

The Body of the King: Reappraising Singhasari Period Syncretism

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This article argues for a reassessment of the history of the Singhasari period based on disambiguating diverse historical sources that have often been combined to produce a seamless narrative, when in fact the textual record is marked by conflict, contradiction and ambiguity. The author proposes a basic division between the perspective of kakawin literature, which represents the interests of royal and priestly actors with a large stake in maintaining a fixed symbolic order, and literature in Middle Javanese, which reflects the more personal values that arose among young royals competing for favourable position in the core-line status hierarchy. The author further claims that symbolic initiatives of Krtanagara (1265–92 CE) that led to his identification as ‘the god Shiva-Buddha’ were not aimed at producing a syncretic religious system, but rather a politico-religious hegemony that had profound effects on the shape of statecraft during the Majapahit era.

According to the *Pararaton*, a work believed to have been produced sometime after 1481 CE, the Singhasari-Majapahit dynasty was founded in 1222 CE with the overthrow of Krtajaya of Kadiri by the legendary Ken Arok.¹ The *Pararaton* tells us that Ken Arok’s career began with his murder of Tunggal Ametung, ruler of the district of Tumapel, which was followed by the taking of Ametung’s queen, Ken Dedes, as his wife, as much for her legendary beauty as for having caught sight of the ‘glow of her loins’ and so learning that she was destined to be the progenitrix of a long line of Javanese kings. With his victory over Krtajaya, Ken Arok was consecrated as Ranggalah Rajasa, founder of the Singhasari-Majapahit dynasty. However, he in turn was murdered by Anusapati, the surviving son of Tunggal Ametung, who ascended to the throne in 1248 CE. According to this account, Anusapati’s reign came to an abrupt close with his murder by Ken Arok’s

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1 J. L. A. Brandes, *Pararaton (Ken Arok) of het boek der koningen von Tumapel en von Majapahit* (’s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1897).

son Tohjaya, who was consecrated as king in 1249 CE. His reign, however, was short-lived, ending in 1250 CE when Anusapati's son, Wisnuwardhana, avenged his father's death by arranging a successful conspiracy that resulted in the death of Tohjaya.

With Wisnuwardhana's ascension to the throne the affairs of state began to settle down, and indeed Wisnuwardhana's rule (1248–68 CE) appears to have marked the beginning of a reunification of East Java, an effort consolidated by his son, Krtanagara (1268–92 CE), who first established his control over the region, then went on to ensure Javanese hegemony over the all-important trade routes of the archipelago with his campaign to ensure the fealty of the Malay states of coastal Sumatra. Yet, the *Pararaton* pays scant attention to this period of unification and expansion, mentioning only Wisnuwardhana's founding of a fortified city (*kuta*) at Canggu Lor and his apotheosis at Candi Jago, before moving immediately on to recount the tale of the disaffection of Jayakatwang that brought the house of Singhasari to an abrupt end with his attack on the 'royal enclosure' (*kraton*) and the death of Krtanagara in 1292 CE. The royal line was restored in 1294 CE by Raden Wijaya, who in a bold strategic stroke tricked the invading forces of Kublai Khan into attacking Jayakatwang, then turned on them and destroyed them as they were celebrating their victory. With the fall of Jayakatwang Raden Wijaya was consecrated as Krtarajasa Jayawardhana, ruling from Majapahit, a new royal centre whose power and fame endured until the last decades of the fifteenth century.

This short account suggests that our view of the historical events of thirteenth-century East Java is fairly stable, and that historians have been able to produce a reliable account of the early history of the Singhasari-Majapahit dynasty. Yet this assertion rests on uneasy grounds, assuming a seamless narrative of the past when actually we are more often confronted in the historical sources with perspectives on events that often seem diametrically opposed. This is especially clear in how differing sources treat the career of Krtanagara, who was known in subsequent accounts as *Bhatara Śiwa-Buddha*, a deified king who united in his own person the supreme powers of the Shaivite and Buddhist streams of East Javanese religion. I will not argue in this article that we need to undo all the advances made in the study of the history of East Java by an earlier generation of careful and gifted scholars. However, I will suggest that the perspectives of a number of indigenous sources are so at odds that an approach to historiography that seeks to combine these disparate sources to produce a single historical narrative no longer serves our purposes well. Instead, I propose that by disambiguating the perspectives of a number of textual traditions we can gain new insights into the socio-political and socio-cultural life of pre-Islamic East Java through an improved understanding of the social contexts of textual and historical representation.

A hypothesis on textual perspectives

As Kenneth Hall has rightly remarked, a synthetic approach that combines attention to literary, archaeological and epigraphic evidence may represent the best way forward for gaining an understanding of the complexities of Javanese society in the first half of the second millennium.² In this study I hope to advance the argument for synthetic

2 Kenneth R. Hall, 'Traditions of knowledge in Old Javanese literature, c. 1000–1500', *Journal of South-east Asian Studies*, 36, 1 (2005): 1.

approaches by focusing on differing perspectives on the events of thirteenth-century East Java, in particular the career of Krtanagara (r. 1254–92 CE) and his personal fusion of Shaivite and Buddhist themes in what might be described as a metaphysical enactment of the goal of political hegemony. In order to do so I will initially propose a tripartite division of textual perspectives.

The first two of my proposed categories are the inscriptional record for the period 1019–1351 CE and the record of the *kakawin* literature for a similar period (c. 1035–1389), which I will argue can be grouped together with evidence from the plastic arts and archaeology to form a single, larger complex. While both these media were composed in a heavily Sanskritized form of the Old Javanese language, and were deeply implicated in the expressive needs of the political centre, each had somewhat similar functions, which is clearly reflected in their patterns of linguistic organization. In lengthy Sanskrit compounds, the inscriptions are an important text-building strategy that draws on South Asian traditions in the composition of eulogies (*prasasti*) that fuse political actors with mythological and transcendent themes, thus accomplishing the work that Sheldon Pollock has described as an aestheticization of the political realm.³

From this perspective the development of *kakawin* represents a move towards a ‘cosmopolitan vernacular’.⁴ *Kakawin* were court epics modelled on the *kavya* of South Asia that incorporate quantitative Indic metres and a sophisticated approach to narrative and figuration that is partly indebted to Indian sources of inspiration, partly to the efforts of the Javanese poets responsible for a remarkable efflorescence of literary activity that reached its prime during the Kadirī Period in East Java (c. 1042–1222 CE). Sanskrit input in the *kakawin* was by way of a lexical enrichment that was more fully integrated into the language of texts than in the case of the inscriptions. As a ‘cosmopolitan vernacular’, Old Javanese was replete with a rich stock of figures, idioms and textual strategies that made it ideal for localizing Indian mythological themes and merging them with an indigenous aesthetic and religious sensibility. The importance of royal patronage for the long apprenticeship necessary to mastering the complexities of the genre ensured that *kakawin* poets were crucially situated to serve the expressive needs of the state and the religious institutions that in large part shaped its aesthetic representations. The tightly controlled poetics of *kakawin* was thus an ideal medium for the Old Javanese of a normative vision of society, one that emphasized the intersection of human and divine forces on the shadow-screen of political action, and the consequent depersonalization of historical persona and events.

A second form of textual elaboration relevant to this era of Javanese history is *prasasti*, which from the point of view of linguistic form can be considered a second ‘genre’ of East Javanese textual expression. The aspect of depersonalization is, if anything, more prominent in the inscriptions, especially in the use of terms like *pratistha*, which in the ancient Javanese context might be understood as a temporary fixing of

3 Sheldon Pollock, ‘The Sanskrit cosmopolis, 300–1300 CE: Transculturation, vernacularization, and the question of ideology’, in *Ideology and status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the history of the Sanskrit language*, ed. Jan E. M. Houben (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), pp. 197–248.

4 Sheldon Pollock, ‘The cosmopolitan vernacular’, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 57, 1 (1998): 6–37.

a metaphysical element in a physical form.⁵ We will look in more detail at terms like *pratistha*, noting here that the term is used both with respect to the rituals that ensured an apotheosis of royal figures in sacred images, and for appointments of members of the royal core-line to important political posts. While the *kakawin* and the inscriptional record correspond to differing aspects of courtly culture, they can be grouped together in terms of the goal of aligning living, political actors with a timeless present of symbolic and mythical action. In this sense I argue that we can include both the *kakawin* and the inscriptional record of East Java in a single complex that also includes the images (*pratistha*, *arca*, *pamurtian*) and associated ‘mortuary shrines’ that dotted the East Javanese countryside during the period under consideration. Keeping in mind the caveat that the term *prasasti* is used here in its Indonesian sense, referring to inscriptions in general, rather than to the eulogistic passages described under this term in South Asia, we may then be justified in referring to a complex of textual, symbolic and aesthetic presentations that can be grouped under the term *kakawin-prasasti-pratistha*.

The third category of textual perspective that I propose is represented by *kidung* and related works in the Middle Javanese language. *Kidung* is a genre of literary works that draws much from the language of *kakawin*, but are composed in indigenous Javano-Balinese metres and incorporate speech patterns which clearly represent a later period in the history of Javanese speech communities than those reflected in *kakawin* sources. There are two ‘historical *kidung*’ – the *Kidung Rangga Lawe* and *Kidung Harsawijaya* – that are crucial to this study in that they deal with the events surrounding Jayakatwang’s rebellion against Krtanagara, his short-lived restoration of the fortunes of the Kadiri faction in East Javanese political life and the subsequent rise to power of Raden Wijaya in 1294 CE. In view of a similar perspective on the events surrounding the fall of Krtanagara, which extends to remarkable parallels in the quoted speech of Krtanagara when he learns of the attack of Jayakatwang, the *Rangga Lawe* can be grouped together with the *Pararaton*, a prose text in the Middle Javanese language. Both of these works take a dim view of Krtanagara’s qualities as a leader and thus stand in stark contrast to the more positive perspectives of the inscriptional and literary records.

