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Personal Status and Ritualized Exchange in Majapahit Java

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Résumé
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Durant la période des années 1200-1500, la mobilité dans l'échelle sociale javanaise s'explique par une richesse nouvelle et des opportunités de distinction de statut. La cour encouragea l'élite des communautés rurales à se penser comme partie d'un ordre royal hiérarchique basé sur les lignées et à participer à la vénération des ancêtres du roi. Une personne pouvait prendre place dans le réseau rituel royal et profiter d'une amélioration de son statut personnel en recevant un nouveau titre. Elle se soumettait ainsi au pouvoir du roi, de ses ancêtres et des dieux indiens avec lesquels ils se confondaient. Des familles étaient encouragées à rechercher richesse et statut et à développer la conscience du lignage, ce qui eut pour effet de donner un essor aux activités rurales. Les profits de l'économie rizicole javanaise largement excédentaires aux XIVe et XVe siècles permit à l'élite et aux aspirants à celle-ci (en compétition avec la vieille élite pour ses privilèges) de participer dans tout le royaume aux fêtes et célébrations fastueuses qui culminaient dans les cérémonies de cour dans lesquelles elle faisait montre de son succès matériel. En théorie, le roi contrôlait toutes les forces affectant la prospérité terrestre ainsi que le salut éternel, ce qui lui permettait d'incorporer ses sujets terrestres dans la société centrée sur la cour de Majapahit.

Kenneth R. HALL

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> Ah, the pleasure of hearing it told, the story of the island of Java in ancient times... [here there were initially no humans until Brahma and Wisnu made them, then] the actions of the human-born increased and extended. Yet without homes were male and female, naked in the forest, seeking shelter for their bodies. They produced nothing, and there were no societal traditions. They were without cloth : loincloths, sarongs, scarves, sashes, courtly robes, headpieces, and headbands. They uttered sound not knowing emotional essence. Only leaves and fruits were eaten by them. Such was the human condition in ancient times...(1)

Cultural Networks in Pre-1500 Java

Southeast Asia's central position in the East-West maritime route made it a natural recipient of goods as well as ideas from its Eastern and Western neighbors. Yet regional development did not come only through external stimuli, just as Southeast Asia's culture was not exclusively engendered by its local populations. This study addresses the networks of linkage within a representative early Southeast Asian society, the Indic-inspired pre-Islamic civilization in Java, which reached its peak in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under the authority of the Majapahit court. Above all, it argues that prior to any significant European presence there was a developing sense of

1. These initial passages of the *Tantu Panggĕlaran* are based on the Old Javanese transcription and translation of Mary S. Zurbuchen, *Introduction to Old Javanese Language and Literature : A Kawi Prose Anthology* (Ann Arbor : 1976), 70-73.

societal linkage based in a ritualized social hierarchy, among formerly distinct populations who were beginning to think of themselves as sharing a common Javanese heritage. By the end of this era villagers, lords, and monarchs all participated in a common discourse that defined how their world was organized and the types of authority appropriate to it.

During the 1200-1500 era the upward mobility of Javanese was due to new wealth and opportunities, wherein families and individuals vied for status distinctions. The court encouraged the elite of its rural communities to think themselves as belonging to the king's hierarchical, kin-based order and to participate in the king's own ancestor-consciousness. This entailed the king imagining that he could control powerful supernatural forces associated with ancestors. A person could assume a place in the king's ritual network and accept offers of enhanced personal status, as acknowledged by a new title. The subject therein submitted to the power of the king, his ancestors, and the Indic gods who stood behind them.

Majapahit inscriptions and literature honored the king's constructive initiatives. Notably, royal inscriptions validated the rights and the beneficent ancestors of locally powerful families, but especially commemorated past events and acts that constituted local relationships with kings, their male and female descendants, priests, other subjects, family, and gods. Late fourteenth century inscriptions celebrated autonomous accomplishments, but even more importantly the inscriptions acknowledged energetic families and their subservience to a state that they felt a part of.

In these inscriptions local families were encouraged to seek wealth and status as well as to develop lineage consciousness, which coalesced around and precipitated wet-rice agricultural activity. The profits of Java's widely successful fourteenth and fifteenth century rice economy financed the building and maintenance of local family or ancestral cult shrines. They also supported the local celebration of public ancestor-commemorating and reanimating ceremonies that duplicated the king's lavish court rituals. Further, they allowed the elite to participate in realm-wide feasts and celebrations, which culminated in the court's ceremonies. At each level of ritualized celebration the elite could display their material successes, according to the rights of personal and familial display granted them by their monarch.

Kings and their courts brought orderliness to these developments. Local efforts to enhance a family's stature, by the construction and endowment of familial ritual sites, and the celebration of death rites and other rituals that

celebrated a family's legitimacy, received court validation.(2) In these times local elite also needed the court's revalidation of their local rights and privileges in the face of emerging groups who benefited from the widespread prosperity of the age, and challenged the validity of the old leadership. These competitions were potentially harmful to both the local population clusters as well as to the state.

The Javanese State and Material Culture in the Time of Hayam Wuruk

Airlangga's early eleventh century reign initiated a new Javanese monarchy that built on his predecessors' repositioning of the paramount Javanese court (*kraton*) in east Java. The success of this move was marked by new trade links externally. Equally, if not more important, were internal developments that registered local response. Assisted by the royal initiatives attributed to east Java's kings, rice cultivation increased substantially.(3) Enhanced rice production was the key variable in the rise of the indigenous market system.(4) The core productive base was the village, where resident commoners supplied surplus rice for local and long-distance trade.

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2. Kenneth R. Hall, "Ritual Networks and Royal Power in Majapahit Java," *Archipel* 52 (1996), 95-118.

3. Jan Wisseman Christie, "Trade and Value in Pre-Majapahit Java," *Indonesia Circle*, 59/60 (1993), 3-17.

4. This is shown in new epigraphic references to commercial specialists in the 10th-13th century era and confirmed by contemporary archeological evidence. Jan Wisseman Christie hypothesizes a coincident era of global economic restructuring that was due to an unsettled Chinese marketplace during transitions from the Tang to Song dynasties. Subsequently, Java's markets had more prominent interaction with the Indic marketplace, especially south India. This connection enhanced Java's role as economic intermediary between the Spice Islands and the Western marketplace, wherein Java's rice was the pivotal exchange commodity. Java coast ports and their periodically resident long-distance trade specialists facilitated the flow of the eastern archipelago's spices into the world marketplace. This Javanese prominence was continuous until Chinese merchants again entered the region in large numbers in the fifteenth century. During this early Ming era there was a resurgent Chinese market. This was followed by the entry of Western Europe traders in the sixteenth century [see Jan Wisseman Christie, *Patterns of Trade in Western Indonesia, Ninth through Thirteenth Centuries, A.D.*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of London, 1982 ; and Pierre-Yves Manguin, "The Vanishing *Jong* : Insular Southeast Asian Fleets in Trade and War (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)" in Anthony Reid, ed., *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era* (Ithaca, New York : 1993), 197-213]. By extension, the Majapahit era was the beneficiary of earlier developments, and its fifteenth century transitions were coincident with new fifteenth century international market competition. To understand the renewed focus on interventionist deities and a degree of internalization as reflected in the *Pararaton* and in the other indigenous evidence, one needs to factor in the new patterns of trade, wherein the court elite were now less involved and trade specialists based in Java's north coast ports were the key intermediaries in Java's market networks. The acceptance of this new commercial environment is (as noted below) reported in the *Pararaton*.

Java's cloth industry evolved in response to the new commercial opportunities. From the eleventh century on Javanese society ceased to wear locally produced bark cloth, which was displaced by cotton textiles secured in the marketplace.(5) Cloth specialists, inspired by south Indian and Chinese imports, emerged to weave and market *songket* weft-ikat cotton cloth, which was decorated with gold and silver cotton and colored silk thread inserts, and the earliest free-hand batik.(6) Specific textile artisans were distinguished in the epigraphic records for their skills as bleachers or dyers, as were cloth merchants who supplied threads or pre-patterned cloth.(7)

Javanese consumerism in the tenth through thirteenth century era included kraton members as well as the socially ambitious. As one historian characterizes this age : "Public grandeur [i.e, the construction of lavish temple complexes] was, for a time, displaced by private luxury."(8) Detailed lists of gifts presented, and careful notation of the recipients, dominate the initial ninth and early tenth century *sīma* charters that registered tax remissions.(9) *Sīma* charters include proclamations of lineage – equally that of local and royal families who agree to the terms of the linked-transfer of income rights. But by the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, when the paramount Javanese kratons were located in the Brantas basin, the new focus of the charters is on the regulation of privilege.

By the mid-eleventh century, *sīma* charters had refocused on a monarch's regulation of insignia of rank, and on royal control over access to trappings that might be used to display social or ritual status. In response to the social

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5. Jan Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles in 'Medieval' Java," *BEFEO*, 80, 1 (1993), 193-195.

6. *Ibid.*, 191-193.

7. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century*, 5 vols. (The Hague : 1960), 3, 167, Biluluk Charter of 1391. In this inscription bleachers and dyers were freed from local cesses.

8. Wisseman Christie, "Trade and Value," 5. I qualify this. Kaḍiri era monarchs refocused their religious interests on less worldly/material monastic settings. This may be argued to be a response in times of transition to a lavish material culture. During the era of Airlangga's reign previous societal simplicity was being displaced by an economic/market boom induced by new international as well as internal potentials. Following this eleventh century expansionism, the Kaḍiri court practiced restraint – it was openly supportive of a less material religious focus, wherein the critical element is a withdrawal from the materialism of this world to the poverty of a monastic setting. Worldly (material) attachment bound mankind to the cycle of rebirths in the Indic tradition. Wisseman Christie's ["States without Cities : Demographic Trends in Early Java," *Indonesia*, 52 (1991), 23-40] focus on Kaḍiri-era epigraphic sources supports this contention, wherein the state *sīma* charters imposed limits on the number of commercial specialists who were allowed residence in or allowed to interact with the local village clusters.

9. See below and the Jurungan Inscription of 876, as translated in A. M. Barrett Jones, *Early Tenth Century Java from the Inscriptions*, (Dordrecth : 1984) 32-37.

fluidity that was a byproduct of the new economic vitality of the Brantas basin-based Javanese state, kraton-based monarchs set aside textile patterns, ritual paraphernalia, and other material displays as the court's exclusive property. Only the court could grant the right to use specified textiles, meaningful insignia, or material objects. This authority was reinforced by the monarch's role as regulator of the coastal trading communities, and his subsequent control over the hinterland population's access to imported goods. Such privilege could be sought from the court, and was generally available in return for payments in cash or in kind. Kings facilitated competitions for status by encouraging settlement of previously uncultivated lands, which became a source of wealth that could sustain material distinction. Tax relief granted to *sīma* holders who initiated settlement on these new lands declined in the eleventh century, but there were compensatory social privileges (*wñang*). No two privilege lists were identical.(10)

Majapahit era epigraphic and literary records, from the late thirteenth century through the fifteenth century, reflect the culmination of these competitions for social status. These in turn enhanced the interaction between the kraton and its hinterland. In ninth century inscriptions, kings (*rājas*) commanded regional lords (*rakai*), who personally passed the monarch's orders to the villagers. By the tenth and eleventh centuries, royal command "emanated from the *maharāja*'s shoes" through expansive networks of individuals with state and local titles of authority. In twelfth century inscriptions locals petition the "dust of the king's shoes." By the fourteenth century four-fifths of the charters are consumed with lists of those with official titles (state and local) who are members of the royal network.(11) In the Majapahit era there is increased distinction between king and commoners, although this was not an unbridgeable gulf. Assumption of titles acknowledged acceptance of a place in the royal order, and subordination to social status networks that emanated from the court. At the top of this order were the members of the royal family, as well as the rulers, and their families, of allied regions. Below these was a hierarchy of aristocrats who held official titles. In the middle were families that were neither royal nor aristocrat, who had achieved titles of status via accumulated wealth.

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10. For example, Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 208-209.

11. Similarly, the *Pararaton* ends with a detailed list of those entitled to court stature.

Recent excavations at the Majapahit court complex at Trawulan, southwest of modern Surabaya, provide supporting documentation of the following *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* chronicle (c. 1365) description of the court residencies in the time of King Hayam Wuruk (r. 1350-1389) :

> Of all the buildings none lack pillars bearing fine colored [wood] carvings,
> And the substructures of red brick are carved in relief, closely fitted and shaped.
> All around are the products of the potter, serving as highest point of the roofs of the main buildings... (12)

New archeological evidence substantiates that fourteenth century court residents adorned their residences with small terracotta reliefs, in displays of material grandeur rather than monetary wealth. That these spectacular clay figurines – sketches of life and daily affairs rather than the formality of temple art – are concentrated in the court area alone, rather than widely distributed, indicates that they were intended to be conspicuous (and regulated) markers of status. (13) By the fifteenth century court residents were further distinguishing their residences by incorporating glazed ceramic tile inlay embellishments that were imported from Vietnam. (14) As yet another means of expressing hierarchy, these tiles were fitted into wooden partition walls (*gĕbyok*). Some of them bear Kāla head designs, an indication that a portion of these tiles was exclusively manufactured for the Javanese market. As with the terracotta figurines, the fact that there is no archeological evidence of these tiles except at the court sustains the conclusion that the Majapahit elite regulated access to and the display of these expensive imports and markers of status.

Transition to a new order based in a court-centered societal hierarchy is also reflected in the legal records of the Majapahit era, which consist of the *sīma* charters that were issued following litigation over land rights. These

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12. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 11.2.

13. These marvelous terracotta figurines are also found at the Panataran and Kudu royal temples. Hildawati Soemantra Siddhartha, *Terracotta Art of Majapahit*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Cornell University, 1995. Also H.R.A. Muller, *Javanese Terracottas* (Lochem : 1978).

