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A King Who Tames His Enemies and not who is Obedient to the Law¹

Revo Arka Giri Soekatno

ABSTRACT *Dongeng tentang raja yang mengerti bahasa binatang terdapat versinya dalam Pañcatantra baik yang berbahasa Jawa Kuno maupun Pertengahan. Sadurannya juga terdapat dalam kesusasteraan Jawa Modern, seperti dalam siklus-siklus Anglingdarma. Namun, dalam berbagai versi Jawa ada kerancuan soal berbagai nama sang raja. Nama-nama tersebut misalnya Aridharma, Hari Dharma, Aji Dharma dan Angling Darma. Makalah ini akan membahas masalah nama raja ini dengan asumsi bahwa kejelasannya akan membantu perolehan pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang kesusastraan Jawa, baik Kuno maupun Modern.*

KEYWORDS *Hari Dharma, Aji Dharma, Angling Darma, Arindama, haji, aji, angling, ari*

The fable of a king who understands the language of the animals is a well known and a much loved fable of the various versions of the Pañcatantra. This story is also transmitted in the Old and Middle Javanese Pañcatantra renderings. There are adaptations of this fable in the Modern Javanese literature as well (i.e. the Angling Darma cycles).

In most versions the narration runs as follows: A king saw a dragon princess who was copulating with a lowly common snake. He could not stand this horrible sight of mixture of the castes (*warṇasangkara*). Accordingly he killed the snake and hit the dragon princess. The dragon princess fled to the netherworld and told her father, the dragon king that a certain king abused her. Her father got angry and vowed to kill him. So he set off to his palace and hid himself in the royal bedchamber.

Meanwhile the king was resting with his consort. He looked terrible and the queen enquired him the reason. Consequently he told her about the incident. The dragon king who overheard the conversation realised that it was his own daughter who misbehaved. So he came out and asked to see the king. The king received him and got a boon, he now could comprehend the language of the animals, however on one condition: he was not allowed to share this knowledge to anyone else.

¹ The author wishes to thank Dr. Herman Tieken and Dr. Marijke Klokke from the University of Leiden who have helped the author into the writing of this paper by having provided him crucial information. The author also wishes to thank and Drs. H. Ong A Kwien, also from the University of Leiden who has given him several tips in the conception of this paper.

Then the other day the king was making love with the queen again, while doing so he overheard the conversation of a pair of chichaks ('wall lizards') above them. He laughed and the queen was upset as she thought he made fun of her performance in bed. The king denied and told her about his newly acquired ability. So the queen would also like to have his ability as well. But the king refused and as a consequence the queen would rather die. As the king really loved her, he would also die as well to accompany her. But as they were ready to be burned at the funeral pyre the king overheard the conversation of a pair of goats. The female goat asked her mate to bring her some leaves from near the pyre, which were used as decorations. The male goat refused and she said she would rather die. The male goat just sneered at her and told her he was not like the king who listens to the words of his wife. Hearing this, the king was stunned; he descended from the cremation platform and returned to the palace. Meanwhile the queen and the female goat jumped into the fire.

In the Javanese versions there is some confusion about the name of the king. In the Tantri Kāmandaka edited by Hooykaas, he is known as king Aridharma while in other versions he is known as Hari Dharma, Aji Dharma and even as Angling Dharma.

In this occasion, I wish to take a deeper look into this particular story and discuss the name of this king. This is important, as this will offer us a little contribution to a better understanding of not only the Old Javanese literature, but also of the Modern Javanese literature as well.

PREVIOUS RESEARCHES

The previous researchers who have made some detailed and important comment about the name of this king was Hooykaas (1929). Furthermore Drewes (1975) has made an extensive remark on Hooykaas' observation. Below I shall discuss Hooykaas' commentary and then after that Drewes' remark on Hooykaas.

Hooykaas was the first scholar who made a comment on the name of the king in the fable of a "King who understands the Language of the Animals". In his doctoral thesis, Hooykaas has said the following (1929: 27 – 28):

Aridharma heet de koning die de taal der dieren verstaat. Denken we hierbij aan sanskrit ari = toegewijd, getrouw, ijverig, dan luidde zijn naam Koning Wetsgetrouw. Op Java waar ari = vijand in deze geen zin gaf – integendeel! – zal men gedacht hebben aan het epitheton hari (=ari) waaronder goden bekend waren, zooals Wiṣṇu, Indra, enz. Goden stonden niet zoo ver van de koningen, zeker niet van een zoo gerechtig vorst als Haridharma, die ook Koning Wet = Hajidharma ging heeten. Daar aji de beteekenis heeft van wetboek, tooverformule, heilige schrift, en in de spelling wel niet consequent onderscheiden zal geweest zijn van haji, zal de lezing en interpretatie Ajidharma wellicht den weg gebaand hebben voor latere angling (=zeggen, meenen, beteekenen) in den naam Angling Dharma.