Let us review now what we know about the place of these three texts in literary history. Based on internal evidence noted by Louis-Charles Damais, the *Rangga Lawe* may be the oldest of the three works, datable to 1334 CE. This would mean that its perspective on the events surrounding the fall of Krtanagara and rise of the Majapahit may have been developed when these events were still within living memory. However,

5 As P. J. Zoetmulder has rightly remarked, these ‘installations’ were by nature impermanent, and had to be maintained by the continued performance of prescribed rituals, or by an active seeking out of the deity. For the nobility this often took the form of a journey into the wilderness to ‘seek the favour of the deity’, while for poets it took the form of an extended journey among the beauties of hill and seacoast to seek ‘the rapture of beauty’ (*kalangwan*); P. J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan: A survey of Old Javanese literature* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1974). For an insightful discussion of the ‘bridal installation’ ceremony (*pimidudukan*) of Rukmini in the *Krsnayana*, which gives us an example of the application of the theme of ‘embodiment’ to an important life-cycle ritual, see Helen Creese, *Women of the kakawin world: Marriage and sexuality in the Indic courts of Java and Bali* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe 2004), pp. 139–41; ‘*Krsnayana*’, in Thomas Hunter and S. Supomo, ‘Sekar Iniket: An anthology of Old Javanese literature’ (unpublished manuscript), 31.14–33.13. In published accounts of ancient Javanese manuscripts and inscriptions, the citations in this article will not be to the page number, but the manuscript page and line.

as Stuart Robson has noted, the language and literary style of the *Rangga Lawe* are closer to works like the *Kidung Pamancangah*, which Damais, in a later work, has dated to 1819 CE based on a chronogram appearing in it. This suggests that the *Rangga Lawe* as we know it may consist of an older core of materials that were later reworked during the heyday of *kidung* composition on Bali.⁶

As Adrian Vickers reminds us, the earliest known manuscript of the *Pararaton* was dated ‘in Bali on 3 August 1613’, while the last event recorded in the text itself was a volcanic eruption in East Java in the year 1481 CE.⁷ We can thus place the composition of the *Pararaton* within a period of 132 years between 1481 and 1613 CE. Vickers follows the lead of C. C. Berg in assigning Balinese authorship to this work, and indeed to the entire corpus of works in either *kidung* or prose form of the Middle Javanese language.⁸ I will argue in this paper that this position is only partly tenable, and that of all works of the Middle Javanese tradition the *Pararaton* is the least likely to have been composed on Bali. I will develop this argument further by speaking of a process of literization, represented by works like the *Pararaton*, which has clearly involved an engagement with the spoken language of a particular era and locality. It can also be observed that in terms of rhetorical organization the *Pararaton* appears to have been intended as an open-ended history, and that the last ‘entry’ may not have been intended to be final. At the same time a shift from a more loosely constructed narrative at the beginnings of the *Pararaton* to a text-building strategy based around the use of chronograms suggests the possibility that the *Pararaton* was a composite text that may well incorporate materials from several generations of literary activity.

Vickers also has shown that the place of the *Kidung Harsawijaya* in a literary chronology follows that of the *Pararaton* by calling attention to the penultimate line of the work: *carita pararaton uwus de-ning kumawya*, ‘the transformation of the *Pararaton* into poetic form is here complete’.⁹ P. J. Zoetmulder noted a number of the salient differences between the account of Jayakatwang’s rebellion as found in the *Kidung Harsawijaya* and the *Kidung Rangga Lawe*.¹⁰ What is most important for this study, however, is the perspective of the *Kidung Harsawijaya* on the role of Krtanagara. First, unlike all other accounts, it does not treat Krtanagara as the ruling monarch in Singhasari, but assigns this role instead to Narasinghamurti, a close relative and ally of Krtanagara’s father, Wisnuwarddhana, who is known from the inscriptional and literary records to have played an important role in East Javanese political life.¹¹ In the *Kidung Harsawijaya*

6 Louis-Charles Damais, ‘Études d’épigraphie Indonésien V: Dates de manuscrits et documents divers de Java, Bali et Lombok’, *Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient* [hereafter *BEFEO*], 49 (1958): 1–257; S. O. Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama) by Mpu Prapanca* (Leiden: KITLV, 1995), p. 307; Damais ‘Études Balinaises VII: Quelques nouvelles dates de manuscrits Balinaise’, *BEFEO*, 51 (1963): 135–6.

7 Adrian Vickers, *Journeys of desire: A study of the Balinese text* Malat (Leiden: KITLV, 2005), p. 271.

8 C. C. Berg, *De middlejavaansche historische traditie* (Santpoort: Mees, 1927).

9 Vickers, *Journeys of desire*, p. 154; C. C. Berg ‘Kidung Harsa-Wijaya. Middel-Javaansche historische roman’, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* [hereafter *BKI*], 88, (1931): 49–238.

10 Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, pp. 415–17.

11 The intimate relationship of Narasinghamurti and Wisnuwarddhana is memorialized both in the *Desawarnana*, where they are said to have ruled ‘like Madhawa [Krishna] and his elder brother [Baladewa]’ and in the *Pararaton* where they are compared to ‘two snakes in one hole’; Robson, *Desawarnana*, 41.2; Brandes, *Pararaton*, 18.5–6.

Narasinghamurti is described as the ruling monarch during the last years of the house of Singhasari, while Krtanagara – elsewhere the paramount king – is described as a ‘nobleman’ and ‘nephew’ of Narasinghamurti whom he appoints to serve as regent until his son Raden Wijaya comes of age. Second, it portrays Krtanagara’s final moments as a heroic last stand against the forces of Kadiri, dying in hand-to-hand combat with a display of the martial valour that is highlighted again and again in Balinese *kidung* like the *Panji Malat Rasmi*. As we will see, this contrasts sharply with the versions of the *Pararaton* and the *Rangga Lawe*, which have Krtanagara distracted by the pleasures of palm-wine and feasting at the time of the attack of Jayakatwang.

A ‘black hole’ in the history of *kakawin*

An important step toward understanding the multiple perspectives on the reign of Krtanagara can be made by taking a ‘before and after’ approach to the study of *kakawin*. This means taking into account a problematical hiatus in the history of *kakawin*, which extends for a period of over 150 years, beginning in a period prior to the reign of the Singhasari kings (1222–92 CE), and lasting well into the Majapahit period. While the date of at least one of the East Javanese *kakawin* (*Bhomantaka*) is unknown, there is nothing in its literary style to suggest that it cannot be grouped with other Kadiri period *kakawin*. The *Ghatotkacasraya* of Mpu Panuluh, assigned by Zoetmulder to the reign of Krtajaya, may thus represent the last *kakawin* composed before a long hiatus that is only broken during the reign of Hayam Wuruk (1350–89 CE).¹² From this latter period we find the well-known *Desawarnana*, Mpu Prapanca’s famous account of Majapahit court life, as well as two major *kakawin*, the *Arjunawijaya* and the *Sutasoma* of Mpu Tantular.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the long gap between the *Ghatotkacasraya* and the works of Mpu Prapanca and Mpu Tantular reflects a decline in royal patronage during a period of considerable political strife (c. 1205–94 CE), followed by a time when the requirements of political consolidation took centre stage and royal attention could not be lavished on support of an art form that required an apprenticeship of considerable length. This hiatus in literary production is to some extent balanced by a surge of productivity in the plastic arts and architecture that has left an impressive record of artistic achievement sponsored by Singhasari and Majapahit period rulers.

While there may have been practical reasons for the long hiatus in *kakawin* production, it is in the clear contrasts between works produced before and after the gap that we can begin to trace the most important long-term effects of the career of Krtanagara. While we can easily detect Shaivite religious elements in many of the Kadiri period *kakawin*, these are balanced with a characteristic attention to the ‘chosen personal deity’ (*ista-dewata*) of individual poets, and to skilful incorporation of mythical themes focusing on the god Vishnu and his human incarnations, thus reflecting concerns that were of great importance to the East Javanese nobility. Buddhist elements are not as well represented in the Kadiri period *kakawin*, but here too, in works like the *Sumanasantaka* that mention priestly groups taking an active role in the performance of state rituals, is evidence for the continued vigour of Buddhist institutions.¹³ Perhaps most important for this study is the degree to which Kadiri period works, especially the *Sumanasantaka*,

¹² Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, pp. 269–71.

¹³ *Sumanasantaka*, in Hunter and Supomo, ‘Sekar Iniket: An anthology of Old Javanese literature’, 53.4.

represent the culture of that period in terms of a lively mixture of courtly, secular and sacred elements that places great stress on performance aspects of state rituals and literary pursuits, and in general portrays religious officials as members of a larger cast of players involved in elaborate displays characteristic of a 'theatre state'.¹⁴

This situation contrasts sharply with the way that religious communities are represented in *kakawin* works produced during the reign of Hayam Wuruk (1350–89 CE). Although the *Desawarnana* of Mpu Prapanca was composed by a member of the Buddhist clergy and pays greatest attention to Buddhist themes, the author is careful to list the sanctuaries of the other major orders, the Shaivite and the Resi.¹⁵ The rising importance of Shaivite, Buddhist and Resi members of the 'three sects' following Krtanagara comes out especially in the insistence of Mpu Tantular on the principle of equivalence among the 'three orders' (*tripaksa*) of the East Javanese religious configuration, a point that he highlights in two *kakawin*, the *Arjunawijaya* and the *Sutasoma*.