14. John Guy, "Cultural Relations and Asian Trade : The Vietnamese Tiles of Majapahit" in Ian and Emily Glover, eds., *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1986* (Oxford : 1990), 275-285. These tiles were also extensively incorporated into the architecture of the Demak mosque, which dates to the late fifteenth century, as well as the late fourteenth century Candi Kudus royal temple. See also A. Ridho, "Fourteenth Century Chinese Ceramics Found in Indonesia," *Trade Ceramic Studies*, 1 (1981), 89-91 ; "Notes on the Wall Tiles of the Mosque at Demak" in Southeast Asian Ceramic Society, *Vietnamese Ceramics* (Singapore : 1982), 36-37 ; and C. Lammers and A. Ridho, *Annamese Ceramics in the Museum Pusat, Jakara* (Jakarta : 1974).

were called *jayasong*, "certificates of victory," and were awarded to the winners of lawsuits, "...that protect[ed] the winner from further litigation as a sunshade protects one from the sun."(15) In contrast to earlier Javanese epigraphic records of legal decisions (*jayapattra*, the earliest of which dates to the ninth century), those of Hayam Wuruk's court are more assertive that renewed litigation would not occur ("the case would never again be spoken of").(16) In their self-confidence, the judicial decrees of the Majapahit era are almost literary accounts of the proceedings, that provided narratives of the events as they occurred rather than overview summaries of or commentaries on the issues at stake. The inscriptions use verbs of action, not of description, in their records of the court sessions. The epigraphic accounting is not a logical legal rendering, but a dramatic literary record that tells the story of the eventual winner. Litigants "were humbly begging." One man asserts, "I am the owner of the land," and a judicial official "sought the opinion of the law books."(17)

The "Decree Jaya Song of Manah-i-Manuk," which dates to Hayam Wuruk's early reign, is the most complete of these legal records. It lists in direct quotations the pleas of the litigants, putting those of the defendant and eventual winner first :

> I am the owner of the land [in question, the estate of Manah-i-Manuk]... [that] dates to my father, grandfather, great-grandfather, great-great grandfather, [for seven generations]... for it has been enjoyed from time immemorial [since the] foundation of a [dated shrine] by an ancestor of mine [named Wayuh Aněngah] in the sacred-circle [mandala] community of Kasĕḍahan.... Moreover, there are no terraced rice-fields of the Family of Sīma Tiga this side [of a named boundary]. That is only my land.... It has not been witnessed; it is not considered as allied by friendship with any rural community. That is because it has been enjoyed [by my family] from time immemorial.(18)

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15. Mason C. Hoadley, "Continuity and Change in Javanese Legal Tradition : The Evidence of the Jayapattra," *Indonesia*, 11 (1971), 102, paraphrased from the Bendosari Copper Plates ("Decree Jaya Song of Manah-i-Manuk") and the "Parung fragment" that date to roughly 1350. In the Bendosari Copper Plates the *jayasong* (the local version of the Indic *jayapattra*) "secures over and over again the firmness of the protection of the... Right Honourable gentlemen [of the council of elders]..." Pigeaud, 3, 155.

16. Although this quotation is from the 907 Wurudu Kidul inscription, Hoadley (*loc. cit.*, 101) asserts that this inscriptional record, which includes a detailed account of a Javanese trial (that was quite different from that of the Indic judicial tradition), is highly representative of the even more confident fourteenth century judicial accounts.

17. Earlier inscriptions record a complaint, the defense, the verdict, and the signatures of the witnesses; Majapahit inscriptions record the opening of the trial, the hearing and evaluation of evidence, the verdict, and the final issue of a *jayasong*. Hoadley, 102.

18. Pigeaud, 3, 153-154. Wayah is an honorific title for an elderly man of status. The defendant was of high stature, although not of aristocrat rank, who held the *pañji* title that normally distinguished someone with an ecclesiastical position. Among his family members was another individual with a *pañji* title, who held the *kasir-kasir* ("common name") Ajaran

The testimony of the Family of Sīma Tiga ("Three Estates") follows :

> I am the owner of that land.... It is property given as security by my great-great-grandfather for a half measure of silver, at the time that this land of Java did not possess the means of the *pisis* [Chinese copper cash].[19]

In its emphasis on style over legal content, the inscription was carefully drafted to reflect and reinforce the interests of the Majapahit court. Indeed, such legal cases were a means for the court to penetrate the autonomy of the local community, an external intervention in instances that could not be internally resolved. The copper plate charter that recorded the verdict provided the opportunity for public relations on the court's behalf. This inscription devotes over one-half of its content to an extended prologue that lists the highest personages of the realm. It begins with the king, the queen, the "great ministers three," and ends with the individuals connected with the trial, all of whom are listed hierarchically.[20] The old order based in the village community was still in place, but in this instance the local community's council of elders was superceded by a court-based executive council of legal specialists (*upapatti*). It received the plea petitions of the two litigants, sent out a messenger to solicit local evidence, made its judgment, and then confirmed its protection of the winner of the suit. To justify and validate its unbiased decision, the royal tribunal purposefully specified that the messenger should receive "the opinion of the community, impartially."

In the end, the court displaced the authority of the council of elders, but the royal jurists did not sign the legal decree. Instead it was approved by the collective members of the local community as a statement of their mutual satisfaction. There is a concluding statement that applies to the collective community of Majapahit, as listed in this inscription. It begins with the detailed rendering of the hierarchical order, from the state elite to those of note in the local district, who are acknowledged as having a place in the

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("horse") Reka, whose personal name is consistent with the use of symbolic animals associated with military banners as discussed below. His opponent held aristocratic status : his family was a "noble family" (*samasanak*).

19. The point made by the claimant is that his great-great-great grandfather borrowed one-and-a-half measure of silver from an ancestor of the defendant, giving the estate as security (this would have taken place in roughly 1250 A.D.). The defendant claimed that the estate had been owned by his ancestors for at least seven generations (which would date to the twelfth century) ; although there were no written records to substantiate his claim, although he asserted that the shrine (*bale*) dated 997 A.D. in the sacred-ring community of Kasĕḍahan was founded by one of his ancestors when the estate was initially established. Pigeaud, 4, 395-396.

20. Pigeaud, 4, 391-394.

larger Majapahit community. They then as a whole empowered the validity of this action, and were mutually bound to uphold the provisions of the decree.[21]

The Majapahit era literary sources similarly focus on the public, visible aspects of the king's power over well-defined regions. The idea of state is no longer the fluid Indic *maṇḍala* as projected in the Tuhanaru inscription of 1326, but Jawa *bhūmi*, a clearly defined region that is stable and integrated politically and economically. The Majapahit *bhūmi* as conceptualized in the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* is distinguished from the larger territory that was said to be "in the orbit" of the Majapahit kraton. The larger realm ("Yawadwipamandala" in the Tuhanaru inscription, "Nusantara" in the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*) was a collection of semi-independent *bhūmi* that were linked to the Majapahit kraton, and which the Majapahit monarch made no effort to annex. One defining factor is that royal *sīma* were only issued in regions distinguished as being within the Majapahit *bhūmi*. *Sīma* charters outside the Majapahit *bhūmi* were issued in the name of the local authority, but would normally acknowledge submission to the Majapahit kraton.[22]

The Majapahit era is thus marked by social and political consolidations that followed an extended era of economic growth. The military victories of the chief minister Gaja Mada (d. 1364) did not make for linkage under the threat of military reprisal, though the potential was there. Instead they initiated political stability that was based on the rationalization of a new social order. The author of the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* dates new social distinctions to the late thirteenth century defeat of the rival Kaḍiri kraton, which marked the point of origin of Majapahit :

> ... then it was the first time that (the social order) of the rural communities (*dapur*) and the lords (*juru-kuru*) penetrated the common people, causing rejoicing in the world...[23]

The *Pararaton* chronicle and Majapahit era inscriptions cross-reference the attempts to restore the Singasari kraton's sovereignty after the death of

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21. This is what is known in modern Java as *musawarah-mupakat*, "mutual discussion-collective decision", Hoadley, 104. Hoadley argues that there was a continuity of the Majapahit judicial form over Islamic ideals in post-Majapahit legal decisions. He cites the eighteenth century court decisions of the Cirebon court (105-109). Hoadley also relates the collective decision of the Majapahit dynastic council that convened in 1364 to choose a successor to the deceased Gaja Mada. By a mutual decision that involved every member of the royal assembly (including the king, his ministers, local lords, and court officials) the state minister's powers were sub-divided among three court-based chiefs-of-state.

22. See for example the Charter of Rĕnĕk dated 1379, Pigeaud, 3, 169-170, which was issued in the name of the Prince of Wĕngkĕr.

23. *Nāgarākĕrtagama*, 40.4.

Kĕrtanagara in 1293, and document the rise to power of Kĕrtanagara's nephew Prince (*rakrayan mantri*) Raden Wijaya. Raden Wijaya, who later assumed the regnal title of Kĕrtarājasa Jayawardhana as Majapahit's first monarch (1293-1319), was supported by a network of villages. Kudadu was the dominant village in this network, and provided him with a haven in an especially difficult period. Subsequently Kadadu's population and that of other allied villages was rewarded for their service.(24) The *Pararaton* notes : "[the new king] paid attention to his followers, which satisfied them, who [consequently] committed to him." This episode is confirmed in an inscription dated 1296, which lists the appointments and awards of rank that were bestowed on the king's loyal retinue.(25) The new king and his followers, who had previously inhabited Singasari, moved to Tarik, a former royal hunting preserve, which was cleared and became the new kraton of Majapahit. There they established the court. The king :

> ... approached them one by one and awarded everybody a rank and a new name that reflected each individual's personal attribute... [among these a brave soldier was renamed Jajawastra, "one who wears a shirt" – wearing a shirt was a privilege reserved for the few – and a fat man with a round stomach and round eyes was honored with the name Tunjung Tutur, "he who studies the lotus" – an honorific that denotes the recipient to be a contemplative Buddhist].

While the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* depicts an idealized and more centralized order, the *Pararaton* and the era's inscriptions better present the hinterland's perspective and represent the networks of alliance with subordinate regions that remained critical to the new state's success. Among the latter sources the state is characterized as consisting of villages (*wanua*), religious communities, and the royal compound (*rājya*), which was the social center of the realm. Notably, there is no similar assertion of economic control; economic communities were granted some degree of autonomy, although they were recognized as key to the realm's success.(26) The kraton insured the success of all members of the realm. The kraton/*rājya* was situated in a capital (*puri*), which was protected by its collective ancestors, and superceded the kratons of its submissive regions. In contrast, "urban" areas (*pura*) were protected by the king – military officials who were stationed in such areas received special fees for providing this protection. The kraton was

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24. Kadadu Inscription of 1294, translated in Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit* (Singapore : 1976), 36-41.

25. Penanggungan Inscription of 1296 [Poerbatjaraka, 1940, 33-49; Yamin, 1, 235-251].

26. Kenneth R. Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*, (Honolulu : 1985), 236-250.

positioned in a *bhūmi* surrounded by outlying autonomous regional polities under their own rulers (*rakrayān*) who were not directly incorporated, though by the time of Hayam Wuruk all regional *rakrayān* posts were held by members of the royal family. Clearly there was a strong sense of state that went beyond the vague assertions of prior eras.[27]

Social Hierarchy and Institutional Community in Majapahit Times

In the new order of the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* there is increasingly detailed enumeration of the sequence of officials through whom the commands of the king are handed down. There is also less prominence given to those awarded the favor of the king. The personalized redistributions of the sort common in the pre-Majapahit era become uncommon. The Majapahit court's gifting reciprocities are institutionalized and are more symbolic and economically less valuable. This transition begins in the eleventh century inscriptions, which emphasize the court's grant of privileges (*wñang*) to members of *sīma* communities rather than on their financial benefits.[28] There is permission to eat "royal food," to possesses specified ritual objects, to build ritual edifices, to wear *boreh*-type cosmetics (*jñu*) in rituals, and to use certain classes of cloth – with specific patterns and cloths decorated in specific ways – either in connection with ritual or as insignia of rank. Kĕrtanagara's 1269 Sarwadharma Charter, immediately prior to Majapahit's establishment, stipulates that individuals of status are allowed to : 1) ornament their homes, by adding an upper story with a place for sitting on a couch (a rooftop sitting room) and topping their roofs with bamboo "scissors" that establish a symbolic connection between heaven and earth; 2) "treat their bondsmen in a lordly manner;" 3) eat specified meats belonging to prerogatives of royalty (*rājamanysu*) – among these are turtle, goat whose tail had not yet come out/appeared, fighting boar, and castrated dogs; and 4) cultivate specified plants in their yards.[29] According to the *Nawanatya*, a fourteenth century

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27. Hermann Kulke, "Epigraphical References to the 'City' and 'State' in Early Indonesia," *Indonesia*, 52 (1991), 3-22.

