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THE WORSHIP OF BHĪMA

In memory of my father and 'guru' Bert Duijker

THE WORSHIP OF BHĪMA

The representations of Bhīma on Java during the
Majapahit Period

PROEFSCHRIFT

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Foreword

In 1990 I participated in a Dutch-Indonesian project which dealt with rewriting the *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst*, the opus magnum of Krom written in 1920 and revised in 1923. The idea was to add new discoveries and new perceptions to Krom's work, creating a more complete work. During this time I worked on Candi Sukuh, a very interesting terraced sanctuary on Mount Lawu in Central Java. Unfortunately, the project never got off the ground very well, but it did bring me indirectly to this thesis.

I tried to trace the statues of Candi Sukuh mentioned in the first monograph written about this sanctuary by Van der Vlis (1843) entitled *Proeve eener beschrijving en verklaring der oudheden en opschriften op Soekoeh en Tjetto*. Some statues were unfortunately no longer in situ. I called on Mr. K.R.T. Hardjonagoro in Solo (now deceased) for help. During my visit to his collection I came face to face with a larger than life stone statue (195 cm) which supposedly represented Bhīma, one of the protagonists of the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata*. This statue was in more than one respect very impressive and I was touched by its magic. It was at that moment that I decided that, if there were more stone representations of this figure, I wanted to find out more about them and study them.

Not long after this interesting encounter, I read an article entitled 'Een oud-Javaansche Bhīma-cultus' written by Stutterheim in 1935. Stutterheim was the first scholar to write an article about stone Bhīma representations, and he did a very fine job indeed. He identified twelve statues as representations of Bhīma, and found most of them on the terraced mountain sanctuaries of Java. One of Stutterheim's assumptions was that there must have been a Bhīma cult during the later Majapahit Period (1294-1527 C.E.).

In 1992 I went to Java with the plan to see if I could trace the twelve Bhīma representations Stutterheim mentioned in his article, and I was hoping to find even more. The Bhīma statues which according to Stutterheim were located on a number of sanctuaries were no longer there, and the statues still on location were, for the most part, incomplete or in fragments. However, I discovered quite a number of Bhīma statues and a few Bhīma depictions on reliefs in museum collections. These finds turned out to be a blessing, as they proved to be in a very good condition due to their preservation in a museum environment. In the museums the statues and reliefs had at least been safeguarded from erosion, breakage and theft. There was one drawback however, and that was that it was very difficult to determine their origin. Often there was no information about the statues except the date of purchase or their previous owner.

Over the following years I found 46 Bhīma statues, often in fragments, and twelve reliefs depicting Bhīma either on location, or in a private collection, or in various museums in Indonesia (Java), the Netherlands and England. Bhīma was unmistakably a popular figure during the Majapahit Period and given the number of statues the focus of a worship. Given all these finds, I thought it worthwhile to start my own project.

I received a travel grant from NWO-WOTRO which enabled me to do fieldwork in Indonesia from August until November 1996. I am very grateful towards NWO-WOTRO because this trip offered me the opportunity to collect a lot of data, something which would have been impossible without their help. I also feel greatly indebted to the support of the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) which allowed me to do research in Indonesia, and would like to thank the Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, especially Prof. Soejono, and the Suaka Sejarah dan Purbakala Jawa Timur and Jawa Tengah for their advice and assistance.

I thank my supervisor Prof. Dr. Aart Mekking and my co-supervisor Dr. Hedi Hinzler for their encouragement and inspiration during the process of writing. I am indebted to the late Prof. Dr. Hans de Casparis for his assistance in epigraphical matters. I also would like to thank the late Mr. K.R.T. Hardjonagoro and the late Dr. Atmojo for their valuable information and Prof. H. Santiko, Mrs. I. Mardiani and Mrs. S. Satari for the support they have given me during my fieldwork. A special word of gratitude goes to Dwi Cahyono, a cultural historian with extensive and practical knowledge of the period I studied. I conducted some of my fieldwork with him in East Java in 1996. We went out on his motorcycle and most of my trips with him involved some daredevil driving and manoeuvring to reach some of the terraced sanctuaries in the mountains, but we fortunately survived, and so did our cameras, drawings and all other equipment.

I would like to thank my Dutch colleague Victoria Clara van Groenendaal for her support and willingness to read my study. She gave me good constructive feedback. In addition, a word of thanks for Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer for her support, and Gerard Foekema, Wim Hutter and Robert Uterwijk for their encouragement and valuable ICT lessons in scanning my negatives and drawings. I am grateful to Josine Opmeer who corrected and helped me with the English text, and I am much obliged to Willem Heijting who did a great deal of the editorial work. Last but not least, I want to thank my family: Rob, Petra and Danielle Schwier and Arnold de Waard for their mental and practical support during the process of writing.

Introduction

Bhīma, the focus of this study, is one of the protagonists of the Hindu classic the *Mahābhārata* (The great *Bhārata*). This great epic originates from the Indian subcontinent and was formed between 300 B.C. and 100 C.E. (Dowson 1972:190).

The *Mahābhārata* consists of eighteen books (*parwa*)¹ and narrates the history of the Bhārata clan. The central theme of the *Mahābhārata* is the clan war (*Bhāratayuddha*) between the Pāṇḍawa and the Korawa brothers, who are in fact cousins. The five Pāṇḍawa, Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, and the twins Nakula and Sadewa are the acknowledged sons of king Pāṇḍu and his queens Kuntī and Mādrī (see Fig. A). The Korawa, of which Duryodhana is the most important figure, are the hundred sons of king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and his queen Gandharī.

Bhīma is the second in line of the five Pāṇḍawa brothers, and just as his siblings Bhīma is of divine origin. He is the son of the god of the wind Bāyu. His elder brother Yudhiṣṭhira is the son of the God Dharma, and his younger brothers Arjuna and the twins Nakula and Sadewa are respectively the sons of the god Indra and the twin gods Aświn. Bhīma's appearance is strong and powerful, he has a fierce personality, and possesses supernatural strength and speed. All these attributes are a legacy of his divine father.

The *Mahābhārata* as a part of the Hindu culture spread to several other parts of Asia such as Nepal, Cambodia, Vietnam and Indonesia, and became rooted in these cultures. In Indonesia for example, especially on Java and Bali, the *Mahābhārata* became an important source for literature, *wayang* performances and sculpture. Parts of the *Mahābhārata* appear in an Old Javanese version (see 2.1.1-2.1.3) from the tenth century onwards and Bhīma features as early as the tenth century in a Javanese *wayang* performance,² and on a couple of re-

¹ The meaning of *parwa* is prose story or book (part) of the *Mahābhārata*.

² The charter in which the name Bhīma is mentioned in relation to a *wayang* performance and a recitation, is known by the name Sang-Sang Charter II (Naerssen 1937:449-61; Sarkar II 1972:93-8). I will treat this charter in detail in 2.3.4. The type of *wayang* performance in which Bhīma appeared is unknown but might have been *wayang kulit*.

There are several types of *wayang* performances differing in age and they are: *wayang kulit*, *wayang golek*, *wayang klitik*, *wayang bèbèr*, *wayang topèng* and *wayang wong*. The *wayang kulit* is most probably the oldest form of the *wayang* performance followed by the *wayang bèbèr*. *Wayang kulit* is a puppet play with flat leather puppets whereby the shadows of the puppets are projected on a screen with the assistance of a lamp. In the *wayang bèbèr* the performer illustrates his story with scenes painted on cloth or paper. *Wayang golek* and *wayang klitik* respectively use round and flat wooden puppets which are played without a screen. In *wayang wong* the actors repre-

liefs.³ After the tenth century however, there is, with the exception of literature, for a couple of centuries, a complete silence in relation to Bhīma. There are no known reliefs including depictions of Bhīma nor any *wayang* performances in which he figures from this period. This is in contrast to the appearance of his younger brother Arjuna who still features on reliefs⁴ after the tenth century, and who is the protagonist of the poem (*kakawin*) *Arjunawiwāha*. This poem of Javanese origin is based on the Old Javanese versions of the *Mahābhārata*, the *parwa*, but has the structure of a *wayang* play (*lakon*) (Poerbatjaraka 1926:184).

It is not until the Majapahit Period, covering the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that we see a reappearance of Bhīma either together with his family or on his own on reliefs, and as the only Pāṇḍawa represented in the shape of stone statues. During that period, he also appears as the protagonist of two texts with a Tantric⁵ doctrine, the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci*. Both these texts have much in common and most probably share one original text. According to Prijohoetomo who transcribed, translated and analysed the *Nawaruci*, this text too has the structure of a *wayang* play (Prijohoetomo 1934:4).

In the eighteenth century, when Hindu-Buddhism is no longer considered the main religion on Java because this role has been taken over by Islam for over two centuries, *The book of Cabolèk* appears. This 'book' is unmistakably of a Sufi⁶ signature and Bhīma plays an important role in it. *The book of Cabolèk* is in fact an adaptation of the *Dewaruci*,⁷ and is attributed to the court poet Yasadipura I.⁸

In *The book of Cabolèk* another reference is made to the world of the *wayang*. Here the world of humans is compared to the world of *wayang* where men are manipulated by the puppet player (*dalang*) who is nothing but the Divine Essence (Soebardi 1975:124, 131-2).

The world of the *wayang* remains an important medium for the protagonists of the *Mahābhārata*. The Korawa and the Pāṇḍawa, with Bhīma in particular, continue to play a part in *wayang* performances nowadays, and are held in high esteem by the Javanese as well as the

sent the characters, whereas in the *wayang topèng* masks are being used (Clara van Groenendael 1985:1).

³ Bhīma appears on three Jolotundo reliefs; these reliefs are discussed in 2.2.2.

⁴ The reliefs in which Arjuna is represented depict scenes from the *kakawin Arjunawiwāha*.

⁵ Tantrism is an esoteric and mystical school of thought in Hinduism and in Mahāyāna Buddhism aiming at liberation within a man's life under the guidance of a sage. The performance of yoga is essential in Tantrism.

⁶ Sufism is an ascetic and mystic movement within Islam. The doctrine aims at the conjunction of men with the Divine.

⁷ Yasadipura I adapted more Old Javanese masterpieces such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāratayuddha*, and the *Arjunawiwāha* (Soebardi 1975:20-21).

⁸ Yasadipura I worked under the reigns of Paku Buwono III (1749-88 C.E.) and Paku Buwono IV (1788-1820 C.E.) (Soebardi 1975:16-26).

Balinese. The *wayang kulit* play *Dewaruci* with Bhīma as the central character is still very popular on Java, as is the *wayang kulit lemah*⁹ play *Bima Swarga*¹⁰ on Bali. The medium of *wayang*, which has been in existence as an important communicator of the stories based on the *Mahābhārata*¹¹ and for the popularity of main characters of the *Mahābhārata*¹² since the tenth century, remains of vital importance for the existence and the attractiveness of the same protagonists today.

It is clear that the Korawa and the Pāṇḍawa as the protagonists of the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata* have held their roles as popular characters in Javanese cultural life for over a millennium. During this millennium we have seen a change in religion from Hindu-Buddhism to Islam, with Islam being the more dominant religion on Java from the sixteenth century onwards. On Bali on the other hand, Hindu-Buddhism¹³ with the emphasis on Hinduism remained the main religion.

Previous research on Bhīma

Throughout the twentieth century a number of scholars have studied Bhīma and tried to figure out his significance during the Majapahit Period as well as nowadays. Most of these researchers focused their attention on the esoteric Bhīma, one of his characteristics handed down through the popular text and *wayang* play *Dewaruci*.

The oldest article was written in 1927 by Goris. Goris based his research on contemporary Javanese *wayang* literature, but he did not specify any *wayang* plays (*lakon*) in particular. He conducted his research by trying to explain Bhīma's character and background by concentrating on his clothing, ornaments and ancestry. The part of Goris' explanation based on the ornaments and clothing is influenced by Islamic (Sufi) dogmas. He attributes Bhīma's esoteric side however to his descent of Bāyu, the Hindu god of the wind. This lineage is opposed by Stutterheim in his article 'Een oud-Javaansche Bhīma-cultus' (1935) in which he relates Bhīma to the Hindu god Śiwa. Stutterheim (1935:44) based his theory on the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* which mentions Bhīma as one of the eight manifestations of Śiwa.¹⁴

Stutterheim related Bhīma to Śiwa's demonic manifestation, called Bhairawa, and he backed his research by using iconographical evi-

⁹ The *wayang kulit lemah* is a day performance whereas the *wayang kulit* performance is held at night. The *wayang kulit lemah* is performed on the occasion of a ceremony, and is, according to Hinzler, the counterpart of a purification performed by a priest (Hinzler 1981:18).

¹⁰ Hinzler 1981.

¹¹ See also Johns 1970:142.

¹² Not only Bhīma but also Arjuna was very popular. Evidence for this is confirmed by the depiction of the *Arjunawiwāha* on many reliefs.

¹³ Buddhism is much less influential, but still part of the religious life of the Balinese.

¹⁴ In this text Śiwa is not seen as the highest Hindu god, but as a descendant of the god Brahmā (Gonda 1933:10).

dence. In addition to the twelve Bhīma statues from Java he introduced two Balinese statues he identified as 'Bhīma-Bhairawa' statues. These statues differ significantly from the Javanese Bhīma representations,¹⁵ and it is on the iconography of these two statues that Stutterheim based his evidence for a relationship between Bhīma and Bhairawa.

Stutterheim (1935:46-7) believed that the Bhairawa statues were worshipped by members of the Bhairawa sects in order to gain salvation during their lifetime. He therefore assumed that the statues of Bhīma on Java must have been worshipped for the same reason. I disagree with his theory on iconographical grounds, all of which will be discussed below. However, I am much interested in the relation between the worship of Bhīma and his iconography, and will therefore return to Stutterheim's theory a bit further on in this part (see 1.4.1).

A more recent article written by Santiko (1995) also refers to a relation between Bhīma and Śiwa. Just like Stutterheim she concentrated on the function of the Bhīma representations. Santiko made a number of statements; she surmises for instance that inscriptions on two Bhīma statues mention the name of Śiwa (Santiko 1995:134). However the inscription on the first Bhīma statue (Cat. no. 25) does not mention the name of Śiwa, as I will show in 2.3.2, and the second Bhīma statue is not a Bhīma statue as I discovered during my fieldwork.

One of the other statements made by Santiko was that Bhīma's phallus could be compared to the *lingga*, the phallic symbol of Śiwa. As

¹⁵ The first is a four-sided sculpture (*catuhkāya*) which originates from Pura Pusering Jagat, Pejeng. Of this sculpture only one blurred photograph exists (Stutterheim 1935:42-3, Pl. 10). The description is as follows: Four identical male figures with demonic faces, each on a side, depicted in a dancing position on a square lotus cushion. The hair dress of the depicted figures relates to the hair dress lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) with long curls coming from behind the back pincer. The belly and a part of the thighs are covered by a chequered (*poleng*) loincloth but the genitals are exposed. The decorated front tail (with a floral ornament?) hangs down on the pedestal. Each dancer holds a double thunderbolt (*bajra*) straight in the right hand. The left hand possibly closes around a conch (Stutterheim 1935:43). The armlets, bracelets and anklets are most probably adorned by snakes (cobras?). The figures wear a necklace, they have presumably rosettes on the place of their nipples and their ear pendants are spherical (mangistan?).

The second sculpture is a huge statue carved in the round from Pura Kebo Edan, Pejeng. This badly damaged and weathered statue represents a person standing on a corpse with both hands on his hips and his legs widespread. He has locks of curly hair hanging over his shoulders, an enormous penis in the shape of a cobra, and bracelets and anklets shaped as slithering cobras. I am of the opinion that this last statue represents Bhairawa and not Bhīma.

The first statue has similarities with the Javanese Bhīma statues, but differs in pose and in ornaments, especially those he holds in his hands. It might be a very specific Bhīma statue. Considering the double thunderbolt (*bajra*) Bhīma holds in his right hand there might be a relation with Bajrayāna Buddhism (see also 1.6). According to Stutterheim (1935:43) both statues date at the latest from the middle of the fourteenth century which is before the Bhīma worship started (see 3.2.3).

there was a *lingga* worship during the late fifteenth century which was linked to salvation Bhīma must have been subject to such a worship (Santiko 1995:131). I do however think that a comparison between Bhīma's prominently depicted genitals and the *lingga* is incorrect as Bhīma's penis is not in a state of erection, which is in contrast to the *lingga*. Furthermore she stated that Bhīma must have been a religious hero who functioned as a mediator between the community and Śiwa in order to reach salvation (Santiko 1995:131).

Santiko also mentioned the terraced sanctuaries in her research which are often the location of the Bhīma representations. She stated that the terraced sanctuaries were inhabited by sages (*ṛṣi*) and that Bhīma functioned as a kind of mentor (*guru*) to these holy people (Santiko 1995:134). However, she did not give any evidence for this assumption, and neither did she validate her earlier mentioned salvation theory.

Two scholars have put more emphasis on Bhīma's Tantric Buddhist character. Bosch (1947) drew attention to a Balinese hymn dedicated to Bhīma, the *Bhīmastawa*. This hymn was one of twenty-three Sanskrit texts Sylvain Levi collected on Bali. The hymn refers to Bhīma as the Tantric Buddhist god Bajrasattwa. Bosch was of the opinion that the identification of Bhīma with Bajrasattwa was effectuated by the medium of the god Indra. He validated his assumption by comparing one of Bhīma's prominent iconographical features, the long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) clenched by his four fingers with the thunderbolt (*bajra*), the attribute of both Indra and Bajrasattwa. Because of this particular iconographical feature and his benevolent and heroic character Bosch associated Bhīma with Bajrasattwa.

The main subject of the essay 'The Enlightenment of Bhīma' by Johns (1970) is the change from the religion of Classical Java, Hindu-Buddhism, to the religion of Modern-day Java, Islam. Johns especially concentrated on the period of the transition between the two religions. Johns took as a *Leitmotiv* the alteration of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period to the 'Enlightened One', and the continuation of this role after the conversion to Islam. To elaborate his theory Johns researched Hindu as well as Islamic religious philosophical texts based on the figure of Bhīma and Bhīma's role as one of the main characters in the *wayang*. Johns concluded that the Islamic mystical movement, Sufism, harmonised very well with the basic themes of the Hindu-Buddhist tradition which encompasses release and enlightenment. He nevertheless remarked that a dichotomy remained between the univocal identity of god and men in the Hindu-Buddhist tradition, and the absence of this identity in the orthodox Muslim tradition where God is free from any association with a created being (Johns 1970:150).

Woro Aryandini (1998), like Johns, examined 'Bhīma' literature from the Hindu-Buddhist period as well as from the period after the Islamic conversion. She wrote a PhD thesis on the image of Bhīma in

literature dating from the Classical Period up to 1940, and she used the iconography of Bhīma as a supporting discipline. Woro Aryandini concluded that the image of Bhīma as a symbolic figure was important for three groups in Javanese society: the people who ruled, the spiritual people, and the villagers (Woro Aryandini 1998:251-6). For the first group, the rulers or *ksatriya*, Bhīma was seen as a 'hero in warfare', a 'protector of society', and a 'protector of family'. This image remained the same over the Classical Period as well as after the Islamic conversion. The second group, the spirituals, regarded him as a 'holy' figure. During the Classical Period, these 'spiritual' people were found outside the court circles, after the Islamic conversion however they were found within the court circles. For the people who lived in and around the villages, like farmers e.g., Bhīma was a symbol of fertility as well as a 'holy' figure. Because of the data available about this last group, and because their relation to Bhīma only covers recent periods, we should be aware that this statement about their relation to Bhīma should be placed in a more recent time and place. In this context, Woro Aryandini in particular mentions the Orde Baru and the people living near Yogyakarta.

The two last scholars I would like to mention here are Hinzler and Chambert-Loir. Hinzler (1981) wrote a PhD thesis on the Balinese *wayang lemah* play *Bima Swarga* of which Bhīma is the protagonist. She describes the performance in detail and relates it to ceremonies held in honour of the deceased and the ancestors (*pitrayadna*). The performance of *Bima Swarga* accompanies the cremation ritual as well as the rituals honouring the souls and the confirmation of their place (*linggih*) in heaven (Hinzler 1981:237). Furthermore Hinzler (1981: 204, 216-23) drew attention to the visual arts on Bali connected to the theme of the *Bima Swarga*.

Chambert-Loir (1985) published the mythical text entitled *Ceritera asal bangsa jin dan segala dewa-dewa*. This text concerns the origins of the sultan dynasties of Dompu and Bima. Bhīma plays a central role in this myth as one of the prominent ancestors. I will discuss this myth in more detail later, and will return to Chambert-Loir's article then (see 3.2.8).

Considering all previous research on Bhīma it becomes quite clear that mainly literary and *wayang* sources were used to study his significance, and the role he played in the lives of the people on Java and Bali from the Majapahit Period until now. Some findings are based on present-day *wayang* stories (*lakon*) which, on Java at least, are strongly coloured by Sufi influences. Interestingly, almost none of the scholars who examined Bhīma have looked at his visual representations and the stories and facts these images and their iconography might reveal about him and peoples' perception of him. Stutterheim, who identified a number of Bhīma statues and reliefs from the Majapahit Period, carelessly used some iconographic data to draw a con-

clusion about the function of the Javanese Bhīma statues. Previous scholars seem to have just touched on it, but that is all.

In short, the conclusion I must draw from examining all previous research on Bhīma is that no comprehensive study has been conducted on Bhīma representations from the Majapahit Period on Java and on their iconography in particular. Up to now no representative image has been composed of the Bhīma representations from the Majapahit Period, an image which may help to shed some light on the relation between the representations and the worship of Bhīma in this part of the world. I am hoping to put this right in this study.

The aim of the study

My aim in this study is to research the worship of Bhīma. Given the number of Bhīma statues and reliefs in existence, of which nearly a quarter of the statues and more than half of the reliefs are still in situ on the terraced mountain sanctuaries, it has become clear to me that there must have been a Bhīma worship in some form or other on Java.

I am particularly interested in the extent of, and the motives for the worship and whether the worship was related to any other god as suggested in earlier research. Hence it may be interesting to look into this in more depth.

Furthermore I would like to determine the spread of the worship of Bhīma and try to date this worship more specifically. Moreover I would like to investigate whether his worship was just a Javanese affair or was influenced from abroad, and I am interested to find out who were involved in the worship.

Lastly, I would like to investigate to what degree the worship of Bhīma was related to the phenomenon of *wayang* as it is obvious from the introduction and the aforementioned research on Bhīma that Bhīma like the other protagonist of the Mahābhārata was closely linked to the *wayang*.

Rather than just looking at contemporaneous literature from the Majapahit Period for narratives about Bhīma, I would like to use the representations of Bhīma as the foundation for my study. This all taken together my research questions are reflected in the following four aims of this study:

1. To find out the motive or motives for the worship of Bhīma, and to investigate whether this worship was related to any specific gods departing from the iconography of the representations.
2. To determine the spread of Bhīma's worship and try to date this worship more specifically.
3. To investigate whether this worship was a pure Javanese affair or was influenced from abroad, and who were involved in the worship.
4. To research the extent of the influence of the *wayang* on Bhīma's appearance.

Methodology

The Bhīma representations are the most important bearers of information for my subject, and I will therefore begin with looking at the raw materials themselves. By raw materials I mean the Bhīma statues and the depictions of Bhīma on relief dating from the Majapahit Period. First of all, I will conduct a quantitative analysis on the iconographical features of the Bhīma representations and subsequently I will interpret the results hoping to be able to say something meaningful about the iconography of Bhīma.

I am of the opinion that this approach of the quantitative analysis and the interpretation of Bhīma's iconography will reveal far more about the significance of the Bhīma representations, and thus about the motives of worship, than the classical way of explaining the iconography with written texts alone. It was Van Kooij who stated that an iconographical analysis departing from the statue itself leads to an interpretation with a broader range than the classical approach. He found that the classical way of interpreting the iconography of Indian deities was often one-sided because it was based on theological concepts that were en vogue during a very specific and sometimes very limited period of time (Van Kooij 1996:8-9, 12).

I had a similar experience with the interpretation of the current Javanese *wayang* iconography of Bhīma which is clearly influenced by Islamic theological concepts. I will return to this subject matter in 1.5.1. According to Van Kooij (1996:9) it is incorrect to present the classical 'written' explanation of the iconography as the one and only true significance of a statue. The above mentioned approach corresponds with the current methods of the South Asian academic world which uses an interdisciplinary approach combining iconographical, literary, historical and cultural sources for the study of deities and religious phenomena (Lutgendorf 2007:11). A number of South-East Asian scholars, such as Sedyawati (1994) and Klokke (1993a, 1993b) follow this path as well. In this study I will follow the same interdisciplinary methods and will elaborate on the already mentioned iconographical approach using literary, cultural and historical sources.

As for the methodology of this study, I will examine the iconographical characteristics of all Bhīma representations in a quantitative analysis with the idea to obtain a representative image. The statues as objects of worship form the largest and also the most important corpus of the Bhīma representations, and will supply the main part of the iconographical data for my analysis. The Bhīma depictions on relief will also be considered. Their importance lies predominantly in the fact that the iconography of Bhīma on reliefs can be related to a specific time and place, as the location of most of the reliefs is known and the period of sculpting can be approximated. This is certainly not the

case with the statues, as the location and date is unknown for about half of the corpus.

I will start with describing Bhīma's iconographical characteristics and subsequently use these features as data in the analysis. I will use the present *wayang* methodology including the standard terminology for the description of these characteristics. This methodology is the best option for illustrating Bhīma's iconographical characteristics as we will see in 1.2.2. In this paragraph I will explain my choice to use this methodology, and the advantage this methodology has in the setup of a quantitative analysis in more detail.

After the quantitative analysis I will compare the iconographical features of the Bhīma statues with the iconographical features of other groups of contemporaneous statues in order to find out whether there are any similarities which might indicate towards a relationship. After this comparison I will concentrate on the actual interpretation of the iconographical features of Bhīma.

Old Javanese and Balinese literature featuring Bhīma offer the cultural and religious framework of this study. The same applies to the narratives depicted on the 'Bhīma' reliefs. I will therefore analyse Bhīma's role in both the literary sources and the depicted narratives on reliefs. There are also a few inscriptions on Bhīma representations. I will analyse these as well, as they might reveal information about Bhīma's status during the Majapahit Period, and/or say something about the representations themselves.

The representations of Bhīma are predominantly found on mountain sanctuaries in Java and occur only during the Majapahit Period. The presence of the Bhīma representations on the mountain sanctuaries must therefore have had a special meaning. Studying them more closely in relation to the other remains and their location on the sanctuaries could contribute to an explanation of the worship of Bhīma. In this context I will examine the mountain sanctuaries and their remains, and the circumstance of the Bhīma representations on the various sanctuaries.

The relatively short period of appearance of the Bhīma representations indicates that there was most certainly a demand for his depictions during the Majapahit Period. Information about the Majapahit Period is therefore indispensable to this study, and the cultural and historical developments as well as the religious perceptions during this period will form an integral part of my research.

Before I will start studying the Bhīma representations from the Majapahit Period with the above mentioned methodology, I will introduce the iconography and the worship of Bhīma outside Java. This introduction has a limited character and is meant to give a point of reference for the interpretation and significance of the iconographical characteristics of Bhīma on Java.

I have arranged my materials in three parts. The first part, covering 1.1-1.6, is dedicated to the iconographical research on Bhīma. I will start with a short survey of Bhīma's iconography and his worship outside Java (1.1). In 1.2 I will focus on the iconography of Bhīma on Java during the Majapahit Period by conducting a quantitative analysis on his iconographical features. The comparison between the iconography of Bhīma in and outside Java will be the topic of 1.3. The iconography of the Bhīma statues from the Majapahit Period will be compared with the iconography of other contemporaneous statues in 1.4. In 1.5 I will interpret the iconographical features of Bhīma using relevant data from the Majapahit Period, and in 1.6 I will formulate a conclusion about the results so far.

The second part, covering 2.1-2.3, is dedicated to the investigation of the Old Javanese literature in which Bhīma appears, a Balinese Sanskrit text dedicated to Bhīma, the reliefs on which Bhīma is depicted, and the inscriptions on Bhīma representations. In 2.1 I will analyse and interpret Bhīma's role in the Old Javanese literary sources and the Balinese text, and in 2.2 I will analyse and interpret his role in the reliefs. The surviving inscriptions on Bhīma representations and the only charter in which he is mentioned will be dealt with in 2.3.

In the third and last part, covering 3.1-3.2, I will examine and interpret the material context in which the Bhīma statues occur and the period in which they are found, that of the Majapahit Period. The material context is made up of a study of the terraced sanctuaries on which the Bhīma statues and some Bhīma reliefs are found. I will give a general description of the terraced sanctuaries in 3.1.1-3.1.2, and try to analyse and interpret their lay-out and architecture, the location of the Bhīma representations within the sanctuaries, and the other remains found on the sites in 3.1.3-3.1.5. The cultural-historical context, the religious developments during the Majapahit Period and the development of the worship of Bhīma itself will form the subject matter of 3.2.

A comprehensive catalogue of all Bhīma representations discussed in my research is to be found in the Appendix.

Terminology

The Bhīma representations nearly all occurred during the Majapahit Period. This period is part of what in a number of art-historical studies on Indonesia is called the East Javanese Period (tenth to sixteenth centuries C.E.). The term East Javanese Period is given because the ruling houses of that period had their palaces and seats of government on several places in East Java. The East Javanese Period succeeded the Central Javanese Period (eighth to early tenth centuries C.E.) in which the ruling houses had their seats of government in Central Java.

The East Javanese Period is divided in an Early East Javanese Period (early tenth to early thirteenth centuries C.E.) and a Later East Java-

nese Period (early thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries C.E.). The Early East Javanese Period coincides with the rule of the Kadiri kingdom and the Later East Javanese Period coincides with the rule of two kingdoms that are related to each other, the Singhasāri and the Majapahit kingdom.

I prefer not to use the terms Central or East Javanese Period because it may lead to confusion about the material remains of these periods that do not belong to that specific area, Central or East Java. A number of Bhīma representations come from what we now call Central Java, but they belong to the inheritance of an East Javanese kingdom, that of the Majapahit. Therefore I have a preference for the general term Classical Period for the Hindu-Buddhist remains from the eighth to the early sixteenth centuries C.E. I will subdivide the Classical Period in the Early Classical Period for the remains from the eighth to the early tenth centuries C.E., in the Middle Classical Period for the remains from the early tenth to early thirteenth centuries C.E., and the Late Classical Period for the remains from the early thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries C.E., the period in which the Bhīma representations occurred.

The Bhīma statues¹⁶ and a number of Bhīma reliefs are found on terraced mountain sanctuaries. I will mostly refer to these sanctuaries as terraced sanctuaries, but will also refer to these sanctuaries as *candi*, a general Indonesian term for temple or sanctuary¹⁷ (Teeuw 1990:116). I will do this in particular when I deal with the sanctuaries as a specific site or in data.

Spelling

I have used the spelling system from Zoetmulder's *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*¹⁸ for the spelling of the Old Javanese words and names throughout my text. The spelling of the Old Javanese quotations used here has been copied as found in the publications.

In accordance with the general conformity, I have applied the present Indonesian spelling system that was introduced in 1972 for the Indonesian words used in this study. This spelling is also applied to the geographical names. The names of authors however, have also been maintained as found in the publications.

Previous iconographical research on stone statues from the Classical Period of Indonesia

Most iconographical research on stone statues from the Classical Period (eighth to sixteenth centuries), covering the Hindu-Buddhist Pe-

¹⁶ This only applies to the statues of which we know the place of origin.

¹⁷ The Old Javanese word *candi* has a more specific meaning: temple or sanctuary where the deity is worshipped and contact with the deity is achieved (Zoetmulder 1982:298).

¹⁸ Zoetmulder 1982.

riod of Indonesia, was performed on statues from the Late Classical Period (from the early thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries C.E.). The Bhīma statues belong to this period. The statues from this period, which are found mainly on East Java, show a great diversity in figures and style. The heterogeneous group reflects, besides Indian influence on Hindu statues (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998) and Buddhist deities (Schoterman 1994; Bernet Kempers 1933), the diverse Javanese religious ideas of the latter part of the Hindu-Buddhist era. The Javanese character of this period, which is reflected in the specific representations of Hindu deities and the introduction of (Javanese) mythological figures,¹⁹ is in stark contrast to the representations of deities from the Early Classical Period (eighth to tenth centuries). These deities who belong to the Hindu or Buddhist pantheon show distinct Indian stylistic influences and have a meaning which is similar to their meaning in India. It is also clear from research that not only the representations of the deities change in the Late Classical Period but also their significance.

In the research on statues from the Late Classical Period much attention was given to so-called portrait statues (Crucq 1930a; Schnitger 1932a, 1932b, 1934a, 1934b; Moens 1933; Stutterheim 1932, 1939). These statues include features of male and female deities and of people of high rank such as kings and queens. Based on the *Deśawarnana*,²⁰ a text from the Majapahit Period (1365 C.E.), some of these statues were identified as deified kings and queens, and were related to historical individuals. Klokke however concluded on iconographical grounds that the term 'portrait statues' for deified royalty was incorrect. The statues all display the same rigid facial characteristics with cast down eyes, which exclude the possibility of portrait statues. According to Klokke, the iconography of these so-called portrait statues suited the images of deified kings and queens who attained final release from the material world and were unified with the Divine. Instead of the identity of the kings and queens, the fundamental unification of the deified royalty with the highest gods was expressed (Klokke 1994:190-1).

Durgā, Śiwa's spouse, has been the object of research of a number of scholars (Knebel 1903, 1906; Santiko 1992; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998, 2000), especially in her manifestation of Mahiṣāsūramardīnī. This is probably due to her popularity²¹ from the Early to the Late Classical Period. Knebel (1903, 1906) was mainly occupied with the iconographic description of Mahiṣāsūramardīnī. Santiko (1992) on the other hand analysed both the iconography and the literary sources

¹⁹ In addition to Indian mythological figures such as Bhīma, Hanūmān and Garuḍa, the figure of Pañji was introduced in this period. Pañji is an indigenous prince and hero and is mostly depicted on relief.

²⁰ The text is also known by the name *Nāgarakṛtāgama*.

²¹ This popularity is expressed in the numbers of statues.

related to this goddess in her PhD thesis *Bhaṭārī Durgā*. Her conclusion, based mainly on the research of written texts, was that Durgā in her manifestation of Mahiṣāsūramardīnī functioned as ‘a protector of man’, particularly against attack by enemies (Santiko 1992:512). This conclusion is in accordance with Indian views. Santiko also stated that two different manifestations of Durgā emerged during the Majapahit Period which were supported by different cultural milieus: a demonic manifestation in the shape of Kalī backed by court circles, and a penal appearance of Umā outside the court. She based her last statement on the occurrence of the penal appearance of Umā on relief and on literary sources about this phenomenon.

The tendency ‘to alter’ concepts of Hindu gods and goddesses in general and Durgā in particular, adjusting them to certain circumstances and purposes is found in literary sources outside the court. (Santiko 1992: 512-13)

Lunsingh Scheurleer (1998:447-8, 2000:197) picks up the theme of the two different appearances of Durgā, and is of the opinion that during the Majapahit Period Durgā in her manifestation of Mahiṣāsūramardīnī and the penal appearance of Umā on relief fuse together in a demonic manifestation of this goddess. This demonic manifestation might have been related to Bhairawī.

Another Śaiwa deity, which has been researched extensively, is Gaṇeśa, the elephant headed son of Śiwa (Sedyawati 1994; Redig 1996). One of the scholars who studied Gaṇeśa in more depth is Sedyawati who published in 1985 a PhD thesis of which in 1994 an English version appeared entitled *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kaḍiri and Singhasāri Periods*. Sedyawati used the following methods in her research: an iconographical analysis; iconometry; consultation of written sources; and a cultural-historical study of the societies of Kaḍiri and Singhasāri.²² She concluded that the images of Gaṇeśa varied in iconography as well as in meaning and that this variation was dependent on the cultural circles in which they functioned. Within the court circles, Gaṇeśa was seen as ‘the remover of obstacles’ and ‘the destroyer of enemies’, and this is in accordance with Indian views (Redig 1996:127). Outside the court circles, however, he was more or less regarded as ‘the saviour who was able to lift curses and grant wishes’ (Sedyawati 1994:47-9). Sedyawati based her conclusion on Gaṇeśa’s role outside the court on the *Tantu Panggĕlaran* and *Korawāsrama*, two texts from the sixteenth century, which is later than the period she actually studied. According to Sedyawati, the outputs of sculptures of Gaṇeśa reached its creative peak during the Singhasāri Period.

²² These kingdoms preceded the Majapahit Period; the Kaḍiri dynasty ruled from 1049-1222 and the Singhasāri dynasty from 1222-1292 C.E.

The study of Redig is mainly based on the iconography of Gaṇeśa statues in Indonesia and India. Redig describes the iconography of this god in both countries, he does however not interpret the iconography of Gaṇeśa and the differences in iconographical features between the two countries.

In 1994, Van Bommel published a monograph on temple guardians (*dwārapāla*) in Indonesia during the Classical Period. She concluded that during the Early Classical Period the sculpturing of Śaiwa and Buddhist guardians was influenced by South Indian dynasties such as the Palawa, the Cālukya and the Cola. The guardians represented in high relief and in a standing position literally functioned as doorkeepers (*dwārapāla*) standing in niches flanking the entrance to the sanctuary.

In the Late Classical Period the sculptures of the guardians became more and more javanised. There was an increase in the variation of shapes in which guardians were sculpted and a change in execution. The statues were now mainly carved in the round and depicted in a standing, kneeling or reclining position. The kneeling position became the most favoured. The guardians were now located beside various stair entrances. According to Van Bommel (1994:128-9) the guardians could, depending on their religious or philosophical context be executed in many forms such as a tutelary deity (*yakṣa*), an ascetic (*rṣi*), a giant (*rākṣasa*), the mythical bird (*Garuḍa*), the Śaiwa emanation Bhairawa, the Buddhist god Mahākāla, or the Tantric Bhīma.

More recently, the stone representations of the monkey Hanūmān were the subject of an article by Klokke (2006). Hanūmān is like Bhīma a son of the god of the wind, Bāyu, and the iconography of Hanūmān found on reliefs from the Majapahit Period is very similar to that of the Bhīma representations on relief and in statues. The few statues of Hanūmān she discovered, Klokke traced five in total, completely differ in style and representation from the Hanūmān depiction on relief (Klokke 2006:398-9). They share many characteristics with the representations of deified royalty instead, as they reveal similar divine and royal features. The statues of Hanūmān are represented in high relief standing on lotus cushions. Some of these statues also have Śaiwa features. Klokke assumed that the statues were worshipped within a Śaiwa context and that there might have been a connection with the South Indian kingdom of Vijayanagara (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries), where a Hanūmān cult existed (Klokke 2006:400).

Part 1

The iconography of Bhīma

1.1

The iconography of stone representations of Bhīma and the worship of Bhīma outside Java

The focus of this study are the Bhīma representations from the Majapahit Period found on Java. However, to give a point of reference for the iconography of Bhīma and the interpretation thereof, I will start with a short survey of the iconography of Bhīma depictions on stone reliefs and stone statues representing Bhīma outside my focus area. I will also briefly touch upon his worship outside Java. This brief survey is by no means meant to be comprehensive and gives only an impression of the iconography and worship of Bhīma outside Java.

As I mentioned above stone statues representing Bhīma and depictions of Bhīma on relief are found in India, the birthplace of the *Mahābhārata*, but also in Nepal and Cambodia. The worship of Bhīma is, apart from Java, known in India and Nepal. The age of the stone representations and the periods of worship vary within each country, but start from the eleventh century.

1.1.1 Representations in Cambodia

In Cambodia I found one relief on which Bhīma is prominently depicted (Fig. 1). The relief dates from the Angkor Period (802-1431 C.E.) and originates from the temple complex Banteay Srei (eleventh century) where it was part of a pediment of the west porch of the second enclosure.²³

On this relief Bhīma is portrayed as a warrior, he is the hero in a scene taken from the literary text *Bhāratayuddha*. The scene narrates the mortal combat between Bhīma and his cousin Duryodhana.²⁴ Bhīma is depicted in a leaping position on the viewer's right. He raises his club in order to hit and kill his opponent, his cousin Duryodhana.

Bhīma is wearing a simple loincloth covering his thighs. His hair is put up and held together by a diadem in the Banteay Srei style, and he is wearing long ear-pendants, a necklace, a chest band, two armlets²⁵ and anklets. All these accessories are ornamented with precious stones. Except for the necklace, the iconography of Bhīma is similar to the iconography of his four royal brothers who are all observing Bhīma as spectators.

²³ The relief is no longer in situ and is at present part of the collection of the National Museum in Phnom Penh, inventory number Ka 1660.

²⁴ Jessup, *Zephyr* 1997:224-5.

²⁵ Armlets are always worn on the upper arm.

To my knowledge there is one more relief in Cambodia on which Bhīma is represented. This relief forms part of a continuous bas-relief series on the west gallery of Angkor Vat. Here Bhīma is portrayed as one of many warriors on the battlefield *Kuruṣetra* (*Bhāratayuddha*), and he is therefore not so prominently depicted.

1.1.2 Representations and worship in India

In India Bhīma is depicted on narrative reliefs dating from the Hoysala Period (Evans 1997). The Hoysala were a dynasty of Hindu kings who ruled Karnāṭaka in Southern India from the twelfth to the thirteenth century.

Hoysala temples show many scenes from the epic Mahābhārata and Bhīma features in a number of them. Bhīma can for example be seen on reliefs at the Amṛteśvara (1196 C.E.) temple in Amṛtapura, the Hoysalēśvara, the Nāgareśvara and the Hūcheśvara temple in Haḷibid (1120-1150 C.E.), the Viranārāyaṇa (1200 C.E.) and the Cennakeśava (1308 C.E.) temple in Belūr, and the Mallikārjuna temple in Basarālu (1234 C.E.).²⁶ Some scenes are depicted more than once, as for instance Bhīma's fight with Bhagadatta's elephant Supratīka, a scene from the *Bhāratayuddha*, here on a large relief at the Viranārāyaṇa temple in Belūr (Fig. 2). Bhīma appears twice on this particular relief, once at the bottom part being held in the trunk of the elephant, and once at the top attacking Bhagadatta. In the last depiction he is represented in an active pose, leaping and wielding his club.

On the Hoysalēśvara temple in Haḷibid Bhīma is fighting the Korawa²⁷ who have shot his nephew Abhimanyu;²⁸ Bhīma who is depicted on the viewers' left tries to protect his nephew (Fig. 3). This scene is again taken directly from the *Bhāratayuddha*.

On both reliefs Bhīma is portrayed with a crude somewhat demonic face and he has locks of curly hair. He is dressed in a metal plated skirt and is wearing a lot of jewellery, which you expect of a man of his stature. The jewellery consisting of ear-pendants, necklaces and anklets are all ornamented with precious stones. His sacred thread, also set with precious stones, is resting on his left shoulder. Bhīma can hardly be distinguished from the other royals on the relief by just looking at the clothing and jewellery, but he is taller in stature and has a different hair dress. Bhīma's iconography on the above mentioned reliefs is similar to his iconography on many other reliefs. The scenes

²⁶ I am grateful to Dr. G. Foekema who provided this useful information and his photographs.

²⁷ *Annual Report Mysore* 1930:45.

²⁸ Abhimanyu is the son of Bhīma's younger brother Arjuna.

depicted often show Bhīma in active position, wielding his club and slaying enemies.

At the Mallikārjuna temple in Basarālu Bhīma is depicted on two very small series of continuous reliefs (Figs. 4-5).²⁹ On the first relief Bhīma is walking together with his four brothers and queen Dropadī³⁰ through the forest. He is holding his club, which is pointing upwards, in his right hand. On the second relief he is depicted fighting his arch-enemy Duryodhana, in an attacking pose wielding his club.

Apart from the clothing and the jewellery, the physical appearance of Bhīma is the same on both the Vīranārāyaṇa and Hoysalēśvara temple reliefs. The clothing and jewellery are simpler on the Mallikārjuna reliefs; instead of a metal plated skirt Bhīma is wearing just a loin-cloth, and his jewellery is less rich.

Although Bhīma's brother Arjuna was a more popular figure during the Hoysala Period,³¹ Bhīma must have been interesting enough to the patron of the Mallikārjuna temple to be included on what Settar calls 'small reliefs'. The Mallikārjuna reliefs on which Bhīma is depicted only represents episodes from the *Mahābhārata* in which he plays an important role (Settar I 1991:339-41).

In the succeeding South Indian kingdom of Vijayanagara (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) Bhīma has been depicted more than once. I know of two depictions in the city of Hampi both found on the western gate (Dallapiccola, Verghese 1998:25).³² The first relief shows us Bhīma in a leaping position (Fig. 6). He is holding his club in his right hand and a lotus flower in his left hand. Bhīma's face is surrounded by curls and he is wearing a hair band. He is dressed in a loin-cloth and is wearing abundant jewellery such as ear-pendants, necklaces, armlets, bracelets and anklets, which are all set with precious stones. A sacred thread rests on his left shoulder.

On the second relief Bhīma is tearing up Duśśāsana, who dishonoured Dropadī, the wife of the five Pāṇḍawa brothers (Fig. 7). Although Bhīma's body is partly covered by Duśśāsana's body, the part of his iconography which is visible is similar to the iconography of the first relief.

There are some more narrative reliefs depicting Bhīma found in the Virupakśa, the Prasanna Virupakśa and Ramachandra temples³³ (Dallapiccola, Verghese 2002:73-6). In these temples Bhīma is depicted in scenes taken from the narrative *Bhīma and the Purushamriga*, which is an episode from the *Kannada Bhārata*, a regional version of the *Mahābhārata* written by Kumāravayāsa. It is difficult to give a detailed

²⁹ *Annual Report Mysore* 1934:39.

³⁰ Dropadī is the wife of the five Pāṇḍawa brothers.

³¹ Arjuna is depicted on the large reliefs where he is flanked by female deities.

³² I am grateful to Robert Uterwijk who provided the photographs.

³³ This temple is a Vaiṣṇava temple, the other two are Śaiwa temples. All three are of royal significance. The temples date from the fifteenth century.

description of the iconography of Bhīma as the reliefs are weathered and small, but it is clear that he is running away from Purushamriga whilst wielding his club in his right hand. Bhīma's hair is put up and held together by a crown. He has slightly bulging eyes and a big moustache, and is dressed in a loincloth. He is wearing a lot of jewellery and might be wearing a sacred thread.

In the kingdom of Vijayanagara Bhīma was not part of specific worship as was his brother Hanūmān. Nevertheless as an incarnation of the god of the wind Bāyu, he was venerated by the followers of the Mādhva sampradāya sect (Lutgendorf 2007:92-3).

In the sixteenth century, in the South Indian kingdom of Nayaka (1550-1730 C.E.) Bhīma was also depicted on relief in scenes taken from the narrative *Bhīma and the Purushamriga*.³⁴ This time however, the reliefs, nine in total, are very large and sculpted in high relief (Branfoot 2002:78-81). The reliefs with this specific narrative are found in the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvari temple complex in Madurai (Fig. 8), the Nellaiyappar temple complex in Tirunelveli, and the Veṅkaṭa-calapati temple at Krishnapuram (Branfoot 2002:78-9).

On these reliefs Bhīma is portrayed actively, wielding his club in his right hand. His left hand is resting on his left thigh. Bhīma's hair is put up and held together by a crown but there are loose curls visible on his back. He has slightly bulging eyes and a big moustache. Bhīma is dressed in a loincloth, and he is wearing a lot of jewellery such as large earrings, several necklaces, a sacred thread, a chest band, armlets, bracelets, anklets and foot ornaments, all of which are made out of precious metals and decorated with valuable stones.

In Central India Bhīma was worshipped by several tribes. According to Elwin, Bhīma was a very popular deity who had, as god of the rain, many shrines and symbols dedicated to him (Elwin 1951:167-70). In his account on the tribal art of Middle India, Elwin (1951:167-70) gives an enumeration of the tribes. To the people of the Konds for example Bhīma was known as Bhīmūl Pinnu, and venerated as god of the rain as well as the god of fertility. The simple drawings made by the Konds (Fig. 9) in honour of Bhīmūl/Bhīma are often related to fertility (Elwin 1951:174). Another tribe known as the Muria regarded Bhīma as the *lingga*, the phallic representation of the Hindu god Śīwa. To the people of the Soara Bhīma had his place amongst the heavenly gods (Elwin 1951:170). Although Elwin does not give any indication about the age of these tribal worships, it could well be that these particular devotions went back some time.

According to Slusser (1998:259) a Bhīma devotion existed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the northern provinces of Bihar and Mithilā. Bhīma was worshipped in these provinces as a hero

³⁴ Branfoot 2002 spells the name as Puruṣamirukam.

from the *Mahābhārata*. She assumed that the Nepalese Bhīma veneration had its roots in this part of India.

1.1.3 Representations and worship in Nepal

In Nepal members of the Newar community³⁵ worship Bhīma as the god of trade, love and prosperity (Duijker 1998:2). The Newar call him Bhīmsen which is an abbreviation of Bhīmasena, one of Bhīma's names in the epic *Mahābhārata*. The name Bhīmasena signifies Bhīma as an army commander. Although the name fits his iconography specifically that of a warrior, it does not immediately explain his role as god of trade and prosperity. Why Bhīma/Bhīmsen is venerated as a god of trade and prosperity is unknown. To my knowledge there are no stories related to his appearance as a god of trade and prosperity. However, I suppose that his strength and protective nature as known from the *Mahābhārata* are important qualities for this kind of worship.

There is also an aspect of fertility in the worship of Bhīma which I discovered in Kathmandu. Women who want to become pregnant rub their bodies against a wooden pole in front of the Bhīma sanctuary which people perceive to be Bhīma's club (Duijker 1998:18, note 11).

Bhīma/Bhīmsen representations occur often in Nepal, and stone statues and reliefs are respectively found in- and outside temples dedicated to Bhīma. They are also frequently found in shrines. The temples and shrines are predominantly located along the old trade routes in the Kathmandu valley, which amongst many other destinations lead to Tibet. These trade routes provide the perfect location for places of worship of Bhīma as the god of trade and prosperity. There are also some temples and shrines found outside the valley, for instance in Pokhara, Sankhu and Dolkha, and the eldest and most venerated Bhīmsen temple in Nepal is still located in the latter (Duijker 1998:14-17).

The stone representations of Bhīma/Bhīmsen mostly date from the late Malla Period (1482-1769 C.E.). Apart from the stone representations, there are many wooden, terracotta and brass representations, most of them are however more recently made and used as votives.

The Bhīmsen statues made of stone exhibit the following iconography (Fig. 10): Bhīmsen is represented in high relief; he is standing in an upright 'active' position on a pedestal which has the shape of a double lotus cushion, his legs are widespread and his left knee is slightly bent. He has the following facial characteristic: a circular dot (*ūrṇā*)³⁶ on his forehead, protruding eyes, heavy eyebrows, and a big

³⁵ The Newar are a large and important ethnic community in Nepal. Especially the Shrestha, the caste of tradesmen, and the Uda worship Bhīma/Bhīmsen.

³⁶ An auspicious mark also seen as a jewel.

moustache. His hair is put up and held together by a coronet-shaped diadem which is decorated with precious stones and occasionally with skulls. Bhīmsen is dressed in a mail jacket with short sleeves. Beneath his jacket he is wearing a pleated skirt. In addition to his sacred thread Bhīmsen is wearing plenty of jewellery including ear-pendants, necklaces and bracelets, which are all made of valuable metals and set with precious stones. On some occasions his necklace is also decorated with skulls. He usually is holding a club in his right hand with the top of the club pointing towards the ground in front of him. His left arm is resting in front of his chest and he is making a ritual hand-gesture (*mudra*) with his left hand. This particular gesture is called the lion-face gesture (*singha-muka mudra*).

In Nepal Bhīmsen, like many other gods, possesses a riding animal. In Bhīmsen's case his mount is a lion (*singha*). Usually the *singha* is placed on a pillar in front of a Bhīmsen temple, whilst a representation of Bhīmsen himself is placed inside the temple. Often a serpent, a cobra (*naga*), is curled around the pillar (Fig. 11).

Bhīmsen is frequently flanked by statues of his wife Dropadī or Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed son of Śīwa. Sometimes he is sided by Mahābhairawa, the demonic manifestation of Śīwa, or by Mahākālī, the demonic manifestation of Śīwa's spouse. Occasionally he is flanked by statues of local deities or deified ancestors.

On some reliefs Bhīmsen is depicted as the slayer of Duryodhana the most important Korawa. His iconography on these depictions is similar to the above-mentioned representations, only the position of his body differs. Bhīmsen is standing with his legs wide spread and his body turned towards Duryodhana who he is holding with his left hand. He is also holding his club in his right hand seemingly ready to beat his opponent.

Besides the anthropomorphic representations of Bhīmsen, as described above, there are also amorphous representations of Bhīmsen known in Nepal. These depictions are often roughly shaped stones (*bhīmvalen*), which for instance can be found in Sankhu (Shrestha 2002:74) and in mountain communities such as Dolkha.³⁷ This kind of imagery of Bhīma was also known in Himachal Pradesh,³⁸ Northern India.

The worship of Bhīma/Bhīmsen in Nepal most probably dates from the sixteenth century. References go back as far as 1560 C.E. (the late

³⁷ The Bhīmsen temple in Dolkha has an amorphous representation of Bhīma in the form of a stone. Bhīma, in his amorphous representation is worshipped three times a day in a different shape. In the morning he is worshipped as Bhīmsen, in the afternoon as Śīwa and in the evening as Viṣṇu. The Bhīmsen temple in Dolkha is the oldest and most important Bhīmsen temple in Nepal (Duijker 1998:14-17).

³⁸ The Himachal Pradesh is the place where the kingdom of the Pāṇḍawa is situated in the *Mahābhārata*. Hinzler told me that nowadays there still is a worship of the Pāṇḍawa taking place.

Malla Period, 1482-1769). During this period the influence of the Moghul culture was substantial as can be seen in Bhīmsen's clothing (Slusser 1998:258-9).

In Nepal, Bhīma/Bhīmsen is, as a son of Bāyu related to Śiwa. Bāyu is considered another form of Śiwa (Shrestha 2002:235). However, Bhīma is mainly associated with Bhairawa, a demonic manifestation of Śiwa (Shrestha 2002:74). In the Malla Period Bhīma was addressed as Bhīma Bhairawa and Śiwarūpa. Bhīma and Bhairawa have a number of iconographical features in common such as the 'active' pose with widespread legs, a slightly bent left knee, and a number of facial features such as the heavy eyebrows, the protruding eyes and the *ūrṇā* on the forehead. There are some differences though as Bhairawa has fangs and his hair dress is always decorated with skulls. He also has earrings, armlets and anklets shaped like a cobra. Bhairawa³⁹ usually has six arms, two lower and four upper arms. With his lower hands he is holding a skull cup and making the elephant goad gesture (*aṅkuśa mudra*),⁴⁰ and in his four upper hands he is holding a trident, a sword, a shield and a drum. Bhairawa tramples on a goblin, and his mount is a jackal.

1.1.4 Conclusion

It appears from the survey that except for some amorphous representations of Bhīma in the mountain communities of Nepal and northern India, Bhīma is depicted in an anthropomorphous way. He is mainly depicted as a hero and warrior on relief scenes that render episodes of the *Bhāratayuddha*. The iconography of Bhīma in these relief scenes, but also the iconography of his statues is based on his role in that particular part of the *Mahābhārata*.

Bhīma always appears in an active or a threatening pose. Except for two depictions in the South Indian kingdom of Vijayanagara he is portrayed with a fierce face, including bushy eyebrows, protruding eyes and a big moustache. In Nepal he is also depicted with a circular dot (*ūrṇā*) or auspicious mark⁴¹ on his forehead.

During the Hoysala Period, Bhīma is depicted with locks of curly hair. In the South Indian kingdoms of Vijayanagara and Nayaka his hair is mostly held by a crown with some locks of curly hair still hanging down. In Nepal Bhīma's hair is put up in a high coronet decorated with precious stones. In Cambodia his hair is put up in a special Khmer style.⁴²

³⁹ Bhairawa has in Nepal many terrifying forms; Slusser assumes that he is absorbed in many local deities (Slusser 1998:235).

⁴⁰ A typical Tantric gesture (Slusser 1998:237).

⁴¹ The auspicious mark is also seen as a jewel.

⁴² In the above-mentioned iconography, the Banteay Srei style 967 C.E.

In Nepal and India Bhīma is respectively dressed in a pleated and metal plated skirt, clearly functioning as a wardress. In Nepal he also wears a mail jacket. In Cambodia and occasionally in India he is dressed in a loincloth.

Being of royal descent Bhīma's jewellery is, and this is especially apparent in India and Nepal, very rich and includes a diadem, ear ornaments, ear pendants, necklaces, a chest band, armllets, bracelets and anklets. All the jewellery is made of precious metals and decorated with valuable stones. In Nepal his diadem and necklace are sometimes decorated with skulls.

Bhīma always carries a club, which he seems to hold actively, and mostly in front of him (like in the Nepalese statues). On the reliefs he often wields his club in an intimidating way, looking very threatening. The lotus Bhīma holds on the relief on the western gate of Hampi, Southern India is a rare attribute.

In Nepal, where Bhīma is worshipped as a god, he is represented in high relief standing on a pedestal in the shape of a lotus cushion. His left hand forms a ritual gesture that is called the lion-face (*singhamuka mudra*). Bhīma's mount, the lion (*singha*), and the cobra-winded pillar on which he stands, are often placed in front of the Bhīma temple.

In tribal India and in Nepal Bhīma is related to Śiwa, although in Nepal this relation is channelled through Bāyu. In Nepal he shares some characteristics with Bhairawa, the demonic form of Śiwa. In the kingdom of Vijayanagara on the other hand Bhīma is seen as an incarnation of Bāyu.

1.2

The iconography of stone representations of Bhīma on Java during the Majapahit Period

1.2.1 Introduction

Bhīma representations in the form of stone statues and reliefs appeared on Java during the kingdom of the Majapahit.¹ This era covers the last part of the Late Classical Period (1294-1527 C.E.). The representations only occurred in East Java and the eastern part of present-day Central Java. This part of Java formed the territory of the royal family of Majapahit.² During my research I have found no evidence of Bhīma representations in stone on West Java which was part of the contemporaneous Hindu-Buddhist realm of Pajajaran or on any of the other islands.³ There is evidence in oral and written sources however that Bhīma was well known to the Baduy, a community in West Java who claims to descent from the last king of the Hindu-Buddhist realm of Pajajaran, and to the former sultanates of Bima and Dompu on the island of Sumbawa.

The Baduy in West Java were indeed familiar with Bhīma, but they were, according to a travel account dating from the nineteenth century, not allowed to represent Bhīma in the form of stone statues:

Batara Bima is the mighty protector and mediator, to whom as well as to some other saints, they address their prayers in order to acquire from this benevolent creature the fulfilment of their wishes. Their prayers are usually accompanied by offerings of rice and other things. They are not allowed to represent the Supreme Being nor the eminent mediator Batara Bima through any image, although they have been paying homage to stone representations of many other saints along the banks of the Cijung to which they attribute a special influence upon their fate.⁴

¹ With the exception of the reliefs from the holy bathing place Jolotundo, which date from the tenth century. I will deal with the dating of the Bhīma worship in 3.2.3.

² The members of the royal family were assigned a vice-royalty and a corresponding title.

³ I must make an exception for one of the two Balinese statues mentioned in Stutterheim 1935. This statue to which I referred in the Introduction (note 15) differs from the Javanese representations but might be a particular manifestation of Bhīma. There is also a huge relief of Bhīma on the border of the river Yeh Agung in Banjar Cabe, Bali. I presume that the height of the relief is about 4.5 meters. Of this relief only the head and a part of the chest tower above the sandy border of the river. This relief is about 200 years old and does therefore not belong to the Majapahit Period. I thank Mr. I Ketut Riana, Bali who provided me with information about this relief.

⁴ 'Batara Bima is de magtige beschermer en middelaar, aan wien, zoo als ook aan eenige andere heiligen, zij hunne gebeden rigten, om bij dat algoede wezen de vervulling hunner wenschen te erlangen, bij welke gebeden zij gewoon zijn rijst enz. te

Bhīma's relation with the sultanates has a different background. I will deal with this relation in 3.2.8.

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the iconographical features of the stone representations of Bhīma from the Majapahit Period, including both statues and reliefs. As the description and the interpretation of the iconography form the nucleus of this study, a quantitative survey will be conducted. This quantitative analysis is required to get an overall picture of the iconographical features of Bhīma in order to interpret these features in a correct way, and to see if I can establish a representative image.

The term 'iconographical features' will be used here for distinguishing characteristics of Bhīma and not the Sanskrit term *lakṣana*, which translates into 'mark', 'distinctive characteristic' or 'attribute' and is regularly used in the description of Hindu-Buddhist statuary. Statuary of the Late Classical Period, amongst which Bhīma representations take an essential place, pose some problems, as they diverge considerably from those of the Early Classical Period. In this period Indian influences were obvious and could be described by using the Hindu-Buddhist iconographical lexicon. The lexicon does however not fully comply with the heterogeneous statuary of the Late Classical Period, and the Bhīma statuary in particular, as there is an unmistakable relation between the iconography of the Bhīma representations and the *wayang kulit* iconography of Bhīma. Because of this relation I will define the description of Bhīma's characteristics on the descriptive principles of the *wayang kulit* puppets which will be discussed in the next section. I will call these characteristics Bhīma's iconographical features.

