Prince and Priest: Mpu Tantular's Two Works in the Fourteenth Century Majapahit

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Introduction

One of the methodological problems in the study of the pre-modern history of Southeast Asia is to find a way to handle a large amount of literary works. From the stand point of searching for historical information, after retrieving relevant information, the story itself is often discarded as historically irrelevant or merely as a literary element. From the stand point, however, of understanding the traditional society as well as its mentality, the structure and characteristics of the text itself must be analyzed, and then the relation between the text and its historical context must be investigated. In other words, to answer the question "why a story ought to be told in a certain time" is crucial (Aoyama 1994: 42).

In this paper, the late fourteenth century Majapahit court poet Mpu Tantular's two works, Arjunawijaya (AWj) and Sutasoma (Sut), are discussed.[1)] These two works belong to the best examples of the *kakawin* (bell literature) tradition in the final stage of Old Javanese literature in terms of their size and contents. What is interesting about these two works is the fact that they were written by the same author within a short but critical period of time. Supomo (1977) and Worsley (1991) studied the AWj, and Soewito-Santoso (1975) and Ensink (1967) studied the Sut. Worsely in particular made an interesting contribution on the problem of kingship in the AWj. These studies, however, focus on individual works. In this paper, based on previous studies, I will compare the two works and analyze what sort of social context the difference between the two works embodies, in other words, what sort of message the author conveys from one text to the other. In the analysis, the paper will be concerned about the way the relation between the king and the priest is told in the story, for the relation between the political power and religious authority was one of the main concerns of the contemporary Javanese and therefore can be assumed to be an epitome of the social conditions of contemporary Java.

In the following sections, I will first survey the fundamental information on the author and his works, and then review the social conditions of the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century Majapahit. Then I will analyze the characteristics of the stories told in the two works and investigate the messages in the stories against the contemporary social background.

The Author and His Works

In the AWj (73.1) and Sut (148.1) the author introduced himself as Tantular. The biographical data of the author, however, is almost non-existent within his two works. The texts themselves reveal that a member of the royal family named Raṇamanggala who was the author's patron (AWj 1.3; Sut 148.4) and that Rājasanagara, generally known by his infant name Hayam Wuruk, was the contemporary king (AWj 1.3-1.4; Sut 148.2).

Supomo (1977: 1-15) made a detailed investigation on the date of the composition of the two works. He concluded that the latest possible date is 1389 when King Rājasanagara died, and that the AWj was composed after the month of *aśwayuja* (about September) in 1365 when the Nāgarakṛtāgama (Nag) was composed by Mpu Prapañca.[2] Supomo (1977: 5-6) also inferred that the Sut was composed after the AWj from the fact that the Sut is more stylistically sophisticated and much longer than the AWj and also that the Sut refers to an episode in the AWj but not conversely. From these conclusions, we may safely assume that the AWj was composed some time after late 1365, and then after a certain interval the Sut was composed before 1389. Although Supomo (1977:10-14) further tried to narrow down the possible date of the two works based on a sophisticated argument, the above mentioned dates suffice for our purposes. Our concern is to situate a literary work in its social context and try to understand how the work was received by the contemporary audience. In the next section, I will review the social conditions of Majapahit in the fourteenth century.

Socio-historical Context

The most important local sources for information on the social conditions of the fourteenth century Majapahit are the above mentioned Nag and the Middle Javanese Pararaton (Par) written probably after the late fifteenth century.[3] What strikes the reader most about the two works is that the person who practically represents the early and middle fourteenth century Majapahit is not the king but the prime minister Gajah Mada. His life ran parallel with the establishment of the power of the kingdom in the peripheral and the extension of the power to the outside of the kingdom.[4]

According to the Par (26.11-37), Gajah Mada succeeded in suppressing a rebellion in about 1319 and took the position of *patih* in different regions. When King Jayanagara died in 1328, another rebellion took place at the eastern end of Java but was crushed by 1331 (Nag 49.3, 70.3). This rebellion is the last rebellion recorded in Majapahit for some decades, indicating the central power of the kingdom had established itself throughout the region on which it had influence.

After the rebellion, Gajah Mada was appointed *jagadrakṣaṇa* (Protector of the World) (Nag 49.3), indicating he was named to be the prime minister in charge of

the security of the kingdom. The Pararaton reports that when he took the position he declared on oath that he would never enjoy *palapa* until all the outer islands had been brought under the power of Majapahit (Par 28.21-23).[5] The oath expresses the kingdom's aggressive expansionist strategy covering from Sumatra to the Moluccas. Although to what extent his oath became reality is debatable, certain measures were actually taken while he was minister. Two military expeditions were dispatched to a king of Bali in 1343 (Nag 49.4) and the island of Sumbawa (Par 29.15, Nag 72.3). The fact that these military actions resulted in the expansion of the kingdom was recognized by the ruling class of the kingdom, for the regions mentioned in the oath are included in the list in the Nag (13.1-14.5) as the regions on which Majapahit exerted its influence, with the notable exception of Sunda.

Gajah Mada enjoyed a break in 1357 (Par 29.16). This may mean that his initial objective had been achieved by then. In fact, after this, the Par did not record Gajah Mada's activities or Majapahit's external activities. The Nag records as many as seven royal journeys and other court rituals. These trends suggest the kingdom's orientation had changed from aggressive expansionist to one of the stability of the country.[6] The fact that when Gajah Mada died in 1364, the Nag used two cantos to describe the events surrounding his death (71.1-72.6) and the fact that the text was composed a year after his death indicates his death was considered to be the end of the era by the contemporaries. The expansionist strategy of Majapahit had in fact started from the last king of Singasāri, Kṛtanagara (r. 1268-92).[7] Thus, Gajah Mada's strategy was the extension of the strategy of Singasāri, and his death marked the end of the one century old expansionist movement of Javanese kingdoms.

After Gajah Mada's death, a new change began to appear in the political conditions of Majapahit. The first evidence of this change is recorded in the Chinese chronicle *Ming-shih-lu* (The Historical Record of the Ming). In an entry on the 29th day of the ninth month of the 12th year of Emperor Hong-wu's reign (A.D. 1379), the eastern barbarian king and the western barbarian king of Java sent envoys to the Ming court but they were temporarily detained because their expression of respect was not sincere. Envoys from Java had been coming to the Chinese court since the time of the Yuan dynasty. But this is the first time eastern and western kings sent two envoys to China.[8]

The existence of the two kings was also recorded in the Nag. According to this source (11.1, 12.2), there were two residential palaces (*pura*) in the capital of Majapahit. In the western palace King Rājasanagara and his father Kṛtawardhana resided, whereas in the eastern palace the king's "uncle" Wijayarājasa and his daughter and her husband resided. Wijayarājasa was said to be one of the "two fathers" (*rāma*) of the king along with Kṛtawardhana (71.2), and was in charge of an important part of the government, exerting strong political influence (4.2, 79.2, 88.2). However, there was no indication of hostility between the two palaces in the text. The eastern palace began to take a more aggressive political initiative only after the death of Gajah Mada. It was after 1366 that Wijayarājasa started issuing

decree inscriptions under his own name, and around 1379 he ventured to send an independent envoy. It is most likely that the eastern barbarian king in the *Ming-shih-lu* was Wijayarājasa in the eastern palace and the western barbarian king was Rājasanagara himself in the western palace (Aoyama 1992b: 66). An attempt to establish an independent relationship with the Ming court by sending an independent envoy, which would result in the Chinese recognition of sovereignty in Java, is a serious challenge to the sovereignty of the king. This indicates the possibility of conflict between the two palaces. The detention of the Javanese envoys by Chinese also may have been a consequence of this conflict.

