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Illustration 1. Figure – perhaps a poet – journeying in a landscape of forested mountains. Caṇḍi Jawi, East Java. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2006).



Illustration 2. Scene from the *Pārthayajña*; Arjuna and two *panakawan* journey through a landscape of forested mountains on their way to Mount Indrakila. Northern wall second terrace Candi Jago East Java. (Source: J.L.A. Brandes 1904, Photograph 137).

Journeys and metaphors

Some preliminary observations about the natural world of seashore and forested mountains in epic *kakawin*

PETER WORSLEY

Abstract

In earlier publications I have argued that ancient Javanese poets imagined the world to be one marked by distinctions between a social world consisting of palace (kadatwan) and countryside (thāni-dusun) and a wilderness of seashores and forested mountains (*pasir-wukir*). The social world was characterized by the presence of an effective royal authority; the wilderness by its absence. A distinction was also drawn between this world inhabited by human beings and a world in which gods, ancestral spirits, and other divine beings dwelt (kedewatan). Journeys through these landscapes are an enduring interest in the narrative literature in the literary tradition of ancient Java and Bali. Margaret V. Fletcher (1990, 2002, 2021), Tony Day (1994), Helen Creese (1998), Raechelle Rubinstein (2000), and Peter Worsley (2012b, et al. 2013) have argued that the accounts of journeys in epic kakawin and other related works are not just tales of travel between one physical place and another. Rather, they are accounts of other kinds of journeys: the "journeys" which poets seeking inspiration make or which ascetics seeking apotheosis with their *istadewata* undertake or those on which young men and women transitioning from childhood to adulthood embark. In this essay, I make some preliminary observations about passages describing journeys in the natural world in a diverse selection of works authored between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries in Java and Bali and discuss aspects of the metaphorical referencing of these descriptions.

Keywords

Epic *kakawin*; world of nature; journeys; metaphors; Bali; Java.

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INTRODUCTION¹

As long ago as 1974, in his foundational study of ancient Javanese epic *kakawin* poetry, P.J. Zoetmulder pointed out that the stories the authors of these works recounted in their epic poems were Indian. The names of their protagonists, even those of minor characters, he points out were Indian, as were the names of the landscapes and places they frequented. However, he went on to explain to his readers that, in fact, the men and women who inhabited the time and space of the narrative world of Javanese epic poems were "essentially Javanese, acting like Javanese, thinking like Javanese and living in a Javanese environment" (1974: 187-189). The times of day and seasons and the "human events which attend them belong to Java, not to India" he argued (1974: 192). Like the times of day and the seasons, the plant and animal worlds of these poems were also Javanese: trees and flowers were, he says, "those the poet saw around him" and the animals, the birds and insects, with the exception of the lion (*singha*), were native to Java (1974: 187-212).

Zoetmulder's account of the natural world of Java, which he refers to as the narrative setting of the events recounted in epic kakawin, is framed in terms of familiar European taxonomical categories. He speaks of "time" and "seasons", "flora" and "fauna" and catalogues the times of day, the months, and the seasonal variations to which they correspond, as well as the botanical and faunal species in terms of these categories. The authors of ancient Javanese epic kakawin, however, framed their accounts of the natural world differently. They organized their accounts of the natural world as narratives (katha) and journeys (laku, lumaku, lampah, lumampah, mārga/ margi, acangkrama) and drew distinctions between a social world of palace (kadatwan) and countryside (thāni-dusun), a wilderness of seashore and forested mountains (pasir-wukir) and a world in which gods, ancestral spirits and other divine beings dwelt (kedewatan). Each category was considered to possess its own special characteristics - the beings who were indigenous to each one, the architectural structures and topographical features native to each, the activities and emotions which prevailed and this list could be extended to include the sounds, colours, and fragrances which were characteristic of each space. Importantly, the social world was characterized by the presence of an effective royal authority; the wilderness antithetically by its absence. Nevertheless, although each of these spaces had its own distinct character, they were interconnected and were causally integrated. The poets of epic kakawin imagined a world of human experience in which there was no essential difference in efficacy between the human and divine, the living and the dead, nor between waking experiences and dreams.² Accounts of journeys

¹ I am grateful to Helen Creese, Mark Hobart, Stuart Robson, Hadi Sidomulyo, and Adrian Vickers whose valuable comments on my essay gave me much to consider and are much appreciated. Many thanks also to Lydia Kieven who generously provided me with photos of the bas-reliefs at Caṇḍi Jawi.

² For earlier discussion of these categories see Worsley (2012a, 2012b, et al. 2013: 601-652). See also T. Day (1994), S. Supomo (1977: 49-68), T. Aoyama (1992: 76-121), and compare Denys Lombard (1969, 1986, 1990 III). See Worsley (1986 and 1988) for a discussion of these

across these spaces are of an enduring interest in the literary traditions of ancient Java and Bali. The protagonists native to each of these spaces journey across the boundaries between them and interact with each other. We hear of kings and princes and their entourages who venture forth from their palaces to travel across landscapes of countryside and wilderness (kakawin Sumanasāntaka, kakawin Arjunawijaya, kakawin Deśawarnana); of a huntsman who in an unsuccessful search for his kill journeyed across the wilderness of forested mountains and who, fearing for his life as he rested during the night, quite unintentionally observed a vigil on the Night of Siwa and was saved from the punishments of hell (kakawin Śiwarātrikalpa)³; of heavenly nymphs who descend from the divine abode of the King of the Gods, God Indra, to the wilderness hermitages of ascetic priests to test the quality of their meditation and to disrupt it (kakawin Arjunawiwāha, kakawin Sumanasāntaka, kakawin Sutasoma)⁴ and of at least one who was cursed to lose her divine state of being (kakawin Sumanasāntaka); of a Pandawa hero brought to Indra's divine abode to be rewarded for his martial prowess by becoming king of Indra's heaven for a period and to be entertained by the heavenly nymphs before returning to the company of his four brothers (kakawin Arjunawiwāha); of a gandharwa prince, who came from his divine abode to wander for his pleasure by the River Narmadā, who washed in the river polluting the waters downstream in which a priest bathed and was cursed to become an elephant until rescued by a prince of Ayodhyā who shot him with an arrow, releasing him from his existence as an elephant and able to return once more to the company of his divine family (kakawin Sumanasāntaka); and of a meditating yaksa who, on the advice of the Buddha Wairocana, travelled to Yama's hellish abode (Yamapada) to witness the sufferings of sinful souls (kakawin Kuñjarakarna).

TRANSFORMATIONS: EPIC KAKAWIN AND JOURNEYS

It was Stuart Robson in his article "*Kakawin* reconsidered; Toward a theory of Old Javanese poetics" in 1983 who first drew attention to the importance of journeying in *kakawin* epics⁵ and, in particular, to the role of the natural world in accounts of journeys in these epic works. Robson points out that "natural imagery occurs as a wealth of similes and metaphors" which were intended to ascribe emotions to "aspects of nature" and so to create "a mood [...] underlining the feelings that human characters are experiencing". These poetic devices, he says citing A.L. Basham (1954: 416), were inherited from Sanskrit poetry. By way of illustration, Robson cites a passage from the *kakawin Śiwarātrikalpa* in which a mood of despair and disappointment felt by the hunter Lubdhaka at the end of a long and unsuccessful day's hunting

same distinctions in an analysis of bas-reliefs illustrating the story of the *Arjunawiwāha* at the fourteenth-century East Javanese temple, Candi Surawana, and in Balinese paintings with the same narrative theme. See Anthony Forge (1980) for a discussion relevant to the issues discussed here.

³ For *Śiwarātrikalpa*, see Teeuw et al. (1969).

⁴ For Sumanasāntaka see Worsley et al. (2013, 2014); for Sutasoma see also Soewito Santosa (1975).

