

## Ritual Networks and Royal Power in Majapahit Java

Kenneth R. Hall

---

**Citer ce document / Cite this document :**

Hall Kenneth R. Ritual Networks and Royal Power in Majapahit Java. In: Archipel, volume 52, 1996. pp. 95-118;

doi : <https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1996.3357>

[https://www.persee.fr/doc/arch\\_0044-8613\\_1996\\_num\\_52\\_1\\_3357](https://www.persee.fr/doc/arch_0044-8613_1996_num_52_1_3357)

---

Fichier pdf généré le 21/04/2018

*Kenneth R. HALL*

## Ritual Networks and Royal Power in Majapahit Java \*

### The Majapahit Kraton

The *Pararaton*, the Old Javanese chronicle that was composed around 1500 C. E., and provides capsulated focus on the story of Ken Angrok (King Rājasa, c. 1222) and his successors up to the foundation of Majapahit, accounts for the establishment of the Majapahit kraton in 1293 as the consequence of an intervention by the gods. Prince Vijaya (soon-to-be King Kērtarājasa Jayavardhana), expelled from an earlier royal residence at Singasari that was destroyed by rivals in 1292, traveled about with his followers until he discovered and sampled a *majang* fruit, which had a bitter taste. The bitterness was proclaimed to be a sign of the gods' approval (in the Indic tradition fruit is the symbol of the goddess Lakṣmī, goddess of good fortune). The not totally ripe fruit was held to be appropriate to a new state that would be founded in a time of upheaval, and thus the name Majapahit, "bitter fruit", was selected as the name for the new royal kraton.

Aerial photographs show why the new kraton site was deliberately selected as the successor to previous Singasari and Kaḍiri centers. Majapahit was on the edge of the slopes of adjacent volcanic mountains, walking distance to a navigable river with easy access to the sea, and at the southern edge of the fertile Brantas River delta ricelands. Majapahit was just below the Malang volcanic plain that had been the kraton center of its Singasari successor to its east, and was adjacent to the core of the Kaḍiri kraton's territories that lay upriver to its west.

\* An initial draft of this paper was presented at the 13th International Association of Historians of Asia Conference hosted by Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, September 5-9, 1994. The paper was prepared under a grant from the Japan Airlines Foundation.

Early twentieth century Dutch scholars conducted lively debate over the extent and function of the Majapahit urban center. Some were troubled by the seeming insignificance of the Majapahit kraton complex's visible remains relative to the magnitude of the Majapahit polity in Indonesian history. In light of chronicle and epigraphic sources that highlight the turbulent past from which the Majapahit kraton emerged, and the aggressive extension of the state's sovereignty, other historians questioned why the Majapahit kraton was not fortified<sup>(1)</sup>. There was no distinguishable military compound. The remains of brick walls are profuse, but these only distinguished the areas inhabited by the king and others of highest stature; "guardtowers" at entrance gates into the royal compound were utilized primarily as observation towers from which the king might scrutinize the activities of his subjects in the open spaces below.

Nor was Majapahit a major economic center. There was a marketplace immediately outside the gateway, but it serviced local demand and did not assume a role in major long-distance trade. All the remaining sources are in agreement that Bubad on the Brantas River a short distance to the north was the residence of foreign merchants and the center of major commercial transactions. Majapahit didn't even monopolize the realm's ritual. While the leaders of the favored Śaivite and Buddhist religious sects resided within the walled compound, where they performed ritual on the king's behalf, important communities of religious specialists lay beyond the king's residence and all major temples (*dharma*), including royal ancestral temples and state temples that were dedicated to specific deities, were also dispersed<sup>(2)</sup>.

The *Nāgarakērtāgama*'s author is vague in his description of the urban complex as a whole; his focus is on the generalized "beauty" of the royal compound. Majapahit's royal core was comprised of smaller complexes separated by open spaces (see Figure 1). There were two main compounds and four main residencies. The residential quarters of the Prince of Wēngkēr-Daha (Kaḍiri) dominated the eastern sector of the urban compound, while the royal residence was in the west; the complexes of the two most prominent royal administrators were nearest the entrance, the *pati* of Daha in the northwest and the *pati* of Majapahit in the northeast; and the leaders of the two favored religious sects resided in the southeast (Śaivite) and the southwest (Buddhist). These were surrounded on the east and west by the houses of royal servants and kinsmen. Absence of a broader urban overview may be due to the *Nāgarakērtāgama* author's surmise that they were not of sufficient excellence. External sources help to fill this void, notably the Chinese account of Ma Huan, who visited Majapahit around 1400. He reports that roughly 700-800 families resided

---

1. Summarized in Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century, A Cultural Study*, vol. 4, The Hague, 1962, and W. F. Stutterheim, *De Kraton van Majapahit*, The Hague, 1948.

2. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggĕlaran*, The Hague, 1924, details the legendary tales relative to these *maṇḍala*. See also Pigeaud, 1962, chapter 12. Kings seem to have had circumscribed authority over these, as evidenced by their limited reference in royal charters.



Major Majapahit: Area Ritual Sites.

within the kraton compound, including seven or eight residential “chiefs” and their families who directly served the king<sup>(3)</sup>.

The Majapahit urban complex began in the north; meeting fields, a marketplace, a long hall for public assembly, and a cockfight ring were outside the entrance gateway. Inside the walls the royal compound slowly rose up the mountainside, with terraced buildings and multi-tiered rooflines accentuating an ascent to the royal residence. The walled area had three sectors subdivided by walls and gates.

Inside the main gateway was an outer courtyard (*wanguntur*) that was used for periodic state ceremonies and religious rituals to which the general public was invited. The grounds (*alun-alun*, “northern square”) inside the second gate were less public; there the king greeted royal visitors, and high-ranking officials had their quarters. Beyond the third gate at the pinnacle of the compound was the royal residence. Here in the time of the *Nāgarakērtāgama* the king, his father, a sister, and the king’s brother-in-law maintained separate households. The *Nāgarakērtāgama*’s author is especially vague in his depiction of this most private area, implying that he was not allowed therein and derived his information from others.

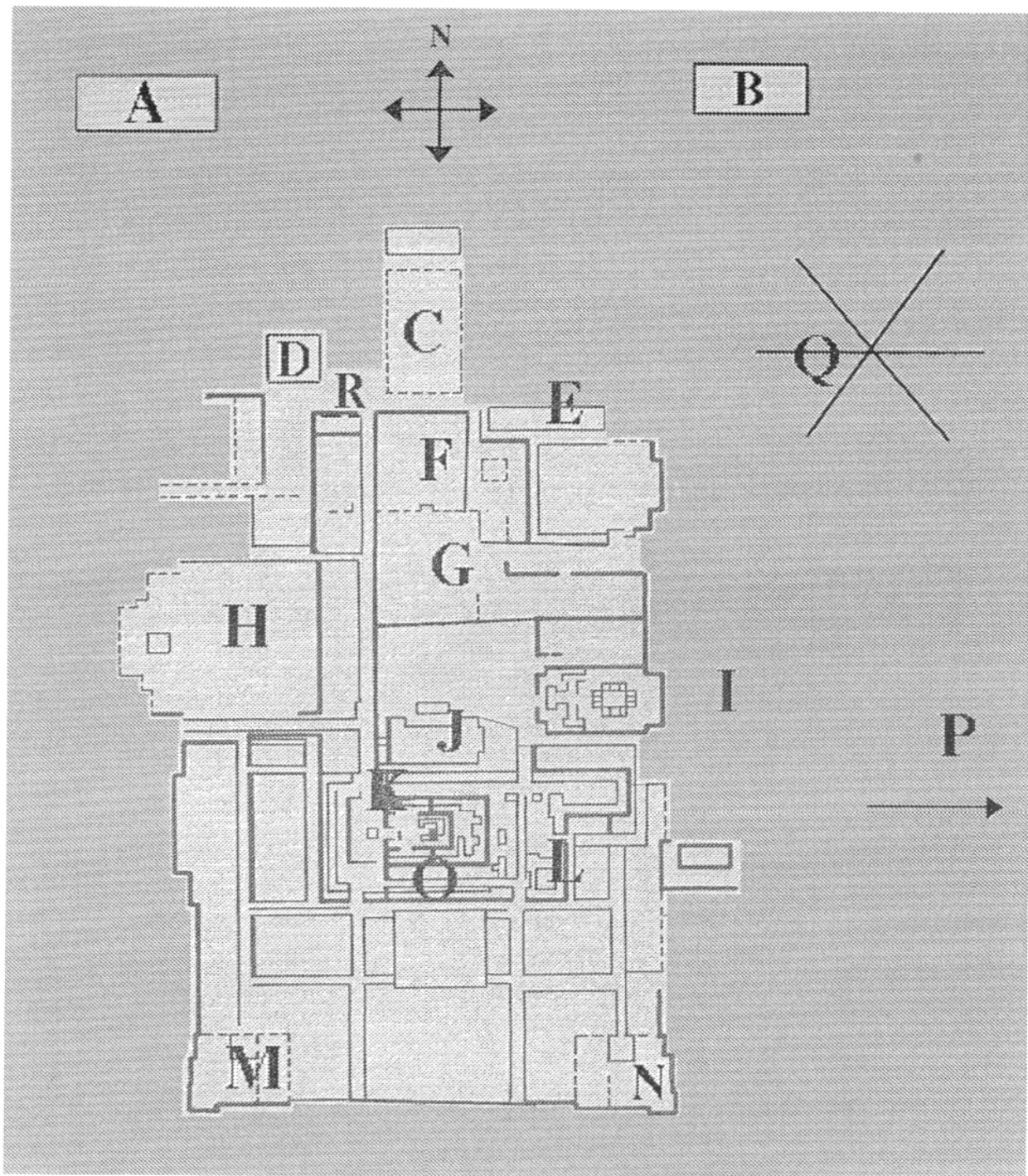
Based on the available archaeological and literary evidence one must conclude that the functional role of Majapahit was as the royal residence, with stress on a dichotomy between capital and “countryside”. The kraton was the “center of refined culture” in contrast to surrounding villages that lived in the kraton’s “orbit”<sup>(4)</sup>. From early times the residents of the countryside were distinguished as “children of the village” (*anak wanua*); a council of village elders (*rāma*) coordinated village affairs. Above these, an “older brother” (*raka/rakrayān*) coordinated the interests of several villages from his residence (*kraton*)<sup>(5)</sup>.