1.2.2 The use of the descriptive principles and the glossary of the Javanese *wayang kulit* puppets in the analysis

The iconography of the Bhīma representations from the Majapahit Period mostly resembles the shape of the current *wayang kulit* iconography of Bhīma in Bali (Figs. 12-13), especially the iconography of Southern Bali.⁵ Contemporary Javanese *wayang kulit* iconography differs in shape from the *wayang kulit* iconography of Southern Bali

offeren. Zij mogen noch het opperwezen, noch hunnen voornamen middelaar Batara Bima door eenig beeld zinnelijk voorstellen, terwijl zij daarentegen aan vele andere heiligen, aan welke door hen een bijzondere invloed op hun lot wordt toegekend, in steenen beeldtenissen langs de oevers van den Tjoedjoeng hunne hulde hebben toegebracht.' (Termorshuizen 1993:38)

⁵ There are notable differences in the *wayang kulit* iconography of Bhīma in South and North Bali and also in the *wayang kulit* performances and the religious context of the performances. See Hinzler 1975:47, esp. Fig. 23.

insofar that the Javanese *wayang kulit* puppets are more stylised and rigid.⁶ The features however are almost similar and more elaborated (Fig. 14). As I am examining Javanese representations of Bhīma I will use the current Javanese *wayang kulit* glossary to describe his features and not the Balinese.

A number of current *wayang kulit* terms describing Bhīma's features are known from Old Javanese texts,⁷ but as the Old Javanese terms are not comprehensive, they will not be incorporated in the descriptions. I will however add the Old Javanese terms in brackets behind the modern terms for the sake of comparison, but will only do so in the analysis.

The Javanese *wayang kulit* iconography is recorded in a number of books of which I consulted the following: Mellema 1988; Sagio, Samsugi 1991; Soekatno 1992. The iconography can be narrowed down to three main principles which I will follow in the tables (see 1.2.5). The three principles are:

1. The shape or morphology of the *wayang* puppets.
2. The decorations and clothing (which I will call ornamental features in the tables).
3. The colour.

Ad 1. The shape or morphology of the *wayang* puppets

The morphology of a *wayang kulit* puppet deals with the shape of the body, the position and refinement of the arms and legs, and the expression of the face. The morphology indicates whether a puppet represents a male or a female deity (*bhaṭāra* or *bhaṭārī*), a royal or noble figure (*kṣatriya*), a sage (*rēsi* or *rṣi*), a demon (*rākṣasa*), or a royal attendant (*panakawan*).

Ad 2. The decorations and clothing

The decorative features of the puppet include the hair dress, jewellery and clothing. The clothing is usually restricted to the lower part of the body. These decorative features strengthen the typification of the *wayang* puppet and also identify the puppet as a certain deity, royal figure, attendant or demon.

Weapons are not included in the iconography of the *wayang* puppet. They belong to a special category, but for the sake of convenience I will classify Bhīma's weapon, the club, within the ornamental category as it is ineffective to set up a new classification for only one iconographical feature.

⁶ In the Javanese *wayang kulit* iconography regional differences are discernible too; there are variations in the iconography of Bhīma in East and Central Java and the north coast of Java. In Central Java a distinction can be made between the iconography of Surakarta (Solo) and Yogyakarta.

⁷ The appearance of *wayang kulit* terms describing Bhīma's features in Old Javanese texts indicates the continuity of these terms up till now.

Ad 3. The colour

In the current *wayang kulit* iconography colour is very important, even the smallest details of colouring on the puppets are recorded. Mellema assumed that ‘the lack of freedom in colouring indicates that colours must have constituted an integral part of the puppet from early times’ (Mellema 1988:10). It is likely that the stone representations of Bhīma were painted at the time of worship, but remnants of colours have only been found on a few statues. The colours might have disappeared during the course of time. As there are only a few statues with remnants of colours these will not be used as data in the tables. I will dedicate a special section to the colours on Bhīma statues instead, and I will try to interpret them then.

Besides the features that are known from the present *wayang kulit* iconography of Bhīma there are features which are unknown nowadays but which were specific for Bhīma statues in the Majapahit Period. After consulting some experts in the field of *wayang* (iconography) and studying relevant data I interpreted these features in order to function as data in the analysis.

I will not explain the meaning of these features in this chapter as 1.5 is dedicated to the interpretation and meaning of all iconographical features of Bhīma and their mutual relations. I will restrict myself to the quantitative analysis and the conclusion of the analysis.

As the purpose of Part 1 is the interpretation of the iconographical features, small differences in how a particular feature is sculpted are not important. Not one statue is exactly the same. However, variations on iconographical features might be important because they could influence the interpretation. I will give an example of what I mean by variations on iconographical features.

Almost all Bhīma representations feature a necklace as an ornamental feature. The necklace, however, can vary in shape; there are necklaces in the shape of a cobra (*naga*) or in the shape as a crescent (*tanggalan*), and there are necklaces consisting of a band with precious stones (*ratna*). The meaning of the shapes in which the necklace occurs, differ as we will see later on.

Right at the start of my iconographical research it became obvious that a number of iconographical features of Bhīma were prone to variation. As these variations might be important in the interpretation of Bhīma’s iconography, these variations will be used as data in the quantitative analysis.

1.2.3 The corpus of Bhīma representations

The corpus for the analysis consists of 46 statues and ten reliefs.⁸ More than half of the statues are fragments of which a few are very small.

Of the twelve statues mentioned in Stutterheim 1935:39-42 I was able to locate six. I did not manage to trace the other six of which one might not represent a Bhīma statue.⁹ These statues might have disappeared in the years between their discovery and my research. Nevertheless, I have been able to study three of the six 'vanished' statues thanks to photographs taken by Claire Holt. So nine of the twelve statues mentioned by Stutterheim are included in my analysis.¹⁰ It is also because of the photographs of Claire Holt that I was able to study a relief including a Bhīma depiction hitherto unknown.

Most of the statues I found in situ were in a very bad condition and extremely weathered. They were often decapitated and/or broken into pieces. As most of the Bhīma statues in museum collections also showed signs of repair in the neck, the statues must have been decapitated after they fell out of favour and people had stopped worshipping them. The reliefs remained in a better condition but they too were weather-beaten.

The number of Bhīma statues at the time of worship must have been larger than it is now. Broken pieces of statuary and other stone remains from sanctuaries were often removed by villagers in order to be used for constructive purposes (Lunsingh Scheurleer 2007:75). Furthermore I know of one statue that was smashed into pieces and thrown into the river.¹¹ In this way remains of Bhīma statues could have disappeared completely from the sites. However, not only human actions but also natural disasters might have contributed to the deterioration and supposed disappearance of statues.

1.2.4 The arrangement of the tables and data

For the quantitative analysis I will use nine tables, four for the morphological features of Bhīma and five for the ornamental features. The four tables for the morphological features are divided into two tables dedicated to the statues, comprising Table 1 (Morphological features

⁸ I will not include the reliefs of Jolotundo in my quantitative analysis as they do not originate from the Majapahit Period. I will discuss them in 2.2.2.

⁹ It is the statue found in Bondowoso (Stutterheim 1935:42).

¹⁰ The untraceable statues are also indicated on the map that gives an outline of the locations of all known Bhīma representations, statues and reliefs (see Fig. C).

¹¹ The authority of Tunganggri informed me that in the sixties the villagers destroyed the Bhīma statue Cat. no. 23 and threw it into the river because they considered the statue demonic.

of Bhīma on statues) and Table 2 (Variations on morphological features of Bhīma on statues), and two dedicated to the reliefs, comprising Table 3 (Morphological features of Bhīma on reliefs) and Table 4 (Variations on morphological features of Bhīma on reliefs).

The five tables for ornamental features are divided into three for the statues and two for the reliefs. The tables for the statues are Table 5 (Ornamental features of Bhīma on statues), Table 6 (Variations on ornamental features of Bhīma on statues) and Table 7 (Additional variations on ornamental features of Bhīma on statues). The two tables for the reliefs are Table 8 (Ornamental features of Bhīma on reliefs) and Table 9 (Variations on ornamental features of Bhīma on reliefs).

In the analysis I will arrange the statues of which we know the origin geographically. Similarities in features or in variations emerging in certain areas will come to light with this approach. I will start from the most eastern location where Bhīma representations were found, in present-day East Java, and will end with the most western location in present-day Central Java. I will use the course of the mountain ranges as my guide, as most of the statues were found in sanctuaries located on these mountains (see Fig. C). I will deal with the statues with an unknown provenance afterwards. The numbering of the statues and reliefs in the tables is the same as used in the catalogue.

There are a number of special ornamental features and ornamental features that occur only once, for example on the pedestal or on the back slab of the Bhīma statues in high relief. It is difficult to process these exceptions in the tables, and I will therefore deal with these features separately in the section 'Special ornamental features' that is to follow after the main tables. In this section I will also refer to the colours found on some statues.

The tables are structured in the following way:

Vertical

The location of the statues or the reliefs, their provenance and registration number (should they have one). The locations are indicated by an abbreviation and a code which is explained hereafter.

Horizontal

The iconographical features of Bhīma in codes. The code numbers which are explained later indicate the features.

Before I specify the iconographical features I will point out the height of the statues at the moment of the discovery (only Table 1). In case of the undamaged statues the pedestal is included. The measurement mentioned after the backslash indicates the estimated height in case of serious damage or decapitation.

In the tables the following symbols are used:

- + indicates a feature
- indicates a feature that might be missing as a result of damage
- ? indicates questionable identification due to damage or weathering

The location of the statues in codes:

BBB	Bathing place Banyubiru, desa Banyubiru
CCC	Candi Ceto, desa Ceto
CGP	Candi Gilang, desa Pagersari
CHB	Candi Hutan Dadapan, desa Bajulan
CJT	Candi Jolotundo, desa Trawas
CMN	Candi Menggung, desa Nglurah
CPB	Candi Plangatan, desa Berjo
CPG	Candi Penampihan, desa Geger
CPP	Candi Pari, desa Pari
CSS	Candi Suku, desa Suku
KHS	K.R.T. Hardjonagoro, Surakarta
MAJ	Museum Adam Malik, Jakarta
MEL	Museum of Ethnology, Leiden (The Netherlands)
MNJ	Museum Nasional, Jakarta
MTA	Museum Tulung Agung, Tulung Agung
MTM	Museum Trawulan, Mojokerto
MTS	Museum Mpu Tantular, Surabaya
MVL	Museum Victoria and Albert, London (United Kingdom)
PKB	Pendopo Kabupaten Blitar, Blitar
PKT	Pendopo Kabupaten Trenggalek, Trenggalek
SJT	Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan

Of five statues and two reliefs the present location is unknown; this is indicated by a question mark. When the origin is dubious or unknown, this is also highlighted with a question mark.

The location of the reliefs in codes:

CJT	Candi Jago, <i>desa</i> Tumpang
CSS	Candi Suku, <i>desa</i> Suku
CTP	Candi Tigowangi, <i>desa</i> Paré

1.2.5 The description of the iconographical features in codes and the analysis

Morphological features of Bhīma on statues (Table 1)

The code numbers 1 to 10 deal with the morphological features of the Bhīma statues (Fig. 15). The first five morphological features indicate the way in which Bhīma statues are represented that is either sculptured in the round, or in high relief with a large or small back slab, and standing on plain pedestal, or standing on a pedestal shaped as a double lotus cushion. The above-mentioned features are general morphological features for Javanese statues.

The features with the code numbers 6 to 10 deal with the 'genuine' morphological characteristics of Bhīma representations.

When the current Javanese *wayang* terms used for the description of the Bhīma statues have an Old Javanese equivalent I will mention this equivalent in brackets. The morphological features with * are explained after the code numbers.

1. Statue carved in the round
2. Statue carved in high relief with a back slab
3. Statue with a small back slab*
4. Statue on a plain pedestal
5. Statue on a pedestal shaped as a double lotus cushion
6. Bhīma standing with both arms hanging alongside his body*
7. A powerful face*, *muka gagahan*
8. Long thumbnail(s) *kuku pancanaka* (*pañcanakha*)¹²
9. Visible genitals
10. Body hair, *bulu**

Ad 3. A small back slab only reaches up to the waist.

Ad 6. All Bhīma statues, except one which will be discussed later, are sculpted in an upright position. On nearly all statues Bhīma's feet are placed next to each other which gives Bhīma a rigid appearance.

Ad 7. A powerful face (*muka gagahan*) displays the following features: heavy eyebrows, round and mostly protruding eyes, a broad nose, and a drooping moustache. Often, but certainly not always, Bhīma is also portrayed with sideburns and a beard or goatee.

Ad 10. Body hair is mostly represented in the shape of chest hair (*bulu dada*), and on a couple of occasions Bhīma also displays pit (*bulu ketiak*) and pubic hair (*jembut*).

¹² The Old Javanese word *pañcanakha* (five claws) derives from the Sankrit word *pañcanakha* which means five toes (of mammals). The word for Bhīma's opposable long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is derived from the word *pañcanakha*.

Table 1 – Morphological features of Bhīma on statues

Location	Provenance	Reg. no.	Height	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. MTM	Ds. Andangbiru		107		+		+		+	+	+		+
2. ?	Ds. Sapih		135		+			+	+	+	+		
3. BBB	Ds. Banyubiru	32PSA88	46/70	+				+	+	-	+	+	-
4. CPP	Candi Pari?	14SDA92	41/76	+			-	-	+	-	+	+	+
5. CJT	Penanggungan IL		42/60	+				+	+	-	-	+	+
6. CJT	Penanggungan IL		56/80	+				+	+	-	+	+	+
7. ?	Penanggungan VIII		?	+		+	+		+	-	-	-	
8. ?	Penanggungan XVI		?	+		-	-		-	+	-	-	-
9. CJT	Penanggungan		23	+			+		-	-	-	-	-
10. CJT	Penanggungan		?	+			+		+	-	+	+	+
11. MTM	Mojokerto	26/157	40/50	+			-	-	+	+	+	+	+
12. MTM	Mojokerto		30/50	+			-	-	+	-	+	+	-
13. SJT	Trawulan?	578	35/60	+			+		+	-	+	+	
14. SJT	Trawulan?	536/Bta/OUB/24	25/45	+			-	-	+	-	+	+	+
15. SJT	Trawulan?	546/Bta/OUB/24	35/60	+			-	-	+	-	+	+	-
16. SJT	Trawulan?	20/Bta/TRW	28/50	+			-	-	+	-	+	+	+
17. SJT	Trawulan?	783/Bta/TRW	21/120	+			+		-	-	-	-	-
18. CGP	Pagersari		54/70	+			-	-	+	-	+	+	
19. MNJ	Ngantang	6401	58	+			+	-	+	+	+	+	
20. ?	Candi Papoh		?	+		-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
21. PKB	Ds. Nglecok	42	70/80	+			-	-	+	+	+	+	+
22. MAJ	GambarWetan?		107	+			+		+	+	+	+	+
23. ?	Tunggangri		120		+		-	-	+	+	+	+	-
24. PKT	Trenggalek		170		+		+		+	+	+	+	+
25. MTS	Trenggalek?	164	124		+		+			+	+	+	
26. MTA	TulungAgung?		91	+		+		+	+	-	+	+	+
27. CPG	Ds. Geger	249	73/100	+		+		+	+	-	+	+	+
28. CHB	Ds. Bajulan		26/54	+			-	-	+	-	+	+	-
29. MEL	Madiun	905-48	56	+			+			+	+	+	+
30. KHS	Ds. Sukuh		195	+			-	-		+	+		
31. CSS	Ds. Sukuh	502	75/100	+			+			-	+		
32. CCC	Ds. Ceto	Ct 30	80/100	+			+			-	+		
33. CCC	Ds. Ceto	Ct 07	110/20	+						+	+		
34. CPB	Ds. Berjo		25/80	+		-	-	-		?	-	-	-
35. CMN	Ds. Nglurah		76/100	+		+	-	-	+	-	+	+	
36. MNJ	?	91	50		+			+		+	+	+	
37. MNJ	?	92	50		+			+		+	+	+	
38. MNJ	?	285a	56		+			+	+	+	+	+	
39. MNJ	?	286	60	+			+		+	+	+	+	
40. MNJ	?	286a	60		+		+			+	+		
41. MNJ	?	286b	91	+			+		+	+	+	+	
42. MNJ	?	290	70		+			+	+	+	+		
43. MEL	?	1403-1861	150	+			+		+	+	+	+	+
44. MEL	?	1403-1973	47	+			+		+	+	+	+	+
45. MEL	?	2630-11	86	+			+		+	+	+	+	
46. MVL	?	IS11-1989	80	+		+	+			+	+	+	+

Table 2 – Variations on morphological features of Bhīma on statues

Location	Provenance	Reg. no.	6	8	9
1. MTM	Ds. Andangbiru			+M	+
2. ?	Ds. Sapih			+M	+
3. BBB	Ds. Banyubiru	32 PSA88		+K	
4. CPP	Ds. Pari?	14SDA92		+M	
5. CJT	Penanggungan IL			+M	
6. CJT	Penanggungan IL			+K	
7. ?	Penanggungan VIII		-	-	
8. ?	Penanggungan XVI		-	-	
9. CJT	Penanggungan		-	-	
10. CJT	Penanggungan			+M	
11. MTM	Mojokerto	26/157		+K	
12. MTM	Mojokerto	896/436		+K	
13. SJT	Trawulan?	578		+K	
14. SJT	Trawulan?	536Bta/OUB/24		+M	
15. SJT	Trawulan?	546Bta/OUB/24		+M	
16. SJT	Trawulan?	20Bta/TRW		+K	
17. SJT	Trawulan?	783Bta/TRW	-	-	
18. CGP	Pagersari			+M	
19. MNJ	Ngantang	6401		+K	
20. ?	Candi Papoh			-	
21. PKB	Ds. Nglecok	42		+M	
22. MAJ	Gambar Wetan			+K	
23. ?	Tunggagri			+M	
24. PKT	Trenggalek			+K	
25. MTS	Trenggalek?	164	+R	+M	
26. MTA	TulungAgung			+M	
27. CPG	Ds. Geger	249		?	
28. CHB	Ds. Bajulan			+ K	
29. MEL	Madiun	905-28	+R	+K	
30. KHS	Ds. Suku		+R	+M	+
31. CSS	Ds. Suku	502	+R	+M	+
32. CCC	Ds. Ceto	Ct.30	+R	+M	+
33. CCC	Ds. Ceto	Ct.07	+R	+M	+
34. CPB	Ds. Berjo		+R	-	?
35. CMN	Ds. Nglurah			+M	
36. MNJ	?	91	+L	+M	
37. MNJ	?	92	+L	+M	
38. MNJ	?	285a		+K	
39. MNJ	?	286		+M	
40. MNJ	?	286a	+L	+K	+
41. MNJ	?	286b		+K	
42. MNJ	?	290		+M	+
43. MEL	?	1403-1861		+M	
44. MEL	?	1403-1973		+K	
45. MEL	?	2630-11		+M	
46. MVL	?	IS11-1989	+R	+K	

Variations on morphological features of Bhīma on statues

(Table 2)

In the morphology of the statues there are three variations (Fig. 16):

Variation 1

Concerns code no. 6 (Bhīma standing with both arms hanging alongside his body). In this variation, one of the arms, either the left or the right one, is placed in front of the waist.

Variation 2

Concerns code no. 8 (the long thumbnail). In this variation the thumbnail is bent around a clenched fist. This ritual gesture (*mudra*) is called *muṣṭi mudra*.¹³ The thumbnail can also stick out of the clenched fist between forefinger and middle finger. The name for this gesture is *kaṭiṭa mudra*.¹⁴

Variation 3

Concerns code no. 9 (visible genitals). In this variation the genitals are covered by the sash and thus invisible.

The codes in short are:

6. One arm held in front of the waist, left=L, right=R
8. Long thumbnail bent around the clenched fist, *muṣṭi mudra*=M.
Long thumbnail sticking out of the clenched fist between forefinger and middle finger, *kaṭiṭa mudra*=K
9. Covered genitals

Morphological features of Bhīma on reliefs (Table 3)

The numbers 1 to 5 are not applicable here as they are only relevant to the Bhīma statues. The numbers 6 to 10 deal with the morphological features of Bhīma found on reliefs.

6. Bhīma standing* with two arms alongside his body
7. A powerful face, *muka gagahan*
8. Long thumbnail(s) *kuku pancanaka (pañcanakha)*
9. Visible genitals
10. Body hair, *bulu*

¹³ Bunce 1997:194; Coomaraswamy, Duggirala 1970:47; Liebert 1976:95-6; Stutley 1985:95-6.

¹⁴ Bunce 1997:140; Liebert 1976:127; Stutley 1985:68. The Sanskrit spelling is *kaṭiṭa*.

Table 3 – Morphological features of Bhīma on reliefs

Location	Provenance	Reg. no.	6	7	8	9	10
47. CJT	C. Jago		+	+	+	+	
48. CJT	C. Jago		+	+	+	+	
49. CJT	C. Jago			+	+	+	
50. CJT	C. Jago			+	+	+	
51. CTP	C. Tigowangi			+	+	+	+
52. CTP	C. Tigowangi			+	+	+	+
53. CSS	C. Suku			+	+		
54. CSS	C. Suku			+	+		
55. ?	C. Kendalisodo			+	+	+	
56. ?	C. Selokelir			+	+	+	?

Table 4 – Variations on morphological features of Bhīma on reliefs

Location	Provenance	Reg. no.	6	8	9
47. CJT	C. Jago			K	
48. CJT	C. Jago			K	
49. CJT	C. Jago		+	K	
50. CJT	C. Jago		+	K	
51. CTP	C. Tigowangi		+	M/K	
52. CTP	C. Tigowangi		+	M	
53. CSS	C. Suku		+		+
54. CSS	C. Suku		+	K	+
55. ?	C. Kendalisodo		+	K	
56. ?	C. Selokelir		+	M	

Ad 6. All the depictions show Bhīma in a standing position. Bhīma's feet are carved as if he is walking, which is the usual way of depicting human¹⁵ figures on reliefs.

Variations on morphological features of Bhīma on reliefs

(Table 4)

In the morphology of Bhīma on the reliefs there are three visible variations:

Variation 1

Concerns code no. 6 (Bhīma standing with both arms hanging alongside his body). In this variation Bhīma's arms are depicted in a more active pose. These poses will be discussed in 2.2.2-2.2.7.

Variation 2

Concerns code no. 8 (the long thumbnail). In this variation the thumbnail is bent around the clenched fist. This ritual gesture (*mudra*) is called *muṣṭi mudra*. The thumbnail can also stick out off the clenched fist between forefinger and middle finger. The name for this gesture is *kapiṭa mudra*.

Variation 3

Concerns code no. 9 (Visible genitals). In this variation the genitals are covered by the sash.

The codes in short are:

6. Bhīma holding his arms in a more active position
8. Long thumbnail bent around the clenched fist, *muṣṭi mudra*=M.
Long thumbnail sticking out of the clenched fist between forefinger and middle finger, *kapiṭa mudra*=K
9. Covered genitals

Ornamental features of Bhīma on statues (Table 5)

The Bhīma representations on statues exhibit the following ornamental features (Fig. 17):

11. Hair dress, lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*)
12. Ear ornament, *sumping* (*sumping*)
13. Ear pendant, *anting-anting* (*kuṇḍala*)
14. Diadem, *jamang* (*makuṭa*)
15. Sacred thread in cobra shape, *ulur-ulur nagakarangrang* (*sawit*)¹⁶
16. Necklace, *kalung* (*kalung*)

¹⁵ Deities are often depicted standing on a pedestal or on a cloud. Their feet normally point outwards.

¹⁶ *Sawit* means sacred thread. A word for a sacred thread in the shape of a cobra is not mentioned in Zoetmulder 1982.

Table 5 – Ornamental features of Bhīma on statues

Location	Provenance	Reg. no.	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. MTM	Ds. Andangbiru		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
2. ?	Ds. Sapih		+	+	+				+	+	+	+		
3. BBB	Ds. Banyubiru	32 PSA88	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+		+
4. CPP	Ds. Pari?	14SDA92	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+		
5. CJT	Penanggungan IL		-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
6. CJT	Penanggungan IL		-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
7. ?	Penanggungan VIII		-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		+
8. ?	Penanggungan XVI		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
9. CJT	Penanggungan		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		+
10. CJT	Penanggungan		-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
11. MTM	Mojokerto	26/157	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
12. MTM	Mojokerto	896/436	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+		
13. SJT	Trawulan?	578	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+		
14. SJT	Trawulan?	536Bta/OUB/24	-	-	-	-	+		+	+	-	+		?
15. SJT	Trawulan?	546Bta/OUB/24	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+		
16. SJT	Trawulan?	20 Bta/TRW	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+		
17. SJT	Trawulan?	783Bta/TRW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		
18. CGP	Pagersari		-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+		
19. MNJ	Ngantang	6401	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
20. ?	Candi Papoh		+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-		
21. PKB	Ds. Nglecok	42	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	-	+		
22. MAJ	Gambar Wetan		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
23. ?	Tunganggri		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
24. PKT	Trenggalek		+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+		
25. MTS	Trenggalek?	164	+	+		-	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
26. MTA	TulungAgung		-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		
27. CPG	Ds. Geger	249	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		
28. CHB	Ds. Bajulan		-	-	-		+	-	-	+	-	+		
29. MEL	Madiun	905-28	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
30. KHS	Ds. Sukuh		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+*
31. CSS	Ds. Sukuh	502	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+		+		
32. CCC	Ds. Ceto	Ct.30	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+		+		
33. CCC	Ds. Ceto	Ct.07	+	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+		+
34. CPB	Ds. Berjo		?	?	?	?	+	?	+	-	-	-		-
35. CMN	Ds. Nglurah		+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		
36. MNJ	?	91	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
37. MNJ	?	92	+	+	+		+		+	+		+		+
38. MNJ	?	285a	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+		
39. MNJ	?	286	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
40. MNJ	?	286a	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+		+
41. MNJ	?	286b	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+		+
42. MNJ	?	290	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
43. MEL	?	1403-1801	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
44. MEL	?	1403-1973	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+
45. MEL	?	2630-11	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		
46. MVL	?	IS11-1989	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+		+

30* The club is decorated on the back tail of the sash.

17. Armlet, *kelat bahu* (*kilatbāhu*)
18. Bracelet, *gelang tangan* (*gēlang*)
19. Anklet, *gelang kaki* (*gēlang*)
20. Sash, *sabuk* (*sabuk*)¹⁷
21. Foot ornaments
22. Club, *gada* (*gadā*)¹⁸

Variations on ornamental features of Bhīma on statues (Table 6)

The variations on the ornamental features (Fig. 18) concern: the necklace (code no. 16); the armlet (code no. 17); the bracelet (code no. 18); the anklet (code no. 19); and the sash (code no. 20).

In the variation, the necklace is shaped either like a cobra (*naga*), or like a crescent (*tanggalan*), or consists of a band set with precious stones (*ratna*) (Fig. 18).

The armlet, bracelet and anklet can vary as well, and consist of one or two plain bands, or one or two bands set with precious stones. Attached to the band(s) are some decorative elements in the shape of a sceptre or short sword (*ruyi*), lotus petals (*padma*), or a thunderbolt (*bajra*). Sometimes just one jewel (*ratna*) is attached to the band(s). The armlet, bracelet and anklet are also sometimes shaped like a cobra (*naga*). In general the armlet, bracelet and anklet depicted on a statue have similar decorative elements.

The variation in the depiction of the sash can consist of either a plain or a chequered (*poleng*) pattern. The plain pattern is indicated as **Pl** and the chequered pattern as **Po**.

To sum up the codes:

16. Necklace (*kalung*): cobra (*naga*=Na), crescent (*tanggalan*=Ta), precious stones (*ratna*=Ra)
17. Upper armband (*kelat bahu*): sceptre or short sword (*ruyi*=Ru), lotus (*padma*=Pa), cobra (*naga*=Na), jewel (*ratna*=Ra), thunderbolt (*bajra*=Ba)
18. Bracelet (*gelang tangan*): sceptre or short sword (*ruyi*=Ru), lotus (*padma*=Pa), cobra (*naga*=Na), jewel (*ratna*=Ra), thunderbolt (*bajra*=Ba)
19. Anklet (*gelang kaki*): sceptre or short sword (*ruyi*=Ru), lotus (*padma*=Pa), cobra (*naga*=Na), jewel (*ratna*=Ra), thunderbolt (*bajra*=Ba)
20. Sash (*sabuk*) with a plain (=Pl) or chequered (*poleng*=Po) pattern

¹⁷ The sash (*sabuk*) is a male dress (Zoetmulder 1982:1584).

¹⁸ In the Old Javanese text *Bhāratayuddha* the word *gadā* is followed by the word *lohita* (red coloured) and *lohita mukha* (red coloured face) (Zoetmulder 1982:1043). Both expressions refer to Bhīma's bloody use of the weapon in the violent war against the Korawa; see also 2.1.4.

Table 6 – Variations on ornamental features of Bhīma on statues

Location	Provenance	Reg. no.	16	17	18	19	20
1. MTM	Ds. Andangbiru		Na	Ba db □	Ba db □	Ba □	Po
2. ?	Ds. Sapih			? 2 □	3 □	? 2 □	PI
3. BBB	Ds. Banyubiru	32 PSA88	-	Ba db □	Ba □	Ba □	PI
4. CPP	Ds. Pari?	14SDA92	Ta	Ba ⊕	Ba ⊕	-	PI
5. CJT	Penanggungan IL		Ta	Pa =	Pa =	Pa =	PI
6. CJT	Penanggungan IL		Ta	Pa =	Pa =	Pa =	PI
7. ?	Penanggungan VIII		-	-	-	Pa =	PI
8. ?	Penanggungan XVI		-	-	-	-	-
9. CJT	Penanggungan		-	-	-	Pa =	PI
10. CJT	Penanggungan		Ta?	Pa =	Pa =	Pa =	PI
11. MTM	Mojokerto	26/157	Ta	Ru □	Ru □	Ru □	PI
12. MTM	Mojokerto	896/436	-	-	Ru □	Ru □	PI
13. SJT	Trawulan?	578	-	-	Ru □	Ru? □	PI
14. SJT	Trawulan?	536Bta/OUB/24		Pa? 2 □	Pa? 2 □	-	PI
15. SJT	Trawulan?	546Bta/OUB/24	-	-	Pa □	-	PI
16. SJT	Trawulan?	20Bta/TRW	Ta	Ru ⊕	Ru ⊕	-	PI
17. SJT	Trawulan?	783Bta/TRW	-	-	-	? db □	-
18. CGP	Pagersari		Na	Pa □	Pa □	-	PI
19. MNJ	Ngantang	6401	Na	Pa db □	Pa □	Pa □	PI
20. ?	Candi Papoh		Ta	Ba ⊕	-	-	-
21. PKB	Ds. Nglecok	42	Na	Ru 3 □	Ru 3 □	-	PI
22. MAJ	Gambar Wetan		Ta	Pa ⊕	Pa □	Pa □	PI
23. ?	Tunggagri		Na	Ba ⊕	Ba □	Ba □	PI
24. PKT	Trenggalek		Na	Ru ⊕	Ru ⊕	Na	PI
25. MTS	Trenggalek?	164	Na	Ru 2 □	Ru 2 □	Ru □	PI
26. MTA	TulungAgung		Ta	Ru ⊕	Ru ⊕	Ru ⊕	PI
27. CPG	Ds. Geger	249	Ta	Ru ⊕	Ru □	Ru □	PI
28. CHB	Ds. Bajulan		-	-	Ru □	-	PI
29. MEL	Madiun	905-28	Ta	?	?	?	PI
30. KHS	Ds. Sukuh		Na	Ra 2 ⊕	Ra 2 ⊕		Po
31. CSS	Ds. Sukuh	502	Ra	Ra 2 ⊕	Ra 2 ⊕		Po
32. CCC	Ds. Ceto	Ct.30	Ra	Ra 2 □	Ra 2 □		Po
33. CCC	Ds. Ceto	Ct.07	Ra	Na	Ra 2 □	Ba? □	Po
34. CPB	Ds. Berjo			? db ⊕	-	-	Po
35. CMN	Ds. Nglurah		Ta	Pa □	-	Pa □	PI
36. MNJ	?	91	Na	Ba db □	Ba □	Ba □	PI
37. MNJ	?	92		Pa □	Pa □		PI
38. MNJ	?	285a	Na		2 □		PI
39. MNJ	?	286	Na	Pa □	Pa □	Pa □	PI
40. MNJ	?	286a	Na	Na	Na	Na	Po
41. MNJ	?	286b		Ru db ⊕	Ru □	Ru □	PI
42. MNJ	?	290	Ta	Ba db □	Ba □	Ba db □	PI
43. MEL	?	1403-1861	Ta	Ru □	Ru □	Ru □	PI
44. MEL	?	1403-1973	Ta	? □	? □	? □	PI
45. MEL	?	2630-11	Na	Ru □	Ru □	3 □	PI
46. MVL	?	IS11-1989	Ta	Ba? □	Ba? □	Ba? □	PI

Table 7 – Additional variations on ornamental features of Bhīma on statues

Location	Provenance	Reg. no.	1	2	3
1. MTM	Ds. Andangbiru		+ r*		
2. ?	Ds. Sapih				+
3. BBB	Ds. Banyubiru	32 PSA88	+ l		
4. CPP	Ds. Pari?	14SDA92		+ l	
5. CJT	Penanggungan IL			+ l	
6. CJT	Penanggungan IL			+ l	
7. ?	Penanggungan VIII		+ r		
8. ?	Penanggungan XVI		-	-	-
9. CJT	Penanggungan			?	?
10. CJT	Penanggungan		+ l		
11. MTM	Mojokerto	26/157	+ r		
12. MTM	Mojokerto	896/436		+ r	
13. SJT	Trawulan?	578		+ l	
14. SJT	Trawulan?	536Bta/OUB/24		+ l	
15. SJT	Trawulan?	546Bta/OUB/24	+ l		
16. SJT	Trawulan?	20Bta/TRW		+ l	
17. SJT	Trawulan?	783Bta/TRW	-	-	-
18. CGP	Pagersari		+ l		
19. MNJ	Ngantang	6401		+ l	
20. ?	Candi Papoh		-	-	-
21. PKB	Ds. Nglecok	42	+ l		
22. MAJ	Gambar Wetan		+ l		
23. ?	Tumpanggri		+ l ?		
24. PKT	Trenggalek			+ r	
25. MTS	Trenggalek?	164	?	?	
26. MTA	TulungAgung		+ l		
27. CPG	Ds. Geger	249	+ r		
28. CHB	Ds. Bajulan		+ r		
29. MEL	Madiun	905-28		+ l	
30. KHS	Ds. Sukuh				+
31. CSS	Ds. Sukuh	502			+
32. CCC	Ds. Ceto	Ct.30			+
33. CCC	Ds. Ceto	Ct.07			+*
34. CPB	Ds. Berjo		-	-	-
35. CMN	Ds. Nglurah			+ l	
36. MNJ	?	91	+ l		
37. MNJ	?	92	+ l		
38. MNJ	?	285a	+ l		
39. MNJ	?	286		+ r	
40. MNJ	?	286a			+
41. MNJ	?	286b		+ r	
42. MNJ	?	290			+
43. MEL	?	1403-1861		+ r	
44. MEL	?	1403-1973		+ l	
45. MEL	?	2630-11	+ l		
46. MVL	?	IS11-1989		+ l	

1* The front tail of the sash is resting on the right thigh and shinbone, the genitals are visible, although covered by a small piece of tail.

33* The front tail of the sash is resting on the left thigh, the genitals are nevertheless not visible.

The armband, bracelet and anklet have decorative elements fixed on one or more plain bands or one or more bands set with precious stones. These decorations are joined on the upper side of the band(s) or on both sides. Decorations also occur in bas-relief on a wider band.

In the table I use the following symbols to indicate the different manners of executions in style. The number of bands is indicated by a digit in front of the symbol.

db double sided

□ decorative elements in combination with one or more plain bands

▣ decorative elements in combination with one or more bands set with precious stones

≡ band and decorations in bas-relief on wider band

Additional variations on ornamental features of Bhīma on statues

(Table 7)

There are three variations in the way the sash (*sabuk*) (code no. 20) is worn (Fig. 19):

Variation 1

The front tail of the sash is resting on the thigh or shinbone, left (l) or right (r) with the genitals clearly visible.

Variation 2

The front tail of the sash is hanging down but draped to either the left (l) or the right (r) side of the genitals, with the genitals clearly visible.

Variation 3

The tails of the sash are hanging straight down and are covering the genitals.

Ornamental features of Bhīma on reliefs (Table 8)

For the codes of the ornamental features of Bhīma on reliefs I will use the same codes as applied in the table for the statues with the exception of code numbers 21 and 22, the foot ornaments and the club. These features do not occur on reliefs.

11. Hair dress, lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*)

12. Ear ornament, *sumping* (*sumping*)

13. Ear pendant, *anting anting* (*kuṇḍala*)

14. Diadem, *jamang* (*makuṭa*)

15. Sacred thread in cobra shape, *ulur-ulur nagakarangrang* (*sawit*)

16. Necklace, *kalung* (*kalung*)

17. Armlet, *kelat bahu* (*kilatbāhu*)

18. Bracelet, *gelang tangan* (*gēlang*)

19. Anklet, *gelang kaki* (*gēlang*)

20. Sash, *sabuk* (*sabuk*)

Table 8 – Ornamental features of Bhīma on reliefs

Location	Provenance	Reg. no.	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
47. CJT	C. Jago		+	+	+		+	+	+			
48. CJT	C. Jago		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
49. CJT	C. Jago		+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+
50. CJT	C. Jago		+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+
51. CTP	C. Tigowangi		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
52. CTP	C. Tigowangi		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
53. CSS	C. Suku		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
54. CSS	C. Suku		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. ?	C. Kendalisodo		+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+
56. ?	C. Selokelir		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 9 – Variations on ornamental features of Bhīma on reliefs

Location	Provenance	Reg. no.	16	17	18	19	20
47. CJT	C. Jago		Na	Pa db □	Pa □		Pl
48. CJT	C. Jago		Na	Pa db □	Pa □	Pa db □	Pl
49. CJT	C. Jago		Na	Pa db □	Pa □		Pl
50. CJT	C. Jago		Na	Pa db □	Pa □		Pl
51. CTP	C. Tigowangi		Na	Pa ⊕	Pa ⊕	Pa □	Pl
52. CTP	C. Tigowangi		Na	Pa ⊕	Pa ⊕	Pa □	Pl
53. CSS	C. Suku		Ra	Ra 2 ⊕	Ra 2 ⊕		Po
54. CSS	C. Suku		Ra	Ra 2 ⊕	Ra 2 ⊕		Po
55. ?	C. Kendalisodo		Ta	Ru □	Ru □		Pl
56. ?	C. Selokelir		Na	? □	? □	? □	Po?

Variations on ornamental features of Bhīma on reliefs (Table 9)

The variations of the ornamental features on reliefs concern the necklace (code no. 16); the armband (code no. 17); the bracelet (code no. 18); the anklet (code no. 19); and the sash (code no. 20).

In the variation, the necklace is shaped like either a cobra (*naga*) or a crescent (*tanggalan*), and sometimes consists of a band set with precious stones (*ratna*).

The armband, bracelet and anklet show one or two plain bands, or one or two bands set with precious stones and decorations attached to them. These decorative elements can be either in the shape of a sceptre or short sword (*ruyi*) or in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*). Sometimes the band(s) are just decorated with one jewel (*ratna*). In general the armband, bracelet and anklet on a Bhīma representation have the same kind of decorative elements.

The variation in the depiction of the sash can consist of either a plain or a chequered (*poleng*) pattern. The plain pattern is indicated as **Pl** and the chequered pattern as **Po**.

To sum up the codes:

16. Necklace (*kalung*): cobra (*naga*=Na), crescent (*tanggalan*=Ta), precious stones (*ratna*=Ra)
17. Upper armband (*kelat bahu*): sceptre or short sword (*ruyi*=Ru), lotus (*padma*=Pa), jewel (*ratna*=Ra)
18. Bracelet (*gelang tangan*): sceptre or short sword (*ruyi*= Ru), lotus (*padma*=Pa), jewel (*ratna*=Ra)
19. Anklet (*gelang kaki*): sceptre or short sword (*ruyi*=Ru), lotus (*padma*=Pa), jewel (*ratna*=Ra).
20. Sash (*sabuk*) with a plain (=Pl) or chequered (*poleng*=Po) pattern

+ indication of a feature

- indicates a feature that might be missing as a result of damage

? identification questionable due to damage or weathering

The armband, bracelet and anklet have decorations fixed on one or more plain bands, or on one or more bands decorated with precious stones. The decorations are joined on the upper side of the band(s) or on both sides of the band(s). In the table I use the following symbols to indicate the different manners of execution in style. The number of bands is indicated by a digit in front of the symbol:

db double sided

□ decorative elements in combination with one or more plain bands

▣ decorative elements in combination with one or more bands set with precious stones

Special ornamental features and colours on Bhīma statues

As I mentioned before, I have not dealt with the special ornamental features and ornamental features that occur only once. I also left the issue of colour out of the tables. As these features might be of importance for the interpretation of the statues, they will be examined below.

First I will deal with the special ornamental features and the ornamental features that occur only once, and the colours will be sorted out after that. Before I give a description of these decorative features and the colours, I will mention the Cat. no. of the statue.

The special ornamental features are:

- Cat. no. 1, a statue carved in high relief that has a tendril (*sulur*) between the feet and a floral design on the front side of the sash.
- Cat. no. 2, a statue carved in high relief that depicts a Majapahit aureole on the front side of the back slab (Fig. 20).
- Cat. no. 3, a statue carved in the round. This statue has, rising up from the pedestal, a tendril (*sulur*) and a large leaf with grooves on its back (Fig. 21). The large leaf is probably the leaf of a banana plant (*Musa Paradisiaca*) and it covers a part of Bhīma's right leg.
- Cat. nos. 5 and 6, both statues carved in the round, that have rosette-shaped nipples.
- Cat. no. 7, a statue carved in the round that has an ornament in the shape of a (floral?) twine between the legs.
- Cat. no. 10, a statue carved in the round, has rosette-shaped nipples.
- Cat. nos. 15, 17, 19 and 22, all statues carved in the round, that have ascending from the pedestal a tendril (*sulur*) on their backs (Fig. 22).
- Cat. no. 26, a statue carved in the round, that has the lower part of its back covered with decorations of lotus pericarps, buds and leaves (Fig. 23).
- Cat. no. 28, a statue carved in the round, that has, ascending from the pedestal a depiction of a tendril (*sulur*) on its back.
- Cat. no. 29, a statue carved in the round that has its back completely decorated with lotus pericarps, buds and leaves. On the bottom of the statue is a depiction of a stylised tree with the head of a cobra sticking out where the foliage begins (Fig. 24).
- Cat. no. 30, a statue carved in the round that has a club as a decoration on the back tail of the sash. The club is crowned by a single thunderbolt (*bajra*) on top, and a double thunderbolt (*bajra*) on the bottom (Fig. 25).
- Cat. no. 31, a statue carved in the round that reveals a sculptured serpent (*naga*) biting its tail on the pedestal.¹⁹

¹⁹ The ornament is a chronogram which will be dealt with in 2.3.2.

- Cat. nos. 32 and 33, both statues carved in the round that show a decoration in the shape of a thunderbolt (*bajra*) on the front- and back-end of the sash (Fig. 26).
- Cat. no. 35, a statue carved with a partial back slab that has a floral design on the front side of the sash.
- Cat. no. 39, a statue carved in high relief that shows the head of a cobra (*naga*) across both shoulders close to the neck.²⁰
- Cat. no. 40, a statue carved in high relief that shows a jar with lotus buds and flowers on the back slab on either side of the statue (Fig. 27). It also has a depiction of a double thunderbolt between the feet and a four pointed star on the place of the nipples.
- Cat. no. 42, a statue carved in high relief that shows the remains of a jar, which may have been filled with lotus buds and flowers, on the front side of the back slab.
- Cat. nos. 44 and 45, both statues carved in the round that reveal a depiction of a tendril (*sulur*) ascending from the pedestal on their backs.
- Cat. no. 46, a statue carved with a partial back slab, that shows rosette-shaped nipples and elbows marked by rosettes.

The colours:

- Cat. no. 23, a statue in high relief which shows eyebrows, eyes, nose, a goatee and ear pendants that are covered in a dark, probably black colour. The area around the eyes bare evidence of a lighter colour, probably white.²¹
- Cat. no. 29, a statue carved in the round that shows traces of black paint on the hair, eyes and feet, including the decorative elements on the feet.
- Cat. no. 38, a statue in high relief which was, according to *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1899:49, painted in a yellow colour. The face was supposedly painted white and the clothing blue with golden rims. The jewels were gilded. The statue does not show any traces of paint at present.
- Cat. no. 44, a statue carved in the round that reveals traces of black paint on the hair dress, sideburns and the eyes. On the body one can find some residue of white paint or whitewash, and on the armlets, necklace and ear pendants there are traces of yellow paint.

²⁰ The two cobra heads do not form an integral part of the sacred thread, as is the case with the cobra head placed on the shoulder of Cat. nos. 19 and 38.

²¹ It is very difficult to determine a colour on a black and white film.

1.2.6 Results of the quantitative analysis

The morphological features on statues and their variations

The quantitative analyses on the morphological features of Bhīma on statues and the variations on these features as visualised in Table 1 and Table 2 demonstrate the following findings:

- Of the 46 Bhīma statues 35 are carved in the round (code no. 1), which is slightly more than three quarter of the statues.
- On eleven statues, nearly a quarter of the statues, Bhīma is represented in high relief (code no. 2) with a large back slab.
- Of the 35 statues carved in the round, three statues have a small back slab (code no. 3).
- Nineteen statues have a plain pedestal (code no. 4).
- Ten statues have a pedestal shaped as a double lotus cushion (code no. 5). Of these ten lotus cushions, five are part of statues in high relief and five are part of statues carved in the round.
- From sixteen statues the pedestal is missing all together.
- On 32 statues, nearly three quarter of all the statues, Bhīma is represented with both arms hanging alongside his body (code no. 6).
- On eleven statues Bhīma is holding one arm, mostly his right one, in front of his waist (code no. 6). This pose occurs predominantly in the western part of the Majapahit kingdom.
- A powerful face (*muka gagahan*) (code no. 7) can be seen on 26 statues. I do not know the facial expression of the decapitated statues, however, given the fact that all the ‘undamaged’ statues portray a Bhīma with a vigorous face I assume the others would have been alike.
- 39 Bhīma statues show one or two long thumbnail(s) (*kuku pancanaka*) (code no. 8). Of these 39 statues, 23 depict the hand gesture *muṣṭi mudra* and sixteen the *kapīṭa mudra*. Seven statues are seriously damaged and seem to have lost the thumbnail all together.
- On 33 statues Bhīma’s genitals are clearly visible (code no. 9). On seven statues his genitals are covered by his sash, and on six statues the genitals are not identifiable because these statues are seriously damaged. Of the seven statues on which the genitals are covered, four and possibly five originate from the Lawu region.²²
- On fourteen statues Bhīma has body hair (*bulu*) (code no. 10), on two other statues he might have had body hair, however, due to the weathering it is difficult to determine.

²² Four statues, Cat. nos. 30-34, originate from Candi Sukuh and Ceto. Both sanctuaries are located on Mount Lawu. It is likely that statue Cat. no. 40 also originates from that area because of the striking similarities in the iconography with Cat. nos. 30-34.

The morphological features on reliefs and their variations

If we look at the morphological features of Bhīma depictions on reliefs and the variations within these features as visualised in Table 3 and Table 4 we see that:

- Only on two occasions Bhīma's arms are hanging alongside his body, and on eight occasions he is portrayed with a more active arm pose (code no. 6).
- On all the depictions Bhīma has a powerful face (*muka gagahan*) (code no. 7).
- On all the reliefs Bhīma is depicted with a long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) (code no. 8). In contrast to the statues, the hand gesture *kapita mudra* occurs the most on the reliefs. Six depictions portray this gesture and only three show the *muṣṭi mudra*.
- Except for two depictions on Candi Sukuh the Bhīma depictions all have visible genitals (code no. 9).
- On two reliefs Bhīma is depicted with body hair (*bulu*) (code no. 10).

Height of the statues

As mentioned earlier the height of the damaged statues is corrected with a coefficient²³ that indicates the estimated height of the statue before damage. Measuring the statues within the various regions studied here, it transpired that the statues found in the region of Trawulan and Mojokerto are rather small. They are no more than 45 to 60 centimetres in height. More to the east, around Banyubiru and Andangbiru, the statues are taller and to the west they increase even more in height (100-195 cm). The largest statue is found on Candi Sukuh in the Lawu region in Central Java and this statue measures 195 centimetres.

Height of the reliefs

The height of the relief series on the temple walls²⁴ is 50 centimetres. The Bhīma relief that once was part of a wall on Sukuh measures 107x122 centimetres, and the height of the 'deer arch' relief is 223 centimetres.²⁵ I have not been able to verify the height of the Bhīma reliefs on Kendolisodo and Selokelir because they were already missing by the time I did my fieldwork in 1996.

The ornamental features on statues and their variations

The quantitative analyses on the ornamental features of Bhīma depicted on statues and the variations on these features as visualised in Table 5, Table 6 and Table 7 show us the following findings:

²³ The coefficient is calculated by using the body length and length of the limbs.

²⁴ The reliefs of Candi Jago and Candi Tigowangi.

²⁵ This relief is a free standing relief and was not part of a wall.

- Of all the non-decapitated Bhīma statues there are 26 featuring the lobster claw hair dress (*gelung supit urang*) (code no. 11). On one statue the hair dress is too damaged to ascertain.
- Of all the non-decapitated Bhīma statues 25 display ear ornaments (*sumping*) (code no. 12). One statue is too damaged to identify any ear ornaments. The ear ornaments are all, except for one,²⁶ shaped like the *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*).
- 23 statues display ear pendants (*anting-anting*) (code no. 13). Due to damage, it was on one statue impossible to determine whether there had been any ear pendants. The ear pendants are all shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinea mangostana*, except for statue Cat. no. 40.
- On eight statues Bhīma is depicted with a diadem (*jamang*) (code no. 14). Except for Cat. nos. 30 and 33, the diadems are modelled on the rays of the sun, like the Majapahit aureole.
- On 38 occasions Bhīma is wearing a sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) (code no. 15). On five statues he does not wear a sacred thread, and on three statues I have been unable to identify whether there had been a sacred thread at all. In eight cases, a necklace also shaped like a cobra accompanies the sacred thread.
- The necklace (*kalung*) (code no. 16) occurs often on Bhīma statues, 32 times to be precise. The necklace is shaped in three different ways: like a cobra (*naga*), as a crescent (*tanggalan*), or as a band with three precious stones (*ratna*). The first design, the cobra, occurs thirteen times; the second, the crescent, sixteen times; and the third, the band with precious stones, only three times.
- The armlets (*kelat bahu*) (code no. 17) occur on 37 statues. The decorative features on armlets, bracelets and anklets vary in shape just like the necklace. The design of the decorations on a statue is nearly always the same but there are exceptions. There are five different designs: nine and presumably ten times the decorations are shaped like lotus petals (*padma*); ten times like a sceptre (*ruyi*); seven and presumably eight times like a thunderbolt (*bajra*); three times the band is decorated with one big jewel (*ratna*); and on two occasions the armlets feature the cobra (*naga*). On four armlets the decorative features are not identifiable.
- The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) (code no. 18) are displayed on 39 statues. The decorative features on the bracelet are designed in different ways: nine and probably ten times they are shaped like lotus petals (*padma*); thirteen times like the sceptre or short sword

²⁶ Statue Cat. no. 30 has a special ear ornament in the shape of a jewel (*ratna*) while the *puḍak* is hanging in front of the earlobe (the ear ornament is normally always fixed behind the earlobe).

(*ruyi*); four times the band(s) is (are) decorated with one big jewel (*ratna*); six and probably seven times the decorations have the shape of a thunderbolt (*bajra*); and once the bracelet is shaped like a cobra (*naga*). Two bracelets consist of a plain band, and of two bracelets the shape of the design is too difficult to define.

- The anklets (*gelang kaki*) (code no. 19) occur on 31 statues. Again, the decorative features vary: nine times the decorations are designed as lotus petals (*padma*); eight times as a sceptre or short sword (*ruyi*); six and probably seven times as a thunderbolt (*bajra*); and twice as a cobra (*naga*). One anklet consists of a plain band, and on four anklets the designs are not identifiable.
- The sash (*sabuk*) (code no. 20) tied as a loincloth is found on all the statues and also on the fragments of which the body is still intact, making it 41 in total. The tails of the sash are knotted on the front and back, and they are draped in three different ways. In the first variation the front tail hangs over the left or right thighbone and is often held by Bhīma. This variation occurs seventeen times. In the second variation the front tail is draped either on the left or the right side of the genitals, which are therefore clearly visible. This variation also occurs seventeen times. In the third variation the front tail is hanging down all the way to the feet with the genitals covered. This variation occurs seven times and occurs predominantly (five times)²⁷ in the Lawu region.
- Seven statues display a sash (code no. 20) with a *poleng* pattern, and all other statues reveal just a plain sash.²⁸ The *poleng* pattern occurs mostly in the Lawu region.²⁹
- Only three statues display foot ornaments (code no. 21).
- In sixteen of the 46 statues Bhīma is represented with a club (*gada*) (code no. 22). Except for one statue (Cat. no. 33), Bhīma's club rests on the ground. This statue shows a kneeling Bhīma, who is holding his club up against his left shoulder.
- The section 'Special ornamental features' in 1.2.5 reveals that nine Bhīma statues have an ornament in the shape of a tendril (*sulur*) and that on four statues Bhīma has rosettes instead of nipples.

The ornamental features on reliefs and their variations

On the reliefs visualised in Table 8 and Table 9 we can determine the following findings:

²⁷ I presume that statue Cat. no. 40 originates from the Lawu region.

²⁸ Two statues, one with a plain and the other with a *poleng* pattern, show a floral design on the front end (see the section 'Special ornamental features in 1.2.5).

²⁹ There are two more statues that have a sash with a *poleng* pattern. The first statue (Cat. no. 1), originates from *desa* Andangbiru; of the second statue (Cat. no. 40) the origin is unknown. As this statue has a number of features in common with the statues on the Lawu it is likely that the statue originates from the region of Mount Lawu.

- The hair dress (*gelung supit urang*) (code no. 11) appears on all Bhīma depictions, that is ten in total.
- The ear ornaments (*sumping*) (code no. 12) are found on all Bhīma depictions.
- The ear pendants (code no. 13) occur on all Bhīma depictions.
- The sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakaran-grang*) (code no. 15) appears on all Bhīma depictions.
- The necklace (*kalung*) (code no. 16) shaped as a cobra is found on seven depictions. The necklace consisting of a band with three precious stones in a triangular setting occurs twice, and the necklace shaped as a crescent (*tanggalan*) appears only once.
- The armllets (code no. 17) are found on all Bhīma depictions. Six times the armllets are carved with decorations in the lotus petal (*padma*) design. Twice they appear with a jewel (*ratna*) joined on a band. In two Bhīma depictions it was impossible to determine the design of the ornaments.³⁰
- The bracelets (code no. 18) occur ten times: six times with decorations in the lotus petal (*padma*) design, twice with one jewel (*ratna*) joined on a band, and twice it is impossible to identify the decorative designs.³¹
- The anklets (code no. 19) occur only four times: three times, they are decorated with lotus petals (*padma*), and once it is impossible to identify the decorative elements.³²
- The sash (*sabuk*) (code no. 20) occurs on all Bhīma depictions.
- On four Bhīma depictions the armllets and bracelets display a band set with precious stones instead of a plain band. These Bhīma depictions are situated on Candi Tigowangi and Candi Sukuh.

The colours

It is difficult to say something conclusive about the colours on Bhīma statues as there are only four statues revealing any traces of colour, and because the colours on the statues are sometimes inconsistent. Based on the material at hand I am assuming that black or dark paint was used for the hair dress, the eyebrows, the sideburns and the beard or goatee. Bhīma's face was probably painted white, the colour for a noble face in present *wayang kulit* iconography, but unusual for a powerful face as Bhīma's. The facial colours of Bhīma in the present-day *wayang* iconography are black and brown.

Bhīma's body is decorated in white or yellow. Bhīma's armllets were probably yellow or gilded. The ear pendants of one statue are described as having a dark, probably black colour. I find this very pecu-

³⁰ Only very blurred photographs exist of these reliefs and on these photographs the decorative elements are difficult to identify.

³¹ Idem.

³² Idem.

liar because I would have expected a dark red colour, the colour of the mangistan.

On one statue Bhīma's sash was blue with golden rims. Because only one statue exhibits these colours, I am hesitant to conclude that these were the colours used for the sash in general. In the present *wayang* iconography Bhīma's sash is decorated with a chequered (*poleng*) pattern and has four colours, white, black, red and yellow or gold. The Balinese *poleng* has only two colours, black and white.

The geographic arrangement in the tables

The geographic arrangement of the statues and reliefs in the tables reveals the following findings:

- The iconographical feature 'one hand in front of the breast or waist', a variation on 'arms alongside the body' (code no. 6), occurs predominantly on statues originating from sanctuaries located in the western part of the Majapahit kingdom including Mount Lawu.
- The iconographical feature 'covered genitals', a variation on the iconographical feature 'visible genitals' (code no. 9), is also mostly found on Bhīma statues from the sanctuaries on Mount Lawu.
- Of the variations involving the 'long thumbnail', the hand gesture *muṣṭi mudra* appears most on the statues. However, on the small number of reliefs the gesture *kapīṭa mudra* prevails. Although it proves difficult to indicate a particular region where one of the two gestures dominates, Bhīma statues originating from Mount Lawu demonstrate almost exclusively the *muṣṭi mudra*.
- Of the four Bhīma statues that have rosettes instead of nipples three originate from sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan.
- The hair dress, the ear ornament, the ear pendant and the sacred thread usually have the same shape and decorative designs, but the necklace, armlet, bracelet and anklet exhibit variations. The analysis demonstrates that the variation 'necklace shaped as a crescent' is mostly worn by Bhīma depictions found on Mount Penanggungan. The necklace with the jewels occurs only on Bhīma representations from Mount Lawu.

The decorations on the armlets, bracelets and anklets appear mostly in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) and *ruyi* designs, followed by the (*bajra*) design. The cobra (*naga*) and jewel (*ratna*) design occur only a few times. The variations 'lotus petals (*padma*) in bas-relief on a wide band' and 'jewel (*ratna*) on a band' are respectively found on Mount Penanggungan and Mount Lawu. Particularly in the southwest and western regions of the Majapahit kingdom, that is from Mount Kelud to Mount Lawu the bands of the armlets, bracelets and anklets on Bhīma statues are set with

precious stones. On Mount Lawu³³ the bands set with precious stones are also decorated with a large jewel which is attached to the bands.

- Bhīma wears his sash in three different ways and the variation in which the sash hangs all the way down on the feet, with the front tail draped around the genitals prevails. The variation where the front tail is resting on the thighbone comes second, and the variation in which the front tail of the sash simply hangs down and is covering the genitals, comes third. The last variation occurs, again, predominantly on Mount Lawu.
- Of the seven statues that have a sash with a *poleng* pattern, five and possibly even six originate from Mount Lawu. The sashes with a *poleng* pattern cover the genitals in most cases (see above).

Conclusion

The analysis of the morphological and ornamental features of Bhīma reveals, despite the many decapitated, broken and weathered statues, a rather constant pattern of features. The morphological features 6-10, the 'genuine' morphological features as 'the arms hanging alongside the body'; 'powerful face' (*muka gagahan*); 'the long thumbnail' (*pancanaka*); and 'the visible genitals' occur very frequently on statues and reliefs.

The same can be said of the ornamental features 'hair dress' (*gelung supit urang*); 'ear ornaments' (*sumping*); 'the ear pendants' (*anting-anting*); 'the sacred thread' (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*); 'the necklace' (*kalung*); 'the armllets' (*kelat bahu*); 'the bracelets' (*gelang tangan*); 'the anklets' (*gelang kaki*); and the 'sash worn as loincloth' (*sabuk*). Therefore I would like to call these features 'standard features'.

There are a few features that occur less to much less. These are the morphologic feature 'body hair' (*bulu*) and the ornamental features 'club' (*gada*), 'diadem' (*jamang*) and 'foot ornaments'. I would like to call these features 'variable'. The club and the foot ornaments are not on display on reliefs.

There are variations as well on morphologic features as on ornamental features. The variations on the morphologic features include 'one arm in front of the waist', 'covered genitals' and the 'long thumbnail' in two different hand gestures, the *muṣṭi* and the *kapīṭa mudra*.

The variations on the ornamental features comprise the necklace shaped as a crescent (*tanggalan*), as a cobra (*naga*) or as a band with jewels (*ratna*); the decoration of the armllets, bracelets, anklets with ornaments in the shape of a lotus (*padma*), sceptre (*ruyi*), thunderbolt, jewel (*ratna*) or cobra (*naga*); the three different ways in which the sash is worn and the pattern of the sash. A number of sashes devi-

³³ Especially on Candi Sukuh, Candi Planggatan and Candi Ceto.

ate from the usual plain pattern of the sash; most of them show a chequered pattern (*poleng*).

Although there are quite some variations, especially on the ornamental features, a matter of style as we shall see further on, it does not alter the fact that there is a great regularity in the standard iconographical features of Bhīma. The consistency of standard features suggests the existence of a canon for the iconography of stone representations of Bhīma.

The quantitative analysis also shows that about three quarters of the Bhīma statues are sculpted in the round and nearly a quarter of the Bhīma is sculpted in high relief with a large back slab. Ten statues have a pedestal shaped as a double lotus cushion (code no. 5). Of these ten lotus cushions, five are part of statues in high relief and five are part of statues carved in the round. The presentation of the Bhīma statues is thus ambiguous.