'Aridharma is the name of the king who understands the language of the animals. If we should think of the Sanskrit ari 'devoted, obedient, diligent', then his name means King Obedient to the Law. In Java where the name ari 'enemy', does not mean anything, on the

contrary!—one must have thought of the epithet hari (=ari) to which the gods were known such as Wiṣṇu, Indra, etc. Gods were not far from the kings, especially not from such a righteous king as Haridharma who has become known as King Law (=Hajidharma). As aji has the meaning of ‘law book, magic formula’, Holy Scripture and in spelling not it is not consequently distinct from haji, the reading of this would have paved the way for the later angling (‘to say, to suggest, to mean’)

Here Hooykaas suggests that angling (‘to say, mean, signify’) in the name Angling Darma is a newer substitution for the older aji (‘lawbook, magical formula; holy scripture’); and that actually aji should be read as haji (‘ruler, king’), as king Aridharma who occurs in the Tantri Kāmandaka is also called Haji Dharma. According to Hooykaas the Skr. Word aridharma means ‘obedient to the law’. However, in Java only the Sanskrit word ari which means enemy, exists, and this meaning is not relevant here, on the contrary! The synonym Haji Dharma may thus have derived from ari via the following progression: ari = Hari = Wiṣṇu = king according to the Old Javanese concept of kingship = haji, and then changed via haji > aji > angling to Angling Dharma².

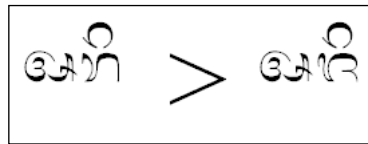


Plate 1. A Graphical Depiction of the Possible Change from ari-aji.

Drewes further thinks that this complicated explanation is rather far-fetched. He thinks that it is unlikely that the well-known word haji, still widely used at present, should have been confused with the equally well-known word aji (‘magical formula, etc.’) in a proper name. And secondly, aji (‘magical formula’) has not the same meaning as angling (‘to say’).

Then Drewes discuss his own solution to this problem, however his solution is not relevant although I have to say that I agree with Drewes’ remark on Hooykaas.

MY SOLUTION

After having discussed both the explanation of Hooykaas and Drewes’ remark, I would like to propose an alternative solution to this name below. I hold the view that the name ‘Aridharma’, Hooykaas and Drewes to which they based upon their judgment is corrupted. This name is indeed handed down in all the manuscripts Hooykaas has been using in bringing us his text edition in 1931 and in any other Balinese manuscripts containing Tantri Kāmandaka I have ever seen, including the famous Jadi-manuscript which the Dutch scholar Hedi Hinzler has found as evidenced in Marijke Klokke’s dissertation (1993: 25) and which is now kept as codex Or 18.673 in the Leiden University Library. For his critical edition of the Tantri Kāmandaka, Hooykaas used the Leiden

² Based Drewes (1975: 20).

manuscripts codex Or 4.533 and 4.534.

I have found another name, which does make sense and does not need any complicated reasoning. The name I have found is Arindama. I have found this name in a London manuscript (British Library IOL 53 a), which is a manuscript of Javanese provenance. A diplomatic transliteration of the relevant section in the manuscript is provided in appendix 2. This name is a better name than Aridharma as it is immediately comprehensible. Arindama is a tatpuruṣa construction in Sanskrit and it literally means ‘subduer of the enemies’ or ‘tamer of the enemies’. This name, which is in good Sanskrit, is a common name for kings in ancient India. This is especially true, as I have identified several Indian kings who bore this name. These names are included in appendix 1.