3. Ma Huan, *Ying-Yai Shen-Lan ‘The Overall Survey of the Ocean’s Shores’ [1433]*, translated and edited by J. V. G. Mills, Cambridge, 1970.

4. In using the term “orbit”, I follow the lead of J. G. de Casparis, who expressed his preference for the application of this term to the Majapahit polity during an informal discussion we had in Hong Kong in August 1991. Hermann Kulke, “Epigraphical References to the ‘City’ and ‘State’ in ‘Early Indonesia’”, *Indonesia*, 52 (1991), pp. 3-22, discusses his discomfort with this term.

5. F. H. van Naerssen, “Tribute to the God and Tribute to the King” in: C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters, eds., *Southeast Asian History and Historiography*, Ithaca, New York, 1976, pp. 297-98; Hermann Kulke, “The ‘City’ and the ‘State’ in Early Indonesia”; see also Kenneth R. Hall, “Early Economic Development in the Khmer and Javanese Realms: Epigraphic Evidence of Local Eco-Region Production”, a paper presented to the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, New Orleans, March 1992.

\*Opposite : site plan amended from Stutterheim, *De Kraton van Majapahit*, endmap; Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, endmap; and Jessup, *Court Arts of Indonesia*, p. 116. Jessup provides valuable comparison to subsequent Java court compounds to substantiate that the Majapahit kraton design was common among successor courts; see especially the site plan of the eighteenth century Surakarta Central Java kraton (figure 80, p. 116) and the photograph of the seventeenth century Cirebon West Java kraton (figure 76, pp. 110-111).



Majapahit Court Site Plan, 14th Century Trawulan, East Java \*

**A.** Residence of Pati of Daha ; **B.** Residence of Pati of Singasari/Majapahit ; **C.** Marketplace ; **D.** Cockfight Ring ; **E.** Outer Assembly Hall ; **F.** Wanguntur (“outer courtyard”) ; **G.** Alun-alun (“north square”) ; **H.** Buddhist Temple ; **I.** Saivite Temple ; **J.** Siti inggil (“high place”) ; **K.** Dalem (“inner sanctuary”) ; **L.** King’s Residence ; **M.** Buddhist Sect Residences ; **N.** Śaivite Sect Residences ; **O.** Throne Pavillion ; **P.** Compound of Wengkër-Daha ; **Q.** “Sacred” Crossroads ; **R.** Outer Gateway Watchtower.

Unlike the ambiguity of sovereignty during the previous age of central Java-based kratons, Airlangga's eleventh century reign established the ideal of a universal Javanese monarch (*ratu chakravartin*); his epigraphic proclamations of sovereignty are accompanied by specific inscriptional reference to a place of rule and not to a focal temple complex. In contrast to the earlier norm, Airlangga's inscriptions distinguish the place of rule from favored sacred ritual centers (*dharma*), where royal communication with deities and deified ancestors was performed apart from the royal residence<sup>(6)</sup>. By the Majapahit era *dharma*-based ritual still addressed celestial and ancestral deities, but the kraton was clearly the center of specific types of ritual, especially that which acknowledged the Majapahit monarch as the source of secular unity and subsequent generalized prosperity.

#### Fourteenth Century Ritual and Ritual Networks

Those who study the Majapahit era's history highlight the assertive policies of Gaja Mada, whose illustrious career as the court's chief administrator (*mapati*) between 1330 -1364 was marked by numerous military campaigns that stabilized and extended the authority of the Majapahit court after some forty years of paralysis<sup>(7)</sup>. Typical of Gaja Mada's potential for duplicity was his enticement of the king of a Sundanese kingdom in western Java (Pajajaran) into a trap on the pretext of receiving the king's daughter in a marital alliance; in 1357 Gaja Mada's forces massacred the king and his followers on

6. Kulke, "The 'City' and 'State'"; see also the new translations and commentaries on Airlangga's inscriptions in: Jan Wisseman Christie, *Patterns of Trade in Western Indonesia, Ninth through Thirteenth Centuries A.D.*, University of London, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, 1982, appendixes.

7. In the early history of Majapahit as depicted in the *Pararaton*, Majapahit's rulers faced almost incessant challengers. This era of conflict extends from the inception of the new state in 1292 by Jayavardhana until Gaja Mada made good his 1331 ascetic oath to Majapahit's council of ministers that he would establish the orderly realm envisioned by Kertanagara. George Coedes, *Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu, 1968, pp. 200-201, 232-234, based on C. C. Berg, "Chronologie van de oudste Geschiedenis van Maja-pahit", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie (BKI)* 97 (1938), p. 135; and D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, New York, 1981, pp. 90-99. The divisive tendencies of early Majapahit Java are reflected in the report of Odoric of Pordenone, who visited Java in 1321 in the reign of Jayanagara:

. . . . the king [of Java] has subject to himself seven crowned kings. [Yet] his island is very populous, and is the second best of all islands that exist . . . . The king of this island has a palace which is truly marvelous. For it is very great . . . . Now the Great Khan of China many a time engaged in war with this king; but this king always vanquished and got the better of him.

[Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London, 1937, II, pp. 151-155.]

Gaja Mada variously held title as the Pati of Kahuripan, the Pati of Daha (Kaḍiri), and the Pati of Majapahit. His crowning achievement, according to the *Nāgarakērtāgama*, was the annexation of Bali in 1343.

the nearby plains of Bubad<sup>(8)</sup>. In contrast, Hayam Wuruk's reign (1350-1389) that began under Gaja Mada's tutelage initiated a period of consolidation<sup>(9)</sup>. New and diverse populations who now found themselves subject to Majapahit's court likely harbored resentment, and were apprehensive relative to the court's ambitions. Thus the tone of the *Nāgarakērtāgama*, a work commissioned by the ruler from his court poet, is conciliatory, with stress on the integrative activities of Hayam Wuruk that brought order to an otherwise chaotic Javanese universe (*maṇḍala*)<sup>(10)</sup>.

8. The *Nāgarakērtāgama* omits reference to this event entirely, seemingly because it was considered a blight on the state's record that Hayam Wuruk's court would rather forget. The *Pararaton* conveys most of the story; it was also made into a romantic poem entitled "Kidung Sunda," and the preamble to the "Canggu Ferry Charter" that was issued in 1358 alludes to these events. See Kenneth R. Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*, Honolulu, 1985, p. 247.

9. D. G. E. Hall, p. 101, drawing on the earlier work of Dutch scholars [specifically B. H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara, A History of Indonesia*, The Hague, 1960, p. 62] and his own English nineteenth century "Liberalist" ethic, wrongly characterizes Hayam Wuruk as having "little energy to conduct state affairs... amid the distractions of royal living [as projected in the *Nāgarakērtāgama*]." Hall highlights Hayam Wuruk's indulgence in pleasures, especially his kraton harem. In doing so he ignores the Javanese tradition that sexual appetite is a sign of royal power. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture", in Claire Holt, et. al., eds., *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, Ithaca, New York, 1972, p. 18, remarks that sexual prowess was a Javanese metaphor for power, and the king's fertility was "seen as simultaneously evoking and guaranteeing the fertility of the land, the prosperity of the society, and the expansionist vitality of the empire." Sexual activity was also one way to obtain and direct power; mystic sexual union enveloped partners in cosmic energy and increased their power. In the *Pararaton*, Ken Angrok, who initiates Majapahit, must obtain Ken Dēdēs, the princess of the shining loins, who is the jewel (a Hindu-Buddhist symbol for *śakti*, creative female energy) that Ken Angrok must possess in order to rule the kingdom. R. Pitona Hardjowardojo, trans., *Pararaton*, Jakarta, 1965; R. M. Mangkudimedja, *Serat Pararaton (Ken Arok)*, 2 vols., Jakarta, 1979. I selectively used as reference an English draft translation of the initial sections of the *Pararaton* that was prepared by A. L. Becker and Imam Hanafi for an Old Javanese language class at the University of Michigan in 1971.