After the detention incidence, the envoys from Java were all sent by the king himself, but this lasted only temporarily. Around the year 1389 a great generational change took place in the two palaces. In 1386 Kṛtawardhana died, Wijayarājasa also in 1388, and in 1389 King Rājasanagara. In the western palace, Rājasanagara's son-in-law Wikramawardhana succeeded to the throne, whereas in the eastern palace, Wīrabhūmi, an adopted son of Wijayarājasa's daughter Indudewī, became in charge. Apparently the conflict between the two palaces deepened, for the *Ming-shih-lu* records that in 1403 when King Wikramawardhana was granted a royal seal by the Chinese emperor, Wīrabhūmi immediately reacted by sending his own envoy as the representative of the eastern king to the Ming court and obtained another royal seal endorsing him as the eastern king of Java.[9] The conflict escalated into a military confrontation, which ended in 1406 when the western palace crushed the eastern palace and consolidated power.

The period of the composition of the AWj and Sut coincides with the year 1364 when Gajah Mada died and the year 1389 when King Rājasanagara died. From the view point of the contemporary reader who received the two works, two important points need to be addressed. The AWj was written when the period of external expansion had been over after the death of Gajah Mada who epitomized the period but the memory of the period still lingered in society. The Sut was written when the tension between the two palaces was increasing and the death of the elder members of the two palaces was anticipated, and thus there must have been a sense of uncertainty about the future relationship between the two palaces after the generational change. In the next section, I will analyze the two works with special reference to the social conditions.

The Arjunawijaya

Most of the Old Javanese literary texts, including the AWj and Sut, are "historical" texts in the sense that they share a common "past" and narrate it (Aoyama 1994). One of the important characteristics of this past is that it is divided, according to the classical Indian theory of time, into four cosmic ages (*yuga*), that is, *kṛta*, *tretā*, *dwāpara* and *kali*. The time of the story narrated in an Old Javanese literary text is usually set in one of these four ages. The story of the Rāmāyaṇa (RY), for instance, which narrates Princess Sītā's abduction by the demon king

Daśamukha and the subsequent rescue by Prince Rāma, is set in the *tretā* age. On the other hand, the story of the Mahābhārata which narrates the life-long struggle between the Pāṇḍawas and Korawas, is set in the *dwāpara* age. The story of the AWj is set in the *tretā* age and immediately before the time of the RY. In fact, the story of the AWj may be called a "prologue" to the RY, in which the birth of Daśamukha and his eventual defeat by Arjuna Sahasrabāhu took place.

In regard to the relation between the two stories, what draws our attention is that Daśamukha's death occurs not in the AWj but in the RY and a number of prophecies in the AWj, most of which are made in the form of curse, are fulfilled in the RY. Thus, the story that starts in the AWj is suspended in the end of the text and never comes to its real end until the story comes to the RY. This strong intertextual relation at the level of the story between the two works, inevitably leads the reader of the AWj to the RY.[10)]

Keeping this relation in mind, we shall now review the outline of the AWj.[11)]

1. (1.5-2.7) Sumalī is the demon king of Lĕngkā. But his brothers are killed by the god Wiṣṇu and his kingdom is taken away by Wiśrawa's son Waiśrawaṇa. To seek revenge on the gods, Sumalī gives his daughter to Wiśrawa and obtains four powerful grandchildren, among whom the oldest is Daśamukha ("ten heads"). By performing severe penance, Daśamukha is granted invincible power by the god Brahmā and harbors the ambition of conquering the whole universe.
2. (2.8-10.7) Daśamukha expels his half-brother Waiśrawaṇa from Lĕngkā and becomes the king (Gomukha puts a curse on him: A).
3. (10.8-10.18) Daśamukha comes close to Mount Kailāsa, where the god Śiwa dwells (Nandīśwara puts a curse on him: B), but he is defeated and put under the mountain by the god. The god Śiwa, however, is impressed by the extraordinary roar of Daśamukha (thus, assuming another name Rāwaṇa "roar") and sets him free.
4. (10.19-19.3) Daśamukha continues his aggressive conduct (Wedawatī and King Anaraṇya put curses on him: C and D).
5. (20.1-25.4) Meanwhile, the king of Mahispati, Arjuna Sahasrabāhu ("Arjuna with one thousand arms", also known as Kārtawīrya) is making a grand royal trip to the River Narmadā with his consort Citrawatī.[12)]
6. (25.5-31.5) The royal party comes to a religious domain (*dharma*) which consists of Buddhist and Śiwaite temples. In the Buddhist temple, there are situated the statues of Wairocana in the center, Akṣobhya in the east, Ratnasaṃbhawa in the south, Amithābha in the west and Amoghasiddhi in the north. The temple priest explains that they correspond to the Hindus gods Śiwa, Rudra (the destructive aspect of Śiwa), Brahmā, Mahādewa and Wiṣṇu, respectively, and there is no difference between Buddha and Śiwa. He also asserts that one of the most important duties of a king to the priestly class is to create and maintain religious domains.

7. (31.6-34.2) The royal progress resumes. The scenes of ceremonies and landscapes are depicted. When they come across a deteriorated Śiwaite temple, King Arjuna orders the restoration of the temple and grants a piece of cultivated land to the temple.
8. (34.3-41.5) The royal party arrives at the Narmadā River. To let the princesses play in the water, the king transforms himself into a one thousand armed giant and dams the river by lying down across it so that the water will subside.
9. (41.6-67.7) The inundation in the upstream of the river caused by Arjuna's damming forces Daśamukha, who has been worshipping a *lingga* on an island, to evacuate. Outraged Daśamukha launches an attack against Arjuna's royal party (Nārada's prophecy: E). After a fierce battle, Arjuna stuns Daśamukha and locks him up in an iron cage.
10. (67.8-72-9) Wiśrawa's father Pulastya appears and pleads with Arjuna to release his grandson Daśamukha. Arjuna complies with the request. Pulastya also asserts that there is no difference between the goal of a king and that of a priest. Arjuna prophesies that he will be killed by a priest who is an incarnation of the god Wiṣṇu (F). Arjuna and Daśamukha go back to their own capitals.