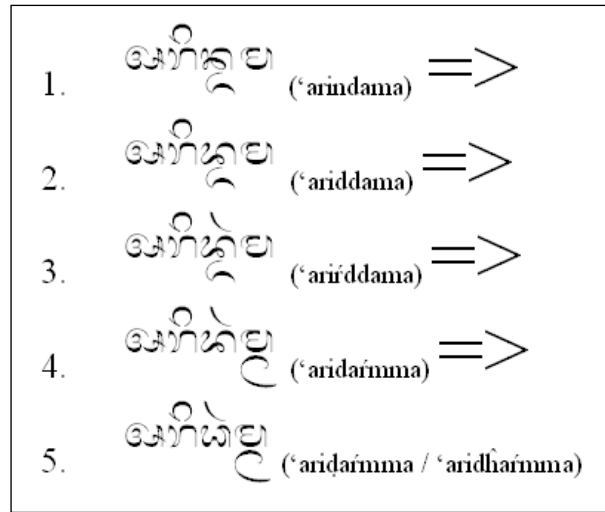


Plate 2. The transformation from Arindama to Aridharma in Hanacaraka script. Here the modern Javano-Balinese typeface has been taken as an example.

The next question will then be how the name Arindama is transformed to Aridharma. The explanation involves a palaeographical analysis. In some variants of the Hanacaraka script, the letter n resembles a d. So some time in the past, a copyist must have made an error for substituting an n with a d, as both look similar. Then the name Arindama is changed to Ariddama. Another copyist who saw this name and did not understand the text must have added a pre-consonantal r (a surang in Balinese or a layar in Javanese), as a double consonant usually requires an r before the doubling takes place. After that the place of the r and the doubling of the consonants are moved to the right as ddama might have looked odd and darmma was more acceptable. In fact the copyist might have associated this with the more familiar dharmma. At last the transformation from Arindama to Aridharma is completed.

A caveat must be inserted here however. This change from n ==> could only have taken place in the Balinese variant or the Eastern Javanese variant of

the Hanacaraka script. In modern Central Javanese variant of the Hanacaraka script, the ductus of the *n* does not resemble the *d* anymore.

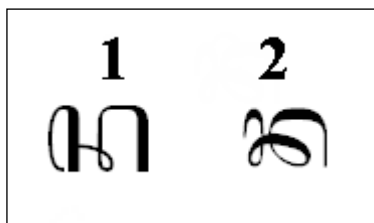


Plate 3. The letter 'n' in the modern Central Javanese variant (1) and the Balinese variant (2) of the Hanacaraka script.

TANTROPĀKHYĀNA

As an aside I would also like to discuss the finding of George Artola (1957) and consequently also Marijke Klokke's assumption (1993:37) that a certain Indian work called the *Tantropākhyāna* (published by Śāstrī (1938)) might have been the Indian source for the Old Javanese *Tantri Kāmandaka*.

However, in this work, the *Tantropākhyāna*, which also contains the fable "The King who Understands the Language of the Animals", the name of the king is spelled differently. The name of the protagonist of this fable is 'Anaraṇya'³. According to Dowson (1993, sv) *Anaraṇya* is a "descendant of Ikshvaku and king of Ayodhya". It is however not known whether *Arindama* is also another name or an epithet of him.

CONCLUSION

In the Javanese versions of the Indian *Pañcatantra*, for example the Old Javanese *Tantri Kāmandaka*, the name of the protagonist in the fable of the "King who understands the language of the animals" is usually handed down as *Aridharma* or *Aji Dharma*. This name has led to more modern names such as *Angling Darma*. However the name *Aridharma* is a corruption, as it does not make sense. On the other hand, the author of this paper has showed that there might be another name, which might be better for the protagonist of this story. This name is *Arindama* and it is found in the only Javanese manuscript found which contains the Old Javanese prose work *Tantri Kāmandaka*.

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³ This information was kindly provided by Marijke Klokke.

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APPENDIX 1

A list of several ancient Indian kings who bore the name “Arindama”. Retrieved from the website: http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/ay/arindama.htm on Saturday July 9, 2005:

