*sima*). As the titles of the officiants and headmen who were in attendance on such occasions (though often difficult to interpret) are Javanese, apparently a ceremony connected with ancient native belief of rural communities is referred to. It seems doubtful whether religious ceremonies of this

kind were still practised in the 14th century Majapahit period. Probably the ancient titles of rural headmen and their subordinates were in part antiquated at the time. Nevertheless annual celebrations in rural districts on a spot (before a rock, under an old tree) considered as sacred in connection with the community's origin no doubt were held in King Hayam Wuruk's time just as they still are held at present all over the country in old villages in their local sanctuaries (*pṛpuṇḍen*). In King Kṛtanagara of Singasari's Sarwadharma Charter reference is made to *pamāja* (rendered: worship contribution) due by chiefs of religious domains (*dharmas*) to their secular neighbours. Probably the latter's annual community celebrations (*pājā*) are meant.

B. Whereas the religious practices referred to in the above (and many others not yet pointed out in Old Javanese literature) are founded mainly on pristine native ideas about cosmic and social order, the following rites and their officiants are influenced more or less by Indian religion or they are purely Indian by origin. For convenience' sake the sequence *B-1: rṣhis* (friars), *B-2: Shiwaites*, *B-3: Buddhists*, *B-4: Wishnuites* is adopted.

In the Majapahit Court idiom *bhujangga* (rendered: cleric, ecclesiastical officer) seems to be the term for men of religion in general, but especially Shiwaites and Buddhists. Its opposite is *mantri* (rendered: mandarin), a secular gentleman, in modern Javanese parlance: a *priyayi*. The term *wiku* (rendered: ordained priest) refers to the sacred character of the clergy of all denominations. The Buddhistic origin of the word (assuming that it is Pāli: *bhikkhu*) was forgotten. The same was the case with the Sanskrit *dwiṣa* (twice-born, a brahmin). It is used in the Nāg. as referring to priests in general.

Perhaps in some cases at Court priests of different denominations rivalled (v. Nāg. canto 8-3), but as a rule the relations seem to have been friendly. Probably the laics' calling in a priest of one or the other denomination depended mainly on family tradition and on the idea about the character of the deity who was to be approached with offerings and rites in connection with the case in which divine aid was prayed for.

B-1. The Nāg. contains an elaborate description of the *rṣhi* community of Sāgara (canto 32). In the commentary on chapter 4 the probability of some relationship between the *rṣhis'* places ruled by *dewagurus* (divine masters) and the modern (Muslim) Javanese

pondoks (huts) or *pasantrèns* (disciples' places, Indian *āshramas*, schools) governed by a *kyahi* (a venerable man) has been pointed out. In another place of the Nāg. establishments of the Sāgara type are referred to under the name of *maṇḍala* (rendered: sacred ring community). The Tantu Panggèlaran is a collection of legendary tales referring to the origin of *maṇḍalas*. In the commentary on Nāg. canto 78 hypotheses are offered to explain the name *maṇḍala* (ring, perhaps referring to a tabooed ring around their sanctuaries) and the two groups of four communities each into which they were divided (*caturbhaṣma*: four ashmarks, and *caturāshrama*: four hermitages), perhaps connected with a primeval quadripartite-octopartite classification system.

The Shiwaïtic character of the *maṇḍala* communities is apparent from the Tantu Panggèlaran tales. They suggest the existence of a popular cult of Shiwa and Umā. The probability of a substratum of ancient native Javanese worship of mountain deities and chthonic powers is great. On the modalities of the *maṇḍala* worship very little is known with any certainty. A secret consecration ceremony deemed necessary to attain the rank of *wiku* (ordained priest) and occult science probably referring to the system of cosmic and social order seem to have been essentials. The mystery enfolding the *rēshi* communities in the Javanese hills and the religious awe they inspired with outsiders are reminiscent on the one hand of secret societies existing in primeval tribal communities, being guardians of the tribe's essential religious lore (see Duyvendak's *Het Kakean genootschap van Ceram*) and on the other hand of the "huts" of (Muslim) Javanese mystics, adepts of the Nine Saints (*Walī Sāngā*), each having his own particular doctrine of (in effect) pantheistic mysticism.

The *maṇḍalas'* place at the end of the list of the Nāg. chapter 12 is an indication of their independence from Court. The mandarin King's Servant (*mantri her haji*) mentioned in canto 75 seems to have had no great authority over them and Royal charters referring to *maṇḍalas* are scarce (v. the fragments of the Batur charter). Their apparently independent position in the realm is another point which the 14th century Majapahit *dewagurus* of *maṇḍalas* have in common with the 15th, 16th, and 17th century Muslim rulers of small principalities in Central and East Java who claimed descent from some Saint (v. the Nine Saints mentioned above). In the 16th and 17th centuries the Muslim Kings of the Central Javanese Mataram dynasty had much trouble in subduing them. The most prominent member of their class was the *Susuhunan* of Giri (near Grēsik, on the North Coast) who

sometimes was called by his Dutch contemporaries the Javanese Pope. The close relation of the Giri rulers with the mystic "venerable men" of the "huts" is apparent from the tales of the Cēṇṇini.

Probably the *maṇḍala* people, men, women and children, as a rule lived in remote districts in the wooded hills of the interior of the country, engaged in agriculture. Perhaps they grew mainly mountain rice on *ladangs*, temporary clearings in the forest. Their being mentioned together with the *janggans* (rural doctors and diviners, v. Nāg. canto 78—7) is suggestive of a close connection with the common agriculturists. In the commentary on King Hayam Wuruk's visit to Sāgara (Nāg. canto 32) dancing of stately country dances and weaving of cloths in special patterns have been mentioned as likely accomplishments of the "sisters" (*eṇḍangs*) and a comparison with the Balinese sacred community of Tēnganan-Pagringsingan, described by Korn, has been proposed.

Though the Spirits' servants (*hulun hyang*), mentioned in the Nāg. and in the Walaṇḍit charter (v. glossary) are not altogether to be identified with the *maṇḍala* people the two groups seem to have in common the substratum of pristine native Javanese belief. Perhaps the *maṇḍala* people were more cultured, being guardians of ancient religious lore, whereas the *hulun hyang* were simple worshippers of local Spirits or tutelary deities residing on mountains or in springs, not wholly identified with the great Indian gods, especially Shiwa. To the present day in the Tēnggēr hills a community survives where the Spirit of a still working volcano is worshipped.

In the commentary on the Nāg. canto 78 the existence in 14th century East Java of small boroughs of traders, artisans and merchants (*kalang*, *kalagyan*, *kabanyagan*), forming enclaves in the lands owned by agriculturists, has been called a possibility. In modern times the *kalangs* of Central Java profess Islam. The mythical tale of their descent from a dog renders their origin from people connected with one particular group of the ancient quadripartite classification system (the IInd, South) probable (v. *Volksvertoningen*). No information on worship in traders', artisans' and merchants' boroughs is available. The probability of the *kalagyans* mentioned in Nāg. canto 78 being Shiwaite is explained in the commentary.

The manses or halls (*kuṭi*) with or without divine abode (i.e. probably a statue, *pratiṣṭhā*), mentioned in Nāg. canto 78—6, might be Buddhistic (if the interpretation of *kasangghikan* as: belonging to the *sanggha*, the Buddhist Church, is correct). The appearance of Buddhist

kuṭis in the list of Nāg. canto 78 next to (probably) Shiwaitic artisans' boroughs (*kalagyan*) ruled by abbots (*sthāpaka*) perhaps points to some resemblance in social standing and economic concerns between the two.

B-2, B-3, B-4. Whereas the communities mentioned in the preceding paragraph (*B-1*) seem to an important degree to have mixed imported Indian religion (mostly Shiwaism) with ancient native Javanese belief in cosmic and social order (v. paragraph *A*), the following groups' faith and worship perhaps were purer as seen from an Indian point of view. As knowledge of the Shiwaites, Buddhists and Wishnuites to be mentioned in paragraphs *B-2, B-3* and *B-4* is mainly derived from works written by courtiers (the Nāg. poet is one of them) the actual influence of (relatively) pure Indian religious thought in life and worship of all classes of the Javanese people in the 14th century is difficult to ascertain. Whereas Court priests (*wiku haji*), bishops (*dharmaḍhyakṣas*) and assessors-at-law (*upapathis*) were conversant with some Sanskrit religious and juridical works in Javanese versions, probably among the gentry and the common countrymen in the rural districts education in the Indian sense was superficial. Nothing else is to be expected. Probably the superficial knowledge of the tenets and commandments of Islam shown by common Javanese in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries was but the continuation of a similar lack of penetrating interest in Indian religious thought in the preceding centuries. Perhaps to the Javanese gentry and commoners in the rural districts the decay of Indian civilization in the 15th century and the rise of Muslim dynasties were not fundamentally disturbing.

Though probably Indian religious thought did not take root very deeply in the minds of common Javanese of the 14th century, Shiwaite and Buddhist religious art and worship were important features in their lives, especially to celebrate high-days. Of course the Court ceremonies described in the 9th and the 14th chapter of the Nāg. were particularly grand. Similar celebrations on a smaller scale may have been usual in the 14th century at the houses of country gentlemen and in the centres of rural communities. Balinese custom as observed in modern times leads to the supposition that 14th century Javanese took great pains especially over cremations and obsequies. Perhaps Buddhist (that is to say Tantrist) rites were favoured by those who could pay for them. The *Rājapatni's shrāddha* ceremony described in the Nāg. chapter 9 was Tantristic in so far as it was founded on Indian religion. Even in that grand Court ceremony ancient native Javanese practice

(shamanism) was apparent. Probably in simpler surroundings in rural districts the attendance of a priest, either Shiwaite or Buddhist, at a cremation and otherwise was perfunctory. The comparison with funerals in modern Muslim Java is instructive. No matter whether attended by Shiwaite and Buddhist priests or by Muslim divines, ancestor worship was the principal religious concern of bereaved Javanese. *Titua* (related to *titaw*: separate, leave) was the term for obsequies in the Majapahit period.

Perhaps the custom for widows (and concubines, female servants) to be cremated with the corpse of their husband and master prevailed in 14th century East Java as it did for centuries after in Bali. No clear information on the modalities is available, though.

Sacerdotal offices on the occasion of marriages and other family events are nowhere mentioned in the literature of the Majapahit period, as far as known. Perhaps in family matters 14th century Javanese both high-born and common were only ruled by ancient native custom. Though in Islam marriage is governed by religious law, in the Muslim period ancient ceremonies (*tému pangantèn*: meeting of the bridal couple) still are considered of the utmost importance.

Circumcision of boys at the beginning of puberty is looked upon by many Javanese as the entrance into the community of Muslims. In every respect it is a *rite de passage*. No equivalent ceremony is known with sufficient certainty to have existed in 14th century Majapahit. Perhaps teeth-filing took its place. It is still practised in old-fashioned circles.

No doubt various initiation and consecration rites, i.e. of ordained priests, were features of Majapahit religious life. The importance attached by Muhammadan men of religion in Java to the shaving of the head (the text on the Prophet's shaving, *paras nabi*), might be founded partially on a reminiscence of pre-Muslim religious custom.

B-2. Shiwaite priests and Shiwaite religious domains were important in the 14th century East Javanese realm side by side with Buddhists. In the commentary on the first chapter of the *Nāg.* the relation of the two denominations has been discussed. According to the *Nāg.* poet, a Buddhist courtier, they represented the exoteric and the esoteric aspect of cosmic order. The close connection of Shiwaism with secular Royal authority is in keeping with its exoteric character. The Shiwaite bishop and the Shiwaite assessors had prominent places in the court of justice mentioned in the preambles of Royal charters.

In the list of religious domains in the 12th chapter of the Nāg. four groups of Shiwaite places seem to be distinguished: halls with pavilions (*kuṣi balay*), sacred places (*parhyangan*), Royal temple towers (*prāsāda haji*) and Divinity's crystals (*sphatikeyang*). Probably, as is usual in the Nāg., the last group of the list is the most important one. Perhaps this crystal group was closely connected with phallism. The halls (*kuṣi*) and the sacred places (*parhyangan*) are reminiscent of the domains with similar names (*kuṣi* and *māḍang hulun hyang*) mentioned above as probably owned by religious communities almost outside the pale of regular Indian religion. The affinity of Majapahit Shiwaism with ancient native Javanese belief is made once again apparent by this resemblance of names. As a temple tower (*prāsāda*) was the central sanctuary of a religious compound of some importance perhaps the name *prāsāda haji* (rendered: Royal temple tower) point to the existence in the 14th century of religious domains with Shiwaite temples founded in a rather remote past by rulers not belonging to the Singasari-Majapahit line of Kings, maybe local dynasts and Kings of the preceding Kaḍiri and Kahuripan dynasties.

In canto 73 the twenty-seven domains belonging to members of the reigning Majapahit dynasty are enumerated. The *prāsāda haji* of canto 76 are not included in that list.

Differences between modes of worship and religious tenets of the four Shiwaite groups (if the distinction is correct) are probable but they have not yet been ascertained. No doubt family tradition was powerful in these matters.

Some Sanskrit treatises on Shiwaite dogma (Shaiwa Siddhānta) provided with Old Javanese glosses have been studied by Goris (*Bijdragen tot de kennis van de Oudjavaanse Theologie*, 1926) and Ziesenis (*Studien zur Geschichte des Śaivismus*, BKI 98, 1939). No doubt those treatises were known in the Majapahit era. Being a Buddhist the Nāg. poet does not mention them. Perhaps the most sacred texts were kept secret by the priests, and mentioning them was taboo.

Probably the Shiwaite sacerdotal families living on their lands dispersed all over the country were not of equal standing. No doubt the priests most closely connected with the Court, the bishop and the assessors-at-law, were held in great respect. So were the abbots (*sthāpaka*) of important religious domains, especially of domains owned by members of the Royal family. Being charged with the regular (perhaps daily) worship of the deified Royal person whose divine abode

(*pratiṣṭhā*, a statue) was in the central sanctuary (*prāsāda*), probably the abbatial families of Royal domains (*dharma haji*) were related to Royalty by side-lines. So the deceased Royal persons were served in effigie by their own relatives.

The divine abodes (*pratiṣṭhā*) in the sanctuaries mentioned in chapter 5 of the Nāg. were important as centres of ancestor worship of the reigning dynasty. So were the domains (*dharma haji*) of which the sanctuaries were the centres important as political key-points of Royal authority in the country.

Javanese art of the Majapahit period (and long before) is preserved for posterity mainly by stone statues and brick or stone monuments (*caṇḍi*) originally destined for Royal ancestor worship. Imperishable materials were chosen for those works of art because they were meant for eternity, the sphere of the dead ones. It is very much open to doubt, though, whether in actual life in the 14th century the cult of Royal ancestors, their stone statues and the proud sanctuaries were important features of the common people's religion. The decay in modern times of the Old Javanese *caṇḍis*, mainly funeral monuments dedicated to forgotten Kings, and the surrounding country people's indifference for their remains, contrast strongly with the survival of popular native worship like the cult of mountain deities (Tēnggēr hills).

Perhaps in the 14th century both well-born and common families desiring the attendance of an ordained priest to perform Shiwaite (or Buddhist) rites on any occasion of importance to them used to call in a member of a sacerdotal family in their neighbourhood with whom they were on friendly terms. The priests were entitled by custom to some payment for their troubles. Probably visitors to sacred places such as are mentioned in chapter 4 of the Nāg. were met by local priests who ritually dedicated their offerings to the gods. Old Javanese literature offers no clear information on religious practice of the common people in the Majapahit period. But then present day Javanese custom (though Muslim by profession) and Balinese practice may be safely brought forward as instances of religious behaviour of common people in the Majapahit period. Probably Islam made a difference mainly by introducing a certain measure of uniformity of religious rites and behaviour instead of the pluriformity prevailing in the pre-Muslim period. Even now the chequered pattern of religious life in Bali is conspicuous.

Identification of Javanese men of religion of the popular class, friars (*rēshis*), rural doctors (*janggans*) and the like, with similar

performers of religious offices not of the rank of *pēdandas* in modern Bali, like *pamangkus* and *sengguhus*, is precarious on account of the two peoples' different developments in culture since the 16th century. Nevertheless the existence of men of religion in considerable variety in both countries is characteristic for the chequered pattern of their cultures.