⁵ See also Robson (2016: 13-16) on the subject of journeys in the epic kakawin Ghatotkacāśraya.

is evoked in Mpu Tanakung's description of the natural world at sunset: the trees wrapped in a blanket of mist seem to shiver in the cold air and falling dew and birds, the cucur and the tadah-asih, weep, the bamboo sighs, the sundari sobs pitifully, and the blossoms cast themselves suicidally into the ravines at the touch of bees because of the disappearance of the sun. He goes on to explain that natural imagery was also deployed to describe characters "in terms of things from the non-human natural world" and cites a passage from the Sumanasāntaka (7.12-16) in which the heavenly nymph Hariņī laments her imminent death because of the curse laid upon her by the ascetic, Trnawindu, for disturbing his meditation. Her body is to be cremated and she assigns its parts to their origins as elements of the natural world - the sweetness of her eyes to the ocean, her tears to the sea of honey, her teeth to float in the srigading on the summit of a mountain of honey, her arms to the gadung vine and calves to the pandanus-bud, her *kain* to be gathered up in the rustling of flowers and her anklets in the tinkle of waters, her step to the gait of the tiger, her sobbing to the call of the *cucur*-bird, the tangle of her hair to be decorated with *manguneng galuh* flowers, her angry frown released to the *mimba* tree, her breasts to the ivory betel-nut, the pallor of her face to the moon wrapped in clouds, her swaying slender waist to a branch of the *aśoka* tree, and her tears to the dew on the tips of grass (Robson 1983: 312-314; Worsley et al. 2013: 79-80).⁶

Following Robson's interest in journeys in epic kakawin, in 1990, Margaret Fletcher, in her study of the of the fifteenth-century Kidung Wargasari, pursued an interest in the theme of journeying. Taking inspiration from Robson's article "Notes on the early kidung literature" published in 1979, Fletcher decided on a study of the Kidung Wargasari which Robson discusses in detail in his article. In her commentary on the Kidung Wargasari (1990), Fletcher draws on a passage from the Mahāyāna Buddhist Jinārthiprakŗti - a work which explains the rules governing a monk's behaviour - arguing that the kidung's account of the journey of the poem's hero, Wargasari, through the supernaturally charged (*pingit/tenget*) wilderness of forested mountain was to be read metaphorically. In the story of Wargasari's journeying, his love affairs, and marriages, Fletcher recognized a patterning which Victor W. Turner had identified in pilgrimages (1974). Her attention was particularly drawn to the journey of Wargasari and Narawati as they eloped to Wargasari's grandfather's residence in Majapahit. This journey, Fletcher argues, was initiatory and marked a change in status, both existentially and socially, in the life of the poem's hero, Wargasari. She points out that, during the journey, as the couple experience the dangers of the

⁶ Compare a similar passage in the *kakawin Sutasoma* (63.5-7). There in Cantos 58.2-65, Mpu Tantular recounts Princess Candrawatī's angry lament in response to the decision of her brother Daśabāhu to offer her in marriage to his cousin, Prince Sutasoma, without consulting her (63.3d: *angapunana rěsěpa ring kadi nghulun*). Interestingly, Princess Candrawatī cites the decision of King Bhoja in the *Sumanasāntaka* to arrange a *swayambara* for his sister, Princess Indumatī, giving her the choice of marriage partner (63.1). In view of this, it is possible that Mpu Tantular was familiar with the *kakawin Sumanasāntaka* and was aware of the passage in which the heavenly nymph, Hariņī, later to be incarnated as Princess Indumatī and married to Prince Aja, assigns her body to nature.

wilderness of the forested mountains, Wargasari is transformed from being a handsome but emotionally unstable adolescent, prey to his senses and lacking commitment (*tan karakětan*), to an adult, a person who has become "a bastion of good behaviour (*sang kuța eng pakraman*), fit to be instructed and ordained in the place of his grandfather as Mahāyāna Buddhist Dharmadhyāksa in Majapahit". As mentioned above, it was Fletcher's reading of the Mahāyāna Buddhist *Jinārthiprakṛti* which convinced her that the *kidung's* account of Wargasari's journey was to be read metaphorically. In the *Jinārthiprakṛti*, the body is likened to the sea and forested mountain and the physical dangers and impediments of both are equated with the imperfections in man which have to be overcome in order to attain *siddha-hood* (*kasiddhan*). As their journey progresses and Wargasari and Narawati experience and overcome the hazards which lie on their way, they are rewarded with glimpses of another kind of landscape, one, like the countryside, cleared and tamed and devoid of the obstacles which stand in the way of their progress.⁷

The turning point on the journey, Fletcher argues, was the moment at which the couple make love for the first time while overnighting in the residence of a *buyut* and the following morning bathe in its pool before Wargasari performs dewāśraya. Fletcher suggests that this sequence of actions, love-making, bathing and ritual, points to the performance of a specific form of tantric yoga. Proof of Wargasari's changed condition and emotional stability comes when Narawati's brother confronts the couple. His bellicose insistence that Wargasari should surrender his sister is met not with aggression but calm refusal: Fletcher explains that to abandon the union he had formed with Narawati would mean he had failed in his purpose and the channel which linked him to the divine. It is worth noting here that, as a young man destined for high Buddhist office, the calm refusal of Wargasari when confronted with the violent demands of Narawati's angry brother - no doubt inspired by his right to recover his "kidnapped" sister - is in stark contrast to that of the princely ksatriya Aja when rival suitors engage him in armed contest for control of Indumatī, his queen-to-be. In Wargasari's case, there can be no question of violence when he insists on the need of his coupling with Narawati. In the case of Prince Aja, as a ksatryia warrior, his bounden duty destined him to engage in the violence of battle to settle his claim to union with his future queen.⁸

In 1994, Day wrote an essay in which he warned of the dangers of relying on the validity of a number of assumptions which western commentators shared when interpreting landscape of which we read in Javanese epic poems and view in Javanese visual art. In western discourse, he argues, "landscape is a central mode in Western artistic expression and a keyword in a Western discourse on human progress" and any "history of expression that does not move from a representation of the real based on the visual truth of scientific realism" is unimaginable. Day questions whether the Javanese poets who composed epic poems or the architects and sculptors who built

⁷ See below for further discussion of the *Jinārthiprakrti*.

⁸ See Donald Weatherbee (1968: 344-456) on the Queen in ancient Javanese political thinking.

and decorated temples with narrative bas-reliefs in Java between the ninth and fifteenth centuries imagined such a thing as "landscape". Did these poets, architects, and sculptors, he asks, seek to represent realistic landscapes or indeed landscapes at all (Day 1994: 175)? He certainly found no evidence that the kind of visualization of this period in Java "involved an investigation of natural forces" (Day 1994: 198) nor was anything which suggested that Western assumptions about the centrality of light were relevant to understanding Javanese architectural pictorial expression (Day 1994: 175-178). Day also questions whether Raffles' and Crawford's picturesque transformations of the Javanese landscape, in which what is beautiful is "wonderfully suitable for exploitation", had any relevance to an understanding of how Javanese imagined the natural world in the ninth to fifteenth centuries (Day 1994: 178-180). He also goes on to discount what he terms Clair Holt's "kind of pastoralization of an Indian 'Gothic Sublime'" which rested on an assumed, necessary and "absolute opposition between cultures, genres and visual schemata" in order to understand the nature of the relationship between Indian and Javanese cultures (Day 1994: 175-181). Later in the essay, instead, he proposes "a two-way act of cultural and political appropriation" was at play in which, on the one hand, "Indic myths and heroes were appropriated by Javanese kings by being placed in localized Javanese cultural settings" and at the same time "Indic epics and heroes themselves helped kings to appropriate Javanese landscapes; carved and literary representations of 'landscape' as the setting for the epical deeds of royal ancestors", he says, "implied how living kings could view and act within the real countryside of Java" (Day 1994: 195).

