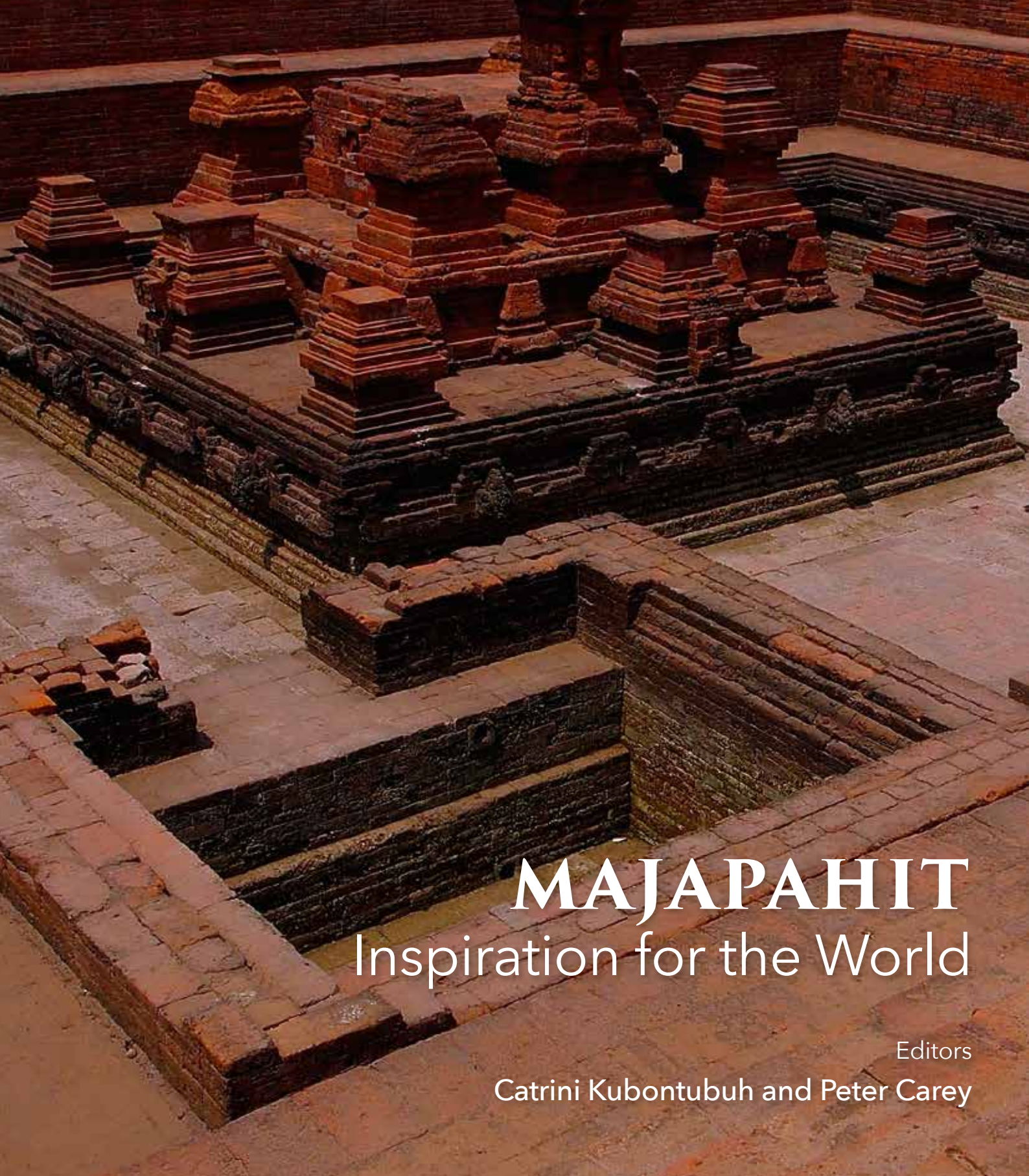

MAJAPAHIT
Inspiration for the World

Editors
Catrini Kubontubuh and Peter Carey

The present volume illustrates these powerful associations linked to the name Majapahit through three chapters which explore in turn Majapahit's relations with the world (Miksic, Chapter 1), the ways in which rituals currently practised in Bali reflect Majapahit precedent (Made Wijaya, Chapter 2), and the dynamic and fluid nature of the Majapahit polity as illustrated in the Panji Stories and Rakwi Prapañca's *Nagarakertagama* panegyric to the glory of the kingdom at its fourteenth-century height (1365) (Vickers, Chapter 3). These all celebrate the wonder that was Majapahit as a pre-colonial state. Unfortunately, there is also a darker side to this inspirational legacy. This has to do with the reality of the present-day remains of the vanished court-city.

(Peter Carey, page 2)

MAJAPAHIT:
INSPIRATION FOR THE WORLD

MAJAPAHIT: INSPIRATION FOR THE WORLD
Jakarta, 21 November 2014

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Preface

2014 marks an important moment in modern Indonesian history with the recent change in the country's leadership. The year also commemorates the 721st anniversary of the foundation of the East Javanese empire of Majapahit by Raden Wijaya in 1293. Famed throughout the region for the glory of its civilization, Majapahit was able to unite the archipelago under its sovereign aegis for the best part of two centuries. Today, the wonder that was Majapahit in its fourteenth-century heyday continues to inspire us to strengthen our country's unity, and to honour its remarkable cultural and natural diversity for the benefit of future Indonesian generations. The networks of friendship and regional cooperation developed by Majapahit from the late thirteenth century have shown us how to build mutually supportive international relationships amidst the challenges and complexities of present-day international politics. The dynamic interplay of culture, religion and humanity, which shaped the Majapahit of Empu Prapañca's *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* (1365), continues today under different guises to determine the identity of the world's nations.

The important role played by the Majapahit empire in international politics from the fourteenth century provides us with a model of how to manage our own international diplomacy in the global age. The bedrock of such diplomatic relations can be found in the social, cultural, economic, and political realms. Not only are they the basis for Indonesia's present-day inter-state relations, but they are also the sinews for the strong relationship which bind the peoples of the archipelago in a dynamic whole.

Various remains of Majapahit's former greatness can still be discerned scattered throughout the Trowulan countryside, but the necessary work has yet to be done to bring them to full view. Their true dimension has yet to be appreciated. The site of the former royal capital, once famous for its culture and humanity, is still partially hidden underground. But even here its future is threatened from

ongoing environmental destruction as a result of the use of its archaeologically-rich soils for brick-making and other irresponsible activities.

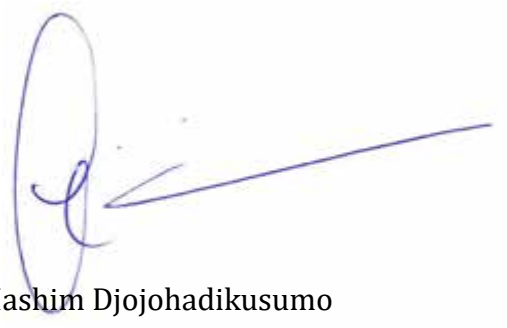
Comprehension, devotion, and hard work are all required to rescue, preserve, and develop Majapahit's endangered heritage. Most important, a robust regime of site preservation must be put in place to ensure that those few remaining parts of Majapahit's historical and archaeological record are saved from further damage, forfeiture and destruction as a result of ignorance and mismanagement. The present rate of damage will continue if devotees, scientists and observers do not immediately unite and act in effective unison as a conservation movement.

This deep desire and concern has informed the present initiative to gather a number of reflections and analyses written by researchers, devotees, and youth regarding the various ways in which the former Majapahit empire can continue to serve as a source of inspiration for humanity. On this auspicious occasion, the Yayasan Arsari Djojohadikusumo (Arsari Djojohadikusumo Foundation, YAD) is publishing two books containing recent Majapahit research, namely *Inspirasi Majapahit* (Inspirational Majapahit) in Indonesian, and *Majapahit: Inspiration for the World* in English. These books provide summaries and reviews of key information and controversies relating to Majapahit and its empire. They approach the subject from a variety of angles, including history, archaeology, literature and architecture, and analyze in particular Majapahit's historical legacy. We hope that his will provide an inspiration for present-day and future researchers, both here in Indonesia and throughout the world.

As part of its mandate as an educational trust, YAD has initiated an ongoing research program, namely the Indonesian Integrated Archeological Research (Penelitian Arkeologi Terpadu Indonesia / PATI) program, which was launched in 2008 (PATI I) and renewed in 2010 (PATI II). It will now (2014-2016) be continued as PATI III under the aegis of the Department of Archaeology of Gadjah Mada University (UGM). The PATI program is conducted by archaeology lecturers and students from three other universities besides UGM, namely, the University of Indonesia (Jakarta), Udayana University (Denpasar, Bali) and Hasanuddin University (Makassar). On 12 June 2014, YAD inaugurated the Mandala Majapahit (ManMa) facility in the hall of Jatisumber Village, Watusumpak, Trowulan District. ManMa has been designed to serve as an essential forum to gather and preserve diverse archaeological data, information, and research results, including

those from the various PATI programs, as well as serving as a forum for Trowulan inhabitants, observers, devotees, and conservation practitioners so that a number of social, cultural, and economic activities can be developed to glorify Majapahit culture.

We hope this book will provide the basis for renewed research on Majapahit, so that the former empire's still extant remains can be saved for posterity. We hope too that it will give a new sense of urgency to the quest for a suitable format for the conservation of the Majapahit site which addresses local, national and international concerns.



Hashim Djojohadikusumo

Chairman of Yayasan Arsari Djojohadikusumo

MAJAPAHIT:
INSPIRATION FOR THE WORLD

721ST ANNIVERSARY VOLUME:
ESSAYS AND IMAGES

Adrian Vickers

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Majapahit between the Myths [1]

Peter Carey

The Republic of Indonesia partly bases its claim to national unity on the last Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit (1293-1510s). The first king, Wijaya (reigned 1293-1309), began the construction of the royal palace of Majapahit in present-day Trowulan, some 55 kilometres southwest of Surabaya, on the eve of the Mongol-Chinese invasion of Java in 1293. In the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the famous Prime Minister Gajah Mada (in office 1331-1364), initiated an expansionist policy. This enabled the Hindu-Javanese kingdom to exert its political influence beyond Java to other parts of the archipelago from the Malay Peninsula to present-day Papua, a process referred to in John Miksic's chapter in this volume (Chapter 1). The kingdom fell into decline in the early fifteenth century.

Throughout the entire colonial period (1619-1942), the Dutch were aware of Majapahit's imperial legacy – a form of pre-colonial Javanese state which continued to cast its long shadow over the Dutch-governed East Indies: the Java War (1825-30) leader, Prince Diponegoro (1785-1855), for example, referred to its possible revival as a 'great and mighty empire' for the glory of The Prophet as he sailed along the islands of the eastern archipelago on his voyage into exile in Sulawesi in May-June 1830 (Carey 2008:590), a detail mentioned by Adrian Vickers in the present volume (Chapter 2). Indeed, so potent was Majapahit's historical image that no colonial government was willing to facilitate its revival. This was particularly the case in the early twentieth century, when early Indonesian nationalist leaders, who understood the need for nation-states to use historic symbols for the legitimation of their cultural and national identity, began

[1] This chapter draws extensively on Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2010:12-13.

to use Majapahit as a claim for Indonesian sovereignty over the Dutch controlled archipelago. When Sutan Sjahrir (1909-1966), the former Indonesian prime minister and foreign minister (1945-47), addressed the UN Security Council at Lake Success on Long Island on 14 August 1947, he referred explicitly to Sriwijaya and Majapahit as the historical forerunners of a united Indonesia, a speech which so struck the diplomatic correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* that he stated that it was the most moving he had ever heard at Lake Success (*NYHT*, 15 August 1947). After Indonesia's independence in 1945, Majapahit became the symbol par excellence of the young republic's territorial integrity.

The present volume illustrates these powerful associations linked to the name Majapahit through three chapters which explore in turn Majapahit's relations with the world (Miksic, Chapter 1), the ways in which rituals currently practised in Bali reflect Majapahit precedent (Made Wijaya, Chapter 2), and the dynamic and fluid nature of the Majapahit polity as illustrated in the Panji Stories and Rakwi Prapañca's *Nagarakertagama* panegyric to the glory of the kingdom at its fourteenth-century height (1365) (Vickers, Chapter 3). These all celebrate the wonder that was Majapahit as a pre-colonial state. Unfortunately, there is also a darker side to this inspirational legacy. This has to do with the reality of the present-day remains of the vanished court-city.

Although nearly everyone in Indonesia is convinced that the Majapahit capital was situated at Trowulan, archaeologists still argue futilely about the exact location of the royal palace and the lay-out of the surrounding city.[2] In fact, as Gomperts, Haag and Carey have pointed out in their recent publications (see especially Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2014:73), the exact location of the royal city was already indicated by the Dutch archaeologists of the Netherlands East Indies Archaeological Service (*Oudheidkundige Dienst*) in their annual reports since the 1920s. In 1931, Austrian architect Bruno Nobile de Vistarini (1891-1971) published his excavations of a section of the northern palace wall (Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2014:71). But a combination of intentional obfuscation on the part of senior Dutch archaeologists, notably FDK Bosch (1887-1967) and Frederik Willem Stutterheim (1892-1942) (Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2008: 411-30), and outright

[2] http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/09/11/researchers-find-capital-city-majapahit-not-palace.html.

interference with the research results, in the case of Delft-trained architect and would-be archaeologist, Henri Maclaine Pont (1884-1971) (Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2008: 417, Fig. 4; 2014:78-9 Fig. 4, 94-5 n.25), prevented the Indonesian people from having their genuine *kraton* Majapahit in the post-independence period. In this way, the most powerful symbol of Indonesia's new-found unity and statehood was compromised, the result of wilful sabotage by the departing Dutch coloniser and ineptitude on the part of those tasked with the preservation of what remained of the Majapahit site in the Merdeka period.

The origins of this disaster can be traced back almost two centuries to a decision taken by the British Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas Stamford Raffles (in office, 1811-1816), to omit any mention of the first ever survey of the site by the Dutch military surveyor, Captain Engineer JWB Wardenaar (1785-1869) in his celebrated two-volume *History of Java* (Raffles 1817). This omission meant that Majapahit was not amongst the list of prominent antiquities and archaeological sites which the returned Dutch colonial administration prioritised as part of their scientific programme in the post-1816 period, a programme which began with the work of the Reinwardt Commission (1817-22) and the foundation of the Botanical Garden in Bogor.

Why then is Wardenaar's map so important? Entitled *Plan of Majapahit* and drawn at scale 1:10.800, it shows the location of fifteen main archaeological features in the area, including the well-known - and still extant - remains of the Bajang Ratu gate, the Sĕgaran tank, Candi Brahu and other Hindu-Buddhist sites, as well as a few temples which have since vanished. The plan is geometrically highly accurate, allowing the georeferencing - that is, to apply geographical co-ordinates - with GPS mapping software to an accuracy of 40 metres. From the *Plan of Majapahit* and the accompanying legend and notes, the vanished royal palace can be pinpointed in the hamlet of Kĕdaton - a Javanese toponym which significantly refers either to the private royal quarters in a palace or to the royal palace itself. Also traceable was the place where the Majapahit kings were seated - flanked by four royal elephants - while watching formal festivities held on the great expanse of the large Sĕgaran (literally 'The Little Sea') tank, the most prominent surviving archaeological site at Trowulan today (Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2012:177-96).

Both Made Wijaya and Adrian Vickers' contributions to the present volume underscore the abiding Balinese interest, and relationship with, Majapahit. We know, for example, that eighteenth-century Balinese rulers took an active interest in the Majapahit ruins at Trowulan. The first ruler of the Balinese kingdom of Mengwi, Gusti Agung Anom (reigned, circa 1690-1722) made a pilgrimage to the site of the royal city in 1714. The official historiography of the Balinese court of Klungkung, the Middle Javanese *Kidung Pamañcangah*, written in the beginning of the nineteenth century by an anonymous Balinese author, also refers to the ancient capital of Majapahit and to several landmarks within the town, most of which – such as the Sĕgaran tank, the *alun-alun* square, the *pangastryan* or *wanguntur* audience-yard and the royal palace itself - can still be identified on site. In Gomperts' view, the description of Majapahit in the *Kidung Pamañcangah* relies on an oral tradition, probably based on a Balinese visit to Trowulan in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Gomperts 2011:63-73).