B-3. In the 14th century Shiwaism seems to have had more affinity with ancient native Javanese religious belief and custom than Buddhism had. At Court Buddhist priests (Tantrists, of course) officiated at Royal obsequies (the *Rājapatni's shrāddha*, Nāg. chapter 9) and probably common laics (if they could pay for it) also called in Tantrist priests to officiate in posthumous ceremonies. The survival in modern Javanese of the popular term *ñadran* (related to *shrāddha*), and the All-Souls ceremony in the month *Ruwah* (*Sha^cbān*) it stands for, are indications of the Tantrist-Buddhist "masses for the dead" being well-known features of Old Javanese religion. The term *jaman buda*, Buddha era, for the pre-Muslim age, the time characterized by the (expensive) Buddhist obsequies offices (contrasting with the simple Muhammadan funeral) has been mentioned before. Some Buddhist sacerdotal families were in charge of sanctuaries on Royal domains (*dharma haji*, v. Nāg. chapter 5). In secular matters Buddhist officers at the Majapahit Court seem to have had little authority and in the country their economic state was not flourishing. The poet of the Nāg. mentions a great number of Buddhist religious domains in the list of chapter 12, but then being a Buddhist himself he was particularly interested in the state of his co-religionists.

In the list of the Nāg. chapter 12 Buddhist clerical domains are divided into two groups: regular, keeping the *winaya* rules, and thunderbolt-bearing (*kabajradharan*). No doubt the latter was the more important group. Its Tantrist persuasion is evident from the name. They did not observe celibacy. Probably the Buddhist episcopal House to which the Nāg. poet belonged was *bajradhara*. The Tantrism of the last Singasari King Kērtanagara seems to have been admired by the poet.

Whereas the tenets and practices of Javanese Tantrism can be ascertained from the *Kamahāyānikan* (edited and translated by Kats and re-edited by Wulff), from chapter 9 of the Nāg. and by comparison with Tibetan Lamaism, on the *winaya*-ruled Buddhist communities mentioned in the Nāg. canto 76 no clear information is available.

Religious mendicancy and celibacy seem unlikely in 14th century Java, though.

Probably the remarks made in the preceding paragraph (B-2) on the common people's attitude towards priests officiating in unintelligible ceremonies are applicable both to Shiwaism and to Buddhism. Perhaps Tantrist rites were the most mysterious of all.

The existence of rather unimportant Buddhist halls (*kufi*) not closely connected with the Court might be inferred from an item in the list of the Nāg. chapter 12. They have been pointed out in connection with the (presumed) artisans' boroughs (*kalagyan*).

B-4. In the 14th century Majapahit realm Wishnuism was unimportant, whatever its state may have been in the times of preceding dynasties. Some brahmins from India (*wipra*) who were entertained at Court seem to have been Wishnuites, and in the main courtyard of the Royal compound those *wipras* had a place for offerings (*pahoman*) in a row with Shiwaites and Buddhists. Evidently this arrangement was made in accordance with the Indian triad Brahmā - Shiwa - Wishnu, Brahmā being replaced by Buddha. The Wishnuite brahmins were charged with the offerings strewn for the chthonic Spirits (*tawur*), which is in keeping with Wishnu's chthonic character (his boar incarnation). No doubt chthonic powers had an important place in ancient native Javanese belief. They have been mentioned already in the initial paragraph (A) of the present chapter. Probably only the King had Indian brahmins to officiate in the cult of the chthonic powers. In Javanese vegetation myths the couple Sri - Sēdānā appears. Their names, Shri and Sādhana (i.e. Wishnu), form another connection between Wishnuism and chthonic worship (agriculture).

Apart from the Wishnuite brahmins at Court only some rather unimportant domains belonging to Wishnuite families (*wangsha Wishnu*) are mentioned in the Nāg. canto 8. Perhaps they were remnants of an earlier state of things when Wishnuism still was flourishing.

In the 14th century Wishnuism seems to have had adherents in the Kaḍiri moiety of the realm. The second Majapahit ruler, Jayanagara, who was a consecrated King of Kaḍiri, and King Hayam Wuruk's energetic uncle of Wēngkēr, the representative of Kaḍiri interests at the Majapahit Court, were given Wishnuite last resting places (v. comm. Nāg., canto 48 and comm. Biluluk and Katiḍen charters).

Though in the field of economy (cash currency) and art (ceramics) Chinese influence in the Majapahit age is indubitable, Chinese religion (ancestor worship, graves and temples) is not in evidence in 14th century East Java. Probably in the turbulent times of the rise of Islam in the 15th century Chinese families who were settled in East Java either fled the country or turned Muslim, neglecting the funeral monuments of their ancestors. Chinese graves, however monumental, inevitably fall into decay and disappear if they are not taken care of in the traditional manner.

Many Javanese families of old commercial towns on the North Coast and elsewhere seem to have an admixture of Chinese blood. But then it is difficult to ascertain whether it dates from the 14th century or from later.

The supposition that Tantric Buddhist sacerdotal families of the Majapahit age were related by blood to Buddhists from Further India or China is not wholly to be discarded, but evidence is lacking.

In the 14th century at the time of the Majapahit realm Muhammadan principalities already had been founded in North Sumatra, and Muslims visited Java and settled there. Javanese historical tradition on the beginning of Islam in Java, though untrustworthy in several minor points, is to be lent credence when it refers to the general condition of the country. According to Muhammadan Javanese tradition Muslim traders coming from Further India (Cēmpā, i.e. Champa) were instrumental in introducing Islam into Java. As the Nāg. and the other texts published in the present book were written in the interior of the country by men belonging to the Shiwaite-Buddhist Court or closely connected with it, any mention of Islam which at first was confined to the North Coast trading towns is hardly to be expected.

The rise of Islam in Java and 16th century Muhammadan Javanese literature have been studied by several Dutch scholars (v. lastly: Drewes, *Een Javaanse Primbon uit de zestiende eeuw*, 1954). The idioms of early Muhammadan religious texts and books on pre-Muslim beliefs and traditions like the Tantu Panggëlaran, the Korawāshrama and the Kuñjarakarna-legend have much in common.

CHAPTER 3 - ECONOMY AND COMMERCE IN 14th CENTURY MAJAPAHIT.

From the earliest times onwards Javanese economy was agricultural, based on rice growing, partly on unirrigated, partly on terraced and irrigated fields (*sawah*). Unirrigated fields, temporarily put under culture to be relinquished when yields fell (*ladang, gaga*), represent an earlier stage of agriculture. No doubt in the 14th century in the Javanese hills many rural communities, having extensive tracts of jungle and waste land at their disposal, used to farm in that way. It resulted in deforestation of the mountain slopes. In the commentary on the Nāg. chapter 6, the Royal chase, the inter-relation of *ladang* clearing, waste lands, abundance of game and hunting activities has been pointed out.

Laying out of terraced fields (*sawah*) and regulation of the water supply by dams and canals are accomplishments of primeval native Javanese civilization, practised before Indian influence became paramount in the Archipelago. The organization of labour required for *sawah* cultivation on an extensive scale was correlative with development in society and administration. Both rural communities of the *ḍapur* type ruled by Elders (*buyut*), estates of lairds of manors (*akawu*) and realms of native Javanese Kings or Princes (*ratu, haji*) presuppose a stable economy and a regular food supply. Only *sawah* farming could guarantee stability.

In the present book the beginnings of Javanese civilization are referred to only incidentally. The relation between primeval native Javanese tribal society and economy and imported Indian elements of culture has been studied by several Dutch scholars (v. Bosch' The problem of the Hindu colonization of the Archipelago, 1946, in Collected Papers, 1960). In the 14th century in the East Javanese realm rice growing on terraced fields no doubt was the back-bone of economy. Tubers of many different kinds and inferior cereals like millet were secondary products. Differentiation in agriculture was not yet spectacular. Most of the modern crops, either for native consumption (maize,

cassava) or for the world-market (sugarcane, coffee, tea, cacao, rubber) or for both (tobacco) were still unknown or cultivated on a very limited scale. Javanese economy owes the introduction of several of those crops, partly from America, to Dutch enterprise. Though many kinds of fruit-trees were known (some of them probably imported in antiquity from India and China) fruit-growing was only incidental. Crops of coco-nuts, bananas, mangos etc. were unimportant factors in the country's economy. Probably the best varieties of those fruit-trees, and of the cereals as well, were developed by experimental selection through the ages. The 14th century Majapahit quality perhaps fell far behind modern standards both in fruits and in other crops. In the 19th and 20th centuries Dutch scientific research improved quality still more.

In the 14th century Majapahit realm crops, both rice and secondary produce, were grown primarily for the cultivators' own use. Cotton and plants for making vegetable dyes were perhaps cultivated in many places, for the major part of daily clothing still was spun, woven and dyed at home or within the home community. As tree-bark was used as material for clothing (*juya*) by men of religion, trees were planted for that end too. Imports from India and China met the demand for finer qualities of textiles. As the upper part of the body as a rule was left uncovered both by men and by women, clothing materials were not needed in great quantities.

As cattle was used mainly in agriculture and for transport cattle-breeding was limited. Perhaps in some places buffaloes were bred in a halfwild state for meat. Their flesh was cured rather like pemmican (*dendeng*). Preparation of fish bred in fish-ponds seems to have been also an industry of some economic importance.

All kinds of crops and produce came from the rural communities and the diverse kinds of religious domains and estates spread all over the country. Probably in the case of the rural communities (*dapur* type) the agriculturists who worked the fields were partly freemen, qualified members of the community and their relatives, partly unfree bondmen living under the authority and in or near the compounds of their masters. In modern Java differences of social state inside the village community are still well known. The abbots and lairds of 14th century East Javanese religious domains and estates probably had their fields tilled and their crops gathered partly by their own bondmen, partly by labourers belonging to neighbouring free rural communities who were paid with a part of the harvest fixed by custom (*metayage*). Gentlemen land-owners both ecclesiastic and secular as a rule had

stewards to administrate their lands. Perhaps in many cases stewards farmed their masters' lands for a fixed quantity of rice and other produce, or even for a fixed sum of money. In some domains and estates the steward-farmers may have been unfree men themselves, trusted bondmen belonging to the abbatial or manorial *familia*. In the 19th century steward-farmers (*bēkēl*) of estates or parts of estates were a familiar feature in the economy of Central Javanese kingdoms.

Probably the Majapahit Kings owned estates themselves that were farmed out to stewards. The vizirs (*patih*) who are repeatedly mentioned in the *Nāg.* and contemporary literature perhaps in many cases were Royal stewards of crown-lands and at the same time administrators of the Royal revenue coming from the free rural communities and the estates. Vizirs might be of unfree origin, born as Royal bondmen. Perhaps the West-European medieval term *ministerialis* would not be misplaced as characterization of the stewards' position. Probably the Royal estates or crown-lands originally were opened up by Royal bondmen (*bhērtiya*, *kawula*). The difference with Royal religious domains (*dharma haji*) consisted in the *dharma*'s destination to be *in perpetuo* the abode of a deified member of the Royal Family, residing there *in effigie* to receive his descendants' worship. Probably the labourers who first opened up the land for a Royal *dharma* and afterwards tilled the fields were originally bondmen of the Royal person who was to take his abode there after his demise. The sacerdotal family who was put in charge of the ancestor worship may have been related to the deceased Prince by a collateral line and so may have been the mandarin family who had the secular supervision. So the Deified One continued his earthly existence surrounded and served by his own relatives and bondmen.

The artisans of the artisans' boroughs (*kalagyan*) mentioned in chapter 2 of the present recapitulation worked primarily at objects to be used for religious purposes either at Court or in the sanctuaries belonging to religious domains, secular estates and rural communities. In the *Nāg.* canto 63 the artisans are mentioned working to prepare objects for a great religious ceremony. No doubt the mention of their boroughs or wards among the places of men of religion is an indication of their close connection with divine worship. So the 14th century Majapahit artisans were assured of an honourable place in society and a regular income. But then their bond with religion and the Court perhaps was prejudicial to a free development of their art and to production of works of art on an extensive scale for secular use.

Probably the country's economy as a whole was not strengthened by the artisans' production, however beautiful their products might be. There seems to be no indication that Javanese handicraft products were exported to foreign parts in the manner of Chinese ceramics and Indian textiles.

The great expanse of the Majapahit realm in the 14th century (almost half of the island) and the dispersed situation of settlements in the midst of the jungle rendered travelling difficult and time-consuming. Nevertheless social organization required several persons and groups repeatedly to make long journeys. Economic and political backgrounds of King Hayam Wuruk's Progresses have been mentioned in the commentary on the Nāg. chapter 4. Most officials, vizirs and country gentlemen who were expected to attend the annual (or even semi-annual) religious and social ceremonies in the Royal compound had to make travels of many days to reach Majapahit. The transportation of first-fruit tribute in kind in cumbersome carts over bad roads took much time and gave a great deal of trouble.

Beside official transports from the out-lying districts to Court private inland trade added to the briskness of traffic over the roads and the rivers of East Java in the 14th century. King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry charter testifies to the passing of *kalangs'* carts (probably drawn by several spans of oxen and driven in caravans for safety) carrying merchandise and passengers over the roads and crossing the numerous rivers. Though as a matter of course any statistical information on the density of traffic in 14th century East Java is lacking the King's issuing a charter especially for the ferrymen renders utter insignificance of inland trade and traffic improbable. Inland trade carried on by a particular group of people driving caravans of carts through the country at considerable distances from their home districts survived in Central Java till modern times. In *Volksvertoningen* (par. 303) the *waroks* of Pānārāgā (approximately the 14th century Wēngkēr) and their peculiar customs are described.

In his paper on Ruler and Realm in early Java (Indonesian sociological studies, translated into English, 1955) Schrieke inserted an interesting chapter on the Javanese landscape and the system of roads and waterways. Though Schrieke's information refers to Central Java and to the 17th and subsequent centuries his observations seem to be applicable to 14th century East Java as well.

Probably even more than in the 17th century inland trade in the 14th century was carried on by river transport, especially over the great

river Brantas and its extensive deltaic mouths and the river Běngawan. In the course of history the Javanese rivers' water supply steadily decreased as a result of deforestation in the hills attendant on extension of cultivation. So in the 14th century the river Brantas must have been a great river indeed comparable to the great Borneo and Sumatra rivers of modern times. Sea-going craft coming up to Bubad, the Majapahit river port, and even further, is very likely. Probably the Sundanese expedition that ended in disaster in 1357 came that way. Unfortunately no reliable information on 14th century river traffic is available. Probably the King travelling from Majapahit either westward to Kaḍiri or eastward to Surabaya as described in the Nāg. canto 17 went by prao, embarking at Bubad. No description of Royal prao travelling in the 14th century is available, though. A remarkable Royal journey by prao on the Běngawan, the other great river of East Java, made in 1834, has been mentioned in *Volksvertoningen* (par. 196).

Though reliable information is lacking, levying of tolls both on the roads and on the rivers, and imposition of duties on transports of merchandise seem most likely. The toll-gates established by the 17th century Central Javanese Kings all over their realm probably were copies of toll-collectors' and revenue-officers' stations of preceding reigns. Being of humble origin and rather uncouth the 17th century Mataram Kings on many occasions showed a propensity in statecraft to follow the example of their predecessors, as far as known to them. Perhaps the *pañjis* mentioned in King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry charter were concerned with tolls imposed on trade. In the commentary on the Ferry charter Cangu and Těrung, the residences of the *pañjis*, are by way of supposition described as boroughs inhabited by traders, skippers and boatmen; annual fairs were held there.

Probably the merchandise handled by the 14th century inland traders was not bulky. The difficult transportation rendered wholesale trade in bulk goods next to impossible. Probably articles of value, both of Javanese make and imported, personal ornaments, metals and tools, in a word: peddler's wares formed the stock-in-trade. Several kinds of spices, drugs and delicacies, some of them imported, preserved meat and fish were carried by traders to inland districts. Transports of salt from the places where it was made (saline springs or the sea-coast) to where it was needed perhaps were the only rather bulky ones. But then in the 14th century salt making might be carried on at several inland places that have been abandoned in modern times, so salt transport seldom had to cover considerable distances.

Beside artisans' and traders' boroughs (*kalang kalagyan kabanyagan*) small communities of families working in industry (salt-making, sugar-making, meat-packing, fisheries) seem to have existed dispersed in the agrarian districts of 14th century Java. In the commentaries on the charters of Biluluk and Karang Bogēm their economy is discussed.

Apparently in 14th century East Java (and probably long before) boroughs of traders, artisans and workers in primitive industry were closely connected with the Court. In many cases they may have needed Court protection against covetous agrarian neighbours. Whereas the Biluluk salt-makers were Royal relatives the Karang Bogēm steward of fisheries was originally a bondman (*kawula*). The chequered pattern of 14th century East Javanese culture has been mentioned several times.

In charters of the ancient 11th century dynasty of Central Java a list of "collectors of the King's due" (*mangilala dērwaya haji*) is mentioned (v. recapitulation, chapter 1, social order). In King Hayam Wuruk's time the institution seems to have been regarded as antiquated and so it was gradually abrogated. It shall be mentioned again in the chapter on the Court in the present recapitulation. Under the antiquated regulation the artisans' dependence on chiefs of trades residing in or near the capital must have been detrimental to the development of a relatively free traders' and artisans' class.