The section 'Special ornamental features' in 1.2.5 hosts a number of specific ornaments of which the tendril (*sulur*) occurs nine times. There are some ornaments in the shape of a thunderbolt of which two are in the shape of a double thunderbolt. Furthermore there are three ornamentations of the back slab of which one represents the Majapahit aureole and two represent a jar including lotus buds and flowers. There are two more lotus decorations that draw attention. These decorations consist of lotus pericarps, buds and leaves and are placed on the back of the Bhīma statues. Finally there is a unique decoration of a sculptured serpent (*naga*) on a pedestal; the serpent bites its tail.

If it is anyhow possible to draw conclusions on the colour we might assume that black or dark paint was used for hair and white paint for the face. The evidence however is too weak to generalize.

The geographical arrangement of statues and reliefs in the tables reveals that the worship of the Bhīma statues was widespread on the mountain sanctuaries within the domains of the royal family in present-day East and Central Java. However, given the number of statues and fragments found at some of the sanctuaries, the worship of Bhīma seems to have been more intense in some places than others. These locations are Mount Lawu located in the western part of the Majapahit kingdom, now Central Java, and Mount Penanggungan close to the seat of the Majapahit kingdom in East Java. From the geographical arrangement of the other data it is obvious that the iconography of the Bhīma statues from these locations shows a specific regional style. On the Penanggungan the Bhīma statues mostly display the armlet, bracelet or anklet decoration 'lotus petals (*padma*) in bas-relief on a wide band', the 'necklace shaped as a crescent' and 'the rosettes' instead of nipples. On the Lawu, we see 'one arm in front of the chest or waist' instead of the stiff 'arms alongside the body', exclusively the hand gesture *muṣṭi mudra*, the 'necklace with jewels', the armlet, bracelet and anklet in the shape of 'large jewel (*ratna*) on a band with precious

stones' and the 'sash with a *poleng* pattern' which covers the usually bare genitals. It is evident that the statues on Mount Lawu display the most diverse iconography of the corpus of Bhīma statues.

Besides the just mentioned regional styles, the statues in the southwest and western parts of the kingdom, including Mount Lawu, reveal more jewels in their iconography. The richness of the decorations in that part of the kingdom and the increasing size of the statues make me believe that the worship of Bhīma was important in that part of the kingdom.

1.3 Comparison of the iconography of Bhīma in and outside Java

When I compare the iconography of Bhīma representations on Java with the iconography of Bhīma representations outside Java I see some striking differences. One of the main differences is the ‘inactive’ pose in which Bhīma is depicted on Java, especially as displayed on the statues. On almost all statues on Java he is portrayed standing rigidly with his feet together and his arms held straight alongside his body whilst holding, or occasionally resting on, a club. It looks like his club has become nothing more than a decoration rather than a weapon. It definitely appears to be a decoration on one of the Bhīma statues (Cat. no. 30).¹ This ‘rigid’ pose contrasts strongly with the more ‘active’ way in which Bhīma is represented outside Java. This ‘active’ pose is often related to his heroic and warrior role in the *Bhāratayuddha*. On statues outside Java, Bhīma is often portrayed standing with his legs widespread and holding his club in front of him. On the reliefs he is sometimes depicted in a jumping position, but always holding his club in a threatening way, just as if he is about to attack someone.

Another difference can be found in the way Bhīma’s clothing is represented. Outside Java Bhīma is often dressed as warrior, something that is again related to his role as a warrior in the *Bhāratayuddha*. When his iconography is not related to his warrior role, Bhīma often wears a loincloth just as he does on Java.

Another remarkable difference in Bhīma’s iconography are the notable genitals with which he is portrayed on nearly all Javanese representations. This is in sharp contrast with his portrayal outside Java where Bhīma’s genitals are never visible.

Besides these differences there are also some similarities. On Java as well as elsewhere Bhīma is represented as a figure of royal descent. On all his representations he is wearing many decorative accessories such as earrings or pendants, a sacred thread, necklace(s), armlets, bracelets, and anklets, and he also often is wearing a diadem. All these decorative features indicate that he belongs to a high caste and signify that his descent is of importance in all the places where his representations are found.

The decorative features differ however in shape and execution in and outside Java. On Java the designs are mostly in the shape of flowers or flower petals (ear ornaments, armlets, bracelets, anklets), fruits

¹ Here it is depicted as an ornament on the back tail of the sash.

(ear pendants), or cobras (necklace and sacred thread), whilst outside Java the decorations often consist of jewels set with precious stones, a token of wealth and status. In Nepal he is sometimes found wearing a diadem decorated with skulls or a necklace featuring a skull, a feature he shares with Bhairawa, the demonic emanation of Śiwa.

In all the countries I studied Bhīma is represented as a crude person with offensive and sometimes demonic facial features, possibly a reflection of his tempestuous character. Only in Cambodia Bhīma displays the same more gentle features and posture as his brothers, and on some reliefs in Vijayanagara, Southern India, he has a more refined appearance.

Also very interesting is the fact that on the Hoysala reliefs in India Bhīma is portrayed with locks of curly hair, a hair dress which on Java is worn by demons or demonic manifestations of Śiwa who function as guardians. In all other representations Bhīma wears his hair up, mostly with a diadem or crown. Only on Java his hair dress is sculpted in the so-called lobster claw style (*gelung supit urang*).

In Nepal where Bhīma is worshipped as a god, he always is presented in high relief and standing on a lotus cushion. On Java he is also presented in this manner however, only in a quarter of his representations.

In Nepal as well as on Java Bhīma is connected with the cobra, the king of serpents. In Nepal the cobra is always placed in the vicinity of Bhīma, often on the same pillar on which Bhīma's mount, the lion, rests. This pillar is placed just outside the Bhīma temple opposite the entrance. On Java however, the cobra functions as Bhīma's sacred thread and is often combined with his necklace, and in very few cases with his armlets, bracelets or anklets.

In Nepal as well as on Java Bhīma is also depicted with a hand gesture but the pose of the gesture differs. In Nepal there is one gesture, the *singha-mukha mudra*, whereas on Java there are two hand gestures, the *muṣṭi mudra* and the *kapīṭa mudra*.

From the preceding findings we may conclude that the iconography of Bhīma on Java has no relation with his role as a warrior as described in the *Bhāratayuddha*. The differences in iconography indicate that the Bhīma representations on Java, especially the statues, must have had a different meaning than elsewhere. I will focus on the meaning of the iconographical features and the special ornaments on Bhīma statues in 1.5. Preceding that chapter I will concentrate on a comparison of the iconography of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period with the iconography of contemporary statues.

1.4

The iconography of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period compared to the iconography of statues from the same period

1.4.1 Introduction

In his article 'Een oud-Javaansche Bhīma-cultus' Stutterheim assumed that the iconography of Bhīma and Bhairawa statues displayed 'great similarity'. He based his theory about the function of the Bhīma representations mainly on this similarity.

Accordingly, when viewing the figure found in the 'field of statues' (Padang Rocho near Sungei Langsat) in Sumatra, which represents a Buddhist Bhairawa, the great similarity to the figures which we have been discussing [stone representations of Bhīma] cannot escape us, even though a *wayang* Bima character is still out of the question. Snakes as bracelets, high worn hairdress, although not consisting of curls, ringbeard (and moustache?) are the most prominent characteristics which we may associate directly with Bhīma and which by themselves testify to a relationship in character.

The Bhairawa characteristics are more strongly brought out by the Çiwaitic Bhairawa of Singasari whom, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, we may directly relate to Ādityawarman.¹ There we find the nudity with phallic character, so strongly prominent in the Balinese Bhīma-Bairawa figure and some of the Javanese Bhīmas, a trait which admittedly can no longer be observed in the present Bimas of the *wayang* but which must still have been in existence some time ago, as it is still common knowledge that formerly Bima always had to be portrayed without trousers. (Stutterheim 1956:118-9)

I mentioned earlier that I disagree with Stutterheim's conclusion regarding the iconographical similarity of the Bhīma and Bhairawa statues as he made a comparison that cannot be made. Stutterheim did admit that an iconographical comparison between Bhairawa and Bhīma as a *wayang* character was impossible or, as he put it, 'out of the question'. From the results of the earlier conducted analysis on Bhīma's iconographical features we know that the representations of Bhīma have in fact a great deal in common with the iconography of Bhīma in the *wayang kulit*. I can only conclude that Stutterheim must

¹ The earlier mentioned figure in this quotation, the one found in the 'field of statues', is presumed to represent Ādityawarman.

have based his hypothesis on inaccurate data. I find Stutterheim's theories about the relation between function and iconography intriguing though. He suggests that similarities in iconography between statues representing comparable individuals might point to a similarity in function of those representations.

In the light of Stutterheim's theory and of the already conducted iconographical analysis of Bhīma representations, it would be interesting to find out whether there are any parallels between the iconography of Bhīma representations and any other popular (divine) statues from the same period. Consequently it would also be interesting to see if any conclusions can be drawn on the significance of Bhīma representations by conducting this 'similarity' research.

In the next couple of paragraphs I will therefore examine the iconography of various statues commonly found during the Majapahit Period on their similarities with the Bhīma statues. To be able to do this I have divided the statues into distinguishable groups. I used the reports and photographs of a variety of statues from the Archaeological Service to create an inventory, and after examining these closely, I was able to classify/identify the following four groups:

- A Deified royalty
- B Deities (*bhaṭāra* or *bhaṭārī*)
- C Seers (*rṣi*)
- D Guardians (*dwārapāla*)

1.4.2 Deified royalty

Statues belonging to the category 'deified royalty' are, together with the statues I classify as guardians (*dwārapāla* or *suwuk lawang*) most commonly found during the Majapahit Period. Klokke published a few articles about the iconography of these statues.² In my descriptions of the stone statues representing deified royalty, I will include some of her observations.³

Deified royalty are nearly always sculpted in high relief including a large back slab and a pedestal shaped as a lotus cushion. The deified kings and queens are always depicted standing in an upright position with their feet close together, which gives them a 'stiff' appearance (Fig. 28).

Representations of deified royalty display divine as well as royal features. Their divine status is expressed by a halo and the fact that they are standing on a double lotus cushion. Deified kings and queens always have four arms – two upper and two lower. The combination

² Klokke 1993b, 1999; Klokke, Lunsingh Scheurleer 1994.

³ Klokke, Lunsingh Scheurleer 1994:190.

of attributes⁴ they hold in their upper hands and lower hand(s) whilst making a hand gesture (*mudra*), is very peculiar and does not belong to the iconography of specific Hindu or Buddhist deities as we know them from the Early Classical Period.

The royal lineage of the deified royalty is revealed by their wealthy appearance. They are often depicted wearing abundant jewellery such as one or more necklaces, long ear pendants, armlets, bracelets and rings made of valuable metals and set with precious stones. The necklaces are often in the shape of a crescent. The deified royalty are also depicted wearing a crown, a sacred thread often decorated with pearls, and belts and foot ornaments that are set with precious stones. They are dressed in a long cloth around the waist (*dodot*) and wear sashes of which one end hangs down in front of the loincloth with the other end(s), usually two, carved out on the back slab with or without a knot.

The back slab is sometimes embellished with a specific aureole called the Majapahit aureole. Although the aureole dates back to the Singhāsari Period (1212-1292 C.E.) the rulers of the Majapahit kingdom adopted this symbol, and often used it in their art.⁵ Another ornamental element that often appears on the back slab of statues representing deified royalty is a jar with lotus vegetation, consisting of lotus buds, petals and leaves. This element succeeded ‘the lotus bulb with lotus vegetation’, which also originated from the Singhāsari Period.

1.4.3 Deities (*bhaṭāra or bhaṭāri*)

The group of statues classified as ‘deities’ are not as commonly found during the Majapahit Period as the other categories. The statues of this group are mainly representations of Śaiwa deities and one specific Buddhist deity. There are representations of other Hindu and of Buddhist deities, but as they only occur occasionally they will not be included in this chapter.

The deities who are depicted the most are the Buddhist deity Mahākāla; Bhaṭāra Guru, Śiwa’s ascetic manifestation; Durgā, Śiwa’s spouse; and Gaṇeśa, the elephant headed son of Śiwa. Śiwa in his glorious manifestation as Mahādewa is not found in this period and statues of Bhairawa, Śiwa’s terrifying form, hardly occur on Java during the Majapahit Period. However as these representations have been the subject of some dispute as mentioned earlier on, I will include the iconography of one of the few representations in this para-

⁴ Klokke carried out an iconographical analysis on the attributes and hand gestures of deified royalty (Klokke 1994:184-5).

⁵ See also Fontein 1992:165-6; Sedyawati 1985:825, Fig. 6; Redig 1996:98.

graph. I will discuss Bhaṭāra Guru, the ascetic manifestation of Śīwa in the paragraph on the seers.

Usually deities are depicted in high relief with a nimbus, standing on a double lotus cushion. However, if it concerns a demonic or an ascetic manifestation of a deity the representation can also be carved standing on a plain pedestal. Mahākāla for example is often sculpted in high relief standing on a double lotus cushion (Fig. 29), but sometimes he is standing on a plain pedestal. His left arm is bent in front of his waist, and he is holding his attribute, a club, in his right hand. The club is resting on the ground. He is depicted with a demonic face including protruding eyes and fangs and long curly hair hanging down to his shoulders. He wears a diadem which is modelled on the rays of the sun, like the Majapahit aureole. Mahākāla is dressed in a long cloth around the waist (*dodot*) with sashes and belts. His necklace is in the shape of a crescent (*tanggalan*), and his sacred thread is shaped as a cobra (*naga*) with its head and tail often intertwined on the chest. He often wears a stomach band, armllets, bracelets and sometimes foot ornaments in a triangular design (*tumpang*). All the jewellery are made of valuable metals and set with precious stones.

I know with certainty of only one statue that represents Bhairawa. The statue is carved in high relief and stands on a pedestal decorated with skulls. Bhairawa is depicted with his knees bent, and he is naked with his penis in erection. He has long curly hair that is held together by a diadem also decorated with skulls, and he has a demonic face with protruding eyes and fangs. Bhairawa is wearing ear pendants, a necklace, a sacred thread, armllets, bracelets and anklets. Except for the anklets which are shaped as cobras, all these ornamental elements are made of valuable metals and decorated with precious stones and skulls. Bhairawa has four arms, two upper and two lower, in which he holds his attributes including a dagger, a trident, a small ritual drum and a skull. Bhairawa is leaning on his mount, the jackal.

Durgā, the spouse of Śīwa, is portrayed in the manifestation of the buffalo demon slayer 'Mahiṣasuramardinī' (Fig. 30). Her iconography has the following characteristics. She usually is standing with her legs wide spread on the back of a buffalo, but occasionally she can also be standing upright on the buffalo. Although her face is generally depicted as compassionate, a small number of Durgā statues portray her with demonic features as protruding eyes and fangs (Santiko 1992:510; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998:420-1 (plate)). Durgā is holding the tail of the buffalo in one hand and the hair of the demon emerging from the buffalo, in the other. In most statues, she is represented with eight arms, but sometimes she is portrayed with six, four or two arms (Santiko 1992:312). The attributes she is holding in her hands vary, and include a discus, an arrow, a sword, a conch, a bow, a shield, a club, a fly whisk, a trident, an axe, a noose, a thunderbolt and a lotus. The discus, the arrow, the sword and the conch are depicted the most.

Durgā has a wealthy appearance, she wears her hair up in a crown, and she is dressed in a cloth that falls all the way down to her ankles. She also wears a belt, ear pendants, a necklace, a sacred thread, armlets, bracelets and foot ornaments. All her jewellery is made of valuable metals and precious stones. Sometimes her sacred thread consists of skulls or it is shaped as a cobra (*naga*).

Gaṇeśa, the elephant headed son of Śiwa,⁶ is generally depicted in a sitting position with the soles of his feet touching each other. Sometimes he is standing upright with his feet together giving him a rigid appearance (Redig 1996:130). Gaṇeśa has a corpulent body and four arms, two upper and two lower. He usually holds the following attributes in his (four) hands: a bow, a broken tusk, a rosary and a battle-axe. His hair is put up and he wears either a diadem in the style of the Majapahit aureole or a crown. Gaṇeśa is often dressed in a sash that functions as a loincloth. Generally he wears armlets, bracelets, and anklets and a sacred thread. His sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra and its tail and head are generally intertwined on the left shoulder. In some cases the sacred thread is decorated with two cobras of which the heads and tails are intertwined both on the abdomen and on the shoulder. Sometimes Gaṇeśa also wears ear pendants, a necklace, a stomach band and foot ornaments. The foot ornaments are shaped in a triangular (*tumpang*) shape. All the jewellery is made of valuable metals and set with precious stones (Fig. 31).

1.4.4 Seers (*rṣi*)

During the Majapahit Period, seers are generally represented in high relief on a plain pedestal. They are depicted either seated or in the 'stiff' standing position, and they have two arms that are hanging along the body. Their hair dress consists of plaits which they wear up in the shape of a turban. Seers are often dressed very simply in just a plain loincloth, and are usually not represented with any ornamental elements.

Bhaṭāra Guru, Śiwa's ascetic manifestation, displays the following features. He is represented in high relief with a nimbus on a plain pedestal. He is depicted in a standing position with his (two) arms hanging along the body. Sometimes his right arm is bent in front of his waist. His hair dress consists of plaits which are worn up like a turban. Bhaṭāra Guru has usually a benevolent face with a moustache and a

⁶ The god Gaṇeśa has been the subject of studies by Sedyawati (1994) and Redig (1996). Sedyawati's study of Gaṇeśa representations covers the era of the two kingdoms that precede the Majapahit kingdom, the Kaḍiri and Singhasari kingdom. I Wayan Redig's study focuses on the representation of Gaṇeśa in Indonesia and in India (see also the section 'Previous iconographical research on stone statues from the Classical Period of Indonesia' in my Introduction).

long beard. Sometimes his eyes are protruding. He is dressed in a cloth that falls down to his ankles. He usually wears ornaments in the shape of ear pendants, armllets and anklets. They are plain or made up of jewels. Sometimes he holds a rosary in his right hand and he occasionally wears a necklace or a sacred thread made of beads. His back slab is on the right side decorated with a trident and on the left side with a water vessel (Fig. 32).

1.4.5 Guardians (*dwārapāla*, *suwuk lawang*)

Demons (*rākṣasa*, *yakṣa*) fulfilled the role of guardians (*dwārapāla*, *suwuk lawang*) during the Majapahit Period.

In contrast to the deities and the deified royalty, the demons are nearly always sculpted in the round and represented on a plain pedestal or without pedestal. They are depicted in either a reclining, kneeling or a standing position and are in possession of a club which they hold either with one or with both hands over their left or right shoulder (Van Bemmelen 1994:112).

Demons have demonic faces including protruding eyes, heavy eyebrows and a big open mouth revealing teeth and fangs. They have curly hair hanging down to the shoulders and the curls are frequently held together with a diadem which is modelled on the rays of the sun, like the Majapahit aureole. They are also often depicted wearing a chest band, a sash functioning as a loincloth, and accessories such as a necklace shaped as a crescent, earrings or pendants, armllets, bracelets and anklets (Fig. 33).

The decorative elements are designed either as jewels or cobras and sometimes as skulls. A few representations also have breast hair (*bulu dada*) and rosette-shaped nipples (Van Bemmelen 1994:69,114).

Statues of demons represented in a standing position often display a sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*naga*), a long cloth around the waist (*dodot*) with belts, and sashes.

1.4.6 Conclusion

The comparison of the iconographical features of the Bhīma statues and the other 'groups' of commonly found statues from the Majapahit Period show a number of mutual characteristics. These characteristics are predominantly morphological as they consider the shape in which statues are presented, some are ornamental though.

When comparing Bhīma representations to the statues representing deified royalty it is evident that almost a quarter of the Bhīma statues is presented in the same way, that is to say in 'high relief with a large back slab'. A number of them are also standing on a pedestal shaped

as a 'double lotus cushion'. In a very few cases they also share the embellished back slab with the Majapahit aureole, and the jar with the lotus vegetation.

With the statues I categorised as deities Bhīma also shares the way they are presented and the pedestal they are standing on, respectively 'statue in high relief with large back slab' and the 'double lotus cushion'. One ornamental feature that Bhīma has in common with Mahākāla and the Śaiwa deity Ganeśa, and occasionally Durgā, is the sacred thread in the shape of a cobra. In some cases Ganeśa's sacred thread is sculptured with the intertwining head and tail of the cobra on the left shoulder, and this is similar to the way it is worn by Bhīma on some of his statues. Bhīma, deified royalty, and very occasionally Ganeśa have a 'rigid' appearance.

Bhīma shares most of his morphological and ornamental features with the group I classified as guardians. Three quarter of the Bhīma statues are just like the guardians sculptured in the round on a plain pedestal. Bhīma statues and guardians also share some facial characteristics such as the protruding eyes, heavy eyebrows, a moustache, and on a few occasions body hair and rosette-shaped nipples. Of the ornamental features, the sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*naga*), the diadem shaped as the Majapahit aureole, and the crescent-shaped necklace are worn by both. However, none of Bhīma's standard characteristics such as his visible genitals, his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*), his specific 'lobster claw' hair dress (*gelung supit urang*), the ear ornaments in the shape of a *puḍak*, the ear pendants in the shape of a mangistan, and the armllets, bracelets and anklets with decorations shaped as either a sceptre (*ruyi*), lotus petals (*padma*), or a thunderbolt (*bajra*), nor his specifically shaped club, are found on guardians or other statues.

The comparison of the iconography of the Bhīma statues with the other 'groups' of commonly found statues from the Majapahit Period shows that there are but a number of mutual characteristics which might indicate a certain relation and possibly even a same meaning. However, on the whole the Bhīma statues appear to be an isolated phenomenon. In the next chapter I will deal with the interpretation of the iconographical features of Bhīma, and we will see what the conclusions of this chapter will tell us about the significance of the iconography of the Bhīma statues.

1.5 The interpretation of the iconographical features of Bhīma

1.5.1 Introduction

As we have seen in the last chapter, only a small number of the iconographical features of Bhīma statues can be related to features of any of the other popular statues dating from the same period. It does in fact look as if the representation of Bhīma in the Majapahit Period is in iconographical respect a bit out of the ordinary, as it does not seem to fit very well within the corpus of contemporaneous statues. In fact, the iconographical features of the Bhīma statues correspond much more to the figures depicted in *wayang* style on contemporaneous reliefs.

Although there are exceptions, most iconographical features of the stone Bhīma representations relate to the current *wayang kulit* iconography of Bhīma as I have already demonstrated in 1.2.2 and 1.2.5. Does this relationship imply that the current meaning of the iconographical features of Bhīma as a *wayang kulit* figure could reveal something about the meaning of the iconographical features of the stone Bhīma representations from the Majapahit Period? Due to the similarity in morphology, shape and ornamentation, one would suppose this to be the case, but it is not.

As we have seen Bhīma and the other protagonists of the Hindu epic Mahābhārata were adopted by Javanese Islamic culture, which came fully into being in the sixteenth century (De Graaf, Pigeaud 1974). The meaning of the iconographical features of Bhīma are accordingly placed in an Islamic religious philosophical (Sufi) context. Prof. Dr. H. Soetarno, at the time of my research in 1996 deputy director of the Academy of Fine Arts and writer of *Serat Bimasuci dengan berbagai aspeknya* (1989) came to the same conclusion in a discussion I had with him about this subject.¹

Woro Aryandini, who researched literature about Bhīma before and after the Islamic conversion, also concluded that Bhīma in the present *wayang* context is viewed from a Sufi and not a Hindu-Buddhist perspective (Woro Aryandini 1996:35-6). Because of this, I will try to interpret the iconographical features of Bhīma with relevant data from the Hindu-Buddhist period. Wherever it is needed, I will complement these data with data from the Hindu-Buddhist culture on Bali, which is in many respects a continuation of the Majapahit Period. I will start

¹ The Academy of Fine Arts (Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia, abbreviated STSI), at present the Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI), hosts a faculty course for puppet players (*dalang*). Soetarno published many works on the phenomenon of wayang.

with the morphological features of Bhīma, thereafter the ornamental features will follow.

1.5.2 The morphological features of the statues and some special ornamental features

When we examine the way in which Bhīma statues are sculpted we find that three quarters of these statues are carved in the round. This form of representation is fairly common amongst the statues I categorised as guardians. In addition, Bhīma shares a number of his iconographical features with the guardians. These features include a powerful face, body hair, the sacred thread in the shape of a cobra and the diadem in the shape of a Majapahit aureole.

According to the already mentioned theory of Stutterheim,² similarities in iconography between statues representing different individuals might indicate that they have a similar function. So the fact that the Bhīma statues and the statues representing the group classified as guardians have a couple of iconographical features in common might suggest that Bhīma had the same function as a guardian, which is a protective function. Van Bommel, who published a monograph on guardians, did in fact categorise Bhīma as a guardian (Van Bommel 1994:121). I disagree with her on this matter and also with the assumption of classifying Bhīma amongst the guardians in general. Although Bhīma and the guardians have a number of similar iconographical features, Bhīma lacks the essential characteristics of a guardian. He is never represented in an 'active' pose with his club, he is not depicted with a terrifying demonic face including an open mouth and fangs, and the style of his hair dress is different. All these differences make me suspect that Bhīma did not function as a guardian. However, I do assume that because of his powerful figure and face (*muka gagahan*) and his club, he certainly had some kind of protective function, but not at the level as the statues representing guardians.

In almost a quarter of the statues Bhīma is represented in high relief with a large back slab, and standing on a double lotus cushion. This is very common amongst the statues grouped as deities and deified royalty. The lotus as a symbol of purity and spiritual rebirth nearly always functions as a design for the pedestal of statues representing deities and deified royalty. However not only as a design for the pedestal but also as ornament on, or decoration of the statue and back slab. As we have seen before Bhīma is frequently depicted with a number of lotus ornaments. Not only is he standing on a double lotus cushion, he also is wearing a variety of ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*), and these include armllets, bracelets and anklets. Two Bhīma statues

² Stutterheim 1935:46-7.

that are sculpted in the round also reveal a large lotus decoration on the back consisting of lotus pericarps, buds, flowers and leaves. Therefore, it is likely that Bhīma acquired a semi-divine or divine status at a certain time and/or place during the Majapahit Period.

There are some more suggestions pointing towards a divine status of Bhīma, and towards a possible relation between Bhīma representations and the royal house of Majapahit. For example, there is one statue in high relief with a back slab decorated with a Majapahit aureole (see Fig. 20) and there are two Bhīma statues in high relief with a large back slab embellished with a jar with lotus buds and leaves. One of the two statues Stutterheim mentioned in his article 'Een oud-Javaansche Bhīma-cultus' which I was unable to trace also featured a jar with lotus decoration on its back slab (Stutterheim 1935:41).

The jar with lotus vegetation and the Majapahit aureole frequently occurred on representations of deified royalty from the Majapahit Period (see also 1.4.2 and Fig. 27). The jar with lotus vegetation succeeded 'the lotus bulb with lotus vegetation', which originated from the Singhāsari Period (1212-1292 C.E.) and was used as a decoration of deified royalty from that period. The Majapahit aureole also dates back to the Singhāsari Period but the rulers of the Majapahit kingdom adopted this symbol.

The Majapahit aureole symbolises rays of sunlight, and the sun is a well-known symbol of sovereignty on earth (Williams 1976:378). This symbol of sovereignty is certainly associated with the most important ruler of Majapahit, Hayam Wuruk, as is stated in the *Deśawarṇana*. The *Deśawarṇana* is a text from the fourteenth century describing a period from the life of Hayam Wuruk.

He [Hayam Wuruk] is lauded as being a world-conquering ruler, like the rays of the sun. (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 7:1) (Robson 1995:28)

We also know that the sister of the king, the princess of Pajang, used the Majapahit aureole as an insignia. She bore the mark of the sun on her carriages.

As for the Princess of Pajang, all her carriages bore the mark of the bright sun. (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 18:3) (Robson 1995:38)

Therefore, we can most certainly link the Majapahit aureole to the ruling house of Majapahit.

Another special ornamental feature which I found on two statues of deified royalty is a feature that occurs on nearly a quarter of the Bhīma statues, namely the tendril (*sulur*).³ The Balinese refer to this floral design as *util punggel* (Hobart 1987:76). This floral motif is gen-

³ The Old Javanese word *sulur* means shoot of a creeper (Zoetmulder 1982:1846).

erally carved ascending from the pedestal on the back of Bhīma statues in the round. On one occasion it is sculpted between Bhīma's feet (see Cat. no. 1). The *sulur* is often framed in the shape of a *tumpal*, an equal sided triangle (Fig. 34) (confer the framing of the *util punggel* shown in Hobart 1987:76). The *sulur* is a decorative element which seems very specific to Bhīma statues, as I have not found it on any of the other statues apart from the two following statues. The first one is a statue, originating from Candi Sumberjati (With 1920:159, Pl. 142). This statue has features of both Wiṣṇu and Śiwa, but the features of Wiṣṇu prevail. The statue might represent the deified king Kṛtarājasa Jayawardhana, the first ruler of the Majapahit (see 3.2.2) and probably dates from 1363 C.E. (Lunsingh Scheurleer 2008:325). The second statue originates from Candi Panataran and represents most certainly a deified queen with features of Śrī, the goddess of fertility (Fig. 35). On the back of this statue we can see, besides the tendril, lotus flowers and rice spikes. The statue from Sumberjati only has a small *sulur* sculpted on the back slab near the right foot (Fig. 36). Besides featuring as a specific design on these two statues, the *sulur* appears as a decorative element on reliefs from Candi Rimbi, and the three main sanctuaries of the heydays of the Majapahit empire (1350-1589 C.E.), Candi Panataran, Candi Kedaton and Candi Tigowangi. They are the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs on Candi Panataran, the Arjunawiwāha reliefs on Candi Kedaton, and the Sudamala reliefs on Candi Tigowangi.

Syafii, Tjetjep Rohendi and Rohidi (1987:46) write the following about tendrils: 'the decorating pattern of plants in the art of sculpture is often in the shape of a sulur-suluran motif'.⁴ Dalidjo and Mulyadi demonstrate the development of this decorative motif during the Majapahit Period in their *Pengenalan Ragam Hias Jawa* (1983:30-38).

The meaning of the *sulur* must be sought in fertility and prosperity as it is associated with growth. It is not a mere coincidence that the *sulur* is depicted on a statue with features of Śrī, the goddess of fertility, and on the foot of a statue most probably representing Wiṣṇu (Hari), the spouse of Śrī.

There are indications that the *sulur* as decorative motif is not indigenous to Java and has its origin in China. The *sulur* as an auspicious symbol – decorative motifs were mostly auspicious symbols (Auboyer 1935; Stutterheim 1948; Khoo 1976) – was often used as a decorative element in China during the Yuan (1260-1368 C.E.) and the Ming Period (1368-1674 C.E.), but it was already known before that period. The art during the Majapahit Period⁵ was greatly influenced by Chinese decorative motifs as we shall see later on. Stutter-

⁴ 'Motif hias tumbuh-tumbuhan dalam seni ukir banyak diwujudkan dalam bentuk pola hias sulur-suluran'.

⁵ Chinese motifs are still used on Java as decorative elements (Heringa 1994:34). This is especially the case on Java's northeast coast where the Chinese form a substantial part of the population since a very long time.

heim was aware of this phenomenon. He noticed in his monograph *De kraton van Majapahit* (1948:113-4, note 272): ‘Chinese influences on wood and stone sculptures are so numerous and clear that even a complete layman must notice them.’

The Chinese influence on Javanese art was made possible through intensive contacts between the Majapahit and the Yuan and Ming court; the Majapahit rulers frequently brought tribute to the Yuan and Ming emperors and received delegations and presents in return. There were also many trading contacts between Java and China. Many Chinese lived on the north coast of Java (Chiu 1967) and in the seat of the Majapahit kingdom, present-day Trawulan (Muller 1978:57).

The morphological feature *kuku pancanaka*, the long thumbnail, is, in combination with the hand gestures *kapīṭa mudra* and *muṣṭi mudra* only found on Bhīma statues, the Bhīma depictions on reliefs, and on depictions of the monkey Hanūmān on relief.⁶ Hanūmān is, like Bhīma, a son of Bāyu and shares on relief almost the same iconographical features.⁷

According to the contemporaneous texts that mention the *kuku pancanaka*, the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci*, Bhīma uses his long thumbnail as a weapon to slash his enemies to pieces to release them from their curse (*Nawaruci*). The *kuku pancanaka* in these texts is made into a symbol for Bhīma's supernatural power (*sakti*). There is no reference to the *kuku pancanaka* in any of the other ‘Bhīma’ texts.

The *muṣṭi mudra*, the gesture in which the fist is clenched and the long thumbnail is held across the fingers, appears mainly on Bhīma statues (Fig. 37). In Indian dramatic art the *muṣṭi mudra* is connected to Bhīma. According to Coomaraswamy (1970:47) the *mudra* is used to perform steadiness, for wrestling, and for holding things. According to Stutley (1985:95-6), and Bunce (1997:194) the *mudra* denotes strength.

In Old Javanese texts other than the ‘Bhīma’ texts, *amuṣṭi* means ‘assuming a *mudra* position’, or ‘to give a blow with the fist’, but also ‘to grasp something’ or ‘to grasp with the mind or concentrate’ (Zoetmulder 1982:1163). Hence we may assume that the meaning of the hand gesture is physical and mental strength.

The hand gesture *kapīṭa mudra*⁸ is a variety of the *muṣṭi mudra* (Liebert 1976:127). In this gesture the thumbnail sticks out of the clenched fist between the forefinger and middle finger (Fig. 38). The *kapīṭa mudra* mostly appears on Bhīma depictions on relief. *Kapīṭa* (*kapīṭaka*) means ‘wood-apple’ that is a plant used by the *gandharwa*

⁶ See the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on Candi Panataran.

⁷ Recent research reveals that statues representing Hanūmān differ completely in their iconography from the way he is represented on reliefs (Klokke 2006:398-9).

⁸ The *kapīṭa mudra* resembles the *kasyapa mudra*. In this gesture the fingers are formed into a fist, the thumb extends between the second and third finger (ring finger) representing the *lingga* within the *yonī*.

to cure Baruṇa of impotency (Stutley 1985:68). Besides as a gesture of Bhīma this particular hand gesture is unknown in the Hindu-Buddhist statuary of Indonesia. The gesture denotes according to Stutley (1985:68), Liebert (1976:127), and Bunce (1997:140) intercourse and the offering of incense. Serrurier says about this gesture, which he calls *manus in fica*: ‘This symbol [which represents in fact having intercourse] is used to turn an evil eye.’⁹ He suggests that this phallic hand gesture has a strong protective power. Recent apotropaic research (Bedaux 1995:198-203; Sütterlin 1999:144) confirms the protective function of the phallic display. So the hand gestures of Bhīma could symbolise (sexual) power, as well as concentration and protection.

The transition from the phallic display of the *kapīṭa mudra* to the morphological feature ‘visible genitals’ seems to be easy. ‘Visible genitals’ are, besides on Bhīma representations, found on the Bhairawa representation discussed in 1.4.1, on several depictions of demons on reliefs, and on two statues representing demons on Candi Sukuh. The just mentioned depictions are all sculpted with a penis in erection (*phallus*) but this cannot be said for the Bhīma representations.

As we have seen, sexual power and activity protects against evil spirits. Squatting demons on the relief on Candi Sukuh seem to have this function as they are strategically placed at the entrance gate and above a waterspout on the southern platform of Sukuh which is thought to produce the elixir of life (see 3.1.4, Candi Sukuh). In the case of the Bhairawa representation we must regard his nudity and the erect penis as a ritual appearance, needed in specific rituals that aim at the victory over death in order to attain the highest wisdom and enlightenment.

Looking at the representation of Bhīma’s impressive genitals of which the penis is never in an erect state (Fig. 39), I suspect that we also have to think about a different interpretation. Bhīma does not show his genitals so explicitly as the demons discussed above or as Bhairawa. Bhīma nearly always wears a loincloth in some way or other, and it almost looks as if he is using this to play with the spectator, occasionally giving a glimpse of his impressive genitals. In a substantial number of the representations for example, his loincloth is neatly draped around his genitals, and sometimes the genitals are covered with a transparent veil. As I see it, Bhīma’s genitals must be interpreted as a sign of his virility and must thus be associated with fertility. One piece of information worth mentioning here is that Bhīma’s genitals were already a part of his iconography in the tenth century. In this period, Bhīma is, as a young and valiant prince, depicted on relief in a scene drawn from the *Ādiparwa*. He accidentally

⁹ ‘Dit teeken wordt gebruikt ter keering van den boozen blik.’ (Serrurier 1896:189)

shows his genitals (see 2.2.2). Obviously this iconographical feature was already of importance during that period.

The following morphological feature, body hair, and in particular breast hair (*bulu dada*), is besides a characteristic of Bhīma also an occasional feature of the group classified as guardians. On contemporaneous reliefs it also is seen on Hanūmān, Bhīma's stepbrother.

The meaning of body hair is not explained in Old Javanese texts, however in the current Javanese *wayang kulit* iconography body hair occurs on powerful royal figures such as Bhīma and on the monkey Hanūmān (Sagio, Samsugi 1991:55). Therefore I assume that the appearance of body hair on Bhīma denotes that he is a powerful figure.

1.5.3 The ornamental features of the statues and the remaining special ornamental features

Bhīma's specific hair dress (*gelung supit urang*) (Fig. 40) is not only depicted on Bhīma representations, but also on a couple of other figures on contemporaneous reliefs. On these reliefs this specific hair style is worn by three more Pāṇḍawa,¹⁰ Bhīma's stepbrother Hanūmān,¹¹ and by princely figures like prince Sutasoma.¹² It looks like especially young and energetic princes are depicted with this particular hair dress. This hair dress is neither mentioned nor explained in contemporaneous literature. In the Balinese *wayang kulit* iconography however the meaning of the *supit urang* is according to Hobart I 1979:131 'order' and 'concentration of energy'. It opposes the meaning of the wild hairdo of demons signifying disorder.

Ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak* (Fig. 41), the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), are only worn by Bhīma on statues and reliefs and by Hanūmān on reliefs. The sons of Bāyu are still wearing the *sumping puḍak* in the current *wayang kulit* iconography. The *puḍak* is often mentioned in Old Javanese literature,¹³ notably in love scenes. However, in the texts the *puḍak* is related to women; it is frequently said that the calves of women are like the flower of the pandan. In the Old Javanese text *Arjunawijaya* an allusion is made to intercourse by presenting a bee (the penis) and the pandan flower (the calves of a woman in love). In this text, the king

¹⁰ Bhīma's brothers Arjuna, Nakula and Sadewa.

¹¹ See the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on Candi Panataran on which Hanūmān is depicted (Stutterheim 1925 II).

¹² Sutasoma is the protagonist of an Old Javanese text by the same name (Santoso 1975). The text dates from the glory days of the Majapahit Period. Prince Sutasoma is often identified as a descendent of the Bhārata, the clan to which the Pāṇḍawa belong. This might explain his hair dress.

¹³ In the kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Arjunawiwāha*, *Kṛṣṇāyana*, *Arjunawijaya*, and *Sutasoma*.

restrains himself for a moment from making love to the queen because she upset by his persistent nature:

O my beloved, I know why you are upset: I impose myself upon you while you were still absorbed in enjoying the beauty of nature. For indeed the bee should wait until the pandanus flower spreads abroad his fragrance. (*Arjunawijaya*, Canto 36:2b) (Supomo 1977:234)

The pandan flower hidden in its bracts is thus a metaphor for the calves of a woman, which are partly hidden by the cloth they wear around the lower part of the body. From this quote it is also evident that the pandan flower has a strong fragrance; the male flowers of the *Pandanus tectorius* are known for their scent which they owe to an essential oil. The *puḍak* has definitely an erotic reference.

The mangistan as ear pendant (Fig. 42) is worn by Bhīma and his stepbrother Hanūmān. Hanūmān wears the fruit only on reliefs.¹⁴ Garuḍa features the mangistan as well, as is visible on Candi Kidal.¹⁵ Here Garuḍa, featuring in the Garuḍeya story, is holding a mangistan in his left claw while carrying a jar with the elixir of life on his head. On Candi Belahan Garuḍa most probably also clutches a mangistan in his claw.¹⁶ Although there might have been a relation between the mangistan and the elixir of life I found no reference in Old Javanese literature. What I did find was another reference. The mangistan is used as a metaphor for the lips of a young girl who has chewed betel,¹⁷ and clearly has an erotic allusion just like the *puḍak*:

Beautiful mangosteens fell on the ground [and split open], like lips of a girl given the chewed betel. (*Arjunawijaya*, Canto 38:4) (Supomo 1977: 236)

This erotic reference fits in the symbolic explanation of the colours of the mangistan. The red colour of the skin and the white colour of the flesh are colours that refer to fertility (Heringa 1994:16).¹⁸

The cobra (*naga*) is an important iconographical feature of Bhīma. It appears on many Bhīma representations either in the shape of a sacred thread, or a necklace, and on a few occasions as a decoration of arm or leg (Fig. 43).

The cobra as a sacred thread also features on Mahākāla, the Buddhist god of death, sometimes on Śiwa's spouse Durgā, and on Śiwa's son Gaṇeśa. It also occurs on demons belonging to the group of

¹⁴ Klokke 2006:391-405.

¹⁵ I got this information in 2007 from Mrs. Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, Head Curator of the Asiatic Department of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. See also Bernet Kempers 1959, Pl. 218.

¹⁶ Bernet Kempers 1959, Pl. 202.

¹⁷ A person who chews betel has a dark red coloured mouth and lips.

¹⁸ See also the Bhīma painting of the Kond (Fig. 9) which is executed in white and red.

guardians.¹⁹ These demons are often related to Śiwa. Thus the cobra occurs on Bhīma representations, on the Buddhist god of death, as well as on Śiwa related representations. The latter fact most probably indicates a relation between Bhīma and Śiwa, a relation that does exist in the worship of Bhīma in India and Nepal (see 1.1.3).

In India the cobra is regarded as a sacred serpent (Oldfield Howey 1955:53) and he is there often associated with Śiwa.²⁰ In this association, the serpent symbolises immortality – Śiwa conquers death (Bunce 1997:196). I presume that this association also applies for Bhīma as the significance of the decoration ‘serpent biting or devouring its own tail’²¹ on the pedestal of a Bhīma statue (Cat. no. 31) is in line with this argumentation. This decorative element is namely a well-known symbol for the transition from death to rebirth (Verveen, Cock Buning 2003:123).²²

On Java the serpent is, besides with Śiwa, associated with the elixir of life (*amṛta*),²³ and in this quality also seen as the custodian of the tree of life. One Bhīma statue, Cat. no. 29, remarkably displays the combination of the cobra and the tree of life (Fig. 44). On the back of this statue, which is also decorated with lotus buds, flowers and lotus carps, we find on the bottom a tree of life with the head of a cobra clearly visible on its trunk just where the foliage begins. The provenance of this statue is Madiun, where a similar kind of relief was found (Fig. 45).²⁴ On this relief²⁵ one finds below the tree of life the head of a cobra just above a jar. On both sides of the trunk and the jar the head of a deer is depicted, a Śaiwa symbol. The jar holds without doubt the elixir of life.²⁶ Although the jar with the elixir of life does not appear on the back of the Bhīma statue, I do presume that the depiction on the back of Bhīma must have had a similar meaning.

Bhīma’s necklace is carved in three different ways: as three precious stones fixed on a band, as the cobra(s), and as the crescent or waxing moon (*tanggalan or bulan sapit*).²⁷ The meaning of the cobra, often found in combination with the sacred thread, has been discussed above, but the necklace shaped in the form of a crescent or waxing moon not yet. This kind of necklace occurred frequently during the

¹⁹ Van Bommel 1994:69; see also 1.4.5.

²⁰ Śiwa is called the king of cobras.

²¹ I found a similar symbol on a relief stone on Mount Penanggungan originating from Antiquity LII (Van Romondt 1951, Pl. 37).

²² The decoration also functions as a chronogram (see 2.3.2).

²³ Bronze *amṛta* containers are frequently depicted with a spout in the shape of a serpent, see for instance Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1984:119, Pl. 85. See for the relation serpent-elixir of life also 3.1.4, Candi Sukuh.

²⁴ Muusses 1923:511.

²⁵ This relief is now kept in Museum Nasional in Jakarta.

²⁶ The Ngaju-Dayak of Kalimantan consider the jar with or without the tree of life as a symbol for the elixir of life (Roth 1992:70-5).

²⁷ Zoetmulder 1982:1936.

Late Classical Period. It is worn by deities, deified royalty, guardians, and also by Bhīma's brother Hanūmān on relief. The crescent-shaped necklace which is decorated with a lotus flower, is still a feature of Bhīma in the present-day Javanese *wayang kulit* iconography. In the Balinese *wayang kulit* iconography however Bhīma's necklace in the shape of a cobra prevails. The crescent is an auspicious symbol and is associated with grow and fertility.

The necklace set with the precious stones (*ratna*) occurs twice and only on a special location namely the terraced sanctuary of Sukuḥ on Mount Lawu. However, Bhīma is more often depicted with armlets, bracelets adorned with precious stones. Precious stones always symbolise authority and wealth and are worn by royal and princely figures.

The decorations on armlets, bracelets and anklets are due to weathering and damage very difficult to distinguish and to determine, nonetheless I found five different decorative features: the sceptre or short sword (*ruyi*), the lotus petal (*padma*), the thunderbolt (*bajra*), the cobra (*naga*), and a jewel in the shape of a drop fixed on a band (*ratna*).

I have already discussed the significance of the lotus decorations, the cobra and the jewels, so I will proceed with the decorative motif to which I will refer as *ruyi*. This particular design is often found on Bhīma statues from the Majapahit Period, but it was very difficult to interpret as it is not found on any other statues from that period nor is it found in current Javanese and Balinese *wayang kulit* iconography. I asked a couple of Javanese and Balinese puppeteers (*dalang*) about the decorative motif, but they were unable to interpret it, although they recognised its shape. I myself came across the ornament only once in the Javanese *wayang kulit*, on Bhīma's divine manifestation, Dewaruci. Dewaruci holds the ornament in his right hand (Fig. 46).²⁸ Judging from the photograph of the puppet (I was unable to see the puppet myself) the ornament is a floral motif but in the shape of a sceptre. I do presume that the ornament represents the *ruyi*, a well-known and ancient Chinese ornament. The *ruyi* or *joo-i* is a sceptre or short sword of which the shape might be derived of the 'plant of long life or immortality' (Williams 1976:238, 328). The *ruyi* is therefore regarded as an emblem of longevity or immortality. It is however also seen as the sceptre of male supremacy and compared to the Hindu *bajra* or the diamond club (Williams 1976:330). The diamond club is in Bajrayāna Buddhism the symbolic designation of the Absolute and functions as a ceremonial sceptre of the Bajrayāna priest (Zoetmulder 1982:190).

²⁸ I found the decoration on a photograph of a Solonese *wayang kulit* puppet representing Dewaruci, in the Musée Kwok-On in Paris.

The *ruyi* was a very popular ornamental motif in China throughout the Yuan and Ming Periods. It often figured as an ornament on porcelain (Fig. 47), clothing and buildings and was given by the Chinese emperors as a specific present to high officials. The *ruyi* was, and still is, an often appearing motif on temples and palaces originating from the Ming dynasty (1361-1645 C.E.). During the Majapahit Period this design became fashionable as well, probably due to the presents the Majapahit rulers received in return from the tribute they brought to the Yuan and Ming emperors and to the import of various objects decorated with the *ruyi* design from China. The *ruyi* was found for example on ceramic objects that came from China, and these became very popular on Java in particular (Groeneveldt 1960:52). As we have seen not only the *ruyi*, but also the above-mentioned *sulur* and some other Chinese decorative designs such as for instance the leaf of the banana tree (*Musa paradisiaca*) were found during the Majapahit Period. The banana leaf is known as a symbol of self education and discipline²⁹ and occurs on the statue Cat. no. 2.

Bhīma's sash is often carved in a plain pattern. There are a few sashes (2) that have a floral decoration on the front, and a number of Bhīma statues (6) display a sash with a chequered (*poleng*) pattern. Two of these six sashes also have a decoration in the shape of a thunderbolt (*bajra*) on the tail.

In the current Javanese and Balinese *wayang kulit* iconography Bhīma is still dressed in a sash with the *poleng* pattern. In the Javanese *wayang kulit* iconography the *poleng* pattern is multicoloured and includes the colours black, white, yellow and red (Sagio, Samsugi 1991:50). In the Balinese iconography the pattern is black and white. I am unable to tell whether the *poleng* pattern of the stone representations of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period was coloured as there are no remnants of any colours found on the few representations that exhibit a sash with this particular pattern. In line with Javanese heritage that survived on Bali I presume that the cloth was black and white.

The *poleng* pattern is known in Bali as '*kuna*' (old), although only one Old Javanese text mentions the *poleng*.³⁰ In this text entitled *Sri Tañjung* the cloth is worn by a special group of army men in the king's service.

When we look at the present-day Balinese use of the cloth, we see that the *poleng* cloth is often used in a religious context and in relation to death (Hauser-Schäublin 1991:81-95). A *poleng* cloth is applied for covering sacred stones, trees, shrines and other divine symbols, and has a protective and danger averting function. The colouring of the

²⁹ Eberhard 1986:30; Williams 1976:330.

³⁰ *Poleng* is mentioned once in the narrative *Sri Tañjung* (Priyono 1938:60/152). This narrative was well known during the Majapahit Period. Several sanctuaries from that period have the narrative sculpted on reliefs on the main building or on terraces.

cloth is based on a dualistic principle, white is considered as a symbol for divinity and purity and black as a demonic symbol and a sign for the underworld. *Poleng* cloth is worn by people who have to deal with the deities of the underworld. They impart their positive power and energy to their mediums (Hauser-Schäublin 1991:93). In this sense it is interesting to note that Bhīma, in one of the Old Javanese contemporaneous texts, the *Nawaruci*, is referred to as Sang Truspātāla, the penetrator of the lower world or the world of demons (Prijoetomo 1934:48).

The protective function of the *poleng* in relation to death can be found in the *baris poleng*, a sacred South Balinese dance of immemorial time. The dance most probably originates from the *desa* Tenganan.³¹ During the dance the *baris poleng* dancers, who are wearing *poleng*-patterned clothing and equipped with *poleng*-ornamented spears (*tombak poleng*), are supposed 'to escort the soul of a member of a high born family'. The sacred dance is performed during a cremation (Hauser-Schäublin 1991:90). Ramseyer (1984:214) also mentions the black and white chequered cloth, here called a *saput gotia*, of the South Balinese Bali Aga³² village Tenganan. The cloth is worn on special religious occasions to escort a deified princely ancestor.

The *poleng*-patterned cloth is thus also regarded as a cloth worn by a figure who is able to guide and protect the soul of the (royal) deceased.

Bhīma's attribute, the club (*gada*), is besides on Bhīma statues found on two reliefs depicting Hanūmān (Stutterheim 1925 II:Pl. 206, 208). On these reliefs Hanūmān however, does not hold his club in an inactive way, instead he brandishes his club.

Bhīma's club has a special shape (Fig. 48) and differs from the ones used by guardians or Mahākāla. It is segmented, whilst the club of the guardians or Mahākāla is of made out of one piece with vertical facets. Bhīma's club consists of three to five segments separated by rings, and the segments are made up of oval ornaments. The top of the club is always crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*). In a number of statues the hilt of the club is also decorated with a thunderbolt. On one statue the club is an ornament depicted on the back tail of the sash. This club consisting of five segments separated by rings has a single thunderbolt on the position of the hilt, and a double thunderbolt carved on top of the club.

³¹ Hauser-Schäublin does not refer to a specific place in South Bali however I presume that the dance originates from the *desa* Tenganan as she also mentions the wearing of a *geringsing* cloth which is a specific cloth for Tenganan. The dance is however not restricted to Tenganan but is also performed in other South Balinese villages.

³² The Bali Aga are supposed to represent the original people of Bali.

Two bronze finials³³ (Fig. 49) dating from the Majapahit Period are similar to Bhīma's and Hanūmān's club.³⁴ Fontein (1992:269) interpreted the segments of these bronze finials as stylised clouds and I adhere to this interpretation. The stylised clouds crowned with a thunderbolt function really well as a symbol for Bhīma and Hanūmān as they refer to their descent from Bāyu (see for instance the decoration of clouds crowned with a *bajra* on a Balinese *wayang kulit* puppet of Bāyu, Fig. 50).

The thunderbolt (*bajra*) forms not only an integral part of the club, but is also found as an ornamental design on Bhīma's armlets, bracelets, anklets and sashes. A double thunderbolt is sculpted between the feet on the pedestal of a Bhīma statue in high relief.

The occurrence of a double *bajra* between the feet of Bhīma is unusual and not easy to explain in a Javanese or Balinese context. I have not been able to find a meaning of a double *bajra* placed between the feet of deity in Old Javanese literature. According to Indian iconography however, when a small *bajra* is placed on a plinth near the deity, the god in question is meditating: 'When a small *bajra* is placed on a plint near the deity it indicates that the god is meditating.' (Stutley 1985:151). Liebert (1976:318) says nearly the same: 'Sometimes a small *bajra* indicating the meditative attitude, is placed on the piṭha [pedestal] beside the image.' Actually Bhīma has in this particular statue a meditative radiance.

The interpretation of this double thunderbolt comes close to another explanation of the *bajra*, that of the symbolic designation of emptiness or unconsciousness. Here we see that the interpretation of the *bajra* and the *ruyi* come together. Both seem to be related to the Bajrayāna Buddhism, a Tantric Buddhist school of thought that occurred during the Majapahit Period and aimed at salvation.³⁵ The Bajradara sect which followed this school of thought most probably enjoyed royal protection (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 77:1; *Sutasoma*, Canto 145:2).³⁶

Bhīma wears many accessories, but not many are made of jewels set with precious stones. However, the sanctuaries of Mount Lawu, Candi Sukuḥ and Ceto feature Bhīma statues of which the diadem, armlets and bracelets are set with precious stones and decorated with a large jewel (*ratna*) in the shape of a droplet (Fig. 51). In these two locations Bhīma also wears a necklace set with precious stones. The sanctuaries on Mount Lawu belong to the most western region of the Majapahit kingdom, and it is in this region and the southwestern region that most of the armlets and bracelets are decorated with precious stones.

³³ One finial is located in the collection of Museum Nasional Jakarta (inv. no. 839 d), the other one in the collection of the Museum of Ethnology, Leiden (inv. no. 3335).

³⁴ Two flat representations of the club are set in right angles (Fontein 1992:269).

³⁵ See Robson 1995:136, note 77 1a.

³⁶ Robson 1995:80; Santoso 1975:592.

As we have seen these kinds of jewels are always associated with status and (heavenly) wealth.

The richness in the ornamental features of Bhīma, and the fact that Bhīma statues become taller and also more impressive in this part of the Majapahit kingdom might indicate an increased status for Bhīma in this region.

1.6 Conclusion

It appears from the survey on Bhīma representations outside Java that, except for the amorphous representations of Bhīma in the mountain communities of Nepal and northern India, Bhīma is depicted in an anthropomorphous way. From the tenth century on he is often represented as a warrior in relief scenes narrating the *Bhāratayuddha* or parts of it, and as the slayer of Duryodhana, also an episode from the same text. The iconography of Bhīma on these relief scenes as well as of his statues is based on his role in that particular part of the *Mahābhārata*.

Bhīma is always depicted in an active or in a threatening pose while wielding his club. He often wears a war dress. Only in Cambodia and occasionally in India he is dressed in a loincloth. Being of royal descent his jewellery is, especially in India and Nepal, abundant and includes a diadem, ear ornaments, ear pendants, necklaces, chestbands, bracelets and anklets. All these jewels are made of precious metals and set with valuable stones. Only in Nepal his diadem and necklace are sometimes decorated with skulls. Also in Nepal Bhīma is holding his (left) hand in a ritual gesture (*singha-muka mudra*) while his right hand grasps his club in an active way. On reliefs he often wields his club in an intimidating way.

In Nepal, where Bhīma is worshipped as a god, he is often represented in high relief standing on a pedestal in the shape of a lotus cushion. As a god he has a mount, a lion, standing on a cobra-winded pillar. The pillar is placed in front of the Bhīma temple. Bhīma is, as a son of Bāyu, related to Śiwa. Bāyu is considered to be an incarnation of Śiwa. Bhīma shares some characteristics with Bhairawa, the demonic form of Śiwa.

Several tribes in Central India also relate Bhīma to Śiwa and sometimes to his symbol, the *lingga*. On the other hand in the South Indian kingdom of Vijayanagara which is contemporary with the kingdom of Majapahit Bhīma was considered an incarnation of Bāyu and venerated as such.

The analysis on Bhīma's features reveals that Bhīma's representation on Java during the Majapahit Period is quite different. Other characteristics of Bhīma come to light. Here, the representations exhibit iconographical characteristics such as an inactive, rigid, posture where it concerns the Bhīma statues, a long thumbnail carved in two different hand gestures, body hair, visible genitals, a very specific hair dress, floral decorations on ears, neck, arms and legs, and a weapon merely depicted as a decorative element (on relief Bhīma does not carry a club at all). Thus, the iconographical features of Bhīma on Java

reveal a very different picture of the Bhīma than we know from India, Nepal and Cambodia. However, we do notice that on Java as well as in other places in South and South-East Asia Bhīma is represented as a powerful figure and judging from his wealthy ornamentation, as a figure of royal descent. Obviously these two elements were important everywhere.

It becomes evident from the comparison of the iconography of Bhīma in and outside Java, that the representation of Bhīma on Java during the Majapahit Period must have had another significance.

From the geographical arrangement of data in the quantitative analysis it is obvious that the worship of the Bhīma statues was widespread on the mountain sanctuaries within the domains of the royal family in present-day East and Central Java. However, given the number of statues and fragments found at some of the sanctuaries, the worship of Bhīma seems to have been more intense in some places than others. These locations are Mount Lawu located in the western part of the Majapahit kingdom, now Central Java, and Mount Penanggungan close to the seat of the Majapahit kingdom in East Java. The iconography of the Bhīma statues from these locations show a specific regional style. The statues on Mount Lawu also display the most diverse iconography of the corpus of Bhīma statues.

Besides the just mentioned regional style, the statues in the south-west and western parts of the kingdom, including Mount Lawu, have more jewels in their iconography. The richness of the decorations in that part of kingdom and the increasing size of the statues make me believe that the worship of Bhīma was important in that part of the kingdom.

The quantitative analysis and the comparison with contemporary groups of statues reveal that three quarters of the Bhīma statues are represented in the round with a plain pedestal, and have this morphologic feature in common with the guardians and demonic emanations of deities. This representation of Bhīma contradicts the more divine representation of a minor part of the Bhīma statues that are carved in high relief, sometimes with a lotus cushion as pedestal, or carved in the round with a double lotus pedestal including elaborate lotus decorations. We find this kind of representation among the deified royalty and deities. This ambiguous image indicates that something happened with the status of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period.

The comparison of the iconography of Bhīma with contemporary groups of statues reveals as well a Buddhist as a Śaiwa influence. These influences are made visible in his cobra ornaments, especially in his sacred thread which is often combined with his necklace and sometimes with armbands, bracelets and anklets. In Nepal where Bhīma is related to Śiwa we know that the cobra is an important element of this relationship.

The comparison also shows that the occurrence of the Bhīma statues is definitely a phenomenon of its own. The iconography of the Bhīma statues which is linked to the *wayang kulit* cannot really be related to contemporary groups of statues, although there are, as we have seen, similarities with certain groups. The quantitative analysis of the stone Bhīma representations indicates towards a canon in relation to the iconography of Bhīma, a canon which most probably can be traced back to *wayang kulit* performances. The iconography of the Bhīma statues is in many respects similar to the depictions of Bhīma on reliefs which constitute in their turn an entity with the accompanying figures on the reliefs. As these figures are more than once depicted, there was most definitely a canon in existence for the figures on the reliefs depicted in 'wayang' style. Hence it is realistic to assume that this iconography originated from *wayang* performances of that period and so we can safely assume that the iconography of the Bhīma statues is developed from the existing iconography of Bhīma which originated from *wayang* performances. This is exceptional if we consider that statues of Bhīma's brother Hanūmān completely differ from their representations on relief.

The interpretation of Bhīma's features, especially those of the statues, the object of veneration, creates a specific image. While interpreting the characteristics I found groups of features that have a similar connotation. So indicate Bhīma's 'genuine' morphological features as his coarse appearance, his powerful face, his crop of hair and his thumbnail carved in the two different hand gestures strength and aversion of evil. The presence of his club, although not a frequent feature, is also associated with strength. Therefore, it is likely that Bhīma's appearance during the Majapahit Period had an evil averting, and thus, protective aspect.

Bhīma's ornamental features such as the *ruyi*, the *bajra*, the frequently occurring sacred thread in the shape of a cobra which is often combined with a cobra necklace and the special decorations 'the cobra devouring its own tail', and 'the cobra and the tree of life' reveal another aspect of Bhīma. As we have seen in the interpretation these features are connected to death, to the conquest of death and to re-birth. So it is assumable that Bhīma can also be associated with these subject matters.

The interpretation of his *poleng*-patterned sash remains close to the just mentioned death connotation of Bhīma's iconography. The *poleng*-patterned cloth which only appears on a small number of Bhīma statues might have had a specific function as people who are wearing such clothes, Bali Aga and Baris dancers originating from South Bali, protect and escort the soul of the deceased nobles. This might indicate that Bhīma wearing such a cloth had a special protective function and was able to guide souls of deceased (nobles?) on their way to salvation.

Bhīma's eye-catching iconographical feature – his prominent genitals – reveal another aspect of his iconography, namely virility. Together with a number of other features they refer to fertility. The other features referring to fertility are the decorative features in the shape of fruits, flowers and vines. These include the tendril (*sulur*) winding up from the pedestal to the hollow of Bhīma knee or thigh, the flower *puḍak* and the fruit mangistan, both used as ear ornaments, and the necklace in the shape of a crescent. All these features are related to growth, love making and along these lines also to fertility.