Day himself makes clear that kings were not the only persons at the courts of ancient Java who had an interest in the poetic landscapes inhabited by ancestral Indic heroes. The poets of these ancient epics themselves, as Zoetmulder had explained, displayed an intense interest in the natural landscape in the epic *kakawin* they authored in the service of the royal and aristocratic patrons who inhabited the courts of ancient Java. These epic poems are replete with poetic similes as Robson notes. However, while these similes, "in which Javanese flowers and trees are compared to human attributes and behaviour reveal a capacity for realistic observation" of the natural world, as Day argues, they "do not add up to and form a 'landscape'" (Day 1994: 184).

Nevertheless, authors of these epic poems did identify a landscape in which they had an intense interest, a landscape of seashore and mountains, *pasir wukir*, whose beauty (*langö*) transported them as they wandered through it seeking mystical and poetic inspiration (Illustration 1). The composition, reading, and listening to epic poems were imagined to transform the beauty experienced on these journeys into ecstatic rapture (Day 1994: 185). For its poets, the epic was a temple of words (*caṇḍi pustaka*) into which the poet invited his tutelary deity (*isṭadewata*) to descend. "The divine beauty of the actual landscape, now dwelling as the god within the poem", Day argues, was "thus made to 'sprout forth' in the natural settings and imagery of the poetic narrative" (Day 1994: 184-185).

Day further explores the characteristics of the landscape of pasir wukir in a commentary on one passage in the kakawin Śiwarātrikalpa which describes the journey of the hunter, Lubdhaka. He argues that the setting of Tanakung's fifteenth-century "poetic landscape" in this passage is "cosmographically determined rather than experienced and described". The scenes the poet describes, he says, are not exactly "naturalistic" and yet the poem does give expression to "a kind of realistically Javanese narrative setting". Day claims that what we have here is "an implicit referentiality" to a landscape, one "which is continually reiterated as the description moves from one detail to the next" (Day 1994: 188-189). Day prefaces his commentary on Mpu Tanakung's tale of Lubdhaka's journey by reminding readers that this journey was an unusual one among others in epic kakakwin poems. Mpu Tanakung's story is not one about the journey of kings or princes and their entourages, the usual heroes of journeys in epic works. Rather it is the account of the failed hunt of a social pariah who, the poem explains, was a denizen of the wilderness landscape. It should be noted here that the poem tells us that the hunter "dwelt among the mountain peaks [...] with wife and children [...] always engaged in hunting, killing tiger, boar, elephant and rhinoceros" (2.1-2: sthityângher i pucaknikang hacala [...] lawan swabhāryātmaja [...] maburū mamati ng mong gaja mwang warak). On his journey Lubdhaka never sets foot in society. His view of the world is consistently one beyond society, from the wilderness of seashore and mountain, and yet, as Day points out, his view is always from above. Mpu Tanakung's orientation of the hunter's gaze on the landscape about him is one which Day observes is "non-naturalistic and symbolic: it is that of the gods or of those who meditate on mountain heights in order to contact divinity" (Day 1994: 187). The poet has also ordered Lubdhaka's gaze as a passage through the cardinal points following the ritual direction *prasavyam*. His view moves from the northeast to the north, the west, and back to the northeast again.⁹ Day identifies a nadir and zenith in the cosmography that Mpu Tanakung has written on to the natural world of his epic poem: "Its nadir lying in the unfathomable depths of the ravines and rivers, its zenith at the point where [a] heron's wings merge with the mist and disappear from view" (Day 1994: 187). One should add at this point that Mpu Tanakung has not just situated rivers in the depths below but has included at the nadir the social world of agricultural countryside and village in his vision in the depths and, further on, in Canto 3.11, it seems that the poet also includes the seashore viewed from above in his vision of the nadir of his cosmography. The human view of the total cosmography, as Day points out, also has limits: the view of the zenith is hindered by mist which hides the heron's flight and the nadir by the fog and rain which obscure a view of an island out at sea and of a ship heading

⁹ Day cites Canto 2.9a indicating north as the final direction in which the hunter viewed the landscape about him. This not impossible. However, I have taken this reference to the north here to indicate the position of the offering shrines (*payajñan*) attached to the monastery described in Canto 2.7-9. My reference to the northeast refers to Canto 3.5a in which the hunter has a view of the landscape ahead as the poem resumes its account of the hunter's journey.

for the open sea and, as the poem tells us, is about the disappear into the sky (*kadi mukṣahêng tawang*) at the point at which the sea meets sky and the nadir meets the zenith. The ship, we are told, was visible only now and then until it "vanished for good [...] in the gloom of the mists which were veiling the glow of the sun" (3.12-13: *rĕp mukṣêng wĕkasan hilang ri pĕtĕng ing limut anawĕngi tejaning rawi*), perhaps a veiled reference, for this fifteenth-century epic poet, to Śiwa as Sūrya the Sun God whose worship is the primary focus of this epic narrative poem.

In her seminal study of the ritual and tantric aspects of poetic literacy in Bali (2000), Rubinstein, discusses the circumstances under which Dang Hyang Nirartha's poetic works, in particular kakawin, were composed in the latefifteenth or early-sixteenth century. Poetic creativity in the literary tradition of ancient Java and Bali, she points out, is understood to be inspired by the beauty of the natural world of the landscapes of seashore and forested mountains, considered to be supernaturally charged (*pingit/těngět*). Rubinstein argues that, in the works which narrate their exploits, the poets, who are described traversing the wilderness landscapes seeking inspiration, were considered to be spiritually powerful individuals. In ancient Java, they were awarded the title *mpu*, a title awarded to other craftsmen - the makers of kris for example - who enjoyed some special power (Zoetmulder 1974: 157). In Bali, poets, in particular those who authored kakawin, enjoyed the status of pedanda who were rich in supernatural power (sakti). However, Rubinstein does identify a shift in the conceptualization of the beauty of landscapes of seashore and forested mountains. In ancient Java the natural beauty of these landscapes is conceptualized as the female body. "The beauty of the natural world", she argues, "is represented as Woman for she represents unevolved nature, the seed of the material world [...] [N]ature's beauty as Woman is a sexual metaphor that expresses the poet's intimate, ritual union with the source of all creation through literary yoga" (2000: 125). In Bali, on the other hand, there is evidence that nature was imagined as the sexual union of man and woman: "The beauty of seashore and mountains, they were imagined to be united in sexual intercourse (2000: 107-108 citing HKS 2632: 16 and 19: langening pasir wukir kadi masangyoga).

Rubinstein, in her discussion of the life story of the Balinese *pedanda* Dang Hyang Nirartha as it is told in the *Dwijendratattwa*, is particularly interested in the journeys of this famous Balinese *pedanda* priest during his life stage as a *wānaprastha* and the relationship these peregrinations have to Nirartha's literary creativity. The dating of the *Dwijendratattwa* is uncertain. However, there are reasons to argue that the work could not have existed before the eighteenth or early-nineteenth century.¹⁰ Furthermore, as Rubinstein points out, the variations between the many manuscripts of this work which she consulted suggest that there have been continual attempts to recompile the texts of this work so that the different versions of the work we have available today are not what they might have been in the past (2000: 76-77). The *Dwijendratattwa*'s account of

¹⁰ Rubinstein cites H.I.R. Hinzler (1976: 40, 46, 1983: 15/1986a, 1986b: 11-12) and A. Vickers (1989: 68-71).