Probably in the 14th century Majapahit realm, especially in the inland districts, barter was still employed. The currency of the realm was Chinese cash, small metal coins of mean alloy with a hole in the centre that were strung on strings. They were imported from China in bulk. Probably in the course of time great quantities of cash were melted in Java to make the objects of bronze or copper for which Javanese art is famous: bronze statuettes and round plates for sacrificial meals and offerings. Perhaps bronze plates also were used for barter. Transfer of important sums in Chinese cash was very difficult on account of the weight.

Whereas in Royal charters of 9th, 10th and 11th century Central Javanese Kings payments in gold and silver (by weight) are recorded often enough, in charters of the Majapahit period bullion is rarely mentioned. In Central Java gold rings with Old Javanese engravings have been found buried in the ground in considerable quantities. In East Java they are scarce. These facts lead to the supposition of a relative scarcity of bullion in the Majapahit period. It might partly be explained by the Chinese invasion of the end of the 13th century.

King Kĕrtanagara's Royal compound at Singasari was sacked by the Kaḍiri King, and the latter was in his turn vanquished by the Chinese invaders. Though they did not stay very long in Java (perhaps because the country was devastated by the wars) the Chinese warriors penetrating far into the interior probably had ample occasion to carry off what they liked (v. Pigeaud, *Javanese Gold*, BKI 114, 1958).

However that may have been neither Majapahit Kings nor Javanese rulers before or after them are known to have coined money in their names. Though in the 14th century in India coins struck by several Royal mints were current, Indian money has not been found in any appreciable quantity in Java's soil. Perhaps India's exports of fine textiles were bartered directly for merchandise offered on the Javanese markets (mainly spices), so the Indians did not bring much money to Java. Apparently when distributing considerable presents the Majapahit Kings used to give either textiles or uncoined gold (v. commentary on the Nāg. chapter 5).

Javanese external trade has been the subject of interesting studies by Schrieke (*Shifts in political and economic power in the Indonesian Archipelago in the 16th and 17th century*, in his *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, translated into English, 1955) and van Leur (*Indonesian Trade and Society*, translated into English, 1955). Though their findings refer primarily to a period posterior to King Hayam Wuruk's reign they are for the greater part applicable to the 14th century as well.

Probably in the economy of the 14th century Majapahit realm foreign trade was a factor mainly affecting the Court and mercantile interest. It did not concern the great mass of the rural population, the landed gentry or the country clergy. Some foreign imports: fine textiles from India, cash money, fine earthenware and metals from China, might reach the inland districts. Strictly speaking they were not indispensable, though. Probably in the 14th century in the East Javanese hills and jungles considerable groups of people lived their lives without using objects of foreign make regularly or even frequently. In those districts the self-sufficient agrarian character of Javanese civilization still prevailed. Even in the 19th century the simplicity of country life in the Central Javanese hills was found remarkable by Dutch observers. Though the neolithic period was over the use of metal implements was very restricted. There seems to be no reason to assume that in the 14th century in East Java conditions were fundamentally different.

The Nāg. poet mentions foreign traders and his colourful descriptions of Court ceremonies presuppose imports of valuable materials

from foreign parts. Being a Buddhist scholar and a courtier his information on matters of commerce is only incidental, and is to be supplemented from other sources.

In accordance with Schrieke's and van Leur's opinions on 16th and 17th century Javanese foreign trade it seems very probable that the 14th century East Javanese sea-ports were mainly entrepôts and victualling stations for Chinese, Indian and inter-insular commerce. As navigation depended on the monsoons continental ships reaching Java with one monsoon would in theory be able to return with the following turning monsoon, and so they would be back home in a year. Probably this was not done in fact. The unloading of the cargos and trade in small lots in a round-about way took much time. The finding of return cargos depended on the arrival of other ships coming with the monsoon from an opposite quarter. So many foreign traders stayed for several months or even over a year in sea-ports of the Archipelago. The occasion to mix with foreigners coming from other parts of the continent and with native traders was excellent. Probably Bubad, the Majapahit port on the river Brantas, was an international meeting-place of trade.

Matrimonial alliances with Javanese families belonging to the religious middle-class traders' communities may have been concluded there. Probably social intercourse in the sea-ports included *hetaeras*. Light music (quatrain songs, *pantuns*, *parikans*) and light literature (narrative, romantic, anecdotic, erotic) in Javanese and in Malay perhaps developed in international and polyglot traders' circles as means to while away the time of waiting for the turning of the monsoon.

In the 14th and 15th centuries and later Surabaya, Grěsik and Tuban were prominent sea-ports on the North Coast. Surabaya is mentioned incidentally in the Nāg., but neither Grěsik nor Tuban are mentioned at all in the poem. Grěsik and Sidayu are mentioned in the Karang Bogēm charter, though. Now the importance of Tuban in the 14th century is well-known from Pararaton and Ranga Lawé tales. To be sure, being a courtier, the Nāg. poet was interested above all in the capital, Majapahit, and its immediate surroundings. Probably his silence on the town of Tuban (and on Surabaya and Grěsik too, in the 14th century certainly towns of considerable importance) is also significant in another respect. Tuban may have been ignored by the 14th century Majapahit Court poet because of its disrespectful attitude towards Royal authority. This surmise advances

the date of the beginning of semi-independent and often rebellious coastal principalities considerably.

At the end of the 15th century the controversy between the agrarian inland realm of Majapahit (and Kaḍiri) and the mercantile coastal principalities (turned Muslim) was to end, for the time being, in the overthrow of the divine Shiwaite-Buddhist dynasty of East Java and the spread of Islam all over the country. In the 16th century the agrarian interior was avenged by the Central Javanese Kings of Mataram vanquishing and sacking the mercantile principalities on the North Coast. In the 17th and 18th centuries the inland Mataram realm in its turn was forced to acknowledge the superior economic power of mercantile Batavia in West Java, which tipped the scales once more in favour of the coast as against the interior.

Perhaps the Nāg. poet's ignoring disrespectful Tuban and other coastal towns is another instance of his policy and politeness towards his Royal master who might be annoyed by references to disagreeable facts. The disastrous end of the Sundanese expedition to Majapahit is ignored too.

However powerful Tuban and other coastal principalities may have been already in King Hayam Wuruk's reign, in Bubad and Majapahit foreign traders still were seen in considerable numbers. Perhaps Bubad on the river Brantas contained wards of foreigners ruled by their own chiefs comparable to the trade-stations or factories established by mercantile nations in ports all over the world. Van Leur has pointed repeatedly to relatively great numbers of people travelling in trading-vessels to foreign parts and the subordinate position of most of them in respect of the powerful and rich merchants and ship-owners who used to stay at home. The common traders were compared by him to peddlars and the merchandise they handled to peddlars' wares: relatively valuable but small in bulk and seldom found in considerable quantities. It seems most probable that similar conditions prevailed in the 14th century East Javanese ports too.

Probably in the 14th century Indian export to Java consisted mainly of fine textiles. Indian baticked cloths may have been available already at the time. Perhaps the Chinese used to export earthenware and metals, and silk textiles too. Traders of both nations and of the intermediate countries of Further India interchanged their merchandise in the ports of the Archipelago, bought spices grown in the eastern islands as the most profitable return cargo and provisioned their ships with rice grown in the interior of Java for the long return

voyage home. The share of native Javanese trade seems to have consisted mainly in the collecting of spices in the islands (the spices were bartered for Javanese rice) and the barter of spices and rice (for ships' provision) against Indian and Chinese wares brought by the foreign traders.

In some periods of history shipping of the Javanese or other peoples of the Archipelago may have reached continental shores. Notes in the Chinese Imperial annals might be interpreted in that sense. Probably, however, in the 14th century, most Javanese ships standing out to sea from the dominions of the Majapahit Kings had for destination other islands within the Archipelago, and mainly the eastern spice-islands.

The share of native Javanese trade in interinsular and foreign commerce was founded primarily on rice. Having control of the country's rice supply, the Court was the paramount power in mercantile transactions. The people of the spice-islands (the Moluccas) never grew enough rice for their home consumption, and foreign ships could not leave for the long voyage home without sufficient provisions. No doubt the travels made by Royal order (i.e. by traders provided with a Royal patent) to foreign parts mentioned in the Nāg. chapter 3 concerned mainly the spice-trade. The interest in the economic condition of the country manifested in the speeches of prominent members of the Royal Family as related in the Nāg. canto 88 was prompted by solicitude for the rice-supply, the back-bone of the Court's economy. Majapahit's successor in the sequence of great agrarian inland kingdoms, the 17th century Mataram realm in Central Java, depended equally on its rice. Abundant evidence of this fact is to be found in the papers of the contemporaneous Dutch East India Company.

Direct interest in foreign trade on the part of the Majapahit Royal Family or important persons at Court, either by bottomry or by ship-owning, is not attested to by contemporaneous texts. Majapahit Royalty and nobility seem to have been agrarians and rulers as distinct from merchants. A 17th century Central Javanese Mataram King is known to have made a remark to a Dutch merchant referring to the fundamental opposition existing in his opinion between Royalty and commerce.

On the other hand Schrieke's and van Leur's surmise that rulers and patricians (perhaps of mixed Javanese, Indian and Chinese blood) of coastal principalities like Tuban, Grēsik and Surabaya in the 15th

and 16th centuries were interested in foreign trade by bottomry and ship-owning seems acceptable. Perhaps even in King Hayam Wuruk's reign both governors and vizirs in sea-ports on Java's North Coast and important Royal servants in Majapahit, Canggü, Těrung and Bubāt on the river Brantas invested capital in foreign trade either incidentally or regularly. The Majapahit Court chancellor (*kanuruhan*) seems to have had the function of Royal warden of the port (*shahbandar*) well-known in Muslim mercantile principalities of Sumatra from the 17th century onwards (Naw. p. 12 a/b). It is not preposterous to assume that King Hayam Wuruk's Court chancellor either incidentally or regularly took an interest in commercial enterprise.

Royal revenue and the Royal servants' incomes from foreign trade probably came from duties and presents prescribed by custom. Pre-emption and first selection probably were important features in the dealings of traders with port authorities. Lists of customary presents to be offered by foreign traders on penalty of seeing their cargos confiscated are known from 17th century Sumatran mercantile principalities (V. Drewes and Voorhoeve, *Adat Atjeh*, Verh. K. I. 1958, on Achehnese harbour dues). There is no reason to assume that 14th century East Javanese port officers were less grasping.

Of course prohibitive duties in some ports could discourage trade and induce traders to look for other harbours. Unfortunately too little information on the history of Javanese commerce in the 14th century is available. It is tempting to make hypotheses on inter-relationship between the rise of mercantile coastal principalities under Muslim rule on the coast of Central Java (Děmak, Japara, Juwana) in the 15th and 16th centuries and the dynastic troubles in the inland Majapahit realm ensuing on King Hayam Wuruk's demise in 1389. Perhaps between the spurs of distant mount Muria and in the marshes separating that mountain from the mainland a moderate measure of freedom for trade (either legitimate or smuggling) was better ensured than in older ports situated nearer to the centre of East Java.

Privateering and piracy (it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other) always was important in the Archipelago. It was closely connected with regular trade and with smuggling. Probably in the 14th century privateers and pirates were factors in Javanese economy in its contacts with the other islands of the Archipelago as they were in later periods of history. Lack of reliable information renders specification on this point impossible.

CHAPTER 4 - MATERIAL CULTURE IN 14th CENTURY MAJAPAHIT.

Information on everyday life, common food and clothing, housing and housekeeping is extremely scarce in Javanese literature. Being primarily interested in Royalty and the Court the Nāg. poet very seldom mentions facts relating to the common people's life and to everyday circumstances. The following remarks on those matters are based mainly on the analogy of the Javanese commoners' life in the 18th and 19th centuries. Study of the reliefs in stone and brick found on the walls of 13th and 14th century East-Javanese temples have supplied interesting information on building in wood (Galestin, *Houtbouw*), and might supply information on other matters as well. But then the artists who cut the reliefs destined to be illustrations of literary tales probably idealized everyday reality. No more than the Nāg. poet were the relief sculptors concerned with the life of common people. In fact realism is not to be expected in art and letters of 14th century Majapahit.

As to food the description in the Nāg. canto 90 of the banquet in the Royal compound and the mention in the Sarwadharmā charter of meats allowed to men of religion show the considerable diversity in animal food (pork, dog, bees, worms) used at that time as compared with subsequent periods. No doubt Islam had a sobering influence on Javanese diet. In the 14th century beef that was eaten at Court probably was from buffaloes. The Indian prohibition of killing cows may have been observed by the higher classes of society. As to the country people it seems impossible to ascertain how far they observed Indian food laws.

In modern times rice, vegetables and meat or fish as a rule are highly seasoned by Spanish pepper (Javanese: *lombok*, *cabe*). Though several kinds of spices are mentioned in 14th century texts (v. the Biluluk charter), Spanish pepper perhaps did not occupy as prominent a place in Javanese diet of the time as it does at present.

No doubt in the 14th century alcoholic drinks of several kinds were drunk as a common beverage, coffee and tea being as yet unknown. The sugar-palm was the principal producer of the sacchariferous sap that was fermented. As an important factor in Javanese rural economy the tree had a place in mythology and it was venerated almost on a par with the rice-plant.

Neither tobacco nor opium are mentioned in 14th century texts. The enjoyment of luxuries was decidedly more limited than some centuries later when new articles were imported by foreign trade. Betel chewing was the principal luxury. Probably it was indulged in almost continuously by men and women, old and young. The fact that it is hardly mentioned in the *Nāg*. (v. canto 18-3: *sadak akusuma*) might be accounted for by its utter commonness.

In 14th century East Java the material for clothing was mainly native cotton, home-spun and hand-woven, probably dyed by means of the ancient *ikat* process (before weaving the warp is dyed by immersion, the parts of the threads that are to remain undyed are covered by leaves and fibre and tied tightly in bundles; *ikat* means tie). At present the *ikat* process is no longer in use in East Java; it is well known with the inhabitants of the surrounding islands of the Archipelago, though. Textiles dyed by means of the batick process (painting with wax and then dying by immersion) perhaps were imported from India for a long time. So were silk textiles from China. Probably both kinds remained articles of luxury; only rich people could afford them. Native Javanese baticking, a home industry since the 18th century or even earlier, is not mentioned in 14th century texts.

Beside textiles in 14th century East Java no doubt tree bark was used as material for clothing. By beating the bark of some trees is made into a kind of paper or flexible cardboard. *Fuya* clothing is still well known in other islands of the Archipelago. According to the Tantu Panggëlaran and other texts in East Java it was used by members of religious communities in the countryside. As the survival of ancient customs in those circles is a well-known fact a more general use of *fuya* in earlier times seems probable.

Vegetable fibre plaited to make fine matting is known to have been in use as material for clothing in some districts of Java. In 14th century texts references to this kind of clothing have not been pointed out with any certainty.

Probably in the Majapahit period (and long afterwards) both men

and women had the upper part of the body uncovered, as was the custom in Bali still lately. Only men and women of religion seem to have worn a jacket (sometimes, as a robe of office, probably). The white colour mentioned repeatedly as a characteristic of people of religion (*apinghay*) probably distinguished them from the laics' brown (in Javanese called red) bodies. The Nāg. does not contain clear information on robes of office worn by the Majapahit clergy on the occasion of the religious ceremonies that are described in the poem.

Perhaps jackets were worn by Royalty and courtiers on very great occasions (Nāg. canto 84). King Hayam Wuruk may have worn a jacket or a robe (*rasukan*) on the occasion of his filling the part of the wizard in the sacral play (*rakṣt*) that was enacted during the Caltra festival at Court (Nāg. canto 91-7-1).

The principal piece of clothing both for men and women was the waist-cloth, commonly called *kain*. Several manners of wearing the *kain* are known in modern Java. A broad oblong piece of textile may be draped round the hips, or a wide cylindrical skirt (*sarung*) may be tied with a girdle round the waist. Very large square pieces of textile (*dodot*) are worn as a ceremonial dress. In out-of-the-way districts narrow but very long strips still are seen occasionally worn by men as a real loin-cloth in the Indian manner with one end pulled between the legs. It seems impossible to ascertain in which manner King Hayam Wuruk, his courtiers and his people wore their waist-cloths. On the analogy of modern Balinese custom the assumption of a rather free manner leaving the calves and even the knees uncovered is likely. Perhaps servants used to wear loin-cloths covering only a small part of the legs. The clothing of figures to be seen on East Javanese reliefs cut in stone or brick might be adduced in favour of this assumption. As the puppets of the Javanese national theatre, the *wayang*, seem to have their figuration in common with those relief figures, the traditional *wayang* clothing, however phantastically overdone, might even give an idea of 14th century Majapahit Court attire. Probably in outward appearance King Hayam Wuruk and his Court showed more resemblance to the Pāṇḍawas as represented in the 18th century *wayang* style than to 20th century Central Javanese Kings and nobles whose stately dress and solemn mien no doubt was influenced by Dutch gravity.