The club of Bhīma and *bajra* ornaments found on his club, armllets, bracelets and anklets refer without doubt to Bhīma's descent of Bāyu. From the fact that Bhīma shares most of his iconographical features with his stepbrother Hanūmān, also a son of Bāyu, and from the fact that both share the same specific attribute, the club, I conclude that Bhīma's descent from Bāyu must have been of significance during the Majapahit Period.

The *bajra* ornaments and the *ruyi* ornaments certainly point towards Buddhist Tantric influences in Bhīma's iconography. A relation to Bajrayāna Buddhism, a Tantric Buddhist school of thought that occurred during the Majapahit Period and aimed at salvation, must therefore not be excluded.

It is likely that there was a relation between the Majapahit court and the worship of Bhīma. An indication of this relationship are the specific decorations on the back slab of Bhīma statues, as the Majapahit aureole and the jar with lotus vegetation. In 3.2.8 I will return to this subject.

Part 2

Bhīma in literature, narrative relief scenes and inscriptions

2.1

Bhīma in Old Javanese literature and in a Balinese Sanskrit text. The *parwa*, *kakawin*, *kidung* and *stawa*

2.1.1 Introduction

The first time we come across Bhīma's name in Javanese literature is in a late tenth century prose story known as the *Ādiparwa*. The *Ādiparwa* is the first¹ of eighteen books constituting the *Mahābhārata*. These separate parts or books of the famous Hindu epic, written in Sanskrit,² are known as *parwa*.³

Eight of the eighteen *parwa* are found in an Old Javanese version of the *Mahābhārata* and Bhīma features in five of them, the already mentioned *Ādiparwa*, the *Wirāṭaparwa*, the *Udyogaparwa*, the *Āsramawāsaparwa*, and the *Prasthānikaparwa*. These Old Javanese versions of the *parwa* follow their counterparts in the *Mahābhārata*⁴ very closely and contain many Sanskrit quotations. The *parwa* are predominantly court literature. They narrate about royal lineage, the *Bhāratawangśa*,⁵ and contain many lessons about the moral conduct of kings.

Two of the five Old Javanese *parwa* in which Bhīma appears, the *Ādiparwa* and the *Wirāṭaparwa*, can be dated back to the tenth century. When, and under whose patronage the other *parwa* were written is unknown.

Apart from figuring in the five *parwa*, Bhīma features in a literary genre known as *kakawin*. The *kakawin* are Old Javanese poems written in Indian metres and are derived from Sanskrit epic literature. They are mostly based on themes and central characters of the *parwa*. Like the *parwa*, the *kakawin* belong to the genre of court literature and are considered amongst the finest specimens of this genre on Java.

Bhīma appears in two *kakawin*, the *Hariwangśa* and the *Bhārata-yuddha*. Both *kakawin* date from the first half of the twelfth century. We can say this with certainty as Jayabhaya, king of Keḍiri (1135-

¹ *Ādi* means first or beginning.

² Sanskrit is an Indian language. It was the language of literature and science during the first millennium of the Christian Era, predominantly practised and studied in the higher echelons of society. Sanskrit was also the language of religion, used for both religious literature and practices.

³ *Parwa* means a prose story.

⁴ The Sanskrit prototype of the *Mahābhārata* originated most probably from the northern region of the Indian subcontinent. (Zoetmulder 1974:94)

⁵ The clan of the Bhārata.

1157 C.E.)⁶ is revealed in the *manggala* as the person under whose patronage these two *kakawin* were written.

In both the *parwa* and the *kakawin* Bhīma is one of many protagonists. This changes, however, in two texts Zoetmulder⁷ categorises as *kidung*, an Old Javanese literary genre constituting of poems in indigenous metres. In these two texts, the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci*, Bhīma is the central character. Although Zoetmulder classifies the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci* as *kidung*, he also recognises them as ‘borderline cases in the field of belles-lettres’,⁸ because of the esoteric knowledge embedded in the narrative framework of these two texts. For the sake of convenience I will refer to them as *kidung* in this chapter.

This subgroup of ‘borderline cases’ includes some other texts,⁹ which like the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci* can be distinguished from the ‘pure’ *kidung* by different themes and characters. The ‘pure’ *kidung* have either a historical setting, often a political event from the Majapahit Period,¹⁰ or they narrate the adventures of Pañji, a Javanese mythological prince. The subject matter of the ‘borderline cases’ is more mystic philosophical and consist of exorcism, esoteric knowledge, and the search for the elixir of life and salvation. The characters include, like in the *kakawin*, Hindu gods and protagonists from the *Mahābhārata*.

Kidung are written in Middle Javanese whereas the language of the *kakawin* is Old Javanese. Old Javanese is foremost a literary language which differs from daily language in idiom, vocabulary and grammar. Middle Javanese however, the language of the *kidung* as well as prose texts, is probably based on daily speech of the Majapahit Period, and most likely also socially and regionally influenced.¹¹ However, as Middle Javanese texts, like the Old Javanese texts, are rooted in the Hindu-Buddhist tradition and the dividing lines are not always easy to draw, does Zoetmulder consider them as part of the Old Javanese literary heritage.¹² Here I will stand by Zoetmulder and treat the *kidung* as part of the Old Javanese literary tradition.

It is not known when exactly the *kidung* were written. In contrast to the *parwa* and *kakawin* they contain no introductions with references to (royal) patrons and dates. Zoetmulder assumes that the genre of the *kidung* originated on Java during the Majapahit Period, but that the majority was composed on Bali in more recent times.¹³ Robson too

⁶ Damais 1949:26.

⁷ Zoetmulder 1974:433.

⁸ Zoetmulder 1974:437.

⁹ These are the *Sudamala*, *Sri Tañjung*, and *Calon Arang*.

¹⁰ The *kidung Harsawijaya*, *Rangga Lawe*, and *Sorāndaka*, *Sunda*.

¹¹ Van Stein Callenfels 1925:154; Zoetmulder 1974:35.

¹² Zoetmulder 1974:35.

¹³ From the sixteenth century onwards.

has little doubt that the Middle Javanese poetical tradition began in the Majapahit Period.¹⁴ He establishes with some certainty that some *kidung* can be attributed to the middle of the fifteenth century.¹⁵

Given the fact that there are narrative reliefs on temple walls, basements, and retaining walls of various terraced sanctuaries, representing episodes from Pañji stories, the *Nawaruci*, *Sri Tañjung* and the *Sudamala*, and dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, these *kidung* must have been known during the Majapahit Period. It is quite possible that during this era these stories were known in an oral form or as a *wayang* drama (*lakon*), but not as written texts as Van Stein Callenfels points out.¹⁶

After the Majapahit Period the name Bhīma is still frequently found in Javanese literature. However, through the arrival of Islam, the main religion of Java from the sixteenth century onwards, what we now call Modern Javanese literature changed in character and this also affected Bhīma as a subject.¹⁷ I will therefore not involve the literature from this period in my research.

On the island of Bali on the other hand, classic literature is a continuation of Old Javanese literature. Javanese influence on Balinese cultural life is already visible from the eleventh century.¹⁸ Following the occupation of Bali by Majapahit in 1343 C.E., Javanese culture and the literary traditions of Majapahit made a more definite impact on Balinese culture.¹⁹ After the Islamisation of the archipelago, the Hindu-Buddhist culture and religion, with the emphasis on the Hindu side of the religion, survived on Bali. This enabled the prolongation of the Hindu-Buddhist culture and its literature on the island.

Besides the already mentioned *parwa*, *kakawin* and *kidung* there are various (religious) texts in existence on Bali in which Bhīma appears. The content of these texts often relates to that of the *parwa* and *kidung*. There is however, a Balinese text which differs significantly from the rest. This text, entitled *Bhīmastawa*, is part of a religious genre that includes 'songs of praise' (*stuti* and *stawa*). The special character of this *stawa* was also noticed by Bosch (1947) and Johns (1970); see my Introduction, 'Previous research on Bhīma'. The *Bhīmastawa*, which is written in Sanskrit like many other texts in this genre, is a hymn in which Bhīma is glorified.²⁰ As this text might be of a considerable age,²¹ and still forms part of daily rituals on Bali, I decided to include the *Bhīmastawa* in my analysis.

¹⁴ Robson 1995:91, 145, note 6a.

¹⁵ Robson 1979:300-23.

¹⁶ Van Stein Callenfels 1925:156.

¹⁷ Woro Aryandini 1996:35-7.

¹⁸ Zoetmulder 1974:19.

¹⁹ Robson 1971:9.

²⁰ Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:14.

²¹ I will discuss the age of the *Bhīmastawa* in 2.1.6.

2.1.2 The analysis

In this chapter I would like to examine whether there are any relations in the way Bhīma is portrayed in the above mentioned Javanese and Balinese texts and the appearance of Bhīma in statues and on reliefs as discussed and analysed in Part 1.

I will perform an analysis by scrutinising the texts on the basis of four questions. These questions all relate to the main issues of this study. The four questions are:

1. How is Bhīma portrayed, and what is his role in those texts?
2. Is Bhīma's iconography, as discussed in the earlier chapters, referred to in the texts, and does it reveal anything about his character?
3. Is the relation between Bhīma and his father Bāyu, the god of the wind, mentioned in the texts, and how is this relation conveyed?
4. Are there any descriptions of a relationship between Bhīma and other gods besides Bāyu, and what is the character of this relation?

I will examine the role of Bhīma within each literary genre separately. I do so, because each genre is set within its specific context, and because of the chronology of the texts. Each text will be dealt with under their own subheading within this chapter. Within these subheadings I will refer to, and answer each of the above mentioned questions. I will illustrate the answers to the questions with quotations from the texts themselves. These quotations are in English,²² and the Javanese text²³ can be found in the footnotes.

I will start with the oldest genre first, the *parwa*, followed by the *kakawin* and the *kidung*. The last genre to be analysed, is the Balinese hymn on Bhīma the *Bhīmastawa*.

2.1.3 The *parwa*

The eighteen prose stories or *parwa* forming the *Mahābhārata* originate from India and are written in Sanskrit. At the end of the tenth century the *Ādiparwa*, the first part, and the *Wirāṭaparwa*, the fourth part of the *Mahābhārata* appear in Old Javanese for the first time.

²² I have translated the Dutch text of the *Hariwangśa*, the *Bhāratayuddha*, the *Nawaruci*, and the *Dewaruci* into English. All the other quotations are from texts which were already in English. As the Sanskrit paraphrases in the *parwa* do not add substantial information for the analysis I will skip them.

²³ I quote the Javanese text in Latin script and will skip the Sanskrit paraphrases in the *parwa* (see note 22).

We do know that these two Old Javanese *parwa* were written under the patronage of king Śrī Dharmawangśa Têguh Anantawikramotung-gadewa (991-1016 C.E.). The king is mentioned in the opening lines of the *Ādiparwa*, but unfortunately, there is no date. The opening lines of the *Wirāṭaparwa* however, do mention a date and this corresponds with the 14th of October 996 C.E. The specific date of *Wirāṭaparwa* and the fact that both texts are written under the same patronage, indicate that the *Ādiparwa* must have been written somewhere between 991 and 996 C.E. However, the dates of the three other Old Javanese *parwa*, the *Udyogaparwa*, the fifth part, the *Āsramawāsaparwa*, the fifteenth part, and the *Prasthānikaparwa*, the seventeenth part,²⁴ are unknown.

For my analysis of the *parwa* I consulted publications of Juynboll (1893, 1906, 1912), Fokker (1938), and Phalgunadi (1990, 1992, 1994, 1997). I will however, mainly use quotes from the publications of Phalgunadi. He predominantly uses Balinese manuscripts belonging to the collection of the International Academy of Indian Culture in Delhi. Phalgunadi himself often refers to the publications of Juynboll, and when his Bhīma quotations differ significantly from Juynboll's or Fokker's texts, I will mention this in a footnote. Before analysing the records about Bhīma in each *parwa*, I will give a short description of that part of the *parwa* that narrates his tale.

The *Ādiparwa*

The *Ādiparwa* is the first book of the *Mahābhārata* and includes, amongst many other stories, the history of the ancestry, the birth and the childhood of the Pāṇḍawa and Korawa brothers. The Pāṇḍawa and Korawa are cousins. Their fathers, king Pāṇḍu and king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, are brothers.²⁵

Bhīma is one of the five Pāṇḍawa brothers, who are all of royal descent and divine origin.²⁶ The Pāṇḍawa brothers are the acknowledged sons of king Pāṇḍu and his queens Kuntī and Mādri. Apart from being the son of Pāṇḍu, Bhīma is also the son and incarnation of the god of the wind Bāyu, whose supernatural power, speed and temper he has inherited.

²⁴ The last two *parwa*, the *Āsramawāsaparwa* and the *Prasthānikaparwa*, form together with the sixteenth part (*Mosalaparwa*) and the eighteenth part (*Swar-gārohanaparwa*) the last four, short books of the *Mahābhārata*. These books are also known as the *Caturāśramaparwa*.

²⁵ Pāṇḍu is in name the father of the five Pāṇḍawa, and he is the younger brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the father of the hundred Korawa. See for the genealogy of the Pāṇḍawa Fig. A.

²⁶ The five Pāṇḍawa brothers are incarnations of gods, Yudhiṣṭhira from the god Dharma, Bhīma from the god Bāyu, Arjuna from the god Indra, and the twins Nakula and Sadewa from the twin gods Aświn.

There is a fierce rivalry between the Pāṇḍawa and Korawa, who dispute the realm Hāstina. The Korawa want to kill the Pāṇḍawa in order to prevent the great battle (*Bhāratayuddha*) and the division of their realm.²⁷ At some point in the story the Korawa invite the Pāṇḍawa and their mother Kuntī to stay over in their lacquer palace (*jatugraha*), a palace made of wood and highly inflammable lacquer. This turns out to be a calculated plan to get the Pāṇḍawa brothers killed, as the Korawa have arranged an arson attack on the palace. However, the Pāṇḍawa are warned beforehand, and this gives Bhīma a chance to save his entire family thanks to his extraordinary power and speed.

After this attempted murder, the Pāṇḍawa roam through the country and meet two giants, the male giant Haḍimba and his sister Haḍimbī. Haḍimbī falls in love with Bhīma, and Haḍimba does not approve. Subsequently Haḍimba tries to kill Bhīma but he does not succeed, instead he gets himself killed by Bhīma. Haḍimbī marries Bhīma and from their union a son is born with some amazing qualities, his name is Ghaṭotkaca.

Later on in the story, the Pāṇḍawa hide in a country named Ekacakra. The population of Ekacakra is being terrorised by the demon king Baka who demands human sacrifices. Bhīma succeeds in killing him after several attempts. After this event the Pāṇḍawa join a public assembly of suitors, including the Korawa, in which princess Dropadī chooses her future husband. This is in fact a so called wedding contest also known as *swayambara*. In order to become the chosen one, the suitors have to draw a special bow. Arjuna, Bhīma's younger brother, is the only one who is able to draw the bow and so he becomes Dropadī's husband. Eventually though, Dropadī becomes the wife of all five Pāṇḍawa brothers.

Ad 1. In this *parwa* Bhīma is portrayed as a prince of royal descent who already possesses supernatural powers shortly after he is born. He has inherited these powers from his divine father Bāyu, the god of the wind. Bhīma is clearly the most powerful of the Pāṇḍawa brothers, and from a young age onwards he acts as a protector, first of his family, and later on for everyone who is in need of help.

As a prince he is educated in the use of arms (mainly the club) and physical sports such as wrestling. He excels in both. It becomes clear from this *parwa* that Bhīma possesses a tempestuous character and often treats his enemies cruelly.

²⁷ Pāṇḍu inherits the realm Hāstina because Dhṛtarāṣṭra is blind. The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the Korawa, do not agree with this settlement. However, Pāṇḍu dies at a young age, and after his death the realm comes into Dhṛtarāṣṭra's possession.

Let's assess the evidence of Bhīma's characterisation in the *Ādīparwa*. Just after Bhīma is born, his mother Kuntī hears a voice from heaven proclaiming that her son will become extremely powerful.

He will be the best and in command of mighty powers in future.²⁸
(Phalgunadi 1990:197)

Immediately after his birth, it is obvious that Bhīma possesses supernatural powers. When his mother accidentally drops him because she is frightened by an approaching tiger, Bhīma lands on a big rock that immediately breaks into pieces.

Immediately after his birth, when the infant was lying in Kuntī's lap, all of a sudden a tiger (*vyāghra*) came out of the wild reeds and shrubs. Immediately Kuntī, being scared, ran away, forgetting the infant in her lap. The infant fell down on a big rock (...), and astonishingly the rock was in fragments by the force of the infant's body. Pāṇḍu was amazed by it. He was named Bhīmasena.²⁹ (Phalgunadi 1990:197)

It also becomes clear that Bhīma is unsurpassed in wrestling during his childhood due to his enormous powers.

But Bhīma was most powerful in the field of catching and wrestling. (...) he alone could fight out the hundred children.³⁰ (Phalgunadi 1990:201)

Bhīma uses his supernatural power and speed to save his family from the death when the lacquer palace (*jatugṛaha*) to which they were invited by their cousins is put alight by an accomplice of the Korawa.

He carried Kuntī on his shoulder, while Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna sat on his arms. Nakula and Sahadeva were seated on his waist. Then Bhīma ran at great speed, as if he were a swift gale.³¹ (Phalgunadi 1990:221)

In the country Ekacakra Bhīma kills the demon Baka hereby protecting its inhabitants against the demon's cannibalism. He takes Baka's life in a very cruel way. After the murder he warns all the other demons in the country to stay away from humans.

²⁸ 'Yekā uttama mahāśakti dlāha.' (Phalgunadi 1990:196)

²⁹ 'An wāhu mijil ikañ rare kinisapu de sañ Kuntī. Hana ta vyāghra mētu sankeñ sukēt. Alayu ta sañ Kuntī mawēdi tumon iriya, malupeñ kinisapu nira. Tibā tikañ rara riñ wuñkal. (...) Ndan syuh tikañ watu deniñ awak ikañ rare. Āścharya ta sañ Pāṇḍu. Inaranan ta sañ Bhīmasena.' (Phalgunadi 1990:196)

³⁰ '(...) ndān sañ Bhīma juga lēwih śakti nira, yan pasikēp yan pataruñ. (...) lēwih tuñgal yan malāwan sātus.' (Phalgunadi 1990:200)

³¹ '(...) sinuñgi nira ta devī Kuntī, mwañ sañ Yudhiṣṭhira, sañ Arjuna, matuñgalan bāhu nira. Kunañ sañ Nakula Sahadeva matuñgalan iñ pupū űngwan ira. Alayū ta sira, kadi drēs niñ bāyu drēs nira.' (Phalgunadi 1990:220)

The demon uprooted a tree as big as a palm-tree (tal) and lashed it on Bhīma's back. (...) Bhīma too uprooted a tree as big as the tal, stripped off its leaves, and using it as a club, hit the demon so violently as was never seen before. (...) It was as violent as the fight between demon Vṛtra and god Indra. They attacked each other furiously. (...) The demon was getting tired, and at last Bhīma caught [i.e. got] hold of him. His arms tied up so that he could not move. Then immediately the demon was turned upside down, whirled around, punched with bare hands, hit with knees, and kicked with the foot. One swing [i.e. blow] of the club broke his back. His head was rotating in circular motion around the neck. At last the demon roared with pain and breathed his last. The demon died. Then Bhīma said: (...) 'Hey you all demons, listen! All of you, who are residing here in this country, henceforth do not kill any human being. These are my instructions to you! If there is a demon found eating a man, he will be killed the same way as Baka has been done away with.'³² (Phalgunadi 1990:233)

Ad 2. I found one general remark about Bhīma's physical appearance in this *parwa*. It is made by the female giant Haḍimbī. This is what she says when she sees Bhīma for the first time:

There she saw Bhīma, so handsome, (...) shin[n]ing dark blue in complexion and a perfect body, (...) shoulders broad and strong as that of a lion and a neck like a wuṇa kundur flower, (...) eyes beautiful as the blue lotus.³³ (Phalgunadi 1990:223)

One of Bhīma's iconographical features is also mentioned in the *Ādi-parwa*. It is his attribute the club (*gada*). Bhīma uses his club to kill the demon Baka. After a fierce fight with Baka, Bhīma breaks his back with one blow of his club.

One swing [i.e. blow] of the club broke his back.³⁴ (Phalgunadi 1990: 233)

³² 'Maṇḍawut ta ya kayu satal gōṅnya. Ya ta pamupuhnya ri walakaṅ saṅ Bhīma. (...) Malēs ta sirāṇdawut kayu satal gōṅnya, inurutan ronyān pinakagadā nira; pinupuhakēn iṅ rākṣasa, makañjaraṅ mabhairava. (...) Kadi papraṅ niṅ daitya Vṛtra lāwan bhaṭārendra, silih chidra silih sikēp. (...) Kañhelan ikaṅ rākṣasa. Sinikēp nira ta ya, bāhunya binandhana tan wineh nira molaha. Atēhēr sinumpētakēn inutitakēn, dinēhāk tinur tinutūtan pādatala, dinēkuṅ walakānya tinēkēlakēn iṅ gadā, pinilurakēn gulūnya. Maṅgohan ta ya wēkas niṅ prāṇanya. Māti ta ya ikaṅ rākṣasa. Mojar ta saṅ Bhīma: (...) "Pañrēñō ta kita ṅ rākṣasa kabeh, sakwehmu tamolah irikaṅ deṣa! Haywa ta kita mamāti wwaṅ. Maṅke wēkasamwa, yadyan hana ṅ rākṣasāmaṅana wwaṅ, tumirwa patinya si Baka.'" (Phalgunadi 1990:232)

³³ 'Katon saṅ Bhīma lituhayu denya, (...) makiris ahijo, paripūrṅa lwir ny awaknya, (...) kaki pakēkēs niṅ siṅha, haros parināha ny awak nira, matambas kadi wuṇa kundur gulūnira, (...) kadi dala-dala niṅ nilotpala mata nira.' (Phalgunadi 1990:222)

³⁴ '(...) walakānya tinēkēlakēn iṅ gadā.' (Phalgunadi 1990:232)

Ad 3. There is one reference in this *parwa* concerning the relation between Bhīma and Bāyu. This relationship is mentioned when Kuntī is asked to invoke the god of the wind for her second child (Bhīma). Here Bhīma is called the son of god Prabhañjana (Bāyu).

And then Kuntī was requested to invoke god Vāyu (god of the wind) in order to have a mighty son. Accordingly, god Prabhañjana (i.e. Vāyu) was invoked by Kuntī to come down. She was blessed with a child, who was born in the bright half (śukla) of the month Pauṣya.³⁵ (Phalgunadi 1990: 197)

Ad 4. There is no mention in the *Ādiparwa* of a relationship between Bhīma and any other gods.

The *Wirāṭaparwa*

The fourth part of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Wirāṭaparwa*, narrates the story of the thirteenth and last year of the Pāṇḍawa's exile. This exile was the result of a game of dice lost by the eldest of the Pāṇḍawa brothers, Yudhiṣṭhira.³⁶ For twelve years the Pāṇḍawa brothers had to live as outcasts in the woods. In the thirteenth year of their exile however, they decide to live incognito in the country Wirāṭa. During this period Bhīma is also known under the name Ballawa, and his wife Dropadī as Serandhrī.

During this thirteenth year the Pāṇḍawa brothers find a job at the court of the king of Wirāṭa, Matsyapati. Bhīma (Ballawa) finds a job as a cook, and Dropadī (Serandhrī) as the chambermaid of the queen. As chambermaid, Dropadī is harassed by the prime minister of Wirāṭa, Kīcaka. He tries to seduce her and pressures her to cooperate. Dropadī ends up seeking help from Bhīma and begs him to spare her this humiliation and confront Kīcaka. Bhīma does not need much persuasion to protect his wife and he kills Kīcaka. Following this murder, Dropadī faces cremation together with Kīcaka,³⁷ but Bhīma manages to save her from the funeral pyre.

With the prime minister out of the way the neighbours of Wirāṭa (the Trigarta), who also happen to be allies of the Korawa, seize the moment to attack the country. This attack is being carried out with support of the Korawa, who are obviously not aware that their archenemies, the Pāṇḍawa, live incognito in Wirāṭa. When king

³⁵ 'Muwah ta sañ Kuntī kinon anārādhana bhaṭāra Bāyu, narapwan mānaka śakti. Inārādhana nira ta sañ hyañ Prabhañjana. Inanugrahan ta sirānaka, riñ Poṣya śukla wētu nira.' (Phalgunadi 1990:196)

³⁶ In the second *parwa* (*Wanaparwa*) Yudhiṣṭhira lost everything, including his kingdom, in a game of dice with the Korawa. The Korawa cheated him. Because of the loss of their kingdom the Pāṇḍawa and their wife Dropadī are banished for twelve years and live incognito in another country during the thirteenth year.

³⁷ Probably this is a case of suttee, cremation of the 'widow' of a high ranked Hindu together with her dead husband.

Matsyapati of Wirāṭa is taken captive by the Trigarta, Bhīma comes to his rescue. All the Pāṇḍawa brothers come to the aid of the Wirāṭa and together with the son of king Matsyapati, prince Uttara, they manage to defeat the Trigarta.

Ad 1. In this *parwa* Bhīma is portrayed as a warrior and protector. He fulfils three rules of conduct worthy of a member of the ruling class (*kṣatriya*): (a) He acts as a warrior in the battle against the Trigarta, (b) he rescues the king of Wirāṭa from captivity, and (c) he protects a member of his family (Dropadī).

Dropadī appeals to Bhīma for her right to be protected when she is being harassed by Kīcaka. Before making her pleas before Bhīma however, she goes to the eldest of the Pāṇḍawa (Yudhiṣṭhira), but he ignores her request. Bhīma does not agree with his brother's behaviour and takes immediate action. He solves the problem his way, and that is by murdering the culprit of Dropadī's misery. Here we see that Bhīma's character differs very much from that of his eldest brother. He has a very strong-minded temperament, and possesses a feeling for justice that clearly differs from his eldest brother. Here are a few samples from the text demonstrating Bhīma's character.

Dropadī is being harassed by the prime minister of Wirāṭa and she complains to Bhīma about this. She appeals to him for help and Bhīma replies with the following words:

I understand your problem, my dear! Really, I am very sad to see your tears flow. My heart bleeds as if ripped. Put your palms on my chest. Oh my beloved wife, wipe away your tears with my hairy body. I hate these hands of mine upon hearing your lamentations. Really your husband has been so cruel in restraining me from fighting Kīcaka, when he was insulting you. But for Mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira, who commanded me to keep restraint and calm, I would have destroyed this royal palace together with all the people of Matsya and their kingdom. Please my dear, take it easy, and do not think anymore about it. In any case I will kill Kīcaka.³⁸
(Phalgunadi 1992:75)

³⁸ “Sojar rakryan ibu! Atyanta manastāpa ni ṅhulun de ni tañista, kadi winēlad nāla ni hati ni ṅhulun, nke ry antēn tañanta kalih, ndah ṅhulun musapakne dadañku, kwakēn tekuñ gēluñan dak peri luhta, harah priyā! Yat mañke ta ṅhulun ninda krodha riñ bāhuñku kalih, sabarinyan kocap kasyasihta tēkapta, kadi hina niṣṭura mata rāka rakryan ṅñi, sanyāsāmigrahekana si Kīcaka manah raka rakryan ṅñi. Harah de ni ṅhulun tumon pinaribhūtanya! Hana ta kumwa manah ni ṅhulun waneh, sumyuha sakala Matsyadeśa, bhrastākēna tēke dalēm rājya. Kunañ tāpan rāka rakryan mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira, sira tākon dhairya ṅ upasāma, lari ni tiñhal nira mārga ni ṅhulun mari sahasā. ṅhulun ibu tan sañgahēn guragada māmbek-āmbēk, yaya juga pējaha nikañ Kīcaka de ni ṅhulun.” (Phalgunadi 1992:74)

When the king of Wirāṭa is captured by the Trigarta and his troops are paralysed with fear, Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīma to help the king escape. Bhīma answers:

With your permission, Your Holiness! Do not worry, look yonder, that tree, immeasurable big, as if a spear erected on the earth. (...) I will pull it out and use it as a club to smash the enemies.³⁹ (Phalgunadi 1992:107)

Ad 2. One of Bhīma's iconographical features which I describe in Part 1 (his body hair) is referred to in this *parwa*. There are also some general remarks about his appearance.

When Dropadī is complaining about Kīcaka's misconduct and all the misery around her, Bhīma tells her to wipe away her tears using his body hair.

Oh my beloved wife, wipe away your tears with my hairy body.⁴⁰ (Phalgunadi 1992:75)

When king Matsyapati of Wirāṭa sees Bhīma for the first time, he immediately assumes that Bhīma must be a warrior because of his features.

It seems he is some sort of a warrior having handsome features and the appearance of a lion.⁴¹ (Phalgunadi 1992:45)

When Bhīma introduces himself as a cook at the court of king Matsyapati, he informs the king that he belongs to the lowest (*śūdra*) of the four classes. King Matsyapati has his doubts about this. Because of Bhīma's superior features he suspects that Bhīma may belong to a higher class, and even compares him to the god Indra. This is what he exclaims when he hears Bhīma's claim:

Oh! From your outward appearance, you seem to be an extraordinary man. There is nothing like a *śūdra* in your appearance and behaviour. You look like god Indra. Your radiance makes me think that you are a mighty man and no different from Him.⁴² (Phalgunadi 1992:47)

Ad 3. There are two references to Bhīma's divine ancestry in the *Wirāṭaparwa*. The references mentioned are synonyms for Bāyu, the

³⁹ “Sojar mpu ḍaṅ hyaṅ! Tan saṅsayā rahadyan saṅhulun! Nihan tikaṅ kayu tan pahiṅan göṅnya lāwan ruhurnya; sāksāt lipuṅ paṅadēgnya ri baṭṭhāra Prthivī. (...) Ya tikā dawutēn ni ṅhulun, tulya gadāstra paṅrēmuka śatru.” (Phalgunadi 1992:106)

⁴⁰ “kwakēn tekuṅ gēluṅan dak peri luhta, harah priyā.” (Phalgunadi 1992:74)

⁴¹ “Ton ta ya tan pahiṅan tēkābhirāmānya, sampūrṇa lakṣana siṅhākṛti.” (Phalgunadi 1992:44)

⁴² “Udūh! Atyantāsambhava rūpanta, tan hana śūdra maṅko pravṛttinya. Sāksāt Indra rūpa kita, lwir tan adoha śrī lāwan kaśaktin ri kita.” (Phalgunadi 1992:46)

god of the wind. Bhīma's divine descent is hinted at in the fight between Bhīma and Kīcaka. During this fight Kīcaka grasps Bhīma's legs and Bhīma falls down.

The son of Anila fell down.⁴³ (Phalgunadi 1992:85)

After Dropadī's (Serandhrī's) rescue from the funeral pyre, Bhīma chases Kīcaka's family and friends. Here Bhīma is referred to as being the son of Maruta, another name for Bāyu.

Then Sairindhri was released. (...) However despite Sairindhri's release Bhīmasena did not leave them and they were still chased by him, the son of Maruta, to their hiding places.⁴⁴ (Phalgunadi 1992:87)

Ad 4. I have found a couple of references in this *parwa* to Bhīma and his relation to other gods or divine figures. Bhīma is thought to be an incarnation of the king of the Hindu gods, Indra, also known as the god of rain and thunder. Bhīma is also referred to as *gandharwarāja*, the king of semi-divine beings known as *gandharwa*. *Gandharwa* belong to the heaven of Indra and share his battles.⁴⁵

When Bhīma appears before the king of Wirāṭa, the king assumes he is the king of the *gandharwa*, or an incarnation of the god Indra.

It also seems as if he is the king of Gandharvas or may be he is the incarnation of Lord Indra.⁴⁶ (Phalgunadi 1992:45)

When Bhīma applies incognito to the post of cook at the court of king Matsyapati, the king again exclaims:

You look like the god Indra.⁴⁷ (Phalgunadi 1992:47)

When Bhīma rescues Dropadī from the funeral pyre the family and friends of Kīcaka presume that Bhīma is the king of the *gandharwa* and this frightens them.

On reaching the side of Dropadī he asked her to calm down and shed her fear. Thereafter, he went into meditation and emerged in the form of a terrifying demon. He jumped over the high walls. There he uprooted several trees, such as banyan tree[s] and fig trees and used them as weapons. On seeing this ter[r]ific demon, the family members and the friends of Kīcaka were panic-stricken, as if they had seen a lion in the

⁴³ 'Tibā ta sañ Anilātmaja.' (Phalgunadi 1992:84)

⁴⁴ 'Lumuputi sañ Sairindhri. (...) Ndātan hinēṇaṅ-hēṇaṅ inusir pwa ya tinūtan de ni sañ Marutasuta.' (Phalgunadi 1992:86)

⁴⁵ Zoetmulder 1982:486.

⁴⁶ 'Gandharvarāja karikā Indrāṅavatāra kunaṅ.' (Phalgunadi 1992:44)

⁴⁷ "'Sākṣāt Indra rūpa kita.'" (Phalgunadi 1992:46)

form of a valiant celestial Gandharva. Out of fear some of them climbed trees, while some others took refuge in inaccessible hilly areas. Others jumped into the nearby river flowing with great force.⁴⁸ Some of them said: ‘Hey, all of you, look at the king of celestial Gandharvas. He possesses extraordinary powers and has a terrible appearance. He will harm us. Let us release Sairindhri, lest we suffer more hardships.’ Thus cried the family members and the friends of Kicaka.⁴⁹ (Phalgunadi 1992:87)

The *Udyogaparwa*

The *Udyogaparwa* narrates the story of the preparation for the great battle, the *Bhāratayuddha*, by the Korawa and the Pāṇḍawa brothers. The great battle is the inevitable result of the constant dispute between the cousins over their realm Hāstina. This *parwa* begins with the search of both parties for allies, and with this in mind they visit Kṛṣṇa, a cousin of the Pāṇḍawa and an incarnation of the Hindu god Viṣṇu. Kṛṣṇa however wants to stay neutral.⁵⁰ There are some attempts to prevent a war, and Kṛṣṇa offers to negotiate. Both factions send representatives to him explaining and supporting their points of view. The Pāṇḍawa declare their right to one part of the realm. According to the Korawa however, they have no right to this at all, as they lost their claim a long time ago. Kṛṣṇa wants to mediate for the Pāṇḍawa, who are willing to accept a peaceful solution. To everybody’s surprise even Bhīma agrees to this. The eldest of the Korawa brothers however, Duryodhana, does not yield and so Kṛṣṇa’s mission fails. There is no alternative but to fight, and the great battle awaits. Both parties are getting ready for combat.

Ad 1. In this *parwa* Bhīma, also known as Wṛkodara,⁵¹ is portrayed as an excellent warrior with supernatural abilities. He strikes his enemies with fear, but at the same time he also appears to be a man with common sense. He does not necessarily want to fight his relatives, but when they do not yield and are not willing to accept a peaceful solution, he is ready to fight and capable of killing everybody. Here

⁴⁸ ‘Fast flowing river’ would be a better translation here.

⁴⁹ ‘Datēn ta sire samīpa ni sañ Dropadī, kinon ira ta sañ Dropadī humēñēna haywa kahanan lara mwañ takut, adyāya ta sirānēnākēn yoga samādhī. Asalin pwa rūpa katara, kadi rūpa niñ rākṣasa mijil anlumpati tambak awān. Tēhēr anrēbahakēn kayu sakāmbah de nira, makādi ñ nyagrodhāśvattha kiṃśukha, giri-girin sañ kulavāndhava sañ Kicaka, sāksāt siñhāñindārāt manon pari sañ śūra gandharva. Hana ta yomanek rikañ kayu, hana mēgil riñ wukir durgama, hana tumēḍun riñ lwah adrēs, sawet ni takutnya ri sañ Bhīmasena. “Uḍūh yeka gandharvarāja, mahāprabhāvātibhīsaṇa pakatonanya, krodheki ta kabeh niyatanya. Toh ndak luputi tali ikeñ Sairindhri, marapwan kita tan katēkan viṣṭi mahābhaya!” Liñ niñ kulavāndhava watēk kabayan mañkana.’ (Phalgunadi 1992:86)

⁵⁰ However, in the *Bhāratayuddha* he chooses the side of the Pāṇḍawa.

⁵¹ Wṛkodara means ‘belly of a wolf’. This name is given to Bhīma because of his great appetite.

are some samples from the text of peoples' reaction to Bhīma's presence and his character.

Sañjaya, who is a representative of the Korawa, reports to Dhṛtarāṣṭra the father of the Korawa brothers, that the Pāṇḍawa are getting ready for the battle. Dhṛtarāṣṭra reacts as follows:

Oh! Ah! So it is like that, Sañjaya! Terrifying and dangerous may be their formidable troops and it is true also about the strength of their subordinate divisions. However that is not what troubles my mind (because all of them put together would equal the might of Bhīma singly),⁵² I am afraid of Bhīmasena only (...). Here now I pass all my night[s] in sleeplessness because of him. The fear of Vṛkodara has been haunting me continuously. I am like a bull who is afraid of the lion because of his most ferociousness. Certainly he will use all his strength and I do not have any idea as to how he can be faced in the battlefield. He will definitely decimate the hundred Korava (...). His formidable mace like the Brahmādaṇḍa staff is always in my thoughts. As a child he was always praised by his most reverend grandfather for his ability to kill thousands of elephants, horses and charioteers. Now here his ability will be well manifested I would say. (...) Even without his mace or any of the other excellent weapons, Bhīmasena is mighty enough with his two arms.⁵³ (Phalgunadi 1994:135,137)

Before Kṛṣṇa sets out to negotiate with the Korawa, Bhīma informs him that he as well as his brother Arjuna do not want to fight.

Tell them that I and Arjuna do not want to fright [i.e. fight].⁵⁴ (Phalgunadi 1994:153)

Following this statement Kṛṣṇa asks Bhīma the reason why he desires peace. He wonders if Bhīma has suddenly been overwhelmed by affection, as it is not like him at all to act so patiently and peacefully. To this Bhīma replies that he has indeed the power and strength to destroy everything in the world, but that he follows his brother's (Yudhiṣṭhira's) reason not to go into battle.

⁵² 'Alone' would be a better translation here.

⁵³ "“Uḍū, maṅkā kumwa Sañ[a]jaya! Podra bhaya kari pakēkēs niñ Pāṇḍava mañke. Singih aṅgā nika. Ndatan ika ṅde manahku. Kunañ mañde kagila-gila hatiñku ikañ Bhīmasena juga. (...) Ika matañnyan tan paturū pirañ ratri mañke. Singih aṅgā nika mahosan umeha tan pāntara de niñ takutku ri sañ Vṛkodara hetu nika. Kadi lēmbu awēdi riñ siñha, apan ta yan katon gōñ niñ galaknya, byakta wijil niñ kaśaktinya. Taton katon yan wēnaña mapageñ rañāṅga. Sākṣāt hilañ niñ Koravaśata tēkapnya. (...) Yan kāñēn-añēn kātara ni gadānya, kadi Brahmadaṇḍa kahidēpanya. Śri bhagavan kaki kumudañ kudañ ika rikā n raray, humuryen umatyana liman pirañ kotī. Nuniweh aśva ratha, alēpa ṅke aṅga nika byaktanya. (...) Ndah hana kari ganta nika śasvata yadyapi tan pagada kētika ṅ Bhīmasena. Tan palimbayakēna śaravarāstra, kevala bāhunya kālih juga sañtatanya.”” (Phalgunadi 1994:134,136)

⁵⁴ 'Pinakañhulun kālih Bhīmārjuna warahēn tan ahyun iñ rañakārya.' (Phalgunadi 1994:152)

With your permission, your Majesty! On my part I am unwilling to speak of my prowess in front of your Majesty. Whatever you have said is true and right. When I begin destroying all the worlds with these arms of mine, none can confront me whether it is in the mountains or in the ocean, because I fear none among the living beings. However I agree to the reasoning advanced by mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira. It seems that he is not much inclined towards war.⁵⁵ (Phalgunadi 1994:153,155)

Ad 2. The only reference to one of Bhīma's iconographical features in this *parwa* is to his club (*gada*). Here the frightening mace is compared with the Brahmā's staff, a mythical weapon. Dhṛtarāṣṭra mentions the weapon when he expresses his fear for Bhīma.

His formidable mace like the Brahmādaṇḍa staff is always in my thoughts'⁵⁶ (Phalgunadi 1994:137)

Ad 3. There are no references in the *Udyogaparwa* to Bhīma's descent of Bāyu.

Ad 4. There is no mention in the text of Bhīma's relation to any other gods.

The Āsramawāsaparwa

The *Āsramawāsaparwa* narrates the story after the great battle (*Bhāratayuddha*). The Korawa are defeated by the Pāṇḍawa during the *Bhāratayuddha*, and Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of Pāṇḍawa brothers, has become king of Hāstina.

After the great battle the parents of the Korawa, king Dhṛtarāṣṭra and queen Gandharī, are invited to live at the court of Yudhiṣṭhira. Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gandharī lost all their sons in the *Bhāratayuddha*, and in an effort to help them forget their sorrow they receive a lot of respect and love at Yudhiṣṭhira's court. Yudhiṣṭhira urges his brothers not to utter a critical word about the Korawa brothers and king Dhṛtarāṣṭra himself. Bhīma however, is so full of hatred that he cannot suppress his feelings and gives Dhṛtarāṣṭra a piece of his mind, thus ignoring his brother's wish and authority. He tells Dhṛtarāṣṭra that he is not to be trusted, and that he is just as responsible for his sons' deeds as they were themselves. He too has blood on his hands.

⁵⁵ “Sajña haji! Alēk pakṣa ni ṅhulun mujarakēna n kaśaktin ri harēp rahadyan saṅhulun. Siṅgih mata wuwus rahadyan saṅhulun apap tar wēnañ arara hidēp ni ṅhulun. Sabarinya lēkasa ṅhulun sumirṅakēna ṅ rat kabek makasādhana i bāhu ni ṅhulun, ri Himavān ri samudra kari ya, yayā juga tan pamaṅguhayāśraya ni ṅhulun kadi hana katakut ni ṅhulun, an janma mānuṣa. Kunañ hetu niñ kadi hayw i wuwus mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira sira kabeh ika kapari taha de niñ ṅhulun.” (Phalgunadi 1994:152,154)

⁵⁶ ‘Yan kāñēn-anēn kātara ni gadānya, kadi Brahmadaṇḍa kahiḍēpanya.’ (Phalgunadi 1994:136)

Dhṛtarāṣṭra takes everything Bhīma says to heart and decides to retreat to a hermitage in the forest with his queen and some of his faithful followers. He wants to live the rest of his life as a royal ascetic in order to prepare himself for death. The mother of the Pāṇḍawa, Kuntī, decides to join her brother and sister in law in their pilgrimage. Before Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his entourage leave, Yudhiṣṭhira grants him to perform all the necessary rituals for his deceased sons.

At some point in the story, the Pāṇḍawa visit Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gandharī in the hermitage. This visit brings back memories of their beloved, deceased relatives, making everyone sad. One day they are joined by the holy (*bhagawān*) Byāsa who gives all the Pāṇḍawa the benefit of supernatural sight which enables them to see the fate of their killed relatives.

After the Pāṇḍawa have performed various rituals and taken a bath in the holy river, they are able to see their cousins who were killed during the great battle. The Korawa are now residing in heaven.

Byāsa informs Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gandharī, Kuntī and the Pāṇḍawa that everything in their lives is preordained by the Supreme Lord. This moves the Pāṇḍawa deeply and they do not want to return to their country but stay with their relatives. Byāsa however, tells them that their country awaits them and that there are a lot of things to be cared for, and so the Pāṇḍawa in the end do return to their kingdom. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gandharī and Kuntī on the other hand return to the hermitage and intensify their meditations.

Two years later Nārada, a divine messenger, visits the Pāṇḍawa and informs them of the death of their relatives in the hermitage. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gandharī and Kuntī lost their lives in a fire that swept through the forest they were living in. The Pāṇḍawa are saddened by this news and perform death rituals for their loved ones.

Ad 1. One of the most striking portrayals of Bhīma in this *parwa* is to my mind his stubbornness and idea of righteousness. He provokes his elder brother with this obstinacy. Bhīma ignores Yudhiṣṭhira's instructions and authority, and tells his uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra what he thinks about him and his behaviour towards the Pāṇḍawa in the past. He reproaches Dhṛtarāṣṭra for his wickedness and for his weak attitude towards his sons. Bhīma cannot bare injustice, and clearly does not forgive people who have cheated or harmed him and his family. He also proves that he has a sharp tongue.

Further mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira always held him [Dhṛtarāṣṭra] in high esteem. Consequently he forgot the past events and would not remember the death of his sons. Then mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira gave instructions to all his brothers, saying: 'My younger brothers! You the four Pāṇḍavas! I am so happy now, seeing your devotion to mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭra. No more does he weep and wail and has ceased to call the name of Duryodhana.

Besides, devī Gāndhārī is also not getting depressed any more. Both are equally cheerful and mentally at peace.

However, I instruct you all to let them not hear any word, which make them recall the memories of Duryodhana because the same might make them distressed. If any of you acts otherwise or utters anything which makes them sad, then I will no more consider him as my brother. It would be considered that he has rebelled against me and has transgressed my order.’ Such was the directive given by mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira.⁵⁷ (Phalgunadi 1997:23,25)

Because of Bhīma’s great respect towards his elder brother mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira, Vṛkodara always suppressed his anger that raged in his heart, unable to utter even a single word from his mouth. All this made Vṛkodara sad. However, whenever he saw mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭra sitting on the bejewelled throne, and being honoured by mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira, anger would seize Vṛkodara, and unable to control himself, his tears would start streaming down. That is why he accused mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭra of being mentally⁵⁸ blind as well. He said: ‘Uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra! What is your opinion while happily enjoying life, did you ever take note of Duryodhana, along with his brothers, causing pain to all of us, deceiving us in the game of dice, setting us on fire in the lac-house, desiring to kill a host of brave men and to destroy our entire race! Don’t you feel sad at the death of sage Droṇa and our grandfather bhagavān Bhīṣma! Yet now you are honoured and provided with all comforts, even though you let us suffer. You are now being pleasantly served by the persons, who had to undergo grief because of you! Ach, you are foolish, Dhṛtarāṣṭra! You never seriously ponder over your past deeds! (...) Uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra! Even your mind has gone blind. Look at my arms, no different from the deadly iron bludgeon. In fact these very arms had killed your sons (...), including all your kinsmen, none of whom could escape. Now I call upon you not to remain in the royal palace, or to enjoy honour from my eldest brother mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira, but to get away quickly from here!’⁵⁹ (Phalgunadi 1997:27)

⁵⁷ ‘(...) tēkwan mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira, maṅgēh juga prāṇata nira, kawēdi nira atutura mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭra ri pati ny anak nira ya ta matañnyan pagawe anuśāsana, umājñā wwañ sānak nira, liñ nira: “Antēn i ṅhulun sañ catur Pāṇḍava: Atyanta sukha ni ṅhulun mañke, tumon sukha mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭra de niñ kabhaktin kita kabeh, māri ta sirānañis, māri sirānucap Duryodhana, mwañ devī Gāndhārī māri manastapa, salwir niñ śabda pramudita harśacitta juga pinakāmbēk nira. Kunan pwa antēn ni ṅhulun kabeh, haywa ta sirāweh wuwus tan menak, mājarakna mwañ matuturana ri sapavṛṭṭi niñ sañ Duryodhana, sugyan tandwa waluyana lara nira, yapwan hana sira gumawayakēna wuwus tan enak i sira, tan wwañ sānak ni ṅhulun ika yan mañkana prasiddha pratikūla, tan tūtakēn sasana I ṅhulun.” An mañkana ājñā mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira.’ (Phalgunadi 1997:22,24)

⁵⁸ Dhṛtarāṣṭra is blind.

⁵⁹ ‘Kunan sañka gōn atwan nira makaka ri mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira, (ya ta) matañnyan kakēna gōn nikañ krodha (panas mungw) I jro hati tan wineh mijila riñ tutuk matēmahan ta ya sēkēl iñ hati, moghāpanas manah nira, yawat katon mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭra maluñguh riñ ratnaparyañka pinūjā de mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira, tan pasañkan juga tañis nira, tañgēh aṅganya sarika tamolah irikañ rājya, yar tan pituturana ya kaduṣkṛta ny anak nira, mañkana vipraṇaya n sañ Vṛkodara, ya ta

Before Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his followers set off on their pilgrimage to the forest, Dhṛtarāṣṭra wants to make offerings to his deceased ancestors (*pitṛtarpaṇa*), and perform ceremonies in memory of his deceased sons. These rituals will help him getting ready for his ascetic life in the forest. These ceremonies are expensive to organise and Dhṛtarāṣṭra needs a lot of gold and material for this purpose. Yudhiṣṭhira grants him everything he wishes, but he incurs the wrath of Bhīma who is opposing the arrangements.

‘Hey elder brother, mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira, please forgive me! What is the use of extending such affection to mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭra! Did you forget the pain he caused you? We had to stay in the forests for twelve years on his orders. We always had to seek for his favour, we had to endure heat and cold. Moreover during (the one year) we stayed in the city of Virāta anonymously (*ajñātavarṣa*), Dropadī had to face utter humiliation at the hands of the evil Kicakā. From your devotion for Dhṛtarāṣṭra, it seems you have forgotten all that. Mind it, I only remind you of my grief.’ Such were the words of Bhīma.⁶⁰ (Phalgunadi 1997:37)

Ad 2. There is only one general description in the *Āsramawāsaparwa* regarding Bhīma’s appearance. This description is made by Sañjaya, a representative of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. He introduces the Pāṇḍawa and their wives to the ascetics of the holy retreat of Byāsa where Kuntī, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gandharī reside. He describes Bhīma (*Wṛkodara*) as follows:

While that tall person and [i.e. with] penetrating eyes whose gait is like that of an elephant, is *Wṛkodara*. He has got a blackish complexion. His

matañnyan inuman uman nira mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭra, humēñaken riñ tan hana wwan tumiñhal: “Bapa sañ Dhṛtarāṣṭra! Apa hiḍēpta sukha bhinuktinta, panonyu ri anakta sañ Durjodhana sarika, saha wwan sñaknya kabeh, ika dumadyakēn lara mami kabeh, umañcana kami riñ dyūtañita, manunwa ni Jatugṛha, makanimitta patya niñ kṣatriyagaña, humilañakēn sakweh ni kulasantāna, tan alara pwa ambēkta ri pati dañ hyañ Droṇa, ñuniweh patinya kakiñku bhagavan Bhiṣma, aṅganya menak pwa kita pinūjā de niñ winehnya larāmbēk, sukha pwa kinabhaktyan de nikañ huwus manēmu lara denyu. Adah durbuddhi rasika sañ Dhṛtarāṣṭra, tan mañēn añēn mahābhāra kalara ginawayakēnta ñūni. (...) Bapa sañ Dhṛtarāṣṭra, kita yan tañ sañ wuta tekeñ hatinta, tiñhalī bahuñku tan hana pahinya lawan mṛtyuparigha, ya yata akiñkiñ humilañakēn wēkañta. (...) Bhrasṭa tekañ kadañ anakta riñ rañānga tan paśesa, ya tika pamigrahāñkwa ri kita, ya kita tamolah iñ rājya, umuktya pamaripūjā ni kakañku mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira, hilañana nātha kita usōn.” (Phalgunadi 1997:26)

⁶⁰ “Kaka mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira! Kṣamākēna wuwus niñ pinakañhulun, mapa ta kaliñan i masih rahadyan sañhulun rikañ Dhṛtarāṣṭra, malupa kari rahadyan sañhulun ri pawehnya larāmbēk. Rwa wēlas tahun kitānusupeñ alas de sarika, sadakāla mēlas harēp, amukti panas tis, muwah ta ri ajñātavarṣa, ñūni kālanta haneñ Virāṭanagarī, tēka mara sañ Dropadī kasyasiñ, pinaribhava de nikañ pāpa Kicaka. Alupa ta rahadyan sañhulun ri prastāvanika? Sabarinya katon tan alañ alañ kabhaktinta ri sañ Dhṛtarāṣṭra, ñhulun juga kapitañis matuttur iñ dukkha ni ñhulun.” Mañkana lin sañ Bhīma.’ (Phalgunadi 1997:36)

eyes are wide and dull and he has got big and long arms.⁶¹ (Phalgunadi 1997:51)⁶²

Ad 3. There are no references made to Bhīma's descent of Bāyu in the *Āsramavāsaparwa*.

Ad 4. No relations between Bhīma and other gods are referred to in this *parwa*.

The *Prasthānikaparwa*

The *Prasthānikaparwa* recounts the death of the Pāṇḍawa. In the preceding *parwa*, the *Mośalaparwa*, the Pāṇḍawa receive news about the elimination of their cousin Kṛṣṇa and his family, also known as the Yadu clan. After hearing about this tragic event they decide to retreat and live in the forests of the Himālaya, as this is where the gods reside. Before they set off rituals for the deceased relatives are performed and the grandson (Parikṣit) of Bhīma's younger brother, Arjuna is crowned as king of their realm Hāstina. All the relatives who are still alive are asked to accept Parikṣit's protection.

On the way to the Himālaya, Arjuna has to leave his bow and quiver behind on command of the god Agni. Nobody is allowed to carry any arms and the Pāṇḍawa brothers and their wife Dropadī proceed in a ritual fashion to their destination.

When they reach the Himālaya they start meditating (*yoga*) in sight of the holy mountain Mahāmeru, and when they go down in a state of mental meditation (*yoga bhraṣṭa*) Dropadī collapses and dies. All the Pāṇḍawa will die in this place and Dropadī is the first to go. Bhīma asks Yudhiṣṭhira to help her. Yudhiṣṭhira however, tells Bhīma there is nothing he can do as it is her *karma*, the fruit of her conduct that causes her death. Bhīma also asks Yudhiṣṭhira why he and his younger brothers will have to die as well, and Yudhiṣṭhira informs him that they too have to die because of their *karma*. Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍawa, is the only one who stays alive a little bit longer than the rest.

Bhīma and his three younger brothers die shortly after Dropadī. Their souls and the soul of Dropadī arrive at the gate of heaven and hell, and when the doorkeeper refuses to open the gate, Bhīma looses

⁶¹ 'Yapwan sañ kadi laku niñ liman mañkël, asurēm ta varṇa nira ikañ matālwākusut, bahwa gön ṇadawa, sira sañ Wṛkodara ṇaran ira (...).' (Phalgunadi 1997:50). The translation does not correspond to the transcription, a part is missing; see also note 62.

⁶² Juynboll's transcription differs from Phalgunadi's text and is more accurate. 'Beriwok, mata tērus, agōng aluhur, sang Wṛkod(h)ara. Yapwan rasika sañ kadi laku niñ liman amañkël, akuning ahirēng varṇa nira, kadi w(l.câ)mīkara rasi (kâ), ikang matālwākusut, ikang b(h)āhw agōng adawa, sira ta sang Wṛkod(h)ara ngaran ira.' (Juynboll 1893:53-4)

his temper. He threatens to smash the gate to force entrance. The gate opens eventually and they are all escorted to hell by the divine messenger Nārada.

When it finally is Yudhiṣṭhira's turn to die, he is granted entrance into heaven by the god Indra. He refuses this offer however, as he is not allowed to take his dog with him. The dog turns out to be his father, the god Dharma, and so Yudhiṣṭhira is eventually allowed to enter heaven. There he cannot find his brothers and his wife Dropadī, and when he asks Indra about them, the god tells him that they reside in hell. Yudhiṣṭhira refuses to stay in heaven without his beloved brothers and his wife.

Ad 1. Bhīma only plays a very small part in this *parwa*. Even from this insignificant appearance however, you get a sense of his character. On the one hand he appears to be compassionate towards other people and tries to protect them, and on the other hand he behaves brusquely if the things do not go his way and pass smoothly.

The moment Dropadī falls down and can go no further because she is dying, Bhīma asks Yudhiṣṭhira for help.

Elder brother, your Majesty mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira! Please look at Dropadī. She is dying fallen on the earth.⁶³ She cannot follow you. Please help her, your Majesty.⁶⁴ (Phalgunadi 1997:99)

On Bhīma's question why he has to die, Yudhiṣṭhira replies:

You possessed a lustful nature. Fond of eating, you had never accepted for other opinion. Harshness of speech (*vākparuṣya*) and proud of your prowess, now this is the consequence of such defect of your character. That is why you have no right to follow me.⁶⁵ (Phalgunadi 1997:101).

When Bhīma, his three younger brothers and Dropadī arrive at the gate of heaven and hell Bhīma loses his temper and addresses the gatekeeper rather rudely when they are refused entrance. In fact, he threatens the gatekeeper:

Ach!, If you do not allow me, I will break down⁶⁶ this door.⁶⁷
(Phalgunadi 1997:101)

⁶³ A better translation would be: 'She has fallen on the earth, dying'.

⁶⁴ "Kaka haji mahārāja Yudhiṣṭhira! Tiñhalana sañ Dropadī de rahadyan sañhulun, pējah maguliñan riñ bhūthala, tan wēnañ tumūtakēñ rahadyan sañhulun, tuluñēñ ta rasikā de sañ nātha." (Phalgunadi 1997:98)

⁶⁵ "Yeka doyan amañan svabāvanta, tan sāpekṣa kita ri lampah iñ leñ, ya vākparuṣya ta kita makapañaya kaśaktin, ya tikandadyakēñ kapāpan ri kita, matañnyan tar wēnañ tumūtakēñ i kami." (Phalgunadi 1997:100)

⁶⁶ 'I will overthrow the gate' is a better translation here.

⁶⁷ "Ah! Lamun tan paweh, dak rubuhakēñ lawan iku." (Phalgunadi 1997:100)

Ad 2. There are no iconographical references to Bhīma's appearance in this *parwa*.

Ad 3. There are no references in the text to Bhīma's lineage of Bāyu.

Ad 4. There is no mention of any relation between Bhīma and other gods in the *Prasthānikaparwa*.

Overview of the analysis of the *parwa*

The five Old Javanese *parwa* reveal a lot about Bhīma's characteristics and attitude. They show us for example that Bhīma functions within his own social class, the ruling (*kṣatriya*) caste, and that he behaves according to the particular rules of conduct of this caste (*dharma kṣatriya*).

Ad 1. Bhīma is portrayed as an excellent and feared warrior in both the *Wirāṭaparwa* and the *Udyogaparwa*; as a very skilful fighter in the *Ādīparwa*; and as a protector of family and other people in the *Ādīparwa*, the *Wirāṭaparwa* and the *Prasthānikaparwa*. These are all qualities that one would expect of a member of the *kṣatriya* class.

Bhīma also seems, in his own way, to have a lot of compassion for people who are in need and he often ends up acting as their protector. In this respect he differs from his brothers who do not seem to possess such qualities.

Other characteristics of Bhīma that become apparent in all *parwa* are his stubbornness and temperament. This side of his personality does not seem to be accepted by the rest of his family. Bhīma's stubbornness is rooted in a strong feeling for justice and this characteristic becomes most evident in the *Āsramawāsaparwa*.

Ad 2. Of the specific iconographical features as described in Part 1 only three are mentioned in the *parwa*. Two of them just get one mention, and they are Bhīma's body hair as mentioned in the *Wirāṭaparwa*, and his protruding eyes as mentioned in the *Āsramawāsaparwa*. His attribute, the club (*gada*), on the other hand is mentioned a couple of times in the *parwa*. This mace seems to be marked as an important feature of Bhīma, and it certainly emphasises his destructive power.

There are more remarks relating to Bhīma's appearance in the *parwa* but on the whole these observations are very general.

Ad 3. Bhīma's descent of Bāyu does not seem of much interest in the stories narrated in the *parwa*. Only in two of them, the *Ādīparwa* and the *Wirāṭaparwa*, his ancestry is mentioned a few times. In the *Ādīparwa* the reference to his ancestry is made in connection to his birth, whereas in the *Wirāṭaparwa* the reference is made in relation to

the mortal combat with Kīcaka and the subsequent chasing of Kīcaka's family and friends.

Ad 4. Bhīma's relation to other gods is only brought up in the *Wirāṭa-parwa*. In this *parwa* Bhīma is referred to as Indra, the king of gods. Bhīma is, because of his impressive appearance, thought to be an incarnation of Indra. For the same reason he is also referred to as *gandharwarāja*, the king of celestial beings (*gandharwa*). *Gandharwarāja* belongs to the heaven of Indra and is also known as a warrior.

2.1.4 The *kakawin*

Bhīma features in two *kakawin*, the *Hariwangśa* and the *Bhāratayuddha*. Both *kakawin* are written in the twelfth century under the patronage of Jayabhaya, king of Keḍiri (1135-1157 C.E.).⁶⁸ The name of this king is mentioned in the introduction (*manggala*) of both works.

The *Hariwangśa* is written by Mpu⁶⁹ Panuluh and the *Bhāratayuddha* by two authors, Mpu Panuluh and Mpu Sēdah. The exact reason of the co-authorship of the *Bhāratayuddha* is obscure,⁷⁰ but as this does not concern my research I will not enter into speculations.

According to the chronogram in the introduction the *Bhāratayuddha* is written in the year 1157 C.E. The date of the *Hariwangśa* is however unknown. Zoetmulder presumes that this *kakawin* must have been written shortly before the *Bhāratayuddha*.⁷¹

The *kakawin* are Old Javanese poems in Indian metres and as mentioned before they are often based on the themes and the central characters of the *parwa*. Because they are written in a poetical form the *kakawin* are more lyrical and more dramatic than the *parwa*. Let us now have a look at the role and descriptions of Bhīma in the two *kakawin*.