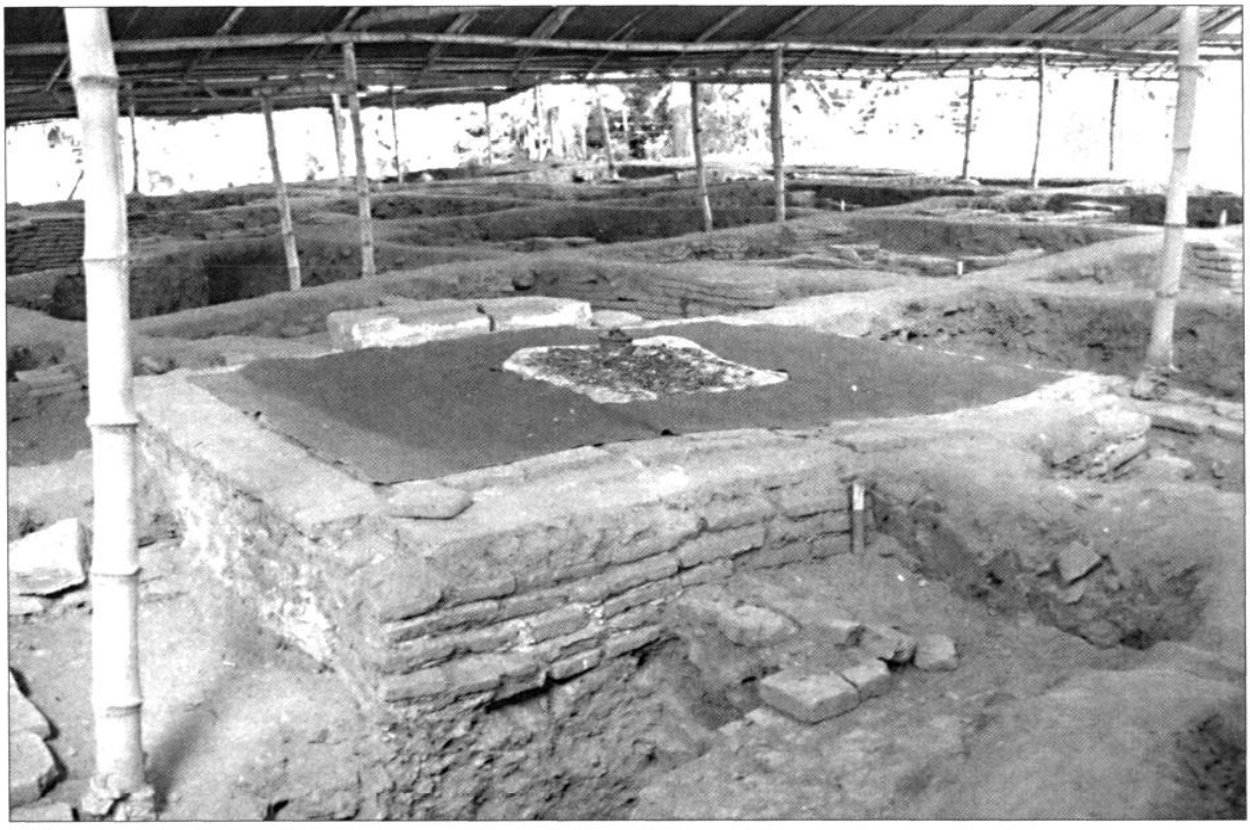
28. Among twelfth century inscriptions are Brandes, lxix (1120), lxvii (1117), lxviii (1135), lxxi (1181), and xxii (1185). As Edi Sedyawati, *Ganesa Statuary of the Kadiri and Singhasari Periods* (Leiden : 1994), 234, notes :

> The mere possession of wealth was not sufficient to allow one to eat certain foods, own certain kinds of property, wear certain articles of dress, or perform certain actions. One had first to be elevated to a certain position by the king. That this raising of status could be requested of the king by his subjects is shown in Kaḍiri inscriptions.

29. Sarwadharma Charter of 1269, Brandes, lxxix; Pigeaud, 3, 143-150. See also Brandes, lxvii, lxix, lxxi, lxxii, lxxiii, lxxvii, for privilege lists of Kaḍiri era monarchs.

Excavations at Trawulan (Majapahit Court Complex), 1998

Candi Tikus, mid-14th C. Trawulan (Majapahit) Complex, "Bath" Ritual Complex



Excavations at Trawulan (Majapahit Court Complex), 1998 (above and below)

essay on conduct appropriate to the Majapahit court compound (*rājya*), the privileges of a senior Śaivite clergymen were :

> ... serving men ... limited to an entourage befitting his means ... a golden betel-chewing set, a dark-colored palanquin, a dark-colored state sunshade ... the right to ride or use a car in [specifically defined areas] ... the right to be saluted ... the right to set foot in insecure (tabooed) places (not open to the public) ... and the right to enter (the court) without being announced.[30]

Also, from the twelfth century on references to individuals in the inscriptions change. Java's population began to bear names that reflect their social stature (*kakasir*). Personal names appear in combination with a specific designation or in association with a title, and may be followed by a Sanskrit epithet or name.[31] The *Pararaton* compounds Hayam Wuruk's name with his honorifics and his name of youth – kasir-kasir sri Hayam Wuruk Raden Tetep – but then adds his regnal title, Rājasanagara, "Whose state is full of Passion."[32] During the Majapahit era ordinary names are frequently introduced by a symbolic animal (e.g., buffalo, elephant, tiger, or deer) that denoted the individual's association with a banner of distinction, likely achieved in battle.[33] The implication is that in the early Majapahit era, which emerged from an extended period of civil strife followed by Gaja Mada's conquests, numbers of elite had fought and were subsequently incorporated into a military hierarchy that was distinguished by banners bearing an animal symbol, and appropriate epithet. For example, "Gaja Mada," compounds *gaja* (elephant) with the personal name of the man who saved the life and throne of Jayanagara as the commander of the king's bodyguard.[34] This military tradition was initially documented in the late

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30. *Nawanatya*, Pigeaud, 3, 121. The fourteenth century Katiden Charter reports among exclusive royal prerogatives (*angrakasa*) exclusive title to woodlands; neither royal relatives nor bondsmen were allowed access to these (Pigeaud, 3, 174).

31. L.C. Damais, *Répertoire onomastique de l'épigraphie javanaise jusqu'à Pu Sindok sri Isanawikrama dharmmotungadewa ; étude d'épigraphie indonésienne* (Paris : 1970), pp. 378-86. For earlier practice see A.M. Barrett Jones, *Early Tenth Century Java from the Inscriptions* (Dordrecht : 1984), 91-125.

32. This also combines the names of the founder of Majapahit (Kĕrtarājasa) with its spiritual father (Kĕrtanagara).

33. J.G. de Casparis, "Some Aspects of Proper Names in Ancient Java" in C.D. Grijns and S. O. Robson, eds., *Cultural Context and Textual Interpretations*, (Dordrecht : 1986), 11.

34. The chief ministers following Gaja Mada, according to the *Pararaton*, also were distinguished by the *gaja* (elephant) prefix : Gaja Enggon (1367-1394), Gaja Manguri (1394-1398), and Gaja Lembana (1398-1410). Slametmuljana, 160. The fourteenth century *Nawanatya* textbook on court etiquette reflects on the duties of the military commander-in-chief (*rakryan tumènggung*), and notes his entitlement to eight thousand in cash every day from the markets as his fee for protection and "doing away with evil and impurity." Pigeaud,

Kaḍiri era inscriptions, when military figures denoted by the *makasirkasir* title appear in references to the defense of the royal court.(35) The personal names of these, too, appear in association with this phrase, which loosely translates as "he who has a banner which has waving fringes."(36) This same image is projected in the early thirteenth century account of the Chinese port master Chau Ju-kua [Zhao Rugua] :

> When the [Javanese] king is travelling, he is shaded by a black or white umbrella and accompanied by more than five hundred followers carrying various kinds of spears and knives, and wearing hats of various shapes : some are shaped like tigers, deers, buffalos, sheep, birds, elephants, lions, or monkeys heads with small flags in the five colors made of silk and fastened to the sides of the hats.... (37)

In this age troops were mobilized according to need, although the center possessed a standing force of men trained for war, including archers (*māmana*), "those armed with spears" (*magala*), "those armed with hatchets" (*magandi*), elephant riders (*maliman*), "experts with horses" (*makuda*), and "experts with bulls" (*pakarapan*).(38)

There is a distinct hierarchy among officials in the center and in the villages that becomes more pronounced in the Kaḍiri era. By the Majapahit era, names and titles become more and more elaborate as markers of social status. At any given moment a person who bears a title or is associated with a title needs no other identity. It is thus unnecessary to further distinguish the Prince of Wĕngker, Hayam Wuruk's brother-in-law, with his personal name. He is the Prince, and no other.(39) Old *rakai/rakarayan/rakryan* titles used in

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3, 122. The same document states that the *rakryān juru pangalasan* ("Right Honourable Master of the Guardsmen") was personally responsible for making payments of wages, food, and clothing to his troops. His troops were organized into "Twelve Pavilions," each of which had a Sanskrit title. Pigeaud, 3, 125.

35. Brandes, lxxiii (1194) and lxxi (1181), which names at least twenty-three individuals who bear this designation.

36. "Buyut hadyan nama Dayu Sengsengan maka sirkasirkasir kbo salawah." The noted translation of *makasirkasir* is supported by the *Smaradahana* kakawin [Sedyawati, 222].

37. Revised translation of F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua ; His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (Amsterdam : 1966), 82, as reported by Sedyawati, 222.

38. All these were forbidden to enter *thāni* holding *sīma* charters ; each of these held *mangilala drĕwya haji* revenue collection rights. See Hantang Inscription, Brandes, lxvii.

39. Noorduyn, "Majapahit in the Fifteenth Century," elaborates on the historiographical problems that result from this practice, wherein it is assumed that the contemporary reader knew the personal name of the individual who holds such a title. See also Toru Aoyama, "Where was the 'Eastern Capital' of Java? : Reconsidering the Division of Majapahit 1379-1406," a paper presented to the 13th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, Tokyo, September, 1994.

earlier times to denote leaders ("lords") among the landed gentry are only encountered as they perform services as agents of the court.[40] By the Majapahit period these old titles disappear or are used in limited ways in reference to court executives and ministers who have assumed these old titles : *rakryan māpatih* ("chief minister"), *rakrayan dĕmung* ("the implementor of royal orders"), *rakryan kanuruhan* ("the executive officer of the patih of Majapahit"), *rakryan rangga* ("minister of public utilities"), and *rakryan tumĕnggung* ("minister of defense").[41]

New titles of collective social rank regularly precede the personal names of individuals, which are introduced by the classifiers *si*, *sang*, and *pu*, that demarcate the three levels of those entitled to honorific distinction. While the names of villagers remain simple and in Old Javanese, the names of those associated with the royal kraton are compounds bearing these honorifics. *Si* proclaims those at the village level who are not entitled to higher honorifics, but who do have a kraton relationship : elders (*rāma*, *bapa*, *ibu*) and the lowest representatives of the state, *patih* ("steward") and *wahuta* (officiants of state ritual/priests).[42] The intermediate group of ecclesiastical and secular officers are designated by *sang*.

The king's chief advisor (*tuha-mapatih*) in an early twelfth century inscription was *sang mapañji* (a title reserved for ecclesiastical officers) Jayadhara.[43] But by the fourteenth century this introductory title was associated with those of secondary rank, as for example the local notable sang wreddhmantri Sang Arya Dĕwarāja Pu Aḍitya.[44] *Pu* was collectively associated with high officials and dignitaries : Kĕrtarājasa's copper-platc inscription of 1296 uses this passage : "having as chairman the eloquent councillor with the title sang Hayapati, Pu Lungah by name."[45] Unlike the

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40. Sedyawati, 214ff.

41. Penanggungan Inscription of 1296; Sidateka Inscription of 1323, Berumbung Inscription of 1329, Surabaya Inscription (D.38), and Bendasari undated inscription. In the latter two, which date to the reign of Hayam Wuruk, these executive ministers are referenced with the *rake* rather than *rakryan* distinction. At the top of this hierarchy of court-based *rakrayan* are the royal sons, *rakrayan mahamantri*. Kertanagara had three of these. See Boechari, "Rakryan Mahamantri i Hino; a Study on the Highest Court Dignitary of Ancient Java up to the 13th Century A.D.," *Journal of the Historical Society, University of Singapore*, (1967-1968), 7-20; and Brandes, xxxviii.

42. See Biluluk Charters, Pigeaud, 3, 166-168. The *rāma* title is replaced by *bapa* and *ibu* in references to village leadership in Majapahit era records.

43. W. F. Stutterheim in *Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indie* (Batavia : 1940), 345-366; Sirahketing Inscription dated 1104 A. D.

44. Surabaya D. 38. Similarly in earlier inscriptions a *wahuta* might bear the honorific *sang*, but in later Majapahit times was normally referenced as the lower honorific *si*.

45. Makapramuka sang mantri wagmimaya mapasengahan sang nayapati pu lungah. De Casparis,

earlier era, when *pu* preceded a Javanese personal name,(46) *pu* introduced a state title in Majapahit records. This transition is reflected in the *Pararaton*. One of Ken Angrok's "fathers" was Pu Purwa; the artisan who forged his sacred kris was mPu Gandring. Ken Angrok, who was initially a common bandit, had no honorific nor did his friends in crime Kĕbo Hijo and Bango Samparan. When Ken Angrok became king, however, he took the title rakai sang Amurwaḍhumi Rājasa Sang Amurwaḍhumi.(47) Only his first two of four children by Ken Dĕḍĕs bear honorifics : Pañji Anengah and Sang Apañji Sapran. In a 1296 inscription two high ranking security posts (*pasangguhan*) are held by rakryan Mpu Sina, a *pranarāja*, and rakryan Mpu Lunggah, a *nayapati*;(48) all the top level officials in Hayam Wuruk's court bear *pu* honorifics : e.g., Pu Mada, Rake māpatih Majapahit.(49)

As a whole, the indigenous literary and epigraphic records from the Majapahit era define individual status in terms of one's capacity for interaction with the ruler and/or his kraton. Those who are allowed to participate in the center's rituals were members. Those who didn't were not. And there were degrees of membership. Only those of highest status were allowed to participate in the most sacred ritual inside the royal compound. Those of lesser status were entitled to share in other royal ceremonies as appropriate to their status.(50)

"Some Aspects of Proper Names," 12, from Poerbatjaraka in *Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indie* (Batavia : 1940) : 33-49. Pasengahan is a special title reserved for the highest Saivite clergy [Pigeaud, I, 108-12], which roughly translates "full of flowers" or "a shower of flowers," which is unusual in Sanskrit and is not found in Indic texts [de Casparis, 12]. It may, however, be thought of in terms of the *puspa* flower offerings, which were associated with the Rājapatnī deification ritual and are prominent in other early Javanese inscriptions. This may be compared to the ample flower offerings that are common in contemporary Balinese religious ritual.

46. Brandes, xxix; L.C. Damais, "Discussion des dates des inscriptions," *BEFEO*, 46 (1), 1952 : 51; an inscription dated 912 references "he who receives this [amount in] gold is Pu Lati, father [*bapa*] of Bayal, resident of Wuru Tungal," which designates him as a man of distinction and of considerable wealth.

47. See also the Kandangan inscription of 1350 that confirms this regnal title. M. Yamin, *Tatanegara Madjapahit*, II, 73-75. See also Van Stein Callenfels, *TBG*, 58 (1918), 337-347.

48. Penanggungan inscription dated 1296. Poerbatjaraka in *Inscripties van Nederlandsch Indie* (Batavia : 1940), 33-49; Yamin, I, 235-251.

49. Bendasari inscription, no date (c. 1360), issued by Hayam Wuruk [Brandes, lxxxv], Yamin, II, 109-115. Pu Gasti, Pu Turut, Pu Lurukan, and Pu Nala all similarly receive additional references relative to their administrative titles.