The remains of outer and inner palace walls marked on the archaeological maps and still extant in the interwar years allow us to determine the exact footprint of the vanished royal palace. The total length of the outer palace walls appear to have measured some 2.6 kilometres in circumference. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the Majapahit capital had a much smaller royal palace than those of the mid-eighteenth century central Javanese courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta with a population not exceeding 25,000 inhabitants (Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2010:13). The royal city, meanwhile, seems to have measured a modest 7.2 square kilometres according to Wardenaar's map, a far cry from the massive urban sprawl envisaged in popular publications written by Indonesian authors which fancifully depict the former capital as a tropical Venice criss-crossed by 25-metre wide canals covering a distance of 23 kilometres (Thamrin 2012:31)

The recent debates amongst Indonesian archaeologists regarding the existence of such canals (Munandar 2013; *Majalah Arkeologi Indonesia*, 29 March 2013) bear witness to Maclaine Pont's controversial legacy as the purveyor of fanciful theories regarding the hydraulic history of the Trowulan area where elevation (30-35-metre above sea level), absence of sluice-gates and lack of suitable bodies or sources of water to sustain a canal system rule out any possibility of an Asian Venice. Amongst the many problems which currently afflict the site of

the former Majapahit court perhaps the most intractable is the gap between the archaeological reality of a distinctly modest capital and Indonesian nationalist assumptions of a grandiose pre-colonial seat of empire. Until this paradox has been resolved, it will be difficult for scientifically-informed archaeological research to proceed.

The situation of the Trowulan site itself is also deeply compromised as a result of ongoing economic activity since the end of the Java War (1825-1830). A this time, the former outlying provinces (*mancanagara*) of the south-central Javanese courts were annexed by the Netherlands Indies colonial state to open the area for cash crop production as part of Governor-General Johannes van den Bosch's (in office,1830-1834) 'Cultivation System' (1830-70) (Houben 1994:17-69). Several nineteenth-century Dutch reports mention the massive clearance of brick remains from grounds, cadastrally allocated to colonial entrepreneurs in the sugar industry. Indeed, anyone who visits Trowulan today will be able to witness that the tradition of brick making remains central to the local economy of Trowulan. However, the process of removing top-soils for on-site fabrication of commercial building bricks in improvised pits has now reached industrial levels as the high-resolution satellite imagery of Trowulan available at Google Earth testifies. On the basis of a number of small-scale topographic maps, observations on site and digital elevation models (DEM) projected over historic maps, the scale of site destructions and removal of soils is immediately apparent. At least 20 million cubic metres of soil with brick remains have been removed since Wardenaar's plan was made in 1815 (Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2012:192). In fact, major parts of the foundations of the palace walls still extant in the 1920s have vanished since the 1980s. The demolition of medieval brick-walled wells continues up to the present. All this is a direct consequence of the fact that the Oudheidkundige Dienst - perhaps under pressure from local Dutch sugar estate owners - never implemented policies for protecting the Majapahit remains in Trowulan. In fact, major parts of the foundations of the palace walls still extant in the 1920s have vanished since the 1980s. In the past decade, the pace of on-site demolition appears to have quickened: the few remains of the western palace walls marked on the 1983 Indonesian National Mapping Agency (Bakorstanal) map and still visible in late 2007 have all now disappeared (Gomperts 2011:70 n.8).

In Trowulan today the hands of the clock stand at five minutes to midnight. Within a generation everything that now remains will have been lost. The only record of what Majapahit once was will be the ghostly gray shadows of the former course of the palace walls appearing on satellite images. A unique pre-colonial royal city, the only one of its kind in present-day Indonesia, will have been entirely obliterated. The fate which has overtaken Trowulan would have been hard to imagine in an Indiana Jones movie. The fact that Indonesia's premier archaeological site has become the open quarrying pit for a local brick-making industry is a cruel twist of history which seems like the revenge of the West Javanese Kingdom of Pajajaran for the 1357 slaughter of Bubat.[3]

All this must give urgency to a new site preservation policy: dedicated and professional archaeological excavations are more necessary than ever now. Indeed, if the present volume has any value, may it contribute to the implementation of a robust regime of archaeological site preservation which can ensure that future generations of archaeologists are not deprived of access to the glory that was pre-colonial Java.

As former President Sukarno so frequently observed, no nation can survive without a knowledge of its historical past. Gomperts, Haag and Carey's contributions over the past seven years make clear why Majapahit is so important: in their view, it embodies in its urban archaeology the transition from Java's Hindu-Javanese past to the modern Islamic society of present-day Indonesia. The fourteenth-century city was not only the last Hindu-Javanese capital, it was also the first urban community where members of a Javanese royal family adhered to the new Islamic faith (Damais 1957:353-415). The royal capital thus marks the historic crossroads of Indonesia's modern age (Gomperts, Haag and Carey 2010:13).

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3 The Battle of Bubat also known as Pasundan Bubat was the battle between the Sundanese royal family and the Majapahit army which took place on Bubat square in the northern part ofTrowulan in 1279 Saka or 1357 CE when the entire Sundanese royal family and entourage, which had accompanied the Sundanese princess Dyah Pitaloka for her betrothal to the Majapahit ruler, Hayam Wuruk (reigned, 1350-89), were slaughtered by Majapahit prime minister, Patih Gajah Mada's troops. According to tradition, Pitaloka and her accompanying female retainers all committed suicide.

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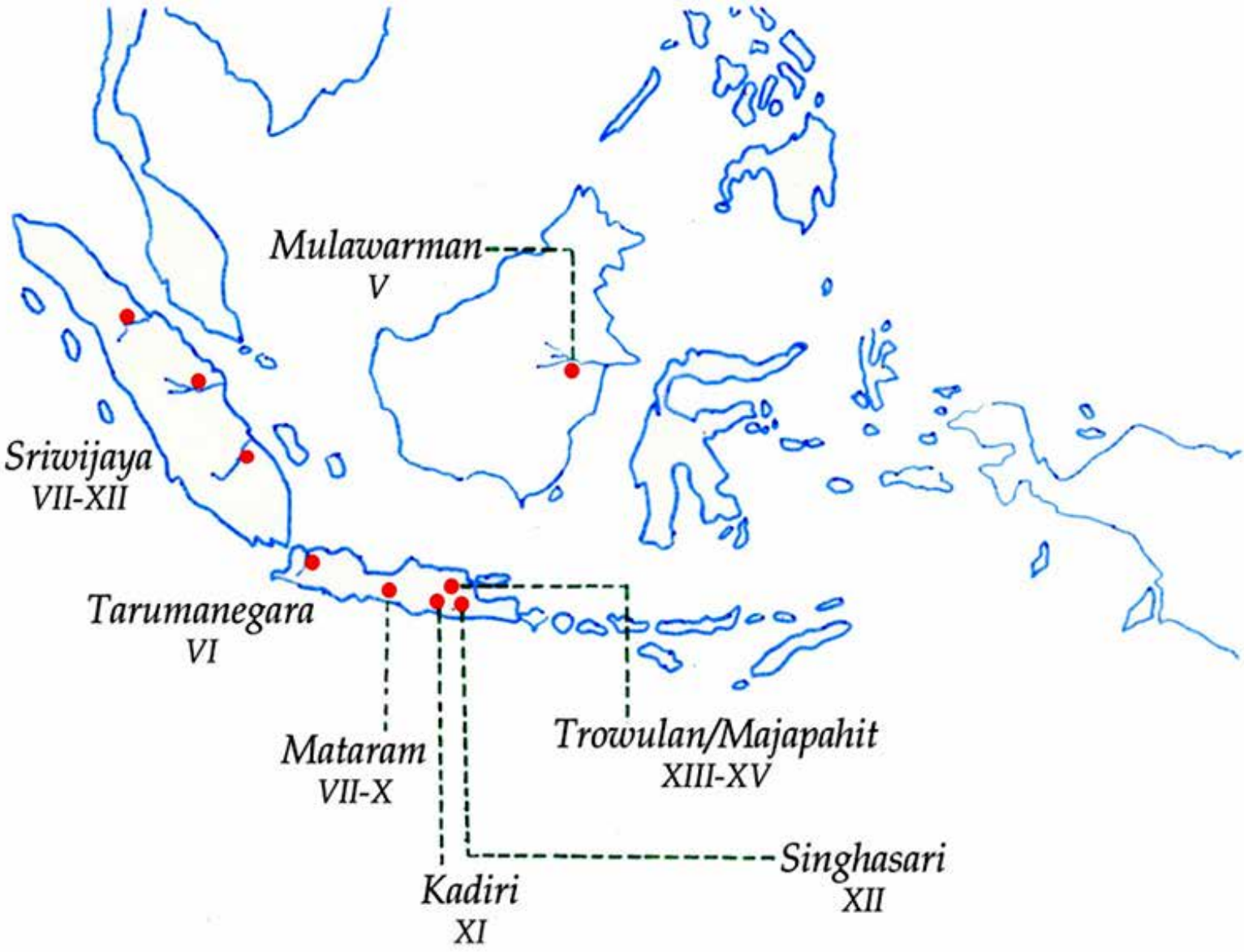

Old Kingdoms in Nusantara

Majapahit's Foreign Policy and Perceptions of International Relations

John N. Miksic

The birth of Majapahit at the end of the 13th century was closely connected with a period of tense and complex international relations. Because Kertanagara's kingdom of Singasari (1268-1292) was unwilling to submit to the order of the Emperor of China, Khublai Khan (reigned 1260-1294), to come to Beijing in person to demonstrate his subservience as a Chinese vassal, Khublai sent a fleet to attack Java which arrived in early 1293. Although the Mongols were then masters of a large proportion of the continent of Asia, in East Java the Mongol generals were faced with an environment and political situation far beyond their previous experience. Eventually, they were manipulated by Kertarajasa, the future founder of Majapahit (reigned 1293-1309), in a civil war, then forced to retreat to China. They took 100 Javanese with them as prisoners of war, but several members of the Chinese high command were severely punished because they were deemed to have been defeated by the Javanese.

It is evident from this example that powerful foreigners were not able to change the political situation in East Java at the end of the 13th century. We can still inquire whether the victory of Kertarajasa would have been guaranteed without the support of Chinese troops. Conversely, if Jayakatwang (died 1293) had been victorious, and the capital of East Java had remained in Kediri, far from the north

coast, would the Javanese have continued to devote a large proportion of their attention to foreign trade and maritime communication? As events transpired, even though foreigners did not influence the Javanese situation in general, they still made an impact on the course of Javanese history.

It is lessons such as this which can be derived from the study of history. Even though we cannot predict the future, nevertheless the implications of specific actions and decisions can be used as a guide for decision-makers. No-one would voluntarily lose their memory or suffer amnesia; in fact many people are fascinated by the study of their family genealogy. Archaeological and historical research can extend social memory even further into the past than memory. The loss of historical and archaeological data is nothing less than permanent amnesia for a whole nation.

The kingdom of Majapahit was born during a transitional period in Southeast Asia. Two ancient kingdoms, which had dominated large areas of mainland Southeast Asia, Angkor and Bagan, which flourished between the ninth and the fifteenth century, were fading from existence. Mongols were launching attacks in various parts of Southeast Asia, including Vietnam, Champa, the Ayeyarwadi valley, and Cambodia. Historians are still debating the question of whether and to what extent Mongol foreign policy was responsible for the fall of these kingdoms, but the fact that this policy did have some kind of impact cannot be doubted.

Contact with China is definitely a factor which must be taken into consideration in the endeavor to explain the evolution of the kingdom of Majapahit. This connection can be viewed from numerous perspectives, including diplomacy, defense, religion, language, technology, settlement patterns, architecture, art, and economy. It must, however, be acknowledged that contact with China almost ceased completely between 1435 and 1500. The *Deśawarṇana* mentions China, but as only one among many countries which had frequent contact with Majapahit. The bureaucrats in charge of Majapahit's foreign affairs had to design a multilateral system of foreign relations, not simply a bilateral one focused on China.

According to the *Deśawarṇana* (pupuh 83.4), foreign residents who were commonly seen at Majapahit's capital came from India (*Jambudvipa*), as well as two places, Karnataka and Goda, which are now also part of India; many countries in Southeast Asia [Cambodia, China, North Vietnam (*Yawana*), Champa (South

Vietnam), and *Syangka* (*Syangkayodhyapura,* Siam 'with Ayutthaya')]. Jambudvipa was considered to be an excellent country (like Java) because there were found religious experts (*aji, dhyakśa*, *saptopapatti* etc.; pupuh 83.2). North Vietnam, however, was considered a special case, a very close ally (*deśāntara mitreka satatā*; pupuh 15.1). This description implies a closer relationship between North Vietnam and Majapahit than existed with any other country. Archaeological data supports this suggestion. In the 15th century, the court of Majapahit ordered porcelain wall tiles and other ceramics from Vietnam for the palace. Some of these were later taken and inserted in the walls of the Great Mosque of Demak and in the gateway of the tomb of Sunan Kudus (died 1550).

Prapañca also listed other Southeast Asian countries with which Majapahit had friendly relations. These included several kingdoms in what is now southern Thailand but which have a long history of Malay culture, Cambodia, and Mottama (Martaban, an important port at the northwest corner of the Siamo-Malay peninsula).

Although Mpu Prapañca praised Indian civilization, apparently official relations between Majapahit and Indian kingdoms were not very close. A large part of 14th-century India was under the control of Muslim sultanates; the only significant Hindu kingdom still holding out was Vijayanagara (late 13th century - 1565) in the south, whereas Buddhism in India was extinct. According to the stories of the Wali Songo, the nine legendary 'apostles of Islam' in Java, Indian Muslim merchants were highly influential in the north coast society of Java, but from a political standpoint India was not a major factor.

The richest source of data, both historical and archaeological, concerns Majapahit's relations with China. Archaeological data comes from studies of Chinese ceramics imported to Java, many of which are of rare or unique types probably made especially for the Javanese market. The Chinese archives also contain much information about Majapahit during the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties. Usually ships did not sail directly from China to Java, but stopped at Champa on the way as they did in 1292 (Groeneveldt, 1960: 20). In that year, according to the *History of the Yuan*, Khublai Khan assembled 20,000 troops from Fujian, Huguang (now the provinces of Hubei and Hunan) and Guangxi in Quanzhou, a major Chinese port, under one Chinese and two Mongol generals. The *Deśawarṇana* (pupuh 44.4) in the description of the battle between Kertarajasa against Jayakatwang calls the Mongol troops 'Tatar men', not Chinese, scornfully

indicating that the Mongol conquest demonstrated Chinese weakness. This phrase also implies that the Javanese considered the Mongols to be somewhat uncivilized. When the *Deśawarṇana* was written in 1365, the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) was almost over; two years later the Mongols were defeated by the Ming who moved the capital to Nanjing, but at this time Beijing was still the capital of China.

When the Mongol fleet arrived at Tuban in early 1293, half of the army landed there, while the other half sailed to Sedayu and a 'floating bridge' over the Kali Mas. The existence of a bridge indicates that Sedayu was an important commercial center for the Singasari kingdom. This floating bridge is mentioned several times in Chinese sources. Apparently trade was conducted on this bridge, as it was on the famous bridge in Melaka in the 15th century. The existence of the bridge may have been a sign of Javanese influence; the Javanese were one of the largest groups of traders in Melaka (Groeneveldt 1960: 22-23). At Sedayu the Mongols captured over 100 warships from the forces of Tumapel.

An emissary of Tuhan Vijaya reported to the Mongol army that Majapahit was under attack from its adversary Raja Kalang. A few days later a hard-fought battle took place in which several hundred of Raja Kalang's soldiers were killed. The Mongol troops then attacked Daha with cannon, and eventually the king was forced to surrender. Two hundred Chinese troops were then sent to accompany Tuhan Vijaya on his return to Majapahit to receive tribute, but on the way they were all killed by Majapahit's army. The Chinese army then retreated to its ships and sailed back to Quanzhou.

Several times the Chinese sources refer to a Javanese map used in this war, but unfortunately we know nothing about its appearance (Groeneveldt 1960: 24-27). Out of 20,000 troops sent to Java, 3,000 died of disease or were killed. One of the Chinese generals was given seventeen lashes and one-third of his property was confiscated as punishment for his defeat.

Although early relations between Majapahit and China were marked by violence and death, nevertheless Java continued to be famous in China. A Chinese merchant, Wang Dayuan, who spent several years trading in Southeast Asia between 1330 and 1340, said that the Javanese were 'the principal people of the Eastern Ocean'. The buildings of the government of Java (he does not say where they were, but it is obvious that Trowulan was intended) were all beautiful and impressive. The country yielded huge quantities of rice. There were no thieves there. Chinese coins were used as the main form of currency. According to Wang

Dayuan, Java also yielded pepper, textiles, and talking birds. They sold these commodities for glass beads, gold, silver, blue and white porcelain, and iron objects from China (Rockhill 1914: 238). According to a Ming source, Majapahit sent tribute to China consisting of local products, but sometimes horses, white deer, peacocks, and rhinoceros horn. At this time, tributary trade had returned to its normal status as a form of commercial exchange.