Probably in the Majapahit period (and long before and after) Javanese men, except perhaps some ecclesiastics, used to wear their hair long. It was made into a pigtail of which the end was curled upward and

fastened against the back of the head by a large crescent-shaped comb. This kind of hair-dress was still seen occasionally in Surakarta in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the modern Javanese head-cloth might be a descendant of an ancient head-gear (comparable to coverings for the head in use with other peoples of the Archipelago), in the Majapahit period laymen, both noble and common, probably as a rule were bare-headed. Men of religion are known to have worn different kinds of head-gear, for ceremonial use and for daily wear.

The scanty clothing was relieved by an abundance of ornaments worn by both sexes on almost every part of the body (if the evidence of the makers of relief figures and the *wayang* tradition are to be trusted). Though the intrinsic value of the gold and silver made into articles of luxury and personal adornment in the 14th century perhaps was not very high many objects were finely wrought. Certainly they showed up beautifully against the male and female bodies, either with their natural brown colour or made yellow by means of a paste.

Foot-wear is not mentioned in the texts, nor is it likely it was in use, except perhaps with persons belonging to the religious class. In war occasionally a kind of helmets and coats of mail seem to have been used.

As to the agricultural and artisans' implements and weapons the probability of a relative scarcity of iron and other base metals should be borne in mind. It was remedied only gradually by the expansion of foreign trade through the agency of the Dutch. In the 14th century in East Java (and long afterwards) several kinds of implements that at present are made of iron may have been made of wood or bamboo. The use of small knives made of bamboo splinters with sharp edges still occasionally seen in modern times probably is a survival from antiquity. The Javanese hoe is supposed to be a descendant of an implement dating from prehistoric times. It is not preposterous to assume that even in King Hayam Wuruk's reign in the country districts trees were felled and fields were tilled by means of very simple implements containing a minimum of iron parts or no metal at all.

In the 14th century the long lance, the national weapon in war, perhaps as often as not had a bamboo or a wooden point. The criss is made entirely of steel. In modern times a kind of particularly small crisses is rightly or wrongly called *kēris Majapahit* by Javanese connoisseurs. The absence of any reference to crisses in the Nāg.

might be called remarkable. But then the Nāg. poet's deficiency is most apparent in his omission to describe persons and their apparel. His poem is really more like a topography (*desha-warnana*), as he called it himself, than like a poetical tale. In view of the probable scarcity of iron a wide-spread use of crisses all over the country as observed in modern times seems unlikely for the 14th century. Probably in those days the criss's ancient sacral significance as pointed out by Rassers (B.K.I. 99, 1940) was still very much appreciated and crisses, owned only by persons of rank, were revered and more or less tabooed.

Javanese historical tradition on the spreading of Islam in East Java contains a tale about a criss called Sumēlang Gandring (also mentioned in the *P'araraton*) and the criss-smith *Empu* Supa who visited Blambangan and afterwards settled in Sidayu. Probably the North Coast (*Pasisir*) culture which flourished in the 15th and 16th centuries in the mercantile principalities, Majapahit's epigones, champions of Islam and promoters of interinsular and international trade, was instrumental in the criss's extraordinary increase in popularity in the Muhammadan era as compared with the Majapahit age (not to mention ancient 11th century Central Java).

Galestin's book on Javanese wood-constructions founded on a study of illustrative reliefs on the walls of East Javanese temples sheds much light on housing in the 14th century. Though the artists no doubt idealized reality the impression made by their work of an abundance of graceful types of structures for sacral and profane use probably is justified. Ancient architecture in East Java just like architecture of the majority of peoples in the Archipelago made a rule of building structures of almost any type elevated on wooden poles above the ground.

Just like in modern Bali, so also in King Hayam Wuruk's reign people thinking of their home meant a compound surrounded by a fence or a wall and containing some small buildings, mostly open pavilions. The description of the public part of the Majapahit Royal compound in the Nāg. chapter 2 is in accordance with this view. The structures of wood, bamboo, leaves of trees and other vegetable materials were made without using any metal fixtures. Wooden or bamboo pegs and cord bindings held all together. Structures could be taken to pieces and set up again in another place.

The origin of modern Javanese architecture building spacious houses

divided into rooms placed directly on the ground need not be discussed in the present book. Probably in the Majapahit period compounds surrounded by walls, manors and boroughs all filled with a great number of rather small pavilions of many types offered quite another aspect than modern Javanese villages, open towns and *kratons*, containing closed houses of imposing dimensions of a few types in relatively small numbers.

In the 14th century (and long before and after) structures made of stone or brick were exceptions. As a rule they had a sacred character. Even the brick walls surrounding compounds, with their gates and watch-towers, probably were held sacred as barriers against the profane outside world.

In many cases sanctuaries for the cult of gods and spirits seem to have been built of wood. Perhaps the idea was that they were only temporarily visited by the divine beings in order to receive the homage and the offerings of mortals. On the other hand as a rule Royal ancestor worship, related to primeval native belief, seems to have required permanent stone or brick abodes for the deceased Royal persons who continued their earthly life in *effigie* in the midst of their descendants and servants. Neither stone nor brick constructions were mortared. The elements were lightly polished and placed on top of each other with great accuracy.

In 14th century Majapahit housekeeping and household-implements no doubt were of the simplest description. As a matter of course information is extremely scarce. Probably furniture consisted mainly of native plaited mats and some imported carpets in opulent houses. No doubt everybody as a rule sat on the floor cross-legged. Neither chairs nor stools or tables seem to be in evidence. Perhaps valued objects were mainly stored in chests made of hollowed-out tree-trunks. Heirlooms and other objects inspiring religious awe were enveloped in textiles and suspended from the rafters under the roof.

From very early times Chinese earthenware and even porcelain was exported to the Archipelago. Many potsherds have been found in the soil in several places in Java. They have been studied of late years by van Orsoy de Flines, of the Batavian Society museum's collection of ceramics (V. *Jaarboeken* K.B.G. 1933—1951). Probably in the compounds of rich people considerable quantities of Chinese earthenware were in use for household purposes. The description of the Royal banquet in canto 90 seems to warrant the supposition that

for ceremonial use and for offerings round native made metal plates were preferred, perhaps because of the symbolic engravings in the centre. Native Javanese earthenware never reached the perfection of Chinese import wares. No doubt in the 14th century it was in general use for mean purposes and among the lower classes as it has been to the present day.

Leaves of trees, especially banana leaves, are indispensable as plates and as packing material in the Javanese kitchen. No doubt they have been so from time immemorial. In the Nāg. canto 60 some common kitchen utensils are mentioned. Apparently making fire by drilling, i.e. turning a stick rapidly in a hole in a board (Javanese: *akusu, uswan*) was the usual way in 14th century East Java.

CHAPTER 5 - ART, LANGUAGE AND
LITERATURE
IN 14th CENTURY MAJAPAHIT.

In the 13th and 14th centuries Javanese plastic and decorative art and architecture were flourishing. Several Dutch scholars, Brandes, Krom, Bosch, Moens, van Stein Callenfels, Stutterheim, Galestin and others have studied the art of that period. The information on art and architecture to be found in the Nāg. has been utilized for all it is worth. It seems superfluous in the present book to recapitulate the findings of those experts. The interested reader is referred to Krom's monumental book on Hindu-Javanese art of which an English edition perhaps will be forthcoming before long. In the commentaries of the Nāg. cantos some places have been pointed out where probably wrong translations of verses led to errors.

One peculiar style of the period in representing human figures has been called *wayang* style because the modern Javanese puppets of the *wayang* theatre show the same kind of stylization. In modern Bali paintings in *wayang* style painted on loose hanging cotton sheets are well-known. The existence of similar paintings in 14th century Majapahit is not improbable, and some relation of those painted hangings with the reliefs cut in stone or brick on the walls of temples seems likely. Anyway the *wayang* style is a link connecting 14th century Majapahit culture with Balinese and Central Javanese civilization of the 17th and following centuries.

The similarity in style observed when comparing 14th century Majapahit reliefs with certain panels with wood-carving dating from the 16th century and later has been pointed out repeatedly. The said products of 16th century art are found i.a. in old (Muslim) funeral monuments belonging to families of the ancient mercantile principalities on the North Coast, stretching from Cērbon in the west to Grēsik in the east, and the island of Madura. The appellation *Pasisir* (i.e.

Coast) civilization is appropriate for the culture of those epigones of Majapahit whose Muslim religion did not stand in the way of their appreciation of pre-Muslim art.

In 14th century East Javanese culture both art and letters were indissolubly connected with religious ideas and with each other. Many Dutch students have tried to ascertain the episodes of literary tales that were illustrated by the reliefs in stone or brick on the walls of temples. Though in several cases the identification has succeeded not a few relief-panels remain riddles. The Majapahit artists' manner in representing action is sometimes baffling. Moreover part of the literary works of the period is lost and another part has not yet been studied closely. Reliefs illustrating literary tales are repeatedly referred to in the *Nāg. Galestin's* drawings which embellish the present book show specimens of their style.

In the 14th century the Javanese literary idiom already had a history of more than five centuries. Nevertheless the difference between the 9th and the 15th century chancery idiom is not spectacular. No information on the language spoken in everyday life at the ancient Central Javanese Courts is available. Majapahit charters written in the popular style provide evidence, though, that in the 14th century the chancery and superior literary idiom was antiquated. Majapahit daily parlance had much in common with modern Javanese.

No doubt in the 14th century dialectical differences existed between the idioms of East and Central Javanese provinces. It is impossible to ascertain whether the local dialects that are distinguishable at present already occupied the same space in the 14th century. Probably the wars of the 15th and 16th centuries had a disturbing influence. Perhaps in the 14th century a difference between the idiom of Majapahit proper, the districts on the lower course of the river Brantas, and the *Kaḍiri* idiom, on the middle course of the same river, was discernable (v. comm. *Nāg. canto 40-3*).

In the Majapahit realm many Javanese of some standing knew words belonging to foreign languages, in the first place Malay, Madurese and Balinese. No doubt among the traders of the mercantile towns on the North Coast some familiarity with foreign languages, perhaps including some Indian and Chinese vernaculars, was common. In the ports Javanese decorative art, dance and music, language and literature were enriched by social intercourse with traders, skippers and sailors hailing from many countries.

The Nāg. poet's notes on contemporary Javanese literature have been discussed in the commentary on the 15th chapter. Apparently at the time a courtly style in literary works was distinguished from a more or less popular manner. In literary circles at Court lengthy poems in the Indian *kāvya* tradition were appreciated. Indian metres (not fitting at all for the Javanese language) and a great number of Sanskrit words were used. An extensive knowledge of Sanskrit words (though not of Sanskrit grammar) was found with educated persons in the 14th century. In the Majapahit Court parlance the word *katei* (Skt.: poet) referred to familiarity with Sanskrit, the poetical and scholarly idiom.

At the same time poets and story-tellers produced literary works in a more popular style, using native Javanese metres and somewhat fewer Sanskrit words. These poems and prose tales might be called romances. Their subjects were partly episodes of Javanese historical tradition partly dramatizations of ancient Javanese mythology. The editions of works of this group by van Stein Callenfels, Poerbatjaraka, Berg, van den Berg, Prijono and the present author have shown their importance for a clear apprehension of continuity in Javanese culture. Though the dates of several works of this group might be posterior to the Nāg. some references to popular poetry and to story-tellers that have been pointed out in the poem warrant the supposition of the existence of an extensive literature in the popular manner even in the reign of King Hayam Wuruk.

The King himself was a poet in the popular manner. This fact shows the co-existence in the 14th century (and perhaps long before) of the Indian style and the popular manner in poetry. Probably the King's poems were lyrical and descriptive quatrains of a kind closely related to the well-known Malay *pantuns*. In the Nāg. canto 91 the King is described as singing songs on the occasion of a sacral ceremony in the Royal compound of Majapahit.

In the 14th century several kinds of scholarly works were written and works written before were studied and occasionally re-edited. All were related in some way to religion. Treatises on Indian religious doctrines, both Buddhistic and Shiwaitic, and books on the behaviour of men of religion probably are founded on Indian literature. So is a considerable part of Javanese books on law, though native customary law is not neglected. Books on medicine are difficult to understand on account of the great number of simples (perhaps cryptic names of plants) mentioned therein.

The study of treatises on divination is fruitful because of the references to circumstances of daily life found in them. No doubt 14th century Javanese believed as strongly as their descendants for many centuries to come in the advisability of having propitious moments for the beginning of important activities calculated by experts. Arabic divination in modern Java is the successor of pre-Muslim practice. Some references to divination in the *Nāg.* have been pointed out in the commentaries. The preambles of Royal charters of the time (and long before and after) always contain elaborate dates probably connected with divination.

No doubt in the 14th century Majapahit higher classes were interested in art and literature. The mention in the *Nāg.* canto 29 of the poet's friend who also was a poet and a collector of rare books is significant. The interest in literature taken by Court ladies as referred to in canto 95 is another instance of refinement. Majapahit culture might be compared with the courtly civilization of the 18th and 19th century Central Javanese kingdoms of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Royalty and aristocracy enjoyed life in refined leisure.

CHAPTER 6 - PLAYS AND GAMES
IN 14th CENTURY MAJAPAHIT.

In Java theatre, dance and music always were prominent features of life both at Court and in the country. Most festive occasions were celebrated with theatrical performances, processions, pageants and dances. Music was heard everywhere and at all times of day and night. In modern times business and time-bound work replaced light-hearted joyfulness such as still survives partly in Bali.

In the 14th century in East Java several kinds of theatrical performances were known. For lack of clear descriptions it is difficult to ascertain what they were like. In the commentary on the Nāg. cantos 90 and 91 singing and dancing at the Majapahit Court festival have been discussed (*kidung* singing, *jurn-i-angin*, *rakṣi*). Though *wayang*, in modern Java the name of the national puppet theatre, is not mentioned in the Nāg. its existence in the 14th century is not to be doubted, for the word is found in several texts, and the so-called *wayang*-style of plastic and decorative art is closely related to the theatre. Perhaps *wayang*-performances were less elaborate and occupied a place of less importance in the frame of theatrical arts than they have done since the 17th century in Central Java as a consequence of Royal favour. Probably in 14th century East Java *wayang* puppets and *wayang* theatre performances still were enwrapped by mystery and religious awe, and therefore tabooed in daily life. In the present recapitulation's chapter on religion exorcism of evil spiritual influences by means of a *wayang* theatre performance has been mentioned. Dutch scholars studying the *wayang* theatre (Serrurier, Hazeu, Rassers, Moens, the present author) have found elements of pristine native Javanese belief in it.

The pageants, some with figures (*lapṛi*) and one probably in costume (Nāg. canto 84) also partook of the character of theatrical performances. The importance of pageantry and processional pomp in Javanese culture has been brought out with many instances in the

present author's *Volksvertoningen*.

The dance of a male performer in front of a female dancer (*mangigêl*) is repeatedly mentioned in the texts. Dances of that kind were often performed on the occasion of religious festivals. Probably they were connected with the idea of fruitfulness and with the cult of an ancient chthonic Mother Goddess (v. commentary on Nâg. canto 91). Though frowned on by modern puritanical Islam they still are popular with the common people of the country-side (*tayuban*).

Of course all kinds of pageantry and dancing were accompanied by music. The sets of musical instruments (*gamelan*) mentioned in the Nâg. are not large, being carried in processions. No doubt in the 14th century larger and more varied ensembles were heard on festive occasions accompanying dances and theatrical performances both at Court and in the country. Kunst and Goris's study of Hindu-Javanese musical instruments has made that clear.

Probably in the 14th century Javanese countrymen amused themselves with a great variety of ingeniously made wooden and bamboo instruments, xylophones and flutes. Their absence in Javanese literary texts of the Majapahit period and after is not to be wondered at, for interest in folk music and its instruments (probably dating from very old times) was only awakened in the 20th century by studies by Dutch scholars like Brandts Buys (in *Djâwâ*, from 1924—1933, on "hooters and chirpers"). Probably the wooden signalling blocks studied by that author and by Meyer existed already in the 14th century (and long before).

Probably singing and dancing competitions of two persons or two groups originally belonged to native Javanese tribal custom, being connected with the primeval concept of cosmic duality. Both in human society and in the universe moieties were conceived as perpetually opposing each other without either of them being able to vanquish the other for good and all. The importance of the idea of duality in 14th century Majapahit thought has been pointed out repeatedly in the Nâg. commentaries.

Probably the singing and the theatrical performances (*rakêst*) mentioned in the Nâg. also were contests between two singers or two ensembles. The appreciation for the music and the play was enhanced by the interest in the competition between the performers. In *Volksvertoningen* several instances of musical and theatrical competitions (Achehnese *sadati*) have been pointed out.

A kind of light comedy, probably interspersed with songs and erotic

allusions, related to the *bañolan* scene of modern *wayang* performances, was called *pirus* (v. van Naerssen, Balitung charters, BKI 95, 1937). Perhaps the modern popular East Javanese *ludrug* comedy is related to the old *pirus* play. According to the Pararaton King Hayam Wuruk sometimes appeared in a *bañol* performance.