As Worsley (1991) has pointed out, it is interesting to note that the story of the AWj emphasizes the tension between the priestly class represented by the temple priest and Pulastya, and the king represented by Arjuna, and in particular, the situations where the former exerts strong influence on the latter. Although the exact concept of the priest in the fourteenth century Java is not clear, it appears that their status was not confined to the *brāhmaṇa* caste as prescribed in orthodox Hinduism but they consisted of several religious groups.[13] Among them, the three core groups, collectively known as the three sects (*tripakṣa*), are the Buddhist priests (*boddha*, *sogata*), the Śiwaite priests (*śaiwa*) who virtually represented the entire Hindu creeds, and the *ṛṣi* group who appears to have embraced traditional Javanese beliefs (Nag 81.2; Pigeaud 1960-63: vol.4, 258-59).[14] The term *brāhmaṇa* and its synonyms *wipra* and *dwija* are thought to indicate the priest in general encompassing the three groups (Pigeaud 1960-63: vol. 4, 492; Supomo 1977: 304; Zoetmulder 1982: 448).[15]

It must be noted that the priests in the fourteenth century Majapahit were not so much an inflexible hereditary class, although inheritance must have occurred, as a social group of people who engaged themselves with religious activities in a variety of forms. The discourse of the priests in the AWj suggests that the priestly group was recognized as a social class despite the deference between Buddhism and other creeds and that the group was directly juxtaposed with the class of the king and other royal members.

The form of their religious activities was diverse to such an extent that there were those who were involved in the activities of the court through advising the

court and conducting court rituals in the royal palace, those who were based in religious domains scattering outside the capital, and those who lived reclusively in communities as hermits. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that court poets who were in charge of literary production had a strong connection with the priestly class, and the essence of the poetry production was considered as a way to build a verbal temple (Worsley 1991: 164, 186).[16] This accounts for the fact that Tantular places special emphasis on the episodes which strongly speak for the priestly class.

In the AWj two priests have a conversation with King Arjuna and influence his decision. The first priest is the one who guides the king in the religious temple in episode 6.[17] This episode does not exist in the Indian source, which indicates that the episode may reflect Tantular's intention and religious inclination. Considering the fact that the priest's discourse concerns itself with the Buddhist temple and the identification of Buddha and Śiwa is made from the Buddhist point of view, the priest is no doubt Buddhist (Supomo 1977: 310, n.31.5). The priest further explicates the duty of the king to the priest group. He says that the king must create religious domains which are exempted from tax (*dharma lĕpas*) for the Buddhist, Śiwaite and *ṛṣi* respectively, provide the three sects with necessary facilities, and maintain the domains with sufficient financial support. He then warns that if the king does not carry out his great donation (*mahātidāna*), the whole world will suffer a calamity. The foundation and maintenance of tax-exempted religious domains as described in the AWj must have been a common practice in contemporary Majapahit, for the Nag (75.2-78.1) contains the list of tax-exempted religious domains which were granted to Śiwaite, Buddhist priests and *ṛṣis*, and protected by the king. The text also suggests some religious domains were in need of royal assistance when it describes a saddening scene of a ruined temple (36.1-37.6).[18]

The way the priest presses his demand to the king was under the guise of politeness but was practically a threat. In his analysis on this passage, Worsley observes, "there must have been a kind of tension between the religious organization and the court" (1991: 183). In the story, King Arjuna promises to follow the priest's advice, and immediately after this episode the king orders the restoration of a Śiwaite temple he encounters during the royal trip. The episode clearly demonstrates that a Buddhist priest talks on behalf of the whole priestly class and acts as a kingly adviser who can actually influence the king's decisions.

The other priest who plays an important role in the story is the *ṛṣi* Pulastya, by whose request Daśamuka is allowed, just because he is a grandson of Pulastya, to return to his kingdom with his subjects.[19] To understand this seemingly incomprehensive event, one has to recognize the intertextual relationship in which the AWj is situated. As mentioned earlier, the story of the AWj is a prelude to the main part of the RY. Thus, the survival of Daśamukha in the AWj is a prerequisite for the story of the RY. The other means of connecting the two stories are, as mentioned in the outline, by curses and prophecies (indicated as A-E in the outline), all of which become realized in the RY. The contemporary reader who must have been fully aware of this intricate relationship between the two texts could

easily accept the anticlimactic finale of the AWj as necessity. However, if the reader was to see the AWj as a work complete in itself, it must have been too obvious for them to overlook the fact that the king's decision and the course of the story are influenced by priests.

The appearance of the great *ṛṣi* Pulastya, one of the mind-born sons of the god Brahmā, also reminds the reader of the fact that Daśamukha is a descendant of a great *ṛṣi*.[20] Although he obtains his supernatural power from the god Brahmā only after a series of severe asceticism, it is obvious that Daśamukha has inherited the capability to endure asceticism from his priestly grandfather Pulastya.

Finally, the prophecy F is the other example in which the dominance of the priest over the king becomes evident with consideration for the intertextual relationship. The priest referred to in the prophecy is Paraśurāma ("Rāma with the battle-ax", also known as Rāmabhārgawa). This *brāhmaṇa* is a warrior well-known in Sanskrit literature. He kills Arjuna in vengeance because Arjuna violently carried away his father's sacred calf, and when his father is murdered by Arjuna's sons in retaliation, he vows to eradicate the entire *kṣatriya* class. The reference to Paraśurāma, known to the contemporary Javanese reader as well, foretells Arjuna's fate of being killed by a priest and must have evoked a strong image of the priest's dominance over the king.[21]

As Worsley (1991: 178) rightly points out, in the AWj, the priests advocate that the king and the priest are both necessary in maintaining social order, and their objectives are mutually complementary. The king who holds power maintains social order by physical force and supports the existence of the priest by economical assistance, whereas, the priestly class legitimizes the king by their religious authority and maintains social order by ritually communicating with divinity. However, the peculiarity of the AWj lies in the fact that the relation between the two sides is described not to be on equal terms but to be of advantage to the priestly class. Their intense demand for the support of the maintenance of religious domains and the restoration of temples appears to indicate that the priests in the story are not satisfied with the king's existing assistance to the priestly class. The composition of the AWj towards the end of the era of Javanese expansionism exemplified by Gajah Mada may not be a coincidence, for it is possible that the dissatisfaction of the priests in the story was shared by the priests in contemporary Majapahit, and Tantular, the court poet himself, attempted to let their feelings known through his work.

However, Tantular's thinking apparently made a drastic change after the composition of the AWj, for in his new work Sutasoma he proposed a completely new relationship between the king and priest.

The Sutasoma

The Sut is an unusual work in *kakawin* genre, apart from another unusual *kakawin* work Nag, because it has its chronological setting in the *kali* age despite its

physical setting in India. Its chronological setting is strongly connected to the fact that the Sut has a Buddhist characteristic, unlike other *kakawin* works which are based on Hinduism. The original source of the main story of the Sut is a short story called Mahāsutasoma Jātaka contained in the Pali Jātaka, a collection of Buddhist tales in Pali language.[22] The Jātaka is one of the early Buddhist traditions mainly observed by the Theravada Buddhists and it contains several hundreds of tales in which Gautama Buddha tells his own experiences as a *bodhisattwa* (the truth-seeker) from his former lives.[23] According to the Javanese, that is Hindu, historiography, Gautama Buddha appeared in the *kali* age after the era of the story of the Mahābhārata. The Jātaka was thus told in the *kali* age and the time of each tale told by Gautama Buddha was set in the past preceding his time, though still in the *kali* age.