Descriptions of Majapahit's capital in the early 15th century are more detailed, due to the 1405-1433 voyages of Zheng He (1371-1433) which often called at Surabaya. It appears that Chinese-Javanese relations had returned to normal by this time. About 200 or 300 Chinese families lived in the capital at this time, as well as in Gresik and Tuban. Ma Huan, one of Admiral Zheng He's staff, visited Trowulan around 1420. He was a Muslim, and he said that all the Chinese who lived in Java were Muslim too (Mills 1970: 91; Rockhill 1914: 242).

After the Yuan dynasty was replaced by the Ming in 1368, relations between China and Majapahit changed as the result of two factors. One factor was the migration of a small number of Chinese to East Java. The second factor was connected to the new administrative system employed in China to manage foreign affairs. The first Ming emperor, Hongwu (reigned, 1368-1398), intended to restore the system which he thought was traditional in China, before the Mongols usurped power. Hongwu took the attitude that commerce was a despicable profession which should be avoided. This attitude reflected the view of Confucius in the Zhou period, around 500 BCE. Thus Hongwu several times issued instructions that foreign countries could only send missions to China once every three years, or if there was a change of emperor. According to Hongwu's interpretation, the system of sending envoys with tribute was only a commercial system in disguise, because, once tribute had been presented, the foreign emissaries were given compensation from China and the envoys were then allowed to conducted a limited amount of trade. This change of policy had a major effect on commerce between Indonesian kingdoms and China, as Wolters (1970: 49-76) has described.

In 1369, four years after Mpu Prapañca's poem was written, Emperor Hongwu sent two envoys to convey the news that the Mongol dynasty had fallen and the Ming had taken power. The mission went to Japan, Champa, Java, and *Xi-yang* (the "western ocean"; its precise location is unknown). By coincidence two envoys from Java had already set out for China at the same time. It transpired that one was a Javanese ambassador who had originally been sent as an envoy

when the Yuan dynasty still ruled from Beijing. He was transported back to Java together with an envoy who had arrived in 1369 (Wade: Hong-wu, 26 February 1369). Apparently letters from China to Majapahit were often sent via Champa, a circumstance which creates the impression that the maritime route between Champa and Majapahit was quite busy in the 14th century. It is therefore not surprising that stories about Champa, such as those connected with the grave site of Puteri Campa or Princess of Champa, and Cham influence which is reflected in the architectural style of Candi Pari, often arise. For example, in 1370 Java was included in a list of countries where Chinese ambassadors were sent, together with Korea, Annam (North Vietnam), Champa, *Xi-yang,* and *Suoli* (also somewhere in the Western Ocean). Unfortunately, no detailed record of this contact has yet been discovered.

Other ambassadors from Majapahit were frequently sent during the reign of Hayam Wuruk (reigned, 1350-1389) (who was called *Xi-li Ba-da-la Ba-da-pu* in Chinese sources). It seems that two different missions were sent in 1370. The second was recorded as arriving on 6 October 1370. This mission delivered a letter written on a sheet of gold, and 'local products'. The mission also returned three proclamations which had been received from the Yuan emperor; this indicated that the Javanese no longer honored them. The Javanese mission was presented with silk, a set of official robes, high slippers, and stockings. Apparently the Javanese appreciated receiving Chinese costumes as a sign of their high status. Perhaps they even wore them when they returned to Java. Majapahit society was of a sufficiently cosmopolitan nature that foreign fashions were of interest.

Occasionally Chinese sources record that the behaviour of the Javanese emissaries was not appropriate. For instance, in 1379 two Javanese members of an official mission were set free after having been imprisoned because they had been 'insincere'. It was suspected that their visit was not solely for the objective of showing respect to the emperor, but because they actually wanted to conduct business. In November 1379, further ambassadors arrived from Java without difficulty. However, in the following year a Javanese minister named A-lie Yi-lie-shi [Arya Rishi?] was imprisoned for a month and then sent home. It seems that an ambassador from *Sanfoqi* (either Malayu-Jambi or Palembang) had arrived in China before him, so that the Chinese acknowledged *Sanfoqi* as an independent kingdom. When Hayam Wuruk heard of this, he became furious because he claimed Malayu as one of Majapahit's *jajahan* or dependencies, as stated in the *Nagarakrtagama.* Thus when the Javanese learned that a Chinese ambassador

had been sent to Malayu to deliver official recognition, he was lured to Java and killed. The Chinese emperor Hongwu felt ashamed because his emissary had been killed as a result of his lack of understanding of the actual political situation in Sumatra.

Thus the Chinese acknowledged that the murder of the Chinese ambassador was the result of their own mistake. A-lie Yi-lie-shi was not killed, but was sent back to Java. Relations between China and Java soon returned to normal. A-lie Yi-lie-shi came back to China in October or November 1381, again on an official mission and this time bringing a letter from Hayam Wuruk (who was now called in Chinese *Ba-da-na Ba-na-wu*), as well as local products, and 300 black slaves. Emperor Hongwu reciprocated by giving gifts of clothing and paper money [one wonders what the Javanese did with the paper money; perhaps they spent it in China to buy goods to take back to Java?].

What was going on in southeast Sumatra at this time? We are not sure. Adityawarman had been sent to Malayu Dharmasraya, which was probably located in the area of Rambahan, West Sumatra, by Gadjah Mada around 1343 to serve as viceroy. He may have died around 1375. Perhaps his son Ananggawarman decided to try to assert independence from Majapahit by sending a mission to China to request diplomatic recognition. It is also possible that another local ruler in southeast Sumatra, perhaps in Palembang, was responsible for sending the mission in around 1379.

Another envoy from Hayam Wuruk arrived the very next year bringing a letter on gold leaf, 101 black slaves, 8 large pearls, and 75,000 *jin* [a unit of measure) of black pepper. The ambassadors received silk and paper money.

After 1381, it appears that official relations between Majapahit and China were quiet for some time. King Hayam Wuruk died in 1389. A mission from Majapahit was sent to China in April 1393, led by a Buddhist monk. Probably their goal was to report the king's death and the name of his successor.

The Chinese records show that the voyage from Java to China was not very easy; emissaries from Java sometimes experienced difficulty or even disaster during their travels. In 1393, for example one of the ships which were carrying the Javanese mission to China was blown off course and was detained by the Chinese coast guard. Once their status was clarified, they were set free and given assistance to enable them to return to Java.

More missions were recorded in December 1393 and May 1394. However, in 1397 Hongwu was informed that several countries had not sent missions in a long time. Apparently one of these was *Sanfoqi.* Of course Malayu had been subdued by Hayam Wuruk around 1379, and was therefore not an independent country; therefore it is difficult to understand why the Chinese thought it should send diplomatic missions to China. Perhaps they had become confused again. Hongwu therefore sent instructions to *Sanfoqi* and Java that missions should be sent, but because the Chinese were afraid that their ambassador might be captured by *Sanfoqi,* the letter was entrusted to the Siamese to be delivered to Majapahit. This letter said in part:

> 'How is it possible that Sanfoqi and other countries can refuse the favor of heaven [meaning the emperor] and discard the master-servant relationship? Only Sanfoqi obstructs our culture. Sanfoqi, an insignificant country, supports criminals. You, king of Siam, still fulfill your obligations as a subject. Thus the Emperor would be grateful if you would convey this instruction to Java, so that they can teach Sanfoqi the True Great Principles of Behaviour.'

According to the opinion of Oliver Wolters, this letter brought disaster to the Malays. He believed that Majapahit attacked Palembang, then ruled by a king known as Parameswara, around 1392. Parameswara fled to Singapore, but after five years there he was driven away again, either by the Siamese, or possibly by the Malay kingdom of Patani. Apparently Parameswara or his men had killed the chief of Singapore, who was coincidentally the son-in-law of the king of Patani. Once more Chinese diplomatic interference had unintended consequences because they were not aware of the true political and cultural situation in the Majapahit kingdom.

During Hongwu's reign (1368-1398), seventeen countries formed diplomatic relations with China. Before his death, Hongwu appointed his nephew as his heir and successor, but after four years he was overthrown by his uncle, Hongwu's brother, who succeeded him with the reign name Yongle. During his reign which lasted from 1402 to 1424, Yongle attempted to revive relations between China and other countries. In order to achieve this goal, Yongle sponsored

a number of missions which sailed to Indonesia and all the way to east Africa. On 3 October 1402, he issued a proclamation ordering the dispatch of missions to Annam, Siam, Java, Ryukyu, Japan, *Xi-yang*, Samudera (Aceh) and Champa.

The envoys sent to Java were Wen Liangfu, an Investigative Commissioner, and Ning Shan, an ambassador, on 25 August 1403. In September a group sent from the "Western King of Java" arrived in Nanjing with tribute. In October 1403, several Chinese envoys were sent to the Western King of Java, *Du-ma-ban* [Tumapel?]. Chinese ambassadors who had called at Champa, the normal stopover on the way to and from Java, had found three Javanese who had been detained there. The Chinese freed them and took them back to China, then sent them home to Java.

Between 1403 and 1406 Yongle received envoys from two Javanese kings: the Western King and the Eastern King. They seem to have been competing to control the trade route to China, but China was prepared to receive envoys from both of them. In Javanese historiography, this period is known as the time of the division of the kingdom followed by civil war between Wikramawarddhana (reigned, 1389-1429) and Wirabhumi. In 1406 Wirabhumi was beheaded. At that moment a Chinese envoy happened to be 'passing through the region which had formerly been ruled by the Eastern King. The army which accompanied him [i.e. the envoy] landed to conduct trade, and 170 of them were killed by the army of the Western King.' But in 1407, Wikramawarddhana sent a mission to China to apologize for what was apparently a case of mistaken identity. Yongle agreed to pardon the massacre in return for payment of 60,000 *liang* [a unit of measure] of gold. In 1408, Wikramawarddhana paid 10,000 *liang*; Yongle declared himself to be satisfied with that amount, and forgave the rest of the fine.

One of the steps which Yongle took to improve relations with Java and other countries was to send fleets to collect tribute instead of waiting for those countries to send it. He also instructed the fleets to look for enemies whom he thought might have fled from China to hide in Southeast Asia. One of the people who became famous as the result of this new policy was Admiral Zheng He (1371-1433). He was, however, not the only admiral; there were several other officers who carried out similar duties.

In 1408, Yongle became involved in relations between Brunei and Majapahit. In that year the raja of Brunei passed away. An ambassador from Brunei came to China to report this event and to request that China recognize the crown

prince as the new raja. After this request was granted, the Brunei ambassador also reported that his kingdom was forced to send tribute in the form of camphor to Java every year. Brunei asked that this practice be stopped because Brunei wanted to be a vassal of China so that they should not have to pay tribute to Java at the same time. Yongle granted this request. Brunei then sent an ambassador to Majapahit to inform the king of this decision. This event shows that even at this late period Majapahit could still project its power over areas which lay at a considerable distance from Java.

In 1409, a Chinese office returned to China from a mission to Java. We are not told what this mission was; possibly it was connected with the Brunei request. We can conclude that he completed his mission successfully since he was given paper money and silk.

Majapahit sent missions almost annually for the next few years: 1410, 1411 (two missions!), 1412, and 1413. In the latter year it was reported that Melaka had requested that China grant them authority over Old Port (Palembang). According to the Chinese record, dated in Year 11, Month 9, Day 7 of the reign of the Yongle emperor (1 Oct 1413):

> The envoy Ya-lie Sha-ma-ye and others, who had been sent by Du-ma-ban, the Western king of the country of Java, offered tribute of local products. When they were about to depart, they were given Imperial orders of instruction for Du-ma-ban as follows: 'Previously, when the eunuch Wu Bin and so on returned, they said that you, king, served the Court respectfully, that you had treated the envoys carrying the Imperial orders with due ceremony and that your efforts in these respects were continually increasing. Recently, it has been heard that the king is worried and concerned as the country of Melaka has asked for the territory of Old Port. I promote sincerity in my treatment of people. If this had been allowed, I would have sent orders of instruction to you. Given that there have been no orders from the Court, why are you worried? Be careful not to listen to the frivolous words of lesser men. Now I am conferring upon you patterned fine silks and silk gauzes. These are for your receipt.'
>
> [Geoff Wade, translator, Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: an open access resource, Singapore: Asia Research Institute and the Singapore

E-Press, National University of Singapore, http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/2020, accessed 30 August 2014.]

More missions from Majapahit went to China in 1415, 1416, 1418, 1420, 1422, 1425, and October 1426. Yongle had died over two years before this last mission on12 August 1424. During Yongle's reign, Siam (Ayutthaya) had dispatched the most missions to China (21). Champa was the second most prolific sender of missions (18), followed by Java (17) (Chang 1989: 32).

The next emperor, Xuande, sent only one fleet to Southeast Asia in 1435. Java, however, continued to send frequent missions during his reign: two in 1427, one in 1428, and two more in 1429. We know that Wirkramawarddhana (reigned 1389-1429) died in this year and was succeeded by his daughter Suhita, who reigned from 1429-1447. During her reign, she sent nine missions to China (1430, 1436, two in 1437, 1438, 1440, 1443, 1446, and 1447). She died in 1447 and was succeeded by Krtawijaya, who reigned from 1447 to 1451. A mission from Java reached China in September 1447, but we do not know whether it was sent by Suhita or Krtawijaya. Other than this one mission, no others came to China from Java during his reign.

After Krtawijaya, it appears that the capital of Majapahit moved from Trowulan to Kahuripan under the rule of Rajasarddhana (1451-1453). Two Javanese missions arrived in China during this period. Another arrived in September 1454. They reported that they had been sent by *Ba-la wu,* the Chinese name for Rajasawarddhana.

The period between 1456 and 1466 was the reign of Hyang Purwawiśesa. Missions from Java reached China in 1460 and 1465. One of these missions was marred by bad behavior. According to a Chinese record dated 6 December 1460, the ambassadors from Java and *Chang-he-xi* [an unknown kingdom] stayed at the same government rest house. The two diplomatic groups drank until they became intoxicated after which a fight ensued, during which the Javanese killed six of the men from *Chang-he-xi*. The Javanese were not punished, but a message was sent to Raja Hyang Purwawiśesa asking him to punish them. We do not know whether Purwawiśesa paid any attention to this request.

No further Javanese diplomatic missions arrived for the next thirty-one

years. Only in 1496 did a mission from Girīndrawarddhana (reigned, 1488-1527) arrive in China. This corresponds to the reign of emperor Hongzhi (1487-1505). This mission experienced ill fortune. Their ship was struck by a typhoon and over 100 people drowned. The only object which was saved was a letter written on gold foil. The same event recurred with another mission in 1499.

With this mission, the history of diplomatic relations between Majapahit and China comes to an end. The main conclusion which we can draw from this long record of communication is that China viewed Majapahit as a country to be reckoned with both in terms of diplomatic as well as economic affairs. Unfortunately, we have no Javanese data to compare with the Chinese records.

According to a Portuguese report of 1515:

> They say that the Javanese used to have affinity with the Chinese, and one king of China sent one of his daughters to Java to marry Batara Raja Çuda, and that he sent her to Java with many people of China, and that he then sent money in the cash which are now currency, and they say that there was a junkload of them, and that that King was a vassal, not a tributary, of the king of China and that the Javanese killed all the Chinese in Java by treachery. Others say that it was not so, but that one king was never related to or knew the other, and that the Java cash were brought to Java for merchandise, because the Chinese used to trade in Java long before Malacca existed. But now they have not been there for the last hundred years. (Cortesão 1944: 179)

Chinese sources do not mention any such wedding, but the fact that this story was known in Melaka in the early 16th century, when Girīndrawarddhana was still ruling, shows that this tradition had already been in circulation for a long time and was already known when Majapahit still existed.

We know that royal intermarriage between Java and other countries because of a record that Raja Jaya Singhavarman III of Champa married a princess of Java named Tapasi (Coedès 1968: 217). Since this marriage took place sometime between 1285 and 1306, we cannot be certain whether Princess Tapasi came from Singasari or Majapahit.

In addition to China, Majapahit had relations with another country in East Asia: Ryukyu. In the middle of the 15th century, after the death of emperor Yongle in 1424, China cut off almost all communication with the outside world. Ryukyu was assigned the role of intermediary other countries who wanted to send tribute or to trade with China. The princes and high official of Ryukyu were sent to China to be educated. In 1442, according to Chinese records, an ambassador set off on a ship which carried a cargo of porcelain and other Chinese goods on a voyage to Java to obtain pepper and sandalwood. Ryukyu records confirm the 1442 voyage, and add other earlier voyages to Java in 1430, 1440, and 1441. Their cargoes included textiles, swords, and porcelains (Kobata and Matsuda 1969: 156-161; see also Wade 2007). Beginning in 1392, a group of Korean merchants had resided in Ryukyu in order to trade with Siam and Java (Gunn 2011: 217-218). It is not known whether any traders from Korea or Java travelled to each other's countries, but they certainly would have met in Ryukyu.