1. Arindama.-The Bodhisatta, born as King of Benares and son of the Magadha King of Rājagaha. During the time of Sikhī Buddha he held a great almsgiving for the Buddha and his monks; he presented to the Order a fully caparisoned elephant which he redeemed by giving suitable gifts to the height of an elephant (J.i.41; Bu.xxi.9). He had as friend the chaplain's son, Sonaka. They both studied in Takkaśilā and at the conclusion of their studies they travelled about in search of experience. In the course of their travels Arindama was elected to succeed the King of Benares who had died childless, and Sonaka became a Pacceka Buddha. Forty years later Arindama wished to see Sonaka, but no one could tell him his whereabouts in spite of the offer of a large reward. Ten years later Sonaka saw the king through the good offices of a lad of seven, who belonged to the harem and had learnt a song composed by the king expressing his desire to meet Sonaka. At the meeting, however, the king failed to recognise him. Sonaka, not revealing his identity, spoke to the king about the joys of renunciation, and disappeared through the air. The king, moved by his words, decided to give up the throne and to follow the ascetic life. He appointed his eldest son Dīghāvu king in his stead, handed over to him all his possessions, and developing supernatural faculties was born in the Brahma world (J.v.247-61). Arindama is mentioned together with Mahājanaka as an example of a king who renounced a mighty kingdom to lead a hermit's life (J.iii.489). The story also appears in the Mahāvastu (iii.449ff), but the details given differ from those of the Jātaka version. There Arindama is spoken of as the King of Mithilā. In both accounts Dīghāvu's mother, the king's chief queen, is spoken of as having died before the king's renunciation. According to the Buddhavamsa Commentary (BuA.203), Arindama's capital was Paribhuttanagara. (v.l. Arindamaka.)
2. Arindama.-King in the time of Sumana Buddha. A great dispute had arisen at this time regarding nirodha and all the inhabitants of many thousand world systems were divided into two camps. In order to settle their doubts, the disputants, with Arindama at their head, sought the Buddha. The Buddha sat on Mount Yugandhara while Arindama, with his ninety thousand crores of followers, sat on a golden rock, which by the power of his merit had sprung from the earth near Sankassa. The Buddha preached to them, and at the end of the sermon they all became arahants. BuA.128-9.
3. Arindama.-King of Uttara. When Revata Buddha visited his city the king went to see him, accompanied by three crores of people. The next day a great almsgiving was held for the Buddha and the monks, and also a festival of light covering a space of three leagues. The Buddha preached to the assembly, and one thousand crores of people realised the Truth. Bu.vi.4; BuA.133.
4. Arindama.-A king of forty-one kappas ago; a former birth of Sannidhāpaka Thera. Ap.i.97.
5. Arindama.-King of Hamsavatī. When the king, through carelessness, had lost his wealth, his setthi (Jatukannika in a former birth) made good the loss by giving him the seven kinds

of jewels. Ap.ii.360.

6. Arindama.-The name given to the Cakkavatti's cakkaratana because it brings all his enemies into subjection. Mbv.72.

APPENDIX 2

A diplomatic transliteration of the fable: "The king who understands the language of the animals" according to the London manuscript IOL 53 a.

98 b ? recto:

1. ... ⁴puguti ; kerid tikañ wre ; ma...⁵ unta waktu ; nahan śakti halah□ deniñ upaya ; matañnyan siñēmpwan. yātna ki hinaśakti ; mañkana doniñ si sambadd□ā ; madyum ya ri sañ ca
2. ... ⁶non sañ bhāsubaga magawe śloka + 'akṛtan ta wikam□ ; kaṣṣmmalah□ yajñā dbhāwet. pūrwwa nibitam□ ; pan□d□ite dewata napih□ + 'aṛtthanya ; 'ikañ anugrahāni dewata ; tan. wnañ hinilāgan. ; mañ
3. ... ⁷n□d□ita ; mojañtta sañ sambadd□ā ; liñnya ; kahid□ēp ta wuwusniñ hulun. ; sañ can□d□a piñgala ; ndā yogya hid□ēpēn pitutur iñsun. ; kadi hañganikañ wd□us. ; pinintuhu denikañ ratu harindama ; su
4. ... ⁸n□d□a piñgala ; 'apa wuwusnikañ wd□us. ; yan pinintuhu de sañ ratu ; sumahuṛ ikañ sambadd□ā ; hana sira sañ prabhū harindama ; ṇa ; sira lumakw abhūru bhūru ; 'amañgiñ□ ta sira nāgan□a nagiñ□ i ; halaki hu

99 a ? verso:

1. ... ⁹wañ□na sañsara hid□ēpira ; kadi brahmān□i halaki sudra ; rajaputri halāwan sudra ; mañkana tekañ nagiñ□i ; palaki hula dlēs. yogya d□umēñ□d□aha ; 'aṇṇ aṇṇira mañkana ; pinatyanira hu
2. ... ¹⁰kañ nāgiñ□i pinalunira juga ; mulih□ ta ya mareñ pātala ; tka nañis ta warah□ ri sañ bapa ; yan marāja harindama malū ; 'ala [wa] tan lanawanan. ; krodd□a ta sañ bapa mañhid□ēp awarah□hiñ ana
3. ... ¹¹sañ bapa ; haywa sañsaya naku ; tumama tayeñ kad□atwan. ; sumapawaknā brahmān□a ; d□atañ te yeñ umah□ sañ ratū ; muwah atmahan nāga sumurup i soñniñ phalañkā ; sañ ratu haturwan turwan. lāwan ta
4. ... ¹²jari strinira ; sajñā haji hapa yekaniñ hañ... ¹³n kady aṇṇ aṇṇōn. ; hana wastwa tinonku riñ alas. ; nagiñ□i halaki hula dlēs. ; wañ□nasañsara hid□piñhulun. ; dak patyani kañ ula dlēs. ; 'i