In the *Arjunawijaya*, a work likely produced during the earlier part of his career (c. 1365–89 CE), Tantular first notes the equivalence of the *jina* of the four cardinal directions with four Hindu deities, then goes on in the following verse to say that 'there is no difference between the deities' and concludes by describing the importance of royal patronage of the sanctuaries of the Buddhists, the Shaivites and the Resi.¹⁶ In the *Sutasoma*, a work that suggests he had fervently embraced the Javanese form of Mahayana Buddhism in his later years, Tantular speaks of the equivalence of Shaivite and Buddhist doctrine, most prominently in an exhaustive rendition of the similarities between the Buddhist and Shaivite paths.¹⁷ In one verse from this section of the *Sutasoma*, Tantular illustrates both the principle of equivalence, and the fact that in terms of religious praxis we are not looking at a merger of religious establishments or a complete synthesis of religious doctrine that has often been put forward as characteristic of East Javanese religion:

For the Buddhist monk will surely fail,
If he does not know the highest essence of the path to Siwa-ness,
Likewise, the master sage who follows the yoga of Siwa-ness,
Will fail if he does not know the highest reality of Jina-ness.¹⁸

14 While a number of scholars have suggested important modifications to Geertz's model of a 'theatre state' the implications of a state organization based on display continue to play a useful role in studies of pre-modern states of Java and Bali; Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The theatre state in nineteenth-century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

15 Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama)*, 73.3–80.2.

16 S. Supomo, ed. and tr., *Arjunawijaya, a kakawin of Mpu Tantular* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1977), 27.1, 30.1 and 30.1. The terms *jina* ('victorious one'), *tathagata* ('one who has thus-come/thus-gone'), and (less correctly) *dhyani-buddha* all refer to the figures who occupy positions in the various *mandala* of Vajrayana Buddhism.

17 Kate O'Brien, *Sutasoma, the ancient tale of a Buddha-Prince, as retold in 14th century Java by the poet Mpu Tantular* (Hong Kong: Orchid Press, forthcoming 2007), p. 71.

18 Ibid., 42.2. The *Kunjarakarma-dharmakathana* gives a similar rendition of the equivalence of the goals of religious aspiration, but speaks of three sacred pentads, one for each of the 'three major sects' (*tripaksa*), by adding a set of 'five ancestral sages' (*panca-kusika*) for the Resi denomination, thus completing a formula for 'religious equivalence' that includes all three of the major divisions of East Javanese religious praxis; A. Teeuw and S. O. Robson, ed., *Kunjarakarma-dharmakathana: Liberation through the Law of the Buddha, an old Javanese poem by Mpu Dusun* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 22.1–22.4.

It is at this point that we can begin to consider the consequences of the political and spiritual career of Krtanagara. Prior to the time of Krtanagara there were monarchs, like Jayabhaya (r. 1135–57), who are described as incarnations of Vishnu. But there was never a figure prior to Krtanagara, nor one following him, who is described again and again in the inscriptional and literary record as *Bhatara Śīwa-Buddha*, the deity who embodies both Shaiva and Buddha. In what follows I will suggest that the sea change that is evident in literary representations of the religious orientation of fourteenth-century Majapahit, following a hiatus in *kakawin* composition of nearly 150 years, owes its major impetus to the career of Krtanagara and his personal fusion of Shaivite and Buddhist themes in what might be described as a metaphysical enactment of the goal of political unity.

The role of the clergy

It would be very useful to this study to include a review of the problem of the ‘three sects’ (*tripaksa*) of ancient East Java, since this can in turn shed light on the career of Krtanagara. However, we can pay no more than cursory attention to this problem here. For our purposes the most important points are those of Alexis Sanderson and Andrea Acri, who have traced an evolution of Javanese Shaivism from an earlier Atimarga form focused on asceticism as a path to personal salvation, to a later Mantramarga form that was more domesticated, that is more socially situated within and accessible to householders through the development of ritual systems like those of the Shaiva Siddhanta and the *matra*, *trika* and *krama* forms of non-dual Shaivism that developed in Kashmir after the turn of the first millennium.¹⁹ Earlier work by M. Nihom has supported the idea that Pasupata influences played a role in the development of Old Javanese texts like the *Wrhaspati-tattwa*, and that these influences also reflect an admixture of the ascetic practices and doctrines of the Yoga and Samkhya schools of thought.²⁰

Over a period of several hundred years a distinctive form of socio-economic organization arose in East Java that was centred in the courts, but related through the system of *sima*-grants to rural centres of agricultural and mercantile productivity. Airlangga initiated a policy of ‘encouraging territorial expansion’ through the issuing of freehold (*sima*) charters that ‘amplified the state revenue base, by means of state-encouraged development of previously uncultivated peripheral lands as well as taxable trade’.²¹ For members of rural religious institutions this had the double effect of ensuring the economic basis of their ascetic communities, and maintaining their links with courtly centres of ritual and political power. At the same time, the mercantile links of the East Javanese court with the Indian subcontinent meant that religious establishments located at close proximity to the courts became more and more strongly influenced by

19 Alexis Sanderson ‘The Shaiva religion among the Khmers, part 1’, *BEFEO*, 90–1 (2003–4): 349–462; Andrea Acri, ‘Shaivism in ancient Indonesia: The Sanskrit-Old Javanese “*Tutur*” literature from Bali’ (unpublished ‘larea’ thesis, Università Degli Studi di Roma ‘La Sapienza’, 2005).

20 M. Nihom, ‘Sāṅkhya and Pāśūpata reflexes in the Indo-Javanese Vrhaspatitattva’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 39 (1995): 203–20.

21 Kenneth R. Hall, ‘Economic history of early Southeast Asia’, in *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia, volume one: From early times to c. 1800*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 212–15.

developments in South Asia, including Mantramarga forms of Shaivism, as well as the practices of Vajrayana Buddhism.²²

On the other hand, by virtue of their physical distance from the court, the Resi were less susceptible to these influences, and so retained a ‘classical’ form of the Javano-Balinese Atimarga Shaivism. This is reflected in *Desawarnana*, where the sanctuaries of the Resi group are said to belong to the *Sewangkura*, that is to a ‘shoot’ or ‘branch’ of the Shaiva denomination, and all of the ‘free sanctuaries’ of the Resi share the common features of housing a *lingga* and *pranala*, the Shaivite symbols that were of paramount importance in the Javanese religion of an earlier era.²³ This ‘classical Resi’ orientation is also reflected in textual sources like the *Parthayajna*, whose *manggala* verse set out the basic elements of an ascetic system that stands in sharp contrast to the more worldly orientation of *kakawin* poets writing within the courtly domain. As Supomo has shown, the fact that the Resi were custodians of the state shrine of Panataran meant that they may have provided a vital link between the monarch and the ‘the lord of the mountain’ (*Sang Shri Parwatanatha*) and so may not have been as ‘marginalized’ as some authors have suggested.²⁴

Once we have understood the more conservative character of the ‘classical Resi orientation’ we can begin to understand the nature of the antinomian practices associated with Krtanagara, which is easily demonstrated.²⁵ The most important evidence is that of the Sukamreta inscription issued in 1259 CE by Raden Wijaya to reaffirm the dedication of a foundation that was originally granted to Dang Acarya Mapanji Patipati, who is well known from the Mula Malurung inscription of 1255 CE.²⁶ In the Sukamreta inscription, his son, also known as Patipati, describes himself as inheriting the role of ‘superintendent of Shaiva religious affairs’ as well as his father’s status as a ‘religious official of the Shaiva order who practiced the vows of a Bhairava’ (*bhujangga siwapaksa bhairawa-brata*). That Krtanagara may have given special patronage to the family of Patipati because they had been his instructors in Bhairavism comes out in Patipati’s narration of an event intended to illustrate the efficacy of Bhairava teachings in the art of warfare. As Patipati tells the story, there came a time when Krtanagara ‘set out against a village of evil-doers’. Patipati was not to be left behind, and arrived in time to see that Krtanagara had caused his ‘divine nature’ (*kadewatmakan*) to emerge, thus bringing terror to his enemies, who immediately submitted to his rule, ‘without his causing

22 For a ground plan of the Majapahit *kraton* that very clearly shows the residences of Buddhist and Shaivite clergy serving the court in the southwest and southeast corners of the main enclosure, in close proximity to the residence of the core line of Janggala, see Kenneth R. Hall, ‘Ritual networks and royal power in Majapahit Java’, *Archipel*, 52 (1996): 99.

23 Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama)*, 78.1–2.

24 *Ibid.*, 1.1, 78.2; S. Supomo, “‘Lord of the mountain’ in the fourteenth century kakawin”, *BKI*, 128 (1972): 281–97.

25 I will not venture a discussion here of the notion that Krtanagara practised an antinomian form of Buddhist Tantrism that has been described by an earlier generation of scholars under the term *kalacakra*, but will pause to note that the sculpture of a mediating monk associated with his initiation in 1289 CE as Aksobhya, the central figure of the *Guhyasamaja-tantra*, radiates a sense of calm that can hardly be associated with ‘dark’ or ‘threatening’ religious practices.

26 Mula Malurung (inscription), III.b.3–7, in Machi Suhadi, ‘Prasasti Mula Malurung’ (unpublished manuscript, Jakarta, 2001), p. 2.

one hair to fall' in the battle.²⁷ Patipati does not further describe the form taken by Krtanagara's 'divine nature', but it is attempting to associate it with the well-known image of 'Cakra-cakra' of Candi Singhasari. This image depicts a naked, dancing Bhairava, bearing a skull-cup and sacrificial knife, garlanded with skulls and dancing on a ring of skulls. If we pause to reflect on this image as exactly the sort of persona that a powerful figure might hope to project in the course of a military encounter we can perhaps gain insight into one aspect of the 'vow of the Bhairava' that Krtanagara may have wished to cultivate as one aspect of his combination of practical and symbolic political initiatives (see Figure 1).

Whether or not Patipati's description of events is fanciful or not, it seems certain that the special attention Krtanagara paid to a lineage of Bhairava priests had a close connection with the antinomian practices he developed in order to master the ability to project an awe-inspiring persona that was a powerful symbol of all that is terrifying to ones enemies. Here we move from a fanciful understanding of antinomian practices in terms of their so-called 'orgiastic' character, to a more practical understanding of the merger of religious and political themes that was a major part of Singhasari period attempts to assert its political control in East Java and extends its hegemony to the sea lanes of the archipelago. We will return to the question of priestly militancy in the final section of this article, moving on now to a consideration of the quest for unity initiated during the reign of Wisnuwarddhana, and continued under Krtanagara and his successors.