During the 15th century, Java had tense relations with Melaka over control of Palembang. Trade and other relations between Majapahit and Melaka were however close. In Melaka during the 15th century one of the four *shahbandar*s (harbourmasters) was assigned to supervise trade with China, Champa, and Ryukyu. There was a Javanese merchant community in Melaka as well; they were under another *shahbandar* who looked after the various groups from the archipelago (Maluku, Banda, Palembang, Borneo, and Luzon). According to Portuguese records, the majority of Melaka's soldiers were Javanese mercenaries (Earle and Villiers 1990: 67). One of their main types of weaponry consisted of Javanese lances (Birch 1875-1884:127).

When the Portuguese conquered Melaka in 1511, they came into contact with Majapahit. The Portuguese were particularly impressed by two products of Javanese workmanship which hint at the sophistication of late Majapahit culture. One of them was a map, which was described in detail by the Portuguese commander Afonso d'Albuquerque (1453-1515) in a letter to the king of Portugal:

> 'I am also sending to you an authentic portion of a great map belonging to a Javanese pilot which showed the Cape of Good Hope, Portugal and the territory of Brazil, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and the spice islands. It also shows where the Chinese and the Gores [Ryukyu Islanders and Taiwanese] sail, with the rhumbs and the routes taken by their ships

> and the interiors of the various kingdoms and which kingdoms border on which. It strikes me as being the finest piece of work I ever saw and I am sure Your Highness would be delighted to see it. The names were written in Javanese script and I found a Javanese who could read and write the language. I send Your Highness this fragment that Francisco Rodrigues [a pilot who sailed in the first Portuguese fleet to Banda and the Moluccas] copied from the original, in which Your Highness will see where the Chinese and the Gores really come from and the route your ships should follow to reach the spice islands, where the gold mines are located and the islands of Java and Banda, where the nutmeg and mace come from, and the territory of the king of Siam. The main part of the map was lost in the *Flor de la Mar* [d'Albuquerque's flagship lost in 1511 off Melaka].' [Earle and Villiers 1990: 149].

It is not known what became of the Javanese map after it was sent to Portugal. No other Javanese maps have survived. It would be a spectacular discovery if it could someday be found in the archives in Lisbon.

The second object which fascinated the Portuguese was a gift from the 'king of Java', probably Majapahit. He presented d'Albuquerque with:

> 'a very long piece of cloth, whereon was painted a representation of the manner in which the king goes to battle, with his carriages, horses, and elephants armed with their wooden castles, and a figure of the King therein painted, riding in certain wooden erections placed above the carriages and all this very beautifully depicted; and he sent him also twenty little bells, of which their music consists, and players who could play upon them with carved sticks, and they harmonised very well and gave a very pleasant sound; and he sent him two very large bells, which they strike in battle, for they can be heard a long way off.' (Birch1875-1884, Vol III: 160-161)

This painting too has never been recorded since. It sounds like a *wayang beber* (scroll *wayang*) cloth, but it could also have been a textile meant as a temple

decoration similar to those still used in Bali.

The Portuguese were the last Europeans to visit Majapahit. But they were by no means the first. Marco Polo (1254-1324) had sailed on the normal route from China to Java via Champa in 1292. He does not mention any names of kingdoms, but says that many trading ships called there. He probably saw either Tuban, Gresik, or Sedayu. He also knew that the Great Khan had tried and failed to take possession of it. After Polo, the next westerner we know of to visit Java was the Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone (circa 1286-1331). He passed through Southeast Asia on his way to China in 1320, and mentioned Java and its 'glorious capital' with stairs of silver and gold, which ruled over seven vassals. Niccoló de Conti (1395-1468), the Venetian merchant and explorer, visited Java in the first half of the 15th century. He came from Choggia near Venice, and between 1415 and 1429 became a merchant in Southeast Asia. During his travels in Egypt he had embraced Islam. Another Italian, the traveller and aristocrat, Ludovico de Varthema (1470-1517), famous as the first non-Muslim European to enter Mecca as a pilgrim, arrived just before the Portuguese. These few and scattered reports provide no information about how they and the Javanese viewed each other, but the people of Majapahit were certainly aware of the appearance and customs of these visitors from far to the west.

Data from Archaeology

In addition to written sources, archaeological data also give us some idea of Majapahit's relations with foreign countries. A study of imported objects found in Trowulan shows that during the 14th century most imported pottery came from China. In the 15th century, however, most of the glazed pottery was imported from Vietnam, whereas ceramics from Thailand also comprised about twenty percent of Southeast Asian imports (Soejatmi Satari 1980; Dupoizat and Naniek Harkantiningsih 2007). This phenomenon can be connected with the close relationship between Vietnam and Majapahit referred to in the *Desawarnana.*

Another archaeological source which can be exploited to reconstruct the relationships between Majapahit and the outside world consists of small images made of clay which are found in large quantities in Trowulan. In the collection of the Trowulan Conservation Institute are dozens of examples. A large proportion depict Javanese people, but some of them can be interpreted as foreigners. These examples can be recognized from their facial features with round eyes, often with mouths wide open so that their teeth can be seen and with costumes which are

different from those of the Javanese. These foreigners are often depicted smiling or laughing. This feature suggests that foreigners were seen as objects of humour, but also as interesting and friendly.

As a final note, it can be added that among the ceramics discovered in Trowulan is one sherd which comes from Khorsabad, now a city in Iraq. It has to be admitted that our sources for exploring Majapahit's foreign relations are limited in scope. It is obvious that these relations were much broader and deeper than those described above. Nevertheless, this chapter provides a general picture of the breadth of communication networks with which the kingdom of Majapahit was connected.

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High priest's helmet (Ketu), Bali, 20th century (from Majapahit Style by Made Wijaya 2012)

Ceremonies during the Majapahit Era

Made Wijaya

"The emphasis at HayamWuruk's court was on the ritualistic."[1]

— Kenneth R. Hall, 'Ritual Networks and Royal Power in Majapahit Java', *Archipel*52, (1996), p.108.

Balinese historians are often surprised by conclusions reached or suppositions posed by non-Balinese scholars regarding the possible usage of Majapahit era *candi*[2] and *patilasan*.

Even the great Th. P. Galestin in his seminal *Houtbouw op Oost-Javaansche Tempel-reliefs* (1936) makes a false-assumption — in his otherwise excellent discussionidentifying the probable usage of timber framed buildings depicted on Majapahit-era bas reliefs. He assumes that curtains on the timber pavilion suggested that it was for sleeping. In fact, ceremonial *sakenam* (six-post) pavilions are often used in Bali to lay *layon* or corpses out, or offerings and at these times

[1] Kenneth R. Hall, 'Ritual Networks and Royal Power in Majapahit Java', *Archipel* (1996), pp.108-9. By the Majapahit era, *dharma*-based ritual still addressed celestial and ancestral deities; but the *kraton* was clearly the center of specific types of ritual, especially that which acknowledged the Majapahit monarch as the source of secular unity and subsequent generalized prosperity(Hall, 'Ritual Networks', pp.100).

[2] *Candi* is generally considered to have been derived from the term *candikagrha* denoting the dwelling place of Candika, Goddess of Death, and consort of Lord Shiva. (R. Soekmono, *Candi: Symbol of the Universe*, pp.52-3 in John Miksic (ed.) *Ancient History* Volume 1 – Indonesian Heritage series (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 1996)). It is generally exists as a stone or redbrick structure, which in the past, functions as a temple or mausoleum of a king. See further R. Soekmono, *The Javanese Candi: Function and Meaning* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995).

curtains (*klangsih*) are added to keep the chickens off the offerings, not for any privacy. Balinese sleeping in open pavilions (children) never use curtains. And it may logically have been the same during the Majapahit era.

In the writings of Dr Victor M. Fic controversial book *From Majapahit to Candi Sukuh*, Fic, with his vast knowledge of Tantric ritual, brings to life many of the *agama tirta* rituals of Candi Sukuh. He places the ruler's brahmans (*purohita*) at the centre of these ceremonies as they are still in Bali today. He mentions ritualistic and objects such as the *danda* staff, the royal *lingga* and he elaborates on their importance in the rituals.

Patirtan, meru, prasada and *gedong* — sacred temple buildings popular during the Majapahit era — are still being built in Bali today and my own research indicates that these rituals have changed little over the past 500 years,[3] since the final and perhaps most influential wave of Majapahit influence was laid over Bali's existing Brahmanic rituals.[4] Balinese high priests I have interviewed generally agree that the most complex of Balinese rituals[5] — the Eka Dasa Rudra and Manah Naga Banda ceremonies — are Majapahit imports. Certainly such rituals as the *mecaru* (netherworld appeasement rituals) and *nyekar* rituals using *puspa*[6] (spirit effigies), still in use in Bali today[7] can be traced directly back to Majapahit.

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[3] See Made Wijaya, *Majapahit Style* Volume 1 (Jakarta: Wijaya Words, 2014) pp.131, 145, 146.

[4] As pertaining to rituals performing by priests of *brahmana* caste.

[5] Personal communication, Prof. Dr Litt I Gusti Putu Palgunadi, M.A., Puri Gerenceng, Denpasar, around 2012; Pedanda Geria Telabah, Sanur, July 2013; Drs Wayan Surpha (former National Sec-Gen Parisadha Hindu Dharma), Denpasar, September 2013; Pedanda Geria Toko, Sanur, September 2013..

[6] Flower offerings assume central importance in the celebration of the Majapahit's seven-day Rājapatnī śrāddha (post-cremation rites that initiated the final liberation of the soul from earthly bonds) that deified King Hayam Wuruk's grandmother in 1362, by similarly neutralizing the spiritual forces of the "netherworld" prior to the invocation of celestial deities (*Nāgarakĕrtāgama*, 65.2.1; 67.2.4). In the Rājapatnī chthonic-celestial ritual the spirits of this 'netherworld' are initially invoked, and invited to take up temporary residence in a *puspa* flower figurine (*sang hyang puṣpasarira*) , which is an image of the deceased Rājapatnī. This effigy was then placed on a throne, the centerpiece of this veneration and the place to which the soul (*swah*) of the Rājapatnī was to enter. The lion denoted the demonical chthonic spirits that were subdued by the representatives of the middle world (Buddhist monks and a *purohita*, 'the chief court Brahmin who was versed in the Three Tantras') during the course of the ritual. The essence of the Rājapatnī assumed temporary residence in the flower effigy, and was ultimately freed from these 'netherworld' spirits (in Hall, 'Ritual Networks', pp.106).

British scholar Nigel Bullough's (Hadi Sidomulyo) work on the temples on the slopes of Mt Penanggungan — were mostly built during the late Majapahit era — has thrown some light on ceremonies usage.[8] Both he and Soedarmadji (Adji) Damais consider that these terraced sanctuaries are of the *padarman* type and were devoted to ancestor worship. Sections of the *Tantu Panggĕlaran*[9] talk of ancestor-worship-related ceremonies: even the ancestor worship complexes (*mrajan*) were possibly important in many homes during the late Majapahit era.[10]

I have observed over forty years visiting temple ceremonies in Bali, that sometimes shrines are added (the *Pelinggih Basukian* that commemorates the successful completion of 1979 Eka Dasa Rudra centennial ceremonies at Besakih, for example, or even the complete spatial and structural (shrine design) overhauls that are happening now as part of the 'andesite revolution' and accompanying homogenization), but the ceremonies stay the same, often passed down from brahman house to palace, to village through the ages. "What is the rule in one village is the exception in the next," said Covarrubias in his book *Island of Bali* (1937). But the 'gist' of the ceremonies, the Panca Yadnya template, stays the same. This is little discussed or, one imagines, understood by non-Balinese scholars of Hindu-Javanese temples, thus the aforementioned assumptions.

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[7] Wijaya, 'Majapahit Style', pp.143,261-2,301.

[8] R. Soekmono, *Pengantar Sejarah Kebudayaan Indonesia*, volume 2 (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1973), pp.81-6; Soekmono, *Candi: Symbol of the Universe*, pp.52-3; and H. Sidomulyo, *Mengenal Situs Purbakala di Gunung Penanggungan* (Surabaya: Ubaya Press, 2013).

[9] The *Tantu Panggĕlaran* specifically attributes Mount Penanggungan to be 'the abode of the gods'. Immediately below the mountain, above the Majapahit *kraton*, there is a concentration of tenth through fifteenth century ritual sites, including Majapahit's Salakĕlir complex (in Hall, 'Ritual Networks', pp.104).

[10] Soedarmadji Jean Henry Damais, *Majapahit Terracotta: The Soedarmadji Jean Henry Damais Collectio*n (Jakarta: BAB, 2012), pp.76.

Ida Cokorda Pemecutan XI (1989-present), Raja of Badung (Denpasar), installs his father, Ida Cokorda Pemecutan X's, spirit effigy (puspa) on a decorative float during the climax of the palace's mukur ceremonies (27 April 1986). Photograph Made Wijaya.

Miniature Temple:
Height 78 cm, width 25 cm, thickness 26 cm, catalogue no. AD 0003)
According to the antique dealers, many of these miniature temples were found on the slope of the Semeru volcano. They are all either in the shape of the Candi Jawi temple with its lingam pinnacle or square, like the 'dated temple' of the Candi Penataran temple complex — two temples that were renowned across Majapahit, and often mentioned in its literature and inscriptions. Many of the miniature are simplified, almost cubistic version of the original, although some are carved in greater detail. The late archaeologist Prof. Boecharisuggested that these miniature replicas were places inside the house temples to represent those famous sanctuaries, in the same way that the Balinese still furnish their mrajan (family temple) with shrines representing major temples today. Photograph from Damais, Majapahit Terracotta, p.76.

A basic knowledge of Hindu-Dharma (Balinese) temple types — such as, *pura persimpangan, taman, bale agung* (ancient), *subak segara* and *mrajan* types —would be an enormous help to scholars unraveling the mysteries of Majapahit.

Were the *pelinggih* type shrines we find amongst the temple ruins at Mt Penanggungan, and to date found nowhere else, the inspiration for the *padmasana*s introduced to Bali by Dwijendra after 1573? Altars as opposed to the equally ancient Sri (spirit house) type were also common in both Bali — in the rice field, in particular, for Dewi Sri (the rice goddess) [11]— and Java pre-Majapahit(see photos). Dwijendra is thought to have introduced the *padmasana* as a unifying element to strengthen Hindu-Dharma in Bali against the threat of Islam. The *pedarman*[12] at Besakih may have even been established by Dwijendra to reinforce this unifying trend ?

The Spirit Houses:

Left: West Java 12th century; Center: WatInpeng temple, Vientiane, Laos 20th century;

Center: WatInpeg, Vientiane, Laos, 20th century

Right: Bedugul, shrine to the spirit of the land, Bali

[11] jangga, "rural shamans" who are distinguished separately from 'respectable' rësi, officiated in ceremonies associated with the worship of the rice goddess (Nāgarakĕrtāgama, canto 78; Pigeaud, 4, 14, 211 and 482)" (in Hall, 'Ritual Networks', p.107).

[12] Pedarman is clan-based worshipping temple. Larger scale pedarman temples can be found in Besakih. In smaller scale called pura dadia.

We know from various manuscripts — the *Pararaton* and *Desawarnana* in particular — that Shivaite and Buddhist holy men had quarters outside the Keraton Majapahit, to the east near the current Buddhist temple and that a temple to the ancestors was located in the rulers' pleasure gardens, as it is in many Balinese palaces.

From the priestly implements and vessels that survive from the era we can assume that today's priestly rites in Bali have changed little since the Majapahit era — the implements are almost identical, in particular are, the *genta*(priest's bells), the dragon brassiere, the *tirta* (holy water) receptacles, the *ketu* (crowns), the tiered bells for the *jangga* (*Bujangga*) *rsi*, and the priest's *sirih* (betel nut) boxes, called *peti pacanangan* in Bali — thus the name Pura Peti Tenget (Bah. Indonesia: *angker*) in Seminyak, where Dhang Hyang Dwijendra left his Majapahit-era *peti pacanangan*(*sirih* box)[13].

What is harder to discern, in an investigation of the layers of Balinese ceremonies is, which ceremonies are archaic Bali, and which were laid down by Empu Kuturan during the 'Pasekization' or eleventh-century unification process and which ceremonies were imported later by Dang Hyang Dwijendra.

Not since 1932, for example, when Raden Soekotjo did a sketch illustration of his theory — that Candi Naga at Candi Penataran was most probably the base of a *meru*— has any serious interpolation been undertaken.

