

the production and the sales system with their own capital and their own risk, though they were clearly aware that they should do something in order to revive the trade and to compete with their commercial rival: British India.

The reason for the above mysterious phenomenon was the lack of guarantee system for invested capital or sales profits, which was revealed through the proceedings of two civil cases, "David Sassoon Sons & Co. v. Fan Desheng and Chen Yintang" and "Wu Yu-shan v. David Sassoon Sons & Co," from 1884 to 1887.

The two civil cases brought about two injurious effects upon the commercial relationship between Chinese and foreign merchants, in which the role of compradors was indispensable. Since both foreign and Chinese merchants could no longer trust the compradors after the two civil cases, neither side dared to invest upon an enterprise which would improve the production system of black tea.

The decline of the black tea trade to Britain should be regarded as a reflection of the unfriendly commercial relationship between Chinese and foreign merchants. It also revealed the limit of the "solidarity" of Chinese merchants. As long as they secured the monopoly of certain economic activities, Chinese merchants could intensify the "solidarity" of their commercial organizations. On the other hand, due to the lack of guarantee system and the unlimited liability of the *hugu* style firm, they were quite impotent in improving the production and the sales system of the economic activity they monopolized by themselves.

From the *Arjunawijaya* to the *Sutasoma*:
Two Old Javanese Texts in their Historical Context

by Tōru AOYAMA

In the second half of the fourteenth century, the Majapahit court poet Tantular composed two major Old Javanese *kakawins*, *Arjunawijaya* and *Sutasoma*. The former was composed some time after the death of the powerful chief minister Gajah Mada in 1364, who epitomized the kingdom's expansionist policy, and the latter some time before the

death of the king Rājasanagara in 1389. Between the two texts, there is a significant shift in contents and theme, which may be adequately accounted for by referring to the historical context in which they were created. The story of the *Arjunawijaya*, derived directly from the Rāmāyana cycle, is orthodox Hindu, despite an undercurrent of Buddhist ideology. It recounts that the just king Arjunasahasrabāhu subjugates the evil Rāwaṇa after a series of fierce battles. But his victory is impermanent as Rāwaṇa is spared and destined to become the foe of Rāma, underlining the uncertainty of the peace brought by the *kṣatriya* rule of force. It has been pointed out that one of the recurrent themes of the text is tension between a king and religious communities, and that this might be an implicit accusation of the Majapahit ruler's neglect of the clerical well being during the expansionist days. The story of the *Sutasoma*, on the other hand, is based on Tantric Buddhism and is in effect an indigenous creation. The hero attains Buddhahood and the status of universal monarch simultaneously on account of the Tantric concept of non-duality, whereby the tension in the *Arjunawijaya* is theoretically reconciled, and resolves confrontations by the power of mercy. The practice of cross-cousin marriage is also advocated in order to strengthen the ties between royal families. The author suggests that the text is the poet's proposal for peace in anticipation of the increasing division among the Majapahit royal families which culminated in the civil war in 1406.