99 b ? recto:

1. ... ¹⁴dak aṇṇēn aṇṇēn. ; liñ sañ prabhū mañkana ; mara ri strīnya ; 'aṇṇō nāga hi soñniñ phalañkā ; suka manah□nya 'akodiwyā
2. ... ¹⁵naku ya ; dūṛśīla ; 'irika sata.. ¹⁶mbesuk tumama tekañ nāga muwah□ riñ kad□atwan. ; sañ brahmān□a rūpa ; mojañnikañ nāga ; sajñā haji ; hantyañta wawañṇōn sañ pra
3. ... ¹⁷paniñnāgiñ□i ; tinmuntāparitus□tamanah□mami haji ; d□umēñ□d□asalah□śīla ; matañnyan parañke ; dak anugrahani ; sumahuṛ sañ ratu ; 'ahyun. halun. wruha śabdani
4. ... ¹⁸warah□ riñ len. ; yan mawarah□ riñ len mati kita ; mulih□ ta yeñ phāla ; sañ prabhū nmu sunyāmbēknya

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¹³ ms. damaged.

¹⁴ ms. damaged.

¹⁵ ms. damaged.

¹⁶ ms. damaged.

¹⁷ ms. damaged.

¹⁸ ms. damaged.

; ka ; lara hina ; ‘aturu sañ prabhū mwañ strinya ; ‘ana¹⁹...

100 a ? verso:

1. ...²⁰kinya ; liñnya ; rāma sañ wilāśa pati ; mon si mahārāja ; ‘akule rahina wñi ; tan mañkana hulahanta denta syami ; mañkana liñnikañ cēcēk. ; ri lakinya ‘aṇṇō²¹
2. ...²²liñaniñ guyū parameśwara ; warahana kaliñjaner guyu ; ‘adwa haji warahēn. ṇwañ ; ‘adwa masiḥ□ sañ prabhū ; katuhwan. yan mañkana ; pakwan agawe tulañan. ; para tan□d□ā
3. ...²³ha ; hiri kita ...²⁴n□a we tañ tuno...²⁵spa ri pūfn□na ; winawaran salwifnya ; mawe ta sira dhāna ri sañ brahmān□a ; śewa śogata ; maheśwara tlas apuyunta riñ²⁶ ma
4. ...²⁷nd□y anantara hana tastiniñ wd□us. ; si wipali ṇaranira ; ṇaraniñ lakinya swastha ; ṇa ; strinya malaku wawāfyya ṇidam. ;

100 b ? recto:

1. ...sah□ saba...²⁸paknā kuwawāfniñ tunyan. ; ‘e naga naganyāmbēkku ; sumahuñ ikañ lakinya ; ‘awdi ya ku waneh□ waneh□ patwana mwañ la...²⁹
2. ...³⁰ ; nya ; katuhwan. ; yan mañkana ; yan tan masiḥ□ kiteñ yry aku ; sakayanya gōñ hyunku rikiñ wawar. ; tan kawnañ denya mati liñnya ; sumahuñ lakinya sala...³¹
3. ...³²ma ; makamatya deniñ anakbi ; ‘awdi wadwan ta dhārmmani lanañ ; dūfyas□a satriya ; mulat māhāja harindama ; rumēṇō śābdanikañ wd□us. ; ‘uda.i...³³
4. ...³⁴jariñ wadwan. ; ‘aku hari pan manus□a towin prabhū haku ; yan satwā matan pamintuhu śojari strinya ; mañkana ...³⁵

101 a ? verso:

1. ...³⁶śābdaniñ wd□us. ; laṇṅēñ sira siniwi riñ siñhañśan□a ; nahan tinon sañ d□añ hyañ bhāsubhaga magawe śloka + ‘u[.]ma...³⁷
2. ...³⁸dyottama ; yogya wawaṇṇōhōn sahala hayuniñ wuwusnya ; nahan. wiwi nintuhū de sañ ratu ; harindamma ; hujafnya ; [...]

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