Are the small shrines on a single base in the Blitar complex known as Candi Kotes perhaps a relic of *mrajan* architecture: the scale of the rest of the complex and the existence of a *gedong* suggests that the complex is a smallish *pura* rather than a*mrajan*; but those tripartite (?) shrines are intriguing. Intriguing also is the simple courtyard shrine that Maclaine Pont built in the centre of the old field museum at Trowulan. Why were depictions of these courtyard shrines not carved onto the temple reliefs, depicting houses and palaces? Is this because they were too small?

[13] John N. Miksic (ed.) The Legacy of Majapahit. Majapahit Sunburst with Guardian Gods of the Nine Directions (Singapore: National Heritage Board, 1995).

Figure 4. Reconstruction of Candi Naga, Penataran Meru, in 1924 by R. Soekotjo. Photograph Ann Kinney, in Kinney, Klokke and Kieven, *Worshipping Siva and Buddha: The Temple Art of East Java* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003

This shrine, in the old Majapahit field museum near Trowulan, Mojokerto, East Java, is a reinvention of a fourteenth-century Hindu courtyard house-shrine with had been pieced together by famed architect and amateur archaeologist, Henri Maclaine Pont (1884-1971). The field museum was established in 1924 with the help of the former Mojokerto Regent, Raden Adipati Ario Kromodjojo Adinegoro (in office, 1894-1916). Photograph copyright Made Wijaya.

Bali:
Trisakti Altar in Puri Karangasem Merajan Agung, 20th century.

Java:
Candi Kotes, Blitar, East Java 14th century.

Bas-relief panels of *meru*, *pura aman*, *bale agung*, *bale lantang*, *piyasan*, *pawedan* and *kori* exist but only one or two suggestions of *pelinggih* (*bedugul*or *sanggah urya* have been discovered.

Bas-relief of a Majapahit-era Hindu temple on the fourteenth-century Candi Jago, Malang in East Java. Similarities to Hindu-Balinese temples of today are pronounced. Photograph Made Wijaya

If we assume that the grand Balinese palace *maligia* ceremonies are descended from the classical Majapahit *Sraddha*[14] ceremonies — which deified a particular king — then what of all the plethora of other extravagant *Pitra Yadnya* related ceremonies in Bali. How many of these are Majapahit and how many pre-existing?

Many so-called *Kejawen* rituals in Java — such as *Larung Sesaji* (or *Ngaturang Pekelem,* sacrificing of animals to the lakes in Bali), and the conveying of the *keraton pusaka* to the ocean (*melasti* in Bali) and the processions of albino water buffalo and the various funerary and wedding rites[15] — are similar in both cultures, but that does not necessarily mean a common Majapahit ceremonial root, even though this was the last era during which the cultures were fused!

Kenneth Hall wrote, "The emphasis at Hayam Wuruk's court was on the ritualistic. The *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* centres on the two lavish court rituals that mark the passage of the agricultural cycle, and the "Royal Progress"to invoke rituals that mark the passage of the agricultural cycle, and the "Royal Progress" to invoke the powerful guardian deities of the hinterland consumes most of the remaining text. The king's ritual performance, whether at the court or beyond,dramatized the assumptions of fact and value in Javanese culture.

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[14] This Majapahit śrāddha is a public ritual, which was shared by members of the extended royal family, high officials, servants and their wives, priests and monks of the various religious sects, dancers, musicians, and others who were associated with the court. The ritual was performed by Buddhist monks and a purohita ('chief court brahmin'), 'who was versed in the Three Tantras' (Nāgarakĕrtāgama, 64.3) (Hall, 'Ritual Networks', pp.106).

[15] The record of the Royal Progress of 1359, the central chapter of the Nāgarakĕrtāgama, links the king to both the celestial and the 'netherworld'. During this 'Progress' the king offered sequential worship at thedharma of his deified ancestors and other former monarchs as well as at the shrines of prominent mountain deities when his royal entourage journeyed to Jajawa (at the foot of Mount Welirang), Palah (Panataran, at the base of Mount Kelud), and Bureng (the source of the Brantas river) (Nāgarakĕrtāgama, 57.5; 17; 38).

Through the ritual initiatives and personal outreach of HayamWuruk's court the king was no longer perceived as isolated from his subjects. Performance of and participation in sacred ritual, whether at the court or among the rural populations, allowed the Majapahit king to be in regular communication with his realm in ways that were previously uncommon (in Hall, 'Ritual Networks', pp.108).

Local rites mirrored the liturgical efforts of the *kraton*; by validating local ritual the king and his court acknowledged cultural diversity, local manners, ways, and ancestral sanctifications." The role of the family heads in Bali's *puri agung* royal palaces has changed little since the Majapahit era.

Some dances and gamelan in Bali — such as Baris Gede, Selonding, Wayang Kulit[16] and Wayang Wong (?)— are musical dance offerings known as wawalen (from the root of Balinese word, wali, meaning offering to the gods). Many are also still shared between the two cultures of Bali and Java today, and evidence suggests that they probably were during the Majapahit era. Certainly Baris Gede was popular during the Majapahit era and the love of music and the arts was a Majapahit trademark.

Comparing Balinese-Javanese relations is sometimes confusing: the holy day *Sugian Jawa*, for example, is celebrated in Bali by all the Balinese of Majapahit 'descent' — and even some *Pasek*s (Empu Kuturan's pre-Majapahit clan), which seems odd when the day is supposed to commemorate the arrival of the *Wong Majapahit*.

Majapahit style ceremonial costumes are still used in ceremonies in temples in the Badung (Denpasar) regency; in temples such as Pura Patilan (Pengerebongan), Pura Dalem Kepala, Kepaon and Pura Tambang Badung (*Istana* of Dalem Majapahit). These are ceremonies which commemorate an historical link or revere founding deities or fathers such as the various ceremonies devoted to Dewa Gede (Arya Kangin?) in East Bali (Bebandem area).

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[16] This world of the spirits is also the setting for the Javanese shadow puppet theater (wayang kulit) that figures prominently in Majapahit court entertainment and also in Majapahit era temple iconography, which highlights this connection between the cosmic and the secular world, between the chthonic and the celestial (Holt, pp.123-150). In all of these the Kadiri kraton is associated with the 'nether-world' realm of the spirits (in Hall, 'Ritual Networks', pp.107).

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Kenneth Hall in his essay on Ritual Networks and Royal Power in Majapahit Java mentions the small sanctuaries and shrines (caitya) and stone temple pagoda (prasada)[17] that were normally located on the estates of individuals of status, and at rural lingga (pura subak?) and he elaborates on the caru ceremonies performed to placate the negative influences during the Majapahit era.

The author of the *Desawarnana* was a devout Buddhist he points out, so it is to the *Pararaton* and early texts that we must look for detail of Shivaite and Vishnuite ceremonies and detail. In all of the texts there is little or no mention of the actual shrines and temples in ordinary house compounds.

It is possible that a comparison of the Hindu-era ceremonies still performed in the Javanese palaces and royal cities with those current in Bali, might shed light on Majapahit precedents, but until we discover hard evidence in the relevant texts and in travel records this must remain in the realm of conjecture.In collaboration, of course, with a detailed study of the Old Javanese and Balinese texts and temple carvings by scholars familiar with Balinese Hindu-*dharma* rites and customs.

[17] Beyond the royal temple compounds (dharma), these three communities (the tripaksa, or 'three domains') as well as the less-favored Vaisnava priests performed ritual connected with ancestral and local spirits at small sanctuaries and shrines (caitya) and temple towers (prasada), which were normally located on the estates of individuals of status, and at rural lingga, which were especially associated with rĕşi (Nāgarakĕrtāgama, cantos 82.3, 69.3, 78.1, 81.1, 63.2, 77). Each of these 'domains' was subject to the king's donative efforts at daṇa, kīṛti, and puṇya. The king was said to protect the tripaksa clergy, who were collectively referenced as sira ('illustrious'), a term reserved for divine beings and royalty (Nāgarakĕrtāgama, 80.4) (in Hall, 'Ritual Networks', pp.102).

Crown, Sumedang, West Java, 19th century. This crown is a replica of the original crown of Majapahit era Pajajaran , the early Sunda kingdom. Its form relates to crowns depicted on sculpture of the Hindu Javanese period (courtesy of *Court Arts of Indonesia* by Helen Ibbitson Jessup).

Swamba (holy water pot), sasirat (sprinkler) and tripada (tripod stand). 17th century, Gianyar, Bali (Courtesy of Court Arts of Indonesia by Helen Ibbitson Jessup).

Holy water container tripod.

The tripodis decorated with one-eyed kala mask, the feet end in 4-clawed toes. The rim of the vessel is decorated with pearl motifs and simple zoomorphic head, perhaps meant to recall the tortoise on whose back the mountain was set when the water of immortality was churned (courtesy of *The Legacy of Majapahit* by John Miksic).

Sendang Duwur, 1936
Photo by Claire Holt.

Sendang Duwur, 2011
Photo by Made Wijaya

EAST JAVA, Majapahit Era
14th-century bas-relief in Trowulan Museum.
Scholars often cite it as an example of a temple court, but the two courtyard 'temples' at the right hand side suggest a royal taman with 'floating pavilions of the bale kambang type still found in Bali today.

BALI, 18th century
The famous Puri Agung Klungkung's Taman Kerta Gosa

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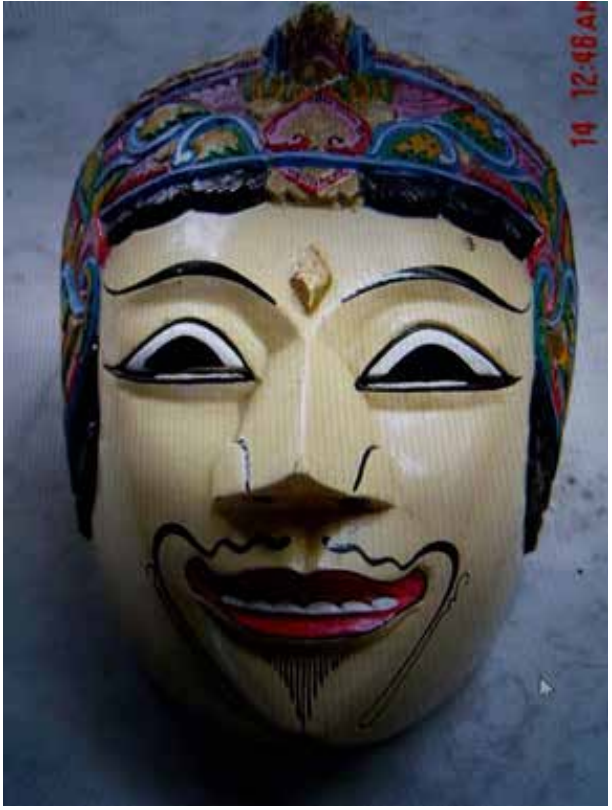

Some masks from the Panji story popular in Malang today

Majapahit and Panji Stories

Adrian Vickers

Stories of Panji, the Javanese prince of Koripan (also spelt Kahuripan), were once well known throughout Southeast Asia. Versions of the story of this prince come from such diverse parts as Java, Sumatra, the Malay peninsula, Thailand, Cambodia, Burma, Bali, Lombok, and South Sulawesi. Panji stories first came into being in Java in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries during the latter period of the great kingdom of Majapahit. At the same time as the stories spread, the Portuguese were making their first appearance in Southeast Asia and beginning to compete with Islam for spiritual ascendance in the eastern islands, a development which happened more or less simultaneously with revivals and renewals in Siwaism (Robson 1981).

How did Panji stories come into being, and what is their connection to Majapahit? In answering these questions, I will show how Panji stories help to explain the workings of Majapahit politics by first discussing ideas around the Balinese manifestations of these Panji stories, particularly in the classical form of dance-drama known as *gambuh*. These Balinese manifestations include perceptions of ancient Java, often in the form of legends. These help to explain the cultural patterns of Majapahit when viewed beside contemporary evidence. In discussing these local understandings of Panji stories, I will show that Majapahit was not a centralised state or empire, but rather a highly mobile polity in which rulers had to try to balance out a diffusion of power.

The label 'Panji stories' is a convenient cover for a plethora of different narratives, mostly but not always found in poetic form. Earlier attempts to define them usually discerned a core narrative: Prince Inu (Inao in Thailand, Enau in Burma) searching for his lost betrothed (a princess of course) assumes a name incorporating the title 'Panji' (meaning 'banner'), has many adventures and eventually finds and marries her. Panji usually comes from the kingdoms of Janggala (another name for Koripan), his betrothed from Kediri (Daha or Pangjalu), both of which were ancient Javanese polities. There is often a lot more to the story than this, which is why there are a huge number of Panji stories, many of them hundreds of pages or folio leaves in length, with numerous variations and alternative forms of each (Vickers 2005).

In narrative terms alone this description does not do justice to their copiousness: many kingdoms come and go in the stories, and often Gegelang (also called Wengker or Urawan) is a 'senior' kingdom to the others, although names such as Singasari, Lasem, Mataram and Matahun are common, but then so are Tanjungpura, Melaka, Makasar and Pahang. In some cases a central preoccupation of a narrative is not with the lost love but with other sexual encounters—there is usually a major secondary wife, up to two hundred concubines, and there are a number of significant stories which revolve around a tragic woman who cannot marry Panji and so must die. In the *Nawang Rum* episode of the best-known Balinese Panji story, *Malat*, she dies by her own hand, just as the tragic figure of Panji's first love is killed in the Javanese-language *Pañji Angreni* text known in Palembang. Likewise the title 'Panji' is not found in every story. Indeed, the Inu/Panji figure sometimes disappears entirely under a battery of other princes, a key one of these being a figure called Gunungsari in many Javanese and Malay texts (the King of Malayu in the above-mentioned *Malat*), who is the lost princess's elder brother.

The copiousness of many of the Panji stories comes from the abundant descriptions of court life in most of these: costumes, dances, ceremonial orders and actions are presented with a lushness which is daunting—or boring—to many modern readers. The sexual adventures of the hero are described extensively, as are his military achievements. As a wandering prince he acquires followers and wives, and accumulates more followers and wives as the booty of battles which he wages both on his own behalf and on behalf of others. Each text, each variant, each fragment of text is important to the particular time and place of its production (Vickers 2005). Names, places, events are added, emphasised and reworked to fit the specific context. Bugis mercenaries come to fight Panji in later Javanese sources, or princes and their followers travel over sea rather than land, while courtly bureaucracies are described in detail. Like other Southeast Asian texts these stories of the past—suffused with fantastic romance—were a kind of history repeatedly contemporised and localised (Vickers 1990).

In addition to the literary productions of these texts, and more often preceding or giving birth to them, came performances: dance-dramas like the Balinese *gambuh*, the many varieties of Javanese *topeng* (Pigeaud 1938), or shadow plays like the *wayang jawa* of Kelantan. Many texts or oral histories of the Panji tales state explicitly that they were written by performers, and in reflexive fashion the kinds of performances which presented Panji narratives are described in some of these Panji texts. Two series of painted scrolls presenting Panji stories exist in south-central Java, where they are known as *wayang beber* (Anderson 1974; Kant-Achilles, Seltmann and Schumacher 1990).

The East Javanese kingdoms that preceded Java's most famous ancient kingdom, Majapahit, are the cultural world and focus of Panji stories. These earlier kingdoms were constituent elements of Majapahit, as I will argue below, but only later versions of these stories from outside Java mention Majapahit by name. This provides one of a series of

layers of historical reference of which contemporary readers would have been very aware.

Bali provides one of the richest sources of information about Panji stories and their connection to Majapahit Balinese views about the *Malat* link that text to discourse about Ancient Java. According to one Balinese manuscript, which gives the dates of key events in Balinese cultural history, *gambuh* dance-drama was invented by the eleventh-century Balinese king Udayana, the father of the founding Javanese ruler Erlangga, when Udayana married a Javanese princess. The king is said to have combined Javanese and Balinese styles of dance in this legend, although the historical veracity of the legend is doubtful. In the same source *gambuh* was 'renewed' in the fifteenth century by the first Majapahit-installed ruler of Bali at the time that his palace at Samprangan was built, a more likely explanation of the origins of this theatrical form (Bandem *et al.* 1975: 4)[1].

One of the most consistent impressions of the Malat and the other romance texts is that they have a pronounced Javanese atmosphere. This impression comes first from the 'Middle Javanese' or *Kawi* language of the texts, which evokes Java because it is a form of Javanese (as opposed to Balinese). Secondly, the nature of the singing style of *tengahan* kidung metric form of the *Malat*, and its use of seven-toned modes, is seen by both Balinese and Western musicologists as a deliberate attempt to create a 'Javanese' quality, as Wallis shows when discussing the musical structures of specific pieces (Wallis 1980: 211-212). Thirdly, *gambuh* performers see their theatre and music as Javanese in origin. And finally the narrative is concerned with Java and conveying a Javanese vision of things — or at least a Balinese vision of such a Javanese vision.