Games of competition always were popular with the Javanese. Gambling and betting are usual pastimes. Common homely gambling is not mentioned in Javanese literature. Nevertheless it probably went on in all classes and under all circumstances. It is difficult to imagine how the Royal servants in waiting in the outer courtyard of the Majapahit Royal compound (Nāg. chapter 2) could pass the time except by alternately sleeping, eating, talking and gambling. Probably the ladies in the *zenana* also had enough leisure and to spare to indulge in games of all kinds. It seems certain playing at cards is a Chinese import: Tjan Tjoe Siem's book on Javanese card-playing contains interesting information on the great variety of games. Evidence of its being popular already in 14th century Majapahit is lacking. Several games played with small fruit-stones for counters like *ḡakon* make the impression of being very old. Though at present dice are not in common use in Java, in former times when direct Indian influence was stronger they may have been.

Betting on the issue of a fight between humans or between animals is a favoured pastime with the Javanese and probably has been so for a long time. Even knocking hard nuts one against the other to see which of the two is the harder is done expressly to give occasion for betting. Probably the issues of the games of competition between fighting men and the tug-of-war mentioned in the Nāg. canto 87 also were wagered on.

No doubt cock-fights were the most popular games for betting. They are referred to in the Nāg., and in folktales cocks play a prominent part. It is hardly to be doubted that in 14th century Majapahit all classes of the people had cocks for pets with a view to pitting them against another man's cocks at one of the great contests that were held in the good season. In the Nāg. canto 17 attendance of the Court at such a meeting outside Majapahit is mentioned. King Hayam Wuruk's name (probably meaning: Spotted Cock) and his boy's name Tètép (mentioned in the Pararaton, meaning Cockerel) both are evidence of the importance of the bird in the minds of 14th century Javanese.

In the 19th century (and probably in preceding centuries as well)

Royalty and nobility in Central and East Java used on very great occasions to organize tiger-fights (*rampog macan*) on their outer courtyards. Tigers were either made to fight buffaloes (the buffalo won) or a tiger was set at liberty in the centre of the great courtyard surrounded by pikemen, to be killed on the upturned lances when he tried to break through the cordon in order to make his escape. In *Volksvertoningen* this tiger-fighting and its probable implications have been discussed. As it was considered especially a spectacle for Kings one would expect to find it mentioned either in the Nāg. or in other contemporary texts. It is not. Perhaps in the Majapahit period catching and transporting tigers for this end was not done on account of the scarcity of people and the bad condition of roads.

Manly sports are mentioned in the Nāg. and the Nawanatya under the name of *srama*. Perhaps at the Majapahit Court *srama* performances were stately dances of performers carrying long lances or other weapons and presenting a sham fight. Performances of this kind, sometimes lasting several hours on end, always accompanied by *gamelan* music, still are known at the Central Javanese Courts (Yogyakarta Truna-Jaya dances).

From the 17th century onward a kind of jousting on horseback was the knightly sport par excellence with Javanese Royalty and nobility. A tournament was held every week either on Monday or on Saturday (*sĕndhan*, *sĕton*) in the great courtyard. The horses were trained (at least in the 19th century) to go at an amble and the performers wore a special attire. The fight was usually sham. Though riding on horseback is mentioned in the Nāg. (on the occasion of the Royal chase, chapter 6) at the Majapahit Court horses apparently were not esteemed as highly as they were in modern times at the Central Javanese Courts. Neither in the Nāg. nor in the Nawanatya are jousting tournaments mentioned (unless they are included in the *srama* performances, which is improbable). Anyway Old Javanese literature does not show so many treatises on marks on the horse's body able to bring fortune or infortune to its owner (*katuranggan*, from *turangga*, horse) as later Central Javanese literature does. In the 17th century Kings of the Central Javanese Mataram dynasty many times troubled the Dutch Batavian merchants for Persian horses to be presented to them, apparently in order to improve the native breed. Perhaps the splendour of the contemporary Mogul Court in India and its love of horse-flesh influenced the Muslim Mataram rulers.

No doubt in accordance with ancient Indian custom elephants belonged to the Majapahit King's regalia. In the Nāg. King Hayam Wuruk's elephants are mentioned but on his travels and in state processions the King is driven in a wagon or he is carried in a palanquin. Apparently elephant riding did not belong to the Royal sports at the Majapahit Court. The animals seem to have been kept mainly for display. Even in modern times the Muslim Kings of Central Java keep some elephants for that end. Though some of their ancestors in the 19th century are known to have ridden them the custom now is discontinued because trustworthy mahouts are no longer available. Something like that may have been the case in King Hayam Wuruk's days.

CHAPTER 7 - POLITICAL ORDER
IN THE 14th CENTURY MAJAPAHIT REALM.

At the end of canto 12 the Nāg. poet offers his vision on the territorial structure of the Majapahit realm of his time. The capital (with two Royal compounds) was surrounded at a distance by other towns (like Kaḍiri). The other islands and surrounding kingdoms "looked for support" to the centre.

In chapter 2 of the Nāg. the town of Majapahit is partially described. The information is sufficient, though, to allow us to form an idea of its aspect, and on its analogy of the aspects of smaller towns too. Beside Kaḍiri: Surabaya, Singasari, Bayalangu, and in the eastern districts Patukangan, Saḍeng, Kēṭa, Pajarakan and Gēṇḍing seem to have been places of some importance. The remarkable absence of information in the Nāg. on sea-port towns on the North Coast like Tuban and Grēsik has been pointed out in the chapter on economy. Sidayu, Grēsik and Turèn are mentioned in charters.

The territory of the realm in Java proper was divided into a number of provinces. Kahuripan (or Janggala) and Kaḍiri were the most important ones, probably more on account of an ancient division of the realm into moieties founded on primeval native belief than on economic grounds. The principal members of the Royal Family were made Protectors (*nātha*) of those provinces. Probably those vice-regal titles carried real authority and responsibility only when the vice-roy was an energetic person, like King Hayam Wuruk's uncle and father-in-law the Prince of Wēngkēr who swayed the western districts including Kaḍiri. His influence seems to have been felt all over the country.

All members of the Royal Family had their residences in the capital, and so had the principal Court officers, the vizirs and the bishops. Probably this custom was established long before the 14th century and it was continued as far as possible in the Javanese kingdoms till the present day. The centralization no doubt was meant on the one hand to enhance the splendour of the Royal Court and on the other to guard

against insurrections in the provinces headed by discontented and ambitious members of the Royal Family and the Court aristocracy.

Outside the capital in East Java and Madura Royal authority was represented on the one hand by local governors (*adhipati*) and vizirs (*patih*) for matters of secular interest (A), and on the other hand by judges (*dhyaksa*) and assessors-at-law (*upapati*) for spiritual matters, in the first place for the administration of justice according to Indian-Javanese law (B). In the Nāg. it is only on the eastern districts that information is found in a measure sufficient to give an idea of the organization of the country. The eastern districts consisted partly of recent conquests (Saḍəng and Kĕṭa). Perhaps in the central and western districts political order was more complicated as a result of several centuries of rule by Kings of successive dynasties.

In general separation between persons belonging to the temporal sphere and the clergy, both in matters of administration and jurisdiction and in rights and duties, was a long established rule in Javanese kingdoms. Though in theory Islam does not acknowledge sacerdotal authority, even in the Muslim kingdoms of Central Java the Head of the mosque administration in the capital (*panghulu*) was invested with legal powers in the sphere of religion in a way comparable to the Majapahit Court bishops.

A. For lack of reliable information the number of local governors (*adhipatis*) in King Hayam Wuruk's reign could not be ascertained. Perhaps it was not constant. Probably both in the preceding and in the following periods of Javanese history provincial towns of some importance were put under the sway of local governors, whatever their title might be. The 15th and 16th century mercantile principalities on the North Coast probably were originally provinces of Royal governors. In the course of time in some places the local governors increased in wealth and power so as to become rivals of their suzerains. Obligatory attendance at the annual Court festival in Majapahit in March, combined with offering of tribute, should maintain the link between Royalty and the governors. Probably in some cases governorships were given as rewards to meritorious servants of the dynasty and they tended to become hereditary offices. Perhaps matrimonial alliances were resorted to in order to secure powerful governors' families' loyalties to the King. No doubt the 17th century Muslim Kings of Central Java copied the system they found in existence when they came into power and from the 18th century onward Dutch administration has

adopted it. The well-known Regents of Java are successors of Majapahit *adhipatis*.

Probably the governors' rule in their territories was organized in the same manner as the King's in Majapahit, but on a smaller scale. They may have appointed their own subordinate officers, vizirs (*patih*), headmen (*tayda*) and guardsmen (*pangalasan*). No reliable information on this point is available, though. In the 18th and 19th centuries in the Dutch territories Javanese Regents are known to have taken the Central Javanese Muslim Mataram Kings for their examples in all things. There is no reason to ascribe a different frame of mind to Majapahit Royal governors.

Being conservative and static in the extreme 14th century Majapahit society was not in need of a numerous corps of specialized functionaries. Moreover by far the greater part of social and economic activities was outside the sphere of influence of Royal officers. Official action was taken exclusively in cases where Royal interests were involved. No doubt in the 14th century the great majority of Javanese was living in the sphere of rural communities, manorial estates and religious dominions that were self-sufficient and self-governing. The speeches of prominent members of the Royal Family reproduced in the Nāg. cantos 88 and 89 are significant in this respect. Probably a governor's function was restricted on the one hand to defence of his territory against aggression from abroad and suppression of insurrections in the interior, on the other hand to collection of the Royal revenue (mostly in kind: the rice tax) and deposition of the yield into the Royal treasury and the Royal granaries.

In most provinces a number of estates (*sīma*) and religious domains (*dharma*) seems to have been made exempt from dues under Royal charters. The most important Royal religious domains, centres of dynastic ancestor worship, were put under the authority of Court bishops. Many others were completely independent. Some estates may have been exempt from time immemorial (v. comm. Decree Jaya Song). Rural religious communities of the *maṇḍala* type, sacred districts of *hulun hyang* people (worshippers of native Javanese Spirits of mountains etc.), scattered over the highlands, boroughs of middle-class artisans and traders, wards and factories of foreigners, Indians and Chinese, in trading centres in the plains, on the rivers and on the North Coast, and (probably) small tribes of "untouchables" hidden in the primeval forest, were outside the pale of the Royal governor's authority. The *adhipatis* of the Majapahit era were their Royal masters' replica

also in the narrowness of their sphere of control in the country.

All evidence of territorial governors being subordinates of the Majapahit grand-vizir is lacking. Being appointed by the King the governors owned allegiance only to the Royal Family. The grand-vizir was primarily a Royal servant at Court, he was not a minister of Home Affairs.

The number of common vizirs (*patih*) in the Majapahit realm seems to have been considerable. Probably their function is to be described as a stewardship of revenues belonging to a master. Perhaps in several cases a man of unfree origin, a bondman, was made a *patih* by the master in order to take advantages of his abilities. In some cases *patih* seems to be no more than a title given to a man of substance and influence in the countryside, a sheriff.

In the reign of King Hayam Wuruk, before Gajah Mada's death, two high stewards, the vizirs (*patih*s) of Majapahit and Kadiri, resided in the capital, corresponding with the dualism of the realm. Their relation with the stewards of less importance in the country districts is not clear. Organized bureaucracy with clear definitions of official subordination did not belong to the Majapahit era. The supposition of a uniform bureaucratic organization would be at variance with the well-known chequered pattern of society of the time. Even in the 19th century local administration and competences of officials in the Central Javanese kingdoms baffled Dutch observers. Probably in 14th century Majapahit the co-existence of rural communities, manorial estates and religious domains of many descriptions rendered uniformity of administration unimaginable.

Both in the country and at Court persons vested with secular authority in general were called *mantris* (rendered: mandarins, the Portuguese form of the word). Probably lairds of important manorial estates were included in the group of the *mantris*. Their proper title seems to have been *anden* (related to the modern Javanese title *raden*).

B. In the 14th century Majapahit realm the separation of temporal and spiritual spheres of authority was carried through in many ways. In the country religious domains of any kind seem to have been free from intervention in their concerns by temporal authorities, at least theoretically. In several cases ecclesiastical gentlemen had to appeal to the King's court of justice in the capital to have their ancient rights acknowledged. The enforcement of a sentence probably was not easy.

Next to Royal estates, crown-lands, opened and cultivated by bond-

men and controlled by the King's stewards (*patih*), religious domains, residences of ecclesiastic families, may have been the most trustworthy supports of Royal authority in the country. For that reason appeals of ecclesiastics as a rule were accepted at Court.

No doubt in the 14th century almost all cases of misdemeanour or controversies that called for a ruling were decided in the sphere of rural community, manorial estate or religious dominion by elders or chiefs. Their sentences were founded mainly on custom. Only in cases when Royal interests were involved was justice administered by Royal judges and assessors-at-law according to Indian-Javanese law-books. Breaking the King's peace and disturbing cosmic order by irregularity in sexual relations were considered cases for Royal justice. The fines that were imposed were deposited at least partially into the Royal treasury. People could be made Royal bondmen by sentence of a court of justice, or as a consequence of not being able to pay their fines.

Probably judges and assessors-at-law in the country were appointed by the King either directly or indirectly. They seem to have stood in relation to the Royal court of justice in the capital. The modality of that relation is not clear, though.

Many religious domains (*dharma*) scattered all over the country belonged in theory to defunct Princes who were believed to reside there *in effigie* amidst their descendants and servants. In practice those domains were inhabited and controlled by families of gentlemen, both secular and ecclesiastic, who probably were descendants or at least relatives of the defunct. As a rule the Royal *dharma*'s families entertained relations with the Court where Royal servants with the rank of bishop were charged especially with the promotion of their interests. Religious domains in the country that were not under the protection of Court bishops formed a majority, though.

The chequered pattern of Majapahit territories in Java consisting in lands belonging to a variety of masters had its counterpart in the diversity of countries considered to be in the sphere of influence of the East Javanese Kings. In view of the probably rather unstable authority exercised by the 14th century Majapahit Royal Family in their own island any powerful and lasting rule of foreign dominions seems very unlikely. Evidently the countries in the Archipelago and on the continent enumerated in the *Nāg.* chapter 3 were known at the Majapahit Court, and the Bubad merchants were acquainted with their products. Probably in several cases members of Royal families of the

islands used to visit Javanese ports for matters of trade and diplomatically they entered into the Presence of the divine King to offer homage presents. No doubt the Majapahit Court was well pleased to receive visits of foreign Princes because they enhanced its splendour and they brought presents. For the foreigners Majapahit was a metropolis; returned in their distant homes they remembered its sights and they tried to imitate its customs. Probably in many cases Majapahit's dominion in the other islands of the Archipelago was more cultural than political and effective.

But then naval and military expeditions of Javanese forces to foreign countries are known to have taken place in the 14th century. Similar expeditions on a smaller scale are alluded to in *Nāg.* canto 16. As to the motive: on the analogy of inter-insular wars in the 15th and following centuries the supposition that the East Javanese staple of Moluccan spices was at stake seems very probable. Spices were needed to barter in the East Javanese ports for continental imports: metals and fine textiles.

Royal expeditions to the eastern districts of Java proper, to Bali and to Sumatra, and to other countries perhaps as well, must have had for motive simple lust for conquest and booty, though. Probably, if the Javanese arms were favoured by fortune, at one stroke the Royal treasury benefited more by the loot and bondmen brought over to Majapahit and the tribute forced from vanquished rulers than by the King's regular revenues from his ancestral dominions in the centre of the realm.

Such as it was the Majapahit territories in Java and the sphere of influence of the divine Kings in the Archipelago were considered imposing by contemporaries. Of course the *Nāg.* poet exaggerated when he placed the Javanese kingdom on a par with India (in canto 83). But then modern standards are not to be applied when considering 14th century political power and economy.

The well-known notices in the Chinese Imperial chronicles on embassies coming from the Archipelago are difficult to connect with facts mentioned in native texts. If King Hayam Wuruk really sent embassies to the Chinese Emperor it is strange China is mentioned so seldom in the *Nāg.* whereas countries like India are mentioned very often. Probably in Chinese-Javanese relations trade was the paramount factor whereas culture was the background even of Javanese mercantile relations with India.

The Javanese Royal ambassadors who are mentioned in the Chinese

Imperial chronicles as coming regularly to China may have been traders provided with a Royal patent of the Majapahit Court, sailing either in Javanese or in Chinese vessels. The supposition that several trader-ambassadors, though in Java acknowledging the East Javanese King as their lord and master, in fact were by origin Chinese, long settled in the Archipelago and related by marriage to native families of standing, is not to be discarded.