In the story of the Sut *kakawin*, though the chronological setting is set in the *kali* age, the time of Gautama Buddha is one of the distant past, and Buddhism has become institutionalized as one of the religions of the time. It must be noted that the *kali* age is in reality, to the eyes of the people of the Majapahit court, modern times in which they also lived and is characterized by moral decay and social disorder due to the decline of the *dharma* (Aoyama 1994: 42-48). But according to Indian belief, in the *kali* age there was no salvation either by the incarnation of the god, at least until the coming of Kalkin, the last incarnation of the god Wiṣṇu toward the end of the world, or by the incarnation of the *bodhisattwa*. To find salvation, the Old Javanese Sutasoma utilized the principle of the Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism, which presumes the simultaneous and eternal presence of the heavenly Buddha in a multitude of universes. The most prominent heavenly Buddha is Wairoanca. It is now possible for Buddha to be reincarnated, just as Wiṣṇu is, to bring salvation to people on earth who suffer in the *kali* age. Thus, although he was modeled after a hero of the same name in the Jātaka and is still called a *bodhisattwa* in the story, his ontological meaning is drastically different from the hero in the Jātaka.

Despite its remote origin from the Jātaka, the Old Javanese Sutasoma can be said to be a Javanese invention for the introduction of new characters, a far more complex plot and the rhetorical embellishment in accordance with the *kakawin* tradition. Moreover, as we have seen, its Buddhist characteristic also has gone through a drastic change. We shall review the outline of the story of the Sut with regard to the relation between the king and the priest.[24]

1. (1.4-8.10) In the *kali* age, when ogres threaten the peace of the world, Jinapati (another name for Buddha) incarnates himself, instead of Hindu gods, on the earth as Prince Sutasoma of the kingdom of Hastina. The father expects that the son will marry, beget a son and ascend the throne to fulfill the kingly duty of maintaining social order. Sutasoma, however, secretly leaves the palace to become a monk.
2. (9.1-42.3) Sutasoma, after receiving instructions from a *ṛṣi* and a Buddhist

monk, heads for the summit of Mount Sumeru, where he plans to practice meditation. On the way, he pacifies an elephant-headed monster, a dragon, and a tigress and converts them to Buddhist disciples. When they arrive at the summit, he preaches the teaching of Śiwaite *yoga* and Buddhist *adwaya-yoga* to them and starts meditation alone.[25)]

3. (43.1-54.1) Meanwhile, the king of Ratanakaṇḍa, pious to and blessed by the god Śiwa, becomes, after an unfortunate incident, a malicious Puruṣāda (the man-eater). He leads an army of demons and threatens even the peace of heaven. Hoping to bring Sutasoma back to the world and let him pacify Puruṣāda, the god Indra plots to send a group of heavenly nymphs to seduce the meditating Sutasoma. Unmoved by the seduction, suddenly Sutasoma transforms himself into Wairocana.[26)] The gods and *ṛṣis* hurriedly assemble and pay homage to Wairocana and plead with him to return to the world to save it from Puruṣāda's threat. Having recognized himself as the incarnation of Wairocana, Sutasoma accepts their plea and resumes his original form as the prince.
4. (55.1-93.3) Upon coming down from the mountain, Sutasoma encounters his cousin Daśabāhu, the king of Kāśī, who invites him to the kingdom of Kāśī. During their journey, Daśabāhu explains to Sutasoma how he has defeated the vicious king of Kośa. At the palace of the kingdom of Kāśī, Sutasoma marries Daśabāhu's younger sister, Candrawatī. On the wedding night, they realize that they has been in fact Wairocana and his consort Locanā in their former existence.[27)] Sutasoma returns to the kingdom of Hastina with his wife and Daśabāhu. Sutasoma succeeds to the throne and Daśabāhu decides to stay in the kingdom as the head of the army.
5. (94.1-114.12) Meanwhile, the man-eater Puruṣāda has become seriously ill and vowed to sacrifice 100 kings to the god Kāla if he is cured. When he recovers from the illness, he with an army of demons starts taking 100 kings captive. The god Kāla, however, is unsatisfied with the kings and asks for Sutasoma as the only and unequaled sacrifice. Puruṣāda and his army march to the kingdom of Hastina.
6. (115.1-137.2) Although Sutasoma is willing to give himself up to avert bloodshed, Daśabāhu and others decide to fight against Puruṣāda. After a fierce fight, Puruṣāda, who transforms himself into the god Rudra, kills Daśabāhu and annihilates the army of Hastina.
7. (138.1-140.10) Sutasoma comes to the battle field to encounter the god Rudra. The god transforms himself into the *kālāgni* (the Fire of the Doomsday) to consume Sutasoma, but his attempt has no effect on the quietly meditating prince. Seeing that the fire is about to destroy the whole universe, the gods descend and plead with Rudra to spare the universe by chanting the phrase "The teachings of Buddha and Śiwa are different; yet they are one" (*bhinneka tunggal ika*) (139.5). By making a hand gesture of *bodhyagri* (wisdom) in profound meditation, Sutasoma exorcises the god Rudra out of Puruṣāda.

Puruṣāda is left powerless and repents of his wrongdoing.

8. (140.11-147.16) Sutasoma asks Puruṣāda to bring him to the god Kāla. He makes Kāla release all the captured kings and offers himself to the god Kāla. The god, who transforms himself into a giant snake to devour Sutasoma, is instead pacified by his power. Sutasoma preaches to Puruṣāda and the god Kāla who have become Buddhists. The fallen warriors are revived by the god Indra and a joyous celebration is held. Sutasoma and his wife return to heaven after practicing long asceticism and their son succeeds to the throne.

The phrase uttered by the gods in episode 7 is now known as the national motto of the Republic of Indonesia. But as the context makes it clear, originally the phrase means that the essence or the principle of the teachings of the Buddha and Śiwa is fundamentally identical. Besides the phrase, Sutasoma's preaching in episode 5 also explains that the ultimate objectives of Buddhism and Śiwaism are the same and the AWj also expresses the similar idea in episode 6. From these facts, it may be induced that the fundamental philosophy of the poet Tantular is the equation of Buddhism and Śiwaism.[28] However, it must be immediately pointed out that in the Sut the practice of Buddhism and the practice of Śiwaism are clearly differentiated. In episode 2, the systems of ascetic practice of Buddhism and Śiwaism are two separate systems. Although Sutasoma explains that the ultimate goal of the two religions is the same and the ascetic believer should be familiar with the two systems, he also cautions that the Śiwaite ascetic believer can be slow in reaching the ultimate truth because he is more prone to be swayed by the supernatural power he obtains in the process of asceticism. Thus, Tantular's philosophical position should be one which, although recognizes a degree of parallelism between Buddhism and Śiwaism, draws a clear distinction between the two systems and acknowledges the superiority of Buddhism over Śiwaism.