The *Hariwangśa*

The *kakawin Hariwangśa* is not based on a *parwa* but on a *purāna*, an ancient Sanskrit tale. Protagonists of the *Mahābhārata* do however, feature in this *kakawin* and Kṛṣṇa is the main character.

In short the *Hariwangśa* relates the story of Kṛṣṇa as the incarnation of Wiṣṇu. In this manifestation Wiṣṇu hopes to protect the world and ban all evil forces. As Kṛṣṇa, Wiṣṇu also awaits the incarnation of his wife Śrī into the human world. His intention is to marry her again. Śrī

⁶⁸ According to Damais (1949:26) Jayabhaya ruled from 1135-1157 C.E.

⁶⁹ The prefix *Mpu* is often used to signify an honoured person.

⁷⁰ Zoetmulder 1974:271.

⁷¹ Zoetmulder 1974:277.

comes back into the world as Rukmiṇī the daughter of the king of Kuṇḍini, Bhīṣmaka. Rukmiṇī is not only desired by Kṛṣṇa but also by the king of Cedi who wants to marry her as well. The king of Cedi is one step ahead of Kṛṣṇa and secures Rukmiṇī's hand from her father Bhīṣmaka before Kṛṣṇa can even make a move. Following this, Kṛṣṇa abducts Rukmiṇī in the night before her marriage and they flee to Dwārawatī where Kṛṣṇa's cousin Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma's eldest brother, rules. The king of Cedi and his ally Jarāsandha, who is the king of Karawira, try to get Rukmiṇī back, but they are no match for Kṛṣṇa and his cousins, including Bhīma.

Eventually Jarāsandha comes up with a plan to drive a wedge between Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍawa by asking Yudhiṣṭhira for help in his fight against the 'evil' Kṛṣṇa. He succeeds, as Yudhiṣṭhira as the ruler and official protector of the law (*dharma*) is more or less obliged to help him in bringing justice against Kṛṣṇa, who has after all, committed a crime by abducting Rukmiṇī. And so, Yudhiṣṭhira, although reluctantly, gives in to Jarāsandha's request, hereby sanctioning a battle against his own relatives. His younger brother Bhīma is not at all happy with Yudhiṣṭhira's decision, and opposes him without success. He gets especially furious when Yudhiṣṭhira refuses to stop the battle when its instigator Jarāsandha dies. Why keep on fighting now? In the continuing battle two of the younger Pāṇḍawa brothers die, leaving Bhīma in a state of total devastation and anger. To avenge their deaths Bhīma starts a fight with Kṛṣṇa's brother Baladewa in which they eventually both die.

The quotations to illustrate the answers to my research questions are all taken from Teeuw's publication of the *Hariwangśa*.⁷² I have translated the Dutch quotations into English.

Ad 1. We do get some sense of Bhīma's character in this *kakawin* even though he hardly features in the story. In the *Hariwangśa* Bhīma is foremost portrayed as a warrior, and just as in the *parwa* he seems to be of a stubborn and fiery nature. He has his own ideas about justice and they oppose the ideas and the decisions of his brothers, especially his elder brother Yudhiṣṭhira.

When Yudhiṣṭhira agrees to lend Jarāsandha a helping hand with fighting his enemy Kṛṣṇa, consequently waging a battle against his own kin, Bhīma argues with him about this decision. He speaks to his brother in a loud and harsh voice which is certainly not according to the customs of his caste.⁷³

⁷² Teeuw 1950.

⁷³ According to the customs of his caste, Bhīma should follow the decision of his elder brother regardless.

(...) Bhīma became very angry and his words sounded coarse: ‘Shame on you, your heart is malignant because you are prepared to fight and kill your relatives. Your knowledge of the books is back-firing, missing judgement of differentiation. It shows your lack of judgement by getting so carried away, and I am not even mentioning the fact that you have so easily been persuaded, like a fool almost. It is your own fault for falling to the praise of a treacherous enemy. Look how Jarāsandha, with his cunning character, feigns his respect for you as were he an honourable man. His heart however, is made out of *kālakūta*⁷⁴ poison, and all he wishes for is the death of the whole family.’⁷⁵ (Canto 30:2-4) (Teeuw 1950:61)

Arjuna, Bhīma’s younger brother, prevents Bhīma (referred to as Wṛkodara in this quotation) from attacking king Jarāsandha’s messengers and reprimands him. Bhīma feels ashamed although he is convinced of the justice of his case.

Let’s not mention Wṛkodara who felt ashamed: what was the use of opposing such infallible mentality and stubbornness, a warning was probably misinterpreted anyway.⁷⁶ (Canto 31:1) (Teeuw 1950:61)

When Jarāsandha, the instigator of the battle, is killed by Kṛṣṇa’s brother Baladewa, Bhīma/Bhīmasena asks Yudhiṣṭhira to stop the fight against his own relatives.

And Bhīmasena answered: ‘My king, what is to happen next? Should I assist someone who has died? This seems totally wrong and useless. Moreover, the enemy we are fighting is our own cousin. I would feel ashamed of my ancestry, for there is nothing left to fight for.’⁷⁷ (Canto 37:8) (Teeuw 1950:82)

When Bhīma/Wṛkodara’s younger brothers, Nakula and Sadewa, are killed during the battle he is very upset and he loses his temper completely. He starts a duel with Kṛṣṇa’s brother Baladewa and both die after a long and intense fight.

⁷⁴ *Kālakūta* poison is the poison that appears when the ocean is churned.

⁷⁵ ‘*nkān krodha sañ Bhīma wuwus nirāsrak dhik hāh aḍah duṣṭa tikā manahta maṅgāprañāmatyana wandhawanya siṅsañ wruh iñ śāstra kurañ wiweka durnīti maṅgā dinudut riñ ambēk byāṭita*’ mañkēnuguṇan lwir edan bhoṅgan kitēnastuti niñ musuh crol ton tañ Jarāsandha kaṭuñkabuddhi mēngēp lwir atwañ kadi tuhwa sādhu ri jro hatinyān wiṣa kālakūṭa ahyun ri kāpatya kabeh sawarga.’ (Teeuw 1950:52)

⁷⁶ ‘*awicaritan Wṛkodara tuwirañ apān wihaña purih iñ amogha bañkras awikalpa luput rinasan.*’ (Teeuw 1950:54)

⁷⁷ ‘*irika ta Bhīmasena sumahur prabhu mapa ñ ulaha ñwañ anuluña ñ huwus mati hade wiphala dahat ika tuwin iki watsu sānak amisan lawana niñ alaga awiraña jātyan i ñwañ apa tan hana pinarēbutan.*’ (Teeuw 1950:66)

When Wṛkodara noticed that Nakula had collapsed he immediately started roaring as a lion, it sounded like mountaintops collapsing. His ‘wolf fire’⁷⁸ flamed and rose up into the air. The earth started to quake under his immense angered powers. Baladewa approached quickly and tried to beat him, but Bhīma deflected this attack with his club. They ended up battling it out with their clubs (...). The fight went on for a very long time and they were hammering each other like there was no tomorrow. The earth shattered as if crashed and ripped off. The rivers started simmering, foaming and flooding by the thunder of collapsing mountains (...). No normal living soul could bear to look at this and seized with fear they stood far away (...). Finally they both collapsed from weariness and died.⁷⁹ (Canto 37:16-17, 38:1-3) (Teeuw 1950:83-4)

Ad 2. Only one of Bhīma’s iconographical features is mentioned in the *Hariwangśa*, and that is his club (*gada*). He uses his attribute in his duel with Baladewa, as described in the last quotation.

Ad 3. There are no references to Bhīma’s descent of Bāyu in this text.

Ad 4. In this *kakawin* there is no reference to a relation between Bhīma and any other gods.

The *Bhāratayuddha*

The *Bhāratayuddha* narrates, as the title indicates, the events of the great battle between the Pāṇḍawa and the Korawa and closely follows the narrations of the fifth to the eleventh *parwa* of the *Mahābhārata*. Some scenes in this *kakawin* however, differ from those in the *parwa*,⁸⁰ and overall the stories in the *Bhāratayuddha* are more dramatised.⁸¹

The *Bhāratayuddha* starts with Kṛṣṇa’s attempt to negotiate the claim of the Pāṇḍawa on their half of the kingdom Hāstina with the Korawa. Kṛṣṇa’s efforts prove fruitless and shortly afterwards the two rivalling parties prepare for battle by performing various rituals, appointing their commanders, and defining their battle tactics. They put up their camps on the battlefield Kurukṣetra.

⁷⁸ This expression is probably related to one of Bhīma’s names, Wṛkodara, which stands for ‘belly of a wolf’.

⁷⁹ ‘ndan i salihat Wṛkodara ri sañ Nakula karahatan tumuluy asinhanāda kadi rūga ṅ acalaśikhara kumutug ikañ Wṛkānala murub dudug iñ awaṅ-awaṅ gumiwaṅ ikañ Mahītala hinambul ira warinutēn tuwi Baladewa śīghra tēka wāhu mayat amupuha tinakis irēn gadāgada-gadan gati nira wēkasan. (...) asowe maprañ sañ rwa matugur agēntur silih-ayun bubar kabwaṅ tañ bhūmi kadi binabak lāgi kawadal karumbaṅ tañ gēngāñēbēk i gērēh iñ parwata rubub. (...) tan ora wwaṅ sāmanya wani mulatān doh giri-girin. (...) paḍānhel puh yekān pējah apulihan sañ rwa kawēkas.’ (Teeuw 1950:67-8)

⁸⁰ For samples of some of these differences see Zoetmulder 1974:282.

⁸¹ Zoetmulder 1974:279-83.

Arjuna, the third of the Pāṇḍawa brothers, feels uneasy about the approaching battle as it means he will have to fight his own relatives and former teachers, but Kṛṣṇa reminds him of his duty (*dharma*) as a member of the ruling (*kṣatriya*) class.⁸² The Pāṇḍawa visit the camp of their rivals in order to pay respect to their former teachers and to ask them forgiveness for the fact that they have to fight them. This is also the moment that Kṛṣṇa predicts that the Pāṇḍawa will win the battle.

On the first day of the battle the commander of the Pāṇḍawa is killed and they immediately replace him. On the second day Bhīṣma, the commander of the Korawa, gets mortally wounded. As he is a relative of the Korawa and Pāṇḍawa and also has the status of a holy man, both parties break up their battles to honour the dying commander, except for Bhīma who stays behind on the battlefield. Apparently Bhīma is too furious to pay his respects.

Droṇa, the former Brahman teacher of the Korawa and Pāṇḍawa, replaces Bhīṣma as the new commander of the Korawa. During the battle Bhīma and his younger brother Arjuna, who are always in the frontline of the battle, fight ferociously and kill as many Korawa and their allies as they possibly can. One of the victims is king Prātipēya, who is slain by Bhīma. The death of Prātipēya triggers a rage amongst the Korawa, and they consequently try to attack Bhīma, without success.

The Pāṇḍawa are keen to eliminate the Korawa's new commander Droṇa, and Kṛṣṇa comes up with a cunning scheme to achieve this. He suggests tricking Droṇa into believing that his son, Aśwatthāmā, has been killed. This should upset him and consequently weaken his defences. Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna find this plan improper and not in line with the *dharma* of their caste. However in the end, they all agree to a revised version of the plan in which Bhīma kills an elephant which bears the same name as Droṇa's son. This way they don't spread a complete falsehood. Droṇa falls for the trap laid by Kṛṣṇa, and is very distraught on hearing the news about his son. As a result he does not concentrate on the battle, and gets killed by the Pāṇḍawa.

After Droṇa's death another commander is named and after him another one. One by one these commanders and some of the other prominent allies of the Korawa are defeated and killed by Bhīma and his brothers, till there is no one left to be appointed as leader of their army. Bhīma also manages to kill the eldest of the Korawa brothers, his archenemy Duryodhana. He defeats him during a battle with clubs, but the killing of Duryodhana is not according the rules of conduct of a *kṣatriya*. Bhīma hits him 'below the belt', shatters his thigh and subsequently kills him. However, only the brother of Kṛṣṇa, king Baladewa, is angry about this fact.

⁸² Arjuna's moral dilemma is the subject of an important philosophical text known as the the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

At the end of the story the prediction that the Pāṇḍawa will end up as victors of the great battle comes true – the Korawa are completely vanquished. Back in their camp the Pāṇḍawa celebrate their victory. Kṛṣṇa is worried about the fact that Duryodhana whilst being mortally wounded, had sworn to kill ‘the five’ before dying. He and the Pāṇḍawa immediately go on a pilgrimage to various holy places in order to beg forgiveness for all their sins. During their absence however, all the men who had remained behind in the camp, are killed by Aśwatthāmā, the son of the slain commander Droṇa. Amongst the victims are the five sons of Dropadī, and she wants their deaths avenged. The Pāṇḍawa manage to capture Aśwatthāmā and Bhīma is about to kill him. Aśwatthāmā in his turn seizes his all destroying magical arrow the Brahmaśīrah, and Arjuna does the same. Śiwa however, intervenes as one is not allowed to use magical weapons against humans. Arjuna obeys, but Aśwatthāmā is unable to handle the magical weapon. This indicates his inferiority to the Pāṇḍawa and he acknowledges his defeat. Yudhiṣṭhira becomes king and will reside in his palace (*kraton*) Indraprastha.

Thus a much abbreviated version of the story of the *Bhāratayuddha*. Let’s now have a look at the descriptions of Bhīma in this *kakawin* in relation to my research questions. The quotations to illustrate my comments are taken from the publication of the *Bhāratayuddha* by Poerbatjaraka and Hooykaas (1934). Their work only consists of a Dutch translation of this *kakawin*, and I have translated this into English.

Ad 1. Bhīma features prominently in this *kakawin*, and he is portrayed predominantly as a fierce and merciless warrior. He commands the army of the Pāṇḍawa, and is often found in the frontline together with his younger brother Arjuna.

In front of the marching army walked the famous hero Bhīma, he undertook everything. He was someone full of confidence, sober minded and tough. What is more he was not sitting in a chariot (like everybody else), but walked alone armed with an enormous club which he showed off. (Canto 9:3) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:18)

Bhīma has no fear, and conquers and kills the enemies in large numbers. Even the most fearful and dreaded warriors pose no trouble for him. He often takes them on in a duel and always comes out victorious. One example of this is his fight with king Prātipēya, one of the important allies of the enemy. Bhīma kills Prātipēya in a duel, causing a stir amongst the Korawa, who consequently all try to take him on at once. He usually fights with his club, but sometimes the bow and arrow are mentioned as well.

At the sight of Prātipéya's death, the Korawa became furious. They attacked all together, moving forwards to strike Bhīma and shoot him with mighty arrows. It took Bhīma little time to kill them all with his club. (Canto 17:4) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:34)

Ad 2. The only iconographical feature of Bhīma which is repeatedly mentioned in the *Bhāratayuddha* is his club (*gada*). The first time it is mentioned there is no fight at all (see also the first quotation under 1, Canto 9:3). Bhīṣma, the commander of the Korawa, is deadly wounded by Arjuna's arrows. As Bhīṣma is a relative of both the Korawa and the Pāṇḍawa, they concede to stop the battle to pay their last honours to him. Bhīma however, is too enraged to pay his respects and he remains on the battlefield still holding his club.

Only Bhīma remained with his club (on the battlefield), his anger with the enemy had not yet cooled down. (Canto 8:6) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:25)

Not Bhīma, he stayed behind leaning on his club. (Canto 8:7) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:25)

All the other times the club is mentioned in the text it is used by Bhīma in his fights against his opponents. Here follow some examples.

The Korawa, with their new commander, the Brahman Droṇa, and with the assistance of their ally king Bhagadatta continue the fight. Bhagadatta gets killed by Arjuna and Bhīma starts attacking all the soldiers of the enemy, all of whom he could have easily killed had it not been for the incoming darkness of the night.

Because Bhīma hit them and kept brandishing his club, he certainly would have killed them all if the night had not fallen. (Canto 8:17) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:26)

One of the Korawa, Śrutāyudha, is also beaten to death by Bhīma's club.

The first who was beaten to death (by Bhīma) during his attack with his club was Śrutāyudha. (Canto 16:2) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:32)

When the already mentioned king Prātipéya is hit by an arrow from Bhīma's bow, he manages to sling a spear towards Bhīma, who is hit in his breast. Injured and all, Bhīma jumps from his chariot and beats Prātipéya to death. When the Korawa see this, they are infuriated and start attacking Bhīma who subsequently kills them all with his club.

It only took a short time and all were beaten to death by the club of Bhīma. (Canto 17:4) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:34)

As outlined in the short summary of the story earlier in this section, the Pāṇḍava and Kṛṣṇa have created a plan to get Droṇa, the commander of the Korawa, killed. They trick him into believing that his son Aśwatthāmā is killed. Bhīma kills an elephant known by the name Aśwatthāmā.

Bhīma said that he was prepared and jumped with his club. There was an elephant, property of the king of Mālawa, named Aśwatthāmā. The animal which was lined up in the attacking forces of the Korawa was killed by Bhīma together with the king; Brahman (Droṇa) was told of this, and he became very sad. (Canto 20:3) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:39)

Another commander of the Korawa is killed, this time it is Śalya. The Korawa keep attacking the Pāṇḍava furiously, but Bhīma stands his ground and crushes his enemies with his club.

But Bhīma, without taking any notice, stands firm. On his turn he crushes the Korawa with his club Lohita.⁸³ They died, two, five, ten in one moment, crushed and shattered. (Canto 43:3) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:64)

At another moment in the battle Śakuni, one of the Korawa, is beaten to death by one blow of Bhīma's club.

The body of aryā Çakuni was crushed by the blow of Bhīma's club. (Canto 43:6) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:64)

Bhīma is also able to eliminate his archenemy Duryodhana who is the eldest of the Korawa brothers.

His thigh was shattered as he received unexpectedly a blow below the belt (...). He fell directly like the Meru hurtling down. Blood poured out continuously, it was not to stem. (Canto 48:2-3) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:69)

The last time Bhīma raises his club is when he threatens Aśwatthāmā, the son of Droṇa. After having attacked and killed the followers and fighters, including the sons of Dropadī in the camp of the Pāṇḍava, Aśwatthāmā flees into the wilderness. Bhīma however, finds and threatens him.

⁸³ *Lohita* (Skt) means red-coloured or reddish. It is a name for Bhīma's club, other designations are *Lohitamukha* and *Lohitawadana* (red-coloured face).

They found him deprived in the wilderness, afraid and frightened when he saw Bhīma raising his club Lohitamukha to beat him. (Canto 50:15) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:73-4)

Ad 3. There is only one reference to Bhīma's descent of Bāyu in this text. It is made when king Karna and his allies attack and Bhīma kills them.

The son of the god of the wind, king Bhīma approached them and beat them to death (...). (Canto 16:18) (Poerbatjaraka, Hooykaas 1934:33)

Ad 4. There is no mention in the text of Bhīma's relation to any other gods.

Overview of the analysis of the *kakawin*

Although Bhīma does not play a very prominent role in the two *kakawin*, in particular not in the *Hariwangśa*, we do get a good sense of his character and image.

Ad 1. In both *kakawin* Bhīma is portrayed as an extremely fierce and merciless warrior. He overpowers and kills his enemies in large numbers no matter if it is just a soldier, nobleman, king or relative. He is a very powerful fighter, feared by many.

As in the *parwa*, Bhīma's stubbornness and his own particular feeling for justice are obvious. Especially in the *Hariwangśa* in which Bhīma opposes the decisions of his elder brother Yudhiṣṭhira almost all the time.

Ad 2. The only iconographical feature that is mentioned in the two *kakawin* is Bhīma's club. It appears frequently and is clearly seen as an important attribute. It seems to indicate and emphasise Bhīma's destructive power.

Ad 3. There is only one reference in the *Bhāratayuddha* to Bhīma's descent of the god Bāyu. This reference is made when king Karna and his allies attack Bhīma and are subsequently all beaten to death by him, the son of the god of the wind. There is no mention of Bāyu in the *Hariwangśa*.

Ad 4. There is no mention in the *kakawin* of Bhīma's relation to any other gods.

2.1.5 The *kidung*

Introduction

Now I will look at the two texts Zoetmulder classifies as *kidung*,⁸⁴ the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci*. *Kidung* are poems in indigenous metres. The *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci* have much in common; e.g. in both texts Bhīma is the protagonist, and they also both consist of a narrative frame in which religious philosophical knowledge is conveyed. There is one big difference however: they are each set within a different religious context. The edition of the *Nawaruci* as published by Prijohoetomo in 1934 is also known under the title *Tattwajñāna* (*Knowledge of the Highest Reality*) and has a Tantric Śaiwa signature. The *Dewaruci* edition published by Poerbatjaraka in 1940 on the other hand is influenced by the Tantric Buddhist tradition. It is quite possible that the two texts originally reach back to an oral story as I already pointed out in the introduction of this chapter, and that over time this story got interpreted by various religious environments before it was written down.

It is not known when exactly the two texts were written, but Zoetmulder assumes that the *Dewaruci* is the eldest of the two texts.⁸⁵ He follows Poerbatjaraka who claims that, based on prosody and language, the *Dewaruci* is the more original of the two.⁸⁶ Poerbatjaraka dates the *Dewaruci* in the transition period just before the arrival of Islam,⁸⁷ the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Prijohoetomo is of the opinion that the prose text of the *Nawaruci* he published, was most probably written in the sixteenth century.⁸⁸ He bases this assumption on linguistic similarities with other Old Javanese texts from that period, such as the *Kuñjarakarna*, the *Tantu Pangġlaran* and the *Pararaton*. Prijohoetomo choosed to publish a prose version of the *Nawaruci*, because *kidung* versions of the *Nawaruci* were incomplete.⁸⁹

The author of the *Nawaruci* is Mpu Śiwamūr̥ti. Prijohoetomo is of the opinion that this name is a pseudonym (1934:12). According to Poerbatjaraka, the name Śiwamūr̥ti appears in the inscription of *Sĕkar* and is given to the overseer of the *dharmā*, the administrator of the religious law (*dharmādhyakṣa*) under king Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389 C.E.). However, considering the syntax and the vocabulary of the *Nawaruci*, dating it back to the fourteenth century is too early.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Zoetmulder 1974:433.

⁸⁵ Zoetmulder 1974:437.

⁸⁶ Poerbatjaraka 1940:31.

⁸⁷ Poerbatjaraka 1940:10.

⁸⁸ Prijohoetomo 1934:14.

⁸⁹ Prijohoetomo 1934:3.

⁹⁰ Prijohoetomo 1934:10-12.

Considering the relation of *wayang* and text, Prijohoetomo⁹¹ is of the opinion that the content and the sequence of the *Nawaruci* bear resemblance in shape to a *wayang* story (*lakon*). The *Dewaruci* as published by Poerbatjaraka on the other hand has nothing in common with a *wayang* story. Nevertheless Poerbatjaraka admits that the original text of both the *Dewaruci* and *Nawaruci* must have been based on a *wayang* story.⁹²

First, I will analyse Bhīma's role in the *Nawaruci*, and I will use Prijohoetomo's prose edition of this text as published in 1934 as my reference. I have translated the quotations to illustrate the answers to my research questions from Dutch into English.

The *Nawaruci*

Bhīma is the protagonist of the *Nawaruci*, acting together with Droṇa, his teacher, and Nawaruci, the highest of the divine beings. Prijohoetomo's prose version of the *Nawaruci* can in my opinion be divided into three sections:⁹³ the first which narrates the process of Bhīma's initiation into the Tantric Śaiwa doctrines that will lead him to salvation and the difficulties that precede this initiation; the second which tells us about his pursuit of the elixir of life; and the third and last part in which Bhīma retreats to live an austere life and starts to meditate which helps him acquiring magical powers. I will give a very condensed account of the story before analysing the text with my four questions.

In the first part Bhīma sets out on a journey to obtain the elixir of life. Bhīma needs the elixir for his initiation into the salvation doctrines by his teacher (*guru*) Droṇa. But Droṇa's plan, prompted by Duryodhana the eldest of the Korawa brothers, is to get Bhīma killed. Bhīma's family is suspicious of Droṇa's intentions, but Bhīma's is tenacious in his quest for the elixir.

On his quest for the elixir Bhīma is confronted with several obstacles and gets challenged by powerful creatures. The main purpose of his challengers is to eliminate Bhīma, but they do not succeed. What is more Bhīma manages to kill all his opponents, and in doing so he exorcises them from a curse to which they had been bound for twelve years. For example one of Bhīma's adversaries the giant Indrabāhu insulted Śiwa and was consequently cursed. It was preordained however, that Indrabāhu would be freed by Bhīma.

On his last attempt to find the elixir Bhīma descends into the ocean and drowns, only to be rescued and revived by Nawaruci, the highest

⁹¹ Prijohoetomo 1934:12-13.

⁹² Poerbatjaraka 1940:28.

⁹³ Prijohoetomo (1934:3) divides the text in eight chapters.

divine being.⁹⁴ Together with Nawaruci, who is personified in the story as a small person, Bhīma stays on a beautiful island. The island is created by Nawaruci, and it is he who initiates Bhīma into the Tantric Śaiwa doctrines.

When Bhīma has mastered all the principles of the doctrines, he is guided by Nawaruci on his pursuit for the elixir of life. The elixir is apparently kept in the residence of the gods. Finally, after some struggle and with Nawaruci's assistance, Bhīma seizes the elixir of life, which he subsequently offers to Droṇa who does not accept it. According to him it is not the real elixir. Following this Nawaruci curses Droṇa, whereupon the teacher ends up in the ocean. Bhīma however, saves his former teacher from drowning.

In the last part, Bhīma starts living an austere life. This life includes severe meditation, and by meditating he acquires an inner strength that surpasses the power of the gods, even that of Śiwa. The gods obviously feel threatened by Bhīma's newly acquired powers and try to disturb him in his meditation. However, they do not succeed and are cursed by Bhīma. As demons and giants they attack the palace of the Pāṇḍawa, but Bhīma releases them from their curse before they can harm his family. The gods return to their heaven and Bhīma is welcomed home by his family with a variety of festivities, including several kinds of *wayang* performances.⁹⁵

Now let's have a closer look at how Bhīma is represented in this *kidung*.

Ad 1. In the *Nawaruci*, Bhīma is portrayed as a prince who is determined to be initiated in the Tantric Śaiwa doctrines which will lead him to salvation. To get to this goal he has to obtain the elixir of life, but this quest proves not to be without any obstacles and involves a lot of struggle.

At some point in the story Bhīma arrives at Droṇa's residence and he is ordered by his teacher to find the place where the elixir of life is hidden. Bhīma has to find the elixir in order to be initiated by Droṇa, who incidentally also informs Bhīma where he can find the place where the elixir of life is hidden, a well named Dorangga. Bhīma gets ready to go and says:

Farewell, I will go and trace the place of the elixir of life.⁹⁶ (Prijoetomo 1934:88)

⁹⁴ In this text Nawaruci is also known as Acintya, a Balinese designation of the Inconceivable.

⁹⁵ As Chinese *wayang*, *wayang carīta* and *wayang krucil* (a performance with flat wooden puppets).

⁹⁶ "Pakari si kita, ingong mangkat ameta kaanan ing bañu mahāpawitra." (Prijoetomo 1934:27)

Bhīma finds the well but there is, of course, no elixir in sight – we need to remember here that Droṇa wants Bhīma’s death. The only creatures he finds in Dorangga are two serpents. The serpents attack Bhīma, but he manages to fight them off and kill them. Soon after their death they regain their former shape of celestial beings. After this incident Bhīma is sent on another trip in search for the elixir. This time he is asked to make his way to the field of Anḍadawa where he is awaited by the giant Indrabāhu. Again Bhīma is attacked and again he manages to fight off and kill the giant. The giant too regains his former shape and reveals himself as the god Indra. The third time Bhīma (Wṛkodara) is sent out by Droṇa to fetch the elixir of life he ends up in the ocean where he drowns.

The prince did not hesitate, and he quickly descended into the ocean. (...) Wṛkodara died causing an aura with thunder and a thunderous noise, an earthquake, rumbling of thunder, a gail, rain in the wrong season; it was like mother earth was shaking. Then a glow appeared above Wṛkodara, it was the god, the embodiment of the Eminent, which appeared above him.⁹⁷ (Prijoetomo 1934:95)

And so, Bhīma is revived by the Eminent (Nawaruci), who subsequently initiates him in the Tantric Śaiwa doctrines that will eventually lead him to salvation. Nawaruci starts teaching Bhīma about the human body which is in fact micro- and macrocosm at the same time.

Indeed the human body is now considered to be the world.⁹⁸ (Prijoetomo 1934:100)

Subsequently Nawaruci teaches Bhīma the six different sitting postures to perform yoga.

Subsequently there is the anantāsana which consists of the lotus, the happiness, the couch, the welfare, the heroic, and the staff seat. These are the six different sitting postures which have one body.⁹⁹ (Prijoetomo 1934:100)

⁹⁷ ‘Tan paninak-inak ri lampahira rahadyan, aglis tumēdun rahaden Lawana-udadhi. (...) Ngēmasi antaka rahaden Wṛkodara, anganakēn prabhāwa, kētug, lindu, gēntēr, patēr, prahāra, udan salah māsa, yaya ingēmbat-ēmbat ikang ibu pṛthiwī. Kongkulan teja sang Wṛkodara, apan sira sang hyang mūrta ning lēwih kang angungkuli, ring luhurira.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:35-6)

⁹⁸ ‘Wyaktinya sinangguh anḍa bhuwana çarīra nikang janma samangke.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:42)

⁹⁹ ‘Muwah anantāsana nga lwirnya: padmāsana, bhadrāsana, paryangkāsana, swastikāsana, wīryāsana, danḍāsana. Nahan hyang āsana nēm prabhedanya, tunggal awak ya.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:42)

The exercise of controlling one's breath, which is essential for performing yoga, follows.

He is practicing the exercise of restraining one's breath, he controls the breathing, Bhīma. It consists of recaka (exhalation), pūraka (inhalation) and kumbhaka (holding the breath).¹⁰⁰ (Prijoetomo 1934:100)

After this exercise follows the instruction of the four stages of the *windunāda*¹⁰¹ as described in the following quote.

The state of wakefulness, the dreamless sleep, the state of dreaming, and the divine voice. The state of wakefulness means seeing clearly in a standing position; the dreamless sleep means dreaming in a sitting position; the dreaming state means talking in one's sleep; and the divine voice means hearing a voice. These are called the four stages of *windunāda*. The explanation of the desire is found in the *windunāda*, it is the centre of the mind.¹⁰² (Prijoetomo 1934:101)

This is followed by the initiation into the ten winds or vital breaths (*daśa-bāyu*).

The pañca-bāyu are: prāna, apāna, samāna, byāna, udāna. The wind from the mouth is called apāna; the wind from the bottom is called samāna; the wind from the heart is udāna; the wind blown by the soul is called byāna; and the wind, which is located in the joints is called prāna. In addition there are the following winds of the body: nāga, kumāra, kṛkara, dewadatta, and dhanañjaya. The nāga wind is the part that causes belch: the kumāra wind causes vibrations of the body; the kṛkara wind causes sneezing; and the dewadatta wind produces yawning, and the purpose of the dhanañjaya wind is to speak. These are the daśa-bāyu that keep the body moving.¹⁰³ (Prijoetomo 1934:102)

¹⁰⁰ 'Maprānāyāma ta sira, anata bāyu, Bhīma, nga. Lwirnya: recaka, pūraka, kumbhaka.' (Prijoetomo 1934:43)

¹⁰¹ *Windunāda* can be translated as 'the voice of the deepest part of the soul'.

¹⁰² 'Ajārapada, asuptapada, aswapnapada, dewaçabda. Ajārapada nga. angadēg awas tumingal. Asuptapada nga. malinggih manupēna. Aswapnapada nga, aturu angampēlu. Dewaçabda nga. angrēngō swara. Ya ta sinangguh caturpada nga.ring windunāda.' (Prijoetomo 1934:43)

¹⁰³ 'I kang pañca-bāyu nga.: prāna, apāna, samāna, byāna, udāna. Bāyu munggw ing muka apāna nga. Bāyu munggw ing èlèt samāna nga. Bāyu munggw ing ati udāna nga. Bāyu mangēdalakēn ātma byāna nga. Bāyu munggw ing sarwasandhi prāna nga. Awuwuh bāyu nāga, kumāra, kṛkara, dewadatta, dhanañjaya. I kang bāyu nāga magawe twab wişayanya. I kang bāyu kumāra magawe kēkēdūtēn wişayanya. I kang bāyu kṛkara magawe wahin wişayanya. I kang bāyu dewadatta angob wişayanya. I kang bāyu dhanañjaya anabda wişayanya. Nahan daça-bāyu nga. mangulahakēn çarira.' (Prijoetomo 1934:44)

Also described are the ten organs (*daśendriya*) of which five indicate perception and five signal action.¹⁰⁴

Added are the five senses.¹⁰⁵ *Cakṣwindriya* ... the eye, which has the ability to see all shapes and colours; *Ghrāṇendriya* ... the nose, which can smell delightful scents and everything that stinks; *Karṇendriya* ... the ear which can hear both evil and kind words; *Jihwendriya* ... the tongue, which has the ability to taste the six flavours; *Twakindriya* ... the skin, which can experience heat and cold, by using the body hair. Together they are called the *pañcendriya*.

On top of these, there are five more senses known collectively as *daçendriya*. *Wākindriya* ... the mouth, which has the function to speak; *Hastendriya* ... the hand, which has the function to catch; *Pasthendriya* ... the penis, which has the function of shooting semen into women and urinating; *Pāywendriya* ... the anus, which has the function of moving the bowel and breaking winds; and *Pādendriya* ... the feet, which have the function to walk.¹⁰⁶ (Prijoetomo 1934:102-3)

Then follow the instructions of the ten kinds of dead (*daśapati*). *Bhīma* is here referred to as *Bāyusuta*.

Added are the *pañca-pati*, my son *Bāyusuta*. Bear it in mind, as this is the way a perfect man behaves. *Lingga mēngkok* is dying in a sitting position; *lingga nasiti* is dyine in a standing position; *lingga makale* is dying with the arms on one's breast; *lingga jātmika* is dying without lamenting and shivering; *lingga maśuci* is dying after a long illness; and *lingga pandonan* is dying while drifting through the field.¹⁰⁷ These ways of dying are called *pañca-pati*. They are extended to *daśa-pati* – Dying without leaving the body is known as *moksawa*; when a fire is coming from the body, then one speaks of *agnihara*; when water is coming from the body the way of dying is called *atoyahara*; and when fluid is coming from the body, it is called *abāyuhara*. These ways of dying are known as *daśapati*.¹⁰⁸ (Prijoetomo 1934:104)

¹⁰⁴ Zoetmulder 1982:377.

¹⁰⁵ Prijoetomo calls them senses.

¹⁰⁶ 'Awuwuh tikang pañcendriya. *Cakṣwindriya* ... mata, manon wişayanya sakalwir ning rūpawarna. *Ghrāṇendriya* ... irung, angambu gandha awangi mwanng abacin wişayanya. *Karṇendriya* ... karna, angrēngö çabda ala ayu wişayanya. *Jihwendriya* ... liḍah wişayanya saḍrasa. *Twakindriya* ... kulit, angrasani panas tis wişayana, manut wulu puhun. Ya tēka pañcendriya nga.

Awuwuh lilima malih daçendriya nga. *Wākindriya* ... cangkēm wişayanya manabda. *Hastendriya* ... tangan, wişayanya manggamēl. *Pasthendriya* ... purus wişayanya manuwuhakēn reta ring anakbi mwanng manguyuh. *Pāywendriya* pamungkur, wişayanya mangising mangēntut. *Pādendriya* ... suku, wişayanya lumaku.' (Prijoetomo 1934: 44-5)

¹⁰⁷ At first Prijoetomo mentions six ways of dying instead of five and thereafter four instead five.

¹⁰⁸ 'Awuwuh tēkang pañca-pati, anakku sang Bāyusuta, (tan) kemutakēna denta, apan lēkasira sang siddhapuruṣa. Sang hyang lingga mēngkok nga, ring pējah malungguh. Sang hyang lingga nastiti nga. ri pējah mangadēg. Sang hyang lingga makale ... ri

This is followed by the instruction of the ten souls (*daśātma*).

There are five souls: ātma, parātma, rasāma, nirātma, satyātma, and they are called pañcātma. On top of these there are: antarātma, anyātma, pāywātma, hantarātma, adhīrātma. All ten of them are also known as daśātma.¹⁰⁹ (Prijoetomo 1934:105)

And then there are the ten kinds of good conduct (*daśāśila*).

The ten kinds of good conduct are: towekṣa, mudita, karuṇa, karuṇi, tan śabdacapala, santoṣa, wirati, śūra, dhīra, dhāraṇa. The specification is as follows; towekṣa means showing affection towards all people; mudita means not being evil; karuṇa indicates having a kind character; karuṇi stands for killing no living creatures; tan śabdacapala means not breaking your word; santoṣa is no scoffing; wirati implies no torturing; śūra is being brave; and dhīradhāraṇa means not talking evil about somebody. They are collectively called the daśāśila.¹¹⁰ (Prijoetomo 1934:105)

Bhīma is also initiated in the three ways of obtaining knowledge with threefold profit (*trilābha*).

Speaking about the threefold profit (*trilābha*), parīkṣamāna, rājamāna, phalawodhāna. Parīkṣamāna means a blissful existence; rājamāna stands for not talking about state-politics; and phalawodhāna signifies not longing for all kinds of clothing.¹¹¹ (Prijoetomo 1934:105)

Followed by instructions of the one who is able to kill the ten organs (*daśendriya*).

pējah masiḍakēp. Sang hyang lingga jātmika ... ri pējah tan panaḍuh tan pangēkēs. Sang hyang lingga maḍuci ... ri pējah malawas magēring. Sang hyang lingga pandonan ... ring pējah mahas maring setra. Iku ta pañca-pati nga. Awuwuh muwah dadi daḍa-pati nga. Ri pējah tan patinggal rāga: mokṣawa nga. Ana tāgni murub sakīng ḍarīra: agnihara nga. Ana ta tīrtha mijil sakīng rarāgan: atoyahara nga. Ana ta mētu medhi sakīng ḍarīra, abāyuhara nga. Iku daḍa-pati nga, anakku sang Bāyusuta.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:47)

¹⁰⁹ ‘Ana ta pañcātma nga.: ātma, parātma, rasātma, nirātma, satyātma. Ya ika pañcātma nga. Ana muwah: antarātma, anyātma, pāywātma, hantarātma, adhīrātma. Gēnēp sapuluh daḍātma nga.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:47)

¹¹⁰ ‘Daḍaḍila paramārtha nga.: towekṣa, mudita, karuṇa, karuṇi, tan ḍabdacapala, santoṣa, wirati, ḍūra, dhīra, dhāraṇa. Patunggal-tunggalannya: towekṣa nga. asih ring sapananggha ning wong, Mudita nga. tan pangēmu ala. Karuṇa nga. ambēk manohara. Karuṇi nga. tan pamateni sarwa-tumuwuh. Tan ḍabdacapala nga. tan pangowahi ḍabda. Santoṣa nga. tan amamāda. Wirati tan manāḍikā. ḍūra ... wani. Dhīradhāraṇa nga. tan pangucap. Ika daḍaḍila paramārtha nga.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:47)

¹¹¹ ‘Ana ujar trilābha nga.: parīkṣamāna, rājamāna, phalawodhāna. Parīkṣamāna nga bhāwa lakṣana: rājamāna nga. tan pangucap naya-naya; phalawodhāna nga. tan aarēp salwir ning panganggo.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:47-8)

Ah, my son Truspātāla,¹¹² it is not a great wise man who kills the ten organs. The one, who is able to do so, is he who is accomplished in perfection, and who already has a clear perception of life and dead, who is prepared to die, who has experienced the pleasant and the unpleasant, who is capable of cursing someone, but who cannot be affected by a curse, who is clean, but is not cleaned, and moreover he who speaks but cannot be named, who is free of sorrow and hunger, who is not susceptible to age and death, and also, who is not overshadowed by the atmosphere, and neither carried by the earth, trodden by foot by day and night, who is not shined upon by the sun, the moon, the stars and a multitude of stars and above all the one who has already a sharp and clear perception of the world. Such is the one who kills the ten organs, it is very difficult indeed.¹¹³ (Prijoetomo 1934:105)

And the face of purity.

There is one perfect human being, and that is an ascetic, who is ordained by the master of the ascetics. So is the appearance of the pure. Yo is magic, gi is firm, śwa is eminent, ra is a sole person. He is a mahāpuruṣa. Mahā is eminent, puruṣa is manliness. In fact he is the sage, who is experienced in the vow of abstinence, in the True Knowledge, as well as in concentration and meditation, moreover in all prescriptions of the God Dharma, my son Bhīma. He is the best of all rulers in relation to Knowledge. He is full of love and renounces the world. He is indeed already very powerful, he is capable to incarnate himself or not. Because he has already gained a clear understanding, not only of all what is visible, but also in the excellent knowledge, and he does not fear the passions. The ascetic has already obtained the eightfold knowledge by the mandigūṇa of the past. The eight extraordinary powers of those who have magical power. (Prijoetomo 1934:107-8)¹¹⁴

¹¹² The translation of this name is: 'penetrator of the lower world' (the world of serpents and demons). As far as I know this name for Bhīma is only used in the *Nawaruci*, and only twice.

¹¹³ 'Aduh anakku sang Truspātāla, norāna sira sang mahāpaṇḍita amatyani daçendriya. Sira sang kawuçāmateni, sira sang wus pëgat ing kauwus-uwusan, sira sang wus awas ing pati urip, sira sang lāghawa ring kapatin, sira sang wus amanggih rasa ning enak lawan tan enak, sira sang wënanng amastwani tan kawastu, sira sang pawitra tan pinawitra, sira sang angucap tan wënanng ingucap, sira sang tan këna lara lapa, sira sang luput ing tuwa pati, sira sang tan kasongan ing ākāça, tan kasangga dening prthiwī, tan kalangkahan dening rahina kalawan wëngi, tan kasuluhan dening rāditya, wulan, lintang, tarānggaṇa, sira sang wus lëga anarawang tingalira ring rat bhuwana. Mangkana sira sang amatyani daçendriya, tuhu yan arusit, wëkas ning rusit nga.' (Prijoetomo 1934:48)

¹¹⁴ 'Ana sira sang siddhapuruṣa ngaranira, sang wiku kinaanana de sang yogiçwara. Mangkana ta lwir ning çuci. Yo nga. māvā; gi aran ing tunggëng; çwa nga. lëwih: ra nga. tunggal. Mahāpuruṣa pwa nga. Mahā nga. lëwih; puruṣa nga. kawanin. Kalingannya, anakku sang Bhīma, sira sang wikan tēlas lāghawa ring tapabrata, ring tattwajñāna, muwah yogasamādhi, [kang] saana-ananira, bhaṭṭāra Dharma. Sira sang uwus ning rāja ājñānanira. Sirātrṣṇā, sirāpëgat. Apan sira uwus wënanng, wënanng wurung, wënanng dadi. Apan sira uwus awas ing sakaton, warajñāna, tan sangçaya, tumanggalang ring rāganira. Sang wiku uwus amangginakën kaṣṭagūṇan dening

And the state of immateriality (*śūnya*).

Bhīma answered: ‘What is *śūnya*, father Nawaruci?’ ‘Senāpati, my boy, let me teach you about the appearance of *śūnya*. The name of it is *śūnya*. Above *śūnya* is *taya*. Above *taya* is *ranu*. Above *ranu* is *nispṛha*. Above *nispṛha* is *kuṣṭi*. Above *kuṣṭi* is *pramāṇa wiśesa*. Above *pramāṇa wiśesa* is *Śiwayoga*. It looks white and glitters continuously. It is Śiwa’s abode, which is the *gr̥ha mokta* beyond salvation. Above *Śiwa* is *Paramaśiwa*, free of sorrow, and this is what one calls salvation. This is what surpasses all emanations of Śiwa. *Śiwa-gambhira* was the name, when god Śiwa dispersed. He is the highest divinity, the eminent sacred text, the glorious magical formula, he encompasses all True Knowledge. Śiwa is the paramount.’¹¹⁵ (Prijoetomo 1934:110)

Following his initiation in the Tantric Śaiwa doctrines, Bhīma receives from Nawaruci the *pangawaśa* power, which means that he gains the ultimate divine power and becomes one with the Eminent.

I have something to tell you, Senāpati. Just take over my *pangawaśa* power, Bhīma my son – Amādapa, adṛśādṛśā, ajalāntara, ambhāmodara, atrānggaṇa, adūragamana, acintyagamana, bhojanasiddhi, and angambah gagana. Explained one by one: amādapa means going over the top of the trees; adṛśādṛśā stands for going by the wind; ajalāntara means enter the sun and the moon; and ambhāmodara means enter the clouds;¹¹⁶ adūragamana implies minding everything what is in the royal palace; acintyagamana means to be entitled to be honoured by the nine gods, the five seers, the guardian of the four quarters, and to have the moon as a child. Bhojanasiddhi stands for being obeyed in all disposition; and Anampak gagana means being removed a fathom from the earth¹¹⁷ (Prijoetomo 1934:111-12)

tikang mandiguna ring uni. Mandiguna nga. kaṣṭeḥwaryan.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:50-51)

¹¹⁵ ‘Sumahur sang Bhīma: “Ndi ta sinangguh cūnyā, bapa Nawaruci?” “Anak mami sang Senāpati, dak-warah kita rūpa ning cūnyā. Arane iku cūnyā nga. Luhur ing cūnyā: taya. Luhur in taya ranu. Luhur ing ranu nispṛha. Luhur ing nispṛha: kuṣṭi nga. Luhur ing kuṣṭi: pramāṇa wiśesa. Luhur ing pramāṇa wiśesa Āwayoga. Katon pwa ya manarawang aputih sumirat tanpāntara. Ya Āwamaṇḍala nga. gr̥ha mokta ring luhur ing kanirbāṇan. Kunang luhur ing Āwa Paramaāiwa, anirupadarwa. Ya tika kamokṣan nga. Ya iki wēkas ning Āwa kabeh. Ya ika Āwa-gambhira nga., tatkāla bhāṭṭāra Āwa anglumrahakēn ing awaknira. Sira ta wēkas ning dewa, mantra kang utama, mwang wēkas ning aji, saana ning tattwajñāna. Āwa wēkasnya kabeh.”’ (Prijoetomo 1934:53)

¹¹⁶ The translation of the next word is missing in the text.

¹¹⁷ ‘Ana muwah wuwus mami, sang Senāpati. Pangawaṣa ningong tirunēn denta, anakku sang Bhīma: amādapa, adṛḥādṛḥā, ajalāntara, ambhāmodara, atrānggaṇa, adūragamana, acintyagamana, bhojanasiddhi, angambah gagana. Patungal-tunggalannya. Amādapa nga angambah pucuk ing tahēn. Adṛḥādṛḥā nga atapakan pawana. Ajalāntara nga atapakan rāditya wulan. Ambhāmodara nga atapakan megha. Adūragamana nga añipta saisi ning rājakadaton den-prāptia. Acintyagamana nga wēnang sēmbahēn ing dewatā nawasanga, pañca-ṛṣi, caturlokapāla, anak-anaka

Subsequent to his initiation, Bhīma sets off to the location where the elixir of life is hidden, Śiwamūrti.¹¹⁸ The site is guarded by the god Rajapanuluh and a giant serpent. With Nawaruci's support Bhīma is able to fight off the guards and fetch the elixir which is kept in a white pot (*śwetakamaṇḍalu*). After Bhīma has obtained the elixir of life all the inhabitants of heaven assemble under the guidance of Parameṣṭhī (Śiwa) and decide to kill Bhīma. Bāyu (Samīraṇa), Bhīma's supernatural father has to kill his son and recapture the elixir. After Bhīma is killed, he is revived (again) by Nawaruci, who also seizes the elixir from Bāyu and hands it over to Bhīma.

When Bhīma presents Droṇa with the elixir of life, the latter refuses to accept it. According to Droṇa the water is not pure. Consequently Nawaruci curses Droṇa who ends up in the ocean as a result. Bhīma however, saves his former teacher from drowning in the ocean. A deed of great compassion.

Bhīma said: 'I have saved you, so you stay alive.'¹¹⁹ (Prijoetomo 1934: 124)

After this incident Bhīma leaves Nawaruci and Droṇa, and he goes to Prthiwijāti where he plans to dedicate his life to austerity and meditation. By constant meditation and living a sober life Bhīma acquires an inner strength and magical powers that even surpass those of the god Parameśwara (Śiwa). Bhīma becomes the Creator and acquires the ability to curse (*rajapanulah*). When Parameśwara (Śiwa) tries to disturb Bhīma's meditation by telling him that he will be honoured by the nine gods, the five seers, four guardians of the cardinal points and the female heavenly creatures, Bhīma answers:

I decline, god Guru, my meditation prevents me from being honoured by the gods, the five seers, the four guardians of the cardinal points, and the Śaiwa and Buddhist priests. My wish is, god Guru, to be equal with the Creator of the World called the scion of the ascetics, the one who is extremely powerful, accomplished in salvation, and competent in the dharma.¹²⁰ (Prijoetomo 1934:135)

wulan. Bhojanasiddhi nga keḍep sapamastu. Anampak gagana ... saḍepa saking prthiwī.' (Prijoetomo 1934:55)

¹¹⁸ *Śiwamūrti* translates into the embodiment of Śiwa.

¹¹⁹ 'Amuwus rahaden Bhīma: "Aku kang angēntasakēn kita, sangkanmu aurip.'" (Prijoetomo 1934:69)

¹²⁰ "Manggale kami, bhāṭṭāra Guru, kapalang ring atapa kaarcamānaa dening dewatā, pañca ṛṣi, carturlokapāla, çewa, sogata. 'Karēp ingong, bhāṭṭāra Guru, dumiada pada kalawan sira sang agawe rat bhuwana kabeh. Ya ika wletik ing atapa, lamun çakti mahābhāra, pēgat ing kauwus-uwusan, putus in sang hyang dharma.'" (Prijoetomo 1934:83)

When it becomes clear that Bhīma has reached his goal of acquiring an inner strength that surpasses that of the gods, Guru (Śiwa) gets aggravated and tries to curse Bhīma. He fails, and Bhīma curses Guru and the nine gods instead.

The deity was silent, and god Guru (Śiwa) became angry, uttered a curse of spotless wisdom and damned the great seer: 'You will truly change into an angry demon, Angkusprāna.' 'Thou, god Guru, will change in an angry demon just as the nine gods.' All words of the great seer were powerful (...) for he had acquired the power of the Creator.¹²¹ (Prijoetomo 1934:135)

Ad 2. A number of Bhīma's iconographic features are actually mentioned in the *Nawaruci*, and they fit my findings of Part 1. The features include: his thumbnails; his moustache; the tails of his sash; his posture; his ear ornaments in the shape of a *puḍak*; his ear pendants shaped as a mangistan (*manggis*); and his necklace in the shape of a serpent.

Bhīma is sent by his teacher Droṇa to the well named Dorangga and to a field called Andadawa in order to find the elixir of life. However, the well is guarded by two serpents, and Anḍadawa is inhabited by the giant Indrabāhu. They attack Bhīma, but Bhīma (*Wṛkodara*) kills them with his *pañcanakha*.¹²²

He made his way directly to the well Dorangga. He did not hesitate and went there determined and fearless, as he was in all doings: however, he did not find the elixir of life; the well was impure and lonely. Instead he found a serpent and its female; they were ferocious, they strangled and bit him and sucked him out. But *Wṛkodara* stayed unharmed. Quickly he stabbed them with his *pañcanakha*, *pañca* means five, *nakha* means nail (...). The necks of the serpents were pierced by the stab of the five nails.¹²³ (Prijoetomo 1934:88)

Soon Indrabāhu and *Wṛkodara* were fighting; it looked like the earth was trembling. (...) Bang! Indrabahu fell down, he lost the battle. *Wṛkodara*

¹²¹ 'Umēnēng pādanira sang hyang, runtik ta sira amijilakēna tikang upadrawa ājñāna nirmala, amastwani ring sang mahāmuni: "Wastu kita Angkusprāna dadia dānawa." "Sira manih bhaṭṭāra Guru, dadia dānawa kalawan nawadewatā." Māndi sapamuwus sang mahāmuni. (...) Apan antuk bala widhi sira, sira sang agawe pramāṇa wiḥesa.' (Prijoetomo 1934:84)

¹²² Here *pañcanakha* means 'five fingernails'. In Bhīma's iconography there is only the one long thumbnail which has the same name.

¹²³ 'Jumugiug prapting sumur si Dorangga. Tan wangwang lumēbw ing sumur, tan awēdi tan gigisin sapaipolahira, tan amanggih sira bañu mahāpawitra, cuta asamun. Yakty amanggih sarpa masomahan, antyanta galak nikang sarpa mamilet, manuhut, manēsēb. Tan kanin rahaden *Wṛkodara*. Aglis manuduk ing *pañcanakha*, *pañca* aran, ing lilima, nakhāran ing kuku. (...) Trus tēkang tēnggēk nikang nāga masomahan sinuduk ing *pañcanakha*.' (Prijoetomo 1934:27-8)

placed himself above him. Quickly the giant was lifted by Wrkodara. Screaming and shouting he begged for his life, he begged Wrkodara for mercy. Subsequently he was stabbed to death by the five nails.¹²⁴ (Prijoetomo 1934:91)

When Bhīma comes face to face with the giant, he grabs his moustache in anger.

Wrkodara was fuming with rage and grabbed his moustache, while releasing a war cry.¹²⁵ (Prijoetomo 1934:91)

When Kuntī does not want her son to leave (to search for the elixir of life), she holds on to the tail of his sash.

Lady Kuntī did not appreciate her son leaving. Quickly she held on to a tail of his sash.¹²⁶ (Prijoetomo 1934:94)

During his search of the heavens, trying to locate the elixir of life, Bhīma reaches the residence of the god Asmara. He is welcomed by the guardian of the heavenly creatures who examines him and then describes his appearance including his jewellery.

Thou look surly, and thou are big and have a tall figure, it would fit thou, if thou were powerful. Thou wear golden ear ornaments in the shape of a puḍak, ear pendants of ruby in the shape of a manggis and a necklace in the shape of a maculated serpent. In speed thou are truly unequalled.¹²⁷ (Prijoetomo 1934:117)

Ad 3. In this *kidung* Bhīma is called Bāyusuta, son (*suta*) of Bāyu, on a number of occasions. This occurs mostly in the sections where Bhīma is initiated into the knowledge that will lead to salvation.

My son Bāyusuta, the nine gods, the five seers and the four guardians of the cardinal points are in the body. The earth is the flesh; the water the

¹²⁴ 'Kañcit aprang sang Indrābahu kalawan sang Wrkodara yaya ingēmbat-ēmbat ikang prthiwī. (...) Gēk gor tiba sang Indrabāhu kasor paprangira, katitihan sang Indrabāhu denira rahaden Wrkodara. Jēg glis upapēr kajungjung sang Indrabāhu denira rahaden Bhīma. Mangrāk manguwuh-uwuh amalaku ginēsang aminta sih ring sang Wrkodara. Dadi sinuduk ing pañcanakha.' (Prijoetomo 1934:30-32)

¹²⁵ 'Anggrēgut anahut rawis sang Wrkodara, masinghanāda pwa sira.' (Prijoetomo 1934:30)

¹²⁶ 'Tan sukha bhattārī Kuntī ring palunganirānakira. Aglis manggamēli koñca ning lañcinganira.' (Prijoetomo 1934:35)

¹²⁷ 'Awrēngul ring pratingkah ing rūpa, agung aḍuhur ing pangadēgan, pantēs prakoḥaa. Asumping ēmas winarṇa puḍak, anting-anting mirah winarṇa manggis, akakalung sarpa wēlang. Pinda ning tan samanya prāṇagata.' (Prijoetomo 1934:61)

blood; the fire the shapes and colours; the wind is life; the air is the thought.¹²⁸ (Prijoetomo 1934:103)

Nawaruci instructs Bhīma about the first five kinds of death, and asks him to pay attention to this subject because it belongs to the knowledge of the perfect one (Bhīma).

Added are the pañca-pati, my son Bāyusuta. Bear it in mind, as this is the way a perfect man behaves.¹²⁹ (Prijoetomo 1934:104)

Nawaruci also tells him about the existence of the different kinds of death, ten in total also known as *daśapati*.

Those kinds of death are called *daśa-pati*, my son Bāyusuta.¹³⁰ (Prijoetomo 1934:104)

Bhīma asks Nawaruci for the name of the Creator.

‘Father Nawaruci, I should like to know the name of the Creator of the World.’ ‘Well, my dear son Bhīma, what a sharp question! How should you know about him if I did not inform you? He is an infinitely superb divinity, who is without body and who is shining; he is the invisible god, the “embodiment” of all what is excellent. Ananta means brave; wiṣesa means living in the whole world; mūrchā means unconscious, lēwih means not to be equalled by another. No divinity could surpass him; he is the god of gods, the best among the gods.’ ‘Father Nawaruci, in fact the Creator of the World has five names.’ ‘That is correct my son Bāyusuta, so now you know my boy.’¹³¹ (Prijoetomo 1934:105-6)

When Nawaruci has educated and initiated Bhīma in most of the knowledge about salvation he says:

¹²⁸ ‘Anakku sang Bāyusuta, ikang nawasanga mungguh ring çarīra, muwah tikang pañca-r̥ṣi mwang caturlokapāla. Pr̥thiwi pinaka-daging, āpah pinaka-gētih, teja pinaka-rūpawarna, bāyu pinaka-urip, ākāca pinaka-angēn-angēn.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:45)

¹²⁹ ‘Auwuh tēkang pañca-pati, anakku sang Bāyusuta, (tan) kemutakēna denta, apan lēkasira sang siddhapuruṣa.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:47)

¹³⁰ ‘Iku daça-pati nga, anakku sang Bāyusuta.’ (Prijoetomo 1934:47)

¹³¹ “Bapa Nawaruci, ingong atakon arane kang agawe rat bhuwana ika.” “Aduh anakku sang Bhīma, prana tēmēn kang dera-takonakēna. Masa wruha sira, yan tan mami umajarakēna ring sira. Sira sang hyang anantawiṣesa nga., sira sang hyang tanpa çarīra nga., sira sang hyang alēngis nga., sira sang hyang mūrchā nga., sira sang hyang mūr̥ti ning lēwih nga. Ananta nga. wani; wiṣesa nga. urip ing rat kabeh; mūrchā nga. tan katon; lēwih nga. tan anāmaḍani. Tan ana hyang angluhurana, hyang ning hyang, wēkas ning hyang.” “Bapa Nawaruci, kalingane lilima arane kang agawe rat bhuwana ika.” “Atut, anakku sang Bāyusuta, mangko kita wēruh, anak mami.” (Prijoetomo 1934:48-9)

Pay attention to everything I tell you, Bāyusuta, convince yourself and do not forget it.¹³² (Prijoetomo 1934:114)

And urges Bhīma to go into his belly to obtain some experience.

My son Bāyusuta, I give you permission to go into my belly. My son Bāyusuta, what do you see, Bhīma my child?¹³³ (Prijoetomo 1934:115).

Nawaruci also asks Bhīma to go to the residence of the gods to fetch the elixir of life. To be able to succeed in this task Nawaruci has put him under a magic spell that makes him invisible to the gods.

Leave my son Bāyusuta, for I have given you the Pangawaça–spell.¹³⁴ (Prijoetomo 1934:116).

Ad 4. There is no mention of Bhīma’s relation to any other gods in the *Nawaruci*.

The Dewaruci

As in the *Nawaruci*, Bhīma’s search for the elixir of life on Droṇa’s command forms an essential part of this *kidung*. His quest for the elixir in the *Dewaruci* seems, however, to be less extensive and elaborate than in the *Nawaruci*. The emphasis of the *Dewaruci* seems to be more on the mystical and religious context of Bhīma’s initiation into various cosmic principles and esoteric knowledge by the Supreme Being Dewaruci. In addition, we need to realise that the religious context of the *Dewaruci* has been influenced by the Tantric Buddhist tradition, rather than the Tantric Śaiwa doctrines.

In the text I used for my analysis, Poerbatjaraka’s edition of 1940, Bhīma kills only one opponent, a sea serpent, and this serpent is not exorcised and restored to its true form as described in the *Nawaruci*. In more recent texts, like the *Dewaruci* text Prijoetomo uses as a reference for his edition of the *Nawaruci*, Bhīma faces more challengers, who are all exorcised.¹³⁵

In the *Dewaruci* Bhīma’s quest for the elixir also leads him to the ocean, but in contrast to the story line of the *Nawaruci* he does not drown but stays alive. He fights tooth and nail with a sea serpent, and

¹³² “Kengĕtakĕna sawuwus mami, sang Bāyusuta, den pratyakṣa kita, aywa malupa.” (Prijoetomo 1934:57)

¹³³ “Anak mami sang Bāyusuta, ngong-wastoni kita rumangsuka maring garbha ning ulun. (...) Anakku sang Bāyusuta, paran katingalan denta, anakku sang Bhīma?” (Prijoetomo 1934:58-9)

¹³⁴ “Mangkata, anakku sang Bāyusuta, apan ingong wus aweh aji Pangawaça iri kita.” (Prijoetomo 1934:60)

¹³⁵ Prijoetomo 1938:92-3.

while doing so he is inconspicuously observed by Dewaruci, the Supreme Being. After Bhīma has killed the sea serpent he washes ashore on an island created by Dewaruci. On this island he meets Dewaruci, who offers to initiate him in the Tantric doctrines. As part of the initiation, Dewaruci asks Bhīma to enter his tiny body through his ear. Because of Dewaruci's small posture Bhīma is reluctant to do so, but he enters the body after Dewaruci orders him to do so. Dewaruci's body represents both the micro- and macrocosm. Through his experiences in the body of the Supreme Being, Bhīma is initiated in various cosmic principles and esoteric knowledge. Just as in the *Nawaruci* esoteric knowledge is the path to attaining salvation. The description of Bhīma's initiation in the *Dewaruci* is far more concise than in the *Nawaruci*.