10. I compare Hayam Wuruk's reign to that of Aśoka, who completed the Mauryan conquest of northern India in what Indian texts describe to have been extremely brutal *asuryavijaya*, "demonic victories". The highlight of his aggressive actions was the dismemberment of Kalinga, which concluded with Aśoka's troops salting over that region's soil. Thereafter Aśoka became devoted to religion as the basis of his consolidation as the *chakravartin*, "universal monarch". As Aśoka asserts in his Thirteenth Rock Edict, he was now apologetic for his past actions of brutality, and now would pursue *dharmavijaya*, "righteous victory/moral victory", and employed *dharma* ministers to integrate his newly conquered realm. See Romila Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, London: 1961. Hayam Wuruk traced his ancestry to Airlangga, the first Javanese ruler to assert himself *ratu chakravartin*, the "universal monarch" of Java, and he similarly assumed the *chakravartin* title, knowing full-well the title's Indic legacy. In Majapahit history the historical sources are in disagreement on the reign of Kērtanagara, who was directly involved in military expeditions – Kērtanagara, like Aśoka, is variously described as a moralistic hero (*Nāgarakērtāgama*) and an unscrupulous drunkard (*Pararaton*). By contrast Gaja Mada is subject to controversy due to his military initiatives, in contrast to Hayam Wuruk who is not directly associated with conquests – although there is evidence that during his reign royal initiatives took place in several areas of his realm. The most notable evidence of regional conflict comes from Bali, where inscriptions report local resistance to attempts to promote Javanese culture.



The *Nāgarakērtāgama*'s author as well as contemporary literary and epigraphic documents from the proclaimed high point of the Majapahit polity universally agree that the three duties of the Majapahit monarch were gift-giving (*daṇa*), sponsorship of public works foundations (*kīrti*)<sup>(11)</sup>, and provision of good works (*puṇya*)<sup>(12)</sup>. If a Majapahit monarch successfully fulfilled these beneficent obligations then prosperity would prevail. This literature elaborates that the monarch's meritorious actions should specifically contribute to secular prosperity by: a) protecting the religious communities of the realm, thereby insuring cosmic and religious unity, and b) establishing social order based on ranks of status that are recognized and bestowed by the court<sup>(13)</sup>.

The court's religious policies are focused on the patronage of the Śaivite and Buddhist (*sogata*) clergy, who performed ritual at the court and at twenty-seven specified religious domains (*dharma*) of the deified ancestors of the Majapahit king<sup>(14)</sup>. Vaiṣṇava clergy (*wipra*) and local religious specialists denoted as *rēṣi* ("rural priests") were active beyond the court's direct religious sphere. Together these four groups, collectively known as the "priesthood" (*caturdwija*), "cultivated wisdom" and were subject to the court's highest praise, in contrast to residential communities of monks (*caturāshrama*), who were chastised for removing themselves from daily reality and were thus said to be unlikely contributors to social welfare<sup>(15)</sup>. While the *Nāgarakērtāgama*'s author was generally disinterested in the affairs of non-court clergy, except in his report of the Rājapatnī cult's acknowledgment of native deities, other Majapahit era sources document the integrative efforts on the part of Hayam Wuruk's court to incorporate these clergy and their indigenous cults. In the *Nāgarakērtāgama*'s survey of religion there is inclusive reference to the prime role of the Śaivites, Buddhists, and *rēṣi* in the realm's Tantric-laced rituals<sup>(16)</sup>. Beyond the royal temple compounds (*dharma*), these three communities (the

11. Royal activities considered to be *kīrti* are minimally documented. An example is provided in the "Decree of Jaya Song of Hayam Wuruk", in which there is reference to the construction of a pavilion at a sacred place by royal initiative that is considered *kīrti*. The "Canggu Ferry Charter", wherein by royal initiative there was some degree of regularization of royal administration of ferrymen and riverine ferry crossings, may well be considered *kīrti*. See Pigeaud, 4, 258; see also Hall, *Maritime Trade*, pp. 236-242.

12. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 82.3.

13. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, canto 81. This is confirmed in the *Tantu Panggĕlaran* and *Pararaton*. The first of these "meritorious actions" is the topic of this paper. I focus on the second in my study "Gift-giving and State Development in Majapahit Java", which addresses the emergence of social hierarchy, in the forthcoming revision of a paper originally presented in rough draft to the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, D. C., March 1989.

14. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, cantos 73 and 74; Pigeaud, 4, pp. 221-223. This list of twenty-seven in the *Nāgarakērtāgama* is confirmed in cross-references among contemporary literature, and may be expanded to include an additional six *dharma*.

15. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, cantos 78.7, 79.1, 79.2, 81.2; Pigeaud, 4, pp. 458-459.

16. See P. J. Zoetmulder, "The Significance of the Study of Culture and Religion for Indonesian Historiography" in Soedjatmoko, ed., *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, Ithaca, New York, 1965, pp. 326-343.

*tripakṣa*, or “three domains”) as well as the less-favored Vaiṣṇava priests performed ritual connected with ancestral and local spirits at small sanctuaries and shrines (*caitya*) and temple towers (*prasada*), which were normally located on the estates of individuals of status, and at rural *lingga*, which were especially associated with *rēṣi*<sup>(17)</sup>. Each of these “domains” was subject to the king’s donative efforts at *daṇa*, *kīrti*, and *punya*. The king was said to protect the *tripakṣa* clergy, who were collectively referenced as *sira* (“illustrious”), a term reserved for divine beings and royalty<sup>(18)</sup>.

In theory those communities in the western realm that derived from Kaḍiri tradition fell under the authority of the Prince of Wēngkēr-Daha, while those of the eastern realm were associated with Singasari-Janggala and were subject to the Prince of Singasari<sup>(19)</sup>. The myth of a kingdom divided that has yet to be reunified is a powerful and recurrent theme in Javanese literature. Both the *Pararaton*’s story of Ken Angrok’s initiation of the foundation for Majapahit and the *Nāgarakērtāgama*’s depiction of Kērtanagara’s institution of the same stress that Majapahit’s origin was due to the successful unification of Janggala and Kaḍiri. What might first appear literary artifice is a statement that holds profound cultural meaning to the chronicle audience. This proto-division of Janggala and Kaḍiri, and Majapahit’s junction was symbolized in the creation of the new kraton.

The Majapahit court complex was a microcosm of the universe, in theory a cosmic *maṇḍala* laid out as a quadrangle. In the west was the king’s residential compound that was associated with the Singasari legacy; to the east was the compound of the Prince of Wēngkēr, associated with Kaḍiri; in the northwest quadrant lay the compound of the royal minister (*pati*) of Daha (Kaḍiri) and the residence of the minister (*pati*) of Singasari-Majapahit was in the northeast. The *Nāgarakērtāgama* speaks of the “Holy Crossroads” and the “cosmic intersection”, the point at which the diagonal intersected northeast of the “Royal compound”<sup>(20)</sup>. The north, nearest the Brantas River from whence came outsi-

17. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, cantos 82.3, 69.3, 78.1, 81.1, 63.2, 77; Pigeaud, 4, 254-255. Specific omission of mention of *dharma* in these references to the broader religious community confirms that *dharma* were the domains of the king and those directly associated with the king, in contrast to other sacred centers that were outside the royal sphere, yet were subject to royal interest.

18. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 80.4, as confirmed in the *Tantu Panggĕlaran* and *Pararaton*, as well as the Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, which was very popular in that era, and which associates the king with Rāma’s heroic defense of religious hermits. See Pigeaud, 4, p. 258.

19. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 79.3.2.

20. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 8.2-4; 66-2. On this court factionalism see Toru Aoyama, “Where was the ‘Eastern Capital’ of Java? Reconsidering the Division of Majapahit 1379-1406”, a paper presented at the 13th International Association of Historians of Asia Conference hosted by Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, September 5-9, 1994, which is an English summary of Toru Aoyama, “14 Seiki Matsu niokeru ‘Jawa Tozai Bunkatsu’ no Saikaishaku” (A New Interpretation of the East-West Division of Majapahit in the Late Fourteenth Century), *Tonan Ajia: Rekishi to Bunka*, 21 (1992), pp. 65-87. See also J. Noorduyt, “The Eastern Kings in Majapahit”, *BKI*, 131 (1975), pp. 479-487, and “Majapahit in the Fifteenth Century”, *BKI*, 134 (1978), pp. 207-274.

ders as well as threatening spirits, represented the secular. This was the appropriate setting for the residences of the two foremost court administrators. The south, which extended up the mountains toward Mount Penanggungan, was conceived to be nearest the abode of the realm's protective deities and symbolized the kraton's spiritual powers<sup>(21)</sup>. Though the tallest, the royal compound was not southernmost; this space was reserved for the most sacred rituals that were performed by Śaivite and Buddhist clergy (equally figurative of the juncture of opposites). The royal residence was just southwest of center, thereby expressive of the monarch's articulation of the secular and the sacred. The royal compound was also placed in a more westerly direction to correlate the king with the rising sun, which, like the king, sent light to all. The compound of the Prince of Wěngkěr was in the southeast and was analogous with the moon. The Prince of Wěngkěr was said to be the "chief of lesser towns, like the moon rules over the stars and planets"<sup>(22)</sup>.