50. As such, the transition to an "urban" focus was less radical than might be supposed. See Paul Wheatley, "Urban Genesis in Mainland South-East Asia" in R.B. Smith and W. Watson, eds., *Early South East Asia* (London : 1979), 290-91 ; and Richard A. O'Connor, "Agricultural Change and Ethnic Succession in Southeast Asian States : A Case for Regional Anthropology," *JAS*, 54, 4 (1995), 968-996.

A 1296 inscription documents an initial status controversy and subsequent downward mobility. Pañji Patipati Mpu Kapat, who had "held an umbrella in the rain and a torch in darkness" for the deceased king, "suffered very much due to the king's death," and wanted to be appointed head of the Śaivite clergy, a post his father had held. Instead he was granted land at Sukamerta, where he was "allowed the privilege" of consecrating a Śiva shrine.(51) This same individual reappears in a 1324 inscription bearing the honorific of a landed gentry rather than that of a court aristocrat : Sang mantri wrĕddha, Sang Arya Patipati, Pu Kapat.(52) A 1379 charter established the land rights of an old family of distinction, and involved a legal dispute between rural gentry (*anden*) and "low born" (*wang lembah*) that was settled by a court official.(53) *Anden* are referenced as *andyan* in the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, and are entitled to an honorific, but have no court base. For example, the Lord of Tambak is categorized a *sang anden*.(54) The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* also reports elders (*atuha*) who were the headmen of *wang lembah* communities, and were "of distinction, but not gentry" (*gusti*). (55) In 1385, a (j)*angan* family of Patapan, of limited stature, helped open new lands to sawah cultivation under royal charter. One among them was rewarded with the title *buyat* (headman) of the new settlement.(56)

An excellent example of the new social order is provided in the "Ferry Charter of 1358."(57) The inscription's principal concern is the replacement of previous *dĕrwaya haji* tax collections with a new payment called *pamuja*. *Dĕrwaya haji* was collected by "tax farmers" known as *mangilila dĕrwaya haji* in inscriptions dating to the tenth century, when east-Java based monarchs had first begun to implement this revenue assessment process.(58) In these older inscriptions assorted individuals, among them merchants and

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51. Penanggungan inscription of 1296. Yamin, I, 235-251.

52. Sidateka inscription of 1323/4. H.B. Sarkar, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, 1935, 133-158. Yamin, II, 43-59.

53. Charter of Rĕnĕk dated 1379, issued by the Prince of Wĕngkĕr. Pigeaud, 3, 169-170.

54. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 2.3.

55. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 1.4.

56. Patapan Charter of 1385 [Pigeaud, 3, 172]; see also *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* 78.7.

57. I have discussed the importance of this inscription relative to Majapahit era economic activity in Kenneth R. Hall, "Maritime Trade and State Development in Fourteenth-Century Java" in H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa, ed., *Cultural and Economic Relations Between East and West* (Wiesbaden : 1988), 97-110.

58. See Sedyawati, 224-230; Jones, 126-156.

other "foreigners" who seemingly had no local loyalties, were assigned the right to collect local revenues (*dĕrwaya haji)* on the ruler's behalf, on their guarantee that the ruler would receive a share of their collections. Although the specific *dĕrwaya haji* formerly collected at the neighboring ferry crossing communities of Canggu and Terung are not described in detail in the "Ferry Charter," the inscription's proclamation of the new tax collection arrangement does provide clues about the nature of the Majapahit court's relationship with its hinterland.

First, the charter freed the local ferrymen from their former responsibility to make payments of *dĕrwaya haji* through their local elite. Second, the inscription provided that the ferrymen could thereafter assume an independent status, socially and politically, from the local agricultural community and could, as a consequence, begin to interact directly with the royal court. They were no longer obligated to be represented in their affairs with the state by the local gentry (collectively *winawa sang mana katrini*), who are distinguished as having income rights as a consequence of their having local spiritual authority and special titles of distinction : Pangkur, Tawan, and Tirip. *Mangilala dĕrwaya haji*, the collectors of the king's due, are in contrast collectively termed *wulu-wulu*, "persons of low standing" who are forbidden to "trouble" or "visit" the community, as are a list of other royal officials who might "claim the Lord's due." Third, as further symbol of their new social and political status, the ferrymen were granted a place in the king's religious ceremony. Their new status allowed them to participate in a distinct local festival honoring the Majapahit monarch. In support of this festival and as repayment for their recognition by the king, the ferrymen agreed to provide specified amounts of flowers and cash as partial payment of the supplemental *pamuja* tax. These payments were collected by two designated community representatives, men of religious distinction, who administered this festival and were the recipients of appropriate titles of status. Pañji Marggabhaya kasir-kasir ("whose *kasir-kasir*/common name was") Ajaran Rata was the community's representative in the charter negotiations. Pañji Angraksaji kasir-kasir Ajaran Ragi was named the co-administrator. Fourth, these two representatives of the ferrymen were allowed to participate in the Caitra festival marking the renewal of the agricultural cycle that took place annually at the royal kraton and in other locations near the kraton. At this festival the remainder of the ferrymen's yearly *pamuja* tax payments were due.

Among the *pamuja* payable to the king at the Caitra festival were valuable pieces of cloth, termed "contributions to state attire" and

"contributions to state cloth."[59] Moreover, the charter's emphasis on the conversion of tax payments due to the state into linked transfers that would underwrite local and court ritual emphasized the ruler's partnership with these locals in the presentation of the Caitra festival, from which symbolically Java's overall economic well-being derived. Because of their contribution that honored their monarch, the ferrymen were allowed the opportunity to assume a more direct relationship with the court. Previously they had been grouped with the local agrarian population as commoners subject to the authority of the landed gentry. This revised the old pattern of polity wherein their contact with the king had been, at best, indirect and completely dependent upon the local agrarian community and its elders who had represented them.

The fact that the ferry crossing between Canggu and Terung was critical in facilitating the flow of hinterland products as well as goods of foreign origin to the court may partially explain the desire of the Majapahit monarch to establish a more direct relationship with this specific community. The new relationship no doubt allowed the ferrymen greater freedom to pursue their commercial affairs, but also represented an attempt by the state to undercut the authority of the local landed gentry. Plates 9 and 10 of the "Ferry Charter" list among the ferrymen's granted privileges, called "confirmation gifts" (*pasĕk-pasĕk*), exemptions from legal rules that might have interfered with the efficient performance of their work. They were also allowed to organize cockfights and other gambling activities – activities that the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* deemed appropriate to commercial centers. They were further allowed to have music of combined gongs played at their worship services, as consistent with their new ritual status.[60]

The ferrymen's payment of the *pamuja* tax in cash, flowers, and textiles provides documentation of the state of the Javanese economy in Hayam Wuruk's time. The inscription specifically denotes in its reference to "state attire" the court's consumption of these textiles, which were marks of personal status. It would have been highly inappropriate for the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* author to elaborately describe Hayam Wuruk's personal wardrobe, since a Buddhist monarch was supposed to be above the material desires of this world. Instead the chronicle repeatedly documents his reciprocal redistributions of cloth to his loyal subordinates. There is,

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59. *Padadar, pamedihan, pagagarem.*

60. Pigeaud, 3, 160-162; 4, 109. On the evidence and significance of early cockfighting see N.C. Setten van der Meer, *Sawah Cultivation in Ancient Java* (Canberra : 1979), 126-130.

however, the brief introductory comment that "the Illustrious Prince, not missing the mark in His neatness, completely dressed," entered the court festival.(61) The *Nawanatya* text on court protocol provides a more assertive summary of the King's court appearance : "when (the king) appears in public wearing grand attire, manifestly like the Holy Sun's halo is His radiance." This essay on appropriate mid-fourteenth century court etiquette stipulates that the *rakryān dĕmang* was in charge of the court's social affairs, inclusive of supervising cloth designs. In return he was allowed "the right to wear all kinds of clothing; nobody shall prevent him." He also received two thousand "cash" every day : "Flowing from the Interior... he has the right to anything that is made by hand." The text stipulates that the King's household servants should not be rewarded with clothing for excellent conduct, since this was reserved exclusively as honorifics to men who had been brave in combat. Such men received *singel*-head-cloth or a jacket with tips on the shoulders, and a special sash.(62)

References to cash payments are evidence of monetarization, a byproduct of Java's role as a major center of international trade, and also mark the emergent economic vitality of Java's hinterland. Royal access to textiles was consistent with earlier patterns whereby Java's monarchs exercised some degree of control over goods acquired from and dispensed to the international trade route.(63) Java's monarchs traditionally shared luxury goods of foreign origin with those in royal favor in ceremonies of redistribution, thus reinforcing alliance relationships that were critical to their sovereignty.(64) Canggu's importance as a source of foreign or domestic textiles for ritualized redistributions by the king is implied in the "Ferry Charter's" stipulation that the ferrymen supply textiles to the court as part of their *pamuja* tax payment, as well as the inscription's allusion to Canggu's connections with coastal ports.(65)

This external wealth reinforced and allowed the expansion of the court-based reciprocity networks as more goods for redistribution became

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61. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 91.7.1 ; Pigeaud, 4 : 109.

62. Pigeaud, 4, 122-124.

63. Jan Wisseman Christie, *Patterns of Trade in Western Indonesia : Ninth through Thirteenth Centuries A.D.*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of London : 1982, 243-284.

64. The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* notes one such royal redistribution of textiles (along with bamboo and food) to workers who were responsible for the construction of viewing stands for those who watched the games that took place at the Caitra festival (87.3).

65. Hall, *Maritime Trade*, Chapter 9.

available to back the bestowal of titles. In an era characterized by the extension of wet-rice cultivation, population growth, increased trade wealth, the potential for more direct overseas contact among a broader spectrum of the population, a breakdown of old village structures, and political transition, there was also a good deal of potential for the social fluidity of the sort described in the "Ferry Charter." The boom in consumer demand for textiles and other material goods provides evidence of a higher standard of living, as well as the courtly status markers for display that confirmed enhanced social stature. The rapid appropriation of the goods and styles of the court by a prosperous non-elite provoked the need for the state's rules on consumption, which are expressed in the privilege lists in the Majapahit era *sīma* charters. Significantly, cloth replaced gold as the most prominent material mark of status in these Majapahit era lists.[66]

Studies of the early Javanese textile tradition show that an indigenous weaving industry had evolved by the ninth century, when uniquely Javanese indigo-blue and wungkudu-red ikat cloth is depicted on temple statuary. Icons are depicted as wrapped in cloth with horizontal decorative bands that are characteristic of ikat textiles.[67] By the tenth century professional weavers were producing high quality cotton cloth on new *cadar* looms,

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66. This was also sustained by the widespread use of metal coinage. Jan Wisseman Christie, "Money and its Uses in the Javanese States of the Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries A.D.," *JESHO*, 39, 3 (1996), 243-285; Arjan van Aelst, "Majapahit *Picis*; the Currency of a 'Moneyless' Society 1300-1700," *BKI*, 151, 3 (1995), 357-393. See also Robert S. Wicks, *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, New York : 1992), 262-267, for discussion of the coincidental references to cloth and gold rings (cloth attachments?) in ninth and tenth century inscriptions; see plate 8.7, 264, in which a Borobudur relief depicts these rings. The *Pararaton*, too, provides evidence of this transition. In the old order Ken Angrok learned how to make gold, which he could then redistribute to his subjects. By implication, kings were expected to have unlimited access to gold or similar objects of value that they might share with their population. In my *Maritime Trade* book (248), I make the case that the *Pararaton*, which is a product of the fifteenth century, when trade was a prominent feature in the Javanese landscape, uses the Bubat bloodbath episode to confirm Majapahit's success as the archipelago's leading maritime power. The rivalry with the Sunda Strait ruler symbolically threatened Majapahit's commercial authority; victory assured Majapahit's legitimate succession as the facilitator of the archipelago's successful international trade. This story thus adds to the Majapahit ruler's legitimacy as the focus of Java's wet-rice tradition, the central theme of the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, which omits references to or trivializes Majapahit's maritime affairs (and ignores the Bubat episode). By the time that the *Pararaton* was composed, Majapahit was both a wet-rice plain and maritime state; the realm's wet-rice core provided the essential commodity (rice) that made Java's dominance of the Southeast Asian spice trade possible. The interrelationship of the economic and political sectors was responsible for the Majapahit polity's success in the minds of the *Pararaton* authors. The *Pararaton* also enumerates Majapahit's commercial centers, including Canggu, which are ignored by the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*'s author. Hardjowardojo, trans., *Pararaton*, (Jakarta : 1965), 43, 58.

67. Jan Wisseman Christie, "Trade and Value," 10-11 ; Sedyawati, 134, n. 13; 232-233.

which were a local version of the body-tension looms used elsewhere in East Asia during that era.[68] On these looms, which could not produce a continuous warp, a loom reed or comb was used to separate fine threads inserts in the weaving process.[69] By the eleventh century the continuous warp-ikat process had gained favor. Contemporary epigraphy mentions weft-ikat *songket* cloth, which was decorated with gold and silver thread and colored silk thread inserts,[70] and the original plaid designs. *Banantĕn* cloth also receives its first mention ; this was a product of an increasingly specialized textile industry that included master artisans who did not weave, but who bleached and smoothed the surface of ready-made cloth prior to decoration. This process evolved into the production of free-hand batik (*tulis*, "to draw a line"), which uses wax to prevent dyes from penetrating the cloth and thereby produces patterns. This was initially reported in twelfth century inscriptions and is reflected in thirteenth century statuary.[71] From the eleventh century onward royal charters make special reference to reserved design motifs and colors – in contrast to old reds, blues, and whites – that included a distinction between *tulis mas* ("drawing in gold") and *tulis warna* ("drawing in color"). Foreign trade was clearly an external source of new inspiration for this indigenous evolution of material culture, particularly Chinese and Indian textile imports that were an initial stimuli.[72]

Banantĕn cloth is described consistently in Majapahit inscriptions. It is used for decoration, hangings under the eaves of buildings, for screens, for cushion covers, and for cloth covers for containers and ritual receptacles.[73] While it is not connected with clothing in the inscriptions, it is in

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68. Jan Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles," *BEFEO*, 80, 1 (1993), 185-190 ; M. Gittinger, *Splendid Symbols. Textiles and Traditions in Indonesia* (Washington, D.C. : 1979).