The quotations to illustrate my analysis of the research questions are taken from Poerbatjaraka's edition of the *Dewaruci* which was published in 1940. I have translated the quotations from Dutch into English.¹³⁶

Ad 1. In the *Dewaruci* Bhīma is portrayed as the prince who is eager to master the secret knowledge of how to achieve salvation. To obtain this knowledge he first needs to find the elixir of life. On Droṇa's orders Bhīma starts his search.

The prince (Bhīma) walked quickly on Droṇa's instruction looking for the holy water, pure and clear.¹³⁷ (Canto 1:1)

His search brings him to the ocean.

He walked into the sea with a pure and relieved mind. The water covered his calves, his knees, and finally his whole body.¹³⁸ (Canto 1:28)

In the ocean Bhīma is attacked by a sea serpent. At first Bhīma is paralysed by the smothering tangle and poison of the serpent, but in the end he wins the struggle and manages to kill the serpent by his sheer strength and the use of his thumbnail.

He summoned his strength, shouted furiously, like the power of the sea (incorporated in a sound). The serpent was deafened by it, and Bhīma seized him without being harmed, and cut off the serpent's head with his

¹³⁶ The quality of Poerbatjaraka's translations into Dutch is sometimes questionable, which makes the translation from Dutch into English difficult at times.

¹³⁷ 'Gatya lampahi nararya pangutusing ḍang hyang Drona ameta toya pawitra, suci mawēning.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:11)

¹³⁸ 'Lumēbu sireng samudra, wiraga-nira lagawa. Bañu sumaput ing wētis, sakeng tur mēlēk ing angga.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:16)

pañcanakha. It was separated from the body and destroyed.¹³⁹ (Canto 1:36)

After his ordeal with the serpent, Bhīma is washed ashore on a beautiful island. This island is created by the Eminent (Dewaruci), who stages an encounter between Bhīma and himself. Dewaruci, who manifests himself as a young man, knows exactly who Bhīma is and what he wants. Bhīma in his turn wants to know who Dewaruci is.

I would like to know who you really are. Are you the Real One, the Secret or the True One? Say it clearly to me and as open as a drawn kris.¹⁴⁰ (Canto 4:16)

Dewaruci is happy about the fact that Bhīma wants to know ‘The Truth’ and invites him to enter his body. Bhīma is surprised and answers:

How can I enter your small body. After all I am so big and I have a body like a mountain.¹⁴¹ (Canto 4:18)

Dewaruci replies: ‘What is the size of a mountain, what is the extent of the world, what is the universe? They are insignificantly small to me’, and he urges Bhīma to go inside.

And suddenly Bhīma enters Him without trouble.¹⁴² (Canto 4:20)

After Bhīma has entered Dewaruci’s body he becomes aware of all kinds of lights. Dewaruci explains the meaning of the lights, which are all representing religious philosophical principles. He starts with describing the four colours.

The saint spoke: ‘These four colours, oh pitiful, representing the content of the world, are white, red, yellow and black. These are the colours that make the heart unmanageable. The (white) light disappears as soon as the other three lights come into prominence. These three represent the dangers that fill the world, and whoever is in their power, loses control. Pure and blessed is he who has no desires anymore.’

In this way Kuntīsuta¹⁴³ was taught about the three enemies of austerity. They are the three [colours] through which an ascetic will not reach his

¹³⁹ ‘Prodbuta makrak gumuruh, kadi prabawaning pasir. Kapël ëngën tekang naga, sinikëp tanpa mikara. Tinugël ing pañcanaka; ta (tas) sirna kapugutan.’ (Poerbatjaraka 1940:18)

¹⁴⁰ “‘Towin ulun (sa) nyasa wruh(i) jatinta. Yen (a)tuhu yen arusit yen asadu. Den-kadi jatining ðuhung tan kawaran. Wacananta den-paḍang tanpa sings(inga)n.’” (Poerbatjaraka 1940:22)

¹⁴¹ “‘Endi unggwanku masuke garba (ma)lit. Apan alo Bima pangawak parwata.’” (Poerbatjaraka 1940:22)

¹⁴² ‘Rëp malëbu maring garba tatar angel.’ (Poerbatjaraka 1940:23)

aim. The tangling of the three is inseparable of the body. He who has liberated himself of the three [colours] is already one with the Void.¹⁴⁴ (Canto 4:27-8, 5:1)

After Dewaruci has explained to Bhīma that the three colours red, yellow and black are the main obstacle for the ascetic, two lights remain. These two lights represent the two principles of dualism: the image of the soul and that what is animated.

Thereupon Taskarātmaja (Bhīma) asked: ‘Well, what are the two (lights), I see now?’ (The saint spoke) ‘This is the image of the soul and of that what is animated. This is the subject and the object of life. In there is the nucleus of the male and female, the centre of yes and no. They are always in contrast.’¹⁴⁵ (Canto 5:3-4)

After Dewaruci has told Bhīma about the two lights, a bright light appears with many colours. Bhīma asks which colour the right one is to look at. And so Dewaruci comes to explain the essence of the Void.

‘Which one is the truly powerful, to which one has to look without failure? I see so many colours, which is the right one to look at’, Bāyusuta (Bhīma) asked emphatically and the Budarsi told him: ‘That is the True One. All the colours are within you.

Likewise is the multi-colouredness of this world, it is all within you. East, Southeast, South, Northwest, Southwest, North, Northeast and the Centre, they are all products of consciousness. White, red, yellow and black, these are the colours of the world.

The purification and the mantra are the products of the action. All what is intangible is within you, it is in one and the same place. Their existence is in you and your existence is in them. You and they are of one source, the Creator of this universe is One.

(When you are convinced of this) then the world will disappear (for you) and then there is no action anymore.’ Thereupon Parama-budeng-rat showed Bhīma his soul in a visible shape, an ivory doll as large as a bee larva. This soul is neither male nor female.¹⁴⁶ (Canto 5:7-10)

¹⁴³ The son of Kuntī (Bhīma).

¹⁴⁴ ‘Mojar sang paṇḍya: “Ika, sang kasih-arĕp catur warna iku pangisining jagat. Ana seta ana rakta pita krĕsna. Iku warnani kadurgamaning ati. Ilang tunggal prabanika yan tri katon. Ika rakwa durgama mĕpĕki ng sarat piṇḍa kadi kantaka kena i rika. Suci mulya kang tan kakĕnan ing sadya.”

Sri Kuntisuta winarah, yan tiga musuhing tapa. Karanya tan tĕkan i don, sang ataki-taki(n) lampah). Paroking tiga winuwus, tanpa pasah aneng raga. Yan tan kawilĕt ing tiga, prasida ‘mor ing tan ana.” (Poerbatjaraka 1940:24)

¹⁴⁵ ‘Sang Taskarātmaja takwan: “Mapahe yen kalih tinon.” “Iku rupaning wisesa, lawan kang winisesing rat. Iku rasaning buwana, lawan kang angrasani rat. Ana ngka rasa jalwestri, rasaning iya lan dudu. Titahnya cale-cinale.” (Poerbatjaraka 1940:25)

¹⁴⁶ “Endi kajatining wĕnang, kang tan salah tiningalan. Akeh warna tiningalan, kang ĕndi jatining tinon.” ling Bāyusuta matĕrĕh, sang hyang Budarsi mawarah: “Īku kajatining tunggal, salwiring warna’neng sira.

Ad 2. Only one of Bhīma's iconographical features is mentioned in the *Dewaruci*, and that is his thumbnail (*pañcanakha*). This feature is mentioned in the description of Bhīma's fight with the sea serpent.

(...) Bhīma seized him without having been harmed, and cut off the serpent's head with his *pañcanakha*. It was separated from the body and destroyed.¹⁴⁷ (Canto 1:36)

Ad 3. There are some references in this text to Bhīma's relation to Bāyu. From the moment he walks into the sea he is frequently addressed as the son of the god of the wind. He is referred to as Bāyusuta, Baywātmaja, both meaning son (*ātmaja*) of Bāyu, but also as Samīraṇatanaya which means child (*tanaya*) of Samīraṇa (a synonym for Bāyu). Bhīma is also referred to as Pawanātmaja, son of Pawana (another synonym for Bāyu).

The first time Bhīma is called Bāyusuta is when he walks into the sea watched by the empathizing fish.

All the fish in the sea felt compassion for Bhīma [Bāyusuta].¹⁴⁸ (Canto 1: 25)

The second reference to Bāyusuta is when the sea serpent becomes aware of him.

At this point he saw Bhīma [Bāyusuta], like bait thrown down.¹⁴⁹ (Canto 1:32)

Bhīma is called Bāyusuta when he sets foot on the island created by Dewaruci.

Quickly Bāyusuta went ashore.¹⁵⁰ (Canto 3:1)

Towin warnanikang jagat, sĕk kagarba ring sarira. Purwa geneya daksina, neriti pracima byabya, utara ersanya madya, iku pamrĕdining bawa. Sweta rakta pita krĕsna, ika warnaning buwana.

Asta-soĕĕm (asta)-mantra, pamrĕdinin asta-reka. Salwirning suksma'neng sira, towin atunggalan sana. Anane ana ri kita, ananta ana ri kana. Datan waneh sangkanira, tunggal kang akrĕti sarat.

Ilang rupanikang jagat, salwirning reka tan ana." Tinonakĕn uripira, de sang pa(ra)ma Budeng rat winarnakĕn sira wahya, sawang putra-putran danta. Samalimuka gumana, tan kakung sira tan istri.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:25-6)

¹⁴⁷ 'Sinikĕp tanpa mikara. Tinugĕl ing pañcanaka; ta(tas) sirna kapugutan.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:17-18)

¹⁴⁸ 'Salwirning matsyeng narmada, soka tibreng Bāyusuta.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:15)

¹⁴⁹ 'Katon ta sang Bāyusuta, kadi baluk linabuhan.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:17)

¹⁵⁰ 'Ndah sigra umĕntas ta sang Bāyusuta.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:18)

And he is surprised to meet a small and young looking figure (Dewaruci) on the island.

Bāyusuta was surprised when he saw a small figure looking so young.¹⁵¹
(Canto 4:1)

Bhīma (Baywātmaja) is even more surprised when he hears that the tiny figure knows exactly who he is, and why he stays on the island.

Baywātmaja fell silent when he noticed that his purpose had been guessed.¹⁵² (Canto 4:14)

Dewaruci instructs Bhīma to enter his body, but Bhīma (Bāyusuta) believes this impossible because of Dewaruci's size, but Dewaruci insists.

When Bāyusuta had said this, the saint ordered him to enter. 'What is the size of a mountain, what is the extent of the world, what is the universe? They are insignificantly small to me.'¹⁵³ (Canto 4:19)

When Bhīma enters Dewaruci's body through his ear he sees emptiness, followed by darkness, and then a multi-coloured light. Dewaruci gives an explanation for each of the colours that lighten up. Thereafter a bright light arises.

After Jina-rēsi¹⁵⁴ [Dewaruci] had informed Bāyusuta (Bhīma) about this, suddenly a bright light arose.¹⁵⁵ (Canto 5:5)

Bhīma is especially interested in this light, as it consists of so many colours. He (Bāyusuta) wonders what this light means.

'Which one is the truly powerful, to which one has to look without failure? I see so many colours, which is the right one to look at', Bāyusuta (Bhīma) asked emphatically.¹⁵⁶ (Canto 5:7)

¹⁵¹ 'Yeka garjita manah sang Bāyusuta manon ri sang satapēl alit ing wayah.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:20)

¹⁵² 'Manggih gatinira Baywatmaja kumēl.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:22)

¹⁵³ 'Sampun mawacana ta sang Bayusuta dadi mojar sang paṇḍya 'kon amasuka. "Endi gēnging giri mwang lwaning buwana. Sa-bubur-sah mandra kawēt katon dengku."' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:23)

¹⁵⁴ *Jina-rēsi* is an incarnation of the Buddha.

¹⁵⁵ 'Tēlas pawarah sang Jina-rēsi ri sang Bayusuta. Rēp tunggal salila (ma)bra.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:25)

¹⁵⁶ "Endi kajatining wēnang, kang tan salah tinangalan. Akeh warna tiningalan, kang ēndi jatining tinon", ling Bāyusuta matērēh.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:25)

Parama-budeng-rat¹⁵⁷ (Dewaruci) shows Bhīma (Samīraṇatanaya) his soul which looks like an ivory doll the size of a bee larva. He explains that the larva is neither male nor female and Bhīma is speechless.

Samiranatanaya fell silent the moment his soul was revealed. When he gazed at it he was charmed to a great extent by the beautiful magical glow of it.¹⁵⁸ (Canto 5:11)

Bhīma (Pawanātmaja) tells the saint (Dewaruci) that the soul is magnificent to look at, and he wonders whether this is the aim.

Pawanātmaja spoke to the saint, asking: 'What I see now is very beautiful, like a magnificent small statue (Is this the object one has to look at)¹⁵⁹ this beautiful mysterious face?'¹⁶⁰ (Canto 5:12)

Ad 4. In the *Dewaruci* there are a number of references to Bhīma's relation to other gods besides the god of the wind.

The moment Bhīma enters the ocean, he is called Ardanāreśwarī. Usually this name is given to Umā and Śiwa united in one body, signifying that the highest divine being is both male and female.¹⁶¹

Ardanāreśwarī (Bhīma) had not anticipated any danger, he only cared about the Dharma.¹⁶² (Canto 1:27)

The second time Bhīma is referred to as Ardanāreśwarī is the moment he speaks to Dewaruci for the first time. Dewaruci explains to Bhīma why he entered the ocean, and Bhīma understands that Dewaruci can read his mind.

So spoke the Eminent of the World, and Ardanāreśwarī (Bhīma) did not know which way to turn because the small one had read his mind.¹⁶³ (Canto 4:4)

¹⁵⁷ Parama-budeng-rat is the highest Buddha in the world.

¹⁵⁸ 'Sang Samiranatanaya, jēngēr jiwa tinonakēn. Dinēlēng sangsaya lēnglēng, lēyēp lēngit alēpira.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:26)

¹⁵⁹ This part of the text was illegible according to Poerbatjaraka. He presumed that this was the original text.

¹⁶⁰ 'Sang Pawanatmaja muwus, atakwan sang Jinarēsi, "Sawulatku arja kila, sawang putra-putra kara (...) lēngit lēyēp tinangalan.'" (Poerbatjaraka 1940:26)

¹⁶¹ It is peculiar that the name Ardanareśwari is used here, meaning Ūma and Śiwa united in one body, and not Ardanariśwara which means just the opposite, Śiwa and Ūma united in one body. As it concerns Bhīma, who is a man, one would think the male variant should be used here and not the female.

¹⁶² 'Sing baya tan ana ketang, de sang Ardanareswari, anging darma kang ingiṣṭa.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:16)

¹⁶³ 'Nahan lingira sang maha(r)dika ring rat. Kepwan twasira sang Ardanareswati deniran malit wēruhe gatinira.' (Poerbatjaraka 1940:20)

The third and last time he is called Ardanāreśwarī is when Dewaruci instructs Bhīma to realise his aim, and avoid pursuing the wrong things. Bhīma is overwhelmed.

So spoke the Eminent of the World. Ardanāreśwarī (Bhīma) was at an utter loss because what the saint said was the simple truth.¹⁶⁴ (Canto 4:13)

In the text Bhīma is also referred to as *gandharwarāja*, king of the semi-divine beings who belong to the heaven of Indra. When Dewaruci tells Bhīma what he suspects Bhīma is looking for, Bhīma answers:

‘I believe that you know what is in someone’s mind.’ So spoke Gandarwarāja (Bhīma) to the Jina-rēsi (Dewaruci).¹⁶⁵ (Canto 4:4)

Also, when Bhīma has entered Dewaruci’s body and sees a multi-coloured light, Bhīma asks Dewaruci for an explanation.

Then Gandarwarāja (Bhīma) asked the saint (for an explanation). And the saint replied: “These four colours, oh pitiful, representing the content of the world, are white, red, yellow and black. These are the colours that make the heart unmanageable.”¹⁶⁶ (Canto 4:27)

The last time Bhīma is referred to as *gandharwarāja* is when he sees a bright light which fascinates him enormously. He asks Dewaruci about the meaning of this light.

Then Gandarwarāja (Bhīma) asked Adi-buda-rēsi: ‘What do I see? I see a glow with many colours. Tell me what it is and well as clearly as possible. What is it that shines so bright, what does the glow mean?’¹⁶⁷ (Canto 5:6)

Overview of the analysis of the *kidung*

The main purpose of both the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci* is to enlighten us of Bhīma’s path to obtain esoteric knowledge which ultimately leads to salvation. The texts have a religious message, and

¹⁶⁴ ‘Nahan wacana sang maha(r)dika ring rat. Kepwan manahira ng Ardanareswari dening wuwusika ibèk kasatwikan.’ (Poerbatjaraka 1940:22)

¹⁶⁵ “‘Pilih idèp ujaring len!’ ling Gandarwa-raja ri sang Jina-rēsi.’ (Poerbatjaraka 1940:20)

¹⁶⁶ ‘Ling Gandarwa-raja takwan ing sang wiku. Mojar sang paṇḍya: “Ika, sang kasih-arèp catur warna iku pangising jagat. ana seta ana rakta pita krēsna. Iku warnani kadurgamaning ati.”’ (Poerbatjaraka 1940:24)

¹⁶⁷ ‘Ling Gandarwaraja takwan ri (sang) Adi-buda rēsi. “apa si sang katingalan, pratunggal akeh tiningal. Warahèn ulun aranya, den-tunggal apatuduhan. Endi kang makara-kara, tatwani-kang marakata.”’ (Poerbatjaraka 1940:25)

Bhīma, through his encounters with the Supreme Being Nawaruci/Dewaruci, is used as the subject to convey this to us.

In both the stories Bhīma is also on a quest. He has to search for the elixir of life, as without this he cannot be instructed into the mystical doctrines by his teacher Droṇa. The search for the elixir and his struggle to get it play a major part in the *Nawaruci*. In this *kidung* he has encounters with creatures that challenge him and try to kill him. Although this quest is also mentioned in the *Dewaruci* it plays a less important role. Here the emphasis is definitely more on Bhīma's initiation into the esoteric doctrines.

Ad 1. So Bhīma's role in the *kidung* is more of a religious nature. He is portrayed as a prince who is determined to be initiated into the esoteric knowledge, as this will lead him to his ultimate goal, salvation. He is willing to do anything to reach his objective. People reciting the *kidung* or watching a *wayang* play based on these *kidung* probably saw him as a role model, a person who displays determination, and eagerness in obtaining all knowledge about the cosmic world and the salvation doctrine.

His physical power, so important in the *parwa* and *kakawin*, is of minor importance in the texts, although there are certainly glimpses of it in the *Nawaruci*. Bhīma's inner strength is far more significant, and in particular in the *Nawaruci* this has a very prominent place. Here Bhīma becomes capable of releasing cursed figures by killing them with his thumbnail, and through his meditation and his very sober life he is even able to oppose and overpower the highest god. This is remarkable because in the *Arjunawiwāha* and *Pārthayajna*, two *kakawin* from a much earlier date than the *Nawaruci*, Bhīma's younger brother Arjuna, an incarnation of the god Indra, is the one who lives an austere life and meditates. Arjuna too acquires inner strength through meditation, and receives a special gift of the highest god Śiwa, but he never acquires a power which is even stronger than that of the gods, like Bhīma.

Ad 2. In both the *kidung*, and especially in the *Nawaruci*, there are references to some of Bhīma's iconographical features as described in Part 1. His thumbnails are mentioned in the *Nawaruci* as well as in the *Dewaruci*. He uses these to eliminate his opponents and in the *Nawaruci* also to exorcise them. Hence the long thumbnails are a sign of his physical, but foremost of his mental strength (*sakti*). In the *Nawaruci* the following features also get a mention: his moustache; the tails of his sash; his posture; his ear ornaments and ear pendants; and his necklace.

Ad 3. Bhīma's descent of the god Bāyu, his father, is often mentioned in both the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci*. This seems especially the case

in the passages in which he is initiated in the Tantric dogmas. In these passages he is often called son of Bāyu, or else a synonym for the name of Bāyu is used.

Being a son of Bāyu is obviously important in relation to Tantric dogmas. In the quotations we have seen that in Tantrism the performance of yoga is essential. Yoga exercises mental concentration and can ultimately achieve union with the deity, or liberation. Within yoga exercises learning to control ones breathing (*bāyu*) is vital. I do feel that Bhīma's relation to *bāyu* cannot only be explained just by the fact that he is the son of the god of the wind or that he is the embodiment of Bāyu¹⁶⁸ but also from the fact that he as son of the god of the wind is the personification of breath (*bāyu*).¹⁶⁹ So there may have been a relation between exercising yoga, which often took place high in the mountains, and the worship of Bhīma.

Ad 4. In the *Dewaruci* there are a number of references to Bhīma in which he is related to other gods. He is called *gandharwarāja*, a minor deity from Indra's heaven, but he is also called Ardanāreśwarī, an epithet for the manifestation of Umā and Śiwa in one body. This manifestation denotes the highest divine concept which is neither male nor female. Why Bhīma is named *gandharwarāja* here is unclear to me. Calling him Ardanāreśwarī on the other hand is more relevant, as Bhīma becomes one with the divine. However, this epithet is given to him at the start of his initiation into the Tantric dogmas, and not when he has finished his ultimate goal, which would have made more sense.

2.1.6 The *Bhīmastawa*

The *Bhīmastawa* belongs to the genre of religious literature. It is therefore a very different kind of text compared to the *parwa* and *kakawin*. The *stawa*'s subject matter is in fact closer related to the texts of the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci*. It conveys a religious message.

The *Bhīmastawa* is a hymn in which Bhīma is glorified. In contrast to other texts mentioned in this chapter we do know the purpose of this song of praise. According to Goudriaan and Hooykaas¹⁷⁰ the *Bhīmastawa* was recited during daily Buddhist rituals and formed part of the

¹⁶⁸ In the Old Javanese text *Korawaśrama* there is a discussion about *dharma*, and it is said that Bhīma is the embodiment of Bāyu. (Swellengrebel 1936:11)

¹⁶⁹ In the *Korawaśrama* Bhīma is also related to breath: 'The Pāṇḍawa are almost the body of the people, Yudhiṣṭhira is evidently the soul, Bhīma the breath, Arjuna, the appearance, Nakula the origin and Sadewa the continuation of people.' (Swellengrebel 1936:205)

¹⁷⁰ Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471-3.

manuscripts dealing with death rituals. The hymn was mostly recited by a Balinese Buddhist high priest (*pedanda boda*). Even more interesting is the fact that the *Bhīmastawa* still forms part of daily rituals on Bali.

The *Bhīmastawa*, like many other texts of the same genre, is written in Sanskrit. Goudriaan and Hooykaas have divided the Sanskrit language used for the various Balinese *stawa* into 'Archipelago' Sanskrit¹⁷¹ and 'Correct' Sanskrit.¹⁷² The Sanskrit in which the *Bhīmastawa* was written has been classified as 'Correct' Sanskrit.

For about half of the Balinese *stawa* an Indian original exists. One would expect the existence of an Indian original for the *Bhīmastawa* as well, as it is written in 'Correct' Sanskrit, but this is not the case, as Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971:16) have pointed out. I believe that there may have been a Javanese origin to the *Bhīmastawa*, and I base this assumption on the fact that some of the iconographical features, especially his ornamental features, found on representations of Bhīma from the Majapahit Period are mentioned in the *stawa*. These iconographical features differ considerably from the Indian iconography as described in Chapter 1.1.

It is unknown how old the *Bhīmastawa* actually is. The exact age of the *stawa* has not yet been the subject of any study to date. Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971:607) believe that the *stawa* must have been in existence and handed down for at least several centuries.

I am of the opinion that the *Bhīmastawa* might originate from the Majapahit Period. Again, I base my assumption on the iconographical features mentioned in the *Bhīmastawa* and in particular the ear pendant in the shape of a mangistan. This feature is only known in the Majapahit Period.

The *Bhīmastawa* consists of nine verses. In the first verse Bhīma is represented as the Tantric Buddhist god Bajrasattwa. In the second verse his origin is said to be from the sacred syllable HUM, and Bhīma is considered an ingenious wise man of great strength with a tough body. In verse 3 we find out more about Bhīma's appearance. It is in this verse that some of his iconographical features, especially his ornamental features, are mentioned. Verses 4-5 deal with Bhīma's virtues, his fighting spirit, his fearful energy, his heroism and the fear all these characteristics evoke amongst his enemies. In verse 6 we are informed about the period in which Bhīma was born and we also learn something about his brothers. The last three verses mainly deal with

¹⁷¹ The texts of a number of hymns found on Bali differed so much in language and style from the original Sanskrit, that Goudriaan and Hooykaas assumed they were composed on Bali. Hence the classification of 'Archipelago' Sanskrit for the language these hymns were written in. (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:15-18)

¹⁷² It is presumed that the texts classified as 'Correct' Sanskrit were written in India.

the protection Bhīma offers people, his sincerity, and the fact that he performs good acts.

For the analysis of the text I use the English translation from Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971:471-3). The Sanskrit original is mentioned in the footnotes.

Ad 1. The prime portrayal of Bhīma in the *Bhīmastawa* is as a divinity, who is compassionate towards his fellow beings. He is regarded as Bajrasattwa, an emanation of Buddha. He is also considered as the saviour and the protector of the world.

In the first verse Bhīma is considered to be one with Bajrasattwa, and it emphasises his compassion for other living beings.

O Venerable Vajra-sattva, who (workest) in the interest of creatures; Whose Self is compassionate towards creatures; Who art of one Self with the noble Bhīma; O honour be Thee Who art friendly towards the world.¹⁷³ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:472)

In the seventh verse Bhīma is referred to as ‘Saviour of the worlds’. He offers people protection.

Oh, Renowned One, Saviour of the worlds, Who givest security to good people.¹⁷⁴ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:473)

In the eighth verse he is spoken of as ‘Protector of the world’.

Oh, Protector of the world, honour be to Thee.¹⁷⁵ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:473)

Who [Bhīma] causeth damage to the foes of the world.¹⁷⁶ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:473)

In the last sentence of the ninth verse, Bhīma is summoned as a protector against danger, and to be a lucky charm in making someone’s venture successful.

Be gracious, Lord Bhīma, ... do protect me from danger ...; may this my enterprise be successful.¹⁷⁷ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:473)

¹⁷³ ‘Śrī vajra-sattva sattvārtha, sattveṣu karuṇātmaka ekātmanārya-Bhīmena, jagan-maitri namo ’stu te.’ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471)

¹⁷⁴ ‘Praśasta jagatām trātar, kalyānābhaya-dānaka.’ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471)

¹⁷⁵ ‘Anārya-duṣṭa- muktēṣo.’ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471)

¹⁷⁶ ‘Jagatām ari-himsaka.’ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471)

¹⁷⁷ ‘Prasīda bhagavan Bhīma, me rakṣa bhayato gate prayojanam idaṃ sidhyāt, mad-bhrātre hi namo ’stu te.’ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471)

Ad 2. This *stawa* is very informative about Bhīma's iconographical features as discussed in part one. The first iconographical characteristic that is mentioned is his sacred thread featuring a row of serpents.

O, thou whose sacred thread consists of a row of serpents.¹⁷⁸ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:472)

Also mentioned are Bhīma's ear pendants.

Whose jewelled earrings are most lovely.¹⁷⁹ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:472)

I disagree with Goudriaan and Hooykaas about their translation. Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971:472, note 6) affirm that most *Bhīmastawa* manuscripts¹⁸⁰ have the transcription 'maṅgiṣṭha ratna-kunḍala' instead of 'mañjiṣṭha ratna-kunḍala'. *Maṅgiṣṭha* translates as mangistan (Zoetmulder 1982:1111). I am confident that the translation should have read 'Whose jewelled ear-pendants are mangistan.'

There is also a reference in the *Bhīmastawa* to Bhīma's ear ornaments which are in the shape of the flower of the pandan (*Ketakī*).¹⁸¹

Whose ears are decorated with Ketakī flowers.¹⁸² (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:472)

Bhīma's attribute the club also makes an appearance, and it refers to his strength.

Who breakest the enemies with Thy weapon, the club.¹⁸³ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:473)

One allusion is made to Bhīma's physique.

Who art firm with a solid and tall stature.¹⁸⁴ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:472)

¹⁷⁸ 'Sarpāvāly-upavītāṅga.' (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471)

¹⁷⁹ 'mañjiṣṭha-ratna-kunḍala.' (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471)

¹⁸⁰ See also the transcription of the *Bhīmastawa* by Bosch 1947:58.

¹⁸¹ Another word for pandan flower is Ketakī flower; see also Bosch 1947:59, note 7.

¹⁸² 'Ketakī-puṣpita-śrotra.' (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471)

¹⁸³ 'Gadāstreṇa ripu-bhaṅga.' (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471)

¹⁸⁴ 'Sthūla-dirgha-vapuḥ-sṭhira.' (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:471)

Ad 3. The hymn only mentions Bhīma's relation to the god Bāyu once. It is mentioned in relation to the temper he demonstrates during battle. He is addressed as the son of Bāyu.

Who art heat (with rage) in battle, O Son of the wind.¹⁸⁵ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:473)

Ad 4. As for mentions of his relation to other gods in this *stawa*, Bhīma is in the first line equated with Bajrasattwa, with its origin in the sacred syllable HUM.

O Venerable Vajra-sattwa, Who (workest) the interest of creatures; Who Self is compassionate towards creatures; Who art of one Self with the Noble Bhīma.¹⁸⁶ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:472)

Thy origin is the syllable HUM.¹⁸⁷ (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:472)

Overview of the analysis of the *Bhīmastawa*

Ad 1. In the *Bhīmastawa* Bhīma is portrayed as a divine being, one who is pure and compassionate, and who cares about mankind. The fierce, stubborn warrior from the *parwa* and *kakawin* has disappeared. In this hymn he is considered as 'Saviour of the worlds' and 'Protector of the world'. These epithets go beyond the status of a hero and relate more to the assets of a god. Bhīma's empathy with those in need of protection is now considered to be of divine origin, which is in contrast to his urge to act as the protector of family and others in need in the *parwa* and *kakawin*.

Ad 2. The iconographical features that are mentioned in the hymn are the same as some of the iconographical features of the Bhīma representations mentioned in 1.1. The following features get a mention: the sacred thread featuring a row of serpents; the ear pendants in the shape of a mangistan; the ear ornaments shaped as a *Ketakī*; and the club. There is also a reference to Bhīma's stature and, as in every other story we have read, he is described as a tall, strong man.

Ad 3. In this text Bhīma is only once addressed as the son of Bāyu. His tempestuous character as the son of the god is emphasised. He is not related to any esoteric principles as in the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci*.

¹⁸⁵ 'Vigrahosna Vāyūtpanna.' (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:473)

¹⁸⁶ 'Śrī vajra-sattva sattvārtha, sattveṣu karunātmaka ekātmanārya-Bhīmena.' (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:473)

¹⁸⁷ 'HUM-kāra-sambhavas tava.' (Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:473)

Ad 4. As the pure and compassionate one, Bhīma is considered to be one with Bajrasattwa, an emanation of Buddha, who belongs to the Tantric Buddhist pantheon. The title of the hymn also refers to Bhīma's divine name, *Śri Bajra-sattwa sattwârtha*.

Remarkable in this *stawa* is the sentence 'Be gracious, Lord Bhīma (...) may my enterprise be successful.'¹⁸⁸ Such an invocation is generally directed towards the Śaiwa god Ganeśa who is supposed to have qualities to make enterprises successful. Bhīma clearly emerges as an all-round divinity in this 'song of praise'.

Also noteworthy is the indicated relationship between the 'divine' Bhīma and the one who glorifies him in the sentence 'Honour be to Thee who art my brother.' It is suggested here that there is only a short distance between the worshipper and 'Lord' Bhīma. It indicates a special relationship between the worshipper and the one who is worshipped.

2.1.7 Conclusion

After having scrutinised the *parwa*, the *kakawin*, the *kidung* and *Bhīmastawa* with the four research questions, I set myself at the start of this chapter, a good overall image and characteristic of Bhīma emerge. It also gives us a sense of how he is/was conveyed to, and perceived by the audiences of these texts.

Ad 1. How is Bhīma portrayed and what is his role in the various texts?

In the *parwa* we get to know Bhīma as a royal prince, son of the god Bāyu, who, from birth, possesses enormous power, speed and a very tempestuous character. He is therefore primarily portrayed as a fierce warrior, one who proofs a strong and skilful fighter, fearing no one and spreading terror amongst his enemies.

The other side of Bhīma emerging from the *parwa* is that of protector of both family and people in need. Bhīma seems a compassionate man, always willing to help or rescue people, even though he does this in his own particular way. He certainly comes across as a very stubborn and impatient man who possesses a lot of temperament. His stubbornness and temperament especially surface when he feels his idea for justice has been violated. He has a close relation to his brothers, even though he does not always agree with their actions and decisions.

In the *kakawin Hariwangśa* and *Bhāratayuddha* Bhīma is portrayed as an extremely powerful, but merciless warrior. He overpowers and

¹⁸⁸ Goudriaan, Hooykaas 1971:473.

kills all his enemies no matter if they are soldiers, noblemen, kings or even relatives. Again his name spreads fear amongst many. Just as in the *parwa*, Bhīma's stubbornness and his own particular feeling for justice are very apparent, however, he also seems to be a man with common sense.

The subject matter of the *kidung* and *Bhīmastawa* contrast sharply with that of the *parwa* and *kakawin*. Bhīma's physical power and stubbornness move to the background, and his religious determination becomes the central theme. In the *kidung* his inner strength, acquired through meditation and abstinence is of far more importance than his physical strength. Bhīma is portrayed as a prince who is determined to be initiated into the knowledge of the cosmic world and the doctrines, which will lead him to his ultimate goal, salvation. He seems to be portrayed as a role model.

Bhīma becomes one with the divine in the *kidung*, a position which he has actually achieved in the *Bhīmastawa*. His protective and compassionate nature, already present in the *parwa*, is of major importance in this hymn. He is presented as 'the protector of the world', but whereas this was a result of his strength and ability to act on impulse in the *parwa* in the *Bhīmastawa* this relates more to his assets of being one with god.

Ad 2. Is Bhīma's iconography, as discussed in the earlier chapters, referred to in the texts, and does it reveal anything about his character?

Only one of Bhīma's iconographical features, his club (*gada*), is mentioned frequently in the *parwa* and in the *kakawin*. The sections in which the club is mentioned always focus on fights or battle scenes, and they emphasise Bhīma's role as a formidable warrior and terrifying opponent. The club, in fact, accentuates Bhīma's strength. The mentioning of this particular iconographical feature is therefore important and relevant.

The club is also mentioned once in the *Bhīmastawa*. In this hymn it is more in the way of a remark stating that it is Bhīma's weapon of choice, which is still useful, as it is definitely seen as one of his attributes. The club is not mentioned in the *kidung*, most probably as it is not something these religious texts would like to emphasise. It is all about Bhīma's inner strength in the *kidung*, and not his physical power.

Of all the other iconographical features described in Part 1, only two are referred to in the *parwa*: They are mentioned only once: Bhīma's body hair in the *Wirāṭaparwa*, and his wide protruding eyes in the *Āsramavāṣaparwa*. Apart from these two features there are a few rather general remarks on his appearance and stature in the *parwa*. The descriptions concerning his powerful physique, to which we also

have a reference in the *Bhīmastawa*, certainly reflect the findings of the iconographical data in Part 1.

In the *kidung*, especially in the *Nawaruci*, and in the hymn *Bhīmastawa* there are further references to Bhīma's iconographical characteristics. His thumbnail(s) are mentioned in the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci*. He uses these to eliminate and exorcise his opponents. They reveal his supernatural strength as well in physical as in mental respect.

In the *Nawaruci* and the *Bhīmastawa* the following mostly ornamental features also get a mention: Bhīma's moustache, his sacred thread featuring a row of serpents, his ear ornaments in the shape of *puḍak*, his ear pendants shaped as a mangistan, his necklace in the shape of a serpent, and his sash. These features were an important part of Bhīma's iconography during the Majapahit Period. Consequently I believe that this was the reason they are mentioned.

Ad 3. Is the relation between Bhīma and his father Bāyu, the god of the wind, mentioned in the texts, and how is this relation conveyed?

Bhīma's descent of Bāyu does not seem of much interest in two of the literary genres we have looked at in this chapter. It is hardly referred to in the *parwa* and the *kakawin*. Only in two of the *parwa*, the *Adiparwa* and the *Wirāṭaparwa*, his ancestry is mentioned a couple of times; once in relation to his birth, and once in relation to a battle Bhīma is fighting. In the *kakawin Bhāratayuddha* it is only referred to once, again in relation to Bhīma's strength in battle.

In the *Bhīmastawa* Bhīma's descent of Bāyu is relevant in relation to his protective nature.

The genre where it really seems to be of importance that Bāyu is the father of Bhīma is the *kidung*. His descent of the god Bāyu is often mentioned in both the *Nawaruci* and the *Dewaruci*, especially in the passages where Bhīma is initiated in the Tantric dogmas. My conviction therefore is that Bhīma's descent in relation to these dogmas was important.

Ad 4. Are there any descriptions of a relationship between Bhīma and other gods besides Bāyu, and what is the character of this relation?

There are descriptions of relations between Bhīma and other gods in the *parwa*, *kidung* and the *Bhīmastawa*. Often it is thought or indicated that Bhīma represents these gods or demi-gods. In the *Wirāṭaparwa* Bhīma is thought to be an incarnation of Indra, the king of gods and the god of thunder and lightning. The connection between Bhīma and Indra is made because of Bhīma's impressive appearance. For the same reason he is referred to as *gandharwarāja*, the king of celestials belonging to Indra's heaven and also known as warriors. As

warfare is important in the *parwa*, and Bhīma is an excellent and strong warrior, it is obvious why these connections are made. In the *Dewaruci* Bhīma is also called *gandharwarāja*, but within the context of this story (the initiation into Tantric dogmas) this reference does not make any sense.

In the *Bhīmastawa* Bhīma is represented as the Tantric Buddhist god Bajrasattwa and in the *Dewaruci* he is called Ardanāreśwarī. Both divine emanations which represent a Tantric concept, are linked to the attainment of salvation. In the Majapahit Period not only the term Ardanāreśwarī occurs, here used in relation to Bhīma, but also the emanation was important. Deified royalty, as the ultimate symbol of deification, was regularly represented in the shape of Ardanāreśwarī or Ardanāreśwara. The thunderbolt (*bajra*) is an important iconographical feature of Bhīma, but not only of Bhīma, also of Indra and Bajrasattwa. Both divinities feature the thunderbolt. It is remarkable that Bhīma is related to these gods. Especially the fact that Bhīma is equaled with Bajrasattwa is interesting as the Tantric Buddhist school of thought Bajrayāna was of importance during the Majapahit Period.

The questions posed at the beginning of this chapter – whether there might be a relation between Bhīma’s character, the role he plays in the various Javanese and the Balinese texts, and the representations of Bhīma’s appearance on the various statues as discussed in Part 1 – can be for the most part answered positively. Various aspects of Bhīma’s iconography as revealed in Part 1 are consolidated by the analysis of the appearance of Bhīma in Javanese literature. Especially Bhīma’s protective qualities are emphasised in nearly all the existing texts and reach a climax in the Balinese *stawa* when these qualities are considered of divine origin.

The religious biased contemporary texts in particular confirm Bhīma’s connection with salvation. They do so by stressing his initiation in the Tantric dogmas, Śaiwa as well as Buddhist, and his acquisition of the ultimate divine status. Bhīma’s relation with salvation and the elixir of life also plays an important part; only two mythical figures are capable of acquiring the elixir from the gods and Bhīma is one of them.¹⁸⁹ There is a strong link between the elixir of life and salvation, as the elixir is the purifying liquid, a necessity for salvation.

Bhīma’s descent from Bāyu certainly played a role in the Majapahit Period, as we saw in the religious biased contemporary texts. His link

¹⁸⁹ The other mythical figure who is able to acquire the elixir of life is the bird Garuḍa. Both Bhīma and Garuḍa appear in the shape of statues and reliefs on the ‘Bhīma sanctuary’ Candi Sukuh. I will elaborate this coincidence in 3.1.4, Candi Sukuh.

with Bāyu could have been an important factor in the performance of yoga as a part of Tantric rituals.

Bhīma's descent from Bāyu is barely noticeable in the texts written before the Majapahit Period, the *parwa* and *kakawin*. In these 'secular' texts, which are predominantly court literature, his royal descent as the son of Pāṇḍu and Kuntī and his heroic behaviour on the battlefield were of far more importance. On the whole we can clearly discern that his royal descent, his stature and power and his determination are of importance in all texts. I assume that these attributes are largely responsible for Bhīma's popularity during the Majapahit Period, and his possible function as a role model.

There is one more relation I would like to mention between the role Bhīma plays in the contemporaneous texts and the Bhīma representations as discussed in Part 1. Bhīma, the prince, the warrior and the hero from the Mahābhārata, acquires a divine status in some of the contemporary texts discussed and in at least a quarter of the Bhīma statues this divine status is confirmed.

I have not found any associations between Bhīma and fertility in the Bhīma literature.¹⁹⁰

The influence of *wayang* which is obvious in the Bhīma representations is only discernible in the prose version of the *kidung Nawaruci* which has the structure of a *wayang* story (*lakon*).

¹⁹⁰ Woro Aryandini who wrote a thesis on the image of Bhīma in Bhīma literature from the Classical Period up to 1940 came to the same conclusion (Woro Aryandini 1998:403).

2.2 Bhīma's role in relief scenes

2.2.1 Introduction

The corpus of relief scenes on Java with depictions of Bhīma is not very extensive. There are in fact only twelve reliefs including sixteen scenes known at present. Thirteen of these scenes belong to four relief series, and the other three are single relief scenes. The relief series and the single relief scenes have all, except for one, been identified.¹

Like most Javanese reliefs, the 'Bhīma' reliefs are narrative reliefs; they depict stories conveying a narrative known from a literary source. During the identification of the Bhīma reliefs it was found that the depicted scenes often did not correspond with the written texts even though the representations could be attributed to a specific story. This discrepancy is however not restricted to the identification of 'Bhīma' reliefs, but is a general problem with the identification of Javanese reliefs.

Theories concerning the reason of this discrepancy between text and representation have been put forward since the beginning of the twentieth century. Stutterheim (1925:111) who wrote a thesis about *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on Java argued that local oral versions of the Indonesian *Rāmāyaṇa* texts and *wayang* drama (*lakon*) might have functioned as a basis for the sculptures of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs. In the same year Van Stein Callenfels (1925:17) reasoned that drama (*lakon*) based on *parwa* literature, which was most probably used for *wayang* performances, formed the source for the depictions of the relief scenes. He also argued that the reliefs based on *lakon* were portrayed in 'wayang style', a style in which the depicted figures resemble *wayang kulit* puppets. I will return to his theory later in this section. Klokke (1993a:111) concluded in her thesis entitled *The Tantri Reliefs on Ancient Javanese Candi* that a combination of factors must have been responsible for what was sculptured on some specific Tantri reliefs in East Java. These factors include written texts, local oral versions of the texts, and local sculptural traditions. When all these factors are taken into account however, it still appears to be difficult to exclude all discrepancies.

The theories at hand seem to overlook the fact that there is a clear difference between the visual medium (reliefs) on the one hand and the written (texts) and the oral media (oral traditions) on the other hand. A visual medium is bound by a different set of rules and regula-

¹ Van Stein Callenfels, Poerbatjaraka 1919; Van Stein Callenfels 1925; Stutterheim 1935, 1940; Bosch 1961:47-109; Duijker 2001:76.

tions than a written text and an oral narrative. Real situations are easier to depict via a visual medium (such as a relief) than abstract ones; for example a fight is easier to portray than an emotion. A story portrayed on a relief consists of a series of random pictures depicting real situations like for instance a man in a meditation position or a man drawing a bow. Written and oral texts on the other hand can elaborate on events both real and emotional. Besides the difference in ways of expression there might have been other factors that have influenced the rendering of narratives like for instance the specific wishes of the patron of the reliefs, who was mostly also the patron of the *candi*. The reliefs could also have to portray a special meaning in the context of the *candi*. There are examples of the same narrative depicted on different *candi* with different scenes, for instance the narrative *Sudamala* on *Candi Tigowangi* and *Candi Sukuh*, and the *Garuḍeya* on *Candi Kedaton* and *Candi Sukuh*. Hence we may conclude that the discrepancies between representation and source – be it literary stories, oral narratives or *wayang* performances or through an intermediary patron – will to a certain extent always remain.

In this chapter I will analyse Bhīma's portrayal on the sixteen relief scenes found on Java. Except for three relief scenes, which form part of an exceptionally shaped relief stone on *Candi Sukuh*, Bhīma's role has never been properly examined on these reliefs. My aim is to find out whether Bhīma fulfils a specific role in the stories depicted and to see if this fits with what I have found in the previous chapters. I am also interested in comparing the way Bhīma is sculptured on the reliefs with my findings of the iconographical research of the statues in Part 1 and the way he is described in Javanese literature.

As one of the research questions of this study is to know the extent of the *wayang* influence on Bhīma's appearance during the Majapahit Period, I would also like to find out whether the depicted narrative on the relief scenes is executed in the so called 'wayang style' and bears any relation to a *lakon*. In addition I will consider Bhīma's physical representation in the scenes, because the way his arms are carved may indicate a relation to the manipulation of the *wayang kulit* puppets and reveal a certain mood or action.

In relation to the 'wayang style' I will return to the earlier mentioned theory of Van Stein Callenfels. He assumed that East Javanese reliefs mirrored two traditions: a court and a popular tradition (Van Stein Callenfels 1925:173). The court tradition was related to court literature par excellence, the Indian influenced *kakawin* and depicted in 'kakawin style'. The popular tradition was connected to the *lakon*, the indigenous *wayang* story. His theory however appeared untenable,² as the 'wayang style' is preponderant in the Late Classical Period. *Kakawin* are portrayed in *wayang* style too, as we will see later on.

² See also Klokke 1993a:12.

Although *wayang kulit* performances are not particularly mentioned in contemporaneous literature, the ‘*wayang* style’ seems to have found resonance in the Majapahit Period as, besides the depiction of figures on reliefs, the ‘*wayang* style’ also appeared on coins (Sedimen 2002: 141-2; Cribb 1999:367-8, Pl. 240) and on religious utensils (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1988:143). Chinese coins (*kepèng*), the currency of the Majapahit Period, as well as holy water containers, the so-called zodiac beakers, show figures that bear resemblance to *wayang kulit* puppets.

Amongst the sixteen relief scenes depicting Bhīma there are only three scenes that do not originate from the Majapahit Period. They date from the tenth century and come from Candi Jolotundo. I included these scenes in this chapter as they focus on Bhīma’s image and iconography within that particular period, and will contribute to Bhīma’s picture overall. The other scenes discussed in this chapter are: four relief scenes on Candi Jago, three on Candi Tigowangi, four on Candi Sukuh, one on Candi Selokelir, and one on Candi Kendolisodo.

2.2.2 Candi Jolotundo

As mentioned above the oldest relief scenes in which Bhīma appears do not date from the Majapahit Period, but from the tenth century. Originally they were part of a series of reliefs with gargoyles found in the holy bathing place (*tīrtha*) of Jolotundo. Jolotundo was built around 977 C.E. on the western slope of Mount (*gunung*) Bèkèl, the most western peak of Mount Penanggungan³ on East Java. Bosch (1961:53-4) associates this bathing place with Udayana (963?-1011? C.E.).

The reliefs were found around the central terrace in the great basin and the three relief scenes including Bhīma⁴ were situated on the front (west) side of this terrace. According to Bosch (1961:74-9), who identified the Jolotundo reliefs, they depict amongst others things the life of the Pāṇḍawa brothers and their ancestors, and are partly based on the *lakon Palasara* and the *Ādiparwa*. Bosch (1961:107) is also of the opinion that the relief scenes are an illustration of the ancestry of the mythical hero Udayana whose lineage goes back to the Pāṇḍawa. He believes that the historical Udayana considered the Pāṇḍawa to be his ancestors, and therefore consequently canonised them as the ancestors of the Javanese royal dynasties from the tenth century onwards.⁵

³ Mount Penanggungan constitutes of a main peak and four subsidiary peaks.

⁴ The reliefs are now part of the collection of Museum Nasional in Jakarta, nos. 5839, 5842, 5843.

⁵ Bosch 1961:107.

As mentioned Bhīma appears on three of the Jolotundo reliefs and they are numbered VIII, IX, X.⁶ The scenes on these reliefs represent episodes from the *Ādiparwa*, including the childhood of the Pāṇḍawa and Korawa on Relief VIII; Dropadī's wedding contest (*swayambara*) on Relief IX;⁷ and the fighting scene following the *swayambara* on Relief X.

According to Bosch (1961:56,82) the scene on the left hand base of Relief VIII shows Bhīma sitting on the back of a man who is identified as Bhīma's cousin and archenemy Duryodhana, the eldest of the Korawa. Bhīma's left foot is placed on his cousin's neck and he is grasping his hair with his left hand while threatening him with a raised right hand. It is almost like he is riding a horse and the image clearly indicates that Bhīma is in control.

Three of Bhīma's brothers who are just sitting on an elevation on Bhīma's left are watching the proceedings unfold. A fourth brother joins the action by grabbing Duryodhana's locks. This depiction must have been inspired by the supremacy of Bhīma over the Korawa even though this is not mentioned as such in the *Ādiparwa*. Because the depiction on this relief is a very sketchy one, I find it difficult to identify Bhīma, his brothers and Duryodhana just on iconographical grounds.

Bosch (1961:79) identified the scene on Relief IX as the wedding contest (*swayambara*) of Dropadī (Fig. 52). On the left-hand side of the relief from the viewer's point of view, Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, and the twins Nakula and Sadewa are seated on a platform underneath a roof of foliage. They are following the actions of their brother Arjuna in the wedding contest. Arjuna is standing in front of a pavilion holding a bow in his left hand and – most probably as the relief is broken at this point – an arrow in his right hand. He is aiming to hit a target. According to Bosch (1961:79) king Dropada is sitting on the right-hand side of Arjuna on a covered throne. In an earlier description however, Bosch (1961:57) is not so sure whether the person portrayed on the throne is actually male. I must say that I have my doubts whether it is Dropada who is depicted, because the depicted figure is wearing a hair dress with a flowering sprig which is very unusual for a king. I am assuming therefore that the person depicted is female and the bride to be Dropadī. My assumption is confirmed by the *Ādiparwa*. In this text Dropada says:

⁶ Bosch 1961:79-81.

⁷ For the story of the wedding contest see 2.1.3, The *Ādiparwa*.

Whoever succeeds in hitting the hole of the target, will be the husband of my younger sister, Dropadī, sitting there on the throne!⁸ (Phalgunadi 1990:261)

If my assumption is right, the rivals of Arjuna and the Pāṇḍawa brothers, the Korawa, are depicted on the right-hand side of Dropadī. Two of them are, just like the Pāṇḍawa, sitting under a roof made out of foliage.

Although I agree with Bosch on the identification of this scene, it is again very difficult to identify Bhīma as the second person sitting under the foliage on the left side of this scene. Firstly the face is too damaged to recognise, and secondly he has the same posture as his brothers, which would be strange if this is supposed to be Bhīma. On the reliefs from the Majapahit Period and from other parts of Asia, Bhīma is usually depicted much taller and stronger than his brothers. I only know of the Khmer iconography where the five Pāṇḍawa brothers are almost identical in their iconography.⁹ Bosch (1961:100) believes that the historical Udayana was of Khmer descent. According to him Udayana's mother had royal Khmer blood and this might support a Khmer influence on the iconography of the protagonists.

There is another remarkable fact visible on this relief scene, something which was also noticed by Bosch.¹⁰ The Pāṇḍawa are not depicted in disguise in this particular scene. According to the story in the *Ādiparwa* the Pāṇḍawa attend the wedding contest disguised as Brahmans (priests), and this masquerade is the reason why the rejected suitors, the Korawa, attack king Dropada. The rejected suitors are of the opinion that only members of the ruling class (*kṣatriya*) are permitted to compete in the wedding contest and certainly no priests (Brahmans). So the reason for the Korawa to fight the Pāṇḍawa according to the Javanese *Ādiparwa* is not rendered in the second relief.

Arjuna has won the wedding contest and thus Dropadī's hand. When subsequently king Dropada is attacked by the Korawa, the Pāṇḍawa leap into action as they now have to protect their future family in law according to their code of honour (*dharmakṣatriya*). This scene is depicted on the third relief (Relief X).

The relief scene illustrates the fight between the Pāṇḍawa and the Korawa (Fig. 53).¹¹ On this relief Bhīma is depicted more prominently than his brother Arjuna who is portrayed standing to his left. On the right of Bhīma we can identify the twins Nakula and Sadewa and his eldest brother Yudhiṣṭhira with his sword. Bhīma is depicted in a

⁸ 'Yapwan kēnā lyañ nikañ tinuju, sakumēnerika, sira ta karmā ny arinku sañ Dropadī, sang maluñguh riñ kayu.' (Phalgunadi 1990:260)

⁹ See also 1.1.1, about a Bhīma depiction (Fig. 1) from Banteay Srei dating 967 C.E.

¹⁰ Bosch 1961:79-81.

¹¹ In the Javanese *Ādiparwa* it is said that Arjuna and Bhīma protect Dropada by fighting two prominent Korawa, Karṇa and Salya.

jumping position clearly kicking out at his enemies, the Korawa. The jump shows us Bhīma's power and the intimidation of his opponents. This intimidating behaviour is also visible in Bhīma's Khmer and Indian iconography (see 1.1.1-1.1.2).

In the scene Bhīma brandishes an uprooted tree. We know from the *Ādiparwa* and the *Wirāṭaparwa* that Bhīma uses an uprooted tree as a substitute for his club, so this is not unusual.¹² Being the son of Bāyu, the god of the wind, gives him the strength to pull up trees easily. A similar relief scene is known of Bhīma's half-brother Hanūmān, also a son of Bāyu (Fig. 54). However, this scene in *wayang* style dates from the Majapahit Period.¹³

What I find remarkable on relief scene no. x is the prominence and clear visibility of Bhīma's genitals. We know that this is one of Bhīma's prominent iconographic features in the Majapahit Period. This relief however, predates this period by nearly four hundred years. This may be an indication that Bhīma's genitals were an iconographical feature from the start of his appearance on Java, and that his virility was already deemed as important.

Interpretation of Bhīma's role in the relief scenes on Candi Jolotundo

Bhīma's depiction on the Jolotundo relief scenes must be seen in context of the portrayal of his family the Pāṇḍawa. One of the reasons for the creation of the reliefs is to show Ūdayana's ancestry from the Pāṇḍawa, and Bhīma is just one of them. On the Jolotundo reliefs he clearly functions as a family member, as he is never depicted on his own, but always with a couple of his brothers. On two of the relief scenes (VIII and x) his supernatural strength and his protective and tempestuous nature are highlighted.

In the first relief scene he humiliates his opponent Duryodhana by riding on his back showing his superiority. In the second scene he acts no different from his brothers as they are all watching their brother's progress in the wedding contest. In the third scene he is the stormy prince who protects his future family in law. Bhīma is the most prominent figure in this last relief scene and the aggression and strength by which he attacks his enemies, the Korawa, is emphasised.

In one relief scene (Relief x) Bhīma's prominent genitals are part of his iconography which indicates that Bhīma's virility must have already been of some importance in the tenth century.

¹² Phalgunadi 1990:233, 1992:87,107.

¹³ It concerns a Rāmāyaṇa relief on Candi Panataran (Stutterheim 1925, Pl. 131).

2.2.3 Candi Jago

The oldest relief scenes from the Majapahit Period¹⁴ including depictions of Bhīma are located on Candi Jago. Candi Jago is a sanctuary situated to the east of Malang in the village of Tumpang in East Java. The four relief scenes on which Bhīma appears are part of a continuing series of reliefs found on the second terrace of the temple. The Bhīma scenes are located on the southern wall.

Candi Jago dates from the Singhasāri Period (1222-1292 C.E.), the period preceding the Majapahit Period. Wiṣṇuwardhana, the penultimate ruler of the Singhasāri dynasty who died in 1268 C.E.,¹⁵ was enshrined in this sanctuary most likely in 1280 C.E.¹⁶ This indicates that the sanctuary was probably founded between 1268 and 1280 C.E. Candi Jago however, like many other sanctuaries dating from the Singhasāri Period, underwent major renovations in the middle of the fourteenth century.¹⁷ Both the building and the reliefs show many similarities with sanctuaries that were built or altered in the middle of the fourteenth century such as Candi Panataran, Surowono and Tigowangi.¹⁸

According to Van Stein Callenfels and Poerbatjaraka (1919:361-90) the relief scenes on the second terrace of Candi Jago relate to the *kakawin Pārthayajña*. The reliefs are in 'wayang style' and as far as we know now they are the first reliefs from the Majapahit Period on which Bhīma is depicted.

The *kakawin Pārthayajña* narrates the story where the Pāṇḍawa lose their kingdom to the Korawa, and the subsequent journey of Arjuna, the third of the five brothers, to Mount Indrakīla. Arjuna (Pārtha) travels to Indrakīla to do penance so that he can obtain a magical weapon from Śiwa to fight the Korawa. Although the *Pārthayajña* deals with episodes from the *Mahābhārata* that occur at the end of the second book (*Sabhāparwa*) and the beginning of the third book (*Wanaparwa*), the emphasis of this *kakawin* lies on the instruction of Arjuna into asceticism by several *guru*.

The story begins in the palace (*kraton*) of the Korawa where Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍawa brothers, gambles with dice and loses his kingdom because the Korawa trick him. After this event the Pāṇḍawa live in exile for twelve years. Domya, a holy man who guides the Pāṇḍawa, teaches them how to conduct themselves and instructs Arjuna how to make his journey. At the beginning of his

¹⁴ As far as we know now.

¹⁵ *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 41:2 (Robson 1995:54).

¹⁶ It was at this time that the final death ceremony, the *śrāddha* ritual, was performed for the deceased king.

¹⁷ *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 73:2 (Robson 1995:78).

¹⁸ Van Stein Callenfels 1925:159; Stutterheim 1936:274-97; Klokke 1993a:81-2; Kinney 2003:96.

journey Arjuna visits a hermitage where the abbess, a *Mahāyanī*,¹⁹ starts a discussion about good and evil and teaches him how to train himself in the pursuit of final liberation. After Arjuna leaves the hermitage, he wanders through a dark forest with his attendant (*panakawan*) where a goddess appears to him and informs him that he will obtain the magical weapon. But before he does so he needs to fight his desires, and succeed in his first lessons in asceticism.

Arjuna's journey also leads him to the shore where he meets the god of love Kāma who resides there with his wife Ratih and some celestial maidens. Seeing them confuses Arjuna about his goal, but Kāma urges him not to forsake and strengthen his mind, as this is the way forward to liberation. Kāma also warns him that he will encounter a powerful giant named Nalamala, but that there is no need to panic as he will be able to defeat the giant by strong meditation. It all happens as predicted, and Arjuna continues his journey to his grandfather's hermitage. His grandfather is a wise man called Dwaipāyana (Byāsa). He instructs Arjuna in *śiwāgama*, the doctrine and practice of Śaiwism. After a year of asceticism and purification Arjuna is ready for a union with the essence of Śiwa, and so Śiwa appears before him in the shape of a Kirāṭa, a member of a mountain tribe.

From the story we can distil that Bhīma does not play a major part in the proceedings, as the main focus is on his brother Arjuna performing severe meditation. Consequently Bhīma only appears on four relief scenes, and these scenes are all taken from the first part of the *Pārthayajña*, in which the loss of the kingdom and the subsequent exile of the Pāṇḍawa is central.

The first relief scene in which Bhīma appears features a pavilion in the palace of the Korawa located in Hāstinapura (Fig. 55). In the pavilion we can identify from left to right from the viewers' point of view the Korawa Duryodhana and Śakuni, and the Pāṇḍawa Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna. Śakuni knocks over a gaming table. Arjuna is observing the game. We can also see the servants of the Pāṇḍawa and Korawa seated under the floor imitating their masters.²⁰

Standing on the right, outside the pavilion, we find Bhīma, watching Yudhiṣṭhira gambling away the kingdom. Bhīma is looking in the direction of the pavilion with his arms hanging alongside his body. There is no motion detectable in his body, and it seems that he takes the situation as it is.

On the second relief scene the Pāṇḍawa are leaving the palace, banished and driven into exile for the next twelve years (Fig. 56). A humiliated Dropadī with loose hair is leading the way.²¹ Following her,

¹⁹ A follower of the Mahāyāna doctrine which is a form of Buddhism.

²⁰ A general behaviour of servants (*panakawan*) in *wayang* plays.

²¹ After Yudhiṣṭhira has gambled away his kingdom, Dropadī, the wife of the five Pāṇḍawa, is humiliated by Duśśāsana, one of the principal Korawa. He tries to draw

from right to left, are Kuntī, Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, and the twins Nakula and Sadewa. Bhīma is depicted in a running motion with his arms alongside his body. According to the text of the *Pārthayajña* Bhīma is bitter and vengeful and he swears:

To crush in the battle the thighbone of Duryodhana.²² (Canto 2)

This fighting scene however is not depicted, and Bhīma's demeanour in the picture does not look aggressive at all, he just seems to walk out of the palace gate.

In the third relief scene the Pāṇḍawa meet the sage Domya and the latter addresses Yudhiṣṭhira. The photograph only shows the Pāṇḍawa Bhīma and Arjuna. Like in the second scene Bhīma is depicted on the run, his body however, is turned towards Arjuna who is walking behind him (Fig. 57). Bhīma's right arm is akimbo, which is an active motion²³ in the *wayang kulit* iconography. The two brothers might be conversing. However, in the text Bhīma talks to Yudhiṣṭhira to whom he says that he would have preferred attacking the Korawa.