The Javanese perception of cosmic order in the Majapahit era conceptualized three plains of existence. The secular "middle world" of man was the domain of Śiva, Lord of the Mountains (Bhaṭāra Guru and his consort Dewi Umā). Śiva had survived the Buddha, who ascended to the "heavenly world" to become the ruler of the ancestral realm of the dead. Below this world was a "netherworld" of chthonic spirits that was ruled by Viṣṇu, appropriately associated with Viṣṇu's Boar *avatāra* ("divine incarnation"). By tradition Viṣṇu descended in the guise of the Boar to rescue the freshly created Earth from the bottom of the sea, where the Earth had been ravished by the demon of the abyss, symbolized as a giant serpent. The Boar was the pertinent counter; it is a warm-blooded animal longing to remain in the earthly sphere, yet reveled in swamps and was thus familiar with the watery realms. The timing of this mythic event is critical. The Earth was in its formative stage, when it was most vulnerable to the primal forces and spiritual properties (represented by the serpent), which can check the evolution of the universe. Viṣṇu alone can contain these primitive forces that threaten to throw the world back to the shapelessness of the "endless night" and the "interminable sleep of the infinite sea". The Boar, carrying the goddess earth on his arm passingly remarks: "Every time I carry you this way... Therein Viṣṇu's stress is not on a single, epoch-making historical event, but on the eternity and cyclical nature of existence and Viṣṇu's assertion of continuing ability and willingness to counter the retrogressive forces of the "netherworld"<sup>(23)</sup>.

Worship of Viṣṇu was especially strong at the Kaḍiri court, which traced its

21. The *Tantu Panggĕlaran* specifically attributes Mount Penanggungan to be "the abode of the gods". Immediately below the mountain, above the Majapahit kraton, there is a concentration of tenth through fifteenth century ritual sites, including Majapahit's Salakĕlir complex. See Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia, Continuities and Change*, Ithaca, New York, 1967, pp. 36, 68-69.

22. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 12.6.1.

23. Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Princeton, 1972, pp. 17, 18, 77-79, 129, 130. See *Tantu Panggĕlaran*.

dynastic line to Airlangga, who was deified as Viṣṇu at his death<sup>(24)</sup>. The era of the Kaḍiri kraton was notable for the absence of associated temple compounds. Kaḍiri monarchs expressed greater creative interest in the composition of narrative Old Javanese (*kawi*) poetry called *kakawin*, long poems in Sanskrit meters based on Indic myth. The most important *kakawin* of that era derive from the *Mahābhārata* epic and address Viṣṇu. The eleventh century *Arjuna Wiwāha* ("Celebrating the Wedding of Arjuna") eulogizes Airlangga as Arjuna, and the twelfth century *Bhāratayuddha* ("The War of the Bhāratas") parallels ongoing hostilities between Kaḍiri and Janggala-Singasari with those of the Vedic era Pāṇḍava and Kaurava (Pāṇḍawa and Korawa). This literature inspired court dance and drama (including the Javanese shadow puppet theater that developed under the patronage of Kaḍiri's monarchs) as well as the rendition of *Arjuna Wiwāha* reliefs in monastic cave hermitages, which were deemed preferable to temples<sup>(25)</sup>.

In Majapahit times Vaiṣṇava priests spread offerings for the potentially disruptive spiritual forces (*tawur*) prior to other ritual; the rites of the agricultural cycle highlighted the intervention of Viṣṇu (Sedana Sadhana and especially his consort Śrī) to keep in check the negative forces of the "netherworld". In similar fashion earlier Javanese ritual began with what were referenced as *cāru* offerings of rice that were strewn on the ground "to satisfy the lower classes of demons lest they should interfere with the ceremonies"<sup>(26)</sup>. One of the earliest references to *cāru* offerings is associated with the ninth century performance of the Julung festival at Singasari, when flowers were presented in association with *cāru* rice offerings to neutralize the forces of the "netherworld"<sup>(27)</sup>. In continuation of this traditional Javanese ceremonial practice *cāru* and *puṣpa*

24. Airlangga's funeral temple at Bēlahan contained a portrait statue of him as Viṣṇu riding on the man-eagle Garuḍa. See Holt, *Art in Indonesia*, p. 74. See also Th. A. Resink, "Belahan of een mijthe ontluisterd", *BKI*, 122 (1967), pp. 250-266; and Pieter Ferdinandus, "Vishnu on the Garuda as a Spout Image", a paper presented at the 13th International Association of the Historians of Asia Conference hosted by Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, September 5-9, 1994.

25. Holt, pp. 67-69, 76, 267-317. Mary S. Zurbuchen, *Introduction to Old Javanese Language and Literature: A Kawi Prose Anthology*, Ann Arbor: 1976. During the era of the Kaḍiri kraton prior to 1222 cave hermitages were of greater importance than temples. In Javanese tradition, Airlangga is believed to have relinquished his throne to his sons so that he might become an ascetic hermit prior to his death; similarly in the Majapahit era the Queen Mother, who was post-humously deified as the Rājapatnī, had retired to a hermitage. Two major cave hermitage sites at Tulung Agung and Kaḍiri are notable for their reliefs that depict the *Arjuna Wiwāha*. See Holt, pp. 75-77; also A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Amsterdam, 1959, plates 191-194, of the Selamangleng hermitage.

26. J. G. de Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions from the Seventh to the Ninth Century A. D.*, *Prasasti Indonesia II*, Bandung, 1956, p. 242, note 189; H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, Calcutta, 1972, I, p. 124, note 131.

27. Inscription on the Gaṇeśa Image from Singasari dated 891; also Rubukubu Bhadri Copper-Plate of 905; see Sarkar, I, 306; II, 54. There is also the association of *cāru* with early worship of the dark-skinned sage Agastya as referenced in the Diṇaya Inscription of 760, Sarkar, I, 27-28.

flower offerings assume central importance in the celebration of the Majapahit's seven-day Rājapatnī *śrāddha* (post-cremation rites that initiated the final liberation of the soul from earthly bonds) that deified King Hayam Wuruk's grandmother in 1362, by similarly neutralizing the spiritual forces of the "netherworld" prior to the invocation of celestial deities<sup>(28)</sup>.

In the Rājapatnī chthonic-celestial ritual the spirits of this "netherworld" are initially invoked, and invited to take up temporary residence in a *puṣpa* flower figurine (*sang hyang puṣpasarira*), which is an image of the deceased Rājapatnī. This effigy was then placed on a lion throne, the centerpiece of this veneration and the place to which the soul (*swah*) of the Rājapatnī was to enter<sup>(29)</sup>. The lion denoted the demonical chthonic spirits that were subdued by the representatives of the middle world (Buddhist monks and a *purohita*, "the chief court brahmin who was versed in the Three Tantras") during the course of the ritual. The essence of the Rājapatnī assumed temporary residence in the flower effigy, and was ultimately freed from these "netherworld" spirits. The purified and liberated soul (which had been in a state of limbo since the Queen Mother's death twelve years before) finally ascended to a heavenly abode, but only after three days of entertainment, wherein mountain-shaped rice (*cāru*; in this instance purposely shaped like the abode of the dead to distract potentially harmful spirits), flower salutations, martial arts performances, feasting, and dancing placated the demonic spirits that might otherwise inhibit the deification ritual<sup>(30)</sup>.

This world of the spirits is of limited interest to the author of the *Nāgarakērtāgama*, who was a devout Buddhist<sup>(31)</sup>, but it is well-portrayed in

28. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 65.2.1; 67.2.4.

29. Symbolically the lion throne was placed in the middle of a square, noting its centrality relative to the cosmos. This ritual totally differs from the *śrāddha* rituals in Indic tradition, which were confined to the close relatives and were performed by the eldest son of the deceased. This Majapahit *śrāddha* is a public ritual, which was shared by members of the extended royal family, high officials, servants and their wives, priests and monks of the various religious sects, dancers, musicians, and others who were associated with the court. The ritual was performed by Buddhist monks and a *purohita* ("chief court brahmin"), "who was versed in the Three Tantras" [*Nāgarakērtāgama*, 64.3]. See J. G. de Casparis in J. G. de Casparis and I. W. Mabbett, "Religion and Popular Beliefs of Southeast Asia before c. 1500" in Nicholas Tarling, ed., *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 307.

30. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, cantos 63-69; Pigeaud, 4, pp. 175, 176, 185, 196.