Wisnuwarddhana and Krtanagara: The quest for political unity

The primary source of evidence for a *kakawin* point of view on the career and death of Krtanagara is that of the *Desawarnana*, which devotes more than a dozen verses to his glorification. One verse extolling his merits comments on the devotion he showed to religious practices even during periods when he had been preoccupied with overcoming rebellions in East Java, Madura and Bali, while another verse comments on his fondness for 'esoteric rites' as well as more orthodox forms of 'ritual worship, yoga and spiritual concentration' that are described as part of his 'effort to ensure the stability of the entire world'. The death of Krtanagara itself is described purely in terms of his simultaneous spiritual release into the 'realms of Siwa and Buddha' and his being 'enshrined in a royal religious foundation' in the form of a 'Siwa-Buddha image'.²⁸

In a sense this mid-fourteenth-century depiction of the apotheosis of Krtanagara represents the end of a process, for it was recorded at a time when the Majapahit had secured itself against internal dissension and was enjoying the fruits of a vigorous expansionist policy that had been initiated under the leadership of Gadjah Mada, the famed chief minister of the regent Tribhuwana and her son Hayam Wuruk. Taken together with the inscriptional record, we may perhaps speak of a sublimated vision of political realities that is also reflected in sculptural representations of apotheosized royal figures, which began to play a major role in state organization during the Singhasari period.

27 A transcription of the Sukamreta inscription can be found in: Boechari, *Prasasti koleksi Museum Nasional*, vol. I (Jakarta: Museum Nasional, 1986), pp. 139–47. The quote refers to Sukamreta inscription, VI.b.3–VII.a.1, VIII.b.2–5.

28 Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama)*, 41.2–44.4.



Figure 1 The *cakra-cakra* (Bhairava) image of Candi Singhasari

Here we might gain much in our understanding of the career of Krtanagara if we look back at the inscriptional evidence detailing the beginnings of the Singhasari dynasty. The *Desawarnana* tells us that after his death in 1227 CE Ken Arok was enshrined in the form of images of Buddha and Shiva at a ‘double temple’ at Kegenengan, while Anusapati was apotheosized as a ‘splendid image of Siwa . . . at Kidal’.²⁹ This information is greatly augmented – and partly proven inaccurate – by the Mula Malurung inscription, which

29 Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama)*, 41.1.

pays special attention to the ceremonies of installation that led to the apotheosis of royal figures in the form of sacred images.³⁰ Here Pranaraja speaks of his assistance to Wisnuwarddhana in conducting a series of ‘post-mortem installations’ (*ka-pratistha*) on behalf of his predecessors. Surprisingly, Pranaraja speaks of these ‘installations’ as taking the form of ‘images of Vishnu’ (*Wisnu-arca*). Ken Arok, for example, is said to have been enshrined at Kegenengan as an ‘image of Wisnu’ (*Wisnu-arca*), while Anusapati is described as having been enshrined in this form at Kidal, exactly where the *Desawarnana* describes his enshrinement as an image of Shiva.

In this stark contrast between the forms taken by apotheosized kings in the *Desawarnana* and Mula Malurung inscription we thus find irrefutable evidence for a major shift in the religious orientation of the royal line of East Java some time after 1255 CE. This suggests that the shift in emphasis within *kakawin* towards a ‘principle of equivalence’ among the ‘three major sects’ that occurred after the period that I have characterized as a ‘black hole’ for *kakawin* composition (c. 1205–1365 CE) must be linked to the career of Krtanagara, and his attempt to ensure political unity (and hegemony) through a symbolic amalgamation of the major religious currents of his time.

In a later section of the Mula Malurung inscription we find that another verbal derivation of the word *pratistha* is among several terms used to describe Wisnuwarddhana’s appointments of various relatives to positions of provincial rule.³¹ This policy, continued throughout the later history of the Singhasari-Majapahit dynasty, had the effect of creating a political network that was tightly connected through kinship links. The use of terms like *pratistha* in this process underlines the powerful symbolism that was clearly intended in the ritual formulation of these political appointments. Like the erection of sacred posthumous images and shrines of royal ancestors, these appointments were intended to establish a series of interconnected points of symbolic and political power spreading over the geopolitical territory of East Java, whose ultimate purpose was to ensure the stability of the kingdom in both the visible world of secular rule, and the invisible world of metaphysical and symbolic action. We will return to this point after reviewing two later inscriptions of the Singhasari period that illustrate Krtanagara’s continuation of his father’s drive for political unity in East Java and the archipelago.

There are two inscriptions from the reign of Krtanagara that testify to his continuation and expansion of the policy of unification initiated by Wisnuwarddhana. The first of these is the inscription in Old Malay found at Rambahan, on the banks of the Batang Hari River in central, eastern Sumatra. This image represents a replica of the images at Candi Jago, whose central figure represents Wisnuwarddhana’s posthumous (Buddhist) enshrinement in the form of Amoghapasa. Sent by Krtanagara in 1286 CE to Srimat Tribuanaraja Mauliwarmadewa, earlier scholars interpreted this gift as a sign that

30 The inscription was issued in 1255 CE and describes the long career of service of one Pranaraja to Wisnuwarddhana. Works by Agus Aris Munandar and Boechari have yielded impressive results for our understanding of Singhasari period history, and we can expect more exciting discoveries to follow as information from an additional six plates makes its way into the historical record; Boechari, ‘The inscription of Mula-Malurung: New evidence on the historicity of Ken Arok’, *Majalah Arkeologi*, 3, 1–2 (1980): pp. 55–69; Agus Aris Munandar, ‘Prasasti Muila Malurung: Pelengkap sejarah kerajaan Singhasari’, *Buku laporan Aspek sosial-budaya, pertemuan ilmiah arkeologi IV* (Jakarta: Ikatan Arkeologi Indonesia, 1986).

31 Mula Malurung, VI.b.1–7, in Suhadi, ‘Prasasti Mula Malurung’, p. 5; VI.a.1–7, VII b.1–3 in Boechari, *Prasasti koleksi Museum Nasional*, pp. 185–6.



Figure 2 The Aksobhya image rededicated by Krtanagara in 1289 CE

Krtanagara was thus establishing suzerainty over the important trading-state of Jambi. However, it is more likely that this gift was intended to cement an alliance between Singhasari and Jambi, thus ensuring East Javan access to the immensely lucrative trading routes of the archipelago. This is clear evidence that Krtanagara not only felt compelled to continue his father's work of political unification in East Java, but to extend his political and symbolic network throughout the entire geopolitical area that supported the prosperity and political stability of the Singhasari state.

Another important inscription attesting to Krtanagara's policy of unification are the Sanskrit verses found at the base of a statue of a meditating Buddhist monk, located today in a small park in the city of Surabaya, where it is known as the statue of 'Joko Dolog' (see Figure 2). Believed by some to represent Krtanagara himself, the calm, meditative expression of this image is strongly reminiscent of smaller images of meditating monks found in Buddhist sites in Central Java as early as those of the mid-ninth-century Candi Plaosan. As the Sanskrit inscription tells us, it commemorates the reunification of Java by Wisnuwardhana and the occasion of a second consecration of this image of Aksobhya carried out in 1289 CE, and likely presided over by one Nadajña, the author of the inscription.

As Nadajña tells us, this second consecration of the image of Aksobhya was accompanied by a ritual in which Krtanagara, who is described as 'the son of Wisnuwardhana and Jayawardhani', was initiated along with his entire family according to the rites of Mahaksobhya, a form of the Tantric Buddhist *Jina/Tathâgata* Aksobhya. It is clear that

this symbolic and ritual act was meant to have far-reaching effects. As scholars have largely agreed since the idea was first advanced by J. L. Moens, Krtanagara's consecration into the ritual path of Aksobhya (and hence the *Guhyasamaja Tantra*) appears to be intended to counteract the ritual power gained by the Yuan emperor Kublai Khan through his consecrations in 1264 and 1269 as Hevajra, the central *Jina* of the Hevajra Tantra.³² This connects the event with Krtanagara's earlier gift to Mauliwarmadewa, for this monarch controlled the Melaka Straits, which was the linch-pin in the all-important international sea trade, and an obvious point that needed to be defended at all costs from the expansionist politics of Kublai Khan. Krtanagara's consecration of 1289 CE was also aimed at a symbolic reunification of East Java, as the inscription itself makes abundantly clear, especially in verses 5–6. Here the ancient division of Java into two kingdoms (Janggala and Panjalu) by the illustrious sage Bharada is described as having been carried out by means of a ritual using sacred water 'capable of splitting apart the earth' for the sake of 'the desire of the king [Airlangga] to prevent war'.³³

The close attention paid to the reunification of Java in the Joko Dolog inscription illustrates the degree to which Airlangga's division of his kingdom continued to be a pressing concern throughout the history of pre-Islamic East Java. That this matter remained a problem for the royal line of Majapahit in the mid-fourteenth century is borne out by verses the *Desawarnana* that report on the choice of Kamal Pandak as the site for the enshrinement of the Rajapatni as Prajnaparamita, the Buddhist goddess of transcendent wisdom. As the *Desawarnana* tells us, this sanctuary was erected 'so that the land of Java should be one again'.³⁴ As I will propose in the final section of this article, the ancient division of Java appears to have been a major source of differences of perspective on the career of Krtanagara, and may also be linked to the rise of the Middle Javanese tradition in literature and a shift in perspective in Balinese perspectives on the history of East Java away from the ruling line of Majapahit and toward the Daha/Kadiri faction that had initially lost its pre-eminence with the fall of Krtajaya in 1222 CE.