69. See Gittinger, 229-231.

70. Gittinger, 115-116, argues against woven gold and silver thread inserts, insisting that Java's early craftsmen only pasted gold and silver on their cloth.

71. Ruth Barnes, "An Introduction to the Body-Tension Looms and Single Frame Looms of Southeast Asia" in I. Emery and P. Fiske, eds., *Looms and Their Products. Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles* (Washington, D.C. : 1979), 54-55, documents five types of body-tension looms indigenous to the region.

72. Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 193, argues that early batik patterns were local expressions inspired by Indic originals.

73. Waharu 14th century reissue of a charter dated 931 [Boechari, *Prasasti Koleksi Museum Nasional* (Jakarta : 1986), 59-65] ; Kakurangan 14th century reissue of a charter dated 1023 [Boechari 67-70] ; Kambang Sri 14th century reissue of a charter dated 1042 [Boechari 72-5] ; Tuhanaru inscription dated 1323 [Boechari 77-85] ; Manguri 14th century reissue of a charter dated 937 [F.H. van Naerssen, *Oudjavaansche Oorkonden in Duitsche en Deensche Verzamelingen* (Leiden : 1941), vii].

contemporary literature, where bananten cloth is bleached or bears colors in patterns, and is extremely important as appropriate ritual coverings.[74] Rituals allowed the display of insignia of rank, which are mentioned more often in the inscriptions than are cloth patterns. Men wore ceremonial *dodot* and women wore *tapih*, both wrapped lower garments. Today these terms refer to ceremonial garments made exclusively of batik. In the Majapahit era there appears to have been greater variety of decorations. Contemporary statuary illustrates this dramatic change in fashion.[75]

Plain-colored cloth decorated with a scattering of small six or eight-petalled flowers, which are very similar to the four-petalled sandalwood flowers stamped on Javanese coinage from this era, are arranged in bands between narrow warp stripes of contrasting colors in central Java statuary dating to the ninth and tenth centuries.[76] Higher status recipients wore finer, more professionally woven, lighter and brighter colored fabrics than the ikat mainstream.[77] In the Majapahit era patterns were denser, more elaborate, and finely drawn, closer to traditional batik patterns. There was a move from the earlier linear symmetry to axial symmetry, with an effect similar to block printing and traditional batik rather than warp ikat.[78] Double ikat (*gringsing*) is, however, common in Majapahit records, and seems to have been used largely as sashes rather than as *dodot* or *tapih*.[79] The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* relates that the victorious monarch and his companions all wore a cotton cloth with the *gringsing* pattern when they were victorious over Kaḍiri. In the belief that this pattern had magical attributes the king and his court adopted this pattern as the royal symbol, along with the Maja fruit.[80]

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74. *Ramayana kakawin*, 14.55 ; Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 190 ; for description of the production of this cloth, see Gittinger, 117, and W. Warming and M. Gaworski, *The World of Indonesian Textiles* (Tokyo : 1981), 153.

75. Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 193-195, discusses the statuary evidence.

76. A.J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* (Amsterdam : 1959), plate 39. Similar patterns are displayed in small gold statuary, for example the Banyumas statuary in Museum Negara (#A29/664c). Wisseman Christie notes similar patterns in statuary of contemporary Bengal and Bihar, and that this similarity of patterns indicates that these were cloth imports (193). Among ordinary households reds, browns, blues, and black dominated, similar to textiles common in Nusa Tenggara Timur today ; upper classes wore reds and rose colors on bleached white backgrounds.

77. Wisseman Christie, *loc. cit.*, 194.

78. Ruth Barnes, *Indian Block Print Textiles in Egypt : the Newberry Collection*, (New York : 1997), suggests an Indian source for these new patterns.

79. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* 18.4 ; I, 16.

80. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 17.4. None of the named *gringsing* patterns, which do appear in the clothing of bas-relief wayang scenes, correspond to the textile patterns enumerated in the

Majapahit statuary does not portray purely Indic patterns, but Javanese aesthetics.(81) Javanese textile patterns are denser, and tend to more realistically portray floral and vegetal motifs. Javanese borders are narrower than those textiles of Indian origin. Red, blue/black, and white remain basic color choices. Bands of red mentioned in late fourteenth century inscriptions and literary records had expanded to encompass nine variations, with pinks, ruby red, vermilion, orange, and saffron pink displacing the older, deeper red of elite clothing. Yellow was more prominent, as well as green, as a preferential elite color. Another common symbolic use of cloth was in umbrellas. The privilege of erecting two umbrellas outside one's residence was much coveted, and especially the right to erect two yellow umbrellas, rather than the "common" white ones.(82)

The expanded ritual opportunities for the display of textiles encouraged competition. But too much social rivalry tarnished the notion of the consequent prosperity that was the king's gift. It encouraged locals to pursue alternatives – specifically, direct relationships with coastal ports, or breaking away into resilient local enclaves. A good example of this potential for participation or withdrawal in a region on the royal periphery is the Tengger highlands. These highland populations chose to integrate into Javanese culture during the Majapahit era. Hayam Wuruk visited the region on his royal progressions. On one, he sojourned to the mandala "circle" community of Tengas, Probolinggo, where he performed a water ritual at a local shrine. He received tribute from eleven Buddhist communities, including three that can be identified with villages still existing in the mountain region.(83)

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charter privilege lists. This indicates that new *gringsing* patterns were not produced by the double ikat method. Patterns of the age include : *wali* (offering rituals), *pras* (life-crisis rituals), *nagapuspa* (white flower of the *nagasari* tree), *pasilih galuh* (jewelled *pasilih*), *siwapatra* (Siva's flower, the red lotus), *tunjung siniwak* and *tunjung ijo* (lotus decorations), *mawija kuning* (yellow seed), *askar* (flowered), *pasilih tampung* (bordered *pasilih*), *tuwuh-tuwuhan* (vegetal pattern), *tuwuh watu* (rock-bodied, immortal), and *nawagraha* (nine-planet). Only *pasilih galuh* (in an inscription dated 877) appears in earlier records (Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles", 191). Purple was not introduced until *patola* silks became available in the fifteenth century.

81. This information derives from discussions of Majapahit statuary I had with the staffs of the Trawulan and Jakarta museums in the summer of 1998, as well as follow-up discussion with Professor Mundardjito, Head of the Research Centre for Humanities Sciences, Universitas Indonesia.

82. Brandes, lxxvii, lxix, and lxxix.

83. Pigeaud, 4, 68; Robert W. Hefner, *The Political Economy of Mountain Java* (Berkeley : 1990), 33. The fourteenth century *Rājapatiguṇḍala* ritual text describes the water-based rituals that were locally performed : When the honored (priest) is performing worship the laity shall

There is evidence of local and independent "spirit servants" (*hulun hyang*) in the undated Majapahit-era Walandit Charter,[84] but this was the exception not the norm. In the Majapahit era, local clergy in the Tengger highlands region were fully integrated into the ritual performance and paraphernalia of a non-Brahmanical popular Śaivite order (*rĕsi pujangga*) still practiced in Bali (*rĕsi bujangga*), and which was subordinate to the Majapahit court. That these highland people on the state's periphery chose to join the Majapahit ritual network testifies to the cultural cohesiveness of Majapahit state, and explains why Java has greater ethnic homogeneity than its neighbors today. "Even in Majapahit times the lowland-based state exercised a dominating influence on upland affairs."[85]

But the basis of this highland-lowland relationship in the Tengger highlands was not the exclusive appeal of Majapahit's religious ritual. Cloth assumed a prominent role in the process of integration. In this citation from the Majapahit era Arjunawijaya, bark cloth is considered appropriate to the rural (swidden) regions serviced by *rĕsi* priests :

> In the holy place of the *rĕsi* should be all types of *wanaśrama* for those who wear bark clothing....[86]

In local tradition Bima, Lord of Mount Bromo (the sacred volcanic mountain at the center of the Tengger region) forbade the weaving of cotton cloth and the growing of rice, thus forcing locals to interact with the neighboring lowland ricegrowing populations to secure these.[87] In an age in which the Tengger highland populations consciously emulated the religious practices of Majapahit, cloth from these lowlands must have been essential as the proper attire to further validate local performance of

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receive the *tirtha* (purified holy water) in a *kundi manik* (jewel jar). The worship of the holy *kamandalu* (sacerdotal water-jar) [that is] spread over the land of Java [will bring prosperity to all the King's subjects] [Pigeaud, 3, 134].

84. Pigeaud, 4, 443-444.

85. Hefner, *Political Economy of Mountain Java*, 35 ; Hefner also discusses continuing local use of water beakers that have Majapahit inscriptions. One mainstream of Majapahit's culture that didn't take hold in the highlands was wayang ; Hefner (39) notes that the upland populations still prefer ribald local arts.

86. S. Supomo, *Arjunawijaya ; A Kakawin of Mpu Tantular* (The Hague : 1977), II, 223.

87. Anthony Johns, "From Buddhism to Islam : An Interpretation of the Javanese Literature of the Transition," *CSSH*, 9 (1966-67), 40-50, makes the case that a highly popular Tantric Bima cult was practiced in the fifteenth century Majapahit realm, and that this popularity is documented in 1450s era temple bas-relief. He attributes the *Bimasuci* – a Javanese religious text by the poet Purbatjaraka that legitimized Bima as a Javanese culture hero (as a leader and savior) and as a major figure in Javanese wayang myth – to the mid-1400s.

Majapahit's rituals. It surely would have reinforced local perceptions of a need for an upland-lowland relationship. With Majapahit's collapse in the sixteenth century, the region withdrew rather than assimilate into the new Islamic culture, and was only reopened due to threats of Dutch military intervention several centuries later.(88) This local resiliency demonstrates the highland population's ability to survive when there was no similar inducement for their participation in the affairs of the lowland. It also demonstrates the importance of Majapahit ritual and imported textiles, as symbolic conceptual and material statements of the local perceptions of the sources of this integration.(89)

Ritual Feasts, Temples, and Court Relationships : Caitra and Rājapatnī Festivals and Temple Construction in the Reign of Hayam Wuruk

Let us describe how the King went to roam in the hunting-preserve :
He set out with weapons, with servants, chariots and horses,
There in the... forest, a wood very hard to penetrate,
Its trees most terrifying, and the... grass spreading far,
The troops circled round in great numbers till they filled the place,
And chariots stood side by side in close order...

... the animals fle[d] in blind panic !
Hence they withdrew and sought the safety of the center, gathering there.
When all the animals who lived in the wood had reached the place,
They were all in agreement with each other – there was no quarrel.
It was as if they were conferring, with the King of Beasts as their chairman.
[He convinces them to make a stand, reasoning :]...
Who will be my enemy in this world if everyone torments us equally ?

[The] armed troops and foot-soldiers rushed forward hunting,
But met by the horned animals they turned tail and fled...
The King's troops broke ranks and fled in fright, with losses under the fierce attack...

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88. Hefner, *Political Economy of Mountain Java*, 36, n. 4. Local legends speak of the role of Tengger priests leading their population against lowland-based Islamic armies. Among the local population were said to be refugees from Majapahit, who fled to the highlands when Majapahit fell.

89. This potential for isolation is well-demonstrated among other Southeast Asian highlanders, who preserve their own dialect, religious tradition, and social order distinct from that of their lowland neighbors. See Charles Keyes, *The Golden Peninsula : Culture and Adaptation in Mainland Southeast Asia* (New York : 1977), 19 ; E. R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma* (Boston : 1954). On the potential of cloth as the inducement for the interaction of upstream-downstream populations see Kenneth R. Hall, "The Textile Industry in Southeast Asia, 1400-1800," *JESHO*, 39, 2 (1996), 87-135. Hefner says nothing about the continuing importance of textiles in local culture. I would expect, as Barbara Andaya reports from Sumatra, that Tengger populations were able to duplicate the Majapahit-era textiles, which were an important aspect of their ritual performance. See Barbara Watson Andaya, "The Cloth Trade in Jambi and Palembang during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Indonesia*, 48 (October 1989), 27-46.

Some of the King's priests joined in the hunt, bearing spears...
Snarled at by a wild dog they [too] turned to run, and when he took after them they took off as fast as they could go...
Apparently they had neglected their rituals, or they were not virtuous.
Joining in the concern for worldly things, and thereby forgetting that they already
Had been granted a special favor.

[Only when His Majesty entered this chaotic scene was order restored]...
He headed for the midst of the woods and pursued every kind of frightening animal,
And this is why the other army withdrew and broke, abandoning the dead bodies and fleeing...
The King was pleased when he stopped to rest and take refreshments... and enjoyed the beauties of [the] woods and mountains.
Aware of the sins of the animals he was not indulging an evil passion but adhering to the duty of non-violence....(90)

In this allegoric episode, the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* projected the traditional Javanese environment of political competition. Raids into the "wilderness" or against neighboring polities (uncivilized "beasts") who "threatened" or "dishonored" Majapahit were the source of bondsmen, booty, and prestige. A series of successful raids attracted a following on subsequent plunder expeditions, but also brought the threat of retribution that might bring the destruction of the center. Unsuccessful raids led to anarchy, and encouraged the center's allies to seek more successful leaders.(91)

Feasting was a less dangerous form of competitive rivalry that was equally intended to provide stability. To lavishly entertain one's own and wider community was critical to a monarch's survival. By hosting a feast the king encouraged existing members of his community to stay by reinforcing their sense of collective identity. Feasts were also a means of attracting new allies. Feasts in various ways linked the local "family" to a larger

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90. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 50-55.