31. Prapañca was, however, well-versed in the Javanese Tantric Buddhism, Vijrayāna or "Vehicle of the Thunderbolt," which was an elaboration on the Mahāyāna pathway that depended on the help of celestial buddhas and bodhisattvas. In Javanese Tantric Buddhism there were three methods: *mantra*, the repetition of a formula endless times; *yantra*, a magical symbol which had to be drawn correctly; and *Tārā*, energy possessing goddesses. Rituals, magic circles and diagrams, drunkenness, sexual union with a "Tārā" and sacrifices of animals and even human beings were common to Javanese Tantric ritual as depicted in the tenth-century text *Sanghyang Kamahāyānikan*:

... Come, O Child, I will teach you fully the method of Mantras... All the Buddhas, past, present and to come, have attained omniscience through knowledge of this supreme Mantra system... There is nothing which is prohibited for him who has attained the highest wisdom... Today your lives have fulfilled their purpose, you have reached the supreme goal, and have attained Buddhahood

the fifteenth century *Pararaton* and *Tantu Panggĕlaran* chronicles that were composed outside the constraints of the court sphere and thus record a Javanese perspective of the past that would have been more familiar to their popular audience<sup>(32)</sup>. This world of the spirits is also the setting for the Javanese shadow puppet theater (*wayang kulit*) that figures prominently in Majapahit court entertainment and also in Majapahit era temple iconography, which highlights this connection between the cosmic and the secular world, between the chthonic and the celestial<sup>(33)</sup>. In all of these the Kaḍiri kraton is associated with the “netherworld” realm of the spirits, while Singasari-Janggala kings are associated with the celestial. Majapahit’s monarchs connected the two as the rulers of the “middle world” of mankind, but with closer affinity with the celestial as the direct heirs to the Singasari dynastic line.

Worship at the Majapahit court was performed by kings in partnership with their priests; court ritual was a composite of ceremony that acknowledged divinity, deceased kings who were deified as celestial Śaivite or Buddhist divinities, or both, as well as the most powerful chthonic spirits<sup>(34)</sup>. For example, the Rājapatnī *śrāddha* ritual focused on the worship of the chthonic Mother Goddess Śrī, the patroness of agriculture, and other indigenous forces allied with rice growing, inclusive of indigenous incarnations (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu, were prominent “participants.” Beyond the court local *jangga*, “rural shamans” who are distinguished separately from “respectable” *rēṣi*, officiated in ceremonies associated with the worship of the rice goddess<sup>(35)</sup>. The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* conspicuously omits reference to the traditional Javanese *wuku* “year” of thirty weeks that is homogeneous with the rice growing cycle, but does highlight the two major royal festivals that were staged at six-month intervals as appropriate to the *wuku* thirty-week cycle: Srāwāṇa-Bhādra (celebrated in July, August, or September) was the feast of the goddess of Death, Ratu Lara Kidul, also known as the goddess of the Southern Ocean (Kālī, Śiva’s potentially demonic wife and Durgā, the Indic Goddess of Death are also variously associated with this ritual), and marked the death or end of the agricultural cycle, before new life was born; Phālguna-Caitra (in February, March, or April) was dedicated to the Rice goddess Śrī (associated with Viṣṇu) and the fulfillment of the rice harvest.

Hayam Wuruk visited the southern seacoast twice in the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, where he patronized the Goddess of the Southern Ocean, the governess of the

[M. C. Ricklefs in D. G. E. Hall, p. 83].

In the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*’s account, Kĕrtanagara initiated the Majapahit realm by combating the demonic powers of the universe through alcoholic and sexual excesses, behavior that was shocking to the Śaivite authors of the *Pararaton*, who characterize him as a drunkard brought to ruin by inordinate excesses in self-serving lust. To Prapañca, Kĕrtanagara was pure and free of all passion. Canto 77 enumerates the domains of the Thunderbolt-bearing Buddhist clergy.

32. Zurbuchen, pp. 65-68.

33. Holt, pp. 123-150.

34. Casparis, “Religion and Popular Beliefs”, pp. 311-317, 326-329.

35. *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, canto 78; Pigeaud, 4, 14, 211, and 482.

realm of the dead<sup>(36)</sup>. The record of the Royal Progress of 1359, the central chapter of the *Nāgarakērtāgama*, links the king to both the celestial and the “netherworld.” During this “Progress” the king offered sequential worship at the *dharmā* of his deified ancestors and other former monarchs as well as at the shrines of prominent mountain deities when his royal entourage journeyed to Jajawa (at the foot of Mount Wēlirang), Palah (Panataran, at the base of Mount Kēlud), and Burēng (the source of the Brantas river)<sup>(37)</sup>. Several royal charters refer to his and other Majapahit monarchs’ recognition of the indigenous spiritual forces. Among these there is passing reference to “sacred rings” (*maṇḍala*) that are associated with mysterious and magical rural tantric fire-based worship of indigenous spirits; these rites were performed well outside what is considered to be the appropriate concern of the court<sup>(38)</sup>.

The masters of this parochial religious tradition (*purwasthiti*) were the *rēṣi*, the heirs to traditional knowledge and who in Majapahit times were incorporated into the royal ritual hierarchy, and *jangga*, local shamans who were not<sup>(39)</sup>. At this local level ritual meaning and practice were the basis of social order and definition, just as they were at the court. Local chthonic forces included a powerful guardian deity, who could only be addressed by *rēṣi* or *jangga*, and deceased relatives and family spirits, who might be approached by non-specialists. The dichotomy between court-based and countryside ritual performance was the distinction between the celestial vision of court liturgy in contrast to the secular idiom of popular religious rites. But the “world religion” patronized by Majapahit’s monarchs was also incorporated into the mysticism and magic of local religion. Traditional secular myth that addressed localized family ancestors and guardian spirits was reshaped to meet the external challenge posed by a surrounding plural society<sup>(40)</sup>. *Rēṣi*, whose special spiritual capacity was certified by the court, pronounced liturgy that addressed these powerful local forces as a preliminary means of accessing mysterious and universal world deities (Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahman/Buddha, Madewa, Īśwara).

Surviving Majapahit rituals may make no direct reference to these local ancestors, but address an inclusive world deity who descends to earth to possess a priest, who is thereby empowered to create life-giving water. The priest specifically invokes the demonic duality of the god (for example, Śiva’s demonic incarnation as Kāla), and proceeds to negate the demonic in a potentially life-or-death contest that results in a transformation into the god’s deific form. In the potential dichotomy of ritualistic or mystical, the emphasis at Hayam

36. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, cantos 4, 8.

37. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 57.5; 17; 38. Jajawa/Jajawi is Caṇḍi Jawi and the Bureng water temple is located near Wendit upstream from Caṇḍi Singasari at the intersection of the Welirang, Anjasmoro, and Arjuna volcanic mountains (vol. 4, p. 236).

38. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 78.7-8; 79.3.2, and Walandit Charters, as discussed below. The *Tantu Panggēlaran* is especially concerned with the sacred-ring communities. See Pigeaud, *Tantu*; also *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, 4, pp. 247-250.

39. These two designations survive in the Tēnggēr Hills. See Robert W. Hefner, *Hindu Javanese*, Princeton, 1985, p. 16.

40. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973.

Wuruk's court was on the ritualistic. The *Nāgarakērtāgama* centers on the two lavish court rituals that mark the passage of the agricultural cycle, and the "Royal Progress" to invoke the powerful guardian deities of the hinterland consumes most of the remaining text. The king's ritual performance, whether at the court or beyond, dramatized the assumptions of fact and value in Javanese culture. Local rites mirrored the liturgical efforts of the kraton; by validating local ritual the king and his court acknowledged cultural diversity, local manners, ways, and ancestral sanctifications.

Assertions of legitimacy in the time of the Majapahit court were frequently based on citations of ancestral precedent. Locally Majapahit's monarchs endorsed genealogical linkage, which in turn accredited a community's existence, via their issue of numerous renewals and bestowals of *sīma* charters that certified exemptions from royal taxes<sup>(41)</sup>. *Sīma* charters included proclamations of lineage – equally that of local and royal families. Common to each of the chartering rituals was a statement by which the community's elite accepted the court's liturgical supremacy, which was considered to be a consequence of the court's superior deified ancestors.

The *Pararaton* relates that the last king of Kaḍiri, Kērtajaya, wanted to be venerated as a god. When his court advisors displayed initial reluctance, to teach them a lesson he left his audience hall and soon returned wearing four arms, a third eye in the middle of his forehead, and other marks appropriate to Śiva. His ministers and courtiers were so offended by his attempt to trick them, and that he had resorted to magic to do so, that they left the palace to join the insurgents who eventually overthrew the Kaḍiri kraton<sup>(42)</sup>. The point of this episode was that Java's living kings were not divine. The *Nāgarakērtāgama*'s author asserts that Java's kings were originally divine beings who descended to earth for the benefit of man, and who returned to a heavenly abode when their task was completed<sup>(43)</sup>. While on earth kings temporarily took the form of a human being, they might exhibit super-human qualities, but they behaved like humans and suffered the consequences of their actions. Their "return home" might be the result of violence only one Singasari king died of natural causes<sup>(44)</sup>.