Bhīma answers that it would be better to attack the enemy [the Korawa].²⁴ (Canto 4)

I am not supposing that Bhīma is discussing this matter with Arjuna, who is his younger brother after all. Yudhiṣṭhira is, besides being the king, Bhīma's older brother, so it would make more sense for him to discuss matters about fighting with him. For all I know Arjuna and Bhīma might be discussing nothing in particular. In any case Bhīma does not seem to be very agitated in his expression, but at least he seems to be the only one who is active.

The fourth relief scene depicts from left to right Arjuna, the twins Nakula and Sadewa and Bhīma. Bhīma is standing on his right leg with his knee bent over his right leg in an active pose. His right hand is placed on his right leg and his head is turned backwards towards the twins (Fig. 58).

According to the text the Pāṇḍawa, their wife Dropadī, and their mother Kuntī take leave of Arjuna (Pārtha) and are in a sad mood because Arjuna is off to Mount Indrakīla for his penance (Van Stein

the sari from her body, but through some divine intervention the sari does not unwind and so Dropadī is spared a profound humiliation.

²² Van Stein Callenfels, *Poerbatjaraka* 1919:380-81. This is a well-known phrase from the *Mahābhārata*. The actual fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana takes place during the great battle, the *Bhāratayuddha*, and this is often depicted on reliefs (see 1.1).

²³ Prof. Dr. B. Arps kindly informed me that the motion is called *walang kerik*.

²⁴ 'Bhīma antwoordt dat het beter zou zijn den vijand te overvallen.' (Van Stein Callenfels, *Poerbatjaraka* 1919:381)

Callenfels, Poerbatjaraka 1919:382). In the depicted scene Bhīma seems indeed to be in a sad mood.

Interpretation of Bhīma's role in the relief scenes on Candi Jago

In the four scenes of the Candi Jago (*Pārthayajña*) reliefs on which Bhīma is depicted we find that he is definitely not the leading man. He is depicted as just one of the Pāṇḍawa brothers and appears to be a quiet member of the family just following the rest.

The main focus of the *Pārthayajña* reliefs is Arjuna, whose story of penance is told through a background of the loss of the Pāṇḍawa's kingdom, the treacherous Korawa, and the exile of the Pāṇḍawa and their entourage. The basis of the story rendered on the reliefs comes from the *kakawin Pārthayajña*, meaning the sacrifice of Arjuna (who is Pārtha in the story), which speaks for itself.

According to the text of the *kakawin* on which the relief scenes two and three are based, Bhīma is revengeful after the humiliation of Dropadī and would have liked to attack and fight the Korawa. Although it is difficult to sculpture such moods, Bhīma does not appear to be agitated or aggressive at all. However, one could say that he is the only one who seems to be discussing something in scene three even though his demeanour seems apprehensive. It is only in the fourth scene that we can distinct a certain mood in Bhīma's appearance. According to his physical depiction it looks like he is in a reflective mood, probably even sad.

2.2.4 Candi Tigowangi

The sanctuary Candi Tigowangi is situated near the town of Paré, Kediri, East Java and dates from the second part of the fourteenth century. Candi Tigowangi is mentioned in the text *Deśawarṇana*, also known as the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, dating from 1365 C.E. This text deals with a number of events in the life of Hayam Wuruk, the most important ruler of the Majapahit Period. The *Deśawarṇana*²⁵ mentions the formation of the sanctuary by the prince of Watsari (read Matahun) the brother in law of Hayam Wuruk.²⁶ I therefore presume that the sanctuary must have been founded by the prince.

Bhīma appears on three relief scenes found at Candi Tigowangi and all three scenes are part of a continuing series of reliefs on the walls of the main building. According to Van Stein Callenfels (1925:155-8) this continuing series of reliefs depicts scenes from the *lakon Sudamala*. The reliefs are sculpted in 'wayang style'.

²⁵ *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 82:2-4 (Robson 1995:84).

²⁶ The prince of Matahun is considered to be the brother in law of king Hayam Wuruk, *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 6:1-2 (Robson 1995:27).

The *lakon Sudamala* is most probably derived from the *kidung Sudamala*. Van Stein Callenfels (1925:158) believes that the depiction of the *Sudamala* on the reliefs at Candi Tigowangi had a function of exorcising evil (*ruwat*).²⁷

Van Stein Callenfels (1925:57-8) suggests that the prince of Matahun might have built the sanctuary because of his marriage to the queen of Lasēm.²⁸ His wife, a cousin of king Hayam Wuruk, was an only child which meant that she most probably had to be submitted to a *ruwat* before her marriage.²⁹ In the *Deśawarnana* there is no reference to such a ritual. It only informs us that the foundation of sanctuaries by members of the royal family made the people content.³⁰

There are more contemporaneous reliefs depicting the *Sudamala*, so it must have been an important text in the Majapahit Period used as a source of inspiration for reliefs. The depiction of the *Sudamala* could therefore well have had a *ruwat* function.

The main theme of the *Sudamala* is the release of Umā from a spell put on her by her husband Śiwa. He cursed her for adultery. The spell has given Umā a demonic appearance, and in this manifestation she is known as Ra Nini. After twelve³¹ years it is Sadewa, one of the Pāṇḍawa twins, who releases Umā from the spell. He exorcises her through the intermediary of Śiwa. After the deliverance of Umā, Sadewa is honoured by her with the name Sudamala.³² Sadewa also exorcises two giants, the brothers Kalāntaka and Kalākañja,³³ and on the orders of Umā he cures the saint Tambapetra from his blindness too. In return he receives one of Tambapetra's daughters as a bride. His twin brother Nakula marries the second daughter of Tambapetra.

As mentioned before, Bhīma appears in three scenes of the Candi Tigowangi relief series. The first scene is found on the southern wall, and the second and third on the eastern wall of the main building of the sanctuary. Unfortunately, at the time of description in 1925 there was only a small piece left of the bottom of the third relief scene.

²⁷ *Ruwat* means to banish/release evil. During the performance of a *ruwat lakon* people who are cursed or impure are exorcised and released from their evil spirits. Around 1925 the *Sudamala* was no longer known on Java as a *ruwat lakon*, however Dr. V.M. Clara van Groenendael told me that between 1978 and 1982 when she did her research on *wayang* performances on Java, the *Sudamala* was performed as a *wayang lakon*.

²⁸ The queen of Lasēm was a cousin of king Hayam Wuruk (see Fig. B: Genealogy of the Majapahit dynasty). Although Lasēm is a cousin of the king, she is considered the 'younger sister of the king' in Javanese kinship.

²⁹ As an only child (*ontang-onting*) one had to be submitted to a *ruwat* ceremony. An *ontang-onting* would otherwise have a bad influence on his or her environment.

³⁰ *Deśawarnana*, Canto 82:2-4 (Robson 1995:84).

³¹ Twelve is a symbolic number in the duration of curses or spells. It is normally after a twelve years' period that cursed figures, often gods or heavenly creatures, are exorcised.

³² 'He by whom blemishes and evil are purified.' (Zoetmulder 1974:434)

³³ Bhīma and Arjuna are not able to kill the giants.

The first relief scene (Fig. 59) portrays starting from the left: Kuntī, the mother of the Pāṇḍawa, an attendant (*panakawan*), Yudhiṣṭhira, and Bhīma. Bhīma is depicted on the run, but is looking back at Arjuna. He is holding his left hand in front of his waist, which indicates an active pose. Bhīma might be talking with his brother Arjuna. Yudhiṣṭhira is pointing two stretched fingers to Kuntī, which indicates an arguing or threatening gesture. The *panakawan* pays respect to Kuntī.

Kuntī has just returned from the cemetery Gandamayū where Umā, in her demonic manifestation (Ra Nini), resides. Kuntī is possessed by the demon Kalika on command of Umā/Ra Nini, and she has to return to the cemetery with Sadewa in order to release Umā from her curse.

It looks like Yudhiṣṭhira is threatening Kuntī not to take Sadewa to the cemetery while Bhīma and Arjuna are talking. According to the text however, not Yudhiṣṭhira, but Bhīma and Arjuna forbid Kuntī to take Sadewa to the cemetery (Van Stein Callenfels 1925:90), but this is definitely not depicted here.

The second relief scene reveals the homecoming of the twins Nakula and Sadewa (Sudamala), their brides and their father-in law Tambapetra. We see only a part of this scene namely the depiction of Bhīma, Arjuna, and two attendants (Fig. 60). Bhīma is again turned towards Arjuna whilst holding his left hand on his thigh in an active pose. Again he might be talking with Arjuna, but one cannot determine this with any certainty.

According to the text Kuntī welcomes home Sadewa (Sudamala) and his brother Nakula after they have married the daughters of Tambapetra (Van Stein Callenfels 1925:107). The *Sudamala* does not narrate that Sadewa is paying respect to Kuntī, and neither is there any mention of Bhīma talking to his brother Arjuna.

The third relief scene is for the greater part demolished, only a small part of Bhīma's legs, his anklets and a tail of his sash are visible. It is therefore too difficult to identify and to interpret the scene. Van Stein Callenfels (1925:132) presumed that the scene represented a meeting between Tambapetra and some Pāṇḍawa amongst whom Bhīma.

Interpretation of Bhīma's role in the relief scenes on Candi Tigowangi

Bhīma is just portrayed as one of the Pāṇḍawa brothers, and has no significant role to play in the *Sudamala* reliefs depicted on Candi Tigowangi. In the two scenes which are still complete he does seem to be talking to his younger brother Arjuna, but what kind of significance this has is unclear as the depicted scenes differ from the texts. Sadewa also known as Sudamala is the real protagonist of the story. He is the one who successfully exorcises Umā and the two giants, Kalāntaka and Kalākañja, of their curses, and who cures Tambapetra of his blindness.

2.2.5 Candi Selokelir

A relief including a depiction of Bhīma was one of the remains of the mountain sanctuary Candi Selokelir, but unfortunately this relief has disappeared.³⁴

Candi Selokelir, formerly known as Antiquity XXIII, lies on the southwestern slope of the Penanggungan and is a terraced sanctuary. The original number of terraces on Selokelir is unknown, as is the original location of the Bhīma relief. According to inscriptions found on the sanctuary revealing the dates 1434 and 1442 C.E., it is assumed that the sanctuary was founded around the thirties of the fifteenth century. I believe that the Bhīma relief was sculptured around the same period. Although the relief is not in situ anymore, I am able to discuss it thanks to a photograph made by Claire Holt in 1933.³⁵

The relief consists of seven scattered relief stones which might represent one or more scenes of a narrative (Fig. 61). The photograph gives the impression that there used to be more parts to the relief than the ones shown. The remains show on the viewer's left a small seated figure (a demon?) with both arms in front of his chest. Next to the seated person we recognise Bhīma holding a branch of a tree. He is standing on his right leg and his left leg is bent over his right leg, indicating an inactive pose. Bhīma looks at his attendant depicted in front of him. The attendant kneels and pays respect to Bhīma. Above the attendant a pavilion is discernable with a torso. On the attendant's right are two human figures of which the first is looking in Bhīma's direction and the second is looking the other way. Judging from their headgear, clothing and jewellery they are of high caste. To their right we distinguish a huge female demon.

Above Bhīma a head of a deity is visible surrounded by a Majapahit aureole with at the left side a pot (with the elixir of life?) and to the right side a small demon with a pavilion in the background.

The scenes on the scattered stones have not yet been identified. However, I am of the opinion that Bhīma is the protagonist. He is portrayed very prominently and is paid respect by his attendant. The seated (demonic) figure behind Bhīma appears to be impressed by the sight of Bhīma. The relation between Bhīma and the two standing human figures is not clear.

Because of Bhīma's prominence on the relief the relief might be based on a *kidung*. As far as we know at present there are three *kidung* in which Bhīma is the protagonist, the *Nawaruci*, the *Dewaruci* and the *Bhīmaswarga*. Given the figures depicted on the relief and the way

³⁴ According to the SUAKA Peninggalan Jawa Timur in Trawulan the relief was stolen. This must have happened after 1933, as this is the year Claire Holt photographed the relief still in situ.

³⁵ Collection Claire Holt (H 536).

Bhīma is depicted, holding a branch of a tree, I am of the opinion that a scene from the *Bhīmaswarga* does belong to the realm of possibilities. In this *kidung* Bhīma gets his parents out of Yama's hell, in which, according to the iconographical tradition are many trees. He purifies his parents with the elixir of life so that they go to heaven. However as the two human figures of high rank are not identifiable as Bhīma's parents, this identification remains hypothetical.

Interpretation of Bhīma's role in the relief scene on Candi Selokelir

The reliefs might depict an episode from the *kidung Bhīmaswarga*, however the identification is hypothetical. The role Bhīma plays in this particular *kidung* is that of a saviour.

2.2.6 Candi Kendolisodo

On Candi Kendolisodo, which used to be known as Antiquity LXV, one relief panel with Bhīma was found.³⁶ The panel is sculpted in *wayang* style.

Candi Kendolisodo is a mountain sanctuary located on the northern slope of Gunung Bēkel, which is the most western peak of the Penanggungan, East Java. The sanctuary is situated in a corner shaped by steep mountain walls, and it consists of a terraced sanctuary and a hermitage. Although there were no inscriptions found with dates within the sanctuary, Stutterheim (1940:132) assumed that the sanctuary dates from roughly the same period as Candi Selokelir, the middle of the fifteenth century.

The relief panel on which Bhīma is depicted, used to be placed within a retaining wall left from the second staircase leading to the hermitage. Unfortunately the relief is no longer there, but I am able to discuss it here because it was photographed by the Archaeological Service.³⁷

The relief panel (Fig. 62) shows a human figure, identifiable as Bhīma, standing in the sea. He is holding his right arm alongside his body and his left arm bent in front of him. This indicates an attentive pose. Both his hands are sculptured in the hand gesture *kapita mudra*, which indicates that he is warding off evil spirits.

According to Stutterheim (1940:131-2) the relief represents a scene from the *kidung Dewaruci*. In the depicted scene Bhīma is descending

³⁶ According to information given to me by the SUAKA Peninggalan Jawa Timur in Trawulan the relief was stolen in 1990.

³⁷ OD photograph 12634.

into the sea in order to find the elixir of life and to be initiated into salvation dogmas.³⁸ Stutterheim added the following quotation.

He [Bhīma] walked into the sea; he was without passion. The water covered his calves; it splashed from his knees on his body. (Stutterheim 1940:132, note 1)³⁹

Although Stutterheim's assumption is acceptable I am of the opinion that the Candi Kendolisodo relief represents a scene from the *Nawaruci*. In the *Nawaruci* Bhīma also walks into the sea.

The prince [Bhīma] did not relax on his journey, he quickly descended the ocean.⁴⁰ (Prijoetomo 1934:95)

The reasoning behind my assumption is that according to the iconographical tradition of the *Dewaruci*, Bhīma is always depicted fighting the sea serpent which tries to kill him when he is walking into the sea. The serpent however is nowhere to be seen in this relief which makes me think that the scene is derived from the *Nawaruci* rather than the *Dewaruci*.

A second reason for my hypothesis is the Śaiwa bias of the *Nawaruci*. According to the finds of the terraced sanctuaries, the religion practised within these sanctuaries was mostly following the Tantric Śaiwism. This is clearly visible on Candi Kendolisodo. On the retaining wall right next to the second staircase leading to the hermitage there is a relief panel showing a scene from the *Arjunawiwāha*. In this scene Arjuna is meditating whilst being tempted by heavenly nymphs. As a true ascetic he is able to withstand this temptation and consequently gets the opportunity to meet Śiwa. It is clear to me that the two stories of Arjuna and Bhīma both are of a Śaiwa character.

The third reason for my assumption is the mention of some of the iconographical features of Bhīma in the *Nawaruci*, such as him being a tall figure, wearing a big moustache, his long thumbnails, the tails of his sash, his necklace in the shape of a maculated snake, earrings in the shape of a *pudak* and ear pendants in the shape of a mangistan. These iconographical features are very similar to the features of his representation on the relief. They are not mentioned in the *Dewaruci*.⁴¹

³⁸ For a more detailed account of this story see 2.1.5, The *Dewaruci*.

³⁹ The quotation is translated from the *Dewaruci* transcription of Poerbatjaraka (1940:16) which is as follows: 'Lumēbu sireng samudra, wiraganira lagawa, bañu sumaput ing wētis, sakeng tur mēlĕk ing angga.'

⁴⁰ 'Tan panginak-inak ri lampahira rahadyan, aglis tumēḍun rahaden Wṛkodara Lawana-Udadhi.' (Prijoetomo 1934:35)

⁴¹ See 2.1.5, The *Nawaruci*.

The *kidung Nawaruci* had according to Prijohoetomo the structure of a *lakon*.⁴²

Interpretation of Bhīma's role in the relief scene on Candi Kendolisodo

The relief of Kendolisodo depicts Bhīma standing in the ocean. He is the central figure in this relief which clearly is inspired by the *Nawaruci*. His role in this narration is the search for the elixir of life immediately followed by his initiation into Tantric Śaiwa doctrines.

2.2.7 Candi Sukuh

Candi Sukuh is a terraced sanctuary situated on the western slope of Mount Lawu in Central Java. The sanctuary lies close to a village (*desa*) by the same name. Candi Sukuh dates from the middle of the fifteenth century; various inscriptions with dates ranging from 1437-1459 C.E. have been found on walls, reliefs and statues. The patron of the sanctuary is unknown, but might have been of royal descent. I will elaborate this assumption in 3.2.8.

On Candi Sukuh are two relief stones with depictions of Bhīma. These relief stones are situated on the third and highest terrace of the sanctuary.⁴³ The first relief stone is rectangular and was most certainly part of a surrounding wall.⁴⁴ Besides the depiction of Bhīma, this stone also shows a chronogram which will be dealt with in 2.3.3. Presently this relief stone forms part of a group of reliefs on the northern side of the terrace.

The second stone is shaped as a deer arch. This relief stone is found on the northeast side of the northern platform and features three scenes.⁴⁵ The date of the relief stone is unknown, but as most of the sculptures found on the third terrace were sculptured between 1439 and 1449 C.E., I believe that the relief stone dates from the same period.

The first relief (Fig. 63) shows from left to right three human figures, a dwarf with shield and spear, representing an attendant (*panakawan*), and a man who lifts a giant with his left hand while stabbing him with a weapon held in his right hand. The left side of the relief shows the earlier mentioned chronogram.

According to Van Stein Callenfels this relief represents one of the five scenes from the *lakon Sudamala* found on Candi Sukuh – the

⁴² Idem.

⁴³ They were found on this terrace in 1816.

⁴⁴ The inscription on the relief mentions an enclosure or wall. The relief has a thickening on the backside, which might have been a buttress in former days.

⁴⁵ I will also treat this important relief in 3.1.4, Candi Sukuh.

scene in which Sadewa kills the giant Kalākañja (Van Stein Callenfels 1925:109-10). I do not agree with this identification, as I think that the man killing the giant is Bhīma, and not Sadewa. I base this partly on the fact that the iconography of the figure is very similar to the iconography of Bhīma on the deer arch relief and the two stone Bhīma statues also found at Sukuh, and that it differs quite a lot from the iconography of Sadewa on other *Sudamala* reliefs I have discussed. Moreover only Bhīma is strong enough to lift a giant, none of his brothers has the same strength. Stutterheim (1930c:566-7) was of the same opinion although he still assumed that the relief scene was part of the *Sudamala*. I disagree with Stutterheim on this point.

According to the text of the *Sudamala* published by Van Stein Callenfels in 1925, Arjuna attacks the giant Kalākañja first followed by Bhīma who uses his club. When Bhīma realises that he is unable to kill the giant and when on top of that the giant's brother (Kalāntaka) also appears, he and Arjuna make their escape. Subsequently Sadewa (*Sudamala*) kills both giants. Comparisons with similar *Sudamala* relief scenes are impossible because this episode is only depicted on Candi Sukuh.

I do not believe that Bhīma kills the giant instead of Sadewa, as Sadewa is clearly identified as the protagonist in all *Sudamala* reliefs on Candi Sukuh. There is one *Sudamala* relief which shows a slain giant. On this relief are depicted, besides Sadewa and the slain giant, Sadewa's twin brother Nakula and two attendants. The attendants are standing on the giant's belly and mutilate him. According to Hinzler and Clara van Groenendaël such an action of a *panakawan* is often shown in *wayang* performances.⁴⁶

I am of the opinion that this Bhīma relief represents an episode from another story all together. I believe that it represents a scene from the *Nawaruci* (Duijker 2001:76).

As we saw before the *Nawaruci* narrates Bhīma's search for the elixir of life (*amṛta*) in order to be initiated in the Tantric dogma's that will ultimately lead him to salvation. In the written text Bhīma encounters many dangers and enemies during his search, and one of them is the giant Indrabāhu. When the giant threatens to kill Bhīma, Bhīma stabs him with his long thumbnails (*pañcanakha*).⁴⁷ Although the figure depicted on the relief is not stabbing the giant with his long thumbnail(s), but with something that looks more like a sharp object I am still convinced that it is Bhīma who is fighting the giant.

⁴⁶ I have got this information from personal communication with Dr. H.I.R. Hinzler and Dr. V.M. Clara van Groenendaël who are respectively experts on Balinese and Javanese *wayang*.

⁴⁷ In the text 'pañcanakha' is translated as 'with five claws', which is its literal meaning. In the *wayang kulit* iconography *kuku pancanaka* means Bhīma's long thumbnail.

There is one more reason for my assumption that the relief depicts a scene from the *Nawaruci* and not the *Sudamala*, and that is the presence of an inscription in the shape of a chronogram on the same relief. Often, the depicted scene and the chronogram are related to each other. The inscription informs us about the status of Candi Sukuḥ as a very special sanctuary because of its production of holy water (*amṛta*).⁴⁸ And is Bhīma not on his way to find the elixir of life (*amṛta*) when he encounters Indrabāhu? There clearly must be a relation between the *amṛta* of Sukuḥ and Bhīma's search for *amṛta* as narrated in the *Nawaruci*.

The second relief stone (Fig. 64) found in the sanctuary of Sukuḥ is shaped as a deer arch and consists of three scenes: two small ones at the bottom and a larger one at the top. The two small scenes are separated from the larger one by a serpent with a head on each end (no tail). The two small scenes definitely belong together, but the large scene at the top is without doubt the most important one.

The bottommost scene depicts two men with a bag. The bag has an awkward shape as it bulges on the top. The man from the viewers' right side is holding something in his right hand, but what it is, is difficult to see. The second scene, which is sculptured above the previous one, illustrates a man with a small child and a pavilion.

Stutterheim attributes the scenes to the *lakon Bhīma Bungkus*. This *lakon* is a Javanese interpretation of Bhīma's birth. According to the *Bhīma Bungkus*, Bhīma is born with his caul,⁴⁹ but the caul is so strong that nobody can break it loose and in the end Kuntī decides to leave Bhīma with the attached caul behind on the cemetery known as Gandamayū. Subsequently Śiwa orders Gajahsena, his elephant-headed son, to release Bhīma from his caul, and during this procedure Gajahsena incarnates as Bhīma (Stutterheim 1935:54) providing him with supernatural strength (*sakti*).

The two men depicted on the bottom scene are portrayed in a simple way and are, judging from their headgear, ascetics. The bulgy bag they are holding might represent the caul with the just born Bhīma. What they are doing or intend to do with the bag/caul is unclear because the object one of the ascetics is holding is indefinable. The depicted scene does not occur in the two versions of the *lakon Bhīma Bungkus* published by Stutterheim.⁵⁰

The second scene shows a seated man with the headgear of an ascetic who is holding a child. Stutterheim identified the seated figure as Nārada, the divine messenger, and the tiny figure next to Nārada as

⁴⁸ I will research the chronogram and Candi Sukuḥ as special place for the elixir of life in 3.1.4, Candi Sukuḥ.

⁴⁹ Bhīma's birth as told in the *Ādiparwa*, the first book of the *Mahābhārata*, differs completely from this account. See 2.1.3, The *Ādiparwa*.

⁵⁰ Stutterheim 1935:52-60.

Bhīma after the release from his caul. This scene is mentioned in version A of the *lakon Bhīma Bungkus* (Stutterheim 1935:55).

The large scene on top of the deer arch relief depicts from left to right: a four-armed figure on a pedestal and a two-armed figure looking at each other. The four-armed figure surrounded by a halo represents the god Bhaṭāra Guru, the ascetic manifestation of Śiwa, as known in the present *wayang kulit*. The two-armed figure opposite Bhaṭāra Guru/Śiwa is Bhīma.

Bhīma holds his left arm alongside his body and his right arm is bent in front of him. He holds his right hand in the gesture *kaṭiṭa mudra*. It looks very much like he is addressing Bhaṭāra Guru/Śiwa. The portrayal of Bhīma is also similar to his present Javanese *wayang kulit* representation.

According to Stutterheim (1935:62) the scene represents a story from the *lakon Pāṇḍu Popo*. The text of this *lakon* is based on the *kidung Bhimaswarga*. In this story Bhīma is looking for his father Pāṇḍu and his second wife Mādri, who are taken to hell by Yama, the god of death. Pāṇḍu has been presumptuous towards the gods and he appropriated their wisdom. Consequently he and his wife are thrown in an iron cauldron with boiling water on Śiwa's orders.

Bhīma addresses Bhaṭāra Guru/Śiwa asking him where the bodies of Pāṇḍu and his second wife are so that he can set them free. After he has heard that Pāṇḍu and Mādri are in an iron cauldron full of boiling water he immediately jumps in the cauldron upon which the boiling water changes into the elixir of life. Pāṇḍu and Mādri are purified and go to heaven.

The *kidung Bhimaswarga* has a slightly different account of this story. Here Bhīma asks Śiwa for the elixir of life, which he gets. And with the elixir he is able to purify Pāṇḍu and Mādri who are able to go to heaven after their purification. According to Stutterheim (1935:62) the moment Bhīma addresses Śiwa/Bhaṭāra Guru is depicted on the relief and I concur.

Interpretation of Bhīma's role in the relief scenes on Candi Suku

In the four scenes found at Suku Bhīma is the protagonist. In two relief scenes on the deer arch relief he is unrecognisable and passive. However, in the two other relief scenes, one of which is part of the deer arch stone and the other a part of a wall, he is active and behaves as a saviour. We see him depicted in an aggressive mood when he stabs the giant Indrabāhu whom he, by doing so, consequently releases from a spell.

His ability to set people free is also rendered in the large scene on top of the deer arch relief when he asks Śiwa where his parents are in order to deliver and purify them with the elixir of life. It is his *sakti*, his supernatural mental strength which enables him to break the spell and to turn the water into the elixir of life. The elixir of life plays an

important role in both relief scenes. In the *Nawaruci* Bhīma's quest for the elixir of life brings him to his initiation in the salvation dogmas, and to his ultimate goal, salvation. In the *lakon Pāṇḍu Popo* he purifies his parents Pāṇḍu and Mādri because he is able to turn the boiling water into the elixir of life.

In the two small scenes on the deer arch relief we see a bag representing Bhīma and his attached caul, and little Bhīma just having been released. The miraculous birth of Bhīma shows that his *sakti* is of divine origin.

The relief scenes are probably all based on various *lakon* which means that they most certainly had a relation with *wayang kulit* performances, in this case probably *ruwat* performances.⁵¹ The behaviour of the *panakawan* in the *Sudamala* relief, the beating up of the corps of the giant, also gives the impression that there is a relation with *wayang kulit* performances.

2.2.8 Conclusion

In the oldest Bhīma reliefs, dating from the tenth century and based on the *Ādiparwa*, Bhīma's role is that of a family man. He is depicted as the strongest member of the Pāṇḍawa family. His powerful and tempestuous nature is emphasised in two of the three relief scenes. There is a similarity with Bhīma's role and iconography in India and Cambodia from the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the relief scenes dating from the middle of the fourteenth century, the heydays of the Majapahit empire, Bhīma does not seem to play a role of significance. He just acts as a 'quiet' prince and family man in scenes based on the *kakawin Pārthayajña* and the *lakon Sudamala*.

This role changes in the relief scenes found on the terraced sanctuaries dating from the middle of the fifteenth century. In these reliefs Bhīma definitely is the central character. His search for the elixir of life (*Nawaruci*), his ability to break spells and release people (*Nawaruci*, *Bhimaswarga*, *Pāṇḍu Popo*), and his eagerness to get initiated in salvation doctrines (*Nawaruci*, *Dewaruci*) seem to be the subjects that people are to contemplate and take away from the depicted reliefs.

A number of the relief scenes are most probably based on *lakon* and might have been connected to *wayang* performances. Examples here are the *Sudamala* reliefs of Tigowangi, the *Nawaruci* reliefs of Suku and Kendolisodo and the *Pāṇḍu Popo* and *Bhīma Bungkus* reliefs of Suku. Especially the reliefs of Candi Suku give a strong impression that the depicted figures, based on their iconography, are related to *wayang* performances.

⁵¹ According to Prijotoetomo 1934:4 the *Nawaruci* has just like the *Sudamala* a *ruwat* function.

A remarkable fact is that on reliefs from the fifteenth century Bhīma is not the only Pāṇḍawa who is able to release people from spells. His younger brother Sadewa also appears capable to do so. There are however, differences, such as the fact that Sadewa is associated with the exorcism of Umā and other deities whereas Bhīma is associated with the elixir of life, purification, salvation and in relation with this Śaiwa Tantrism.

2.3 The Bhīma inscriptions

2.3.1 Introduction

There are only a small number of inscriptions found on Bhīma representations. Five statues and one 'Bhīma' relief bear an inscription. Furthermore, there is a copperplate inscription that mentions Bhīma's name. The inscription on copperplate dates from the tenth century, the six other inscriptions date from the Majapahit Period.

There are several types of inscriptions known from the Majapahit Period. Van den Veerdonk (1996:4-10) puts them in two categories: royal inscriptions, often charters mostly consisting of formal text, and non-royal inscriptions. He distinguishes the non-royal inscriptions from the royal ones by their difference in structure and the way they are dated. He subsequently divides the non-royal inscriptions into two types.

The first type of non-royal inscriptions consists of inscriptions with an elaborate text, mostly comparable with contemporary notary acts. The second type covers short to very short inscriptions on objects and utensils. Examples given for the second type are inscriptions found on votive gifts and ornaments. I am classifying the statues amongst these. Inscriptions found on statues are often in the form of chronograms (*candra sengkala*) and are frequently combined with numeral date inscriptions. Chronograms appeared often in the Majapahit Period, most probably to commemorate a special event as the consecration of a sanctuary or a statue.¹

The words of chronograms have a numeral value coinciding with the numeral date inscription. The date inscriptions are always executed in a *Śaka* date. This is a dating system from the era of the Indian Śaka clan which started in 78 C.E. To convert the *Śaka* date to a Christian one, one has to add seventy-eight on top of the *Śaka* date.

Royal inscriptions were issued by the reigning kings or queens of the Majapahit dynasty. It proves difficult however, to determine whom the non-royal inscriptions originate from. Stuart-Fox (2002:275) presumes that this category was instigated by kings as well as princes of royal blood. In addition to the reigning kings or queens of Majapahit, princes of royal blood as well as high officials in the administration were responsible for the foundation of sanctuaries and for the statues

¹ About chronograms in the Majapahit Period see Noorduyn 1978:260-2, note 7.

and shrines that were placed and consecrated within them.² Their names however are not recorded in the inscriptions.

2.3.2 The inscriptions on Bhīma statues

There are five Bhīma statues with inscriptions. Two of them bear an inscription on the back slab and they concern the statue from Trenggalek (Cat. no. 25)³ and the statue from Sapih (Cat. no. 2). The third statue has an inscription carved on a stylised club found on the back of the sculpture. This statue is sculptured in the round and originates from Candi Sukuh⁴ (Cat. no. 30). The two remaining inscriptions are also found on statues which are sculptured in the round. One of these inscriptions is engraved on a serpent on the pedestal of the second Bhīma statue from Candi Sukuh (Cat. no. 31), and the other one is carved on the back tail of a Bhīma statue from Candi Ceto (Cat. no. 33). The two last mentioned statues are still on location.

The back slab of the statue from Trenggalek

The first of the five inscriptions on Bhīma statues is found on the rear of the back slab of a statue which is part of the collection of the Museum Mpu Tantular (Fig. 65). The statue (Cat. no. 25) originates from Trenggalek according to the information I received from the museum.⁵ In 1996 I made a rubbing (*Abklatsch*) of this inscription which consists of five lines. De Casparis has made the following transcription:⁶

1. § rūpa / guṇa / ha.u / 6⁷
2. irikā diwasa ning
3. turi .. ḍaṅ ācārya mpu .iratna
4. ña anuturakēn pratista
5. i talampakan nira gu..//

The inscription deals with the consecration of the Bhīma statue and starts with a chronogram. The first line of the inscription contains a symbol § which differs from the symbol ‘Om’⁸ that often marks the beginning of an inscription. The two words that follow are definitely

² *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 82:2-3 (Robson 1995:84).

³ This statue is part of the Museum Mpu Tantular collection in Surabaya.

⁴ The statue is part of the collection of Mr. K.R.T. Hardjonagoro, Surakarta.

⁵ I received this information from Mr. Himawan, director of the museum Mpu Tantular.

⁶ Prof. Dr. J.G. de Casparis kindly handed me the transcription and we discussed the translation. Missing characters are indicated with a dot.

⁷ Because the statue and the inscription are badly weathered some characters (*akṣara*) are illegible and could therefore not be transcribed.

⁸ ‘Om’ is a sacred syllable often used as an introduction to inscriptions and charters.

the last words of a chronogram as a chronogram has to be read from the right to the left. The first word *rūpa*, which means ‘outward appearance’, has the numeral value of 1, and the word *guṇa*, which means ‘quality’, ‘virtue’ or ‘excellence’, has the numeral value of 3. I assume that both words are aimed to describe the figure of Bhīma.

The two following words of which only some characters (*akṣara*) exist are difficult to interpret. As according to De Casparis the writing suggests a date in the fifteenth century,⁹ they must have had the numeral value of 1 and 3, which suggests the date 1331 Śaka=1409 C.E.

The second line *irikā diwasa ning* means ‘this is the day that’. Unfortunately, the last word of the line is missing so what the day is, we will never know. The meaning of *turi*, the first word in the third line is unknown, but *ḍaṅ ācārya* is the title of a religious leader or teacher of whom *mpu .iratna* could be the name. *Mpu* is a title of honour and means ‘a distinguished person’, either a lord or a religious person. A name in which *ratna* (jewel) appears is more often used for religious leaders (*ācārya*).¹⁰

The last line *i talampakan nira gu..//*, meaning ‘the foot-sole of the *gu(ru?)*’, is more difficult to interpret as the last letters are missing. The last word might be *guru*, but one would expect the name of Bhīma here. If the word is indeed *guru*, Bhīma could have been addressed as a venerable person, spiritual preceptor or religious teacher.

The inscription was not only read and transcribed by De Casparis, but also by Buchari (Wuryani 1989:470). His transcription slightly differs from that by De Casparis.

1. wwrūpā sunya ku .. ya...
2. i rikā diwasanira –i-ut
3. turi -- ḍaṅ ācāryya mpu wira-ta
4. ṅa anūturakēṅ pratiṣṭhā
5. i talampakannira wrā...(tra...)

Like De Casparis Buchari was of the opinion that the two words of the first line represented a chronogram, but he did not add the numeral values. I doubt whether his description of the word *śūnya*, which translates as ‘in a state of immateriality’, with the numeral value of 0, is correct as it is the exact opposite of *rūpa* meaning ‘outward appearance’, with the numeral value of 1. It just does not seem the appropriate word for a chronogram here.

According to Buchari the writing of the inscription suggests a dating in the fourteenth century. He believes that the inscription is from 1273

⁹ The way the statue is sculptured and the style of the inscription also suggest a date in the fifteenth century.

¹⁰ An influential abbot in the *Deśawarṇana* is called Ratnāṅśa; see Canto 49:5 (Robson 1995:59).

Śaka or 1357 C.E.¹¹ His conversion from the Śaka to the Christian date as well as the dating of the inscription seems inaccurate to me. He adds 84 instead of 78 years to the date to make the conversion and according to the numeral value of the words on his transcribed chronogram the date should have been 1301 Śaka that is 1379 C.E.

Buchari translated the next lines almost the same as De Casparis. There are some minor differences, such as the supposed name of the religious leader in line 3. He reads *mpu wira-ta* instead of *mpu .iratna*, and in the fifth line Buchari reads *wra...(tra...)* in stead of *gu..*

I do believe that the transcription and the dating of the inscription of De Casparis are more accurate. This means that the statue was most certainly sculptured and consecrated during the reign of king Wikramawardhana (1389-1429 C.E.).

The back slab of the statue from Sapih

The second Bhīma related inscription which is found on the back slab of the statue from Sapih (Cat. no. 2) is, unfortunately, illegible. When I carried out my fieldwork in 1996 I was unable to trace the statue. The only possibility to transcribe the inscription was by reading it from a photograph. As the inscription was already badly weathered¹² when it was photographed in 1935 and because the quality of the photograph is moderate it was impossible to make any sense out of text.¹³

The backside of the statue from Candi Sukuh

The third inscription is carved on the back of the largest Bhīma statue found at Candi Sukuh (Fig. 66) (Cat. no. 30). This inscription consists of a chronogram followed by a numeral inscription engraved on a stylised club on the back tail of the sash. The inscription has five lines – four lines each consisting of just one word (making up the chronogram), and the fifth containing the numeral date inscription.

The inscription as transcribed by Muusses (1923:502) reads as follows:

1. bhīma
2. gana
3. rama
4. ratu

Muusses suggests that Bhīma as one of the five Pāṇḍawa has the numeral value of 5. She translates the word *gana* into 'bee' or 'wasp' with

¹¹ 'Menurut Buchari, dilihat dari bentuk tulisannya, maka tulisan tersebut sejaman dengan prasasti Gajah Mada dari Singasari yang berangka 1273 Saka atau 1357 Masehi.' (Triwujani 1989:470)

¹² According to the photographs made by Claire Holt the entire statue was in a bad condition.

¹³ I discussed the matter at great length with Prof. Dr. J.G. de Casparis.

the numeral value of 6. Although this word is a general chronogram word¹⁴ I do find this word peculiar in the context of this chronogram. The name of Bhīma and the two chronogram words to follow seem to be in accordance with the dignified appearance of Bhīma in this statue. The next chronogram word *rama* means ‘elder’, ‘father’ or ‘guru’ and has the numeral value of 3, and *ratu* which translates as ‘king’ has the numeral value of 1. The chronogram thus gives us the date 5631=1365 Śaka or 1443 C.E. which is in accordance with the numeral date. This date most certainly shows the year in which the statue was consecrated. The inscription dates from the reigning period of queen Suhīta (1427-1446 C.E.).

The pedestal of the second statue from Candi Sukuh

The fourth inscription is engraved on the body of a serpent which coils on the pedestal of the second Bhīma statue from Sukuh (Fig. 67) (Cat. no. 31). The inscription consists of only one line making up a chronogram, and has been transcribed by Muusses (1924:33) and Crucq (1929:264-5). Both Crucq and Muusses were unaware of the fact that the pedestal belonged to a Bhīma statue¹⁵ as it was not connected to the statue at the time. Crucq suggests the following transcription:

bayarali hula hanahut butut

Bayarali, the first word, could be *bharāli* meaning ‘goddess’. This word has the numeral value of 9 or 1. Crucq however, is not sure about the transcription of this word. The following words are transcribed as: *hula* which stands for ‘serpent’ and has the numeral value 8; *hanahut* meaning ‘bites’ with the value of 3; and *butut* meaning ‘tail’ with the value of 1. The date in this transcription reads as 9831=1389 or 1831=1381 Śaka which translates into 1467 or 1459 C.E. I am however not sure of this transcription.

Muusses on the other hand transcribed the inscription as follows:

bhatara bhima hanahut butut

She was not sure about her transcription of the first two words *bhatara bhima* either. Due to the deteriorated state of the inscription, I found it difficult as well to transcribe the characters (*akṣara*). Nevertheless on careful reading I believe the transcription of Muusses is correct. The word *bhatara* has the numeral value of 9 or 1 and translates into ‘noble lord; or ‘venerable person’. The word Bhīma has the value of 5. The words *hanahut* and *butut* have the same meaning as in Crucq’s transcription above, and their numeral values are respectively

¹⁴ See Pigeaud 1982:xvii.

¹⁵ The OD photographs 7174-5 show the statue with pedestal.

3 and 1. The date of the inscription should therefore either read 9531=1359 Śaka or 1531=1351 Śaka that is 1437 or 1429 C.E. I am of the opinion that the transcription of 1359 Śaka=1437 C.E. is correct as this date corresponds with the dating of other remains on the third terrace (see above). The date coincides with the reign of queen Suhīta (1429-1447 C.E.).

The back of the statue from Candi Ceto

The fifth inscription is sculptured on the back of a Bhīma statue from Candi Ceto (Fig. 68) (Cat. no. 33). This inscription consists of just a numeral date which is carved next to a thunderbolt (*bajra*) in a cartouche on the back tail of Bhīma's sash. The date is 4931=1394 Śaka that is 1472 C.E., which means that the inscription dates from the reigning period of Singhawikramawardhana (1466-1474? C.E.).

2.3.3 The relief from Candi Sukuh

The only Bhīma relief with an inscription (Cat. no. 53) originates from Candi Sukuh and can still be found in situ (Fig. 69). The relief which I have described in detail in the previous chapter is located on the northern side of the third terrace of this sanctuary.

The inscription is engraved on the left side of the relief and consists of two lines and a numeral date inscription. This inscription has been transcribed by Muusses (1923:506), and reads as follows:

padamēl rikang bu
kuttirta sunya.

Muusses translated the inscription as 'this (the relief) is put (*padamēl*) in the enclosure (*bukut*) of a bathing place (*tīrtha*) with a hermitage (*śūnya*)'. Stutterheim (1930c:558-60) was sceptical about this translation and found it a bit vague. He proposed the following translation instead: 'construction (*padamēl*) of a water conduit (*bukutīrtha*) for deliverance (*śūnya*)'. *Padamēl* meaning 'the making of' and not 'this is put on'. Stutterheim had a bamboo channel (*buku*) for holy water in mind. He assumed that Candi Sukuh was a holy bathing place dedicated to the accomplishment of salvation. I follow Stutterheim's translation of *padamēl*, however I would like to propose that *bukut* should be translated as 'enclosure', as Muusses suggested. Given the measurement of the Bhīma relief stone, and the fact that the stone has a thickening – most probably a buttress – I believe that the relief must have been part of a wall or enclosure.

I would suggest the following translation of the transcription: 'the construction, (*padamēl*) of an enclosure for a holy water place (*tīrtha*) [which is to be used] for deliverance (*śūnya*)'. I disagree with Muus-

ses' translation of *tīrthaśūnya* into 'bathing place (*tīrtha*) with hermitage (*śūnya*)'. *Śūnya* is an adjective for bathing place and translates, according to Zoetmulder (1982:1853), into 'empty', 'void', 'in a state of immateriality' or 'solitary place'. The translation could therefore be either 'a solitary bathing place' or 'a bathing place that creates a state of immateriality', or 'a bathing place for deliverance'.

That this enclosure concerns a place for purification by means of holy water or the elixir of life, and thus for obtaining salvation is in my view obvious. I have a number of reasons for this assumption. The first reason is the meaning of the representation on the relief scene itself. As we have seen in the discussion of this relief stone in 2.2.7, the main message portrayed here is one of deliverance/salvation. The second reason is that Candi Sukuh has several intricate (holy) water collection systems.¹⁶ The third and last reason is that on Candi Ceto, a nearby sanctuary on Mount Lawu which is in many respects a similar sanctuary to Candi Sukuh,¹⁷ a comparable inscription is found on the southern wall of the staircase from the seventh to the eighth terrace.¹⁸ The first part of this inscription is similar to the Sukuh inscription, but it has a few added words at the end, *hawaki ra ya hilangi*, which translates into 'the disappearance of the body'.¹⁹ This has no other meaning than the deliverance of the immaterial soul from the material body. All these reasons indicate that the inscription on the relief stone at Sukuh definitely means 'the construction of the enclosure for a holy water place [which is to be used] for deliverance'.

The date on the inscription is 1361 Śaka=1439 C.E. which coincides with the reigning period of queen Suhita (1429-1445 C.E.).

2.3.4 The inscription on copperplate

The copperplate inscription in which the name Bhīma appears forms one part of a charter. The charter was issued by king Balitung²⁰ and consists of two copperplates. The inscriptions belong to the category Van den Veerdonk describes as royal inscriptions.²¹

The charter is known as the Sang-Sang Charter II. Unfortunately, the opening lines of the charter are missing which makes the dating of the inscription more or less hypothetical. As the Sang-Sang Charter I was issued in 829 Śaka=907 C.E., Van Naerssen (1937:449-50) presumes

¹⁶ These will be discussed in 3.1.4, Candi Sukuh.

¹⁷ See 3.1.4, Candi Ceto.

¹⁸ The eighth terrace is the most important terrace of Candi Ceto.

¹⁹ See Stutterheim 1930b:558-60.

²⁰ His name in the charter is Śri Mahārāja Raka i Watukura. Watukura was the name of his apanage. We know his full name from Charter I, it is Śri Mahārāja Raka i Watukura Dyah Balitung (Van Naerssen 1937:446).

²¹ Van den Veerdonk 1996:4-10.

that the Sang-Sang Charter II was issued between 825 and 833 Śaka that is between 903 and 911 C.E., so at the beginning of tenth century. The occasion for issuing the charter was the foundation of three villages which were free of rent and tax in order to maintain the monastery (*bihāra*) of Dalinan. The three villages were Wukajana, Tumpang and Wurutĕlu.

The charter describes the dignitaries that were involved in the foundation, the ceremony, the people who were present at the ceremony, the presents that were given, and the festivities taking place afterwards (Van Naerssen 1937:445-6; Sarkar II 1972:85-98). The festivities included plays (*mamirus*) with clownery (*mabañol*), singing (*mamidu*) and dancing (*mangigĕl*), reciting stories (*macarita*) and games of dice (*pamuatoĥ*). In honour of the deity also a *wayang* play was performed.

In two performances Bhīma is clearly the protagonist. In the first performance the (religious?)²² functionary Si²³ Nalu is reciting the story 'Bhīma Kumāra', dancing (like?) *kicaka*:²⁴

tangkal hyang sinalu macaritta bhimma kumāra mangigal kicaka (Charter II, part B, verse 9-10)²⁵

The second performance is a *wayang* play performed by a man named Si Galiga, probably the *dalang*. The play is called 'bimma ya kumāra' and is performed in honour of the deity.

sigaliga mawayang buat thyang macarita bimma ya kumāra (Charter II, part B, verse 10)²⁶

The inscription mentions the performances but gives no clue about what exactly is meant by 'bhimma kumāra'. The translation of *kumāra* is 'small child' or 'youth'. Sarkar is of the opinion that the title of the *wayang* performance 'bhimma ya kumāra' refers to Bhīma's son Ghaṭotkaca by the ogress Hadimbī and not to Bhīma. According to him 'bhimma ya kumāra' is a corrupted form of *bhimmaja kumāra* (Sarkar II 1972:98). I presume that the title refers to Bhīma and that *ya* is used here as an emphatic and deictic particle to emphasise Bhīma's youth. Zoetmulder (1982:208-9) too is of the view that 'the young Bhīma' is the focus of the performance. He assumes that the recital and the

²² According to Zoetmulder (1982:1943) the *tangkal hyang* might have been a religious functionary. I assume that this functionary might have had a relation with the court as *atangkal* means appearing before or waiting on the king.

²³ *Si* is a particle before a noun, used to indicate a person (Zoetmulder 1982:1755).

²⁴ Who or what is meant by *kicaka* is unclear. Was Si Nalu dancing like the opponent (*Kicaka*) of Bhīma in the *Wirātaparwa* as Sarkar (II 1972:96) assumes or was Si Nalu performing a particular kind of dance as Zoetmulder believed (1974:209; 1982:862).

²⁵ Van Naerssen 1937:445.

²⁶ Van Naerssen 1937:446.

wayang play both deal with a love scene from the *Wirāṭaparwa*.²⁷ However, the *Wirāṭaparwa* does not exactly deal with Bhīma's early childhood. Hence the exact episode of the *Mahābhārata* remains in my opinion a mystery as does the form of *wayang* in which the story was performed.

What the two 'Bhīma lines' in the Sang-Sang inscription II do reveal in my opinion is that Bhīma had already raised curiosity and interest amongst Javanese nobility and that he was the right figure to be the protagonist in the recital and the *wayang* play in honour of the deity.

In addition, the fact that Bhīma was prominently depicted in the late tenth century indicates to me that Bhīma, as one of the protagonists of the epic *Mahābhārata*, had already obtained a certain status in Javanese cultural life of that period.

2.3.5 Conclusion

It is obvious from the content of the Sang-Sang Charter II that a *wayang* play and a recital of which Bhīma is the protagonist must have been of interest to an audience of the leading aristocracy, the clergy and I presume also to common people on Java in the early tenth century. Moreover the fact that the *wayang* performance was dedicated to the deity of the sanctuary indicates that Bhīma, as a protagonist of the epic *Mahābhārata*, was an important figure. His prominent depiction on the Jolotundo relief in the late tenth century also indicates that Bhīma was already a well-known figure in the cultural life of the Javanese of that period.

With respect to the era that lies between the reign of king Balitung and the reign of the kings of the Majapahit dynasty we know nothing about a possible worship of Bhīma. The situation is different with respect to the Majapahit Period when Bhīma statues start to appear on sanctuaries and Bhīma is also depicted on reliefs.

From the content of the inscription on the Bhīma statue from Museum Mpu Tantular and the chronograms and numeral inscriptions on the other Bhīma statues found at the various sanctuaries it is evident that at least a number of Bhīma statues must have been consecrated. From the first mentioned inscription we learn that it was a *ācārya*, a holy man and teacher accomplished in rites and rules, who performed the consecration.

The inscription on the pedestal of the second Bhīma statue from Candi Sukuh reveals that Bhīma is considered a *bhaṭāra*, a great lord or deity. This is a remarkable statement because the Baduy,²⁸ who are

²⁷ Bhīma makes love to Dropadī after he has reassured her that he will kill the lustful Kīcaka who has hassled her (see also 2.1.3, The *Wirāṭaparwa*).

²⁸ See also 1.2.1.

considered descendants of the last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Pajajaran,²⁹ also addressed him as a *bhaṭāra* as is evident from the following:

(...) between the mountain Pulu Sari and the [river] Bongkok [West Java] offerings were still brought to the mediators Bhaṭāra Bima and Sang Hyang Bhaṭāra Guru undisturbed.³⁰

Even more interesting is the fact that in the inscription on the Bhīma relief from Candi Sukuh the existence of a sanctuary with purifying water is brought into prominence. The relation between Bhīma and the elixir of life is evident from contemporary literature concerning Bhīma, and this inscription emphasises this fact.

²⁹ The Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Pajajaran was located in West Java.

³⁰ '(...) tusschen den berg Poeloe Sari en den Bongkok werd nog ongestoord geofferd aan de bemiddelaars Batara Bima en Sangiang Batara Goeroe.' (Termorshuizen 1993: 26)

Part 3

The material and historical context

3.1 Bhīma statues and terraced sanctuaries

3.1.1 Introduction

Most of the Bhīma statues as described and discussed here are found on terraced mountain sanctuaries.¹ It has also become clear from my study of the reliefs depicting narrative scenes in which Bhīma plays a part – principally as the protagonist – that these too are found on terraced sanctuaries. Stutterheim (1935:37) in his article about ‘An Ancient Javanese Bhīma Cult’ also mentions the sanctuaries as the place where most of the Bhīma representations are located. We can therefore safely assume that there must have been some kind of relationship between the terraced sanctuaries and the worship of Bhīma. The question is, however, in what way. In order to find an answer to this question it is important to find out more about the significance of the sanctuaries. Where were they built, and what is the importance of their lay-out and architecture?

Another important question we have to address in this chapter is: What was the location of the Bhīma statues within the terraced sanctuaries and could this location have had a specific meaning? The last question I would like to consider here is: What was the cultural religious context in which the Bhīma statues appeared, in other words, what is the significance of the other archaeological remains found on the sanctuaries?

3.1.2 The lay-out and architecture of the terraced sanctuaries

Santiko (1998:237-9) distinguishes two categories of terraced sanctuaries. The first (rather small) category of terraced sanctuaries includes a temple building consisting of three successive terraces accessible by stairs. These terraces support a ‘central’ chamber placed to the back of the building which was probably topped by one or more roofs of perishable material. The three sanctuaries in this category are found in the lowlands of East Java and date from the Singhasāri Period² and the beginning of

¹ There is one exception, Candi Pari. This sanctuary, even though it dates from the Majapahit Period, is not a terraced sanctuary. The archaeological sources I consulted gave no conclusive answer about the occurrence of a Bhīma statue at Candi Pari, which means that there is a possibility that the Bhīma statue I described was added at a later time.

² Candi Panataran and Candi Jago.

the Majapahit Period,³ respectively the thirteenth and fourteenth century. Two sanctuaries of this category were renovated or enlarged in the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴

The second category comprises terraced sanctuaries situated on the volcanic mountain slopes in East and Central Java. It is this category to which I will refer in the following sections.

The terraced sanctuaries are usually located on slopes between 900 and 1500 metres above sea level and consist of a number of successive and gradually climbing terraces pointing towards the summit. The number of terraces is quite often three, but there are sanctuaries that have more terraces.⁵ There are also sanctuaries which are made up of one terrace only.⁶

The width and length of the terraces vary within each sanctuary. The width of the terraces of the sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan on East Java for instance often measures about 10 metres (Stutterheim 1936:197). In contrast, the width of the terraces of Candi Sukuh and Candi Ceto on Mount Lawu in Central Java measures over 20 metres. The direction in which the terraces are built is often west-east or southwest-northeast.⁷ The highest terrace is in these cases directed to the east or to the northeast.

The terraces are separated by (retaining) walls usually made of natural stone and sometimes decorated with relief scenes. The walls are cut through by gates (*gapura*) and staircases, which are often, but not always, built on a single axis. The terraced sanctuaries are accessible from an entrance (gate) or stairs which face west or southwest and lead to the terrace(s).

The main buildings of the sanctuary are situated on the highest terrace. Quite often there are three shrines (*sanggar*) on the highest terrace, or a combination of a large shrine and two platforms (*batur*).⁸ If there are three shrines or buildings, the central one is the largest and placed most to the rear.

Stone dies indicating the existence of structures have been found on most of the terraces. I will return to the occurrence of these dies later on in this section.

The period in which these terraced sanctuaries were established varies. Many terraced sanctuaries on East and Central Java were built during the last part of the Majapahit Period (1400-1527 C.E.), but there are sanctuaries dating from earlier periods. The sanctuaries to which I refer date from the Majapahit Period or were at least in func-

³ Candi Rimbi.

⁴ Candi Jago and Candi Panataran.

⁵ This study includes a sanctuary with five terraces and one with ten terraces.

⁶ There are three such terraces in this study: Candi Papoh, Candi Kedaton and Candi Wayang.

⁷ Klokke (1995:73-84) comes to the same conclusion.

⁸ These platforms might have supported a wooden construction.

tion during that period. They are all located within the territory of the royal family of Majapahit⁹ in East and Central Java, however the largest concentration of these sanctuaries is found on Mount Penanggungan which lies about 25 kilometres east of the *kraton* of Majapahit in East Java.

I find it remarkable that in the literature from the Majapahit Period nothing is said about the architecture and the significance of the terraced sanctuaries. This is remarkable because there are a number of literary sources¹⁰ from the Majapahit Period and also from a later period that deal with the character of religious communities.¹¹ Santiko (1998:241-5) has interpreted these sources and concluded that a particular group of religious people (*rṣi*)¹² who were living an ascetic life, owned and inhabited these terraced sanctuaries. According to Santiko these *rṣi* were comparable to Śaiwa and adhered to the school of Śaiwasiddhanta, a particular Śaiwa sect. Their religion contained Tantric influences (Santiko 1998:244). Santiko (1998:245) also stated that no images of deities were found on the terraces sanctuaries. I will return to her conclusion later in this chapter.

The open-structured terraced sanctuaries discussed here are very similar to Balinese temples (*pura*). According to Stutterheim (1936: 197) the above-mentioned sanctuaries on the western slope of Mount Penanggungan bear a resemblance to the *pura* of the Bēsakih complex on Mount Agung on Bali. Nowadays Bēsakih is the principal temple complex of Bali.¹³

Although the sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan mirror the sanctuaries on Bēsakih they are smaller in size according to Stutterheim.

(...) While the lay-out of the monuments with their terraces, staircases, balés etc. show a remarkable similarity to the just mentioned sanctuary [Bēsakih] one can easily imagine the slopes of the Penanggungan studied with Bēsakihs of a smaller size. In relation to the sanctuaries of Bēsakih the dimensions of these sanctuaries are small one might say. The walls of the terraces are usually not higher than 1 metre, the staircases narrow, the shrines also measure not much above 1 metre, and the walls are, in the best cases, just about 10 metres long.¹⁴

⁹ By the territory of the royal family I mean the territory on Java taken up by the king (*prabhu*) and his next of kin.

¹⁰ *Deśawarnana, Arjunawijaya, Sutasoma, Tantu Panggëlaran.*

¹¹ The religious communities mentioned are: *kadewagurwan*, a monastery of monks or nuns under the guidance of a superior, *maṇḍala*, an abode of a religious community, *karēṣyan*, a community of *rṣi*, and *katyāgan*, an hermitage.

¹² In India the word *rṣi* often refers to mythical seers and sages.

¹³ See Stuart-Fox 2002.

¹⁴ '(...) terwijl de opzet der monumenten met hun terrassen, trappen, balés enz. eveneens een groote gelijkenis met genoemd heiligdom vertoont, kan men zich het gemakkelijkst den toestand zoo voorstellen, dat de hellingen van Penanggoengan als het ware bezaaid zijn met Bēsakihs van geringe afmetingen. De afmetingen der heiligdommen zijn namelijk, in vergelijking tot die van het evengenoemde, klein te noe-

Bĕsakah was already in existence during the Majapahit Period. Two inscriptions (edicts) dated Śaka 1366=1444 C.E and Śaka 1380=1458 C.E. suggest a relation of the Majapahit court with Bĕsakah (Stuart-Fox 2002:270-5). The two edicts mention the formation of a *hila-hila* (prohibited) status for a village (*desa*) called Basuki (Bĕsakah). In a village with a *hila-hila* status the people living in the village (*hulundang*, *hulunhyang*) were exempt from taxation in return for taking care of the sanctuary and its rituals. The edicts declare that the *hila-hila* status of the village must be honoured by all people of Bali including the high officials (*mancanagara*) and the *adipati*. As *adipati* is the title of the highest official of a region under the Majapahit suzerainty there must have been a relation between Bali and the Majapahit court (Stuart-Fox 2002:274). The endowment of the *hila-hila* status to a village in order to support a temple indicates the court's recognition of the temple's importance (Stuart-Fox 2002:275).

What we don't know is what Bĕsakah was like during the Majapahit Period. Stutterheim's comparison only dates from 1936 and Mount Agung has erupted more than once in the five to six hundred years that divide us from the Majapahit Period. It would not surprise me therefore if Bĕsakah has been rebuilt and enlarged a couple of times during this period. I am thus of the opinion that there might not have been much difference in architecture, and presumably also in significance, between the *pura* on Bali and the terraced sanctuaries on Java, as Java and Bali share the same religious and cultural background. Bali was influenced by Java from the eleventh century onwards (Zoetmulder 1974:19), and from the middle of the fourteenth century (1343 C.E.)¹⁵ the island fell under the authority of the Majapahit kingdom. The contemporary text *Deśawarṇana* reads:

Among the outer islands Bali conforms to all the customs of Java.
(Canto 79:3) (Robson 1995:82)

In general a Balinese temple (*pura*) has three consecutive courtyards or terraces which are accessible by a gate in the wall of the first courtyard. The higher up and the further back the courtyard the more sacred it is. The first courtyard (*jaba*) represents the earth or the profane world; the second courtyard (*jaba tengah*) symbolises the middle world where the profane and sacred worlds meet; the third courtyard

men. Hun terraswanden zijn gemeenlijk niet hooger dan 1 meter, hun trappen smal en hun altaren niet veel meer dan 1 meter hoog, hun muren in de beste gevallen nog geen 10 meter lang.' (Stutterheim 1936:197)

¹⁵ The famous and foremost governor of the Majapahit, the *patih* Gajah Mada, conquered Bali in that year. *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 49:4 (Robson 1995:59).

(*jeroan*), the most sacred, is seen as the upper world where the souls of deities and deified ancestors dwell.

The space of the Balinese *pura* is also divided in a dualistic way, where the direction of the mountain or the summit of the mountain (*kaja*) is opposed to the direction of the sea (*kelod*). In other words the sea is associated with the earth and the underworld, whereas the mountain is associated with the upper world or heaven. In a Balinese temple the lowest courtyard is always directed towards the sea, and the most sacred part, the *jeroan*, towards the mountain.

I believe that the lay-out of the terraced sanctuaries on Java had a similar dualistic meaning, whereby the lowest terrace on the *kelod*-side was considered to represent the earth, and the highest terrace on the *kaja*-side was seen as heaven, and a place where souls of deities and deified ancestors dwelled.

The worship of (deified) ancestors is an important phenomenon in Javanese as well as Balinese culture and mountains are closely associated with this kind of worship as we will see later on. The strong link between mountains and ancestors applies not only to Java and Bali but to the Indonesian culture in general. Water plays an extremely important part in this relation (Wisseman Christie 1992:19; Boomgaard 2003:303-5).