91. Bas-reliefs and inscriptions celebrate the military accomplishments of Majapahit's leaders. This is particularly the case in animal prefixes to personal titles, as for example the discussed reference to Gaja Madah, "he who bears the elephant banner." In an inscription dated 1305, connection to the "Rājasa dynasty" is referenced : Nararya Sanggramawijaya was "a descendant of the Rājasa dynasty, a protector of good men, a great hero in the battlefield" [R. Ng. Purbatjaraka, *TBG* 76 (1936), 373-390; discussed in Slamatmuljana, 83, n. 12]. Recurrent cyclical warfare is central to the plot of the *Pararaton*, as appropriate to a wayang-inspired text. In contrast, the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* references military successes in the past tense, if at all. The Bubat slaughter of the Sundanese by Gaja Madah is a significant event in the *Pararaton*, but is remarkably ignored in the account of Hayam Wuruk's reign in the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*. Traditionally this discrepancy is explained as the consequence of the non-violence advocated by the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*'s Buddhist author – his text celebrates the peace that was established in Hayam Wuruk's reign. The account of the *Pararaton* may be closer to the reality of the roots of Hayam Wuruk's monarchy, as well as the periodic instabilities and dynastic warfare characteristic of Majapahit succession. For example, the

Candi Jawi (14th Century)

community.[92] Feasts involved a symbolic redistribution of resources in which the feast participants were both recipients and providers. Participants contributed material and symbolic goods for their own consumption as well as for others. Even officiating priests brought gifts – holy water, prayers, and rituals that were pronounced on the behalf of the other "givers." These ritualized gift exchanges entailed a transformation of material goods into symbolic status or prestige.[93]

The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* demonstrates the preeminence of the lavish Caitra ceremonies as a critical centerpiece that strengthened ties between the Majapahit *kraton* and its outer regions :

> In the first half of Caitra the hosts of subjects gather to consult and to take counsel together...
> The purpose of the meeting is to ensure that none of His Majesty's subjects be undisciplined in what he does, ...
> Let him not trespass on what is forbidden [i.e., to confiscate another's property] and take to heart the ruler regarding the right clothing and so on to be worn...[94]

The Caitra festival celebrated the beginning of a new year in the agricultural cycle, but it especially proclaimed the "quality" of the

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battlefield" [R. Ng. Poebatjaraka, *TBG* 76 (1936), 373-390; discussed in Slametmuljana, 83, n. 12]. Recurrent cyclical warfare is central to the plot of the *Pararaton*, as appropriate to a wayang-inspired text. In contrast, the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* references military successes in the past tense, if at all. The Bubat slaughter of the Sundanese by Gaja Mada is a significant event in the *Pararaton*, but is remarkably ignored in the account of Hayam Wuruk's reign in the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*. Traditionally this discrepancy is explained as the consequence of the non-violence advocated by the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*'s Buddhist author – his text celebrates the peace that was established in Hayam Wuruk's reign. The account of the *Pararaton* may be closer to the reality of the roots of Hayam Wuruk's monarchy, as well as the periodic instabilities and dynastic warfare characteristic of Majapahit succession. For example, the previously noted late Kaḍiri era (1194) inscription reports an attack on the court; immediately thereafter the first response of the Kaḍiri monarch was to secure his alliance network [Brandes, lxxiii]. A second instance, from the reign of Jayabhaya, is reported : "during the desertion affair [this individual] took Jayabhaya's side resolutely..." H.N. van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek* (Batavia : 1901), III, 221.

92. They transformed material resources into status/prestige goods; they generated socioeconomic and religious powers – they were pleasing to the spirits, and might incorporate curing, agricultural productivity, and life-cycle rituals that celebrated the resources of the feast-giver's realm. Feasts thus maximized the potency of the feast-giver, celebrating the ability of the giver to provide and attract material resources and followers/participants to the feast. But participation also acknowledged the participant as a person of status, worthy of participation, equally as the source of a gift that is received as well as the recipient of the feast-giver's beneficence.

93. Feasting could be a risky venture and a demonstration of institutional weakness, since it depended on the willingness of the participant. Some do reject participation, as for example a local subordinate of the Majapahit ruler who refused because he had been offended by someone at the court. See the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, Canto 35.3.

94. *Ibid.*, 85.1-2. See also the Prince of Wĕngkĕr's speech, 88.2-3.

Majapahit monarch's rule that had been responsible for the past year's successes. During the first seven days of the festival, the Majapahit court "came down" to Bubat to participate in public amusements in a fair-like atmosphere. Here games and gambling were permitted in a place more appropriate for such actions than in the sanctified court. It was here in Bubat that the king received various collections in kind due to him from assorted non-aristocratic communities, for example, the *pamuja* payments listed in multiple royal charters.(95) Here, too, on the banks of the Brantas River the king celebrated the "passing over ceremony" that marked the coming of the new year. This act emphasized the life-bringing powers of the Brantas, which was the source of the east Java-based polity's prosperity.(96)

Tradesmen and merchants brought tribute to the king at the Caitra festival. Appropriately, at this symbolic high point of Majapahit's economic and social life, representatives from China, India, Cambodia, Vietnam, Champa, and Thailand paid their respects to the king. They came to Java on merchant ships (it is unclear whose), arriving by the western monsoon before the beginning of the festival (February or March), and returned to the Asian mainland on the eastern monsoon (May or June). The same eastern monsoon brought traders from the eastern archipelago with spices.(97) Foreign Buddhist monks and Brahmans also participated in the Caitra festival.(98) The Phalguna-Caitra ceremonies began with the Bubat festival,(99) continued with speeches on statecraft at gatherings of the royal family and its allies,(100) and the ceremonies culminated in a community meal that once again marked out the relationships between the center and its allies. Those closest to the royal line were served on gold plates and ate their fill of

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95. Hall, *Maritime Trade*, 236-247.

96. The Brantas supplied the water necessary for eastern Java's wet-rice agriculture and also provided contact with the outside world from whence came luxury goods and revenues. This "passing over" ritual is also symbolic of the monarch's intermediary powers in the "passing over" of the spirit from life to death. The act of "passing over" the Brantas River is symbolic of the passage across the river that separates the realm of the living from the realm of the dead in the Indic tradition.

97. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 83. During the eastern monsoon season (May-August) winds blew from the west or south, and in the western monsoon season (December-March) from the northwest or northeast. Except for the typhoon belt at the eastern edge of the region, these predictable monsoon winds, in addition to uniform water temperatures, allowed vessels that were unable to survive voyages in the open ocean to comfortably navigate in Southeast Asian waters. Swift currents in certain channels posed the greatest natural danger to ships sailing to Java.

98. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 93.1.

99. *Ibid.*, 86-87.

100. *Ibid.*, 88-89.5.

mutton, water buffalo, poultry, game, wild boar, bees, fish, and ducks. Those of lesser rank and relationship, including the commoners, were served on silver dishes, and offered "meats innumerable, all there is on the land and water," including those that the high-ranking did not eat : worm, tortoise, mouse, and dog.

Along with this food came prodigious quantities of alcoholic beverages made from the fruits of various sorts of palm trees, from sugar and from rice. One and all drank until they were drunk, "panting, vomiting, or bewildered." And along with the food and drink came entertainment, singers and dancers, and a musical play enacted and sung by the princes of the realm, and by the king himself :

> ... The King's songs put them under a spell, amazingly apt,
> Comparable with the cries of a peacock on a branch in their poetic beauty,
> Like honey and syrup mingled in their delightful sweetness,
> And resembling creaking bamboos in their awesomeness, breaking one's heart.[101]

The Caitra festival-feast thus celebrated the monarch's leadership, and the importance of the court and its resident "central family" to a wider society :

> For the palace and its own area are like a lion and a deep wood :
> If the fields are ruined, then the city too will be short of sustenance.
> If there are no subjects, then clearly there will be other islands that come to take us by surprise...[102]

Key members of the royal "family" are specifically mentioned in extended honorific passages. At appropriate times each gave a speech that publically proclaimed their debt to their monarch and his *kraton*, as well as conceptualized a common Javanese community that united with the king and his court. Others of lesser stature gave gifts as representatives of specific subordinate communities, bringing them to the feast for the pleasure of the king as well as others in attendance. Their participation confirmed the king's capacity to bring his "family" together :

> [As] the nobles took leave of [their King]...
> They said they were freed from evil, given a joy as if not of this world...[103]

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101. *Ibid.*, 89.4-91.9. Apparently Hayam Wuruk was an accomplished dancer and dramatist, whose artistic accomplishments are acknowledged in the *Pararaton*, which records his dance, drama, and wayang (puppet theater) performances, and the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, which celebrates two of his notable dance performances (66.4, 91), the latter a *topeng* (masked) dance.

102. *Ibid.*, 89.2.

103. *Ibid.*, 91.9.

The Caitra feast also resolved assorted dichotomies. Outsiders became members of the "family of the whole." An underlying potential for conflict between opposites was not ignored but was mediated in a traditional way, by inviting representatives from both sides into the ritual feast. Each group participating in the festival retained its own identity, customs, and leadership, but by participating in the extended feast, community leaders accepted their place in the ritualized hierarchy that culminated in the Majapahit monarch :

> ... Without too much thought for self, he does not neglect to care for the welfare of others for the benefit of the realm... (104)

Hayam Wuruk also used the Rājapatnī cult to celebrate his realm's eternal unity. (105) Local shrines were consecrated to the Rājapatnī cult and rural communities were encompassed in a court-centered ritual network, which came together in a second realm-wide ritual feast :

> ... the princes came out... in the morning... to give audience to the servants and officials, the Aryas being the foremost of those in the presence, as well as the Patihs seated in order in the halls.
> Then the Prime Minister, the valiant Gaja Mada, came before them and while bowing respectfully [passed on the orders of the Queen to initiate the Rājapatnī celebration]...
> [Thereafter these orders were] to be carried out by the princes in the palace...
> All the princes will contribute food and they will be attended by the senior officials... That afternoon there arrived the *ḍapurs*, Aputih, and Sujyana being the most knowledgeable of them [who agreed to participate]... (106)

The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* describes the gift exchanges as a vital part of the Rājapatnī festivities at the court when "on seven days without interruption, money, clothes, and food beyond measure were distributed." (107)

In contrast to the Caitra and Rājapatnī ritualized feasts, temples were a more permanent means of converting material capital into symbolic capital. Temples provided the enduring foundation for institutional linkage that the feast did not. They fused economic, political and religious achievements in stone statements and symbols of accomplishment. Like the feast, temples required an ability to concentrate resources, whether through tax assessments or labor service. (108) Temples centralized competition. Just as one needed the

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104. *Ibid.*, 92.1.

105. B.J.O. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies, Pt II, Ruler and Realm* (The Hague : 1957), 24 ; discussed in Hall, "Ritual Networks."

106. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 63.

107. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 65.6-66.3.

108. Kenneth R. Hall, "An Economic History of Early Southeast Asia" in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, I, 270-272.

king's permission to participate in the rituals at the court, in order to found a local temple one needed the king's approval. Inscriptions and charters registered the king's certification of a temple's establishment :[109]

> ... Any that lacked a charter was to be provided with one on his instructions by experts in the proper formulas,
> So that its benefit might be lasting, without giving rise to disputes...[110]

The king was thus the temple's ultimate benefactor. Temples institutionally fused a population cluster to the hierarchical "enduring whole" as the temple became the local center of the larger community – as a local temple ritually tied to state level temples or to the court itself.

Majapahit era temples were not overly impressive. In contrast to earlier central Java-based polities, in the Majapahit era there was a shift of emphasis from the construction of colossal state temples to more elaborate court and temple ceremonies. Instead of building massive central temple complexes, Hayam Wuruk constructed an impressive royal kraton ritual center and enhanced several strategic ancestral temples (e.g., Panataran and Singasari) :

> ... as for the royal sanctuaries founded by the King's ancestors in the past,
> All that he had not yet completed were put in order, guarded and assiduously cared for...[111]

The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* refers to the king's visits to these and other regional sacred sites. But even in these instances there is less focus on the sanctity of the ceremonies performed on the monarch's behalf, and more on the festive atmosphere and especially on the symbolic gift exchanges that take place before and after the ritual that celebrated local participation in a court-centered socio-religious hierarchy. On the Royal Progress of 1359, for example, which confirmed local submission to the king's sovereignty, Hayam Wuruk bestowed cloth, food, and money in exchange for local gifts to him of "products of their own" at each stop.[112] Consequent royal collections, which were ultimately incorporated into the massive Caitra and Rājapatnī festivals of 1362, indicate that in the time of Hayam Wuruk lavish public display was considered more critical to the strengthening of ties

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109. For example the Penanggungan Inscription of 1296, Poerbatjaraka, in *Inscripties van Nederlandsch Indie* (1940), 33-49 (Yamin, I, 235-251), in reference to Pu Kapat, who was allowed to consecrate a Siva shrine that confirmed the establishment of his new landed estate.

110. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 73.2.

111. *Ibid.*, 73.2.

112. *Ibid.*, 31.2-40.4.

between the state center and its outer regions than was royal temple construction[113].

A Dichotomy of the Literary Sources?

The point of this study is that a capacity for institutionalized polity beyond personal networking was developing in Java from the eleventh century onward. This transformation culminated in fourteenth century Majapahit, as specificially demonstrated in the inscriptional records of Hayam Wuruk's reign. Local understanding of the Majapahit era transitions may be viewed by contrasting the literary accounts of Majapahit, especially its two surviving chronicles, the fourteenth century *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* court chronicle that was composed when Majapahit was achieving the height of its authority, and the *Pararaton*, which is a wayang-inspired chronicle that was in existence by the end of the fifteenth century.[114] The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* presents the court's historical "ideal," an account of the relatively recent institution of court secular initiatives that resulted in the creation of a "unified" kingdom. A different historical reality surfaces in the *Pararaton*, which reached its final form in an era of dynastic crisis a century later – when it was necessary to draw upon idealized memories of a more distant and orderly past to reassert the authority of the Javanese monarchy.[115]

In contrast to the court-centered collective society projected in the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, the focus of the *Pararaton* is on the personal. It purposefully establishes the genealogical legitimacy of Majapahit's line of kings and justifies individual submission to it. In the *Pararaton* Ken Angrok's legitimacy, and that of the Majapahit line of rulers who follow, is

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113. During the early 1990s Indonesia's archeological service charted east Java's numerous temples, many of which date to the Majapahit era. Rather than royal temples, local temples, initiated by local elite with the Majapahit king's approval, were the norm.

114. Zurbuchen, *Introduction to Old Javanese Language*, 66-67. J. Noorduyn, "Majapahit in the 15th Century," *BKI*, 134, 2-3 (1978), 207-274, discusses the historical merits of the *Pararaton* by comparing its fifteenth century dynastic chronology with contemporary epigraphic records.