Tantular's idea of the superiority of Buddhism over Śiwaism is also apparent in the development of the story itself. In episode 3 a pious and good king who devotes himself to the god Śiwa degenerates into the man-eater Puruṣāda. His transformation in episodes 6-7 into the god Rudra and his near annihilation of the universe in an ungovernable rage indicates he is possessed by the god Rudra and loses his control over his mind and body. These are fine examples of the moral danger in Śiwaism which Sutasoma points out in his preaching. The story reaches its climax in episode 8 when the spiritual power of the quietly meditating Sutasoma makes the raging Rudra regain command of himself and leave the body of Puruṣāda for Śiwa's heaven, and the powerless Puruṣāda becomes a Buddhist repenting of his wrongdoing. The episode is no less than a dramatic expression of the victory of Buddhism over Śiwaism, if not the denunciation of the latter by the former.

The Buddhist orientation of the Sut can also be seen in an interesting parallelism between the life story of Sutasoma from his birth to the meditation on the summit and that of Gautama Buddha.[29] Both of them as beings beyond the

constraints of time and space choose the time and place of their birth and are reborn on the earth for the salvation of human beings as their ultimate objectives. Both are born as the son of a king and expected to succeed to the throne, marry and beget a son, and reign in the kingdom. Despite all of these expectations, both feel aversion toward the luxuries and worldly life of the court and leave the palace against their father's wish to become a monk. Before their enlightenment toward the end of their ascetic life, both are challenged by carnal seduction in the form of beautiful women. Although the seduction of Gautama Buddha is plotted by the evil one, whereas the seduction of Sutasoma is initiated by the gods who want to bring him back to this world, both episodes have the same function in the story of proving the hero's unquestionable enlightenment. Finally, when they have attained enlightenment both are requested by the gods to remain on the earth instead of leaving the world for the eternal bliss or for Buddha's world. The parallelism between the deeds of Sutasoma and those of Buddha indicates that the story of the Sut is based on the Mahayana principle that the essential nature of a *bodhisattwa* consists of two aspects, that is, the attainment of enlightenment through the perfection of wisdom ("self-profit") and compassion which enables the salvation of others with wisdom ("profit for others").

The conduct of Sutasoma and Buddha, however, shows a significant difference after their enlightenment. Gautama Buddha remains as a monk and devotes the rest of his life to missions, whereas Sutasoma returns to this world and takes a wife, begets a son and becomes a king. In other words, Gautama Buddha abandons his duties as a *kṣatriya* and becomes a monk, whereas Sutasoma comes back to his *kṣatriya*'s life and fulfills his duties as a *kṣatriya*. This difference appears to have originated from the difference between the concept of kingship in early Buddhism and the concept of kingship in Tantric Buddhism which prevails in the Sut. In his discussion on the relationship between the early Buddhism and kingship, Tambiah (1976: 41-42) points out there are two kinds of "dialectical tensions" in the relationship. First, since the king's legitimacy is confirmed by the priestly class, in principle the priestly class has superiority over the king. On the other hand, in reality, the priestly class can exist only if there is financial support and maintenance of social order by the king. This is essentially the same problem we see in the AWj. Second, the exertion of kingly authority inevitably involves violence and bloodshed as the king wages a war and executes criminals. Thus, it is a contradictory venture to utilize Buddhism, whose principles are those of nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*), as the legitimizing foundation of kingship. In fact, Buddhist tradition maintains that when Gautama Buddha was born, he had two ways of living to choose from; one to remain in the court to become the World Conquering King (Cakrawartin), and unite the world and reign over it with justice, and the other to leave the temporal world to become the Enlightened One (Buddha) and bring peace to the world by preaching to the people. Thus, in original Buddhism, kingship and Buddhism were not compatible to such a degree that even Gautama Buddha himself had to choose between the two.[30] This contradiction can be

applied, in more general terms, to the one between the priestly class who emphasizes the power of religious spirit and the warrior class who depends on physical force.

The AWj finds a perfect solution to this contradiction by introducing the Mahayana Buddhist notion of non-duality (*adwaya*), which maintains that all the contradictions in the world are in appearance only and in reality they are one (Dasgupta 1981: 113-21). What Sutasoma does after his recognition of the identity as Wairocana is nothing but a process of symbolically realizing this notion in this world. Sutasoma reaches the ultimate goal of a monk by being the Enlightened One, and at the same time he can carry out his duties as a *kṣatriya*. Sutasoma's synthetic characteristic is most evidently dramatized in his wedding, which by itself is a most earthly event but symbolizes the unification of the two principles in the form of the unity of Wairocana and his consort. Thus, it is clear that while the AWj stresses the tension between the priestly class and the king, the Sut underlines the possibility of the reconciliation between the two. In contrast with such other types of kingship in Southeast Asia as "god-king" (*devarāja*) and "Dharma-king" (*dhammarāja*), we may refer to this conceptual kingship as "Buddha-king".[31)]

The story of the AWj further indicates an interesting point. The story centers on the confrontation between Arjuna who assumes the role of the World Conqueror and Daśamukha the Anti-World Conqueror and ends with the former's victory over the latter only after both use destructive force. But the final episode of the release of Daśamukha suggests that the solution brought by the force of arms is not permanent. The limitations of the *kṣatriya* solution is more clearly demonstrated in the Sut. In the story, Arjuna's role is taken on by the ideal *kṣatirya* king Daśabāhu, who campaigns for eliminating demons. Nevertheless, in the end Daśabāhu loses his war. What is suggested here is a very realistic view that a battle between the forces is won by one who is stronger, and that whether one is good or evil has no consequence on determining the winner. This view must have been a

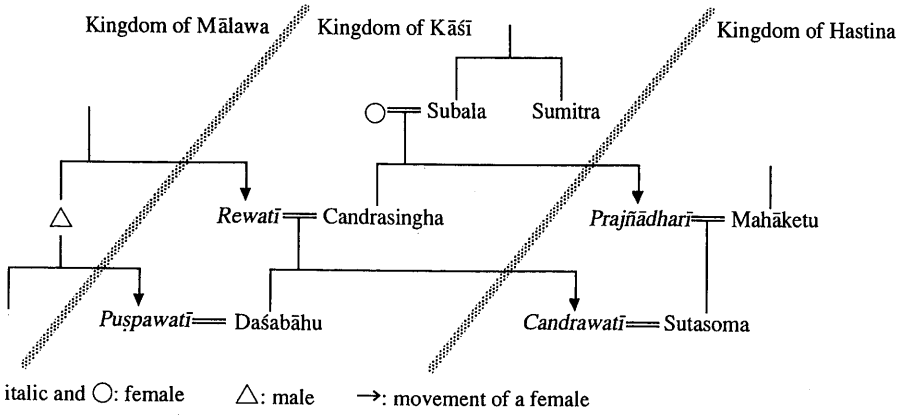

Fig. 1 Marriage Relations in the Sutasoma Story

compelling one for the people in the *kali* age, and by extension for the contemporary Javanese, when the force of evil has come to its zenith. Then only Sutasoma who is the embodiment of Buddha and Cakrawartin can bring peace to the world.