Nirartha's journeys takes him through landscapes of seashore and forested mountains – landscapes which we have seen the Balinese consider to be *těngět* (supernaturally charged) or *paněs* (hot). Balinese regarded both as sources of danger teeming with forces from the nether world but also as places of fortuitous encounters with gods. Only those with adequate supernatural power dared to venture there to commune with divine and underworld forces and to meditate (2000: 104-105). In the course of these journeys, we are informed that Nirartha composed poems. We learn that he also constructed and consecrated temples, meditated and conducted rituals, notably the *Suryasewana*, the ritual Balinese *pedanda* conduct each morning. These experiences, says Rubinstein, are mystical transitory moments of apotheosis, each mapping particular occurrences of progress along the priest's path to spiritual awareness (2000: 100).

The legendary Balinese pedanda, Dang Hyang Nirartha, writing sometime during the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century, takes up the theme of the ritual of poetic creation in the five lyrical poems in his kakawin Añang Nirartha (Fletcher 2021). The first and longest of these lyrical poems is the Bhāşa Sangu Sěkar (With Flowers as My Provisions Cantos 1-20) and is followed by the Bhāsa Añang Nirartha (Nirartha's Poem Cantos 21-23), the Lambang Puspa Sañcaya (A Bouquet of Flowers Canto 24), the Añja-añja Turida (Demon Passion Cantos 25-29) and, finally, the Añja-añja Sungsang (Demon Upside-down Cantos 30-31). In her commentary on this work, Fletcher explains that it was not an unintended collection of five different poems, but a pentad of poems designed to be a single work. In it, the poet Nirartha recounts three journeys through the supernaturally charged wildernesses of seashore and forested mountains, landscapes dangerous to all except those who, like the poet himself, possessed the power (*śakti*) to navigate them. He explains that the purpose of his wanderings was twofold. He sought both to assuage the grief caused by his separation from his beloved and to realize his desire to worship his istadewata, the god with whom he sought union by means of the yogic practice of poetic composition and the mystic manipulation of the sacred syllables (*daśākśara*).

Fletcher argues that the structure of this pentad of poems in the *Añang Nirartha* follows the three-phase structuring of Balinese rituals: the *utpatti, sthiti,* and *pralīna,* the realization of the presence of the god, the establishment, and then the dissolution of the god. The central poem of the pentad is the *Lambang Puspa Sañcaya* (Canto 24), a hymn of praise to Kāma, the poet priest's *iṣtadewata.* Therefore, in the first of the poems, the *Bhāṣa Sangu Sĕkar,* we read that the poet, longs for (sexual) union with his beloved from whom he is separated as he wanders the wildernesses of seashore and forested mountains. His longing mirrors the union of the poet's *iṣṭadewata* and his *śakti,* realized in the appearance of the *iṣṭadewata* (*utpatti*) during Nirartha's performance of the *suryasewana* at dawn in a flower temple at the foot of the mountain abode of the gods. The successful completion of this ritual in turn results in the composition of poems which the poet presents to his ruler on his return home and for which he is handsomely rewarded with new materials with which to write (20.5c-d). In the *Bhāṣa Añang Nirartha*, the poet reminds his readers of the

immateriality of all things. Introduced in a description of the moving vision of a ruined Siwa temple in the process of being reclaimed by the wilderness, the immateriality of which the poet speaks is more fully explained in a poem the poet has discovered in the ruins of a pavilion. It is this immateriality which the discerning poet seeks to achieve. In the Lambang Puspa Sañcaya, the central poem of the pentad in the form of a hymn of Praise to Kama, the poet describes the establishment (sthiti) of a vision of the poet's istadewata, the godhead who is the embodiment of this immateriality. The final two bhāsa, the Bhāsa Añjaañja Turida and the Bhāsa Añja-añja Sungsang, mirror the final ritual phase, the pralina, during which the dissolution of the godhead is achieved. In the first of these poems, as he wanders the landscape of the seashore redolent in the mood of love in separation (*vipralambasrggārarasa*), Nirartha laments his beloved's rejection of his advances. With the rejection of sexual union comes the incapacity to compose poetry. In the Bhāsa Añja-añja Sungsang, the last of the pentad of poems, Nirartha pleads with his beloved to return. The poet now finds himself once more in the same condition in which he was at the very beginning of the pentad of poems, longing for union with his beloved and, by association, epiphany with the godhead Kama who is his *istadewata*.

MPU MONAGUŅA'S KAKAWIN SUMANASĀNTAKA TRANSFORMATIONS

It is clear that journeys play an important role as an organizational trope in epic kakawin from Java and Bali, framing accounts of the natural world of seashore and forested mountains. Journeys through the wilderness of seashore and forested mountains undertaken by the Pandawa hero Arjuna in search of spiritual power are recounted in several epic kakawin, the kakawin Arjunawiwāha, Pārthayajña, and Pārthāyana (Illustration 2). In her 1988 study of the eighteenth-century Balinese kakawin Pārthāyana, Helen Creese points out that the tale of Arjuna's journey in exile through the landscapes of seashore and forested mountain in this work was not just "a journey from one place to another". Symbolically, she argues, it was an allegory of both a pilgrimage which the Dewa Agung of Klungkung, Surawirya, made to Mount Sumeru in Java in 1729 in the company of Gusti Agung Mengwi and the poet's own journey "towards spiritual fulfillment" (1988: 33-34). Creese argues further that the work's focus on journeying, marriages, and Arjuna's quest for the spiritual power in order to become protector of the world suggest that the journey in the *Pārthāyaņa* was also to be read – as Fletcher suggests in her study of the kidung Wargasari and Vickers in his work on the Balinese Malat – as a "literary expression of a rite-de-passage which takes the untried youth and brings him to the next stage as husband and protector of the world" (1998: 36-37).

The story Mpu Monaguṇa tells in his epic *Sumanasāntāka* begins with the life stories of the work's two principal protagonists, Prince Aja and Princess Indumatī, at the moment the prince and princess are incarnated from the world of the gods and ancestral spirits at the time of their births and ends on their return there as deified ancestors. Much of Mpu Monaguṇa's story (*kathā*) of the prince and princess is occupied with accounts of their journeyings. Prince Aja's

journey across a social world from palace (kadatwan) and countryside (thānidusun) to a wilderness of seashore (pasir) and of forested mountains (wukir) arranged in a chronological sequence - describes a familiar Javanese world. It is this familiarity to poet and audience that signals the possibility of an allegorical reading of the journeying it logs: the journey charts crises in the lives of both the prince and princess. Prince Aja, the son of King Raghu of Ayodhyā, leaves the protection of his family home and sets out on a journey during which his poetic and physical ardour as a lover and his mettle as a warrior are put to the test. We should note here that, in the case of the *kakawin Sumanasāntaka*, early in his story, Mpu Monaguna is interested less in Prince Aja than in Princess Indumatī, the daughter of the king and queen of Widarbha. Indumatī is a princess destined to become queen and the poet's attention to her displaces the male-focused narrative we have described. Princess Indumati is separated from her parents - by her father's death and her mother's subsequent ritual suicide – and she too undergoes a trial in the form of a *swayambara*, a ceremony in which her guardian brother, the ruler of Widarbha, presents her with the awesome and unprecedented responsibility of choosing her own husband from among a number of powerful royal suitors before the assembled court of Widarbha. While the poet's interest in these events diverts his audience's attention from the tale of the prince-who-would-be-king, it does not entirely remove it from view.¹¹ Something of the integrity of this narrative remains and the poem's audience is still able to ride and walk with the prince and his escort from the palace in Ayodhyā across the countryside and through the wilderness of seashore and forested mountains to Widarbha and back home again across these same landscapes with his bride. When he arrives home in Ayodhyā, tried and tested in war and suitably married to the woman who embodies his royal power (Weatherbee 1968: 344-456), he is ready to assume his destiny to be king of Ayodhyā in his father's stead. Clearly the story charts life crises in the lives of both Prince Aja and Princess Indumatī (Worsley 2012a, 2012b, et al. 2013: 600-652).