Perhaps the most spectacular evidence of Krtanagara's drive to carry forward the cause of political and symbolic unity initiated by his predecessors is the exceptional case of his post-mortem enshrinement at Candi Jawi as a single 'Śiwa-Buddha image'

32 J. L. Moens, 'Het Boeddhisme op Java en Sumatra in zijn laatste bloeiperiode', *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 64 (1924): 521–79.

33 While Berg considered this event a fiction, Boechari has shown that the evidence of the inscriptions of Malenga (1052 CE), Turun Hyang B (c. 1044 CE?) and Sumengka (1059 CE) strongly suggest a period of strife immediately following the last inscription of Airlangga (Gandhakuti, 1042 CE); C. C. Berg, 'Herkomst, vorm en functie der Middeljavaansche rijkslingstheorie', *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, nieuwe reeks*, 59, 1(1953); Boechari, 'Sri Maharaja Mapanji Garasakan: A new evidence on the problem of Airlangga's partition of his kingdom', *Majalah Ilmu-ilmu Sastra Indonesia* (1968): 1–26.

34 Nigel Bullough's proposal that Kamal Pandak can be identified with Lemah Tulis, the ancient sanctuary of Mpu Bharadah, lends further weight to the evidence of the *Desawarnana*, 68.5, that this was a very important site for symbolic aspects of the drive for unity that persisted throughout Majapahit times; Nigel Bullough, 'Dimana letak Dharma Sang Rajapatni di Kamal Pandak?', Paper delivered for the Tenth Annual Meeting on Indonesian Archaeology and the Annual Meeting of the Federation of Indonesian Archaeologists (*Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi X dan Kongres Ikatan Arkeologi Indonesia 2005*), Yogyakarta 26–30 September 2005.

(*siwa-buddhârca*), that the *Desawarnana* commemorates as his ‘release into the realms of Siwa and Buddha’ (*mokteng siwa-buddha-loka*) in the year 1292 CE.³⁵ In its outward appearance the shrine at Candi Jawi reveals a unique linkage of Shaivite and Buddhist elements. The slim, tapering spire of the main shrine links it with the form of temple spire favoured in Shaivite sanctuaries of East Java, while its capstone, in the form of a *stupa*, represents the Buddhist element. Most remarkably, the image within the main shrine also combined Shaivite and Buddhist elements:

mwang ri jro Siwa-wimba sobhita halep-niraparamita
Aksobhya-pratime ruhur (m)makuta tan hanoly n-tika

And within there was a splendid Shiva-image, its beauty fitting, without parallel
(With) an image of Aksobhya above the crown, of that there can be no doubt.³⁶

Regardless of genre or provenance, the majority of later works dealing with the career of Krtanagara continued to describe him as *Bhatara Śiwa-Buddha*, whether in inscriptions and historical *kakawin* that present a normative view of East Javanese society, or in works like the *Pararaton* and the historical *kidung* that appear to view his career from a different perspective. Krtanagara’s greatest achievement may be that in some sense he succeeded in making his own person the locus of unity between the two main streams of East Javanese religion, thereby affecting a religious union aimed at compelling the unseen forces of the cosmos to fall in behind his scheme of internal and external political unification. Ironically, his grand enactments on the political and ritual stage were brought to an abrupt end by an outburst of the sort of political rivalry that had prompted the development of an entire array of ritual, symbolic and kinship mechanisms whose purpose was the suppression of political difference. It is perhaps more ironic still that the stage was set for his undoing through a fatal flaw in his father’s policy of political and symbolic unification of the realm through the appointment of his relatives as rulers in the regional centres of courtly power. Here we turn again to the inscription of Mula Malurung for the light it sheds on this problem. In the same series of appointments described earlier in discussing the term *pratistha*, we find the following series of verses that deal with Krtanagara, on the one hand, and his arch-rival, Jayakatwang, on the other:³⁷

He, the eldest prince, who was moreover [Wisnuwarddhana’s] own son, who had been given the ‘consecration name’ Krtanagara, was placed upon the jewelled and golden lion-throne of the state of Daha, [where he] was served by the land of Kadiri.

35 Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama)*, 44.5.

36 Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama)*, 56.2. These lines have vexed many scholars, and given rise to much controversy. The wording of the *Desawarnana* itself suggests a small image of Aksobhya placed above the *jata-makuta* crown of the Shiva-image. This would fit well with the remarkable tale of the disappearance of the Aksobhya image (56.2–57.4). While we cannot tell from the *Desawarnana* whether this was due to the avarice of the Shaivite abbot or his reluctance to accept Krtanagara’s attempt to merge Shaiva and Buddhist doctrines, we do know that from Prapanca’s point of view this disappearance was the cause of the sanctuary’s being struck by lightning in 1331 CE, with the result that ‘it would be nearly impossible for it serve again as a religious domain’.

37 Jayakatwang is referred to as Jayakatyeng in the Mula Malurung inscription, in the *Pararaton* as Jayakatong, and in the *Desawarnana* as Jayakatwang.

She, Turuk Bali, the daughter of [Wisnuwarddhana], who had been taken to wife by Shri Jayakatyeng, who was indeed a nephew of [Wisnuwarddhana], was 'placed in embodiment' there upon the jewelled and golden lion-throne in the country of Gelang-Gelang, [where she] was served by the entire country of Wurawan.³⁸

As we know from the *Desawarnana*, Jayakatwang was the direct descendant of Krtajaya of Daha/Kadiri, who had been overthrown by Ken Arok in 1222 CE.³⁹ That *Mpu* Prapanca was writing a normative history with a view to suppressing evidence for tensions in the royal line comes out in his version of the succession to the throne of Daha/Kadiri. This version elides the question of Krtanagara's being placed on the throne by his father, and instead describes an orderly succession commencing after the fall of Krtajaya (1222 CE) with Jayasabha (r. until 1258 CE), followed by Sastrajaya (1258–71) and finally Jayakatwang (r. from 1271 CE). As we know from the Mula Malurung inscription, however, Krtanagara had been placed on the throne of Daha/Kadiri sometime before Pranaraja's inscription was published in 1255 CE.

The question of Middle Javanese

I have suggested earlier that several works from the Middle Javanese tradition represent an alternative perspective on the career of Krtanagara and the circumstances of his fall. At this point I propose to explore the possibility that the contrast of these perspectives with the tradition of *kakawin* and inscriptions can be related to questions of literary form and provenance as well as the nature of patterns of royal kinship in East Java. My basic claim with regard to kinship is that the Middle Javanese tradition allowed the expression of aesthetic responses to the thematics of core line rivalry that were suppressed by a mythologizing and depersonalizing regime of state-sponsored literary and plastic arts, and the projection of normative values through the regulation of political and economic life that we find detailed in the inscriptions.

In order to do so, however, we must first face the difficulty of the incomplete state of our present knowledge of *kidung* and of the literary language known as Middle Javanese, as well as the further complication of a legacy of scholarly study claiming that *kidung* were composed exclusively on Bali, and hence represent an expression of courtly Balinese values projected backward into a romanticized Javanese past. First proposed by Berg, and more recently supported by Vickers, this view holds that the entire literature in Middle Javanese was composed on Bali, commencing after Bali's subjugation by Gadjah Mada in 1343 CE.⁴⁰

Robson has provided a valuable alternative to this view with his study of Majapahit elements in 'early Kidung literature'. He accepts Damais' dating of the core of the *Rangga Lawe* to the early fourteenth century, and goes on to summarize three works (*Kidung Panji Margasmara*, *Kidung Wargasari* and *Kidung Witaraga*) whose subject matter focuses on Majapahit culture and take place against the geographical backdrop of East

38 Mula Malurung, VII.a.3–4 and VII.a.4–7, in Boechari, *Prasasti koleksi Museum Nasional*, pp. 185–6.

39 Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama)*, 44.2.

40 Berg, *Middlejavaansche historische traditie*; Vickers, *Journeys of desire*.

Java.⁴¹ Robson's summary of the *Kidung Wargasari* shows that it deals with the life of a young man with aspirations to a position in the Buddhist religious hierarchy. The theme of religious aspirations also comes out in Robson's summary of the *Kidung Witaraga*. This work details the career of an official in the Majapahit court who takes leave of his son to follow a path of renunciation and study of mystical doctrines. In time he attains his goals and is given the name Ajar Witaraga, 'the Teaching on Being Free from Passion'. While these themes seem far from the elements of 'desire, prowess and the pursuit of valour' that Vickers portrays as central to the Balinese *kidung* tradition, nevertheless he claims that the *Wargasari* 'moves toward the courtly romance type of *kidung*' and characterizes the *Witaraga* as 'moving in the direction of the exorcistic *kidung* or other genres like *kakawin*'.⁴² Perhaps the most important point arguing against a Balinese origin for these works is that we find little or no evidence for royal support of rural hermitages in post-Majapahit Bali, where the process of domestication of priestly institutions was completed with the emergence of the 'priestly house-yards' (*geriya*) that have remained the primary form of religious organization into modern times. Protagonists like Witaraga would thus have had no place to go to seek a place of renunciation, while the hero of the *Wargasari* could not have sought to advance his career through network of religious institutions that were organized by the state.

Vickers' arguments on the history of *kidung* literature are not without their strengths, and indeed raise issues that call out for further study and investigation. For purposes of the present study it is more important that we raise the issue of whether a line of analysis based on Berg's claims is adequate for coping with problems related to the nature of the language known to scholars as 'Middle Javanese'. Vickers pays some attention to the question of the use of non-Balinese languages in the literary and performance arts of Bali, yet his only response to the problem of how a language whose typology is thoroughly Javanese could be produced on Bali is to claim that 'it is not impossible. . . for poets to write in a language not their "mother tongue"'.⁴³

I believe that we must problematize this assertion by asking how a language can be literized without reference to a spoken language and/or a pre-existing literary language that has been enriched with fresh materials from a spoken language. Two points may be useful here. First, it is not certain that we are justified in speaking of Middle Javanese as a single language. While there appears to be a point at which works in *kidung* form begin to reflect a standard form of the Middle Javanese language, there is also evidence for earlier stages that can be better understood in terms of the varied products of a process of literization that yielded similar results in a number of cases, but was by no means completely uniform across the entire corpus. Second, it would be unusual in the history

41 S. O. Robson, 'Notes on the early *kidung* literature', *BKI*, 135 (1979): 300–22; Damais, 'Etudes d'épigraphie Indonésien'. Helen Creese has examined the difficulties surrounding the dating of texts like the *Rangga Lawe* and the *Panji Margasmara*, concluding that both may represent cases of later Balinese reworking of earlier materials that may originate from Javanese sources; 'Pieces in the puzzle: The dating of several *kakawin* from Bali and Lombok.', *Archipel*, 52 (1996): 161–3.