Sutasoma's Buddha-nature is most manifested in his firm insistence on the pacifist solution to confrontations. He sees no reason to fight against his enemies, but pacifies them with the force of compassion. However, a problem involved in this point is that although his nonviolent solution is the most desirable one in view of Buddhism, it is not a practical measure for an actual king to take to resolve earthly problems. Apparently to overcome this difficulty, the Sut provides another more practical solution for confrontations. That is the establishment of the alliance between kings based on a certain pattern of marriage. Figure 1 shows the marriage relationship of Sutasoma and Daśabāhu and other related persons (Sut.19.1-5). It can be observed that both in the royal families of Hastina and Kāśī, a throne is passed from a father to his son, the kings of Hastina marry wives for two generations from the royal house of Kāśī, and these wives are all the younger sisters of the kings of Kāśī. A similar marriage pattern is repeated between the royal families of Kāśī and Mālawa, which results in the movement of women from the kingdom of Mālawa to Kāśī, and then from the kingdom of Kāśī to Hastina. From the view point of men, this means a man marries his mother's brother's daughter.[32] The repetition of this pattern is no coincidence, for an episode in the Sut relates that the vicious king of Kośa desires to marry Puṣpawatī and Candrawatī but his request is rejected because he is not a "relative", and he is defeated in a battle by Daśabāhu (57.15-18). Furthermore, when he persuades his sister to marry Sutasoma, Daśabāhu explains that Sutasoma is the ideal husband for her because Sutasoma is their father's cousin (71.3).

An important point is that this marriage pattern is the foundation of the alliance between the two royal families. Daśabāhu has been entrusted by Sutasoma's father with the campaign against demons (20.9), and when he meets Sutasoma, Daśabāhu vows to serve under him (64.4). All of this means, from Daśabāhu's point of view, he pledges to be loyal to the royal family into which his sister has married. On the other hand, a marriage which does not follow the pattern is vigilantly avoided and those who dare to break it, like the king of Kośa, are violently eliminated. Since an alliance is formed against a common enemy, no alliance is void of presumed confrontation with the enemy. Thus, the alliance strategy is not always compatible with Sutasoma's pacifist idea. In fact, what Daśabāhu does in the story is practically a series of tireless military campaigns. Nevertheless, if the king, who is an incarnation of Buddha and possesses supernatural power, forms an alliance with kings of a lower position by marriage, this alliance is a strategy beneficial for both sides, for the alliance on one hand enables the king to subjugate enemies without committing himself to violence and on the other hand secures the kings of a lower position the legitimacy they need. Then a question arises whether it is possible that the emphasis on an alliance based

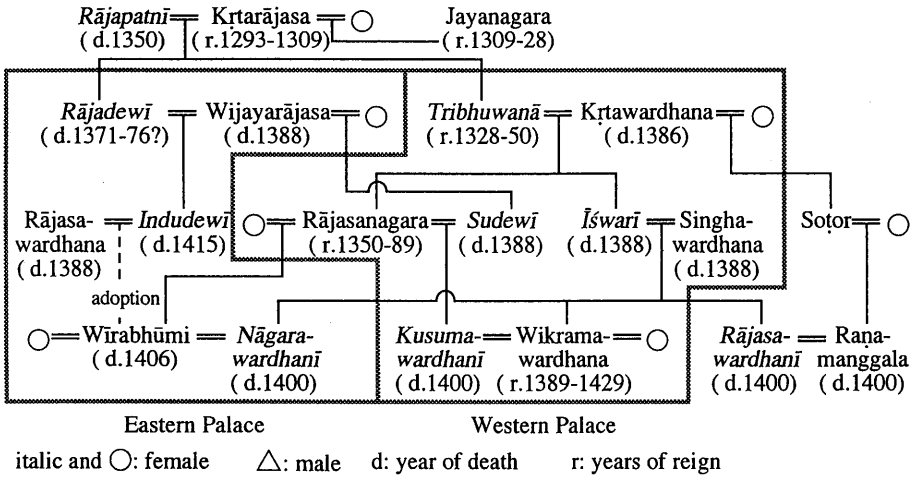

Fig. 2 Marriage Relations in the Majapahit Dynasty in the Late 14th Century

on a certain marriage pattern in the Sut had an important significance for the contemporary Majapahit court.

Figure 2 shows an outline of the marriage relation among the members of the royal family of Majapahit.[33] We can tell from the figure that only Wikramawardhana was married to his matrilineal cross cousin, Kusumawardhanī. What draws our attention is the relation between Rājasanagara's consort's son Wīrabhūmi and Kusumawardhanī. The prologue of the AWj (1.4) tells us that Raṇamanggala, Tantular's patron, is a son of a brother (*bhrātrātmaja*) of King Rājasanagara. From this it can be surmised that Kṛtawardhana's wife's son Rājasanagara and his consort's son Soṭor were regarded as brothers. If brothers from different mothers were regarded as "brothers" in the Majapahit court, Wīrabhūmi and Kusumawardhanī also must have been regarded as brothers. In other words, from Wīrabhūmi's point of view, Wikramawardhana was the one whom his own sister married. This is the same pattern as we have seen in the relation between Daśabāhu and Sutasoma.

If there is indeed the same pattern, how is the fact that in the Sut the hero Sutasoma is regarded as the incarnation of Wairocana and assumes the role of "Buddha-king" connected to King Wikramawardhana?[34] In this regard, there are interesting, though not concrete, points. First, King Wikramawardhana used the holy name Hyang Wiśeṣa since at the latest in 1385 and when he died in 1429, he was buried in the site called Paramawiśeṣapura (Par 31: 26-27).[35] These facts indicate that Wikramawardhana was deified as "Wiśeṣa" since even before his ascension to the throne.[36] Wikramawardhana's case is not exceptional, for the Nag (49.5) shows that many members of the Majapahit royal family were deified in life. However, his case is interesting because in the Sut (80.3) Sutasoma and Candrawatī are said to be the "incarnation of Hyang Wiśeṣa" and this may be a signal

embedded in the text to refer to King Wikramawardhana and his wife. Second, according to the Par (30.34), in 1400 King Wikramawardhana assumed the title *bhagawān* (the Reverend). This may indicate the king's exceptionally strong inclination toward religion, for the title *bhagawān* was usually used by a king after he had retired from the kingship (Zoetmulder 1982: 185-6). Third, his burial site Wiśeṣapura is, since the word *parama* simply means "supreme", the same burial site of his great grandmother and devoted Buddhist Rājapatnī (Nag 2.1; 69.2), which confirms that king himself was Buddhist. From these facts, though they do not verify that King Wikramawardhana was considered to be the incarnation of Wairocana, it is possible that Tantular created the character Sutasoma with the king's religious inclination in mind.