In Mpu Monaguṇa's account of Prince Aja's travels across the wildernesses of seashore and forested mountains on his way to Widarbha to win the hand of his future queen, the poet tells us that, on his way to the mountains, Prince Aja first takes his pleasure by the sea (38.1a: *amet lĕngĕng ing pasir*). Monaguṇa, in his account of the prince's journey, has selected certain aspects of both landscapes to highlight. In his description of the landscape of seashore, for example, he describes a number of geomorphological formations and maritime phenomenon: the sea itself, the waves, the surf, rising and ebbing tides, its beaches, estuaries, reefs, cliffs and rocky outcrops, islands, fauna and vegetation. A notable feature of this description of the seashore are the poetic figures the poet has embedded in the poem's description of the seashore. Some anthropomorphize aspects of the landscape, for instance, on the arrival

¹¹ It is possible that this disruption of the tale of the prince-who-would-be-king alludes to a marriage which took place in the regional court of Mpu Monaguṇa's patron, Śrī Warṣajaya, situated somewhere in the region of Ponorogo in East Java. Compare Robson (1983: 304-307).

of Prince Aja and his entourage at the seashore in the early morning, when thunder, lightning, light rain and *asana*-flowers greet him and his entourage – the sound of the thunder is likened to words of welcome and the presence of *asana*-flowers lends extra coolness to the soft rain which fell. Further on we read of a reef in the sea which is likened to a person swimming for the shore, spurred on by the hope of enjoying the beauty to be found there (35.3) and the likeness of a headland jutting out into the sea to an ostensible kinsman of a poet (36.2). On the rocky coast a dead pandanus is likened to a dead person resting on a pillow with bees weeping over and kissing its wilted flowers (33.9).

In Monaguna's description of the landscape of the seashore there is also evidence of the traces of human frequentation appropriate to their location in wilderness. These take the form of ruined architectural structures - a ramshackle mahantěn pavilion in which there were the remnants of poems and a painting of a hermit bent with age; a *patani* pavilion and a dilapidated temple, which had once housed a statue of Ganapati, its eyes awash with the sea so that it seemed to be weeping for someone to set it to rights (35.2). There are also features of this landscape which we learn are to be likened to architectural structures. These include reefs on either side of an estuary which are said to resemble a split gateway and the water washing between them the crystal stairway which a poet descends to be swept away on a sea of poetic beauty. Rocky cliffs along the coast are likened to a tower temple half tumbled down and the repository for a poet's ashes. The reference to a ruined temple in this passage is reminiscent of the fulsome description of another in Mpu Tanakung's *Siwarātrikalpa* (Canto 3), in which the poet tells his readers that, as he makes his way through the wilderness, the hunter Lubdhaka passes by glimpses of the settled countryside to catch sight of a temple in ruins. These images, particularly textual references to ruined temples, are emblematic of what might be described as the once ordered social world reclaimed by the wilderness - a space which marks textual moments of passage from the social world to the wilderness (Worsley et al. 2013: 635-637).

In this passage, we also come across familiar comparisons found in other epic *kakawin*. The sky is likened to the sea and the simile is extended so that we read that the clouds are like coral reefs, a hawk to the boat of fisherfolk heading for land and a heron in flight to the upper deck of a ship sailing safely on the seas.¹² Further on, we read that, in the estuary of a river, the sea swell washes over reefs at its mouth and over a large rock which is likened to an elephant wallowing in water. There is also mention of the masts of a ship wrecked at sea resembling the embrace of lovers who cannot part (36.1).

When Prince Aja and his retinue leave the seashore on their way to Widarbha, they enter wild, forested mountains. Here the party encounter deep ravines and mountain streams bordered with fragrant *ĕndah* ferns. Here there are stands of deciduous trees which had left the forest floor below them fragrantly carpeted with leaves. Here too there are pandanus, *campaka* (Michelia campaka) and breadfruit trees. The forests are the habitat of a variety

¹² Compare kakawin Ghatotkacāśraya 8.6 and Sumanasāntaka 51.2d.

of bird species - wild doves, hawks, and quail - as well as monkeys, wild boar, and snakes (37.1-2). The poem's description of the arrival of Prince Aja and his party in the forested mountains is charged with a mood of eroticism (*struggararasa*). The poem's account of Prince Aja's passage through the landscape of forested mountains describes how the prince's erotic feelings are roused by what he sees: endah ferns remind him of the perfume of facepowder and the fragrant carpet of leaves under deciduous trees call to mind the fragrance of ointment on bed sheets. The erotic mood of the poem here is reinforced by the reference to the sight of the young and beautiful women who inhabit a monastery (kadewagurwan) which Prince Aja and his escort chance to pass by. To Prince Aja's mind at least, these young women, unable to resist the arousal of their senses, are likened to heavenly nymphs (*warāpsarī*), come to seduce the inhabitants of the monastery and distract them from their meditation. They await the end of love-making before slipping away back to the world of the gods (*surālaya*), he imagines (37). Here the poem calls to mind stories of heavenly nymphs sent by God Indra to test the strength and motivation of other powerful ascetics such as Princes Arjuna and Sutasoma. In particular, it recalls the seduction with which the poem begins. On that occasion the priest Trnawindu proved to be impervious to the attractions of the nymph, Dyah Harinī, whom he curses. However, unlike Trņawindu, Prince Aja remains susceptible to erotic thoughts when he catches sight of a badly damaged painting of a princess and nuns clinging to each other, who, in the prince's mind, seem to be begging to join him (37.4).

At this point, however, the poem reassures its readers that, unlike Prince Aja, in fact the hearts of those who inhabit the hermitages and monasteries of the forested landscape cannot so easily be swayed. Farther on his way, Prince Aja catches sight of a hermitage deep in a ravine which is said to resemble a volcano. On its peak is a hermit sunk in reverie and above in the sky a hawk hovers seeming to meditate on the wind (37.7). In the following verse there are further suggestions of asceticism: bark cloth – the favoured garment of ascetic hermits – still attached to a bread-fruit tree, flowers entwined like the headdress of an ascetic, snakes who lived as ascetics and quail – a reference to Alepaka or Vaimala monks renowned for their observance of rolling in ashes and their dirtiness¹³ – scratching the earth for somewhere to settle (37.8).

In this part of his poem, the poet seems to hint at a difference between seashore and forested mountain. One is struck by the references to ruined temples and pavilions and fallen statues of gods and repositories for the ashes of dead poets in his account of the landscape of the seashore in marked contrast to the hermitages and monasteries of the forested mountains which are inhabited by those who have experienced the threat of heightened sensual arousal but who remain intent on "living free from attachment" (7.2a: *nisparigraha*). The contrast between seashore and forested mountain is drawn even more clearly earlier in the poem in a conversation between Princess Indumatī and her ladies-in-waiting following her *pidudukan* ceremony on the

¹³ See Andrea Acri (2008: 200-203) and Worsley et al. (2013: 478, note Sum 37.8c).

eve of her swayambara (50.1-51.97). The ladies-in-waiting describe the seashore as place of erotic adventure, one where one yields to one's senses. It is an ideal landscape in which young lovers can wander for their pleasure, compose poetry and make love (50.17). Princess Indumatī, however, announces that she is not at all impressed by the prospect of taking her pleasure on the seashore. The fisherfolk there have no respect for rank. "Her heart", she says, "is in the mountains" (50.10-12). The mountains are a place of ascetic endeavour where ascetics suppress their erotic emotions and find, temporarily or forever, the epiphany of union with their tutelary godhead. She would prefer to join the hermits there as a maiden nun (*wiku rara*). She then goes on to counter claims that the wilderness of the seashore is superior because it was the site where the Great God Wisnu lay on the serpent Anantāsana with his consort, Srī, risen from the Milk Ocean when the gods and demons churned it and the nectar of the gods (amrta) was produced. The forested mountains, on the other hand, the princess argues, were where Siwa's phallus rose to belittle his rivals, Wiṣṇu and Brahma, and the place of origin of Śiwa's consort, Umā (51.1-9).