115. The immediacy of this need to reassert legitimacy in the face of a dynastic challenge is not unlike the situation faced by Jayavarman VII in twelfth century Cambodia. In Jayavarman's case, he had built new temples and embarked on other construction projects to "take his message to the people." See I. W. Mabbett and David Chandler, *The Khmers* (Oxford : 1995), 204-217. In the case of Java, this "direct access to the people" was seemingly achieved through the use of wayang. See also Anthony Johns, "From Buddhism to Islam : An Interpretation of the Javanese Literature of the Transition," *CSSH*, 9 (1966-1967), 40-50, on the Bima cult of the fifteenth century, and the incorporation of such into the wayang texts of that age.

initially proclaimed in a meeting of the gods on the black Wednesday of Wuku Warigadyan atop Mount Lejar :

> It is he who will hold up the Isle of Java, he who will bind together the land. [Siva answers the question "Who is best fit to rule?"] : "Know, gods, that there is my son, a human from Pangkur. It is he who will strengthen the Isle of Java." And then Ken Angkrok... appeared [before] the gods, and the gods all agreed and they consecrated Ken Angrok in the name of Bațara Guru [Śiva]... And so from there Ken Angrok followed his destiny... and took as his [new] father a Brahman named danghyang Lohgawe [who embraced him and said] : "I take you as my child, I will help you in your difficulties, and will take care of you wherever you go"... [Ken Angrok later married Ken Dĕḍĕs, whose father was Pu Purwa, abbot of a Mahayana Buddhist monastic retreat – thereby linking the Buddhist and Śaivite traditions]...(116)

Ken Angrok's adventures take him from village to village in east Java, wherein he creates and defines the territory of Majapahit. As he travels he is sheltered by local men who become his father-figure teachers. Ken Angrok's "fathers" – including the god Brahma, farmers, thieves, smiths, and Hindu and Buddhist priests – all prepare him for life and validate his roots (*asal*). He is of extraordinary nature. He accrued power in a previous life and is reincarnated. Inside his mother's womb he glows, revealing his heat. He unites with Ken Dĕḍĕs, who possesses similar signs of creative prowess ("the princess of the shining loins"), and together they guarantee the fertility of the land, the prosperity of society, and the expansionist vitality of the realm.(117) Ken Angrok unifies the local manifestations of the cosmic duality : the kingdom divided (Janggala and Kaḍiri) and the Hindu and Buddhist religious traditions :

> The story of Ken Angrok, then, is more than the biography of a dynastic founder. It is a chronicle of cultural history as personified in its central figure. Through interweaving and texturing of crucial motifs, the past is filled with present significance for the [text's] audience, and what might first appear [to be] literary artifice turns out to be a major Javanese strategy for discovering meaning.(118)

In contrast, the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*'s author assumes Hayam Wuruk's genealogical legitimacy and his divine associations. There is certainly the

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116. My English translations of the *Pararaton* are based on the Indonesian language translation of the Old Javanese text by R. Pitona Hardjowardojo, *Pararaton*, 22ff.

117. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture" in Claire Holt, ed., *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca, New York : 1972), 18. Ken Dĕḍĕs' portrayal in association with sexual fertility is similar to that of the Goddess of the Southern Ocean (and Goddess or the Realm of the Dead), Ratu Kidul, who is traditionally depicted with flames emanating from her womb. This association between Ken Dĕḍĕs and the Goddess of the Southern Ocean, to my knowledge, has not been explored and is worthy of further research.

118. Zurbuchen, 67 ; see also Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit* (Singapore : 1976), which largely incorporates the *Pararaton* storyline.

assertion that Majapahit had its roots in the reign of Kĕrtanagara in the 1280s. But there is substantial emphasis on Hayam Wuruk's descent from his grandmother, the Rājapatnī, in contrast to the *Pararaton*'s affirmation of the credentials of the first Majapahit monarch, Raden Wijaya, descended from Ken Angrok, who took the regnal name Kĕrtarājasa in 1294 :

> ... it is said at his birth, the Prince [who would become king Rājasanagara, i.e., Hayam Wuruk] has been inaugurated already as *Prabhu* [monarch]... the tokens of His being superhuman, wonderful, were : an earthquake, the earth trembled, rain of ashes, thunder, flashes of lightning about the sky, the mountain Kampud collapsed, annihilated were the bad people... Such is His definition : that He is Lord Girinātha in the material, having become a *Prabhu*, excellent... Now the honoured Illustrious Rājapatni, the renowned, She was the Illustrious Prince's Grandmother, the honoured, by aspect the Lady Parama-Bhagavatī's embodiment, the Screen of the world, powerful, zealous in yoga (concentration), the commemoration of the Buddha was practiced by her unremittingly...(119)

After this brief introduction, which is largely a statement of homage to the text's patron, the initial sections demonstrate the author's secular priorities as the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* text lists those at the court (cantos 3-12.6) and neighboring regions (cantos 13.1-16.5). These immediately submit to Hayam Wuruk's authority, thus guaranteeing that there will not be a court-based coup attempt, and that the boundaries of Majapahit are secure from the threat of invasion. The new king immediately embarks on his "Royal Progress of 1359" (cantos 17.1-38.3), which is not unlike Ken Angrok's travels in the *Pararaton* in providing definition to the "state." Only then, after the succession of the new king is secured through his personal initiatives, does the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* author provide a brief background on the Majapahit realm's historical predecessors. The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* author's greatest concern is court ceremony and the ritual networks that are court-centered, with brief references to the organization of the Majapahit realm and items of law. The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* projects the vitality of a functioning polity, wherein there is a formalization of relationships and a state organization. In the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* it is not just the bloodline of the king that legitimates, which allows him to perform ritual, to communicate with his ancestors as well as other spiritual forces, and to rule from his kraton. Hayam Wuruk is not isolated from his subjects; his legitimacy is his capacity for continuing interaction with the populations within and beyond his court.(120)

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119. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 1.4-2.1.

120. The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* text has a calculated symmetry. Its first part introduces the king and his family (7 songs/cantos), which is followed by definition of the kraton and its directly

Each chronicle text addresses a specific audience. The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* is composed for the court and its clientele. Functionally it is a text that addresses the Javanese elite and justifies the restructured and court-centered networks of relationship that were emerging in the mid-fourteenth century. Its author thematically posits that hierarchy ritually displayed and centered in the Majapahit court was able to affect meaningful power distributions, which in turn brought about order and subsequent physical and psychological well-being to those who had a place (both elite and commoners) in the court hierarchy.

The *Pararaton* was initially inspired by contemporary wayang texts that had a broader public. It was appropriate to the new fifteenth century Javanese order, in which social mobility and the status networks formalized in the previous century encompassed larger numbers in a more integrated Javanese culture. But in the late fifteenth century Javanese society was facing additional transition that was set in motion by the prior successes. In addressing its audience the *Pararaton*'s stress was not on Majapahit's innovations, but on its fulfillment of proverbial Javanese expectations.(121) It plays to the emotions rather than to the intellect of its audience.(122)

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administered territory (9 songs), the tour of the subordinate realm (23 songs), and the royal genealogy (10 songs). The second part begins with a hunting expedition (10 songs), a large section on the court's ritual networking (23 songs), a chronicle of regular court events (9 songs), and a concluding honorific to court poets (7 songs). The *Pararaton*, in contrast, devotes 41 % of its text to the Ken Angrok legend. This is followed by the succession and deaths of his successors, ending in the inauguration of Kĕrtanagara (11 %). When Kĕrtanagara sends a military expedition against Malayu, the king of Daha takes advantage and captures Singhasari and kills Kĕrtanagara in his kraton. Raden Wijaya emerges as the new monarch after rescuing Kĕrtanagara's two daughters and deceiving a Chinese invasion force (22%). Raden Wijaya becomes king, taking the regnal title of Kĕrtarājasa. Hayam Wuruk's bloodline tie to Kĕrtanagara is established through one of the daughters rescued by Raden Wijaya. Gaja Mada becomes chief minister (*patih amangkubumi*) and declares his destiny to lead Majapahit to greatness. Hayam Wuruk becomes king. Gaja Mada massacres the Sundanese forces at Bubat, when they refuse to surrender the princess of Sunda (whom they escorted as the intended bride for Hayam Wuruk) as a token of their submission (16%).The text ends with a prolonged genealogical list of the members of the Majapahit royal family. These percentages were calculated by J.J. Ras, "Hikayat Banjar and Pararaton : A Structural Comparison of Two Chronicles" in *A Man of Letters. Essays in Honour of Professor A. Teeuw*. Ed, C. M. S. Hellwig and S. O. Robson, (Dordrecht : 1986), 184-203.

121. Koentjaraningrat, "Javanese Terms for God and Supernatural Beings" in R. Schefold, et al., eds., *Man, Meaning and History. Essays in Honour of H. G. Schulte Nordholt* (The Hague : 1980), 127-139.

122. Frequent allusions to sex were intended to evoke a passionate response from the reader/onlooker. Purposefully the text aroused its audience's sexual lust to participate in the state, as the dominant and the dominated become as one. Empowerment derived from the monarch's dutiful suppression of his sexual desires through asceticism and ritual performance contrasts to that of his subjects, whose material cravings bound them to the world of

In the conventional order referenced in the *Pararaton* legitimate succession brought prosperity. The mythic text discloses the destiny of the supernaturally energized Ken Angrok to rule and protect his subjects so that Java would be happy and flourish. As is appropriate to a wayang text, it portrays what one is supposed to believe, it provides human and superhuman role models that one is encouraged to emulate, and thus influences the behavior of the living.[123] It also defines and contrasts dynastic positions and the rights of entitlement from the posts held by the persons mentioned therein. Functionally it is not unlike the *sīma* charters; it is a legal document for future generations that defines the rights to the throne and the titles to appanages of relatives and those who personally bond with the ruler. This old order is marked to some degree by material wealth, whether personally achieved or the result of personal networking that provided the would-be monarch and his elite supporters with a resource pool capable of sustaining sovereignty.

The following quotation from the *Pararaton* makes the case that the monarch's material wealth depended on his own political initiatives. As well it asserts that a ruler should encourage his subjects to develop their own talents and allow them to accumulate their own resources (for example "the science of making gold"), which in turn would be beneficial to a successful monarch :

> ... Pu Palot [a village headman and a skilled goldsmith] felt obligated to repay Ken Angrok for his willing protection... [so] he taught Ken Angrok the science of making gold. He learned quickly... [and] he swore an oath, saying, "There will be no disciple [subject to my authority] who does not understand well the science of making gold [he thus brought prosperity to all who submitted to him]"...[124]

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humanity. These comments equally apply to the *Bharatayuddha* [Sutjipto Wirjosuparto, *Kakawin Bharata-Yuddha* (Djakarta : 1968)], the twelfth century Kadiri court kakawin that is foundational to wayang performance. See Anthony Day, "Locating the Dominant," a paper presented to the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Honolulu, April 1996. These are also themes displayed in the era's temple iconography, which is based on the beliefs of the Tantric cults. See Stanley J.O'Connor, "Metallurgy and Immortality at Candi Sukuh, Central Java," *Indonesia*, 39 (April 1985), 53-70.

123. Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia* (Ithaca, New York : 1967), 123-150; Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Language and Power* (Ithaca, New York : 1990).

124. *Pararaton*. Herein the traditional formula for successful kingship is expressed. The required qualities of the leader are : a) proper descent, b) divine appointment, c) having a sacred historical mission, d) possession of *kasekten* ("magical energy" that distinguishes kings from others), e) embodiment of community norms and ideals, f) acquisition of legitimacy through ritual intensification, g) possession of sacred symbols of authority, and h) ability to mobilize and organize physical strength. Moreover, the monarch's legitimacy derives from his charisma, his authority – which is a consequence of his commitment to traditional religious and societal values, and his organizational skills. See Koentjaraningrat, "Javanese Terms for God and Supernatural Beings." While others who are able to accomplish

The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*'s author places less focus on local initiatives, but instead highlights the networks and institutions of monarchy that culminated in the ruler and his place of rule. Herein the ruler and his palace compound (*kraton*) are often indistinct. Hayam Wuruk is termed the *Tiktawilwa-pura-rāja*, "the king of the 'royal residence' of Majapahit."(125) To the court poet, Javanese society was defined in relation to the court complex :

> ... lands everywhere... are in the guardianship of the Javanese royal compound,... [and] are executing the orders of the honoured Prince, equally, faithful in conduct... Already has begun the consolidation of the Prince's reign in Yawabhūmi... there in [Majapahit] is he, being obeyed, working out the welfare of the world. In great numbers are the buildings, *kīrtis* [public buildings] and *dharmas* [ritual compounds], founded by Him, giving pleasure to the minds of the common people. *Mantris*, *wipias*, *bhujanggas*, the honoured ones who are equally given magnificence [that is, bestowed with status], follow, having [their own] *kīrtis* [public buildings] in the world (for the people's benefit). How great is the manfulness and magnificence that have been attained by the Prince's activity, verily, verily a most excellent Prabhu. At ease, there is no anxiety with Him; he realizes his pleasure, all the delight of his heart [i.e., the pleasure of his subjects]... The whole expanse of Yawabhūmi,... by thousands are counted the people's dwelling places surrounding the body of the Royal compound...(126)

The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*'s literary focus is on the impressive residential and ritual center of the Majapahit ruler. But, as appropriate to Javanese tradition, the ruler (who possessed superior asthetic powers) empowered the kraton. The kraton could not stand alone, and only reached its full capacity when the ruler was physically present.

In the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, while the spatial dimensions of the Majapahit *kraton* are extolled by the court poet in detail, there is even greater concern in his text with the actions and interactions with the ruler that are centered both at the Majapahit court and elsewhere.(127) Majapahit as depicted in the

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extraordinary feats – such as religious teachers, military heroes, dalang (puppeteers), dancers, and even bandits – may have degrees of *kasekten* ("magical energy"), only very special individuals possess the necessary qualities/power for leadership, by which they become just, wise, and generous kings, and thereby bring well-being to their subjects. Ken Angrok's acquisition of the skill to make gold is similar to the legend of the Srivijaya ruler, who daily threw golden bricks into his river estuary. Perhaps drawing from this legacy, the ruler of thirteenth century Pasai, a port-polity on the northern Sumatra coast, was also honored for his unique ability to make gold. The specific symbols of royal power, as enumerated in the *Nawanatya* text on court etiquette, are : "... the rattan mat in a red cover, the yellow state sunshade, 2, the golden betel chewing-set, 2, the *kinushwas* (treasure boxes), 2, the golden fans, 2. Equally they go at the right and at the left side, with *samirs* (neck-bands) white and red, 2. The criss, a token of manfulness, has its place in front". [Pigeaud, 3, 123].

125. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 73.1.1. "Wilwatiktapura" is the Sanskritic translation of the Javanese "Majapahit."

126. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 16.5-17.3.

127. This may be compared with the descriptions of the Kaḍiri court in kakawin literature [Sedyawati, 205 6]. In the Kaḍiri inscriptions, there was only a concern relative to the continued

Nāgarakĕrtāgama was still person-centered. However, this polity was evolving into a collective social order based on a court-initiated hierarchy. In the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* as well as in contemporary inscriptions, visits to participate in the activities of the king at the royal center of power (*kraton*), or to share in the activities of the monarch when he made annual "progressions" among his territories, were important sources of status distinction that reinforced the emerging common sense of community :

> The king passed through Banasara and Sangkan Adoh,...
> As if specially arranged the princes proceeded, duly accompanying each other :
> The Princess of Pajang with her husband and all their servants went in front,
> The Princess of Lasĕm at their rear...
> The Princess of Daha and the Prince of Wĕngkĕr were behind them,
> And the Princess of Jiwan behind them, with her husband and servants following on...
> thousands of armed officers escort[ed] them...
> People in the streets line[d] the roads...
> Crowded in the shade awaiting the moment when the King would pass
> Excitedly the women came out to the gate, noisily pushing for a place,
> And there were some whose breast-cloth came off, they ran so impetuously...
> On foot went the serried ranks of foot-soldiers,
> The countless carriers coming on behind...[128]

This greater sense of an inclusive community, sustained by the interactions between the court-based king, his court elite, and their subject populations is witnessed in the common title of late-fifteenth century Majapahit kings : "His Majesty the King of the 'royal compound' of Majapahit in (the Javanese kingdom consisting of) Janggala (and) Kaḍiri" [*śri Wilwatiktapura Janggala Kaḍiri prabhu natha*]. This contrasts with that of Hayam Wuruk, who was simply "the king of the 'royal residence' of Majapahit."[129]

The common message in the literary and epigraphic sources is that the Majapahit kraton established and maintained a hierarchy :

> ... to strive for security[130] ... subsequent prosperity,[131] ... and to place everyone, everywhere [in bhūmi Majapahit] under the guardianship of the royal kraton.[132]

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loyalty of royal subordinates when the court was attacked c. 1194 [J.L.A. Brandes, *Oud-Javaansche oorkonden ; Nagelaten transscripties*. Edited by N.J. Krom (Batavia : 1913), lxxiii].

128. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 59-60.

129. Trailokyapuri I Inscription of 1486, Yamin, 1962-64, II, 235, as translated with commentary by J. Nooduyn, "Majapahit in the Fifteenth Century," 249.

130. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 42.2.

131. *Ibid.*, 15.3.

132. *Ibid.*, 16.5.

Hayam Wuruk attempted to make this ideal a reality. All royal administrators gathered on the first day of the Caitra festival to hear the *Sĕrat Rāja Kapakapa*, a text that enumerated their duties to the people : to promote welfare, control crime, and to live in a manner consistent with religious obligations. In the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* account, on the fourth day of the Caitra festival the Prince of Wĕngkĕr ordered a realm-wide survey, wherein land use (both cultivated and uncultivated land) and ownership was to be clearly delineated.[133] The status of villages claimed by religious establishments was to be investigated, and subsequently inscriptions were to be issued that would define and document jurisdiction. Kĕrtawarḍhana, the Prince of Singasari, follows with the order that royal officials were to register populations "according to their professions," which would have included a certification of their social status. Hayam Wuruk's concluding speech justifies these assertions of kraton power by proclaiming adherance to the new legal code known as *Kuṭaramanawa*, which was attributed to his grandmother, the Rājapatnī.[134] The king's stress is on the "gift of law," wherein :

> Criminals disappear [fearing the king], and [thereby] there was enough food [for all the king's subjects]... and foreigners were drawn to trade [and thereby material wealth was gained by all].

All of this new order Hayam Wuruk proclaims as being due to the gift of the king/kraton, but receivers of the king's generosity were required to formalize their reciprocity :

> [Thereafter] alike, orderly they bring in all kinds of products every ordained season...[135] [The elite and commoners constantly competed] trying to receive [the king's] favor...;[136] local populations were [always] distressed at the king's departure [from their villages]....[137]

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133. *Ibid.*, 79.2. The *Rājapatiguṇḍala* enumerates the types of land : *dharmas* (sacred domains), *jumput* (reserved lands), *kuluwut* (enclosed lands ?), *kalang kalagyan* (areas inhabited by traders and artisans ?), *kaputrawangshan* (lands of descendants and relatives of the founder of a sacred domain), *tani analaga talun* (cultivated areas encircling newly opened land ?), *carik* (lands under curse), *lĕmah aheng* (flat land haunted by spirits), *natar* (farmyard ?), *tani* (cultivated fields), and *panguluwung* (empty lands). Pigeaud, 3, 133.

134. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 83.4. The existence of such a code of law is confirmed in the Sekar Inscription of 1360, as well as the Bendasari/Trawulan Inscription of 1358. See Slametmuljana, 103. The Code was a combined civil and penal code.

135. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 15.3.

136. *Ibid.*, 17.9.

137. *Ibid.*, 34.1.

The *Pararaton* reports the culmination of these assertions of royal power in the Rājapatnī and Caitra festivals of 1362, which were marked by especially substantial gifting between the king and his subjects. The Rājapatnī dualistic Tantric and Śraddha rituals highlighted the king's cosmic (ancestral) ties to the past, as the source of his realm's peace and prosperity in the present.(138) In contrast, the Caitra festival celebrated the king's leadership in this world, which was effectively marked by the material prosperity that was represented in the array of gifts exchanged according to social rank.

The complex and subtle ranking system described above shows the links between a stable village-based regional order and the kraton that reinforced rather than broke down the traditional village communities. If anything, the new order's losers were the older intermediary non-royal aristocrats, who were often displaced. There is no evidence of a consolidation of power by an old elite severing ties with villages; rather they have to reassert their local relationships. As documented in the *jayasong* "certificates of victory," elite frequently had to sue to claim or recover land rights, wherein land was the basis of their wealth, power, and status. To maintain their land rights they needed royal acknowledgement of their status. Royal tribunals recognized land rights and the subsequent status appropriate, as proclaimed in both individual and group inclusive titles. While many notables formerly had *pu* honorifics, in the Majapahit era their stature was symbolically reduced by assignments of lesser *sang* and *si* epithets. Direct court appointees, including members of the royal family, newly certified elite, and direct revenue settlements, eliminated the need for the old tax farms and bypassed the old landed gentry who had previously acted as the community's intermediary in its relationships with the King and his court.(139) This era is marked by an integration of the villages into the whole, wherein the social and religious ties between village and state intensified.

There is, however, an inconsistency between the honorific vocabulary of the inscriptions, which reflect social distance between village and court, and epigraphic and literary detail, which stresses the court's local interactions. Regular "Royal Progresses" renewed the king's local ties, as did direct

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138. Kwa Chong Guan, "Śrāddha Śri Rājapatni : An Exploration of Majapahit Mortuary Ritual" in Miksic and Soekatno, 73-88.

139. While there was no attempt to redefine regional boundaries, members of the royal family assumed regional chief (*rakai*) positions following Gajah Mada's early fourteenth century conquests. See Kulke, "City and State." On direct revenue settlements see Hall, "Maritime Trade and Fourteenth Century Java."

revenue settlements with local non-aristocratic groups (e.g., the Canggu "Ferry Charter"), who now settled revenue relationships directly, bypassing old elite. In both the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* and the *Pararaton* accounts, Hayam Wuruk negated potentials for societal conflict by being an aggressive monarch who provided personal linkage by practicing a "ritualized sovereignty."(140)

The formalized sumptuary regulations in the Majapahit court texts also figure prominently in the *Pararaton*'s depiction of the Majapahit order. In addition to cloth, another important material object that was subject to royal regulation was the kris. Both cloth and the kris are focal points in the Chinese visitor Ma Huan's account of status and power in early fifteenth century Majapahit society :

> As to the dress [worn by] the king of the country : ... he has no robe on his person ; around the lower part he has one or two embroidered kerchiefs of silk. In addition, he uses [a piece of] figured silk-gauze or hemp-silk to bind [the kerchiefs] around his waist ; [this] is called a 'waist-band' ; [and in it] he thrusts one or two short knives [kris]... As to the dress [worn by] the people of the country : ... [women] wear a garment on the upper part of the body and a kerchief around the lower part. The men thrust a [kris] into the waist ; from little boys of three years to old men of a hundred years, they all have these knives, which are all made of steel, with most intricate patterns drawn in very delicate lines ; for the handles they use gold or rhinoceros' horn or elephants' teeth, engraved with representations of human forms or devils' faces, the craftsmanship being very fine and skilful.(141)

The kris assumes a critical role in the conclusion of the Ken Angrok legend in the *Pararaton*. Ken Angrok wishes to murder Tunggul Ametung, who has abducted Ken Dedes. But first he must have a powerful kris made by the ironmaster Pu Gandring, who has the ability to endow a kris with divine power (*śakti*), which no mortal can oppose. Impatient, Ken Angrok seizes the incomplete kris and stabs Pu Gandring, who dies, but not before he imposes a curse on Ken Angrok that his kris would kill seven future kings

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140. One may speculate on the role of wayang theater as a source of linkage and as an agent of royal legitimacy in this age. See Johns, "From Buddhism to Islam," relative to the fifteenth century Bima cult and Bima's association with contemporary wayang. The *Pararaton*, as noted by Johns, was initially inspired by wayang texts that played to a broadly based audience.

141. J. V. G. Mills, *Ma Huan, Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan 'The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores' [1433]* (Cambridge : 1970), 87-88. See also W.H. Rassers, "On the Javanese Kris" in Rassers, *Pañji, The Culture Hero, a Structural Study of Religion in Java* (The Hague : 1959), 233. The kris has implications of power, of sexuality, and of harmony ; each kris is thought to have a spirit of its own that must be compatible with the owner's, or misfortune will follow. This spirit may have a positive aspect. Possession of certain kris is equated with royal power. Often courts have kris with names and aristocratic titles among their court regalia of legitimacy.

(Angrok and his successors).[142] Ken Angrok murders Tunggul Amĕtung with the powerful but incomplete kris, and deceives people into thinking that his companion Kĕbo Hidjo did it. Kĕbo Hidjo is seized and stabbed with the kris. Thereafter Ken Angrok marries Ken Dĕḍĕs – all who might have objected were too fearful of Ken Angrok's retribution – and eventually Ken Angrok becomes king.

This is a tale of transition that is laced with cultural symbols.[143] Ken Angrok rejects conformity with tradition. His impulsive assertion of self-interest results in the curse that leads the Javanese people to despair, which brings consequential wars of dynastic succession that occur over the next several generations.

As asserted above, the *Pararaton* is a text intended to reaffirm royal legitimacy coincidental to an era of dynastic crisis at the end of the fifteenth century. The text thus celebrates the end of dynastic chaos and the establishment of Majapahit's greatness that culminated in the reign of Hayam Wuruk. This is in agreement with the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* court-chronicler's storyline, which views the creation of the Majapahit court-centered institutionalized network as the source of the Majapahit's polity's success. However, the *Pararaton*, as appropriate to the wayang tradition, is more concerned with human interactions and individual behavior. It speculates that too much self-interest and rejection of tradition (especially that bestowed by the gods) of the sort displayed by Ken Angrok was detrimental to Javanese society. This dichotomy of self-interest in opposition to tradition must have had meaning relative to the Javanese order of the late fifteenth century. When the *Pararaton* reached its final form, the stability of the old order was crumbling in the face of the new. This was the consequence of the previous prosperity and innovations of Majapahit's "golden" age, which lay the foundation for a community in which individuals sought personal gain, rather than the collective good of society.

In the *Pararaton*'s foreshadowing of Majapahit's ultimate demise, Ken Angrok's kris is characterized as incomplete and, further, is damaged. It

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142. Curses on individuals were a common feature of fifteenth century Javanese culture. Reference to a curse on Ken Angrok and his successors in the fifteenth century *Pararaton* was thus highly meaningful to its secular audience.

143. C.C. Berg argues that the *Pararaton* is a supernatural document, to be understood within the context of political-religious myths – it was not intended to record the past, but rather by supernatural means to determine future events. See C.C. Berg, *Het rijk van de vijfvoudige Buddha* (Amsterdam : 1962). See in opposition F.D.K. Bosch, "C.C. Berg and Ancient Javanese History," *BKI*, 112 (1956), 1-24.

cannot fulfill its role with perfection, because it itself is imperfect. Similarly, the realm of man, and the kingdom of Majapahit, is/was blemished and was doomed because of the ultimate imperfection of the men who ruled it. Majapahit was overly secular. Only the realm of the gods could have perfection. Majapahit, especially in the time of Hayam Wuruk, had achieved something close to this perfection, but then lost it. There is a strong sense of the cyclical passage of time in this wayang-inspired chronicle text. It remained for future generations to renew what had been initially, by renewing stability and then moving to what might yet be, but what was ultimately unachievable in the middle world of humankind.

The message of the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* is to trust in human relationships that are based in the Majapahit court. The Majapahit king, the gods' representative on earth, was the center of society. He promoted a collective sense of community among those who submitted to his court's sovereignty, either by conquest, resettlement, or willing participation. This not only represents a higher form of religious expression – successful secular communities based on structured networks of relationship rather than loosely linked and personalized alliances between kings and local leaders. There was a new sense of society in which local population clusters were integrated under a common belief in a shared community, which was centered in the Majapahit court. The *Pararaton*, however, places its initial focus on divine intervention, as appropriate to the late fifteenth century era of its compilation, when the initial cycle of Majapahit was concluding and the cycle of dynastic strife from which Majapahit had risen was being renewed. In the age of the *Pararaton* divine intercession, achieved by local initiative rather than by a mediating monarch, brought access to a prosperity in this world and the next. By the end of the fifteenth century societal unity was an idealized memory of a bygone age, but an age that would come again in Jawabhumi.