It must be pointed out there are some points where the situation of the royal family of Majapahit deviates from the story. First, Wīrabhūmi and Kusumawardhanī were not elder and younger brothers as in the Sut, because the former must have been younger than the latter.[37] More importantly, in the Sut, Daśabāhu and Sutasoma belong to different royal families with their own succession of the throne. Thus their alliance based on a matrilineal cross cousin marriage is one formed between two royal families, whereas Wīrabhūmi and Wikramawardhana, though residing in difference palaces, belong to the same royal family and had to fight against each other for the throne.[38]

However, this unsettling situation may have been the fundamental reason why Tantular wrote the Sut. When King Rājasanagara died in 1389, he was succeeded as king by Wikramawardhana in the western palace, with whom Wīrabhūmi in the eastern palace defiantly began to compete for the throne. However, it is possible to assume that the confrontation between the two had been anticipated in the court circle even before the death of the king. The Sut, which clearly advocates a nonviolent solution to a confrontation and solidification between those who are allied through marriage, must have been able against the social context of the court to convey its message to the audience. The Sut may have been a proposition from the priestly class to solve the potential confrontation between the two parties in the court.

Conclusion

Tantular's two works give us a vantage point for analyzing an author's intention and message embedded in his or her story, for it is possible to obtain comparatively more information about the social context of the works in Majapahit in late fourteenth century, and the two works whose time of composition are relatively accurately determinable enable us to compare the development of the author's idea. The AWj is criticism from the priestly class attempting to protect their interest, directed at the king's expansionism advocated by Gajah Mada, and a demand for the reassurance of the superiority of the priestly class over the king. The Sut, on the other hand, is a proposal for a nonviolent solution based on

Buddhism and a marriage alliance for the possible confrontation between the two palaces.

However, the thematic change from the AWj to the Sut does not only reflect the social conditions but also can be seen as the author's development in his thinking of the relation between the priestly class and the king. This relation changed from the AWj in which the relation between the religious authority and the political power is not reconcilable to the Sut in which the contradiction is transcended by the introduction of the notion of the Buddha-king. The Sut's nonviolent solution could not prevent the civil war in the early fifteenth century in the court of Majapahit. Whether the notion of the Buddha-king actually influenced the kings' political decisions remains to be studied. But the fact remains that the poet Tantular struggled with the social situation of the late fourteenth century Majapahit and in the process of creating literary texts came up with a thought which is remarkable in the history of religious thought not only in Java but also in Southeast Asia.

Notes

1) The edition and English translation of the AWj and the Sut were made by Supomo (1977) and Soewito-Santoso (1975) respectively. The quotations of the texts in this paper are taken from these editions, except for parts modified by the present author based on Zoetmulder (1982). It must be noted that though the text has been known as the Nag, its original title is the Deśawarṇana. A new English translation made by Robson (1995) is now available.
2) An edition and English translation of the Nag was made by Pigeaud (1960-63). The quotations of the text in this paper are taken from this edition.
3) The edition and Dutch translation of the Par was first made by Brandes (1896). This edition was later revised by Krom (Brandes 1920). The quotations of the text in this paper are taken from the revised edition, which retains the page and line numbers of the original edition.
4) For further information on Gajah Mada, see Krom (1931: 377-425), and Poesponegoro and Notosusanto. (1992: 430-89).
5) For further information on the place names mentioned in Gajah Mada's oath, see Krom (1931: 390).
6) Hall (1996) discusses the significance of King Rājasanagara's royal journeys in conjunction with royal rituals during this period.
7) For further information on King Kṛtanagara's expansionist policy and its relation with Majapahit's foreign policy, see Krom (1931: 332-38). Nag (41.5-42.2) relates the expeditions to Malayu (1275) and Bali (1284) during the king's reign and names regions under the king's protection, which consist of, besides Java itself, Pahan, Malayu, Gurun, Bakulapura, Suṇḍa and Madura.
8) See Aoyama (1992b) for the identification of the "eastern" and "western" kings of Majapahit in the Chinese record.
9) Wikramawardhana and Wīrabhūmi's envoys were recorded in the entries for the year 1403 and 1404 respectively in the Historical Record of the Ming (*Ming-shih-lu*).
10) The textual relation between the AWj and the RY is a complex one. In the most popular Vālmīki's Sanskrit RY text, the story of the AWj is a story-inside-a-story, narrated by the sage Agastya to Prince Rāma in the seventh volume titled Uttarakāṇḍa. This may be due to the fact that the story of the AWj was inserted into the RY in a later stage. The central part of the RY was introduced to Java in the mid-ninth century, when a *kakawin* work was composed based on a version of the RY (Robson 1980: 8; Zoetmulder 1974: 230-33). The Sanskrit Uttarakāṇḍa was first

translated into Old Javanese as a prose work in the late tenth century (Zoetmulder 1974: 95-96) and probably used as a source for the AWj (Supomo 1977: 16-26). These evidences suggest that by the late fourteenth century when the AWj was composed, the contemporary reader must have become familiar with the story of the AWj and its relation to the RY.

11) In this outline, the prologue and epilogue are omitted. The outline is divided into episodes for a matter of convenience. The numbers in parentheses indicate cantos and stanzas of each episode. The curses and prophecies are indicated by the letters A to F.

12) Arjuna Sahasrabāhu should not be confused with the better known Arjuna in the Mahābhārata. In the following, however, Arjuna Sahasrabāhu is referred to as Arjuna for the sake of succinctness.

13) The most comprehensive study so far on the priestly class in the kingdom of Majapahit is one done by Pigeaud (1960-63: vol.4, 479-93).

14) Among these terms, *boddha*, *sogata* and *śaiwa*, in this particular context, may refer to a specific group of priests with their own respective orientation. Another type of religious practitioner *ṛṣi*, who appears from the earliest stage of Sanskrit literature, is often depicted as a recluse or a wanderer in the wilderness. Supomo suggests a *ṛṣi* was a follower of an indeginous Javanese mountain cult (Supomo 1977: 82).

15) The Nag (81.2), on the other hand, counts four types of *dwija* (*caturdwija*), which consisted of groups of Buddhist, Śiwaite, *ṛṣi* and *wipra*. In this case, the *wipra* appears to be a member of religious group whose religious orientation was similar to that of a *ṛṣi* except for the fact they preferred to live in a permanent religious domain (Supomo 1977: 304-305).

16) Rubinstein (1988), who did research on the function of the poet in present Balinese society, which still maintains a strong cultural connection with the Hindu Javanese period, has found that the Balinese regard poetical production as a religious activity and a poet as a priest. Although this observation primarily concerns itself with present Balinese society, it is still suggestive of the condition of the Hindu Javanese period.