The *Malat*'s discourse of Javanese-ness displays the role of the text in activating and perpetuating a discourse about Java in Bali. The most prominent aspect of this discourse is the view, still held by most Balinese, that Balinese (except the minority considered as *Bali-Aga* or 'original Balinese') are *wong Majapahit*, 'Majapahit people'. This is not just a statement of origins, but rather a statement about what constitutes Balinese culture[2].

While some of the Western orientalists who came to Bali in the nineteenth century chose to interpret what they were told in terms of their own concerns with degeneration from a classical Hindu past and different notions of civilisation, they nevertheless became bearers of this Balinese concern with Java.

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[1] Information kindly provided by the late I Ktut Rinda, allegedly from a text in his possession, although slightly different versions of the same, also based on information from him, are found in Bandem et al. 1975:4.

[2] Guermonprez 1987 has demonstrated how the 'Majapahit' definition includes Balinese who are commoners, and that the relationship between the 'Majapahit' and 'Bali Aga' categories in Balinese culture is problematic.

The driving force behind renewed European interest in Java and Bali, Britain's temporary ruler of the East Indies, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles (in office, 1811-1816), testified to the currency of the Balinese view of their civilisation as Java when he put forward the notion that Bali was the 'preserver' of (Javanese) Majapahit culture (1817: I, 372).

The view expressed in the work of the Netherlands Indies' German agent in mid-nineteenth century Bali, Rudolph H.Th. Friederich (1959), was that Bali was a preserved form of Java. This view became popular in Dutch discourse on the island.

Friederich's informants were members of the highest caste, the Brahmans, whom he saw as Balinese versions of Indian 'Pundits', preservers of pre-Islamic Hinduism and 'expounders of all laws and institutions' (1959: 2). His information about the Javanese basis of Balinese culture reflects their view[3]. According to the information he collected, there were three Javanese epochs: the early period of the great Erlangga (Airlangga) (reigned, 1019-49), the following one of Jayabaya, and then Majapahit. Erlangga was the king of a unified Java, which was divided in 1052 by the great Buddhist sage, Empu Bharada, into the kingdoms of Janggala and Kadiri (Koripan and Daha). Jayabaya (reigned, 1135-1157) was the most famous of the rulers of Kadiri, and many famous works of *kekawin* literature were written during his rule. Friederich's informants presented the view that all Balinese rulers were descended from the aristocracy of Koripan, Gegelang and Kadiri, although in some Balinese texts, such as the nineteenth century *Kidung Pamancangah* (Berg 1929), Balinese families of noble origin are of Kadiri descent only. In the view of Friederich's sources, the early periods represented golden ages, in which the Old Javanese language and its accompanying *kekawin* poetry was purer in its relationship to Sanskrit, something which is certainly true of these texts.The *Kawi* of Majapahit was explained by them as tinged with the 'vulgar language', which again reflects the nature of the later texts, although Friederich's conclusion, that the language changed because contacts with India were more distant, ignores the on-going trade and other forms of contact between Java and India (1959: 9-10)[4].

[3] Here he combines German Romantic views of Indian brahmans and Sanskrit culture with an antipathy to Islam found amongst many of the Orientalists who were interested in Hinduism.

[4] For the most recent assessment of which kekawin actually date from that era and which were written at different times, see Zoetmulder 1974. On late Majapahit connections with India, see Worsley's comments in Teeuw et al., 1969: 188. The Kidung Pamañcangah 2.31 also mentions Kashmir. See also Zoetmulder 1974: 93, 295. There may be some confusion with the Khmer empire (Cambodia) here, since it is mentioned in ancient inscriptions

Panji stories originated in Java. There is clear archaeological evidence (discussed below) in the form of the earliest-dated illustrations of these stories, and this origin is also connected to the reference to Javanese places and culture in the stories. The reference to things Javanese which Balinese find in the *Malat* reflects the general importance of Panji stories both as authoritative presentations of the Javanese courtly culture on which later kingdoms were founded, and as the continuation and perpetuation of discourse and ideology dominant in the Javanese courts at the time of Majapahit.

One Balinese tradition, found on marginal notes to a copy of a text of the *Malat*, ascribes that text to Dangdang Gendis (Sri Kertajaya), the last king of Daha, who was defeated by Ken Arok (1182-circa 1247; reigned 1222-circa 1247), founder of the kingdom of Singasari[5]. These kings and kingdoms are known to Balinese chiefly through the late fifteenth-century *Pararaton*, a well-known antecedent of Balinese dynastic genealogies (Brandes 1896: 13-14). This attribution of the *Malat* is also a way of giving the text the authority of pre-Majapahit Java. It may also reflect an otherwise lost oral tradition.

Another source has it that part of the Malat was written by Padanda Made Timbul of Kawisunya, Kaba-Kaba, Mengwi, because the original *Malat*, the work of Dangdang Gendis's wife, Dewi Paja, had been lost at sea when it was being brought over to Bali[6]. Since these are scattered attributions, in some cases found only in one place, they cannot be given much importance.

From the ancient Java of Majapahit we have evidence both that the Pañji stories were becoming important in society, and that they were a major part of the political thought of the court of Majapahit. The titles used particularly by companions of Panji in Panji stories, Kuda ('Horse'), Kebo ('Buffalo'), Lembu ('Bull') and a number of the others related to animals actually date from around the twelfth century (De Casparis 1981: 148). The major text used historically to analyse the nature of Majapahit, a text known only through Balinese copies, is Rakwi Prapanca's *kekawin Nagarakertagama* or *Desawarnana* of 1365 (Pigeaud *et al.* 1960; Prapanca and Robson 1995). Both this text inscriptions such as the Waringin Pitu Charter, describe the major figures of Majapahit as rulers (the title used is '*Battara ring*' or '*Bhre*','God or Lord at'...) of the various kingdoms

[5] Marginal notes on the accession list of Puri Gobaraja, Buleleng, formerly the collection of Gusti Putu Jelantik (reigned, 1929-44) now in the Gedong Kirtya collection: Daftar Lontar Koleksi Puri Gobaraja, Singaraja, H 1,23.

[6] Babad Brahmana Wangsa: 113a & 165b. This Padanda Madé Timbul is also said in this source to be the author of the Purusanggara. The part of the Malat ascribed to him is that which begins with the secreting of Ratnaningrat by Prabu Malayu. It is interesting that Dangdang Gendis' wife is called Dewi Paja, because in the ascription to Gusti Dauh Bale Agung, Dangdang Gendis is described as the king of 'Pajalangit'

enumerated in the Panji romances, most of which are on Java: Kahuripan, Daha, Wengker, Jagaraga, Mataram, Matahun, Tanjungpura, Pajang, Kembang Jenar, Kabalan, Tumapel, Singhapura, Wirabumi, Pandan Salas, Keling and Kalinggapura (Noorduyn 1978: 211, 250). The text was written by the head of the Buddhist clergy at the court as a kind of panegyric, so its political thought is a direct expression of the ruling view of the nature of the kingdom (see also Weatherbee 1968: 138-164). These titles seem to refer to domains of each of the rulers, indicating that Majapahit was constituted by these sub-polities.

For Balinese courts, knowledge of the *Nagarakertagama,* combined with their historical experience as part of Majapahit, and awareness of other sources dealing with the nature of the Majapahit dynasty, to produce that sense of the nature of the key kingdoms and their relationships which makes up the Malat and the other courtly romance texts. Their vision is of the central kingdoms ofKoripan, Daha, Gegelang and Singasari and the other major competing kingdoms of Mataram, Matahun, Lasem, Pajang, Camara, Jagaraga and so on, a common Javanese setting and civilisation that fits into the discourse of the texts.

One important text in this respect was the *Pararaton*, which has been used by modern scholars as the other chief historical source on Majapahit and its predecessors. Beginning with the story of Ken Angrok or Arok, founder of Majapahit's predecessor Singasari, this text describes the evolution of the Majapahit dynasty down until the end of the fifteenth century. The earliest-known manuscript of the *Pararaton* was written in Bali on 3 August 1613, in a place described as Iccasada, which probably refers to Gelgel, the capital[7].

The *Nagarakertagama* begins by enumerating the major members of that royal house when Hayam Wuruk was king (1350-89). These were: Kertawardana (Hayam Wuruk's father), the king of Singasari (Tumapel); Rajadewi Maharajasa, the king's aunt, ruler of Daha; her consort, Wijayarajasa, ruler of Gegelang (Wengker); the king's younger cousin in Lasem, who was daughter of the princess of Daha; the queen of Pajang; the ruler of Mataun, who was the consort of Lasem; the ruler of Paguhan, consort of Pajang; their children, the princess of Wirabumi and the ruler of Mataram; and Pajang's youngest child, the ruler of Pawon-Awon. The king himself is called Rajasanagara, *Nata* (king) of Koripan (canto 6). These rulers or rajas of the various kingdoms are described as being united together in one place, Majapahit, under the king (*sakweh sri yaja [jawa?] raja sapada madudwan nagara tunggalan, ekastana ri wilwatikta mangisapwi sang narendra dipa,* 6.4).

[7] Icasada may be a synonym for Sukasada in north Bali, since ica, 'bliss', but also 'blessing', can be a synonym of suka, but that was then an obscure location. Gelgel was also known as Swecapura (in Balinese the term swecahas shifted meaning from the original Sanskrit to become something like, 'Blessed City') and thus ica is somewhat of a closer synonym of sweca than of suka. Thus I feel that Gelgel is the more likely of these alternatives.

The text is concerned largely with explicating the nature of this king's rule and his family, but does so through a series of rituals and descriptions of parts of the kingdom. One of the most important rituals for this purpose is that in which the king travels in procession through parts of Java which make up the kingdoms of Majapahit (see Geertz 1983: 129-134). Geographical, genealogical and ritual descriptions come together in the post-cremation ceremony of the deification of the king's late grandmother (*srada*—the equivalent of the *baligya* or *maligya* ritual in Bali). In the description of the ritual, the golden age of Hayam Wuruk's rule is a result of his grandmother's return to the Buddha heaven, commemorated in the founding of a *darma* or temple domain (*candi*) for the deified ancestor. The text describes the founding of the temple as an act reuniting Java, which had been divided into Koripan and Daha by Erlangga. Through the ceremony, Hayam Wuruk becomes the one ruler of the unified Java, 'victorious in all the world, the world conquering king' (*cakrawarti prabu*, 68.5).

As with the Balinese tradition, Javanese tradition and historical research connects the figure of Panji with the kingdoms preceding Majapahit. As Lydia Kieven shows in her research on Panji and related figures depicted wearing a cap in ancient Javanese art (2013: 34-35), Panji may be identified with twelfth-century king Kameswara of Kediri, or with the immediate ancestors of King Erlangga. The earliest possible date for Panji stories is in the thirteenth century, and Candi Jawi is the oldest known temple with reliefs depicting Panji-style figures. Candi Jawi was built right at the end of the thirteenth century (Kinney *et al.* 2003), but the reliefs could be much from later, done after the temple was struck by lightning in 1331.

The first most datable evidence of Panji texts is in the form of a number of ancient Javanese reliefs and statues dating to Majapahit. Panji-like figures appear in reliefs dating at least to the 1340s, and Kieven identifies Panji story episodes in reliefs from around the 1360s or 1380s (2013: 125-131). Many of these come from Mount Penanggungan in East Java, a mountain site with approximately 125 temples and shrines, including some directly connected to the court of Majapahit. The earliest of those depicting what seem to be Panji stories is Candi Gajah Mungkur, dating to around 1360 (Kieven 2013: 290). Alas, these reliefs have been destroyed, and are only known through colonial photographs. Reliefs from Penanggungan's mid-fifteenth century Kendalisondo temple show a princely hero seducing a princess with music in the beauty of the forest — the kinds of scenes which pervade the later Panji texts (Terwen de Loos 1971, Kieven 2013). There are also at least two groups of statues representing Panji and his followers, the one set from Penanggungan, and another from Grogol, closer to Surabaya. These are mostly now in the National Museum in Jakarta, expect for one important Panji statue originally from Selokelir, and now kept at the Institute of Technology, Bandung. This statue was accompanied by a companion figure, called *kedehan* in Bali, and the head of that figure is in the National Museum in Jakarta. Agus Aris Munandar (2010: 116-125) has discussed the association of this statue with Panji stories, arguing that the Panji statue from Selokelir

is a deified portrait of King Hayam Wuruk, and the companion Kertala or Brajanata statue is actually a deified portrait of the great prime minister (*mahapatih*) Gajah Mada[8].

Also from East Java, from the village of Gambyok in Kediri, is a single panel showing a Panji-style prince seated on the edge of a covered carriage, the type of vehicle referred to in the *Malat* and in Javanese as a *kreta*. At his foot sits the kind of servant known in Balinese *gambuh* and its shadow-puppet version, *wayang gambuh*, as Semar, which is also the name of the leading clown figure in Javanese shadow theatre. Panji's carriage lacks animals to pull it, suggesting he is either at rest or in need, and the front of the frame bears an ornamental deer head, something generally considered in Bali as a symbol of Majapahit itself. He talks to four figures who are shown on the left-hand side of the panel, one of whom has a smooth headdress similar to Panji's, another with curly hair in this same crescent moon style *tetanggalan* cap, and the last two of whom have curly hair tied in top knots in the style of Panji's companions, the *kadehan*, in the Balinese tradition. These reliefs are dated (in an inscription just under Panji's foot) to the equivalent of 1413 (Stutterheim 1935), and are similar to the set of three statues found at Grogol.

When Bali's *Malat* is considered as part of the genre of *kidung* which developed in Java in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and which makes its first datable appearances at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Bali, the link to Majapahit becomes clearer.

Another *kidung*, the *Pañji Margasmara*, although dated with less certainty than the visual depictions of the Pañji stories, was probably written in 1458, according to Robson's interpretation of a colophon in the text (1979: 307)[9]. At this time Majapahit was still in existence as a kingdom, although its hegemonic position on Java was probably in decline. Majapahit probably ceased to exist as a kingdom sometime between 1527 and 1539, but the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries did not see any lessening of the artistic and literary output of this centre.

[8] The Penanggungan reliefs were discussed extensively by J. Terwen de Loos 1971, who identified them with the Arsawijaya text on very flimsy evidence. Her views were revised by Kieven, 2013. The Grogol figures in the National Museum in Jakarta, are 310b, a clown or Semar figure called anachronistically after a Javanese clown and prophet 'Sabda Palon', and 310c, clearly a companion or kadehan figure, mistakenly described as 'Bhagawan Tunggal Manik' — these later names may have been given in deference to some local village tradition, or then again they could have been the impositions of Javanese or even Dutch curatorial staff. The larger kadehan head in the National Museum is designated as 'Kertala', but also as 'Brajanata' (see Munandar 2010: 116-119).

[9] Robson also mentions the author as 'Dyah Atapeng Raje', a name very similar to that of the seventeenth-century king of Karangasem, Bagawan Atapeng Rare.

The *Panji Margasmara* is a narrative about Majapahit. It is not strictly a Panji story. In its style of language and its content, its descriptions of wandering princes and lost princesses, and its themes of gaining the kinds of experience which put a prince on the verge of kingship, the *Panji Margasmara* is the first datable (however imprecisely) example of the courtly form of *kidung* using the *tengahan* metres in which the Malat is cast (Robson 1979)[10].

Panji stories are concerned with the movement from prince to king, that is they are about the workings of politics. One aspect of this movement is the success of a prince as a warrior, Panji proves himself a worthy future king by his prowess in battle. Complementing his ability is battle is his conquest of women, Panji is a great lover who seduces many women until he eventually marries his lost betrothed, Candra Kirana as she is known in Java, or Rangkesari as she is known in Bali. The image of the political landscape presented in Panji stories is of sets of related Javanese kingdoms. The rulers and princes of these kingdoms war with each other, or intermarry, to create sets of shifting relationships.

The *Nagarakertagama*'s description of King Erlangga dividing Java into two parts, which are unified by king Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit, seems to unite the Panji-story framework of multiple kingdoms with the discourse of the king as World Ruler or *cakrawarti*, an important aspect of *kekawin* views of the world. At the same time, the *Nagarakertagama* offers a counterview of the Java to which the Panji stories refer, because it depicts the king of Koripan as supreme king in the person of the ruler of Majapahit.