In the light of what we have learned about the differences imagined to exist between the wildernesses of seashore and forested mountains, a closer look at Mpu Panuluh's late-twelfth- or early-thirteenth-century epic *kakawin Ghaţotkacāśraya* is worthwhile (see Robson 2016). Mpu Panuluh's account of the wilderness of the seashore is one of erotic arousal and frustration (*vipralambaśṛnggārarasa*). In this epic poem he recounts the life story of Prince Abhimanyu, son of the Pandawa hero Arjuna (*kathârjunātmaja* 1.6c-d), and the circumstances of his marriages first to Princess Kṣiti Sundarī, the daughter of King Kṛṣṇa ruler of Dwārawatī, and then to Princess Uttarī, the daughter of King Mātsyapati, ruler of Wirāta. In Cantos 5-13 of this epic work, Mpu Panuluh recounts the story of a royal cavalcade to the seashore through the wilderness of forested mountains. It is here that Prince Abhimanyu and Princess Kṣiti Sundarī meet for the first time.

The dominant emotional mood of this passage of Panuluh's poem is not the ecstasy of love fulfilled, as Princess Indumati's ladies-in-waiting would have it, but of love-in-separation (*vipralambasrnggārarasa*). Both Prince Abhimanyu and Princess Ksiti Sundarī, we are informed, sought to restrain their strong feelings for each other giving rise to feelings of frustrated love. The prince was "oppressed and trembled deep in his heart" (11.18a mangkana tâbhimanyu kabharan muwah akĕtĕr i nalaning hati) and Princess Ksiti Sundarī endured the fires of love (11.16a: hrdaya sang anahen smaranala) but feigned indifference (11.16c: *měnggěp apelawāpi rěngu*) despite the joy she felt in her heart (11.16d: *lewu göng i garjitanira*). The erotic suggestion in this episode is principally carried by descriptions of the emotional condition of both protagonists. Prince Abhimanyu is attracted to Princess Ksiti Sundarī and is continually distracted by thoughts of her. Mpu Panuluh tells us how, as the prince wanders the wilderness, aspects of the natural environment arouse his love for the princess (kung ring adyah 7.3a), calling to mind the approach of a lover at night: the clatter of water pouring over rocks sounds like the

jingling of a woman's anklets, the undulating waves remind the prince of the ruffled dress of a trembling woman, unable to contain her emotions, the neat banks are reminiscent of her shaved eyebrows, the stones laid side by side her breasts and shellfish on them her nipples, and the *suhun bras* fish and the sands her oiled and plaited hair (7.3-4). Later in the poem, when the prince and princess cross paths once again, nature in all its beauty welcomes the prince and, as he paddles in the sea, his passion is once again aroused, this time by the breaking waves which are reminiscent of the strands of a girl's hair and the flight of the cliff-swallows her quivering eyebrows (10.7c-d). His passion is so aroused the prince seeks solace by playing the *salukat*, singing merry songs, making a flower garland and a pandanus doll, later to become a token of his love for the princess (10.8-9).

We are told that the princess is also emotionally disturbed (*nör ikang* hati 6.3a) when she first meets Prince Abhimanyu and is unable to calm her disordered thoughts (6.5a: inimur-imurnirêng twasi i salah semuning angen-angen *ndatan lipur*). Naturally shy in the presence of someone who has aroused her erotically (6.4c: wirang sira rikāna ri hananing anagwa-nagwaken), she continues to think of Prince Abhimanyu with growing bewilderment (7.2b: *ringrang*), shyness (7.2b: erang) and confusion (7.2b: wirangrwang). In the end, the princess is so love-sick (13.1d: agring atyaya) the king and queen decide to return to the palace where the princess continues to pine. In this part of the epic poem there are no instances of aspects of the natural world giving expression to the emotions experienced by the princess. However, earlier in the poem, when the princess is first introduced, her beauty is extolled. At this point, the trees and flowers in the palace garden respond to the quality of the princess's beauty. Here Mpu Panuluh tells readers that so superb was the beauty of the princess the plants in the palace garden were greatly troubled (3.4a: ares lengeng i *rāmyaning taman*). We learn, for example, that the *manguneng* flowers fall to the ground to avoid being picked to enhance the fragrance of the princess's hair, that the leaves of the *imba* were concerned that the princess's eyebrows would attack them and that the lotus wilted at the prospect of gazing into her eyes and more (3.4-6). This is a passage which calls to mind a moment in Mpu Tantular's kakawin Arjunawijaya in which King Arjunasahasrabāhu's queen, Citrawatī, fills the palace garden with admiration: the *jangga*-vine is enchanted as it reached for her waist, the ivory coconuts are put to shame by the shapeliness of the queen's breasts and the pandanus buds were struck dumb at the sight of her shapely calves (21.2-4) (Worsley 1991).

Mpu Prapañca kakawin Deśawarṇana

In his *Deśawarṇana*, Mpu Prapañca tells the story of quite a different kind of journeying (Worsley: 2021). The principal protagonists in his narrative are the historic King Rājasanagara and the powerful kinsmen and kinswomen and high officials who surround him. Their story, like that of Prince Aja and Princess Indumatī, commences in the capital, beginning with a record of the kin relationships of the ruler and the royal family, followed by a description of

the palace and its immediate environs and finally a view from the palace of the extensive reach of Majapahit's power over Java and across the Archipelago. As does the story of Prince Aja and Princess Indumati, Mpu Prapañca's narrative also ends in the capital. There Mpu Prapañca is witness to the magnificence of a number of royal occasions, the final obsequies (*śraddliā*) of the Queen Mother, the Rājapatnī, in 1362, the death of Majapahit's great prime minister, Gajah Mada, in 1364, the great festivals in the capital in the month of Phalguna and the sporting events, theatrical performances and feasting at Bubat in the following month of Cetra. The great bulk of the poem, however, some fortyfive of its ninety-eight cantos, is taken up with stories of royal tours of the realm and with one journey to Lamajang in particular undertaken by the court in 1359. Mpu Prapañca was in the ruler's entourage and eyewitness to the events which he describes. Mpu Prapañca's narrative about the journeys of his ruler from his palace, across landscapes of countryside, seashore and forested mountain and back again to the palace, provides him, as he himself says, not with the opportunity to write about landscapes in the style of the poets of epic *kakawin* but to compile a detailed description of the districts of Majapahit in praise of the magnificence of Rajasanagara's rule over the kingdom.