*CHAPTER 8 - THE ROYAL COURT
IN THE 14th CENTURY MAJAPAHIT REALM.*

Being a Court poet the author of the *Nāg.* was particularly interested in concerns of the Court and the Royal Family. In fact in 14th century Java the Royal Court was the centre of society, and the divine King was worshipped religiously even if he was not always obeyed scrupulously.

The capital of the realm, Majapahit, was essentially the residence of the Court, the abode of the Royal Family and the dwelling-place of their servants. The plan of the town has been discussed in the commentary on the *Nāg.* chapter 2. The resemblance with plans of capitals of modern Javanese kingdoms was pointed out already by Stutterheim. It is suggestive of the existence of an ancient tradition, probably much older than Majapahit which was founded not before 1292 A.D. Some relation of the town-plan and the plan of the Royal compound with primeval native ideas on cosmic and social order is probable. The supposition that other Javanese towns of the Majapahit period (and before) were laid out on the same plan though on a smaller scale seems likely in view of the resemblance of modern Javanese provincial town-plans with the Central Javanese capitals' lay-out. Centrality of the Royal (c.q. seigneurial) compound and orientation, especially observance of the north-south axis, are prominent features of Javanese planned towns. Maclaine Pont's studies of Javanese architecture and Majapahit town planning are interesting in this respect.

Information on the topography of the Majapahit town-centre is available in the *Nāg.* cantos 8—12. The structure of the Royal Court as a social unit is a matter of hypotheses founded on sparse remarks of the *Nāg.* poet and other authors. Whereas an idea of the Royal Family and their servants of the highest ranks can be formed with reasonable accuracy, reliable information on the lower ranks of Royal

servants, menials, bondmen and bondwomen is scarce. In the following pages an outline of the structure of the 14th century Majapahit Court society is offered beginning with the lowest ranks. The social top, the Royal Family, shall be described in the next chapter of the present recapitulation.

Probably bondmen and bondwomen formed the menial class of Court society. Though they are not always mentioned in the text all the time their presence and assistance seems to be assumed as a matter of course. The sumptuous festivals and splendid ceremonies described in the Nāg. chapters 9 and 14 could not be organized without the help of a great number of menials. No doubt the modern Central Javanese Royal compounds are larger than the Majapahit one was, and structures of wood and bamboo have been replaced by roomy buildings of brick with marble floors. But even so the throng of servants employed in modern *kratons* to keep things in reasonable order might give an idea of the multitude of menials in the Royal compounds of Majapahit.

The social state of bondmen and bondwomen in the 14th century has been discussed in the chapter on society. Beside those common Javanese (and perhaps Balinese, Madurese and Sundanese) men and women (probably for the greater part born in their subservient state) the Majapahit Kings and the aristocracy may have owned slaves, both male and female, brought by Royal expeditions or by trade from their distant homes in the islands. As the Nāg. does not contain any clear reference to foreign slaves probably in the 14th century their number was not great nor was their function in society of great importance.

Probably in the 14th century Majapahit realm in some districts lands were put under culture and tilled for the benefit of the Royal Family by groups of bondmen. On the other hand capable bondmen could be raised to influential posts in their masters' *familia*. The supposition that some Royal servants even of the highest ranks originally sprang from unfree families (*ministeriales*) does not seem preposterous.

Beside bondmen the Royal Family and superior Royal servants could command corvée labour of the rural communities that were scattered over the country. Probably free agriculturists were summoned for corvée mainly for special occasions. In the course of the Royal Progresses to distant districts and for great processions perhaps corvée labour used to be summoned.

Products of handicrafts: blacksmithing, wood-carving, bamboo-work, painting and stone-cutting were needed in considerable quantities at Court both for secular use by the Royal family and the superior servants and for religious worship. In the Nāg. canto 63 the artisans (or artists: the same thing at the time) at Court are mentioned. Probably their skill was traditional, transmitted from father to son, and as far as possible kept secret. Smiths of crisses and armourers probably were held in awe. Pristine belief in the supernatural power of fire and metals caused men who handled those elements to be placed in a class by themselves. Artisans' places (if that is the meaning of *kalagyan*), all over the country, were put on a par with religious domains. Probably the artisans observed special rites connected with their crafts.

In ancient Royal charters a list of "collectors of the lord's due" (*mangilala dērwya haji*) is found, containing i.e. the names of some handicrafts (v. recap. chpt. 1, social order). In the 10th and 11th century charters the *mangilala* are called *wulu-wulu para wulu, mishra para mishra*. These words seem to indicate that the men were not held in high esteem socially. Perhaps the institution of the "lord's due" originally was founded on the idea of a sacral bond between men not belonging to the class of regular agriculturists in the country and the head of the social and cosmic community, the laird or the King. In olden times the "lord's due" may have had some connection with religious worship and an annual festival. Probably it was collected in the country by messengers who represented the artisans at Court, heads of arts. In this manner Court artisans were indemnified for the work they did for the Royal Family free of charge: it was paid for by the retributions of their fellow-artisans in the country.

Perhaps in the Majapahit period the custom of the "lord's due" collected for the benefit of Court artisans was gradually falling into disuse. In the Nāg. it is not referred to. Probably the proceeds were out of all proportion to the cost of collecting.

As to the Royal servants of main and higher rank the separation between temporal and spiritual spheres of activity was strictly observed. In King Hayam Wuruk's days ecclesiastical officers at Court, especially those who belonged to the Shiwaite and Buddhist denominations, seem to have been called *bhujangga*. *Mantri* (rendered: mandarin) was the appellation of secular gentlemen in the King's service. Royal kinsmen related to the Head of the family by collateral lines or poly-

gamous matrimonial alliance were found on many posts. They seem to have had a right to the title *kshatriya*.

The division of the clergy at Court into four denominations: Shiwaites, Buddhists, friars and Wishnuites has been discussed in the chapter on religion of the present recapitulation. Ordained priests who performed religious worship at one or other of the sanctuaries inside the walls of the Royal compound were called *wiku haji*. On special occasions highly venerated doctors in religious lore were called in to perform ceremonies. A brahmin attended to Wishnuite worship.

As religious ceremonies were considered of paramount importance for the good of the Royal Family and the country in general the priests were well provided for. Probably as a rule they owned land in the country that was either tilled by bondmen under the supervision of a steward or farmed out on metayage basis to freemen from neighbouring secular communities or lairds of manors. The priests' part of the offerings and the obligatory presents given by the laity to the officiants increased the sacerdotal revenue.

Probably Court ecclesiastics were also employed outside public worship as scribes and clerks. The Nāg, poet himself was a member of the Buddhist episcopal family and an ecclesiastic. Withal he probably was more like a Court *abbé* and a cultured man of letters than a priest. His frequent references to the Register of religious and secular domains suggest that he occupied himself with old documents. Perhaps if the office of Master of the Rolls had existed in 14th century Majapahit he would have held it.

In the Court clergy was included a small number of scholars and doctors of law who bore peculiar titles beginning with the old word *ṣamāḡḡt* or *samāḡḡt* (rendered: gentleman). They seem to have had a right to the predicate *ārya* (rendered: Honourable). In the commentaries on the Purwadigama and the Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa a list of eight title-names of this kind is discussed. The meanings of the names are not clear. In the preambles of Royal charters the assessors-at-law (*upapatti*) who sat on the Royal court of justice are given title-names belonging to this group. Perhaps some functionaries bearing title-names of this kind were experts in magical practices. Some sang songs on the occasion of the annual Court festival, probably charged with allusions to ancient lore and myth. Perhaps the group as a whole was regarded with some awe, being considered as having the guardianship of the wisdom of the ancients, either of Indian or of

native Javanese origin.

At the head of the Court clergy were two bishops, one Shiwaite and one Buddhist. They were superintendents of religious domains in the country belonging to sacerdotal families of their respective denominations. Probably they had an income consisting of retributions due by the subordinate clergy. But then two groups of religious domains seem to have been under two special Court officers, according to Nāg. canto 75.

The two Court bishops also presided jointly over the sessions of the Royal court of justice. The Shiwaite bishop no doubt was the more influential of the two. Probably the episcopal offices were hereditary in certain families, like almost all functions in 14th century Javanese society and after. Hereditary transmission of titles and offices was in accordance with the static and conservative character of the age.

The secular Royal servants at the Majapahit Court were divided into more groups even than the clergy. The companies of Royal guardsmen (*pangalasan*) mentioned in canto 9 of the Nāg. and in other texts had names that partly survive till modern times (*Tamtāmd*, still a name of a company at the Central Javanese Court, v. Groneman and Soedjono on the *Garébègs*). A name like *Angrayok* is suggestive of a soldierly spirit. The modern Javanese *reyog* dancing performance, a sham fight, probably is to be connected with ancient military lore (v. *Volksvertoningen*). For another part the companies were given names of districts, which suggests the existence of territorial groups.

Entrance into a company of Royal guardsmen was made conditional on the standing of a test, according to the Nawanatya. Survival of an ancient young men's initiation with ritual test seems probable. Perhaps as a rule only young men belonging to the *amātya* class, the well-born, closely related to the rural gentry, enlisted. Their motive for doing so may have been, beside family tradition, love of adventure and hope of an advantageous Court career.

A well-known tale concerning the first Muslim King of the Central Javanese kingdom of Pajang in the 16th century mentions his entrance as a young man into the *Tamtāmd* company of the King of Dēmak on the North Coast after giving a proof of his prowess. The Pararaton has a tale about a fight between men belonging to different companies that occurred in the reign of King Toh Jaya of Singasari, about a century before King Hayam Wuruk's time. Also according to the

Pararaton the grand-vizir Gajah Mada was an officer (*ambèkkèl*) of the *Bhayangkāri* company before he was raised to the office of a *patih* of Kahuripan.

In canto 9 of the Nāg. headmen (*taṇḍa*), yeomen (*gusti*) and common soldiers (*wado haji*) seem to be distinguished in the ranks of the Royal guardsmen. They were served by camp-followers (*among tuhan*), probably bondmen.

The guardsmen formed a small standing army at the King's service. Perhaps some other members of the Royal Family, like the energetic Prince of Wēngkēr, and some superior Royal officers, like the grand-vizir and the territorial governors, kept similar companies of men-at-arms. They seem to have received some pay in cash out of the treasury of their master, and for the rest they subsisted upon the revenue of their family's estates. In time of peace they were not permanently in attendance but served by turns, every man for some days a week.

If necessary, Royal bondmen could be sent on expeditions but probably their fighting spirit was not up to the mark. A call to arms of the whole of the nation is nowhere mentioned in Old Javanese literature. Probably dynastic wars were outside the sphere of interest of people in the country. Compulsory military service did not belong to the age.

The number of fighting men that could be put into the field by the Majapahit Court in case of emergency is impossible to ascertain. It view of the general sparsity of the population it could not be large. Perhaps an estimate of a few tens of thousands in all would not be far amiss. In some texts the number of vizirs in the King's service is put at about a hundred and fifty and the number of headmen (*taṇḍa*) at about ten times as many. Probably those numbers are estimates erring rather on the side of overrating the Royal power than the reserve. Certainly not all headmen were captains of companies of fighting men.

Apparently the title of *taṇḍa* was borne in the 14th century by many officers whose concern was not strictly military but rather supervisory of public order and Royal revenue. *Pañca-taṇḍa* (afterwards corrupted: *pěcat-taṇḍa*), fellow-headman, seems to have been a title of representatives of Royal authority of intermediate rank in the country. Superintendents of markets have been called *taṇḍas* in the Central Javanese kingdoms up to modern times.

Any separation between military and civil service was unknown in 14th century Majapahit. Perhaps the *taṇḍa* title is to be put on a

par with the modern Javanese *angabehi* rank. In several cases in modern Central Javanese style *ngabehi* or *behi* is only an indication of intermediate rank. Though *angabehi* is not unknown in Old Javanese texts the word is not used in the Nāg.

The highest rank of secular Majapahit Court officers was filled by a small number of superior Royal servants. The grand-vizir was the most important of them. In the preambles of Royal charters lists of superior Royal servants are always placed directly after the mention of the Royal family and before the bishops and the court of justice. The functionaries who were included in those lists were not always the same. The commander-in-chief (*tumĕnggung*), the chamberlain (*dĕmung*), the chancellor (*kanuruhan*), the aide-de-camp (*rangga*) and the master of the guardsmen (*juru pangalasan*) are mentioned in the Nawanatya and their functions are described clearly. The same are mentioned in canto 10 of the Nāg.

Beside the Court grand-vizir in the capital a considerable number of vizirs (*patihs*) of less importance were found in the country, and so the grand-chamberlain and the grand-chancellor at Court also had colleagues of lower standing. Probably the principal members of the Royal Family, in the first place the Prince of Wĕngkĕr, had their own vizirs, chamberlains and chancellors, perhaps even their own captains of the guard and their own aide-de-camps.

The list of Nāg. canto 10 gives the impression that the superior Royal servants at Court formed a board of five members. But then in canto 72 the establishment of another group of four high officials is mentioned. Apparently the superior Royal servants at Court could be changed, eventually promoted in rank and also removed from office. A group of Old Mandarins who served as advisors to the King was composed of retired Royal servants of high rank.

Royal servants of intermediate rank, headmen (*taṇḍa*) and yeomen (*gusti*) served as subordinate officers under the vizirs, chamberlains, chancellors etc. at Court. The modern Central Javanese Courts probably have a more variegated personnel than the Majapahit Court had. Yet the considerable number of servants of the Interior (*abdi dalĕm*) of the *kratons* of Surakarta and Yogyakarta might give an accurate idea of the entourage of the 14th century Royal Family.

Probably the majority of the Majapahit Royal servants were in active service only for some days a week. The rest of the time they

were free to look after their own concerns. As a consequence the number of functionaries of the same rank was large: they took turns in office and out of it. The same system still prevails at the modern Central Javanese Courts. In canto 8 of the Nāg. it is referred to.

None of the Royal Servants lived inside the Royal compound. They had their own compounds or manors in town or in the country, in some cases perhaps at a considerable distance. The coming and going of Royal servants of more or less importance (even the lowest in rank followed by a retinue of junior relatives, eventual successors in office, and bondmen carrying personal effects and insignia of office), entering the Royal compound to take up their duties or departing home after their term, gave the town and its surroundings a particular liveliness.

No doubt any office of Royal servant, even the most insignificant one, procured social regard for its holder. In town and in the country Royal servants were respected and perhaps feared for their supposed close relation to powerful persons. Occasionally some of them may have taken advantage of the opportunity to benefit themselves. Social regard was considered (at least theoretically) the principal reward of serving the Royal Family. Besides in the Majapahit realm superior Royal servants at Court seem to have had an income from the King's revenue in cash and from lands in the country.

In the Nawanatya the functions of the superior Royal servants at Court are described with full particulars and their incomes are mentioned. The incomes in cash are stated in hundreds and thousands *per diem*; they came from the market. Evidently in Majapahit (and in the other towns and all through the country) a market retribution was required from the sellers and the tradeswomen. The small sums (in Chinese cash) when added could well amount to many thousands. In view of the small intrinsic value of Chinese cash (probably about 100 cash = 0,055 gold U.S. dollar) the real value of the Court officers' revenues in money can not have been great and the trouble and costs of collecting (either directly by the superior officers' own subordinate headmen and yeomen or by the chiefs of the merchants, acting as intermediaries, see the Biluluk charter's commentary) must have been enormous.

Beside cash income (*dĕmak*) the superior Royal servants are mentioned in the Nawanatya as having some hundreds or even thousands of districts (*desha*) each. Probably this information refers to the authorization given by the Royal Family to their principal servants to collect Royal revenue due by rural communities (and perhaps

manorial estates) in the country. The Royal revenue consisted in tithes of the crops (the rate is unknown) in kind, in some taxes or contributions in cash and in customary services (v. Sarwadharma charter). In the Nawanatya the Head of the clergy at Court is said to have had as districts (*desha*) all *kalagyans* (probably: artisans' boroughs) of the country, evidently to draw revenues from.

No doubt the districts that were given to the superior Royal servants were spread all over the country, as a rule not forming coherent areas, which would have been prejudicial to Royal authority. The number of thousands of *deshas* given as endowment to Royal servants seems very large. But then the Nawanatya author perhaps exaggerated, and the numbers perhaps were theoretical and approximative rather than exact. Moreover the *deshas* meant in the Nawanatya might be in many cases territorial units of very small extent inhabited by not more than one family with its retainers. The juridical term *desha* no doubt is chosen in order to include all kinds of rural territories. The modern Javanese word for village (*desa*) seems to be a descendant of the juridical term used in old texts on the order of the realm. The term *cakah* (unit) used in modern Javanese Royal regulations on the division of revenue among Court officers is reminiscent of the Nawanatya's *desha*. The system (in Dutch called *appanage*) of the 17th century Muslim Mataram Kings perhaps was imitated (like many other customs and institutions) from the conquered dominions formerly belonging to the East Javanese realm.