17) This priest is called *wiku* ("anchorite" 29.2), *purohitāgra* ("chief court-brahman" 31.2), *sthāpaka* ("principal guardian of a temple" 31.16) as well as *wipreśwara* (26.3), *wipra* (26.4, 31.2), *dwijendra* (31.1), and *mahābrāhmaṇa* (31.5).

18) Based on this account, a theory has been proposed that Tantular took one of the existing religious domains as a model for the temple scene of the AWj (Supomo 1977: 64; Worsley 1991: 185).

19) Pulastya is variously called *wipra* (70.1, 72.4), *mahāwipra* (68.5), *brāhmaṇa* (72.2), *mahābrāhmaṇa* (72.4), *dwijeśwara* (67.8, 71.2), *dwijendra* (69.2, 70.1, 71.7, 72.4) and *dwijawara* (70.1). As opposed to the priest in episode 5 who resides in a Buddhist temple, Pulastya is a wandering *ṛṣi* for he is also called *wipraṛṣi* (67.8) and *paramaṛṣi* (72.1). He is also one of the mind-born sons of the god Brahmā (Dowson 1982: 244).

20) Wiśrawa is called *brahmaṛṣi* (1.5), *maharṣi* (1.13) and *paṇḍita* (1.9, 1.11).

21) The episode of Paraśurāma's killing of Arjuna Sahasrabāhu is mentioned in the Old Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, which was estimated to be written in the tenth century (Gonda 1932: 23, 141). Later, probably in the twelfth century, the same episode became the main theme of the Old Javanese *kakawin* Arjuna Sahasrabāhu (Pigeaud 1967-70: vol. 1, 184). Zoetmulder (1974: 404) argues that the episode may have been popular among the Javanese priestly class.

22) The Pali Mahāsutasoma Jātaka (Pali Jātaka no. 537) relates a relatively short story about a king who becomes a man-eater and captures one hundred kings to sacrifice for a tree god but is reformed by Prince Sutasoma. There exist no less than ten variants of the story in Indian texts and Chinese translations. It is the Pali text, however, that had a seminal influence on the creation of the Old Javanese Sutasoma. For further discussion on the variants and the process of Javanese adaptation of the story, see Aoyama (1986).

23) In the following discussion, the being who is enlightened in the Buddhist context is referred to as Buddha ("the enlightened one"), whereas the historical person who founded Buddhism is referred to as Gautama Buddha after his clan name.

24) In this outline, the prologue and epilogue are omitted. The outline is divided into episodes for purposes of explanation. The numbers in parenthesis indicate cantos and verses. For a structural

analysis of the story of the Old Javanese Sutasoma, see Aoyama (1992a).

25) For further discussion on the religious doctrines in the Sut, see Ensink (1974).

26) The concept of Wairocana (Vairocana in Sanskrit) underwent changes in the history of Buddhism. In the Tantric stage it was often referred to as Mahāvairocana. In the Sut, although the hero is consistently identified as Wairocana, the sexual relationship with his female partner as a symbolic consort indicates that he has a Tantric characteristic.

27) In India, Locanā is the consort of Akṣobhya while the consort of Vairocana is Vajradhātvīśvarī (Dasgupta 1981: 94-94). It appears that Locanā was considered to be the consort of Wairocana in Javanese Buddhism, for the same pair is mentioned in the Nag 43.6 (Pott 1966: 127-30).

28) Scholars, who have discussed the relation between Buddhism and Śiwaism in the Hindu Javanese period, often found it one of syncretism, typically referred to as the cult of Śiwa-Buddha (Coedès 1968: 199). As far as the Sut is concerned, however, it is impossible to refer to the religious situation depicted in the Sut as syncretism. Ishii (1994) convincingly maintains that the Javanese, while admitting the co-existence of the two religions, presupposed the higher truth that encompassed both religious systems.

29) The life story of Gautama Buddha, a popular subject in Theravada Buddhist literature, is not found in the existing Old Javanese texts. The Javanese, however, must have become thoroughly familiar with the story by the mid-eighth century, for the relief of Borobudur depicts episodes taken from the Lalitavistara, a well-known Sanksrit version of the life story of Gautama Buddha (Krom 1974).

30) Kings in Mainland Southeast Asia who were affiliated with Theravada Buddhism, which generally retains the teaching of early Buddhism, attempted to solve this problem by posing a king as a *bodhisattwa*, who was yet to become Buddha. A Pagan king in the late eleventh century, for instance, declared himself as the "mighty Cakravartin, the *bodhisattva* who will become Buddha to save people" (Ishii 1991: 174).

31) The intention of the present author is not to argue the historical existence of the notion of Buddha-king in a certain time and place but to point out the possibility of classifying a type of kingship depicted in Tantular's work. Further comparative research is required on this matter.

32) This marriage pattern, known as a matrilineal cross-cousin marriage in anthropology, is not a common one in Java but plays a significant role in the Mahābhārata. For instance, Arjuna, the third in the five Pāṇḍawa brothers, marries Subadrā, his matrilineal cross-cousin. As a consequence, her elder brother Kṛṣṇa becomes Arjuna's powerful ally and brings victory to Pāṇḍawa's side. An important point is to find out Tantular's intention in emphasizing this particular marriage pattern.

33) Figure 2 was prepared by the present author (1992: 76), after Noorduyn (1978: 250-51).

34) According to the Nag (7.4), Wikramawardhana was unmarried and probably still in his childhood when the text was composed in 1365. Thus, he must have been about thirty years old when he came to the throne in 1389, and must have become experienced enough to have his own religious orientation when the Sut was written.

35) The oldest use of the holy name Hyang Wiśeṣa was found in the Patapan inscription dated 1385 (Pigeaud 1960-63: vol.3, 172; vol.4, 447). For further discussion on the usage of a holy name, see Noorduyn (1978: 229-30). Wikramawardhana was generally considered to die in 1429, though he may have died in 1427 (Krom 1931: 445).

36) The Old Javanese word *hyang* means "divinity", and was used as a title for a divinity, or a divine or holy person. The word *wiśeṣa* originally meant "distinguished from others", thus "excellent". The term "Sang Hyang Wiśeṣa", therefore, meant "the Supreme Being" (Zoetmulder 1982: 2298-99).

37) The name of Kusumawardhanī is found in the Nag (7.4), but not the name of Wīrabhūmi. This suggests the latter is the youngest of the two.

38) Wīrabhūmi was the only son of King Rājasanagara, but was adopted by Indudewī of the eastern palace when he was a child, thus supposedly loosing his official entitlement to the throne. This adoption took place after Indudewī's mother died some time between 1371 and 1376, and her title Bhre Daha was succeeded by Indudewī (Noorduyn 1975: 482-86). In the pre-Islamic Java, the

principle of the male succession of kingship was not established and a king's daughter was recognized as a potential carrier of kingship (Aoyama 1992: 75). Thus Wikramawardhana, who was King Rājasanagara's younger sister's child and was married to the king's daughter, must have considered himself to be entitled to the throne.

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KITLV Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
VKI Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

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