Mpu Prapañca's description of King Rājasanagara's journeying is of an entirely different order to Mpu Monaguna's account the journey of Prince Aja and Princess Indumati. If Mpu Monaguna's description of the journeying of Prince Aja and Princess Indumatī is a narrativization of their passage through a life crisis, Rājasanagara's many journeys had quite a different purpose. The royal progress was, as C. Geertz describes it, a major social institution and its symbolism "exemplary and mimetic": it "conveyed the structure of the cosmos – mirrored in the organization of the court – to the countryside".¹⁴ I have suggested that Mpu Prapañca's account of this royal progress was intended to be something other than just "exemplary and mimetic". The Deśawarnana, its author Mpu Prapañca tells us, is a poem whose purpose was to work its magic on the kingdom over which Rājasanagara ruled as it faced an uncertain future following the death of its great minister, Gajah Mada and people were contemplating a future when the passing of their king and that of his powerful uncle, the Prince of Wengker, would occur (Worsley 2021: 254-255). Mpu Prapañca's account of the journey and the journey itself were understood to be transformative: as he journeyed about the realm, King Rājasanagara activated and reactivated ties of patronage with his subjects. His royal progress provided his village subjects with the opportunity to witness the magnificence of the royal presence and for the notables in the villages and regions through which he passed and the priests and monks who inhabited the various religious institutions he visited to meet their ruler in audiences at which gifts were exchanged and food shared. His visitations to royal temple complexes and the celebration of his royal ancestors enshrined in them also activated extensive and powerful ritual networks across the kingdom which, incidentally, were also brought into play during the *śrāddha* rites and

¹⁴ See Geertz (1983: 129-134) for a vivid account of this royal progress.

enshrinement of the Rājapatnī in the Prajñāparimitāpurī at Kamal Pandak and in the Wiśeṣapura at Bhayalangö and in the many other locations across the realm in which *weśapurī*s and *pakuwwan*s were established to worship her every month of Bhadra.¹⁵

As Zoetmulder has pointed out, Mpu Prapañca did not take advantage of the opportunities he had to include descriptions of the wilderness (pasir-wukir), a key element of epic kakawin, in his account of the journey he undertook with his king, Rājasanagara. His focus was his king's power as ruler of all he surveyed, not on a journey of meditation on the beauty of the landscape of seashore and mountain undertaken by a poet-priest. However, in his account of the royal progress to Lumajang, Mpu Prapañca does tell the tale of a royal hunt in a forest by the name of Nandanawana before the king's return to the capital (50-55.1).¹⁶ The forest is referred to variously as a *paburwan* (a huntingground), alas (forest), wanantara (woodland), and giriwana (forested mountain). The story Mpu Prapañca tells of the hunt in this forest reveals evidence of the author's knowledge of the Tantri stories which circulated in Majapahit (Marijke Klokke 1993). In it he vividly describes the violence of the hunt and its gruesome consequences, likening it to a battle fought between the armies of two rival kingdoms. We hear of each attack and counterattack culminating in the moment King Rajasanagara himself enters the thick of battle and is victorious. The violence involved in the slaughter of so many animals seems to have raised some questions about the appositeness of his king's conduct in Mpu Prapañca's mind. Had his ruler really observed the Buddhist precept of *ahimsa* 'non-violence'? The poet fashions his answer to this dilemma first in an account of a gathering of the animals in the presence of their king (mrgendra) as they anticipate the imminent attack of King Rājasanagara's army. Having listened to the advice proffered by different groups among his subjects, the lion king determines that the proper course of action is that the animals should surrender their lives to King Rajasanagara who, he explains, is the incarnation of Lord of the Mountains (giripati). In this way, he assures his subjects, 'the sins of those who are killed by his hand will be taken away' (51.6c: awas hilanga pāpaning pējaha denirâmatyana). A little farther on, Mpu Prapañca explains that King Rājasanagara himself also considered that he was not guilty of the charge of violence. He was well aware, the poet explains, that the animals he has slaughtered were by their very nature sinful and that therefore he had not contravened the precept of non-violence (55.1d: wruhira ri doșaning mrga tatar wyasana sira n giněgö). There is more to be said about this account of the royal hunt. What did Mpu Prapañca seek to achieve in this passage by framing his account of the hunt as a battle between two kingdoms,

¹⁵ See *Deśawarņana* 63.2-69.3, and 69.1-3 in particular.

¹⁶ According to Th. Pigeaud (1960-1963), the text (50.1.c) here reads Nandakawana. According to OJED (1173) Nandakawana is the name of Kṛṣṇa's sword, a bull and an elephant. Kern, who is followed by Pigeaud and Robson, treats this reading as a mistake in the manuscript for Nandanawana (See Robson 1995: 124). The Nandanawana is the forest in Indra's heaven in which King Aja and Queen Indumatī live out their existences as ancestors after their deaths and return to the realm of God Indra (Sum 176.3c and 179.3d).

the Kingdom of Majapahit and the forest kingdom of wild animals ruled by their own king? In the introduction, we have noted that the wilderness of forested mountain was considered by poets of epic *kakawin* and their audiences to have been a landscape beyond the reach of royal authority. It seems that Mpu Prapañca, as he authored his poem in praise of his king, Rājasanagara, sought to demonstrate that his ruler's authority extended even throughout the wilderness landscape and that his successful military campaign had given him authority over the wild animals whose habitat the forest of Nandanawana was.

The *Jinārthiprakt*rti

We have discussed accounts of journeys from a selection of works authored in Java and Bali between the twelfth and the eighteenth century. Robson has pointed out the importance journeys have in epic kakawin and Day (1994) considers what ancient Javanese poets, architects and sculptors imagined a landscape to be. Fletcher (1990, 2002, 2021), Creese (1998), Rubinstein (2000), and Worsley (2012b, 2013) have argued that the accounts of these journeys in epic *kakawin* are more than enumerations of travel between one place and another. Rather, they are accounts of other kinds of journeys: the "journeys" which poets seeking inspiration make or that ascetics seeking apotheosis with their *istadewata* undertake or those on which young men and women transitioning from childhood to adulthood embark. Robson has also drawn attention to passages in these epic poems in which emotions are attributed to aspects of the natural world in order to express the emotions of protagonists and in which elements of the natural world are imagined to be the origin of the human body. In the Deśawarnana, and in our discussion of a number of epic kakawin belonging to the literary tradition of ancient Java and Bali, we have identified passages in which aspects of the natural world are anthropomorphized or, which, in a similar vein to the passage from the kakawin Śiwarātrikalpa cited by Robson, describe how aspects of the natural world of the seashore and forested mountain evoke emotional moods affecting the characters who inhabit the time and space of the narrative world of these epic poems. In the passages from the poems we have discussed erotic arousal has been prominent.

The most complete and systematic account of the relationship between aspects of the wilderness of the seashore and forested mountains and the evocation of emotional moods is found in the second and third cantos of the *Jinārthiprakrti*. In this Mahayanist manual, which explains the rules governing the proper behaviour of Buddhist monks, its author provides readers with an account of the obstacles which stand in the way of a Buddhist monk achieving *siddha*-hood and how to overcome them. Mpu Dusun reminds readers of his epic *Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana* just how difficult the way to liberation is in an episode in which God Yama tells the *yakṣa* Kuñjarakarṇa after he has witnessed the tortures of hell that the road to hell (*Yamani*) "is clean and smooth" (11.14) but that to heaven (*surālaya*) "is hard to find" and is "covered with thick grass and the tendrils of vines spread across it; deserted and eerie, sometimes as

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if it is no more than an illusion and sometimes hidden, difficult for a man to find, even if he is worthy of going to the court of heaven (11.15: *surālayasabha*).

J.A. Schoterman and A. Teeuw edited, translated and commented on the *Jinārthiprakṛti* (1985). The work is known in a single version found in a manuscript among other works retrieved during the Dutch attack on the Balinese kingdoms of Mataram and Cakranegara in Lombok in 1894.¹⁷ It is bundled together with a number of other works: the *Śiwarātrikalpa*, *Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana*, *Kĕrtasamaya*, *Deśawarṇana*, *Nirarthaprakĕrta*, and the five poems of the *Añang Nirartha*. The *Jinārthiprakṛti*, like the works which precede and follow it in the folio, is written in the same hand, that of a copyist by the name of Nirartha Pamasah from the village of Kancana, in the district of Kaywan in Bali, indicating that all these poems were copied at the same time in about 1740 CE. Schoterman and Teeuw suggest that the *Jinārthiprakṛti* is in fact much older and dates from the late Majapahit period. In support of this claim they point out the fact the poem contains no traces of Balinese and shared linguistic, metrical and other poetic features with similar works of this period.¹⁸

The passage from the *Jinārthiprakrti* with which we are concerned describes a process that results in siddha-hood. This process is imagined as a transformation of the emotional constitution of the aspirant monk which is host to emotions which obstruct the way to attaining siddha-hood. The work informs readers that the earth is the body (2.1a-d: *bhuwana ng śarīra*). It continues "[t]he seas and the mountains are the most excellent features of the body and provide a stable support in one's quest for liberation because as such [the body] is nearby the abode of the gods" (2.1a-d: abdhi mwang adri paramottamadehatatwa/ manggĕh pangāśrayananing mangusir kamokṣan/āpan tika pwa maparěk saki pāda sang hyang//). The emotions which obstruct the attainment of an emotional embodiment close to that of the Buddha are mapped onto the landscapes of seashore, forested mountain and countryside in a pattern remarkably similar to the patterning of the progress of protagonists in epic kakawin as they journey through these same landscapes. Noteworthy is the discovery here in this manual for Mahāyāna monks of the same distinction drawn between the countryside and seashore and forested mountains which we noted earlier in the Sumanasāntaka.