42 Vickers, *Journeys of desire*, p. 154.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 111–12.

of literized languages if Middle Javanese represented the wholesale adoption of a spoken language.⁴⁴

The *Pararaton* itself provides us with very useful examples of the form taken by the process of literization that led to Middle Javanese as a literary dialect. Here we encounter a distinctive pattern of discourse organization that sets the Middle Javanese tradition off from the *kakawin* tradition. In order to elucidate this pattern we need to introduce two points from the discipline of sociolinguistics. First, following a line of thought developed in works like those of Michael Silverstein and John Gumperz, we observe that all languages share a basic distinction between narrative, third-person modes of discourse organization – a reporter’s eye view of the world – and the interlocutory modes of face-on communication, the ‘I–you encounters’ that are so essential to the social and psychological dimensions of language.⁴⁵ The interlocutory mode often depends on complex systems of ‘shifters’ or ‘deictics’ whose purpose is the management of the rapid shifts of perspective characteristic of face-on communication. The most universal manifestation of these ‘shifters’ is in the first and second person pronouns, while dialogue is their characteristic domain in literary works and performances.

Second, we call attention to the fact that pronouns are among the elements of language most likely to ‘shift around in their paradigms’ over time, a fact frequently encountered by linguistic typologists. As it happens, we are able to observe the shift of a very important set of pronouns (*sira/-nira*) that are used as third person pronouns in Old Javanese to a situation in Middle Javanese where they are found with both second and third person function. It appears that over a period of several hundred years there must have been an ‘internal paradigm shift’ among the pronouns of ancient Java, such that the pronouns used in everyday language shifted away from their original functions, and hence fell out of phase with the literary dialect of Old Javanese. During the period of the composition of the *Pararaton* this meant that the function of *sira/-nira* in dialogue has shifted into the interlocutory category of the second person pronouns (‘you’), while the same set of pronouns is retained with third person function in narrative sections of the work that reflect the continuation of a mode of diction closer to that of Old Javanese.

One example from the *Pararaton* should be sufficient to illustrate this remarkable usage of *sira/-nira*.⁴⁶ In a narrative stretch of discourse (and in which I have italicized third person uses of *sira/-nira*) Ken Endok, the mother of Ken Arok, learns that her child has been abducted by a thief named Kaki Lembong:

44 Based on Roger Wright’s studies on the development of Medieval Latin, the rise of a literized language can result from a direct linguistic intervention. Examples from the Prakrit languages of South Asia show us that while these languages may have once had a connection with the speech habits of particular Middle Indo-Aryan linguistic communities, their role in classical Indian culture was as literary dialects that stood alongside Sanskrit, but played different roles in the aesthetics of theatrical forms and literary genres; Roger Wright, *Late Latin and early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (London: Francis Cairns, 1982); Wright, ‘The conceptual distinction between Latin and Romance: Invention or evolution?’, in *Latin and Romance languages in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Wright (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 103–13.

45 Michael Silverstein, ‘Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description’, in *Meaning in anthropology*, ed. K. Basso and H. Selby (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976), pp. 11–56; John Gumperz, *Discourse strategies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

46 Brandes, *Pararaton*, 2.30–31.

Angrungu *sira* Ken Endok yen *sira* Lembong angaku-aku weka . . . Tumuli pinaran de-*nira* Ken Endok singgih *siranak-ira*

(Now) *she*, Ken Endok, heard that *he*, Lembong, was going round claiming to have gotten a descendant . . . Then *she*, Ken Endok went there and truly *he* [the child] was *her* child.

This is further supported with dialogue (in which I have italicized second person uses of *sira/-nira* italicized). Ken Endok is speaking:

Kaki Lembong, manawa *sira* tan supeksa ring rare kang de-*nirâ*manggih iku. Anak-ingsun puniku, kaki, ayu-n *sira* kaki wikan-a purwaka-nipun. . . .

[Hey] grandfather Lembong, it seems that *you* don't have a proper understanding of who that child is that *you* found. That's my child, grandfather. It would be best if *you* knew about his origins. . . .

This is a mixing of two historical levels in the development of the Javanese language in a single process of literization. One of these levels refers back to the discourse organization of Old Javanese, hence to an earlier literary dialect, while another incorporates the pronominal elements of a spoken language in the process of forming a new literary dialect. While it is possible that some form of spoken Javanese was current in the Balinese courts following the Majapahit conquest of 1343, it requires more than a small stretch of the imagination to require that the process of literization that can be observed in the *Pararaton* took place on Bali. It is far more likely that we are observing a process of literization that led to the retention of a Javanese literary dialect in Bali. Since we know that the Balinese courts were active in the production of a very high order of *kakawin* well into the nineteenth century, there is every reason to suppose that they were responsible for the further evolution of the Middle Javanese language and literature. But to require them to create a literary dialect like Middle Javanese, without recourse to the everyday use of some form of spoken Javanese by a sizable linguistic community, is to ask the impossible.

Middle Javanese perspectives

As the *Kidung Harsawijaya* describes, the double insult of Ken Arok's defeat of his ancestor (Krtajaya) and Krtanagara's rule in the kingdom that he should have inherited from Krtajaya (Daha/Kadiri) was not lost on Jayakatwang, and was the major factor that propelled him into a rebellion against the royal line ruling in Singhasari. While the *Desawarnana* tells us that Jayakatwang's rebellion followed the death of Krtanagara, all other reports speak instead of Krtanagara's dying during the attack of Jayakatwang's forces on his royal enclosure (*kraton*) in 1292 CE.⁴⁷ Several of these reports, especially those of the *Pararaton* and *Kidung Rangga Lawe*, take a negative view of the character of Krtanagara and of his conduct during the final moments of his life, while at least one later source (*Kidung Harsawijaya*) portrays him in a more heroic light.

We will turn here to the perspective of the *Pararaton* and *Kidung Rangga Lawe* on the last days of Krtanagara. However, in order to shed light on the degree to which these reports may accurately represent the events of 1292–94 CE, we will first turn to the

47 Berg 'Kidung Harsa-Wijaya', 2.35a–36a; Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama)*, 44.3–4.

evidence of the Gunung Butak inscription, issued in 1294 CE. This inscription records Raden Wijaya's grant to the elders of the village of Kudadu, who had sheltered him during his flight from the forces of Jayakatwang in 1292 CE. To greatly oversimplify the picture, Raden Wijaya speaks of the following place names in his description of his flight from the forces of Jayakatwang before he and his companions reach the north coast: Batang, Kepulauan and Rabut Caru; Timur Hanjiwa; Pamwatih, Terung, Kulwaan and Kembang Sri; and Kudadu.⁴⁸ While the versions of the *Pararaton* and *Kidung Rangga Lawe* are in accord with the Gunung Butak inscription in terms of the major events in Raden Wijaya's struggle with the forces of Jayakatwang, the places visited prior to his reaching the north coast differ significantly: Sawah Miring; Talaga Pager; and the hermitage of Macan Kuping at Pandakan.⁴⁹

From the comparison of these accounts we can conclude that the composers of the *Pararaton* and the *Rangga Lawe* were well informed on the basic outlines of the events surrounding Raden Wijaya's part in the defence of Singhasari-Tumapel, and of his flight to the north coast. However, they did not have at their disposal first-hand knowledge of the details of his escape route that Raden Wijaya was able to provide the framers of the inscription of Gunung Bukat. This suggests that the close correspondences between the accounts in the *Pararaton* and the *Rangga Lawe* means that their core materials were likely composed within the same time period, and that this period was close enough to the events of 1292–94 CE to be within living memory, but reported at some distance that resulted in a view of events as if 'through a glass darkly'.

We can carry forward the discussion of Middle Javanese perspectives on the fall of Krtanagara. As it happens these can be elucidated in the first instance by comparing the phrasing of a key passage as found in the *Rangga Lawe* and the *Pararaton*. This is the passage recording Krtanagara's initial disbelief that Jayakatwang would attack him. Note that the italicized passages are nearly identical in phrasing and vocabulary:

The forces of Daha who had taken the northern route came to a halt in Memeling. He, the Lord Śiwa-Buddha, was preoccupied drinking palm-wine (*sajeng*). When he was told that Daha was attacking he didn't believe it, and said: '*how is that possible, sir, that Jayakatwang could act thus toward me? For he has always put me at ease in the past (kadi pira sirâji Jaya-Katong sira, mongkonoa ring isun apan sira huwus apakenak lawan isun).*'⁵⁰

It was conveyed to the Lord of Tumapel that his enemies were attacking, an army from Daha. Lord Jayakatwang was now in Memeling, reportedly being resisted there. This was reported to the king. It seemed he did not believe it, (for) he said: '*how is that possible, sir, that Jayakatwang could act thus toward me? For it is clear that in the past he has always put me at ease. Surely he would come to my aid (kadi pira rakwâji Jaya-Katong sira, mongkonoa ering ngwang apan uwus byakta asih-irâpakenak, sumakutaa kami).*'⁵¹

48 Gunung Butak Inscription, IVa, IVb, Va–b, VIa. Muhamad Yamin, *Tatanegara Madjapahit, Parwa I* (Jakarta: Yayasan Prapanca, 1962), pp. 203–32; Brandes, *Pararaton*, pp. 94–96 (Plates I–IV); N. J. Krom *Oud-Javaansche oorkonden: Nagelaten transcripties van wijlen Dr. J. L. A. Brandes* (Jakarta: Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1913), pp. 195–8.