The available information is too scanty to allow of an answer of the question whether in the Majapahit realm all Royal servants both of high and low rank were endowed with an *appanage*, however small. Probably in this case as in many other cases no serious attempt at uniformity was made. Superior Royal servants perhaps provided for many headmen and yeomen in their service out of their own regular revenues.

CHAPTER 9 - THE ROYAL FAMILY
IN THE 14th CENTURY MAJAPAHIT REALM.

No doubt in King Hayam Wuruk's days the number of Javanese families that could claim to be related to Royalty either by blood or by matrimonial alliances was very large. Probably polygamy was practised by members of the Royal Family on an extensive scale as a policy to make sure of the loyalty of country gentlemen. Families of Royal kinsmen were found all over the country. Subtle rank differences between the terms by which they are called (*kadang haji, sakaparèk, warga haji*) are probable but difficult to ascertain. In the modern Central Javanese kingdoms those Royal kinsmen were considered of the highest rank whose relation to Royalty was of recent date: children and in-laws of the reigning King. Relations dating from the reigns of predecessors were considered of lower rank. The lower ranks of Royal kinsmen (*sěntěnd Dalěm*) were called after the deceased Kings from whom they descended.

There are no means of ascertaining whether in the 14th century that system of declining ranks of nobility already prevailed. It seems very probable it did, for establishment in the 17th century of a system completely at variance with Muslim notions on hereditary rights would be strange.

So Javanese gentlemen, contemporaries of King Hayam Wuruk, could be related to the Singasari-Majapahit dynasty by collateral lines beginning in the reigns of one of the Kings (about seven in number) between Hayam Wuruk and the founder King Rājasa, more than 150 years before. Probably in the 14th century beside the nobility of Singasari-Majapahit origin country families claiming descent from former dynasties still flourished. The ancient Royal House of Kaḍiri had in its time, in the 11th and 12th centuries, no doubt as many relatives as the Singasari-Majapahit Kings. So lairds of manorial estates as mentioned in the Nāg. canto 78 might be related to ancient Royal Houses.

At the Majapahit Court Royal kinsmen of standing were as a rule

called *kshatriyas* (Sanskrit, the second caste). Probably the consorts of the Princesses of the Blood Royal, King Hayam Wuruk's father the Prince of Singasari and his uncle the Prince of Wēngkēr were *kshatriyas* by birth. Their descent is not mentioned in the Nāg., though. No doubt the word *wardhana* (increase), found in the names of almost all Prince-Consorts of King Hayam Wuruk's time, is an indication of their position of adjunct to the Royal Family.

In several Royal charters of the time the principal members of the Royal Family are enumerated in the preamble. At the end of the Royal list before the principal Royal servants the "great mandarins" *Ilino*, *Sirikan* and *Halu* are mentioned. These titles (originally territorial, probably) are old: they are already found (sometimes with an addition) in 10th and 11th century Central Javanese Royal charters. In the Majapahit period the titles seem to have been given to younger members of the Royal Family. It is not clear who were the persons who were distinguished in this manner, and why. In the Nāg. they are not mentioned.

The Singasari-Majapahit dynasty has been the subject of many studies by Dutch historians (v. Casparis' expected new English edition of Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*). The Pararaton, the Nāg. and Royal charters have been their principal sources of information. In the present recapitulation only some remarks on the Nāg. poet's list of King Hayam Wuruk's nearest relatives are inserted.

No doubt in the 14th century all members of the Royal Family (like all Javanese before and since) had several names given them in accordance with their age (youth, manhood, old age) and function in society (consecrated Prince, officiant in religious ceremonies). The Pararaton has a list of names of King Hayam Wuruk (v. *Volksvertoningen*). Shri Hayam Wuruk Radèn Tètèp (the Illustrious Spotted Cock Sir Cockerel) appears to have been the King's most personal name (in the Pararaton called *kasir-kasir*, usually: a name of honour, see the commentary on the Nāg. canto 28). Names including references to animals were popular in the Singhasari-Majapahit period, hence they are frequently found in Javanese romantic historical tales (Pañji romances). Perhaps in most cases those names were heraldic: the bearer could mark his belongings with a picture of the animal of which he took the name.

In a very small minority of cases the personal names of Royal persons have come down to posterity. The other Royal names mentioned in the Nāg. are all consecration names.

The inter-relationship of those members of the Royal Family who were contemporaries of the Nāg. poet has been made clear by means of a genealogical tree that is attached to the present book (vol. V). It spans three generations and mentions at the top the King's grandfather King Kērtarājasa Raden Wijaya, the founder of Majapahit, and the King's grandmother the venerated *Rājapatnī*.

No doubt the consecration names that were given to members of the Majapahit Royal Family were chosen with reference to the bearers' inter-relationship. Moreover in connection with most persons the Nāg. poet mentions a god or a goddess by way of comparison. Probably these comparisons are significant also for the persons' position in the framework of the Royal Family. In the following synopsis special attention is paid to Royal names and their implications. Names were never insignificant in the Javanese mind.

Probably the *raden* name of the founder of Majapahit: Wijaya, refers to his relationship with the ancient Royal House of Kaḍiri. *Jaya* (victory) seems to have been a family name of that House, comparable to *Rājasa* (impetuous) of the Singasari-Majapahit dynasty (v. the commentary on the Nāg. chapter 5). No doubt the Royal consecration name Kērtarājasa contains references on the one hand to the King's father-in-law the celebrated King Kērtanagara of Singasari and on the other to the founder of the Singasari dynasty King Rājasa Kēn Angrok. The combination of two revered names was meant to consolidate the position of the Prince who successfully tried to restore the East Javanese realm after the catastrophe of the Chinese invasion. The two elements of the King's second name Jayawardhana refer to his Kaḍirinese relation (*Jaya*) and to his being a Prince-Consort (*wardhana*: increase), marrying King Kērtanagara's "daughters", the rightful heiresses to the throne. There is no need to discuss in the present recapitulation the identity of those Princesses. They are mentioned by name in the Nāg. canto 46. King Kērtarājasa is not compared to any god, being long dead in 1365.

King Hayam Wuruk's grandmother the *Rājapatnī* was venerated in her old age for her Buddhist piety (according to the Nāg. poet who was a Buddhist himself). Her deification as Prajñāpāramitā, the Perfect Wisdom, a personification of Māyā, i.e. Nature, or the World, considered as an unreal semblance, has been discussed in the commentary on the Nāg. chapter 9. In canto 2 she is compared to Bhagawatī, i.e. Umā-Durgā, the Shiwaite supreme goddess. A reason to assume that in the people's mind the *Rājapatnī* took the place of an ancient

native chthonic goddess usually called the Venerated Holy Grand-mother (Hyang Nini, Ra Nini) has been mentioned in the said commentary.

The *Rājapatni*'s eldest daughter, King Hayam Wuruk's mother, was called Tribhuwana Wijayottunggadewī, according to the Nāg. poet. The element Tribhuwana is reminiscent of the name of her eldest aunt, the eldest "daughter" of King Kērtanagara of Singasari. *Utungga* (exalted) is found in very old Royal names (King Siṇḍok, 10th century) and also in King Kērtanagara's Sarwadharma charter. Evidently King Hayam Wuruk's mother was distinguished by illustrious names. In King Hayam Wuruk's own Ferry charter she is called Tribhūwanottungga Rājadewī Jaya Wiṣṇuwardhanī. In the last name the Kaḍiri-nese *Jaya* element (her halfbrother Jayanagara was a consecrated King of Kaḍiri) and the remarkable name of her grandfather King Wiṣṇuwardhana of Singasari are apparent.

In the reign of her son Tribhuwanā (called by Dutch historians the Regent of the realm) was titular Princess of Jiwana-Kahuripan. The significance of the vice-regal titles given to members of the Royal Family has been discussed in the commentary on Nāg. canto 18. Tribhuwanā and her sister Mahārājasā the Princess of Kaḍiri are together compared by the Nāg. poet to Sudewī, the Good Goddesses, probably in this case a name for Shrī and Lakṣmī (v. comm. canto 48—1).

King Hayam Wuruk's father the titular Prince of Singasari was called Kērtawardhana. The element *Kērtā* is borrowed from the name of his father-in-law King Kērtarājasa (who gave the element *Rājasa* to his other son-in-law Wijayarājasa the Prince of Wēngkēr). *Wardhana* is the usual indication of the position of a Prince-Consort. His own descent is unknown. His *raden* name Cakradhara (according to the Pararaton) or Cakreshwara (according to the Ferry charter) implies Royal rank (*cakra*: the wheel of empire). So does the poet's comparison for him with the exalted Jina or Dhyāni-Buddha Ratnasambhawa (Nāg. canto 3), which places him almost on a par with his grandfather King Kērtanagara of Singasari who was identified with the Dhyāni-Buddha Wairocana (canto 43). The hypothesis that Cakreshwara-Kērtawardhana was a descendant of King Kērtanagara of Singasari by a collateral line and so a cousin of his wife seems very probable. His vice-regal title Prince of Singasari and his fervent Buddhism (canto 3) are in accordance with this supposition.

Mahārājasā, the titular Princess of Kaḍiri and King Hayam

Wuruk's maternal aunt, was named after her father King Kērtarājasa, and so was her husband Wijayarājasa the Prince of Wēngkēr. The latter's relation with the House of Kaḍiri is apparent by the element *Wijaya* and by his vice-regal titles: first Matahun (see Krom, H. J. G.) afterwards Wēngkēr. The district of Matahun is mentioned in the Central Javanese Royal chronicles (Bahad Tanah Jawa, Register by Brandes) in connection with Jipang, an ancient principality in the present-day Regency of Bojā Nāgārā. In the 16th century after a furious struggle it was vanquished by the Muslim Kings of Mataram. The situation of Matahun in the middle part of the basin of the Bēngawan (the Sālā-river) clears up its connection with Wēngkēr which was situated on the upper course of an affluent of that same river. The principality of Wēngkēr was already powerful in the days of King Erlangga in the 11th century. After some time the title of Prince of Matahun was given to Wijayarājasa's son-in-law Rājasawardhana.

The Nāg. poet's comparison of the energetic Prince of Wēngkēr to Upēndra places him on a line with Krēshna-Wishnu. In the Old Javanese Bhomakāwya (translated by Teeuw, canto 79, stanza 27) Upēndra is mentioned as a name of that god. Perhaps the point of comparison is, beside Wijayarājasa's energy, his relation to his brother-in-law Kērtawardhana of Singasari who was his senior. The relation between the divine brothers of the Indian epic, Baladewa the elder and Krēshna-Wishnu-Upēndra the younger, is popular in Javanese literature. Besides in the Wēngkēr simile, the Nāg. poet probably refers to the divine pair another time, namely by way of simile for Kings Wiṣṇuwardhana and Narasinghamūrti (canto 41).

The comparison of the Prince of Wēngkēr to Krēshna-Wishnu may have been thought appropriate also because in the Kaḍiri moiety of of the realm Wishnuism seems to have survived up to the 14th century. According to the charters of Biluluk and Katiḍèn the Wēngkēr Prince was given a Wishnuitic last resting place. Meanwhile it is remarkable that in Nāg. canto 12—2 the Prince of Wēngkēr and his wife the Princess of Kaḍiri are compared to Indra and Shaci. In Indian mythology Indra is Wishnu-Upēndra's elder brother.

Wēngkēr's close connection with the ancient realm of Kaḍiri is apparent from the position of Wijayarājasa's younger brother lord (*bhaṭāra*) Narapati as vizir of Daha (i.e. Kaḍiri, canto 12) and as leader of the Court nobility (*kshatriya*) on the occasion of the *Rājapatni's shrāddha* ceremonies (canto 66). Evidently the Prince of Wēngkēr and Narapati, residing each in their own compound and

manor in Majapahit, were chiefs of the powerful Kaḍiri faction at Court.

King Hayam Wuruk Rājasanagara's name contains references to his grandfather King Kērtarājasa and to his great-grandfather King Kērtanagara. The King's close connection with the eastern moiety of the realm (as opposed to Kaḍiri) is apparent from his title Prince of Kahuripan (i.e. Janggala, the Brantas delta) borne before his accession to the throne. The Shiwaite and Buddhistic similes for the sovereign are found in several cantos of the Nāg. Probably in a pageant on the occasion of the Caitra Court festival (canto 84) King Hayam Wuruk appeared in public seated on a state palanquin in the garb of Siddhārtha Buddha (Shoddhodani).

His names as mentioned in the Pararaton (p. 27) contain several references to mythology (v. *Volksvertoningen*). In the sacral play performed at the end of the Caitra festival the King probably acted the part of a superhuman Sage or Wizard. His name as a Master of mysteries Janeshwara (according to the Pararaton) is reminiscent of Jñāneshwarabajra or Jñānabajreshwara, an esoteric name of King Kērtanagara of Singasari who was identified with the Jina or Dhyāni-Buddha Wairocana.

The First Lady of King Hayam Wuruk's zenana had the title-name *Parameshwarī*. She was not of equal birth with the King, being a daughter of the Prince of Wēngkēr and a lady of lower rank than the Princess of Kaḍiri. She is not mentioned in the preambles of Royal charters. If the reading of Nāg. canto 18—4 is right her Court name was Sudewī, referring to Umā-Durgā, Shiwa's spouse. In fact in the grand pageant on the occasion of the Caitra festival she appeared at the King's side as the Victorious Durgā (Tripuraharendrā the spouse of Shiwa). Probably her Shiwaite make-up was chosen in order to have a counterpart for the King who impersonated Siddhārtha Buddha (v. commentary on canto 84). She is compared to Susumnā, the Gracious Goddess, the cephalic vein or tubular vessel in the Indian esoteric yoga science (Haṭha Yoga, still known in Bali, v. Hooykaas, Shangkhya-Ileer van Bali, TBG 84, 1950). The two Princesses of her generation (both by birth her superiors) the Princesses of Pajang and Lasēm are compared respectively with Iḍā and Pinggalā, the goddesses of the left and right side veins in the same yoga system. In this group of three goddesses Susumnā-Parameshwarī seems to occupy the central place being the nearest to the King. It seems possible that the name Sudewī mentioned in canto 18—4 contains an allusion to

Susumnā. In canto 7 the inmates of the Royal zenana together are compared to Ratih, the goddess of Love, and the King is called Kāma-dewa, the Indian Eros. Susumnā-Parameshwarī is called by the Nāg. poet a pre-eminently fit partner for Hayam Wuruk because of her beauty (*hayu*).

King Hayam Wuruk had no Queen of equal birth. The question arises why he did not marry Indudewī, according to the Nāg. poet his first cousin, the daughter of his maternal aunt Mahārājasā of Kaḍiri. In the Pararaton she appears as daughter of Tribhuwanā and so as real sister of Hayam Wuruk. Evidently for some reason she was adopted by an aunt in the course of her life. Apparently she was not considered a fit Queen for Hayam Wuruk. Neither her death nor her domain (*dharma*) nor even her name are mentioned in the Pararaton, so probably she was a person of small consequence. Her name (according to the Nāg.) does not fit well into the list of Royal names. It contains a reference to the moon (*indu*). She died without issue.

According to the Nāg. poet (canto 5) and the Pararaton (p. 27) the Princess of Lasēm Indudewī was the senior of the Princess of Pajang. Whoever was her own mother, in the Nāg. poet's time she resided with her husband the Prince of Paguhan in the compound of Kaḍiri. They had a country residence (*kamṛgētan*) close by (canto 12). Probably the vice-regal title of Lasēm was an important one. The district comprised the North Coast including the important mercantile town of Tuban (not mentioned in the Nāg., unless Tuḍan is to be read Tuban). According to the Pararaton the title of Lasēm passed in after-days to King Hayam Wuruk's daughter Kusumawardhanī who inherited the western moiety of the realm at her father's death.

Indudewī's husband the titular Prince of Matahun Rājasawardhana was called after his father-in-law Wijayarājasa the Prince of Wēngkēr. His own descent is unknown. The brothers-in-law to the King the Princes of Matahun and Paguhan are compared respectively to Smara and Sanat Kumāra whereas Hayam Wuruk himself is compared to Kāma. Perhaps the idea was simply to have a triad of younger deities. No special reference to war is apparent in the case of Singhawardhana-Kumāra of Paguhan.

Singawardhana's Queen the youngest Princess of King Hayam Wuruk's generation had the vice-regal title of Pajang and the Court name Ishwarī. The district of Pajang on the upper course of the Bēngawan was visited by the Court in 1353, Lasēm in 1354. From the 16th century onward Pajang became (with Mataram) the centre of

Muslim Javanese kingdoms: Pajang-proper, Kartasura and Surakarta. In the 14th century its importance was not great.

The situation of Paguhan, the province of Singhawardhana, is not well known. The Prince's name Singhawardhana is found in a 15th century Royal charter as belonging to a lord of Kēling, and the district of Paguhan is also mentioned in 15th century history (v. Krom, H. J. G.).