Any attempt to proclaim divine association on earth was always qualified. For example, twelfth century inscriptions portray Kaḍiri kings as "second degree" *avatāra* ("divine incarnations") of Viṣṇu whose godliness was diluted, or as incarnations of mythical kings who were themselves *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. One king was Madhusudhanavatāra, the incarnation of Viṣṇu as Kriṣṇa, slayer

41. Jan Wisseman Christie, "Negara, Maṇḍala and Despotic State" in David G. Marr and A. C. Milner, eds., *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, Singapore, 1986, pp. 72-73; and J. G. de Casparis, "Pour une histoire sociale de l'ancienne Java, principalement au X<sup>ème</sup> S.", *Archipel* 21 (1981), pp. 128-130.

42. J. L. A. Brandes, ed. and trans., *Pararaton (Ken Arok) of het Boek der Koningen van Tumapel en van Majapahit*, The Hague, 1920, pp. 62-64; English translation in Harry J. Benda and John A. Larkin, *The World of Southeast Asia, Selected Historical Readings*, New York, 1967, pp. 38-39.

43. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 41.4a.

44. Casparis, "Religion and Popular Beliefs", pp. 326-27.



of the demon Madhu; another was Vamanāvatāra, incarnation of Viṣṇu the Dwarf, who conquered the world in three paces<sup>(45)</sup>. Kings are frequently referred to in the inscriptions as a partial incarnation (*amśavatāra*) of the god or his *avatāra*. A 1289 inscription on a large statue originally thought to be from the Majapahit kraton complex consecrated Kērtanagara as the idealized Jina Aksobhya, the transcendent Buddha who was endowed with super-human qualities, but was not a god. This correlation only avowed Kērtanagara's achievement of a state of human perfection that could in theory be achieved by anyone. Thus Kērtanagara's death at the hands of his subordinate, the ruler of Kaḍiri, demonstrated his humanity<sup>(46)</sup>. Subsequently, Kērtanagara transformed into a divine "Śiva-Buddha," which recent scholarship attributes to a dualistic, but not composite, association with Śiva and the Buddha. Thus at Caṇḍi Jawi, a two-story commemorative temple, Kērtanagara is posthumously portrayed as Śiva in the lower shrine and as the Buddha Akṣobhya in the upper shrine<sup>(47)</sup>. Similarly Jayanagara, second king of Majapahit (r. 1309-21) was deified as both Viṣṇu and the Buddhist Jina Amoghasiddhi<sup>(48)</sup>.

The *Nāgarakērtāgama* cites Majapahit-era temples (*dharma*) as either dedicated to a deity or as commemorative ancestral monuments associated with an icon that is venerated as the deity into whom the king "returned" to earth following death. Commemorative ancestral temples recognized the cult of the deity with whom the essence of the deceased had merged. Icons might even personify unusual attributes and individual facial expressions<sup>(49)</sup>. According to the *Nāgarakērtāgama*'s author the Amoghapāśa icon of Caṇḍi Jago is an effigy of King Viṣṇuvarhana of Singhasari (r. 1248-68); King Amusapati (r. 1227-47 ?) had returned "home to Girindsa's [Śiva's] abode ... in the likeness of Śiva, splendid, in the eminent *dharma* [temple] in Kidal [i.e., Caṇḍi Kidal]"<sup>(50)</sup>.

45. *Ibid.*

46. H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, VII, The Hague, 1917; R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, "De inscriptie van het Mahaksobhya-beeld te Simpang (Soerobaja)," *BKI*, 78 (1922).

47. Hariati Soebadio, *Jnasiddhanta* (Jakarta: 1971); *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 52.3; Casparis, "Religion and Popular Beliefs", p. 329. For a different interpretation see Max Nihon, *Studies in the Buddhist Tantra*, Leiden, 1982.

48. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, canto 48.

49. W. F. Stutterheim, "Some remarks on pre-Hinduistic burial customs on Java" in W. F. Stutterheim, *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, The Hague, 1956, pp. 65-90. There is no consensus on whether the cremated remains of deceased monarchs were kept in urns deposited in a pit below the principle cult image; see Casparis, "Religion and Popular Beliefs", p. 327. There is also debate relative to whether Majapahit "portrait statuary" really personify deceased monarchs. See Jan Fontein, *The Sculpture of Indonesia*, Washington, D. C.: 1990, pp. 52-55.

50. *Nāgarkērtāgama*, 41.4. In a recent study Pieter Ferdinandus also asserts that Singasari and Majapahit era images of gods celebrated the return of a divine incarnation from its human form. Ancestral temples celebrated deliverance from the matter that binds mankind to earth, and therein the deified ancestor was a messenger of the potential for passage that was in theory within the reach of any among mankind. Peter Ferdinandus, "Arca Perwujudan Masa Jawa Kuna ('Some Remarks on the Posthumous Images in the Old Javanese Period')", *Analisis Hasil Penelitian Arkeologi*, I (1987), pp. 20-39.

Legitimacy that derived from ties to first-founding earth-bound ancestors was potentially tenuous, in that no one community could claim precedence over another. This was reflected in literary inconsistencies among the Majapahit era sources. One notable example was the attempted literary junction of the Singasari and Kaḍiri traditions at the Majapahit court, when in fact the unstable balance between the Singasari and Kaḍiri ancestral factions was never effectively resolved, and ultimately lead to a civil war in 1406 that initiated Majapahit's demise<sup>(51)</sup>. There is also a significant difference of view between the authors of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton* relative to the founding lineage of Majapahit; the former places stress on the creative initiatives of Kṛtanagara (d. 1292), while the latter incorporates the previous Singasari-based line of kings that was instituted by Ken Angrok in 1222, and is highly critical in its record of Kṛtanagara, whose reign "postponed" Majapahit's greatness<sup>(52)</sup>.

An alternative to a literary emphasis that descent is the rightful basis of legitimacy is to focus on the power of the ritual itself, and especially to assert that the priest, acting in partnership with the king, is the sacramental intermediary between the middle world of man and the two realms of the spiritual forces that could bring either prosperity or despair. In this view the acceptance of authority flows from the performance and recitation of liturgy that contains truths too powerful to be understood by any but the spiritually adept, wherein individual experiences and knowledge differ greatly. Accordingly, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*'s focus is on Hayam Wuruk's assertions of his spiritual superiority, and thus his court's legitimacy, as he made a concerted effort to validate parochial religious practices. He did this by personally participating in local rites that invoked the most powerful among the spirits as well as the indigenous ancestral spirits through which provincial elites traced their origin. Even more importantly, he legitimized the priests (*rēṣi*) who performed these rituals, by incorporating them into the court-ordained hierarchy of religious specialists<sup>(53)</sup>. In contrast, rural shamans (*jangga*) remained outside the "respectable" ritual network of the elite, where they continued to neutralize the localized chthonic spiritual forces whose beneficence was equally essential to local prosperity.

51. See K. R. Hall, *Maritime Trade*, pp. 252-256.

52. C. C. Berg, "Kṛtanagara, de Miskende Empire-builder", *Oriente*, 34 (July 1950), pp. 3-32.

53. Pigeaud, 4, pp. 458-459, posits that Hayam Wuruk assumed the right to determine legitimate clergy membership, based on an examination derived from some standard of knowledge of Javanese religion. Pigeaud cites the legal texts of the Majapahit era, inclusive of the *Nawaratya* that details the elaborate ritual regulations of the court, as well as the numerous royal inscriptions that charter and recharter local religious institutions (*sīma* charters) in support of his case. If Hayam Wuruk and his successors were able to effectively administer such examinations that validated religious sanctity, this would denote considerable authority that is normally associated with the more centralized Southeast Asian polities that do not emerge until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Burma and Thailand. See Victor Lieberman, "Was the Seventeenth Century a Watershed in Burmese History" in Anthony Reid, ed., *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*, Ithaca, New York, 1993, pp. 214-249.

That royal power penetrated into local ritual practice is documented in inscriptions and the chronicles, but is most convincingly conveyed in archaeological evidence that suggests the common use of sacred water beakers that are still found even in the most remote sectors of eastern Java's society. These symbols of ceremonial legitimacy were clearly bestowed by the court, and reflect a commonality of ritual performance and ritual paraphernalia in the Majapahit era<sup>(54)</sup>. Today local priests (*rēṣi*) in the Tēnggēr highlands east of Malang still use small bronze holy water beakers (*prasen*), which are decorated with carved images of animals and symbols of the Indian zodiac. These are attributed to the beneficence of Majapahit's kings, and bear dated inscriptions that range from 1321-1430; most cluster in mid-fourteenth century era that corresponds to the posited height of Majapahit's religious initiatives<sup>(55)</sup>. This remarkable distribution of a standardized ritual implement denotes the power of Majapahit to invoke a degree of consistency in religious performance, or at the least recognition of the court as the source of ritual validation among the disparate populations of its hinterland. The widespread use of these inscribed water beakers among local ritual specialists offers definitive evidence that the religious world patronized by the court was penetrating the Javanese countryside<sup>(56)</sup>.