49 Brandes, *Pararaton*, 19.25, 20.14–20, 20.30–21.4; C. C. Berg (ed.), *Rangga Lawe: Middlejavaansche historische roman* (Wetvereden: Albrecht and Co, 1930), 1.42, 1.94–8, 1.106–15.

50 Brandes, *Pararaton*, 19.7–8.

51 Berg, *Rangga Lawe*, 1.31–2.

The narratives of the *Rangga Lawe* and the *Pararaton* on the last days of Krtanagara and the rise of Raden Wijaya represent literized responses to historical events that bring into high relief matters of crucial interest in a political world that took shape around the problems of competition among young nobles, and were later crystallized in literary works like the *Malat*. I will propose following that through a careful comparison of *kakawin*, inscriptional and *kidung* materials we can speak of a division of labour between *kakawin* and *kidung* that can be linked to major themes in the kinship and political organization of the royal houses of East Java. In this configuration *kakawin* can be linked to patterns of optional endogamy that acted to concentrate power within royal houses and were merged with a religious mythos that supported the depersonalization of historical actors. On the other hand, *kidung* may be linked with expressive needs that grew up alongside the traditions of prowess, personal powers of attraction and noble conduct that were one consequence of the intense forms of political competition around core line proximity that was a determining factor in matters of political succession and inheritance in the noble houses of East Java.

The question of kinship

While common sense tells us that it is a risky business to apply the insights of ethnographic study of one society and era to those of another, it may be that applying some of the lessons learned in several decades of study of Balinese gentry houses to the case of the nobility of pre-modern East Java represents an exception to the rule, if only by virtue of the fact that the Balinese gentry houses were thoroughly Javanized after the conquest of Gadjah Mada in 1343 CE, and indeed may owe their existence to Javanese models introduced into Bali at that time.

The two most important points of consideration for our analysis are the question of status and political competition around core line proximity, and the question of the concentration of wealth, status and power within royal houses through carefully controlled patterns of endogamy that tended to fuse the thematics of descent and affinity. Any discussion of core line proximity must necessarily refer back to the work of Hildred Geertz and Clifford Geertz on Balinese kinship and the complex subject of the Balinese *dadia*, a term wisely left untranslated in their work, which can perhaps be understood as a ‘descent group’ that has moved into the public sphere through the construction and maintenance of a temple that serves as the focal point for their corporate structure and activities. For this study the most important aspect of core line proximity among the Balinese gentry is that power over the core houseyard and houseyard temple is controlled by the rule of unigeniture via the line of the father.⁵² This leads to a system of sinking status that radiates out from the core houseyard through the replication of houseyards of increasingly descending status. Political status and power are thus to a large extent dependent on proximity to the core line, which is worked out by way of complex structures of descent and affinity that favour endogamy and hypergamy as ways of concentrating power within the various noble houses that make up a larger gentry *dadia*.

As Geertz and Geertz point out, the ‘core line . . . is not immune to manipulations of various sorts’ with the result that claims to high status among gentry houses are often

52 Hildred Geertz and Clifford Geertz, *Kinship in Bali* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 53.

based not so much on absolute proof of descent from an ancient core line, but the fact that the present bearers of pre-eminent power 'are descended from a former holder of the royal title'. As might be expected, the nature of inheritance in such a system meant that 'rivalry between brothers for the core position could be very intense'.⁵³ Another important aspect of the Balinese type of core line system is that outsiders who managed to force their way in through strength of arms could make claims to legitimacy based on their 'magical potency' (*sakti*), and an appropriate mythologizing of their career. This factor may have played a role in the rise of Ken Arok from supposedly commoner origins, possibly alongside entry to the core line as a 'substitute heir' that I have suggested earlier as one possible rationale behind the development of the tale of Ken Arok and Ken Dedes in the *Pararaton*.

The political consequences of the core line form of kinship organization, as has been discussed in Mengwi, reflect many of these consequences.⁵⁴ These include 'constant struggle between . . . factions of the elite at various levels' and the importance of personal networking, ritual displays and projections of an aura of attraction and prowess in the accumulation of power needed to support claims to a pre-eminent position in terms of core line proximity and status. Without further elaborating on these themes here I propose that the rivalries that developed around core line proximity among Balinese gentry houses represented a potentially schismatic element in kinship organization. This schismatic element was countered by a system of optional endogamous marriages whose purpose was to create an interlocking series of affinal relationships that concentrated power within the core line and provided a strongly stabilizing element in the system.

Helen Creese has recently studied the important role that cross-cousin marriages play in representations of the lives of the East Javanese nobility in several major *kakawin*, and their links to the actual state of affairs as revealed in the inscriptional record and the *Desawarnana*. She concludes that 'endogamous marriage practices, and in particular cousin marriage, effectively restricted unions of all royal women to the royal group . . . [thus serving] to consolidate claims and to differentiate the ruling dynasty from other members of the royal line'.⁵⁵ In James Boon's view, institutions like cousin-marriages and *sentana* marriages promote a collapse of the distinction between descent and affinity in that such marriages replicate the idealized pattern of descent that is the most important principle of organization within royal houses, where the 'point of view of the ancestors' is the primary standard of judgement. An important consequence for literary and mythic representations that project kinship relationships into a symbolic realm comes out in what Boon terms 'narratives that complement unions between opposite-sex twins,

53 Ibid., pp. 127–8, 141–2.

54 Henk Schulte Nordholt, *The spell of power: A history of Balinese politics, 1650–1940* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996).

55 Creese, *Women of the kakawin world*, pp. 131, 120–32. One problem that remains unsolved in Creese's work is the disparity between the preference for cousin marriages revealed in several *kakawin* and the 'public' state of affairs that reflects the point of view of the Indian epics. Boon has studied the nature of this disjuncture, and he notes that it represents a contrast between Indo-European prohibitions on cousin marriages and the systems of cross-cousin and parallel-cousin marriages that are prominent in Dravidian, Oceanic and Javano-Balinese forms of kinship; James A. Boon, *Affinities and extremes: Crisscrossing the bittersweet ethnology of East Indies history, Hindu-Balinese culture, and Indo-European allure* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 94–115.

siblings, or parallel-cousins . . . [by adding] another brother'.⁵⁶ He discusses these narratives under the term 'twinship', pointing especially to Panji stories, where the princely protagonist is invariably joined in his adventures of political, erotic and artistic contest by a brother who shares his fate and is an important ally throughout his career. This immediately brings to mind the linked careers of Wisnuwarddhana and Narasinghamurti, who were united not only as cousins, but quite likely through a 'cousin-marriage' of Wisnuwarddhana and Jayawisnuwarddhani.

Admitting that the above sketch of the consequences of rivalry around core line proximity and the more centripetal forces of selective endogamy hardly does justice to the complexities of the subject, I will move on here to my central proposition: we can understand the differences between literary representations of the court life of East Java as found in *kakawin* and *kidung* contrasts in the realm of kinship between the structure-giving principles of selective endogamy and the potentially schismatic effects of the problem of core line proximity for questions of political succession and status. By this I am suggesting that the complex of literary activity in the *kakawin* form, the projection of the idealized form of the state through royal inscriptions, and the merging of the thematics of royal kinship with the mythological realm that took its most visible form in the elegant statuary and shrines of pre-Islamic East Java, are aligned together as manifestations of the drive toward stability that was increasingly a central concern of the state during and following the Singhasari period. By contrast, *kidung* give expression to the more affective matters that might be expected to arise when individual actors had to struggle in multiple arenas to achieve a following (an 'entourage') that could support them in their struggle for economic and political resources. Displays of courage on the battlefield were thus paralleled by displays of mastery in literary, visual and performance arts, prowess in erotic conquests and a general development of the force of desire that Vickers has focussed on in his work.⁵⁷

Conclusion: A regional configuration?

While I believe that we can rightfully speak of the alignment of a division between the structure-giving principles of a *kakawin-prasasti-pratistha* complex in the arts with kinship patterns aimed at concentrating power around the royal line, and of the aesthetics of historical *kidung* and works like the *Pararaton* as aligned with the values that arose around core-line competition, there are other dimensions to this contrast that we should not overlook. These have to do with perspectives on events that may well be linked to a regional configuration. In order to elucidate this point I propose a return to the question of the final moments of Krtanagara. First let us review what the *Pararaton* and the *Rangga Lawe* have to tell us about the death of Krtanagara. This event is related quite briefly in the *Rangga Lawe*:

The Lord of Tumapel, Shri Shiwa-Buddha, was hidden [inside the *kraton*], ardently gratifying his senses, he released his arrows to no effect, as if in jest, [preoccupied with]

56 Boon, *Affinities and extremes*, p.107. James A. Boon, 'Incest recaptured: Some contraries of karma in Balinese symbology' in *Karma: An anthropological inquiry*, ed. Charles F. Keyes and E. Valentine Daniel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 185–222.

57 Vickers, *Journeys of desire*.

arranging pleasures, the pleasures of food and drink (*rasmī ning tadahan*), not aware that there were enemies, who emerged from the south, attacking suddenly; the Lord King died.⁵⁸

The *Pararaton* relates events in a similar fashion. While it does not mention Krtanagara's ineffectual resistance, it refers twice to his being preoccupied with 'drinking palm-wine' (*anadah sajöng*) with his aged chief minister.⁵⁹ The matter of his death is treated simply as a report to Raden Wijaya, who immediately returns to the *kraton* from the attack he has mounted in the northern direction. While the perspectives of the *Rangga Lawe* and the *Pararaton* are clearly intended to shed a negative light on Krtanagara it is most unfortunate that they have been linked to the evidence of the Singhasari stone of 1351 CE to suggest that Krtanagara died in the midst of a 'Tantric carouse'.