The *cakrawarti* view of kingship can be viewed as aspirational, since Balinese rulers too presented themselves as *cakrawarti*, despite having to co-exist on the small island with as many as eight other kings at the same time. The evidence that comes from a closer reading of the *Nagarakertagama*, combined with contemporary sources confirms that the other political entities that made up Majapahit were still polities in their own right.

Each of the members of the extended Majapahit royal family is described in the *Nagarakertagama* as residing in a palace at the capital, but as having a title that reflected their domain elsewhere, namely Koripan, Daha, Wengker, Singasari and so on. The situation is certainly similar to what we know of the Balinese kingdom of Gelgel, where the royal palace of the Gelgel kings was surrounded by palaces of other lords of Majapahit descent. A Dutch description of Bali at the end of the sixteenth century confirms Balinese sources that state that the prime minister was lord of Kapal, a region in central Bali (later to become part of the kingdom of Mengwi).

[10] Although there is no faulting Robson's dating, it is still possible that the text dates to a later period, perhaps 1658.

This lord had a Kapal palace next to the king's palace, but his domain was elsewhere (Vickers 1989). The lord of Kapal was connected to the king of Gelgel by marriage, but was not from the same dynasty.

In Chinese sources discussed by Noorduyn and Colless (1975), and further analysed by Aoyama, Majapahit is described as an 'eastern' and 'western' kingdom, the former being identified with Wengker (Gegelang), related to the region around present-day Ponorogo. Based on this discussion, as well as Majapahit inscriptions such as the Waringin Pitu charter, scholars have come up with several different interpretations of Majapahit's politics. The earlier interpretation had it that there were competing kingdoms that made up Majapahit, but the work of Noorduyn (1975) and Aoyama (1994) revised this view, arguing that any competition was internal. A conflict of 1405–1408 was interpreted by these authors as a civil war involving the eastern king of Majapahit at Wengker, and the main king at the capital of Majapahit itself, present-day Trowulan. The events at the beginning of the fifteenth century presage a later civil war between 1478 and 1486 (see also Kieven 2013: 107). Could Majapahit have been both a set of competing kingdoms and a single dynasty?

The idea of pre-modern polities as acting like modern nation-states lies behind interpretations of the singularity of Majapahit. If the kingdom was indeed a centrally-administered entity, then the view of a powerful state destabilised is consistent. The image of Majapahit as a strong state was important for Indonesian nationalism. It gave the new state of Indonesia a deeper history. Thus the modern Indonesian myth of Majapahit created by nationalist author Muhammad Yamin (1962; see Noer 1979; Reid 1979; Gunawan 2005) became the accepted historical account that made Majapahit into a great military empire, ruling over the whole of the archipelago. Only a few authors were sceptical, notably S. Supomo, a scholar of Old Javanese texts, who demonstrated that the empire myth was based on a misreading of the *Nagarakertagama* (1979)[11]. Supomo shows that Majapahit was able to organise military raids to defeat neighbouring states such as Bali and even Malayu in Sumatra, but it certainly did not rule over all the other islands in the sense of conquering them militarily or installing garrisons in places such as Timor. Robson translates the relevant terms in which the other islands are mentioned as 'subject and obedient' in the case of the Malay lands, and islands that 'remember their duty' in the ast of the further eastern islands (Prapanca 1995: 34-35). At best the eastward extent of Majapahit's direct exercise of power would have been on Sumbawa. What is more likely is that the prestige of Majapahit was able to command the respect of more distant islands, particularly those that wished to trade with this rich Javanese power, and so they sent envoys and gifts to gain favour, a very different situation to the power relations within a modern state, particularly a centralised one such as the Suharto regime.

[11] Supomo's argument had been anticipated by Kwa 1970, who reached the same conclusions.

The modern Indonesian myth of Majapahit is not the same as the myth or myths of Majapahit that remained in Bali and Java. The Balinese sources cited above show how strong the idea of Majapahit origins were for Balinese rulers, who all traced their origins to either Kediri or Majapahit, and saw themselves as continuing Majapahit civilisation in their courtly culture. The important Balinese text *Pararaton*, is one of the main vehicles in filling out that mythology, but so too are other key Balinese texts about the rulers of Majapahit, such as the *Kidung Harsa Wijaya*, the *Kidung* Sunda and the *Kidung Rangga Lawe*. In Java, too, Majapahit remained an important reference point. The *Serat Centhini*, an encyclopaedic view of Javanese history and culture compiled before 1814, portrays Muslim princes and mystics wandering in the ruins of Majapahit and viewing the sites of other Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms (Soewito *et al*. 2006). When the rebel Javanese prince Dipanagara (1785–1855) travelled to Sulawesi (Celebes) in 1830 on his exile journey on a Dutch warship, he spoke of conquering Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa and Flores in order to revive the 'great and mighty empire' of Majapahit (Carey 2008: 590). The important courts of Central Java also see themselves as continuing the greatness of Majapahit, and one of the regalia of the Susuhunan's palace in Surakarta (Solo) is an umbrella that is supposed to have come from the rulers of Majapahit.

Koripan, Daha and Singasari were not just nominal domains of Majapahit, they definitely had an existence as prior kingdoms, and they are referred to as *nagara*, which can refer both to a polity and to the place where the ruler of that polity resides. In the usual historical accounts, most of which come from Dutch scholarship, they are viewed as a succession of kingdoms. The *Nagarakertagama*'s description and the other contemporary inscriptions, however, show them as overlapping polities, which continued on in Majapahit. This is an important distinction, because it suggests a phenomenon of co-existence. Furthermore, such co-existence is maintained through acknowledgment of one of the kingdoms as being the site of the main palace at which all the rulers gather.

Such as description, of multiple rulers moving palaces, presents an image of fluidity. In this image, the paramount position of one ruler is subject to change from generation to generation, and there is not one neat line of succession. This is precisely the image of the Panji stories. Panji is one of a number of princes who exist at the same time, fighting or entering into alliances. In the *Malat*, Panji and other princes and princesses come together in the palace of the king of Gegelang, and build their own palaces around it. Panji and Rangkesari's parents then travel from their kingdoms of Koripan and Daha to reside with Gegelang.

The description from the *Nagarakertagama* quoted earlieris translated thus by Robson:'All the princes of Java who each have their own capital/ Dwell together in Wilwatikta, holding the king in their lap.' (Prapanca 1995: 28). The 'princes' and 'princesses' are here referred to as *raja* who have different (*madudwan*) *nagara*. These can be either 'capitals', as Robson translates them, or 'kingdoms', the two terms

are interchangeable. In the Old Javanese it is ambiguous as to whether it is the *raja* or the *nagara* whichcome together, *atunggalan*, through having one common dwelling (*ekastana*) at Majapahit, or *Wilwatikta*.

The *Nagarakertagama's* description of the operation of politics is that it occurs through movement. The king makes long journeys throughout the realm, visiting or founding temples as he goes, and this seems to be a constant process. The king is described as travelling every year to the east of the city, and otherwise going to Palah (Candi Panataran) and thence on to nearby Blitar, always visiting Daha and Janggala, particularly Surabhaya in the latter. In the same passage, specific longer trips are described in more detail: a journey to Pajang in 1353, another to Lasem via the coast in 1354, a journey to the southern ocean in 1357, thence in 1359 to Lamajang with all the other rulers and officials (Prapanca, 1989: 36-37). So too the evidence of inscriptions shows that the royal families members were on the move to found or visit religious sanctuaries, those at Mount Penanggungan seem to have been particular royal favourites.

Historian of South Asia, David Ludden (1994) has argued that histories of India have failed to take adequate account of mobility. In his historiographic analysis, the 'civilizational' view of the past that originates from Western scholarship is based around large and fixed political entities, empires, that are seen as going into 'decline' as soon as mobile warriors, traders and religious leaders become too influential (1994: 11). Instead, says Ludden, we should see the mobility of martial leaders and wandering saints as an inherent part of a political landscape in which capitals constantly shifted and boundaries remained fluid. Rather than casting the model of modern, bounded nation-states retrospectively on the past, what Ludden argues for is an account of a shifting set of focal points in which leaders competed to attract followers and resources. Ludden's re-consideration of the nature of states in India is consistent with Craig Reynolds' questioning of models of ancient states in Southeast Asia (1995). Reynolds also argues against the imposition of western models of the state.

Ludden's image of mobile and dynamic pre-modern polities fits with the kings of politics that is present in the Panji stories. In Panji narratives, political fluidity is matched by physical mobility, as princes and princesses move between palaces, mountain sanctuaries and other political and religious sites. In the *Malat* Panji (prince of Koripan/ Janggala/Keling) wanders through the country-side before defeating the kings of Pamotan and Kabalan on behalf of his uncle, the king of Gegelang (Urawan/Wengker, somewhere near Madiun), who then allows him to set up another palace, Pranaraga, near the main palace of Gegelang. Meanwhile the prince of Daha (Kadiri/Mamenang) has journeyed to Malayu (probably the Jambi area of Sumatra) and become ruler there, before travelling to Tuban (north coast of Java) and being received by the king of Gegelang, who installs him in a palace called Tohpati, also in the capital. The later adventures of the two cousins include journeys through the country-side to the mountain sanctuary of Palah (probably

Candi Panataran, near Blitar). Both princes acquire chief wives (Panji's are the princesses of Daha and Singasari; Malayu's is the princess of Gegelang, along with princesses of Tanjungpura and Awantipura, which seem to be in Kalimantan and mainland Southeast Asia respectively), and a host of secondary wives or concubines, usually as booty of war. In their adventures other nobles offer their services to these princes. The chief business of politics is indeed attracting followers and maintaining sets of personal relations, either of alliance or enmity. Besides smaller conflicts such as Panji's defeat of Pamotan and Kabalan, the two princes lead an alliance against the combined armies of the kings of Mataram, Matahun, Lasem and Camara (all kingdoms in central and north Java), whom they defeat. In Javanese and Malay versions of the Panji stories, the list of exotic locations is extended to other parts of Southeast Asia, including Bali. Such sets of relations change from generation to generation in the various stories, as new alliances and rivalries are formed (Vickers 2005).

Although our knowledge of the kingdoms preceding Majapahit is sparse, the co-existence of Koripan/Janggala and Daha/Kediri is recorded in the documents preceding and contemporary with Majapahit and in later texts. The *Nagarakertagama*'s reference to the king always visiting both regions testifies to their importance, and Majapahit inscriptions such as the Batur Charter of 1269, use 'Janggala and Kediri' as a synonym for Majaphit (Pigeaud 1960: vol. 3, p. 163). The *Nagarakertagama* goes to great length to describe all the religious sites of Java founded by the kings of Majapahit and various of the other rulers. The founding and visiting of these sites is a key aspect of Majapahit's combination of spiritual and terrestrial power, and only occurs on Java and Bali.

The existence of a second king at Gegelang/Wengker is also a significant aspect of Majapahit that is recalled in later texts such as the *Malat*. The civil war theories remain just that, theories, but the evidence for them shows that the singularity of power in the realm was rare, and that there was at least one other significant separate sphere of power. Most likely the 'second king' to the west played a similar role to the *iwaraja*, the second ruler recorded in later Balinese tradition (Worsley 1972) and in the Thai tradition of the 'Front Palace' ruler.

The creation of Panji stories during the Majapahit era provided a mirror for princes. Rather than being symptomatic of cracks in a monolithic empire, the stories are descriptions of changing relations that are the norm of socio-political and religious arrangements. Panji narratives describe the relationships between the various kingdoms as the larger entity 'Majapahit' continually remaking itself. The continued existence and popularity of Panji stories in Southeast Asia up until the twentieth century means that in reconsidering Majapahit as a political entity, we also need to rethink the later polities of Southeast Asia.

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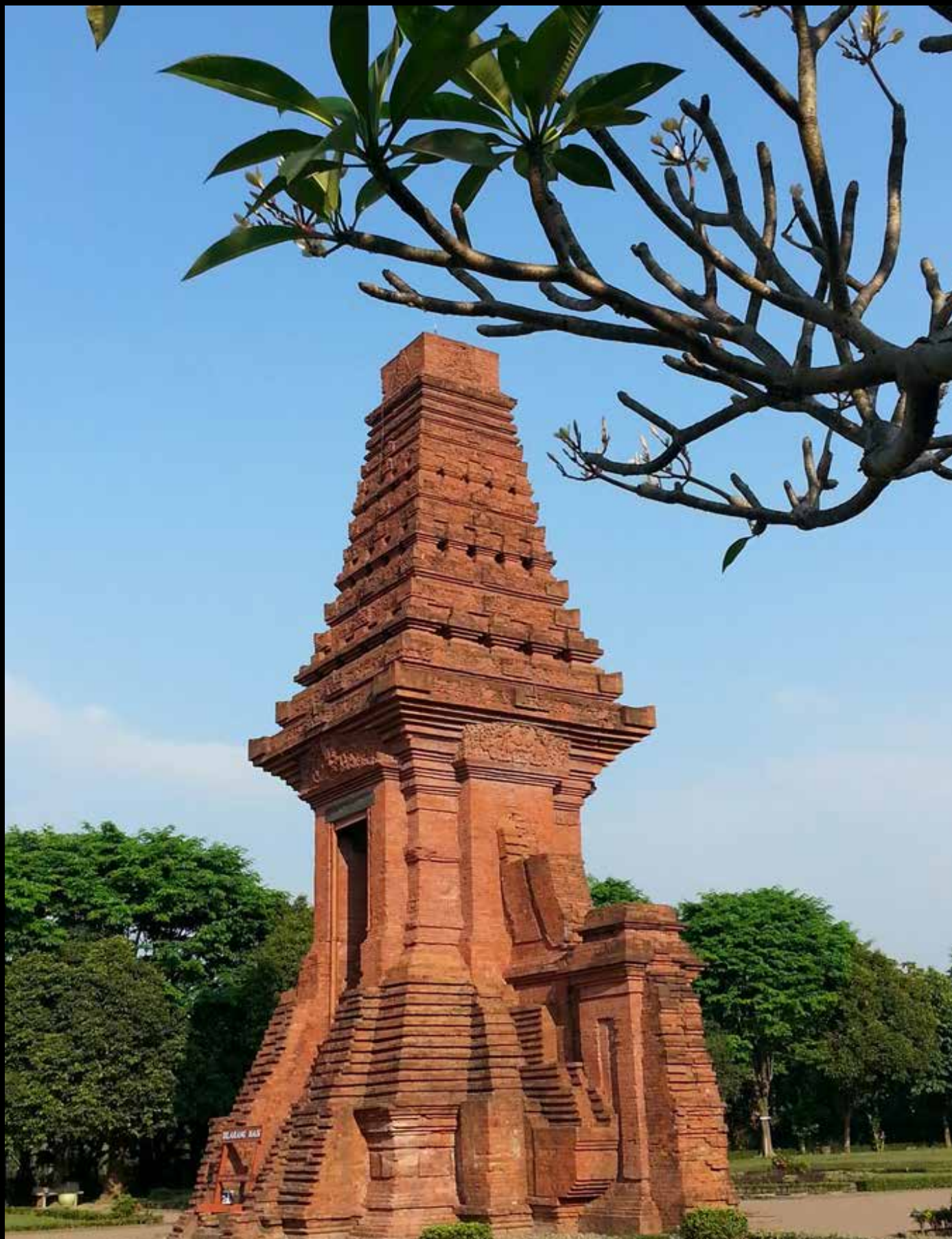
TROWULAN TODAY