### The Iconographic Remains of Hayam Wuruk's Reign

The iconographic remains of the Panataran "state" temple complex south of the Malang plateau overview the religious transitions taking place in the time of Hayam Wuruk. An inscribed stone dated 1275 provides the earliest evidence of worship at Panataran, then called Palah, which was initially incorporated under the Kaḍiri kraton<sup>(57)</sup>. The *Nāgarakērtāgama* author associates this site with the indigenous Mountain Lord of the nearby Mount Kēlud ("Hyang Acalapati of Mount Kampud"), who is identified with the Lord of the Mountains, Śiva. The importance of the Panataran complex in Hayam Wuruk's liturgical cult is especially demonstrated by the king's annual pilgrimage up the Brantas river to this temple complex immediately following his celebration of the Caitra festival at his court, which cultivated the favor of the indigenous rice goddess Śrī. After his visit to Panataran, where he worshipped the Lord of the Mountains, Hayam Wuruk traveled south to the seaside Lodaya temple site,

54. H. H. Juynboll, "Zodiakbikers" in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie*, Leiden, 1921, pp. 838-840.

55. Hefner, *Hindu Javanese*, pp. 27, 148ff. (figures 1, 3, 4), 271-276.

56. The widespread and substantial number of remaining ceremonial bronze lamps and bells that were cast in the Majapahit era similarly substantiates that there was ritual integration during the fourteenth century. "That lamps of the East Javanese period must have had a ritual or ceremonial purpose is suggested by the care with which they were buried and the context of ritual paraphernalia in which some of the lamps of known provenance have been found." Fontein, *The Sculpture of Indonesia*, p. 57; see also pp. 56-58, plates 76-77, 83-99. Fontein attributes the inspiration for the especially elaborate ceremonial lamp castings to the popular contemporary *kakawin* poems; there is possible connection between these lamps and *wayang* performances.

57. R. Soekmono, "Indonesian Architecture of the Classical Period: A Brief Survey" in Fontein, *The Sculpture of Indonesia*, dates use of the Panataran complex to at least 1197 (p. 83).

where he acknowledged the Maiden Queen of the Southern Ocean (the Sea Goddess Ratu Lara Kidul). The king then proceeded to the nearby Simping complex that was associated with the deified Kērtarājasa (represented as the Śiva Harihara), founder of Majapahit<sup>(58)</sup>. Thereby the *Nāgarakērtāgama*'s author prescribes a mandatory and pervasive liturgical sequence that invoked the guardian forces of the court, the mountains, the seashore, and prior rulers.

Further evidence of the Majapahit court's understanding of its cosmos is conveyed in the iconography of the Panataran central temple, which dates to 1347<sup>(59)</sup>. While Hayam Wuruk's court favored the worship of Śiva, who is acknowledged in the complex's lesser temples, the themes of Panataran's central temple address Lord Viṣṇu, who may be perceived as the guardian of the realm beyond the court or as the patron deity of the former Kaḍiri kraton's territories, which were inclusive of Panataran. Thus the focus of the Panataran central temple was Majapahit's inheritance from Kaḍiri, which was the prior heir to the legacy of Airlangga, who initiated the Javanese "state" and was deified as Viṣṇu.

Lowest terrace reliefs on this central temple at the Panataran complex portray the "netherworld" as the setting for the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*. The monkey general Hanaman's scouting mission to the island of Langka is set in the danger-laden realm of the demon king Rāwaṇa; the mission ends in the death of the giant Kumbhakarna, which foreshadows Rāwaṇa's final defeat by Rāma (Viṣṇu). The relief is permeated with the supernatural, what art historians describe as "magically charged," in contrast to the earlier iconography of central Java that they label "naturalistic and earthy"<sup>(60)</sup>. The main figures (who symbolically occupy the "middle world") are accompanied by backdrops of "invisible," menacing beings of force (*kāla* guardian monsters, animal forms, and demons) who appear in clouds (the "upper world") and underfoot (the "netherworld"). The entirety is encompassed in a magically energized sea of fire<sup>(61)</sup>.

58. During Hayam Wuruk's reign the Simping temple was relocated and rebuilt in 1361 following an earthquake that had toppled the prior temple-tower. The inscription states that the original temple had been constructed too far to the west, and after appropriate cosmological consideration was replaced further to the east. Pigeaud, 4, pp. 162-164, 483; *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 17.5, 61.2, 61.4.

59. As per the date on the temple guards; Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit* (Singapore: 1976), p. 178, note 37. Panataran is thought to have been conceived to mimic the royal kraton. Here a series of temples leads to the central temple, as opposed to central Java temple complexes where supplemental temples were arranged in rectangular rows surrounding the center, as appropriate to an Indic *maṇḍala*. Helen Ibbitson Jessup, *Court Arts of Indonesia*, New York, 1990, p. 112.

60. Holt, 83-85. The point made by art historians is that the Javanese art of the Majapahit era reflects cultural self-confidence and self-assertion, wherein indigenous perceptions and expressions take precedent over "pure" Indic forms that were preeminent in the earlier age. See also Fontein, pp. 48-58, 80-86, 107-108.

61. The related thirteenth century Caṇḍi Jago reliefs portray the image of the volcanic caldron "sand sea" to be crossed by those on their way through the "netherworld", prior to their access to the realm of the gods, in this case the nearby Mt. Bromo (the earthly Mt. Meru), the abode of the Indic god Brahmā, who is localized as the indigenous deity Sang Hyang Swayambuwa. See Pigeaud, 3, p. 171; Holt, p. 68; Slametmuljana, p. 117.

In contrast to this life and death struggle set in the realm of the demons, the relief of the second of the three terraces delineates events that are appropriate to the “middle world”, in this instance scenes from the *Kriṣṇāyaṇa* love poem. This twelfth or thirteenth century old Javanese *kakawin* narrative poem elaborates on Kriṣṇa (Viṣṇu), King of Dwārawatī and divine mentor of the Pāṇḍawa in the *Mahābhārata* epic. Kriṣṇa romantically pursues the beautiful princess Rākmiṇi (symbol of mankind’s pursuit of material prosperity in this world), who willingly submits to his amorous abduction (just as mankind should submit to the god) on the eve of her betrothal to another suitor. The lovers are pursued and repeatedly attacked in exuberant battle scenes by the princess’ enraged brother, who characterizes the negative and unknowing forces that may interfere with mankind’s quest for fulfillment.

From this “middle world” one progresses to the “world of the gods” in the upper terrace reliefs<sup>(62)</sup>. Winged creatures appropriate to the world of the gods dominate the upper terrace. Among these encompassing serpents, symbols of primal forces are neutralized by the Garuḍa sun-bird (normally the carrier of Lord Viṣṇu), that had conquered the serpent at the behest of Kriṣṇa<sup>(63)</sup>. The implicit theme is the submission and merger of traditional worship of *nāga* fertility spirits into the cults of Viṣṇu/Kriṣṇa, or a localization of Viṣṇu-Kriṣṇa liturgy that becomes one with that of strategic local rituals that transform the potentially demonic indigenous spirits into positive forces.

Gaja Mada dedicated the rebuilt Singasari temple complex on the Malang Plateau in the same year (1357) as the “Bubat bloodbath,” as a memorial to those who lost their lives along with Kērtanagara at the Tantric ritual celebration at which he was murdered in 1292<sup>(64)</sup>. In doing so Gaja Mada consecrated a statue of Kērtanagara, the founder of the Majapahit line of kings in the view of the Hayam Wuruk’s court, as the deified Viṣṇu-Śiva (*Harihara Ardhanari*)<sup>(65)</sup>.