A genealogy of this view can be traced in the summary of earlier work given in Jessy Blom's very thorough and valuable study of the archaeological remains and imagery of Candi Singhasari. In endeavouring to resolve the question of the dating of the so-called 'tower-temple' of Candi Singhasari she reviews Berg's rejection of the possibility that this shrine represented a mortuary shrine of Krtanagara based on his associating the 'tower-temple' with the phrase Purwapatapan ('Ancient place of asceticism'), which is identified in the *Pararaton* as the place of burial of Krtanagara.⁶⁰ Inventing a word based on *tadah* ('receive from above, eat, drink'), Berg spoke of a *penadahan sajeng*, 'place of drinking palm wine' that he identified as a site of 'Tantric carouses' like those 'reported' in the *Pararaton*. What is most remarkable about this 'identification' is that the term *penadahan* occurs only twice in the entire corpus of Old and Middle Javanese literature, and then with a different meaning: 'a person from who one receives food or drink'.⁶¹

After relating the terms Purwapatapan and '*penadahan*' to each other, Berg further related both to the Singhasari stone of 1351 CE. This inscription was found within the precinct of Candi Singhasari and details the dedication of a shrine by Gadjah Mada and the regent, Tribhuwana, to 'the great brahmana priests of the Shaiva and Buddhist orders from the whole land of Panjalu [Kadiri] who joined him in achieving liberation, along with the great, aged minister who passed away at the foot of the deity [Krtanagara]'.⁶² Far from providing any evidence for a 'Tantric carouse' this inscription points to a priestly militancy that is recorded in literary sources like the *Sumanasantaka*, where members of the Brahamana, Sogata and Shaivite orders are portrayed as defending Lord Aja in his struggle against the suitors he had earlier defeated in his quest for the hand of Indumati.⁶³

58 Berg, *Rangga Lawe*, 1.35–36.

59 Brandes, *Pararaton*, 19.5–6, 18–19.

60 My discussion of the question of a supposed 'place of palm-wine drinking' frequented by Krtanagara is based on the discussion in Jessy Blom, *The antiquities of Singasari* (Leiden: Burgersdijk and Niermans-Templum, 1939), pp. 118–21; see also C. C. Berg, 'Javanese geschiedschrijving', in *Geschiedenis van Nederlansch Indie*, ed. F. W. Stapel (Amsterdam: Joost van den Vondel, 1938); Berg 'Herkomst, vorm en functie'.

61 P. J. Zoetmulder with S. O. Robson, *Old Javanese-English dictionary* (The Hague: KITLV and M. Nijhoff, 1982), p. 1894.

62 J. L. A. Brandes, *Beschrijving von Tjandi Singasari in de residentie Pasoeroen – en de Wolkentoeneelen van Panataran in de residentie Kadiri* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1919).

63 *Sumanasantaka*, 146.1–3.

While the genealogy of Berg's claims around the death of Krtanagara has lived on with remarkable persistence in the scholarly literature, the wording of the Singhasari stone itself suggests nothing more than that Shaivite and Sogata priests died at his feet (*lina ri dagan bhatarā*), and when considering that their residences were within the royal compound, they might be expected to give their lives in a final defence against intruders. The dangers of a fanciful mixing of elements from textual sources that fall on either side of the 'kakawin-kidung divide' thus becomes clear; not only are we misled in our interpretation of Singhasari period religious practices into imagining 'Tantric practices' that seem almost laughable in the light of recent scholarly advances in the study of Tantrism, but we are led to overlook the more challenging field of differences in historical perspectives within the Javanese and Balinese textual sources.

While I will not claim here that we can make a final assessment of the possibility that the 'kidung-kakawin divide' represents in some sense a regional configuration, a number of points can be summarized that support this possibility. The first of these is that we now know that the perspectives of the *Pararaton* and the *Rangga Lawe* are linked, especially in terms of their pejorative stance on the career of Krtanagara, and that these perspectives may be those of sources in fourteenth-century Java, at least in terms of core materials recording the final moments of the life of Krtanagara. Second, the reputation of Krtanagara is somewhat redeemed in the *Kidung Harsawijaya*, composed in early seventeenth-century Bali, in that he is characterized as dying a heroic death in defence of his *kraton*. However, he is characterized as being 'appointed to rule' by Narasinghamurti, and his actions in the early years of his reign are portrayed as leading to his being deserted by many of his most able councillors. The *Kidung Harsawijaya* is also important in that it traces Jayakatwang's anger and frustration to the reduction of Daha/Kadiri to a secondary political role with the defeat of Krtajaya and rise of Ken Arok, and the continuing insult of Krtanagara's rule in Daha, a fact that is supported in the Mula Malurung inscription. By contrast, the record of rulers in Kadiri given by the *Desawarnana* appears to gloss over this appointment of Krtanagara to rule in Kadiri by describing an unbroken line of succession from Krtajaya to Jayakatwang.⁶⁴

In addition, the perspectives of the *Pararaton* and historical *kidung* thus appear to heavily favour perspectives that cast a positive light on the Daha/Kadiri faction in East Javanese political life. These perspectives often stand in stark contrast to those of the *kakawin-prasasti-pratistha* complex that I have claimed constituted the structure-giving mode of representation favoured by the dominant political faction ruling from Janggala/Koripan-Tumapel. The preservation and further evolution of the perspective of the *Pararaton* and historical *kidung* on Bali appears to be linked to the influence of the Kadiri faction on Balinese political life from at least 1384 CE. As J. Noorduyn has shown, Chinese references to an 'eastern' and 'western' kingdom, who both sent emissaries to China in 1377 CE, likely refers to two factions who were both powerful in East Javanese political life at that time. One, which is usually referred to as the 'western kraton', represented the ruling family of Janggala.⁶⁵ The other, the 'eastern kraton', very likely represented the Daha/Kadiri faction, which during this period played a very prominent

64 Mula Malurung inscription, VII.a.3–4; Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakrtagama)*, 44.2.

65 J. Noorduyn, 'The eastern kings of Majapahit', *BKI*, 131 (1975): 479–80.

role in Majapahit political life under the leadership of Wijayarajasa, the Prince of Wengker, who was both an uncle and father-in-law to Hayam Wuruk. From the Pura Batur inscription of Abang village, dated 1384 CE, we know that Wijayarajasa played a very important role in Balinese political life at that time, and may well have been the most important ruler in Bali until his death in 1388 CE.

These points suggest the following scenario: while composition in *kidung* form may not have been monopolized by the Kadiri faction, it may be that they developed it as a means of expression during a period when they did not hold paramount political power, and during which *kakawin* were increasingly linked to the expression of religious themes, rather than to a more open mixing of secular, courtly and religious themes that are characteristic of the *kakawin* produced under Airlangga and during the Kadiri period (c. 1035–1205/22 CE). This means that when Bali came under the influence of the Prince of Wengker, literary forms like the *kidung* came to be associated with Majapahit culture along the lines favoured by the Kadiri faction. This would help to explain the fact that Balinese *kakawin* rarely reflect the ‘principle of religious equivalence’ that is so predominant in later East Javanese works like the *Arjunawijaya*, *Sutasoma* and *Kunjarakarnadharmakathana*, but instead hark back for their inspiration to earlier *kakawin* like the *Kakawin Ramayana* and *kakawin* of the East Javanese period.

In this view, the perspectives of the *Pararaton* and the historical *kidung* and the *kakawin-prasasti-pratistha* complex on the career of Krtanagara can be understood as interested reading, each linked to specific socio-political needs that were played out in the fields of religious symbolism and aesthetics just as much as in the fields of kinship and political organization. These in turn may be linked to a regional configuration around the competition of the Janggala/Koripan and Daha/Kadiri factions in East Javanese political life.⁶⁶ Seen from this perspective the drive for unity initiated by Wisnuwarddhana and Krtanagara and the development of the *kakawin-prasasti-pratistha* complex were responses to a continuing threat that can be traced back as far as the events following the last inscription of Airlangga (1042 CE). The further accounts of historical *kidung* might then be understood as a resurgence of the perspectives of the house of Daha/Kadiri during a period when the influence of the ruling line of Majapahit first waned, then disappeared with the rise of the Islamic states of the north coast of Java.

In terms of the study of the ‘syncretism’ of the Singhasari period we can now speak of a series of initiatives undertaken by Krtanagara with the ultimate aim of forcing a fusion of elements that represented the metaphysical reflection of his pragmatic political policies. By undertaking initiations as Aksobhya and (very likely) as a Bhairava he hoped to absorb the ‘spiritual forces’ (*sakti*) associated with these practices and thus to ‘create

66 The idea that the differing perspectives of *kidung* and *kakawin* literature may be linked to regional perspectives is supported in B. J. Schrieke’s discussion of the *Tattwa ning Wyawahara*. Schrieke notes that this didactic text was produced in Daha/Kadiri by an author who was very critical of the rulers of Singhasari, speaking of their ritual and political practices as sure to bring about the destruction of the world (*pralaya*), and strongly condemning their consumption of the palm-wine liquor known as *sajeng*. As Schrieke points out, this negative perspective may be connected with the authorship of the *Tattwa ning Wyawahara* in Kadiri, which must have harboured resentment against the royal house of Singhasari after Ken Arok’s defeat of Krtajaya and the subsequent waning of the fortunes of Kadiri; B. J. Schrieke, *Indonesian sociological studies*, vol. III (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1957), pp. 88–95.

himself as a composite figure of the sacred who would live on as an icon of the merging of Shaivite and Buddhist elements in a single, sanctified person. While his efforts to effect a merger of the two main streams of East Javanese religion appears not to have borne full fruit in the centuries following his death, it left a lasting and indelible imprint on his successors in terms of the 'principle of equivalence' in the domain of religion, and a continuing attention to the need to achieve political unity through both pragmatic and symbolic means.