The members of the youngest generation of the Royal Family of Majapahit mentioned in the Nāg. all had the *wardhana* element in their names because their descent was not pure. Those who in after-life became Kings and Queens of course took Royal consecration names.

Kusumawardhanī was the daughter of King Hayam Wuruk and his *Parameshwari*. Her vice-regal district of Kabalan probably was situated in the eastern part of the present-day district of Bojā Nagārā on the middle course of the Bēngawan. A modern village called Kabalan is still known in those parts. In Javanese legendary history the principality of Bahuwarnā, Bowērnā, Baurēnā, also still known in that neighbourhood, is of some importance. Neither Kusumawardhanī nor her fiancé Wikramawardhana the titular vice-roy of Mataram are given specified comparisons to deities. Together they inherited in after-life the western moiety of the realm.

Nagarawardhanī the King's eldest niece, daughter of the King's sister the Princess of Pajang, was titular vice-queen of Wirabhumī, i.e. the eastern districts. She was to marry a son of King Hayam Wuruk born from a co-spouse of the *Parameshwari* (not mentioned in the Nāg.) and to inherit the realm's eastern moiety.

The King's youngest niece Surawardhanī was titular vice-queen of Pawon-awon. The situation of the district is not known. Many names found in the Nāg. and the Pararaton are mentioned also in Javanese historical romances, so-called Pañji tales, and so is Pawon-awon. But then those romances are rarely of any assistance to ascertain historical facts and topography.

The subsequent history of the House of Majapahit need not be discussed in the present recapitulation of the contents of the Nāg. The intricate family relations were studied by Krom and lately by Schrieke (Ruler and Realm in early Java, English edition, 1957). The Pararaton and some charters are the principal sources of knowledge on that period.

Notwithstanding the Nāg. poet's ample information on the personali-

ties of the Princes their economic position in the country is not perfectly clear. Politically and socially the Royal Family was a unity with the King at its head, at least so it appeared in public. Probably internal strife especially between the factions of Kadiri and Janggala was always simmering. As long as the Princes could be kept together residing in Majapahit (canto 6) any rebellious disposition could be nipped in the bud. Very soon after King Hayam Wuruk's death the factions seem to have seized the opportunity to benefit themselves.

Probably the principal members of the Royal Family who bore vice-regal titles had an income from their provinces in the same manner as the superior Court officers were given incomes in kind and in cash. The compound of Kadiri had its own vizir and so probably had some other Princes. In the Majapahit realm the vizirs' principal task was to collect revenue for their masters. Unfortunately no information is available on the amount of the Princes' incomes from their vice-regal provinces. Change of vice-regal title was sometimes effectuated (the Prince of Wēngkēr was formerly Prince of Matahun). In that case the steward-farmers in the provinces had to bring their contributions to another vizir in Majapahit. Probably not the whole revenue of any province went to its titular viceroy, though. Some rural communities and estates remained assessable only in behalf of the Royal treasury, still others contributed to the income of some superior Court officer. Most religious domains and many secular estates were exempt from dues. The chequered pattern of Old Javanese society was apparent in economics and rural administration just as much as in spiritual matters.

Over and above their incomes from tithes and retributions in the provinces the principal members of the Royal Family probably had revenues from their own religious domains (*dharma*). They commanded bondmen to open new lands in several districts with a view to the construction of funeral monuments for themselves and their descendants. No doubt during their lives the revenues went to their own treasuries. Probably after the death and the cremation of the founder the revenues were used for livelihood by his descendants, sacerdotal and secular families who lived in the domains. In this manner in the course of time many new lands may have been opened for culture by Princes and noblemen.

The costs of sumptuous Court festivals and Royal Progresses may have weighed heavy on the commoners' shoulders in the country. But then Royal and Princely activities were beneficial for the country's economy by co-ordinating forces and giving impulses for new efforts.

As long as sufficient uncultivated land was available as an outlet for groups that were impatient of compulsion by Royal authority, in 14th century East Java the common people had no serious reason for discontent.

Originally in primeval native tribal society Royalty had the function of a social and cosmic centre, and in 14th century Majapahit this idea still prevailed to a certain extent. The King was a deity, he was approached with divine worship. As to personal behaviour and activities the Majapahit King was ruled by ancient custom even to a greater extent than his subjects. Ancient law and order were held sacred by both.

Nevertheless in some minor points Royal legislation was in evidence. The *patigunḍalas* of Singasari and Majapahit rulers were regulations on social order mostly referring to Royal servants and ecclesiastics. The *prashāstis* were Royal orders ruling special cases or granting favours to families or inhabitants of some locality. Some charters also contain pieces of Royal legislation on those matters.

Royal regulations and charters concerned only well defined groups of the King's subjects. As a rule representatives of those groups appear to have been consulted at Court before the Royal order was issued. (v. Decree Jaya Song and Sarwadharma charter). Orders and regulations of a defunct King were not considered as binding in the reign of his successor, unless officially referred to in a charter of the living King. In the course of time old charters seem to have been renovated by order of later rulers.

Royal charters engraved on copperplates were kept as heirlooms by the recipient families and worshipped like fetishes (*pusakā*). The elaborate preambles containing the consecration names of the sacrosanct Royal Family and their principal servants, with many lengthy Sanskrit epithets, were essential for the sacredness of the texts. In manors and ecclesiastic domains in the interior of the country Royal charters, religiously preserved and kept in special sanctuaries, represented Royalty and the Court. Their presence ensured the loyalty of the local gentry and clergy.

No doubt the idea of legislation by representatives of the people, voting by majority on laws binding the whole, would have seemed preposterous to Majapahit Javanese. To them Royalty was the only representative of divine Order on earth and the supreme source of justice for all the King's subjects.

CHAPTER 10 - THE NĀGARA-KĒRTĀGAMA
AND ITS POET AT THE 14th CENTURY
MAJAPAHIT COURT.

Neither the names nor the identity of the poet are mentioned in the Nāg. with sufficient clearness. In the last chapter two names are found: Prapañca and Wināda. The former name is also used in some other places in the poem. Assuming it to be the poet's usual name Kern called the Nāgara-Kērtāgama a panegyrical poem by Prapañca. On the ground of the contents of canto 98 he supposed that Prapañca was the poet's final sacerdotal name and Wināda his former layman's name. As a noun *prapañca* means passion, excitement (v. canto 96). Perhaps Prapañca was rather the poet's *nom-de-plume*. It is used repeatedly in connection with *rakawi*, a Court title to be rendered: honoured poet.

Assuming that Wināda was more of a common personal name to the poet than Prapañca some Dutch scholars proposed the poet's identification with the bishop Nādendra who is mentioned in the Ferry charter. It seems more probable, though, that bishop Nādendra was Prapañca-Wināda's father, and that the poet at the time that he wrote the Nāg. was no more than a young Buddhist courtier trying to win the Royal favour (v. Poerhatjaraka, *De persoon van Prapañca*, O.V. 1924, and the commentary on the Nāg. chapter 15).

In any case Wināda-Prapañca belonged to the Buddhist episcopal family. Het was a distinguished courtier, entitled to have the honorific predicate *sang* (rendered: honoured) and the Court title *pu* (rendered: Sir) before his name. He was approximately of the same age as King Hayam Wuruk. In youth they had been playfellows (canto 17). Probably at the time he was writing the Nāg. he was engaged in the conservation of old documents at Court. Het was well versed in the chancery idiom and he had an extensive knowledge of Sanskrit as far as Sanskrit studies ran in 14th century Majapahit. In point of fact he was more of a scholar than of a poet.

In canto 91 *Wināda-Prapañca* enumerates some other works of his beside the *Nāg*. Judging from their names they seem to have been mostly works of erudition rather than effusions of a poetical spirit. So is the *Nāg*. Not without truth its poetic qualities have been rated mediocre both by his contemporaries and by Teeuw and Uhlenbeck. By way of exception some descriptions of nature as in the *Sāgara* hermitage show he was not devoid of feeling for beautiful surroundings. Romantic longing for (idealized) nature especially in connection with pantheistic religious thought is a common feature both of Indian and of Javanese poetry. Models worth imitating were legion in Old Javanese *kakawin* literature. The 14th century Majapahit poets were at the end of a long line beginning in the 10th and 11th centuries. Conventional poetical phrases borrowed in the last resort from India are frequent in Javanese letters. Being himself a collector of books (canto 29), *Wināda-Prapañca* could place them in good season. He was not inventive himself, though.

Lack of poetic inspiration was held against him by female critics at Court who probably missed a romantic love-story and descriptions of battles (canto 95). He seems to have been worried by those unfriendly remarks. His erudition and the (probably) new element in his literary work were not appreciated. Perhaps that was the reason why the *Nāg*, was not copied frequently, so that it has come down to posterity only in one manuscript.

Prapañca's contemporary and co-religionist Tantular was more fortunate. His *kakawins* *Sutasoma* (originally called *Puruṣāda Shānta*, the Man-eater Appeased, a Buddhist *jātaka* tale, v. Eusink, *De Menseneter bekeerd*), and *Arjuna Wijaya* enjoyed a certain measure of popularity. Several Balinese manuscript copies of them are preserved in libraries.

No more than part of the Old Javanese literary production has been preserved for posterity by Balinese collectors, to be sure. The possibility that more works of the kind of the *Nāg*, were made in the 14th century is not to be discarded *a priori*. But then even in modern Javanese literature, which is sufficiently well known from the 17th century onward, it is next to impossible to point out works in all points comparable to the *Nāg*. *Wināda-Prapañca's* 14th century panegyric is expressive of a personal vision on things to a higher degree than mostly is found in Javanese literature. Perhaps that was another thing that was disliked at Court. Impersonal and conventional behaviour was the thing there.

Wināda-Prapañca's descriptions of Court activities are comparable to those parts of the *Cēntipi*, a kind of encyclopedical poem of the 19th century, where dances and plays are described. As to the personal notes in the *Nāg.* such as the poet's lamentation for his deceased friend, his idea to settle in a religious domain like *Ḍarbaru*, his visit to the old ecclesiastical gentleman in Singasari and his disappointment at the unfriendly criticisms of his work, it is not easy to point out passages in Javanese literature that are expressive of personal sentiment to the same degree.

Of course for foreign readers in modern times the value of Wināda-Prapañca's work is considerably enhanced by his references to private circumstances. As a consequence of his uncourtly style (for which he was reproved by his contemporaries) in the history of Javanese literature he survives as one of the few authors whose personalities are relatively well known.

In the commentaries on canto 94 and Colophon I the change of the poem's original name *Desha-Warṇana* into *Nāgara-Kērtāgama*, effectuated by a Balinese scribe-editor, has been discussed. As *Nāgara-Kērtāgama* is the name by which it has become known to students of Javanese literature it is retained throughout the present book.

The *Nāg.*'s composition has been studied by Rouffaer (table of contents inserted in Krom's edition of 1919) and by Krom himself (*Reestbundel* K.B.G. I, 1928). The present author's grouping of the 98 cantos into 15 chapters is on the whole in accordance with Krom's outline. Krom's opinion on the name *Desha-Warṇana* as scarcely appropriate to the poem's contents seems not wholly justifiable. If the name is taken in the sense of Description of the Country it fits perfectly well. Probably Krom is right in assuming that Wināda-Prapañca's combination of a panegyric of Royalty with a description of the realm was something new in the 14th century. The references to world-conquest (*digjaya*, *digwijaya*) perhaps are to be considered as links between the two fundamental ideas of the poet. Wināda-Prapañca's scholarly mind may have found pleasure in the combination.

The poet's system in giving persons of equal position always the same number of verses and similar epithets and in observing scrupulously the order of rank and birth (often from low to high) has been pointed out repeatedly. The same orderliness is found in the composition of his poem. Krom has invited attention especially for cantos 1—16 (the three initial chapters), 40—49 (chapter 5) and 83—98

(chapters 14 and 15) as pre-eminently panegyrical. In the three initial chapters he counts 7 + 9 cantos, in chapter 5 : 5 cantos for Singasari Kings and 5 cantos for Majapahit Kings, and lastly in chapters 14 and 15 : 9 cantos for festivities and 7 cantos for panegyrical poets.

Krom remarks further that the Royal Progress from Patulungan to Singasari is given 6 cantos with an interruption for the visit to Sāgara. Just so the return travel from Singasari home to Majapahit takes 6 cantos interrupted by the passage on Jajawa.

The symmetrical composition of the whole of the poem becomes apparent if the chapters 1—5 (containing 16 cantos on the Royal Family and the realm, 21 cantos on the first part of the Royal Progress to the eastern districts, and 12 cantos on the Royal ancestors) are considered as forming one half of the work (cantos 1—49). The subsequent 49 cantos (chapters 6—15) might be grouped in inverse order: 12 cantos on the second part of the Royal Progress, 21 cantos on sanctuaries and religious domains and 16 cantos on festivities and panegyric poets. The total of 98 cantos is to be divided according to Krom in six groups containing 16 + 21 + 12 + 12 + 21 + 16 cantos.

No doubt Krom's ingenious remarks are valuable: they let full day-light is on the scholarly composition of the poem. The function of chapter 6, the description of the Royal Chase (cantos 50—54) as an intermezzo with conical design in the middle of the Nāg. has been compared in the commentary with the function of the *bañolan*, the clowns' act in the middle of the modern Javanese *wayang* plays. Smaller passages with puns and alliterations have been pointed out as marking incisions of less importance in the poem. The small cantos at the end belong to this category. They should not be called spurious.

Wināda-Prapañca developed his idea of a panegyric description of the country yet in another way. Beside much information on topography his poem also contains a concise Court Chronicle of the years 1353—1364 A.D., in chapters 4—11. The Nāg. was completed in 1365.

The survival up to modern times of the custom of keeping Court annals has been pointed out in the commentary on canto 17. Court annals of the Central Javanese Courts from the 17th century onward have proved valuable sources of information for de Graaf in writing the internal history of the Javanese kingdoms. Probably the later part of the Pararaton is founded on Court annals: dates with summary notes on events deemed of importance to the Court.

It is clear that the chronicle element in the Nāg. composition is of secondary importance. Wināda does not mention it in the poem. He

admits to be the author of annals (*sangkāla*) though (canto 94). Probably the keeping of notes on memorable events belonged to the hobbies of erudite persons in the 14th century just as much as it did in the 18th and 19th centuries at the Central Javanese Courts. Private note-books (*primbōn*) often contain lists of memorable dates.

Neither the summary chronicle of 11 years Majapahit Court life nor the (probably borrowed) dates of the Kings in chapter 5 are evidence of Prapañca-Wināda's intention to write history in the sense of Berg's book on Javanese historiography. The Nag. was not meant to be a source of information on history though it has been used as such by modern scholars (v. comm. canto 38—3, the beginning of the Notes on the Kings).

It is interesting to note that the erudite Nāg. poet in some cases mentions the sources of his knowledge. The truth of the introduction to chapter 5 need not be doubted. The existence of an old descendant of King Kertanagara residing near Singasari who had names and dates of ancient Kings at heart or in his private note-book is not improbable at all. The Register (*carcan*) of religious domains that is repeatedly referred to perhaps was in the keeping of the bishop's son Wināda himself. Where legendary, according to the poet himself not wholly trustworthy tales are related, they are indicated with sufficient clearness (mostly by *rakwa*).

The majority of persons, places, things and events mentioned in the Nāg. no doubt were witnessed by the poet himself, though. He does not by far tell all he could have told posterity about the doings at the 14th century Majapahit Court. Such as it is the Nāg. is a treasure-house of trustworthy information not easily surpassed by other works of Javanese origin.

Finally the Nāg.'s metres are deserving of some attention. Krom has counted 40 different metres (*Perstbundel* KBG). *Shārdūla Wikriḍita* appears to be favourite (11 cantos), followed by *Sragdhara* and *Jagaddhita* (8 cantos each). Nearly the same rate has been found in the Sutasoma and the Arjuna Wijaya, mythological poems by Tantular, Wināda-Prapañca's contemporary at the Majapahit Court. Apparently the choice of metres was conventional. Any connection of a metre with the subject of the canto is difficult to establish. The cantos in *Jagaddhita* seem as a rule to refer to the King's majesty. The *Sragdhara* metre perhaps was thought appropriate for events or scenes that

inspired awe. Several narrative cantos have the metre *Shārdūla Wīkrīḍita*.

Probably at the 14th century Majapahit Court the sense for the musical and rhythmical qualities of Indian metres was enfeebled as a consequence of Javanese inability to understand metrical quantities. Whereas poems written in native Javanese metres (*kidung*) no doubt always were meant to be sung it is not certain at all that the Old Javanese *kakawin* literature was sung in a similar manner. In modern Java occasionally short poems in (corrupt) Indian metres are slowly chanted. Perhaps in the 14th century the Nāg. and other poems in Indian metres were only chanted or rhythmically read aloud and afterwards explained in the vernacular idiom in the same manner as is still usual in Bali.



XII. A COCK-FIGHT, SEE P. VIII.





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