Segaran

Candi Bajangratu



Candi Brahu

Candi Brahu

Candi Tikus

Candi Gentong

Candi Menakjinggo

Siti Inggil

Punten Jatisumber

Holy water in teakwood trees
(Punten Jatisumber

Sumur Windu

Joko Dolog

Wringin Lawang

Biker

Children and the artefacts

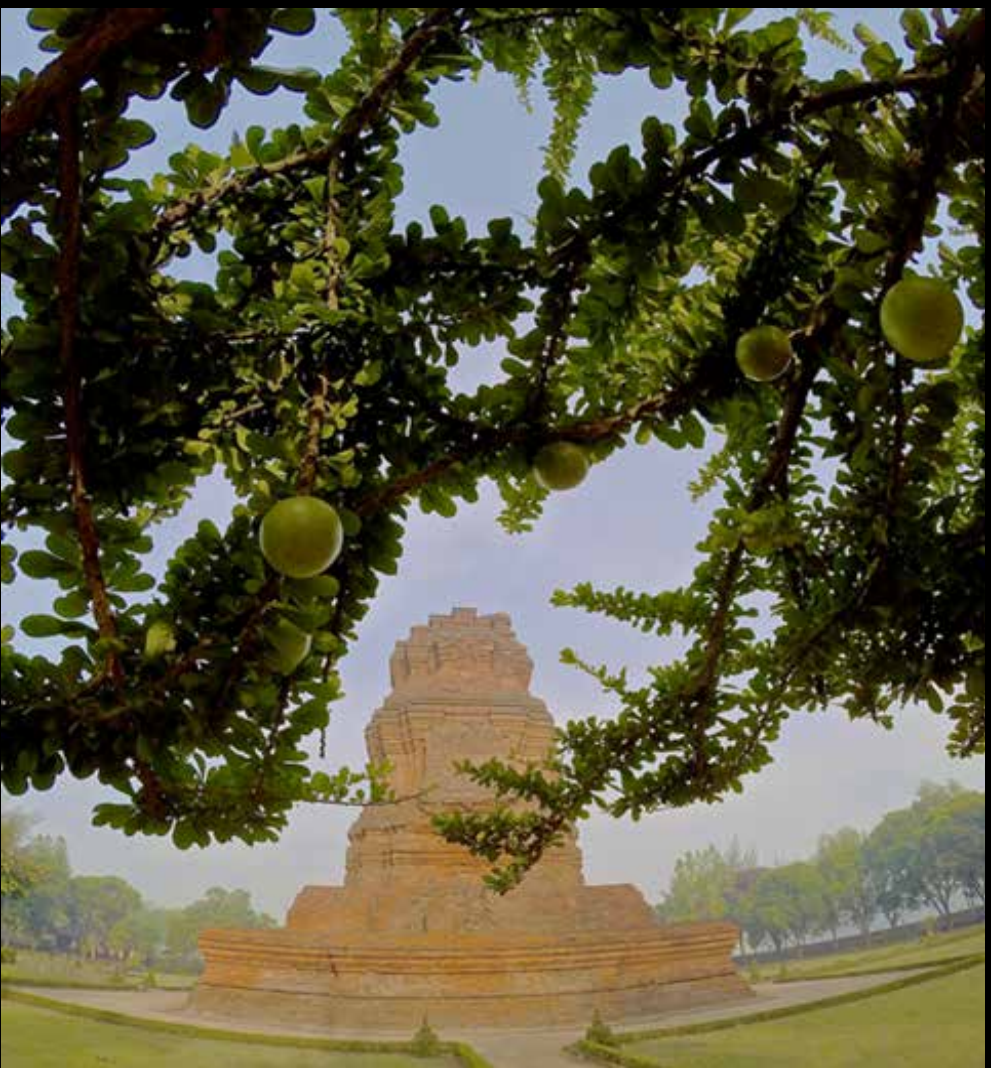
Grandm

Life in the village

Home stay in Jatisumber

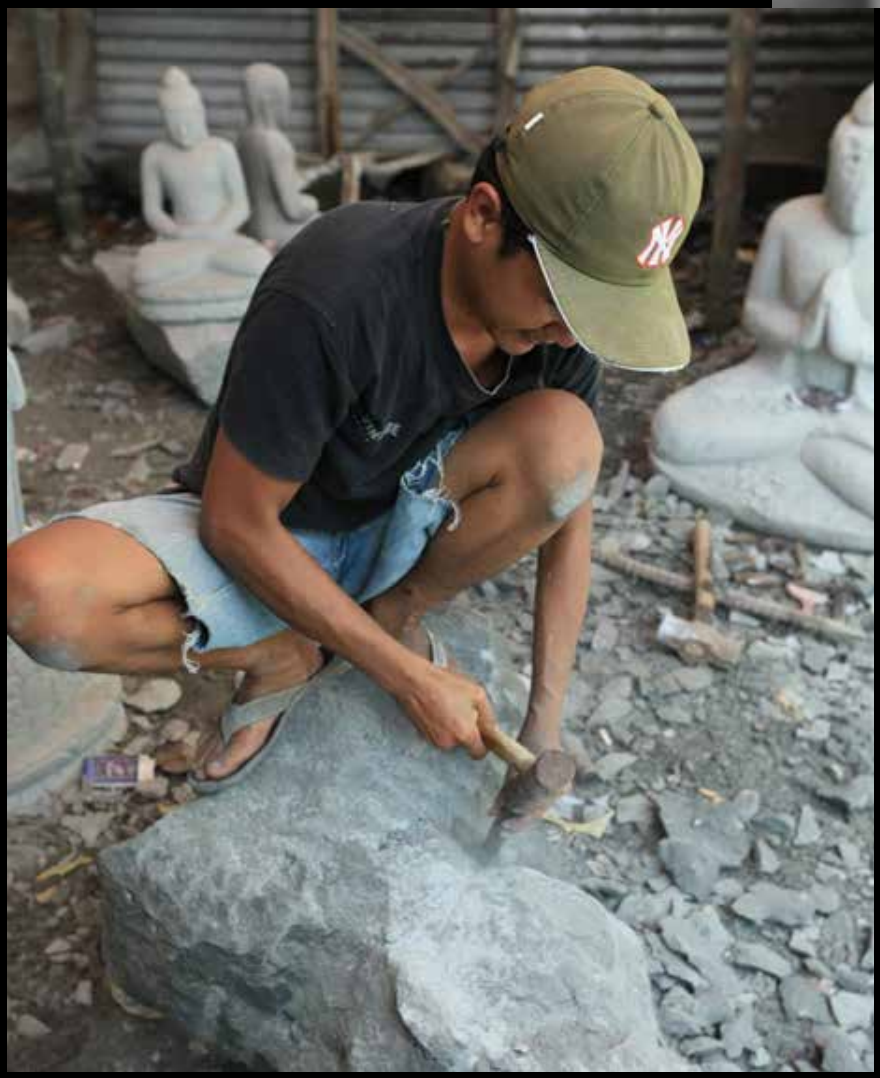
Old bricks

Village Hall



The name “Majapahit” comes from “Maja” fruit (Aegle Marmelos) and “Pahit” which means bitter.

Sugar cane plantation
since mid of nineteenth-century



Local artist

Wader Cuisine

Village Carnival

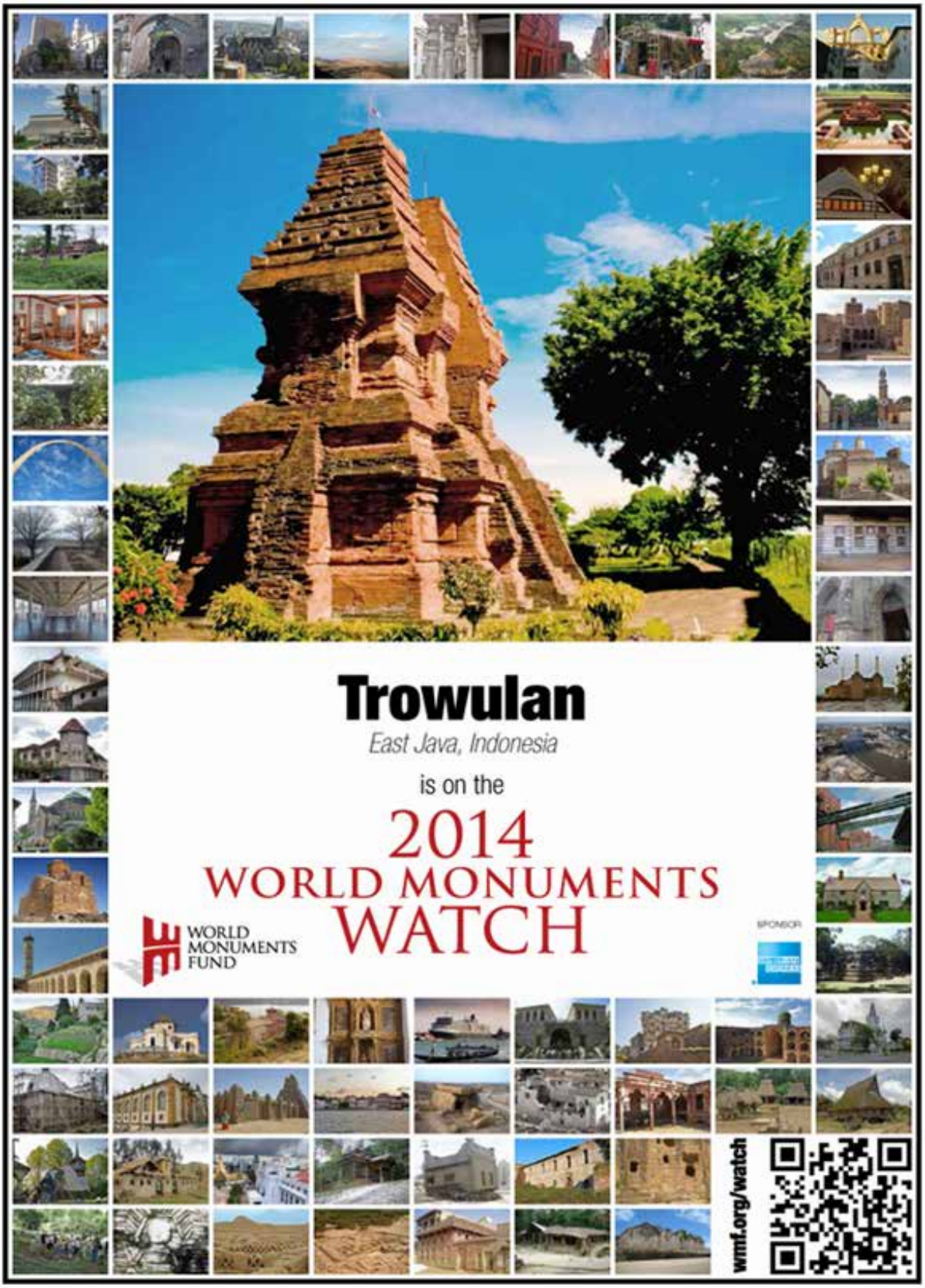
HIBURAN LUDRUK
Dsn. JATIS

Careless brickmaking

Illegal quarrying

Save Trowulan

Mandala Majapahit Library


Trowulan
East Java, Indonesia
is on the
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Epilogue

Catrini Kubontubuh

This book presents a number of perspectives on the Majapahit empire (1293-1510s) and its legacy. It is fascinating to see how the various international contributors to this volume have presented their thoughts and research findings. Hailing from such different backgrounds - including established academics and conservation specialists - they have been willing to challenge existing theories by presenting exciting new hypotheses. Each contributor has been given the freedom to deliver his or her own unvarnished thoughts and reflections based on lengthy field research, textual analysis, and archival study. As the publisher, Yayasan Arsari Djojohadikusumo (YAD) is obviously not responsible for the content of the individual papers in this book. But it has sought to bring the contributions of these leading foreign experts together with those of local Indonesian researchers to provide the foundations for a comprehensive and robust regime of site preservation so that what remains of the former Majapahit royal court and capital can be preserved for posterity.

John Miksic, Michael White (a.k.a. Made Wijaya), Adrian Vickers and Peter Carey, each in their own way have contributed their own thoughts and perspectives. All havetheir own sharpness and acuityin analyzing and presenting their research findings. At the beginning of this book, Miksic elegantly elaborates Majapahit's regional rolein the context of its foreign policy and perceptions of its status as an international political player (Chapter 1). He highlights here the nature of inter-state contacts between Majapahit and China, a critical relationship which has to be considered in any discussion of Majapahit's development as a regional power. At the same time, the vast wealth of still extant archaeological

and historical data suggests the range of Majapahit's contacts with other South and Southeast Asian countries, including India, Cambodia, China, North Vietnam (*Yawana*), Champa (South Vietnam), and *Syangka* (*Syangkayodhyapura,* Siam 'with Ayutthaya'). These international connections can be viewed from a variety of perspectives, including most saliently social, cultural and economic.

In the second chapter, Vickers explains how the Panji stories may help to explain the workings of Majapahit politics. The East Javanese state was not a centralized entity but rather a highly mobile polity in which individual rulers had to contend with - and balance out - a diffusion of power. Turning to the realm of religion and ritual, Made Wijaya describes (Chapter 3) how the nature of ceremonial rituals and architectural structures during the Majapahit era can still be discerned in present-day Bali. He also points out how Majapahit-style ceremonial costumes are still used in certain ceremonies in Balinese temples. His beautifully illustrated chapter explains the roots of many of the rituals and communal activities still practiced in Bali, and suggests how they might be traced back to the Majapahit era in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when East Java and Bali were linked politically. In his Foreword, Peter Carey refers to the important work done over the past seven years by Amrit Gomperts and Arnoud Haag, with which he has been tangentially involved. Their most recent research has involved a careful dissection of the Delft-trained architect, Henri Maclaine Pont's, hypotheses, in particular his fanciful *Majapahitsche restantenkaart*' ('Map of Majapahit Archaeological Remains')— published in the 1926 *Djåwå* journal. They have done this in part by comparing Maclaine Pont's findings with the data presented in Captain Engineer JWB Wardenaar's October 1815 survey of the Trowulan site – which he presented as the'*Plan ofMajapahit*' to Raffles, and MpuPrapañca's description of the Majapahit court in his renowned *Nagarakertagama*(1365). One of the most important findings of this research group is theirconfirmation, on the basis of the inter war Dutch East Indies Archaeological Service reports and the writings of the leading Dutch archaeologists, such as Frederik Willem Stutterheim (1892-1942), of the identification of the former Majapahit royal capital and court, a holy grail long sought after by researchers the world over who embark on archaeological fieldwork at the Trowulan site.

The present volume provides an ambitious description of Majapahit's place amongst the nations of the world, viewing this from a variety of perspectives including culture, architecture, art, diplomacy, defense, religion, language, technology, settlement patterns, and the economy. Indeed, Majapahit'slegacy continues to inspire us, encouraging us to strengthen our existing international networks within a mutually supportive web of relationships.The extant historical and archaeological data show us how the Majapahit empire may have managed its international diplomacy in what one might call the first 'global age' when Zheng He's (1371-1433) ocean-going fleets brought Ming-dynasty Chinese to the shores of East Africa. The strong relationship among the peoples of the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean continue to support international relations to this day.

We hope this book will be provocative and elicit a range of reactions which may provide pointers for future research. The ideas and hypotheses presented here are based on the most up-to-date research and will certainly help current stakeholders involved in the conservation of the Trowulan site to formulate new policies ensuring that Majapahit and its legacy are preserved for posterity. This legacy still informs present-day international politics and diplomatic relations in the social, cultural, economic, and political realms.

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Made Wijaya, born Michael White in Sydney, Australia, sometime lecturer on the history of Southeast Asian architecture and landscape design at the National University of Singapore. is a recognized authority on tropical gardens and Southeast Asian architecture who has resided in Bali since 1973. He has published a number of books on tropical garden design and Balinese traditional architecture and design, his latest being *Majapahit Style*, Volume 1 (Archipelago Press/ Editions Didier Millet, 2014), which is a comprehensive overview of the influences which shaped Majapahit architecture and ceremonies, and the Majapahit legacy, particularly in Bali. Made Wijaya may be contacted at madewijaya2@gmail.com.

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Dwi Cahyono:	46
Yori Antar:	68, 69, 73
NirmanDez:	70, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 100
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Indeed, Majapahit's legacy continues to inspire us, encouraging us to strengthen our existing international networks within a mutually suppor-tive web of relationships. The extant historical and archaeological data show us how theMajapahit empire may have managed its international diplomacy in what one might call the first 'global age' when Zheng He's (1371-1433) ocean-going fleets brought Ming-dynasty Chinese to the shores of East Africa. This legacy still informspresent-day international politics and diplomatic relations in the social, cultural, economic, and political realms.

(Catrini Kubontubuh, page 109)

2014 marks an important moment in modern Indonesian history with the recent change in the country's leadership. The year also commemorates the 721st anniversary of the foundation of the East Javanese empire of Majapahit by Raden Wijaya in 1293. Famed throughout the region for the glory of its civilization, Majapahit was able to unite the archipelago under its sovereign aegis for the best part of two centuries. Today, the wonder that was Majapahit in its fourteenth-century heyday continues to inspire us to strengthen our country's unity, and to honour its remarkable cultural and natural diversity for the benefit of future Indonesian generations. The networks of friendship and regional cooperation developed by Majapahit from the late thirteenth century have shown us how to build mutually supportive international relationships amidst the challenges and complexities of present-day international politics. The dynamic interplay of culture, religion and humanity, which shaped the Majapahit of Empu Prapañca's Nāgarakĕrtāgama (1365), continues today under different guises to determine the identity of the world's nations.

The important role played by the Majapahit empire in international politics from the fourteenth century provides us with a model of how to manage our own international diplomacy in the global age. The bedrock of such diplomatic relations can be found in the social, cultural, economic, and political realms. Not only are they the basis for Indonesia's present-day inter-state relations, but they are also the sinews for the strong relationship which bind the peoples of the archipelago in a dynamic whole.

(Hashim Djojohadikusumo, page i)

YAYASAN ARSARI DJOJOHADIKUSUMO

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