The emotional hindrances which stand in the way of *siddha*-hood are referenced to established groupings: the 'six enemies' (*sadripu*) or 'six passions' (*sadwarga*) and the 'three stains' (*trimala*) which the text couples with passion, mental darkness and anger (*rajah* and *tamah* and *krodha*) together with the 'five senses' (*pañcendriya*) (Schoterman and Teeuw 1985: 208). In this account, we are told that the wilderness of the seashore is the site of the 'six inner enemies'

¹⁷ LOr 5923, once held in the library of the University of Leiden, was returned to Indonesia in 1971 and is now deposited in the Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia in Jakarta registered as NL 9.

¹⁸ Schoterman and Teeuw (1985: 202, 213-214), Pigeaud (1960 1: 107; 1968 II: 254), and Teeuw and Robson (1981: 50-51).

(sadripu): the deep seas (bañu majro) are limitless desire (rāga tan patĕpi); the coral reefs (karang durga) troublesome hate (dwesa meweh); the great waves (ombak agung) restless delusion (moha wibrama); the ferocious fish elephants (kruramina rodra) insatiable avarice (dambha tan pahamĕngan); venomous snakes (sārpa wiśesa) poisonous envy (īrsya sarwawisa); and the sandbanks densely covered with thickets (talatěk sukět mahêwěh) jealousy (mātsarya). This same landscape is also home to the 'three stains' (trimala) - the pursuit of wealth (artha), improper desire (kāma) and false words (śabda) – in the form of strong tidal rips or surf (harus madres). Rajah and tamah, 'passion' and 'mental darkness', are the constantly heaving waves (alusnya nitya), anger (krodha) raging gusts of wind (riwut mariwung hangin) and the "five organs of perception" (pañcendriya, the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, skin) the rain, storm, and squalls (hudan barat *halisyus*) and, finally, the salt water (*banyu tikta*) shallow knowledge (*jñāna* mūdha). The wilderness of forested mountains, on the other hand, is the site of the 'family of six' (sadwarga) in the form of inaccessible thickets and deep ravines and the 'three stains' (trimala), in the form of the tigers (mong), lions (singha), and bears (barwang) which roam it. The rocky slopes which are the home of poisonous serpents are 'wicked craving' (durśilatṛṣṇa) and 'passion' (rajah) and 'mental darkness' (tamah) are the rains, thunder, and squalls (udan gělap halisyus).

The author of the Jinārthiprakrti imagines the removal of these emotional obstructions blighting each of these landscapes differently. The emotional obstructions embodied in the seashore which block the way to *siddha*-hood, we are told, are eliminated by one's profound knowledge (2,5a: jñānta *dhīra*) which provides insight as extensive as the Milk Ocean which, when churned by the turning of the rosary, rewards one with knowledge of the [Ten] Perfections as the churning of the Milk Ocean by the gods and demons produced the Goddess Śrī, who came forth, like the ambrosia (amrta), to free one from the realm of the senses and open the way to a vision of the Buddha (2.5-8). In the case of the forested mountains, on the other hand, the author tells us, knowledge of the Dharma is the way to a vision of the Buddha and union with him. The image here is of the process of clearing the forest to make rice-fields. Knowledge of the Dharma is the axe which clears the forest of emotional hindrances, mental concentration the fire which burns away the emotional undergrowth and "observances, worship, and incantations [...] yoga and meditation" the ploughing, the planting of seeds and the watering that ensures a good harvest, that "knowledge of the Buddha sprouts" and siddha-hood accomplished (2.12-15).

Conclusions

By way of conclusion, in the first verse of canto 3, the author of the *Jinārthiprakṛti* informs his readers that

This is the chain of causes which one should know from the beginning. Such are its fruits, always, which one should know in the end: The arrangement of the body of the Lord Buddha [... pervades] the [entire] phenomenal world – gross, fine or subtle ... [Translation based on Schoterman and Teeuw 1985.]

Here, in his opening comments the author informs his readers that the human body, the stable support in the quest for liberation, is the whole world (bhuwana), its seas and its mountains (abdhi mwang adri). Now, as he draws his homily to a close, he reminds his readers that the body of the Lord Buddha pervades the entire phenomenal world. We have seen how, in her commentary on the wanderings of the poet Dang Hyang Nirartha in the natural world of the seashore and forested mountains, Rubinstein has concluded that for tantric practitioners in ancient Java the beauty of the natural world was conceptualized as the female body, woman writ large as unevolved nature. "[N]ature's beauty as Woman", she says, "is a sexual metaphor that expresses the poet's intimate, ritual union with the source of all creation through literary yoga" (2000: 125). In Bali, she points out, the imagery has changed. There is evidence that nature was imagined as the sexual union of man and woman: "The beauty of seashore and mountains, they were imagined to be united in sexual intercourse "(2000: 107-108). We have also read in the Sumanasāntaka how, at her cremation, the divine nymph, Harinī, dispatched her body to the elements of the natural world and how, in her despair at the prospect of a marriage to which she had not agreed, Princess Candrawatī wished for death and also assigned parts of her body to aspects of the natural world.

These observations give me reason to recall events in Singaraja in Buleleling in early 1975. On several occasions, Douglas Miles, with whom I was collaborating at the time, was called to attend a number of events in which spontaneous transformations took place, often involving young adult women who spoke the words and performed the actions of an ancestor who was angry and frustrated because the requisite rites performed after their death had been conducted inappositely or not performed at all (roh salah pati, atma kesasar). Miles reported that these incidents caused the families who were witness to these outbursts great anxiety and they responded by arranging the rituals required to put things to rights.¹⁹ Events such as these and the passages we have cited above in which we have seen human emotions ascribed to features of the natural landscape, in which aspects of the natural landscape are anthropomorphized or are equated with humanmade structures, suggest that we might not be dealing simply with metaphors and allegories, categories familiar to modern literary commentators and that perhaps we should consider the possibility that we are dealing with a style of

¹⁹ Personal communication 1975.

thought and understanding of causality in which humankind and the world they inhabit are imagined to be bound together affectively; one in which words spoken and actions carried out in ritual work transformations. The words spoken in the ritual of poetic composition effect the transformation of an apotheosis in which the poet is united with, perhaps actually becomes, his or her *istadewata* and, as I have argued, endow the rule of kings over their kingdoms with enduring prosperity and well-being (Worsley 2021). Ritual copulation is not *just like* the cosmic copulation of a god with his *śakti* but is equivalent to, perhaps actually is, the cosmic copulation of god and *śakti*. Might we conclude then that ancient Javanese and Balinese poets and their audiences imagined that the accounts of journeying in epic kakawin actually transformed the poet priest seeking inspiration and apotheosis and young men and women transitioning from childhood to adulthood? Are we not dealing here with an understanding of the world in which equivalences are thought to exist between the macrocosmos and various microcosms, the divine world, the natural world and the constitution of human beings?

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