Other religious dichotomies are prevalent in the Singasari temple’s iconography. Here the living messenger of the gods Kērtanagara is also portrayed in a statue as Bhairawa, fanged, naked, skull-crowned symbol of demonic and erotic powers. Deified Ken Dēḍēs, who united with the adventurer Ken Angrok to initiate Singasari, is depicted as the Buddhist goddess Prajñāpāramitā, the highest feminine personification in Mahāyāna Buddhism and Bodhisattva of Wisdom and Highest Virtue<sup>(66)</sup>. Gaja Mada is himself posthumously deified at

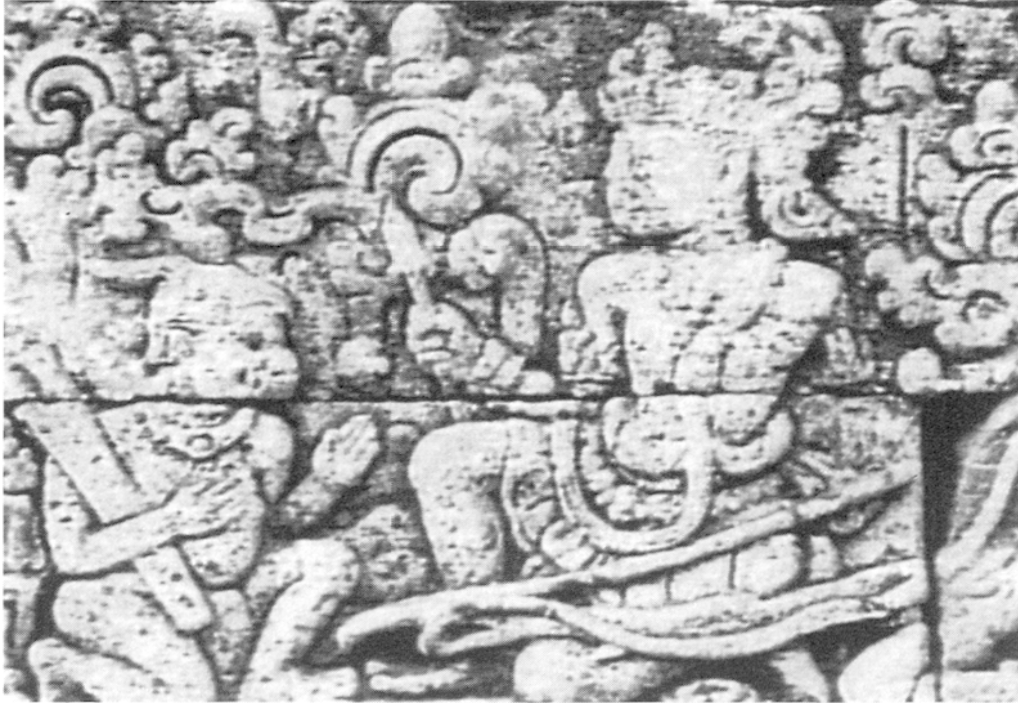
62. The upper promenade was originally the foundation for lofty wooden multi-tiered pavilions of the sort common in Balinese temple architecture today. For an idea of this wood on stone construction see Bernet Kempers, plate 211.

63. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 85-86. The implicit is that there was a submission and merger of prior worship of *naga* fertility spirits to the cult of Kriṣṇa/Viṣṇu.

64. Slametmuljana, pp. 28-29.

65. Nancy Dowling, “The Javanization of Indian Art”, *Indonesia*, 54 (1992), pp. 121-122. This contrasts to earlier statues of Kērtanagara that portray him as a Buddhist Bodhisattva or the Śiva-Buddha (Caṇḍi Jawi). See also Nancy H. Dowling, “O Great Goddess”, *Indonesia Circle*, 62 (1994), pp. 70-82; and Fontein, pp. 54-55.

66. Ken Angrok was advised to marry Ken Dēḍēs because her “flaming womb” guaranteed a line of monarchs. This glowing light was a sign of supernatural power (*wahyu*)



Cañdi Panataran. Central Temple *Rāmāyaṇa* Relief



Singasari (and elsewhere) as Ganesa, whose cushion of skulls commemorated his numerous victories against Majapahit's enemies; Gaja Mada's dedicated service to the state is also symbolized in his crown, which incorporates the seven skulls that represent the "seven kings of Majapahit" (67).

Perhaps the most revealing mid-fourteenth century Singasari statue depicts Śiva's consort Durgā, symbol of feminine powers, who dramatically stands on a bull (representing the powers of Śiva) with a raised sword in one of three right hands while one of three left hands grasps the hair of a small massive demon that emerges from the head of the bull. Symbolically the forceful and very irate Durgā invalidates the destructive powers of Śiva (and the demonic realm) and thereby idealizes the role of Majapahit's kings and their priests, who similarly negated the demonic forces of the "netherworld" on mankind's behalf.

### **Royal Power in Fourteenth Century Majapahit**

In his essay on traditional Javanese kingship prior to the sixteenth century, J. G. de Casparis portrays a ritual and spatial distance between court and countryside that he posits was not closed until the era of the subsequent Mataram state, when rural communities and courts shared in the common vocabulary and ritual of Javanese Islam (68). Courts and kings in the pre-sixteenth century era practiced Indic-inspired rituals that distinguished them from their subjects, and were intended to reinforce the social distance between ruler and ruled.

In this study I conclude that there is sufficient evidence to posit a greater degree of interaction prior to the popular acceptance of Islam, specifically during the fourteenth century when the Majapahit polity was at its height. My study of court-based ritual networking convinces me that the distance between court and countryside, and between ruler and ruled was closing during the Majapahit era, especially in the second half of the fourteenth century.

During this period the Majapahit kraton functioned as a royal residential compound and ceremonial center where the monarch participated in sacred ritual, but these kraton performances were only part of the broader ritual offering necessary to sustain the prosperity of the king's subjects. The Majapahit court incorporated worship of powerful indigenous spiritual forces into its veneration of celestial deities, but local sacrament equally embodied the vocabulary and instruments of the court's "world" religion. I do not characterize this as a process of synthesis, wherein there was an overall standardization in ritual performance and a unity of the court and local ritual traditions. Rather I view this as an intended dichotomy; there was common appreciation that different kinds of ritual had their function and place in maintaining the stability of the Javanese cosmos.

Yet almost the entirety of this ritual performance came to be subject to the validation of the court. Ritual specialists in the Indic religious tradition, whe-

and confirmed sovereignty; it left the body on the death of the possessor. Helen Jessup, *Court Arts of Indonesia*, p. 88.

67. Slametmuljana, p. 65.

68. Casparis, "Religion and Popular Beliefs", *passim*.

ther Buddhist, Śaivite, or Vaiṣṇava, were appropriate to the worship of celestial deities and deified royal ancestors, while local priests and shamans were acknowledged for their superior skills in neutralizing the destructive tendencies prevalent among the chthonic forces that were based in the Javanese “netherworld”, but frequently traveled and established temporary residence in the “middle world” of mankind. Kings acted in partnership with the three categories of religious specialists who offered ritual acknowledgment to gods, deceased kings, and cogent indigenous spirits; kings were also the regular patrons of rural shamans, who functioned outside the “official” religious network, who communicated with the localized chthonic forces. The king’s worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, the Buddha, and the most powerful among the indigenous spiritual forces was institutionalized in the court’s ritual cycle. No longer were potent chthonic forces exclusively subject to local sacramental performance; these were now regularly acknowledged in the court’s ritual, or by the king himself when the Majapahit monarch “progressed” annually among the most important ritual sites in his realm – not just in areas adjacent to his court, but inclusive of visits to widely-dispersed hinterland ritual centers that took some effort to reach.

Wide distribution of inscribed water beakers document local acceptance of the Majapahit king’s role as the source of spiritual leadership over the secular community. Further evidence of this sense of an inclusive religious community is provided in the numerous *sīma* charters and the Old Javanese literary and legal texts that originate in this era<sup>(69)</sup>. The ritual cycle of the court, which consisted of two major festivals that marked the passage of the agricultural cycle punctuated by the king’s annual visits to important temples and ritual sites within the extended hinterland, must have provided some basis for a common identity among Java’s rural communities. Majapahit’s legacy as the focal point of early Javanese history implies that popular acknowledgment of a shared historical experience began with Majapahit<sup>(70)</sup>. This post-Majapahit view of the past must relate to the evidence cited in this article, which documents that widespread perception of a common Javanese spiritual community began in the Majapahit era.

69. The premise that traditional Javanese law, which was based in traditional Javanese religion, was first compiled at the Majapahit court was important among Indonesian nationalists, who sought to base contemporary law on an indigenous pre-Dutch legal code. Evidence that a legal standard was in place is documented in the *Nāgarakērtāgama*’s reference (89.1) to a code (*agama*) known as *Kuṭāramānawa*. The “code” is said to have come into existence between 1329-1351, at the combined initiative of the heads of the court’s Śaivite and Buddhist clergy. Supporting reference is provided in two of Hayam Wuruk’s inscriptions: the undated “Bendasari inscription” that records a judgment of rightful property ownership, and the “Canggu Ferry Charter” of 1358, as noted above. See Slametmuljana, pp. 100 ff., 268, notes 19 and 20, which is a summary of Slametmuljana, *Perundang-undangan Madjapahit*, Jakarta, 1967. See also Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. I, The Hague, 1967, p. 306.

70. S. Supomo, “The Image of Majapahit in Later Javanese and Indonesian History” in Anthony Reid and David Marr, eds., *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, Singapore, 1979, pp. 171-185.



I am convinced that Hayam Wuruk's reign marked the transition to a more integrative monarchy. His post-1350 reign consolidated Majapahit's hold over disparate Javanese populations after the wars of succession and conquest that dominated early Majapahit history. Through the ritual initiatives and personal outreach of Hayam Wuruk's court the king was no longer perceived as isolated from his subjects. Performance of and participation in sacred ritual, whether at the court or among the rural populations, allowed the Majapahit king to be in regular communication with his realm in ways that were previously uncommon.