Concerning the meaning of the buildings on the terraced sanctuaries, the occurrence of three shrines on quite a number of Javanese terraced sanctuaries was noticed by Stutterheim at Bésakih as well.

Since these shrines [on the Penanggungan] usually occur in triplets, as is often seen on the famous sanctuary of Bésakih on the slope of Gunung Agung.¹⁶

According to Stutterheim (1936:197) the three shrines within the *pura*, or triplets as he calls them, are always related to the *tripuruṣa*¹⁷ the Hindu trinity of Śiwa, Brahmā and Wiṣṇu. Śiwa as the most important deity takes the central stage and is associated with the east; Wiṣṇu is associated with the north; and Brahmā with the south. Both Brahmā and Wiṣṇu are considered manifestations of Śiwa. Although the shrines on Bali are dedicated to the *tripuruṣa* no stone statues of these deities exist.

The stone dies which have been found on most of the terraces of the sanctuaries suggest according to Galestin (1936) the existence of wooden structures. Galestin wrote a monograph on the subject of these wooden structures. He based his findings on relief scenes from

¹⁶ 'Daar deze altaren meestal in een trits voorkomen zoals men dat op Bali in het beroemde heiligdom van Bésakih op de helling van den Goenoeng Agoeng aantreft.' (Stutterheim 1936:197)

¹⁷ Also called *triśakti*, the three-fold power.

the Majapahit Period on which these structures occur and on the present wooden structures found in Balinese temples (*pura*). He concluded that, on the basis of the number of wooden pillars and the shape of the roofs, most wooden structures were shrines and some of them pavilions (Galestin 1936:37, 88, 123, 148).

I will return to the stone dies in 3.1.4 where I will examine the other remains, and I will try to interpret their function on the basis of the just mentioned monograph.

I come to the conclusion that the lay-out and the architecture of the terraced sanctuaries on Java show many similarities with the Balinese temples (*pura*), and in particular with the principal temple complex on Bali, Bĕsakah. Because of this resemblance and the fact that Java and Bali share the same religious and cultural background, I believe that the Javanese and Balinese sanctuaries must have been very similar in both symbolism and function. Consequently I assume that the lowest part of a terraced sanctuary on Java was regarded as the underworld/earth, and the highest terrace as the upper world/heaven, the place where the souls of deities and deified ancestors dwelt.

The highest terrace on the sanctuary was also the place where the main buildings were found, and it was definitely regarded as the most sacred place. Most probably it was dedicated to the veneration of deities and deified ancestors. This veneration corresponds to traditional Indonesian culture where mountains and mountain tops are seen as places for ancestral worship.

The three shrines or triplets which are found on a number of terraced sanctuaries might have been dedicated to the Hindu trinity of Śiwa, Brahmā and Wiṣṇu.

3.1.3 The location of the Bhīma statues on the sanctuaries

Given the number of decapitated and fragmented Bhīma statues on the terraced sanctuaries, it is obvious that the Bhīma statues suffered from ill treatment and natural disasters from the time people stopped worshipping them. This will have had consequences for the location of these statues, and many of them will therefore not be in their original place. Some Bhīma statues were found scattered in pieces on the terraces, others were even found outside the sanctuary walls.

I was able, with some difficulty, to roughly determine the location of twelve statues, mostly decapitated and sometimes very fragmented. This is only a quarter of the corpus. For the determination of the location of some of these statues I had to rely on reports from the Archaeological Service and other written sources and/or photographs from the collection Holt.

In this section I will describe the location of the twelve statues, or fragments. For this description I will use the same geographic order as used in the diagrams. This means that I will describe the locations of the statues within the sanctuaries starting with the sanctuaries in East Java and ending in Central Java. The code numbers mentioned after each of the Bhīma statues are the same as used in the quantitative analysis and in the Catalogue of Bhīma representations (See the Appendix). As the locations of the Bhīma statues Cat. no. 1-6 are unknown, I will start with Cat. no. 7.

Statue Cat. no. 7 of Candi Wayang on Mount Penanggungan

Candi Wayang (Antiquity VIII) has only one small terrace which is hewn in the rocks. The direction of this sanctuary is west-east. A report by the Archaeological Service of Indonesia dating from 1951 about the sanctuaries on and around Mount Penanggungan mentions the decapitated statue of Bhīma on the small and only terrace of the sanctuary (Van Romondt 1951:20). The statue was no longer in situ when I visited the sanctuary in 1992.

Statue Cat. no. 8 of Candi Naga on Mount Penanggungan

Candi Naga (Antiquity XVI) comprises three terraces, of which the direction is west-east. The report from the Archaeological Service (Van Romondt 1951:20) also mentions this fragment, which appears to be only a head. It was found next to one of the small shrines on the third and highest terrace. This fragment too was no longer in situ in 1992.

Statue Cat. no. 18 of Candi Gilang on Mount Kawi

I found this fragmented Bhīma statue on the north side of the highest terrace of Candi Gilang. The direction of the sanctuary is west-east. This sanctuary consists of two and possibly more terraces. The number of terraces is difficult to determine due to the neglected and overgrown state of the sanctuary.

Statue Cat. no. 20 of Candi Papoh on Mount Kelud

Candi Papoh has only one terrace, and the direction of the sanctuary is west-east. The terrace houses two platforms, one large platform on the north side and a smaller one to the south. As the fragmented statue was no longer in situ when I visited the site in 1996, I had to rely on photographs. No written information exists on the subject. According to OD photographs¹⁸ and a photograph of Van Kinsbergen¹⁹ the fragmented Bhīma statue was standing on the left wing of the staircase of

¹⁸ OD photographs 6475-6.

¹⁹ For the photograph see Van Kinsbergen 1872:no. 243. See also the recent publications about the work of Isidore van Kinsbergen by Theuns de Boer and others 2005: 256.

the northern platform. The staircase cannot have been the original location of the Bhīma statue. However, the statue might have stood on the northern platform.

Statue Cat. no. 27 of Candi Penampihan on Mount Wilis

Candi Penampihan has three terraces, and its direction is west-east. During my visit in 1992, I discovered the decapitated statue on an oval platform made of natural stone on the north side of first and lowest terrace of this sanctuary. The Bhīma statue was still standing on the place where Noordziek (1856:425-9) discovered it in 1856. According to Noordziek's description the platform was an enormous table measuring 6 x 2 x 1.3 metres. It was made of stones from the nearby river and had an oval shape. The curve of the oval, which was directed towards the east, revealed a giant dragon's head. Opposite the head was a bulge measuring a height of 1.2 metres. The Bhīma statue was placed between the head and the bulge (Noordziek 1856:425-9). Noordziek compared the oval with a *proa* which is a kind of boat. I am more inclined to think of it as a giant turtle. The reason for this assumption is the fact that there are found more representations of tortoises, small as well as giant ones,²⁰ near Bhīma statues on the terraced sanctuaries on the adjacent Mount Lawu. My conclusion therefore is that Bhīma was, and still is standing on a giant tortoise.²¹ I will return to the location of Bhīma, near or on a tortoise towards the end of this section.

Statue Cat. no. 28 of Candi Hutan Dadapan on Mount Wilis

In October 1996, after an earlier attempt of the two of us to reach the site Hutan Dadapan had failed, my colleague Dwi Cahyono went back and managed to describe the Bhīma statue as well as the sanctuary. The sanctuary has three terraces and my colleague found the fragmented statue on the second terrace. He suggested that the original location of the statue had been on the third and highest terrace and that through illegal digging the statue had fallen onto the second terrace.²²

Statues Cat. nos. 30 and 31 of Candi Sukuh on Mount Lawu

There are two Bhīma statues originating from Candi Sukuh. This sanctuary has three terraces and the direction of the sanctuary is west-east. On the third terrace are two platforms, one on the north and one on the south side. The principal monument is situated between the two platforms, more to the rear of the terrace.

²⁰ See Candi Sukuh, Ceto and Cemoro Bulus which are all situated on Mount Lawu.

²¹ One cannot identify the turtle anymore, as the oval is now just a heap of stones.

²² The site showed signs of illegal digging.

At present statue no. 30 is part of a private collection,²³ whereas statue no. 31 is still on location, albeit in fragments. For the determination of the location of statue no. 30, the largest of the two Bhīma statues on Sukuh, I will use the elaborate descriptions of this sanctuary written by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles²⁴ and Lieutenant Williams²⁵ early in the nineteenth century. In addition, I will use the monograph on both sanctuaries published by Van der Vlis in 1843.

Raffles (1817), Williams (1815) and Van der Vlis (1843) all indicate the same location for the largest of the two Bhīma statues (Cat. no. 30). This statue which is actually larger than a man was found on the north side of the principal monument on the third and highest terrace near a giant tortoise. Raffles assumed that this was its original place, but he did not elaborate on this assumption.

A little nearer to the north of the tortoises, in front of the principal building, stands an erect statue, apparently in its original position; on the back of which, on a scroll hanging from the waistband, is an inscription of several lines. (Raffles 1817:50)

Lieut. Williams was a bit more elaborate in his description of the statue.

A little in advance on the North side, of the Northernmost Turtle is a remarkably well sculptured Statue, indeed by far the best executed of all the figures. Its height is a little above five feet, without the Neck, and Head, which are broken, we however were so fortunate as to discover the Head, tho' in a Mutilated State. It was incircled by an ornamented Conical Crown – the Features had a Mild Character and the lips were remarkably pretending. The Arms & Wrists are ornamented with armets and Bracelets, over the left Shoulder and Chest a snake is thrown after the manner of the Brahminical string he holds the Neck and Tail of the Snake in his right Hand, another Snake was also intervined round the neck and the kind [sic] formed by its head and tail is still perfect and elegant. The Dhotie falls in folds like that of the present Hindus. The date on the back was 1345 if we may trust the Javanese who interrupted it [sic]. The Snakes may induce us to conjecture that this Statue has been intended to represent Siva. (Williams 1815:138-9)

²³ The collection of Mr. K.R.T. Hardjonagoro in Solo.

²⁴ According to Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles the British Resident Major Martin Johnson discovered Sukuh probably in early 1815. The Major stayed at the court in Surakarta. Raffles himself visited the sanctuary in May 1815.

²⁵ Lieut. Williams, whose name is mentioned in the book *History of the The Indian Archipelago* written by his friend and colleague John Crawfurd, made his description in the same period as his fellow Englishman Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. Raffles published his part in *The History of Java* (1817). The description of Williams as a whole is unpublished, but Crawfurd used parts of it in his book. A typewritten transcription of Williams's manuscript *Account* was kindly provided to me by Prof. Dr. A.J. Bernet Kempers for the description of Candi Sukuh.

Van der Vlis who visited the site in 1842 found the Bhīma statue in exactly the same place.

In front of the temple are some statues. On each side of the staircase that leads to the platform lies a huge flat stone carved as a tortoise and nearly three Dutch yards long. A little to the west of these tortoises stands a big statue with, for the moment, a head. The head is not connected to the body anymore. On the back of the statue, at the height of the waist is an inscription.²⁶

Both Raffles and Williams did not describe the second Bhīma statue (Cat. no. 31). In 1992 I found the fragments of this statue in the watchhouse of the keeper (*juru kunci*) of Candi Sukuh together with some other badly damaged statues which originated from the northern platform on the third terrace.²⁷ Williams does mention these fragments.

Returning to the Walk and advancing to the East, on the North side we have a small stone terrace [basement] upon which are collected many mutilated statues, dressed in Javanese habits. (Williams 1815:134)

Van der Vlis described a number of these statues from the platform to the north amongst which the just mentioned Bhīma statue (Cat. no. 31).

A statue from which the head and feet are missing, the left arm with a clenched fist is hanging down along the left side, the right hand lies on the breast.²⁸

Because Van der Vlis found the second Bhīma statue on the north platform of the third terrace together with many other mutilated statues, and because Williams noticed these mutilated statues in the same location I am quite confident that the second Bhīma statue originated from this platform.

²⁶ 'Vóór den tempel staan eenige beelden. Aan elke zijde van de trap, welke naar het plat des tempels voert, staat een groote platte steen, als een schildpad uitgehouwen en bijna drie Ned. ellen lang. Een weinig ten westen dezer schildpadden staat een groot beeld, waarop thans een hoofd staat, hetwelk echter niet met het ligchaam is verbonden. Achter op dit beeld, ter hoogte van den buikband, is een opschrift.' (Van der Vlis 1843:18)

²⁷ In 1992 I made a survey of Candi Sukuh with regard to the project *Rewriting of Krom* (see Foreword).

²⁸ 'Een beeld, waaraan het hoofd en de voeten ontbreken, de linkerarm hangt met gesloten vuist langs de linkerzijde, de rechterhand ligt gesloten op de borst.' (Van der Vlis 1843:29)

Statue Cat. no. 34 of Candi Planggatan on Mount Lawu

Candi Planggatan has three terraces, and its direction is west-east. On the second terrace, on top of a relief stone, I discovered two fragments, a head and the upper part of a torso. The fragments once constituted a Bhīma statue. According to the report of the Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Jawa Tengah from 1989-90 fragments of a statue were discovered in the same location (Lestari 1990:7) where I found them in 1992. Darmasoetopo (1976:123) only described one fragment in 1976, but did not mention the place where he found it. Both Lestari and Darmasoetopo did not identify the fragments as the remains of a Bhīma statue.

The place where I found the fragments in 1992 was definitely not the original location of the Bhīma statue. Due to the location of the sanctuary and the damage on the remains Lestari assumed that there might have been an earthquake (Lestari 1990:17). The location might therefore have been the third and highest terrace.

Statues Cat. nos. 32 and 33 of Candi Ceto on Mount Lawu

The sanctuary of Candi Ceto has two Bhīma statues which are still in situ. The first one (Cat. no. 32) is found on the eighth terrace, the second (Cat. no. 33) on the ninth. According to Van der Vlis (1843: 71) the sanctuary once counted fourteen terraces of which only ten are left. The sanctuary is directed west-east.

Van der Vlis described the first statue which apparently stood next to a small tortoise on the north side of the eighth terrace.

Next to it [the tortoise] stands a statue in erect position. Although the head is parted from the body it is still loosely resting on it. The moustache is drooping down. On the head is a large crown.²⁹ Round earrings are suspending from the ears; whilst on each side from behind the ears a flower appears hanging over the cheek. The armbands consist of serpents. The ends of the loincloth are hanging straight down between the feet on front and back.³⁰

He also described the kneeling Bhīma (Cat. no. 33) which was found on the north side of the stairs on the ninth terrace.

²⁹ Van der Vlis probably took the large *supit urang* for a crown.

³⁰ 'Naast dezelve [de schildpad] staat een beeld in eene opgerigte houding. Het hoofd is van den romp gescheiden, doch bevindt zich nog los op denzelfven. De snorren zijn naar beneden gebogen. Op het hoofd is eene groote kroon. Aan de ooren hangen ronde bellen; terwijl aan elke zijde eene bloem van achter de ooren te voorschijn komt, welke over de wang hangt. De armbanden bestaan uit slangen. De einden des buikbands hangen van voren en van achter regt af tot tusschen de voeten.' (Van der Vlis 1843:89-90)

North of the stairs which leads to the next terrace stands a statue about a yard and three palms high. Suspending from the ears are round earrings, whilst on both sides a flower appears from behind the ears hanging over the cheek. Two serpents are twisted around the neck whose crowned heads face each other standing upright before the chest. Another crowned snake is twisted around his elbow. Around the wrist is a decorated bracelet. In the right hand is a massive club, which is similar to the one depicted amongst the arms [on the blacksmith relief] of Sukuh. The left hand, which rested on the left thigh, is broken away. The right leg, now broken away, was lying underneath the body, while the left knee bent in front of the body is still intact.³¹

Statue Cat. no. 35 of Candi Menggung on Mount Lawu

I discovered the decapitated Bhīma statue of Candi Menggung in 1992 on the south side of the third terrace entangled between the roots of a huge *waringin* tree (*Ficus indica*). The sanctuary has five terraces, and its direction is west-east.

The first time this Bhīma statue was mentioned is in a report by the Dutch Archaeological Service dating from 1910. The statue was described as standing under a tree, but it was not recognised as a Bhīma statue at the time.

A statue thickly covered with moss under a kembang kantil³² tree. Mutilation does not allow recognition.³³

According to a report of the Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Jawa Tengah dating eighty years later (1989/90), the statue was still standing under a tree, meanwhile grown into a huge specimen. Again the statue was not recognised as a Bhīma statue.³⁴

As a *waringin* tree is considered a holy tree, I presume that the tree was planted on purpose. I therefore assume that the damaged and

³¹ 'Ten noorden van den trap, die naar het volgende terras voert, staat een beeld, ééne el en drie palmen hoog. Aan de ooren hangen ronde bollen, terwijl eene bloem aan elke zijde van achter dezelve te voorschijn treedt en over de wang hangt. Om den hals zijn twee slangen gekronkeld, welker gekroonde koppen, tegen over elkander vóór de borst regt opstaan. Om den elleboog is eveneens eene gekroonde slang gekronkeld. Om den pols is een versierde armband. In de regterhand is eene groote knods, soortgelijk aan die, welke op *Soekoeh* voorkomt onder de wapenen (...). De linkerhand, welke op de linkerzijde rustte, is afgebroken. Het regterbeen, thans afgebroken, lag onder het lijf terwijl de linkerhand vóór het lijf gebogen nog ongeschonden is.' (Van der Vlis 1843:92-3)

³² The tree I saw and photographed in 1992 is definitely a *waringin*.

³³ 'Een dik bemost beeld onder een kembang-kantil-boom. Verminking laat geene herkenning toe.' (Knebel 1910:116)

³⁴ 'Letak arca yang dimaksud berada di sela-sela akar pohon besar do halaman 3 bagian selatan.' (Gutomo 1990:17).

weathered statue might have been put there in former days and that its place on the third terrace is not the original location.

I would like to conclude this section with some remarks about the location of Bhīma statues near or on a tortoise. I know of three such statues: (1) the statue of Candi Penampihan (Cat. no. 27), (2) the tallest statue of Candi Sukuh (Cat. no. 30), and (3) the Bhīma statue found on the eighth terrace of Candi Ceto (Cat. no. 32). The tortoise seems to be of some significance in relation to Bhīma statues. In relation to this it was interesting to see a turtle with 'real' footprints carved on it at Candi Cemoro Bulus, a terraced sanctuary about 600 metres above Candi Sukuh (Fig. 70).³⁵ These footprints are known to the locals as *Tapak Bhīma* meaning 'the footprints of Bhīma'. It was the late Sukarto Atmojo who drew my attention to this phenomenon. He and Mr. Hardjonagoro informed me that there are two more places in the Javanese mountains where 'the footprints of Bhīma' occur. However, as this phenomenon was only brought to my attention in the latter stages of my fieldwork I was, apart from Candi Cemoro Bulus, able to visit only one of these other locations, namely Punden Tapak Bhīma situated near the hamlet (*dukun*) of Ngetrep in the *desa* Kemuning which lies between Candi Sukuh and Candi Ceto. This small sanctuary consists of two terraces, and the 'footprint' occurs on the highest terrace. The footprint is not shaped like a footprint as we know it – as is the case at Candi Cemoro Bulus – it is just a big cavernous stone.

In Javanese religion a tortoise refers to the cosmic tortoise on which the mythical mountain rests³⁶ which produces the elixir of life (*amṛta*). This could well be the reason for the occurrence of some Bhīma statues and the 'footprints' near or on the turtles. In 1996 Su-

³⁵ Judging the remains on Candi Cemoro Bulus, the sanctuary might date from the same period as Candi Sukuh, Planggatan and Ceto, that is the middle of the fifteenth century.

³⁶ The Indian myth of the churning of the ocean and the production of the elixir of life written in the *Ādiparwa* differs from the Javanese myth in the Tantu Panggelaran. Patt (1979:450) describes the difference as follows: 'The really major shifts in the story of the churning of the ocean in the viewpoint of the story from the *Ādiparwa* to the Tantu Panggelaran are the literal shift of the mountain from its site in India to Java and the change of the source of *amṛta*, now the only treasure produced during the episode, from within the ocean to within the mountain itself. The change in location of the mountain is truly symbolic of the change in emphasis in viewpoint: the shift from an India-centric to a Javanese-centric myth. The transfer of Meru from India to Java makes Java the symbolic centre of the universe. The change from the ocean to the mountain as the source of *amṛta* is also clearly evidence of the Javanese viewpoint. The ocean, in fact, has completely disappeared from the myth, which no longer truly concerns the churning of the ocean. The source of the life-giving and life-prolonging liquid is not the ocean but the mountain in association with Śiwa, the god of the *lingga* and fertility.'

karto Atmojo told me that on Candi Cemoro Bulus until 1982 rain calling ceremonies were being held.

It proves extremely difficult to say anything conclusive about the location of the Bhīma statues within the terraced sanctuaries on the basis of just a quarter of the, mostly fragmented, statues. Their location remains more or less arbitrary due to the condition they are in, the state of the sanctuaries, and the little bits of information and descriptions left to us by others. It is however possible to make some remarks.

More than half of the locations where Bhīma statues and/or fragments thereof were, and in some cases still are found, indicate a position on the highest and most sacred terrace. This is definitely the case with the statues of the sanctuaries Candi Wayang, Candi Naga, Candi Pagersari, Candi Papoh and the two statues from Candi Suku. Judging from their position and condition I assume that the two statues from Candi Hutan Dadapan and Candi Planggatan also originate from the highest terrace and that, after ill-treatment and possibly a natural disaster they ended up on a lower terrace.

The Bhīma statues of Candi Ceto form an exception as they were found on the eighth and ninth terrace, and thus not the highest terraces of this sanctuary. I do think however that these two terraces were considered of some importance given the evidence of other remains found there. I will discuss these remains in the following section.

The original location of the Bhīma statue of Candi Menggung is difficult to determine, but I am convinced that the present location between the roots of the huge *waringin* is definitely not the original place.

The location of the Bhīma statue on Candi Penampihan is and was definitely not on the highest terrace. The fact though that this statue as well as two other Bhīma statues were found on or near a tortoise might indicate a relationship between Bhīma and the elixir of life. It is interesting to note that eight of the twelve Bhīma statues were found on the north side of the terraces, a direction connected to the god *Wisṇu*.

3.1.4 Other remains on the Bhīma sanctuaries

The terraced sanctuaries on the mountain slopes are among the many locations where the Javanese practised their religious life in the later Majapahit Period. This means that any remains found within these sanctuaries, including the Bhīma statues and reliefs, could tell us something about the beliefs and perceptions of the Javanese people during that period. In order to gain a clear understanding of the re-

mains found on the sanctuaries, and to be able to interpret their meaning I decided to do a survey.

The survey is based on my own fieldwork in 1992 and 1996, on a number of archaeological reports, and on descriptions of amateur archaeologists, mainly dating from the nineteenth and the twentieth century. Quite a number of the remains, and in particular where it concerns the statues found on the Bhīma sanctuaries as described in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century, are no longer in situ. In these cases I had to rely on archaeological records. As these records are not always accurate and because photographs are often missing in these early records³⁷ identification of the objects has not always been possible. My survey is therefore by no means comprehensive.

It appears that the number of statues left on the various sanctuaries fluctuates considerably. For instance the number of statues found at Candi Papoh, Candi Sukuh and Candi Ceto are considerable, between twenty and forty each. On Candi Kedaton on the other hand there were no statues at all. The difference in quantity may have been caused by various reasons including the occurrence of natural disasters, the demolishment of statues after the sanctuaries lost their function, the stealing of statues and reliefs and the collecting of statues in injudicious ways.³⁸ However, there is also a possibility that there just have never been any statues at all. At this stage it is difficult to determine what exactly the reason is for the variety in the number of statues.

Not only is there a variation in the number of statues found on the terraced sanctuaries but also in the type of statues represented. For instance on Candi Sukuh, Candi Ceto and Candi Planggatan located on Mount Lawu, the statues, and on occasion the iconography of well-known represented figures, significantly differ from statues and the iconography found on other Bhīma sanctuaries. The narratives depicted on reliefs on the other hand show a more coherent image. Some narratives appeared on more than one sanctuary, although the scenes depicted were certainly not always the same.

A number of reliefs have not yet been identified which is due to extreme weathering and to the fact that scholars could not make any sense of the reliefs. In the next section I will try to describe these reliefs and attempt to identify them in order to uncover the theme and/or subject they are representing. I will not describe the reliefs that

³⁷ The medium of photography was not yet known in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

³⁸ Some residents of the Colonial Period collected statues to fancy their gardens or improve their collections. They did not document their pieces however (Van Delden-Laerne 1894:239-40). See also the recent publication of Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer about this subject (Lunsingh Scheurleer 2007:77).

have already have been identified in full length again.³⁹ When I agree with the identification I will concentrate on the significance of the representation and the remains themselves. The same applies for the already identified statues, special ornaments, and structures on the sanctuaries. I will content myself with just generally describing the already identified remains and elaborate more on those items not yet categorised in order to try to identify them. After I have done this I will try to interpret the remains.

In this survey I will use the same geographic order for the location of the terraced sanctuaries as I did in the diagrams.

Candi Kedaton on Mount Hyang

The sanctuary is directed northwest-southeast and has one terrace. A number of buildings were found on this sanctuary; some with reliefs. Besides these remains there were also many stone dies.

Krom who described the sanctuary in the beginning of the twentieth century (Krom 1923 II:223-9) mentions eight platforms and one rather small principal building. Two of the eight platforms were rather large. One was situated in the northwest side of the terrace and measured 10 x 10 metres, and another measured about 20 metres in length. A total of eighteen stone dies were found on these two platforms. Because of the size and the number of stone dies found, I presume that these platforms might have been pavilions during the heydays of the sanctuary. The two platforms were ornamented with reliefs at the time of discovery. However, which narratives were rendered is unknown as these reliefs are no longer in situ.

The small main building has a protruding part with an entrance on the north side. A small platform was placed in front of the main building. The walls of the main building show thirty-three relief panels which all have been identified. They depict scenes from the *Arjunawiwāha*, the *Bhomakāwya* and the *Garuḍeya* (Van Stein Callenfels 1922; Resink 1965).

The *Arjunawiwāha*,⁴⁰ which is narrated in eleven scenes, conveys the story of Arjuna's penance on Mount Indrakīla in order to obtain the magical weapon, Paśupati, from Śiwa so that he can defeat the enemies of Pāṇḍawa and bring peace to the world.

The content of the story is as follows. The god Indra, whose celestial realm is threatened by the demon Niwātakawaca, wants Arjuna to defeat the demon, as it can only be killed by a human being. To get Arjuna to do this, Indra tries to interfere in Arjuna's meditation and he is assisted by some heavenly nymphs headed by Suprabhā. Indra does not succeed because Arjuna withstands the temptations. Indra, who is interested in Arjuna's aim to meditate, visits him in disguise and ques-

³⁹ I have partly done this already in 2.2, which deals with the Bhīma reliefs.

⁴⁰ See Poerbatjaraka 1926:181-305.

tions Arjuna about his intentions. Arjuna tells him that he wishes to fulfil his duty as a noble man (*kṣatriya*) and wants to help to restore the kingdom of his brother Yudhiṣṭhira. After hearing this, Indra reveals his identity and foretells that Arjuna will obtain the magical weapon of Śiwa. Arjuna continues his meditation.

In the meantime, the demon Niwātakawaca sends out another demon in the shape of a wild boar to kill Arjuna. Consequently Arjuna has to end his meditation to be able to kill the boar. At the same time, Śiwa disguised as a hunter (*kirāta*)⁴¹ enters the scene. Arjuna and Śiwa defeat and kill the boar together and afterwards they quarrel about the ownership of the dead boar. Arjuna seizes Śiwa by the foot and Śiwa reveals his identity. Arjuna receives Śiwa's magical weapon and will use this to kill the demon Niwātakawaca, but only after the nymph Suprabhā has discovered the demon's vulnerable spot.

The eleven relief scenes on the north and west side of the building depict Indra instructing the nymphs to seduce the meditating Arjuna; the attempts of the nymphs trying to seduce Arjuna and their failure of it; Arjuna's meeting with the disguised Indra; the fight with the boar; Arjuna's encounter with Śiwa; and Arjuna's preparations for his trip to Niwātakawaca's kingdom.

The second narrative depicted on thirteen of the relief scenes on the north and east side of the building is that of the *Bhomakāwya*. The *Bhomakāwya*⁴² tells us the story of the battle of Wiṣṇu, his incarnations Kṛṣṇa and Sāmba (Kṛṣṇa's son), and the Pāṇḍawa Arjuna against Bhoma. Bhoma is the demonic son of Wiṣṇu and god of the earth. The part of the *Bhomakāwya* represented on the reliefs does interestingly not involve any of the battle scenes, but only the dramatic union of Sāmba (Kṛṣṇa's son) and Yajñawatī, who is captured by Bhoma and held in one of his idyllic spots. This part of the story is considered a separate part of the *Bhomakāwya* (Teeuw 2005:51).

The *Garuḍeya*⁴³ is the third narrative which is represented on the remaining nine reliefs on the south side of the main building of Candi Kedaton. The *Garuḍeya* tells the story of the bird Garuḍa in his pursuit of the elixir of life (*amṛta*). Garuḍa needs the elixir to release his mother Winatā from her bondage by her sister Kadrū. Winatā has become the slave of her sister after she has lost a treacherous bet.

Both sisters have put a bet on the colour of the horse Uccaiḥśrawa, who appeared from the churning of the ocean together with the elixir of life. The horse turned out to be white which was what Winatā predicted. Kadrū in her fear to become Winatā's slave ordered her sons, the serpents, to change the colour of the horse by using their poison.

⁴¹ The Kirāta are a mountain tribe (Zoetmulder 1982:876).

⁴² See Teeuw 2005.

⁴³ See Santoso 1985.

The poison turned the tail of the horse black, and so Winatā lost her bet and became Kadrū's slave.

The nine relief scenes depict Garuḍa on his journey to Mount Sumaka to obtain the elixir of life and the obstacles he finds on his way.

Looking at the survey of the remains of Candi Kedaton we can say with some certainty that the sanctuary must have had two large pavilions and a number of smaller pavilions or shrines. The reliefs which could be identified on the main and most probably the most important building represent a number of themes taken from three texts: the *Arjunawihāha*, the *Bhomakāwya* and the *Garuḍeya*. The themes dealt with here include: the temptations of Arjuna, the 'royal' ascetic, and his consequent achievement of acquiring Śiwa's magical weapon enabling him to achieve his goal (*Arjunawihāha*); the dramatic divine love between Sāmba and Yajñawati (*Bhomakāwya*); and the search of, and success in finding the elixir of life by Garuḍa (*Garuḍeya*). Obviously these themes were important in the functioning of this sanctuary.

Candi Wayang on Mount Penanggungan

The remaining antiquities on Candi Wayang's small terrace (Antiquity VIII) (Fig. 71) constitute of two statues and a relief.⁴⁴ The statues portray sitting guardians. The relief on the terrace wall shows from left to the right thirteen human figures of which at least five appear to be female (Van Romondt 1951:Pl. 28). Two kneeling figures on the right hand side of the relief seem to be bringing an honourable salute (*sembah*) to the figures in front of them. Van Romondt (1951:19) presumed that a scene from a Pañji story was depicted, however, at present the relief is too weathered and moss-covered to confirm this identification.

Candi Naga on Mount Penanggungan

Candi Naga (Antiquity XVI) which comprises three terraces did not reveal many other archaeological finds apart from a terracotta lamp and several Chinese coins (*kepèng*).⁴⁵ Exactly where these objects were found on the sanctuary was not stated. Chinese coins were small change and were often used for offerings as is still the case on Bali. Several stone dies were also sited in the vicinity of the sanctuary (Van Romondt 1951:21). The stone dies probably indicate the existence of a shrine.

⁴⁴ Van Romondt 1951:19-20. In 1992, when I visited this sanctuary, only one statue was still in situ.

⁴⁵ It is not known from which period the *kepèng* date.

Antiquity II. on Mount Penangungan

At the time of discovery this sanctuary with four terraces contained seven decapitated statues.⁴⁶ One of the statues represents Gaṇeśa, the elephant headed son of Śiwa. Three other statues according to their morphology and ornaments portray deified kings with Śaiwa features (see 1.4.2). Two of the three remaining statues show the attire of deified royalty and probably also represent this category. However, as the upper parts of the statues are missing, the identification remains hypothetical. The identity of the seventh statue is unknown. From what we can see it concerns a man of high caste as he is wearing a long cloth around the waist (*dodot*), a sacred thread and a diadem.

Candi Gilang on Mount Kawi

This sanctuary with two and probably more terraces only contained a fragment of a miniature temple, probably a votive, and a number of unrecognisable fragments (Fig. 72). The miniature temple was situated on the highest terrace. Miniature temples often had the same slender shape as the tower temples from the Singhasāri period.

Candi Papoh on Mount Kelud

At the time of excavation, the sanctuary of Candi Papoh (Fig. 73) which consists of one terrace, unearthed two platforms, two shrines, a miniature temple, three gargoyles, four decorated stone dies and seventeen statues.

One of the seventeen statues represents possibly Mahākāla. Two others portray the Śaiwa god Gaṇeśa, and another three, according to their morphology and ornaments depict deified royalty. The statues of the deified royalty represent a queen and two kings. The back-slab of one of the deified kings is decorated with a jar of lotus buds and flowers, a decoration that often appeared on the front of the back-slabs of deified royalty during the Majapahit Period. There were two statues excavated representing guardians (*dwārapāla*), and one fragment portraying Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardini. Of this fragment only Mahiṣa, the buffalo, remained. Two further statues depict, most probably, the ascetic manifestation of Śiwa, Bhaṭāra Guru. A pedestal, an upper part of an eight-armed goddess (Durgā?), a lower part of a statue, a sitting four-armed statue, and two more statues were also unearthed. These remains could not be identified because they were too damaged (Perquin 1916:133-47).

We can deduce from the seventeen excavated statues on Candi Papoh that, apart from the statues representing deified royalty, most identified statues were of Śaiwa origin. As for the other remains besides the statues it suffices here to state that the miniature temple was most probably a votive and that the shrines bore a resemblance to the

⁴⁶ Van Romondt 1951:27. This is visible on OD photographs 11937-8.

shrines found on the sanctuaries of Mount Penanggungan. The stone dies supported without doubt a wooden shrine.

Candi Hutan Dadapan on Mount Wilis

This sanctuary with three terraces only contains the fragment of a parapet and some stone dies which might have supported a shrine or a pavilion. Other remains have not been found but might be looted.⁴⁷

Candi Penampihan on Mount Wilis

The remains on this sanctuary with its three terraces include four buildings, between ten and fourteen statues, and four relief panels. The four buildings are located on the third and highest terrace (Fig. 74). The central structure is the largest and is placed the most to the rear. The structure consists of a giant tortoise with a superstructure on top. Although the superstructure was in a bad condition when it was found, some carvings of serpents could still be made out and also the head of a giant bird which looked like Garuda.

The superstructure might have been a representation of Mount Mandara, the mythological mountain which produces the elixir of life.⁴⁸ The elixir is produced by churning the mountain resting on the giant 'cosmic' tortoise. The serpents represent the churning ropes. However this identification does not explain the head of the giant bird on the structure which makes the identification hypothetical.

The four relief panels are situated on the west side of the northern platform. From the left to the right they show: a person of high caste with some animals in front of a shrine; a man with a plough and three elephants; a seated man making a *sembah* for a standing person in front of him; behind this standing person another seated person. Looking at the clothing and the ornamentations of the standing man we can assume that he is of a high caste. The last panel depicts several animals amongst which a lobster, a cockerel, a peacock, a sheep and a water buffalo (*kerbau*).

Although it is too difficult to attribute these relief scenes to any specific narrative, it is clear that a man of high caste has a central role in the narrative. In one scene the man, possibly a prince, is paid respect. In another scene he probably makes offerings.

The number of statues found on this sanctuary probably counted between ten and fourteen. Hoepermans (1913:321) who described Candi Penampihan was not very accurate in his numbers and descriptions. He mentioned two statues portraying Gaṇeśa, with one of the two being a standing Gaṇeśa; two statues depicting deified kings; and four small statues representing guardians (*dwārapāla*). Of the four

⁴⁷ The site showed signs of illegal digging.

⁴⁸ In the *Tantu Panggĕlaran* (Pigeaud 1924:136) Mount Wilis is considered a part of the Mahameru, the cosmic mountain that produces the elixir of life.

guardians, two kneeling ones are still in situ. The back-slab of one of the deified kings was decorated with a jar of lotus buds and flowers. Hoepermans referred to two more statues which he did not describe as he was unable to identify them. He also mentioned a number of statues which were apparently in 'a bad shape' and he did not make any attempts to describe these either. Hoepermans made no reference to where the statues were found or located.

Candi Sukuh on Mount Lawu

This sanctuary has three successive terraces (Fig. 75). However, on the south side of the third and highest terrace we find another terrace which is accessible by stairs from the third terrace. This terrace lies about 1 metre below the third terrace and might have been a subsidiary terrace.

According to sources from the nineteenth century (Williams 1815; Raffles 1817; Van der Vlis 1843) the following archaeological remains were found on the sanctuary: four buildings; at least 39 statues but probably much more;⁴⁹ many reliefs, the number of which cannot be specified; and a number of stone dies.

The third terrace encloses the four buildings which are made of natural stone (Fig. 75). The buildings include the main building, two platforms and a small subsidiary building. The main building is facing west and placed towards the rear of the terrace. Two platforms are situated in front of the main building, one on the north side of the terrace and the second one to the south. Both platforms support obelisk shaped constructions. I will return to these constructions later on in this section. A small subsidiary building with a niche is located in front of the main building.

The main building of Candi Sukuh has been constructed in the shape of a truncated pyramid. The platform of the building is accessible by stairs from the west side and contains a system for collecting water. This system is connected to two serpent heads on the overhanging part on the west side of the platform. Just below the cornice a band of lotus flowers is visible. There are no indications that the upper platform of the main building supported a roof structure.

The majority of the 39 statues consisted of fragments of human figures and were discovered on the third and highest terrace. Most of the statues are still in situ but many of them are unrecognisable.

At the time of the discovery four statues, all representing guardians, were found on both sides on top of the stairs leading to the second and the third terrace. On the northern platform of the third terrace a

⁴⁹ Because of the large number of fragments and the incomplete description of the site, it is difficult to determine the exact number of statues. Most probably there were more statues than the mentioned 39, but at this stage I can justify the number of 39 statues.

group of at least 23 statues were located, but this number might have been much higher.⁵⁰ The statues mostly represent people of high caste, both men and women, most probably royal figures, royal attendants (*panakawan*) and hermits.⁵¹ Three of the male figures are carved with their hands closed in front of their chest. This gesture indicates a respectful salutation (*sembah*). The clothing and jewellery of the depicted figures is rich. The men as well as the women are wearing a long cloth (*dodot*) which is ornamented with sashes and belts. The women are also dressed in a *sēmĕk*, a cloth covering their breasts, whilst the men are wearing sacred threads adorned with rosettes. The hair dress of the women is very similar to the hair dress found on a number of the terracotta statues from Trawulan, the seat of the Majapahit kingdom (Muller 1978:6, 32-8). The hair dress might have been fashionable during the later Majapahit Period. A striking feature of the human statues on Candi Sukuh, including this group, are the eyes. They are surrounded by a thick line which makes them really stand out.

The identity of the group as a whole is unknown. As the iconography of the attendants (*panakawan*) is similar to that of the *panakawan* in present-day *wayang* iconography, and as the crowns on two of the decapitated heads also resemble those of the kings in present-day *wayang* iconography I am assuming that the group represented a (royal) meeting, and that they were shaped after a *wayang* performance. This group might have had an allegoric meaning.

The rest of the 39 statues include: a rather damaged and decapitated representation of a deified king in high relief;⁵² four kneeling guardians (*dwārapāla*); three standing demons (*rākṣasa*). One of these three demons is huge and is positioned in front of the main building. He most certainly had the function of a guardian. The two smaller demons, both naked, are located near the platform to the south. One of these demons is holding his penis in his left hand and some semen seems to be dripping from it. The second demon is holding a cleaver (*kudi*). It is uncertain as to what role these last two demons fulfilled. They might also have functioned as guardians seen that nudity averts evil. However, the first mentioned demon might also have functioned as a fertility symbol – a common symbol amongst the worship of ancestors – as he is holding his pe-

⁵⁰ Van der Vlis (1843:26) counted 52 fragments. However, it is difficult to determine how many statues these fragments constituted. On the basis of photographic data (OD photographs 7171-7) I concluded that there must have been at least twenty statues. The fragments I found during my research in 1992 and 1996 were mostly unrecognisable. In 1996 these fragments were kept in a locked pavilion near the sanctuary.

⁵¹ OD photographs 7171-7.

⁵² This statue differs in style from the statuary on Sukuh, and might have been brought to the sanctuary from elsewhere. It shows similarities with the statue of a deified king on Candi Menggung (see 3.1.4, Candi Menggung)

nis in a state of erection. Comparable poses are visible on ancestor statues throughout the archipelago.⁵³

Six other statues found on Sukuḥ represent three giant tortoises, a kneeling elephant, an unidentifiable animal with a demon head, and a boar. The boar which is no longer in situ⁵⁴ revealed an inscription, a chronogram dated Śaka 1365=1439 C.E. The head of the boar is dressed with the turban of a *rṣi*. The three giant tortoises are all positioned in front of the main building. Their backs are flat rather than rounded. They may have served for placing ritual objects. The significance of the other two animal statues is unknown.

There are two more decapitated statues which are both taller than a man. They most certainly represent the bird Garuḍa, even though they are each sculpted in a slightly different way. One statue depicts a human body with wings, bent legs and spurs. This Garuḍa is wearing a pubic plate, and its decapitated head is dressed in a turban of a *rṣi*. The second Garuḍa statue also has a human body with wings, however this statue depicts human legs. The head of this statue is missing. Both statues bear an inscription and the inscription on the back-slab of the first Garuḍa statue reads as follows:

Rajèg wēsi existed for a long time, when it was attacked by the people of Medang, Ki Mpu Rama was beaten and threw himself into the fire, they disputed the country.⁵⁵

Muusses was unable to translate the last two paragraphs of this inscription and this was finished by Crucq:

So is the short story. The stork is in the cemetery.⁵⁶

The inscription on the second Garuḍa statue could refer to a volcanic eruption, as it reads:

The sea boiled, there was an eruption, the smoke went up to the sky.⁵⁷

Finally there is a statue depicting a *lingga*,⁵⁸ Śiwa's phallic symbol. Several sources assume that the *lingga* must have been placed on the

⁵³ See for instance an ancestor statue from Central Nias (Feldman 1990:190 Pl. 2).

⁵⁴ The boar is now part of the collection of the Mangkunegara, a Solonese court.

⁵⁵ 'Lange tijd bestond Rajèg wēsi, toen werd het aangevallen en overweldigd door de lieden van Mēḍang, Ki Mpu Rama werd verslagen en stortte zich in het vuur (?), men betwistte elkaar het land.' (Muusses 1923:507-8)

⁵⁶ 'aldus is het korte verhaal: de ooievaar bevindt zich op de begraafplaats' (Crucq 1930b:235)

⁵⁷ 'De zee ziedde, er was een uitbarsting, de rook steeg in het luchtruim op.' (Muusses 1923:503)

⁵⁸ The *lingga* is no longer in situ, it is part of the collection of Museum Nasional, Jakarta.

platform of the main building, which is a real option as we will see later on. The shape of the *lingga*, a penis (*lingga puruṣa*) is quite rare, generally the *lingga* is represented as a column with a rounded top. The *lingga puruṣa* is also decorated with four balls around the rounded top and these probably represent penis pins (*palang*). In Indonesian culture *palang* indicate high virility and they are mostly worn by men of high descent (Zahorka 2003:43). So it seems that the statue representing the *lingga* has a connection to virility and consequently to fertility, as is confirmed by a part of the inscription on the *lingga* which reads:

the sign of manhood is the essence of the world⁵⁹

Manhood and fertility seem to have been important subject matters on Candi Sukuh. For example all animals depicted on Sukuh represent the male species and all reveal an erected penis. There is however another explanation for the *lingga puruṣa* decorated with four balls. According to Knebel (1910:55) such a *lingga puruṣa* has in India the meaning of the *lingga-yoni*, which signifies that the *lingga puruṣa* could represent a Tantric symbol.

The part of the inscription that precedes the above-mentioned line mentions the consecration of a holy man (*bhagawān*) by the name Ganggasudhi which translates into 'purified by the holy water of the Gangga', the sacred river of the Hindu. The word *bhagawān* generally refers to a holy person or a person of high rank, in particular a king who retired from the world to devote himself to religious life so he can become an anchorite or hermit (Zoetmulder 1982:185). Whether this *bhagawān* was of royal descent is unknown.

The consecration took place on 'wuku tumpĕkaliwoning wayang', which is the sixth day of a seven-day week which coincides with the fourth day of a five-day week in the 27th week in the Śaka year 1362, which correspondence to 1440 C.E.

The *lingga*, the two statues representing Garuḍa, and the largest of the two Bhīma statues are more or less the same height, about 2 metres. These are remarkable heights indicating in my opinion their importance on the sanctuary.

Candi Sukuh contains not only a great number of statues but also many reliefs amongst which a number of chronograms (*candra sengkala*).⁶⁰ Most of the reliefs are located on the third and highest terrace, but there are some reliefs on the entrance gate and also within the entrance gate itself. The northwest side of the gateway includes a

⁵⁹ The whole inscription reads: 'Wijding van de Heilige Ganggasuddhi te.?.Het teken der mannelikheid is de essentie van de wereld. Op tumpĕkaliwon (...) van de woekoe Wayang.' (Muusses 1923:505)

⁶⁰ The number of chronograms on Candi Sukuh is exceptional.

relief depicting a naked demon swallowing a human under the watchful eyes of a dog and several birds of prey. Muusses (1923:505) reads this chronogram as follows: 'gapura buta aban wong' which means 'gateway demon eats man'. She gives the chronogram the numeral value 1359 Śaka=1437 C.E. This date most probably indicates the consecration of the entrance gate of Candi Sukuh.

The southwest side of the gateway reveals a relief of a naked demon sinking his teeth into the tail of an enormous snake. The demon is standing on his left leg with his right leg bent and his heel almost touching his buttocks. Above this scene is a depiction of some kind of lizard.

The just mentioned relief scenes most probably depict the demon world, often represented as a cemetery, called Gandamayū.⁶¹ The chronogram most certainly indicates the consecration date of the entrance gate to Candi Sukuh. The depiction of the naked demons most likely had the function of averting evil.

On the gateway, above the just mentioned reliefs, are some reliefs including the bird Garuḍa. As far as I can tell these reliefs narrate a part of the story *Garuḍeya*. The part depicted here is the capture of Garuḍa's enemies, his nephews. Garuḍa is holding his nephews, represented as serpents, in his claws. These reliefs might have been put there to avert enemies from entering the sanctuary as they show Garuḍa holding his enemies under control. The *Garuḍeya* (Santoso 1985) is frequently depicted on Candi Sukuh as we will see later on.

On top of the entrance gate, on the west and the east side, are Kālaheds.⁶² The floor of the entrance gate has a unique, encircled, relief depicting an erected penis near a vagina. The first impression of this relief is that it represents a fertility symbol. It could however also stand for a Tantric symbol denoting the fundamental dualism of all manifestations according to Tantra, and that is the male principle (*puruṣa*) represented as a penis and the female principle (*prakṛti*) represented as a vagina. According to Tantra all manifestations are based on the union of these two principles.

As said before there are many reliefs located on the third terrace. On the southern platform there is an obelisk shaped construction topped by a cubic structure which is decorated with lotus motifs just as the band with lotus decoration on the main building. The obelisk shaped building houses a small water canal; hence I presume that the obelisk might represent the mythical Mount Mandara which produces the elixir of life. On the south side of the obelisk is a gargoyle that most probably spouted holy water, and above it a relief with a small squatting nude demon. Again this demon is sculpted with an erected penis; probably he functioned as a guardian warding off evil. The west side is

⁶¹ Gandamayū is the place where Durgā, the demonic manifestation of Uma resides.

⁶² Kāla is the god of death and annihilation.

decorated with a relief in the shape of a medallion. The medallion depicts a deity, which may be deduced from the way the feet are positioned. The deity has a peculiar head dress which resembles that of noble ancestral figures from Nias (Feldman 1990:226-7, Pl. 72-3) He is holding double thunderbolts (*bajra*) in both hands, and thunderbolts are depicted on his elbow. Usually this iconographical detail denotes magical potency.

The platform situated to the north of the terrace has more reliefs than the one on the south. The platform also supports a small obelisk shaped construction similar to the construction on the southern platform. This edifice is home to some relatively small relief scenes rendering the *Garuḍeya* (Santoso 1985) and possibly another story.⁶³ The *Garuḍeya* scenes on this construction differ in size from those at Candi Kedaton, and they also depict different scenes from the narrative. Possibly not all relief scenes from the *Garuḍeya* remain as the upper part of the building is missing. I am assuming that the obelisk shaped construction on the northern platform had the same function as the one on the southern platform, namely that of a holy water container as there are remnants here of a sheltered gutter ending in a serpent's head. The water collection system of the main building also ends in a serpent's head. A holy water container with a spout in the shape of a serpent's head is a common object on East Java.

Besides the *Garuḍeya* scenes on the pylon on the northern platform, there are two other reliefs to be found here portraying scenes from the same narrative. They are carved on a pylon on the north side of the platform. The depictions, which are sculpted on the four sides of the pylon, represent the protagonists of the *Garuḍeya*: Garuḍa, Garuḍa's mother Winatā, her sister Kadrū, and her sons represented as serpents. A relief stone on the south side of the platform illustrates Garuḍa as the mount of Wiṣṇu (Santoso 1985:47 and Pl. 28). On the back of this relief stone is another depiction of Garuḍa, now holding in his claws an elephant and a tortoise (Santoso 1985:44 and Pl. 26). This particular relief scene is also depicted on Candi Kedaton.

The abundance of reliefs depicting scenes from the *Garuḍeya*, the two statues representing Garuḍa, and the water collecting systems all point towards the importance of the production and use of the purifying holy water (*amṛta*) on this sanctuary.

Against the obelisk shaped construction with the *Garuḍeya* reliefs stands the deer arch relief stone with scenes from the *lakon Bhīma Bungkus* and *Pāṇḍu Popo*. As described in 2.2.7 these reliefs are related to Bhīma's release from his caul, the origin of his supernatural strength, and the purification of his parents in which the elixir of life

⁶³ I have found relief scenes which are in my opinion not derived from the *Garuḍeya* and are similar or almost similar to scenes on Candi Ceto. I will discuss these scenes in the Candi Ceto section.

plays an important part. In addition, the platform also contains a relief stone with a scene from the *Sudamala* in which the twins Sakula and Sadewa are depicted together with a slain giant and their attendant. The attendant is mutilating the slain giant, which is an often occurring scene in Javanese and Balinese *wayang* plays.⁶⁴ Opposite this relief is a small relief stone including a procession of human figures of high caste with parasols accompanied by a man riding a horse. The man wears his hair in a lobster claw, so it might be a prince, possibly a Pāṇḍawa. This scene probably represents a 'royal' procession.

Another relief stone portrays a deity with his hands in a *mudra* position, opposite a human being. The human being seems to be a woman hanging from a bar. The back side of the relief shows the monkey Hanūmān. Both relief stones expose a gutter on the top. Again it is unknown which particular narrative is rendered.

I do not know which narrative is portrayed on the following relief stone, also found on the northern platform. The first scene of this relief depicts two human figures, most likely Arjuna with a bow and standard-bearer. The standard shows a depiction of a monkey, probably Hanūmān. The story of Hanūmān functioning as a banner for Arjuna is well known (Lutgendorf 2007:96). The second relief depicts three demons of which one is beating a gong, and the third relief shows a demon holding a spear. The relief scenes might represent the preparation for a battle. However, as there are no actual battle scenes depicted on this platform I am not sure. Only the inscription on the Garuḍa statue with the *r̥ṣi* head dress does mention a fight.

The small subsidiary building in front of the main monument contains two rows of continuous reliefs and a niche for offerings. The reliefs on the building are not yet properly identified. Muusses (1924:35) assumed that they portrayed an episode from the *Bhāratayuddha*, whereas Santiko (1995:142) thought they represented the *Bhīmaswarga*. Both Muusses and Santiko did not elaborate on their assumptions; I find none of their ideas convincing. Sbeghen (2004:215-40) identified the reliefs as illustrating a version of the *kakawin Ghaṭotkacāśraya*. However I find her identification forced.

The two rows with continuous reliefs depict eleven scenes and I believe they render indeed one story. The protagonist of the story is without a doubt a prince whose hair is dressed in the shape of a lobster claw (*supit urang*). The prince might be a Pāṇḍawa⁶⁵ or a descendant of one of the Pāṇḍawa brothers, but I don't know which one. The one thing I am sure about is that it is not Bhīma.

I describe the reliefs with the scenes on the bottom row on the north-west side and go around in a clockwise direction (*pradakṣiṇa*):

⁶⁴ Dr. H.I.R. Hinzler and Dr. V.M. Clara van Groenendael kindly provided me with this information.

⁶⁵ Yudhiṣṭhira is excluded because his hair dress is different.

(1) The prince with a companion (not an attendant) and a demon of royal attire, most probably a demon king. The king who pays homage to the prince is accompanied by an attendant. (2) A demon accompanied by an attendant is arguing with three naked, armed demons and a spokesman. The demons are standing on their left leg with the right leg bent and the heel almost touching the buttocks. They are armed with cleavers. (3) A meeting between the prince accompanied by three attendants and the just mentioned demons with their spokesman. (4) Another king arguing with the demon king and two attendants. Behind the king is a gate. (5) A king arguing with the prince who is accompanied by two attendants. The fifth scene is the last one on the bottom row.

The scenes on the upper row show clockwise: (1) The prince accompanied by an attendant in a respectful position in front of a male deity on a pedestal. Behind the deity is another, kneeling attendant. (2) A male demon with two servants arguing with a female demon, most probably Durgā, and her companion. (3) The prince laying on the ground with two attendants kneeling in front of him. (4) A female demon, possibly Durgā again, lifting the prince. (5) The female demon pointing at the unconscious or dead prince who is held by his companion of the first relief. (6) The prince kneeling and paying respect to a female deity on a pedestal in front of him. This sixth scene is the last scene of the upper row.

It seems to me that the reliefs render a story of a prince, possibly a Pāṇḍawa or a descendant of the Pāṇḍawa brothers who is facing armed demons. A demon king plays a role in this confrontation. The prince encounters a male deity and is cursed by a female demon, most probably Durgā. The prince is most likely released by an unidentifiable female deity, to whom he pays respect.

On the north side of the terrace are four more reliefs that were probably part of a wall. These reliefs represent parts of the already discussed narrative *Sudamala* in which Sadewa exorcises Durgā, and cures Tambapetra from his blindness (see 2.2.7). Other reliefs which are now located on the north side of the terrace but were found on the first terrace (Van der Vlis 1843:12) depict a horseman with an umbrella (*payung*), a mounted elephant, an elephant, a boar, and several water buffalos (*kerbau*). These reliefs also constituted a part of a wall. It is remarkable that all depicted animals are of the male species and are sculpted with their penis in erection.

The last relief located on the north side of the third terrace is the *Nawaruci* relief. I have already discussed this relief in 2.2.7 and 2.3.3. It relates to the release of Indrabāhu from a curse and to the holy water place which is Candi Sukuh.

On the small terrace just off the south side of the third terrace stands a huge relief depicting a forgery. A blacksmith is forging a sword and his assistant is blowing the bellow. Between the blacksmith and his

assistant stands a crowned elephant swallowing a dog. The blacksmith is standing on his right leg with his left leg bent and his heel almost touching his buttocks, a position we have seen depicted before. According to Darmasoetopo (1976:81) the representation of the elephant swallowing a dog might represent a chronogram with the Śaka date 1378=1456 C.E. The date might indicate the consecration of the relief.

The wall of the forgery is decorated with all kinds of tools, symbols and weapons. On the bottom row are tools used for cultivating the *sawah* (the earth), on the middle row are various weapons which are used for fighting a (divine?) battle. The top row shows various attributes and symbols of deities, among which the club with thunderbolt. The club is, as we already know, the attribute of the god of the wind Bāyu, and his sons Bhīma and Hanūmān. The attributes and symbols of the deities might represent the *nawasanga*, the nine deities of the cardinal points, although not all well-known symbols of the *nawasanga* are represented here. The *nawasanga* play an important role in death rituals.

The relief on the small terrace of Candi Sukuh has been the subject of a couple of articles (O'Connor 1985:52-70; Subroto 1980: 342-4), but none of these studies have come up with a satisfactory explanation of the depicted scene. Subroto's study of the relief is based on inscriptions and Old Javanese literature. He mainly describes the forgery and the status of the blacksmith. O'Connor on the other hand sees the forging process as a metaphor for the transformation of the soul. He indicates the relationship between the blacksmith and themes as death and deliverance in several Indonesian communities. According to O'Connor, Bhīma is representing the blacksmith. For iconographical reasons I have to disagree with this assumption, as the blacksmith appears to have none of Bhīma's specific features. Moreover, as far as I know Bhīma has never been associated with a forgery nor a blacksmith. To my mind the god Brahmā is a more suitable candidate as he is always associated with fire and forgery in Javanese myth. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the relief is placed on the south side of the third terrace and Brahmā's direction is south.

That this huge relief must be seen in a religious context is obvious. The blacksmith has always had a magic-religious status in Javanese culture. He is the one who is able to forge together heaven and earth, which is what is literally depicted on the wall of the sculpted forgery.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that the northern platform on Candi Sukuh's third terrace contains many symbols related to Wiṣṇu, such as the *Garuḍeya* reliefs (Garuḍa is Wiṣṇu's mount). The most southern part of the terrace on the other hand contains the huge relief most probably related to Brahmā, and the main building seems to be associated with Śiwa. Looking at the arrangement of the buildings on the highest terrace of Candi Sukuh in relation to these three

deities I would say that they represent the *Tripuruṣa*, the holy trinity of Śiwa, Brahmā and Wiṣṇu.

Finally, Candi Sukuh also unearthed stone dies, of which two were found on the first terrace. The stone dies most certainly supported wooden structures in the shape of shrines (Galestin 1936:37, 88). The dies show depictions of *wayang* figures and of animals.

Candi Planggatan on Mount Lawu

The sanctuary of Candi Planggatan (Fig. 76) has three terraces and all the remains were discovered on the second terrace. The discoveries included: a *yoni*; six very weathered reliefs; and a relief including a chronogram with an inscription.

The *yoni* represents a womb or place of birth, and it is often used as receptacle for the *lingga*, the male organ.

The six weathered reliefs render a story which has not yet been identified. The relief scenes depict from left to right: (1) A man holding a woman by the waist whilst looking towards a man behind him. There are two attendants standing in front of him and one attendant behind him. (2) A monkey accompanied by two other monkeys. (3) A platform and two pavilions, and a man with a spear and two horsemen. (4) Several men with weapons. (5) A horseman. (6) A horseman accompanied by several women and three attendants.

As this relief is very weathered it is difficult to identify the images depicted. They might represent an escort, but it is also feasible that the scenes depict preparations for a battle. However, there are no actual fights depicted anywhere on the second terrace.

The relief contains a chronogram and an inscription revealing the same date. The chronogram depicts an elephant man with the hair dress of an ascetic eating the moon.⁶⁶ Darmosoetopo (1976:124) interpreted the chronogram as follows: 'Gajah wiku mangan wulan'. The numeral value of this chronogram is 8731=1378 Śaka which corresponds with 1456 C.E. Most probably this is the consecration date of the sanctuary.

Candi Ceto on Mount Lawu

At the time of discovery this sanctuary, with a west-east direction, had fourteen terraces. Today only ten terraces remain. According to descriptions of Williams (1815), Raffles (1817), and Van der Vlis (1843) the sanctuary of Candi Ceto contained: 22 statues; thirteen relief stones which are arranged in a rectangle and standing on a platform; a number of specific arrangements made out of natural stone; a number of decorations in the shape of a lotus bud; and many stone dies.

⁶⁶ A similar kind of chronogram is found on Mount Penanggungan, Antiquity LI (Van Romondt 1951, Pl. 38).

The statues and reliefs were all found on the fifth terrace and further upwards to the ninth. All the other terraces were empty. According to the description and a supplementary drawing by Van der Vlis⁶⁷ there were many stone dies and 21 platforms of various sizes on the sanctuary. These platforms might point towards the existence of pavilions. Van der Vlis (1843:99) assumed that the construction of this sanctuary was never completed as no statues were found from the tenth to the fourteenth terrace, nor any remains of a main building on the highest terrace. This might well be true, as I found a statue on the fifth terrace of which the carving looks unfinished.

The 22 statues represent eighteen human figures, three animals, and one mythical figure. Most of the human figures are portrayed in a kneeling or seated position with their heads turned upwards. This gives the impression that the depicted figures direct themselves to a higher, probably divine being. Some of them have their hands carved in a ritual gesture in front of their chest with the fist and thumbs pressed against each other, and the thumbs forming a triangle above the fists.⁶⁸ This gesture which resembles the *yoni mudra* may be connected to the performance of yoga.

The fifth terrace is the first terrace on which some statues were found. This terrace contains three kneeling human figures sculpted with their right arm in front of their waist and their left arm alongside their body. Two of them are male, and one is female. The faces of the males show a beard and moustache. The eyes of the human figures of Candi Ceto are just like the statues of Candi Sukuh accentuated by a thick line. All the figures wear simple dresses, earrings (*subeng*) and bracelets. One of the males has a flower decoration in front of his ears. The carving of the statue seems unfinished.

The sixth terrace includes statues of a kneeling man, three animals, and a mythical figure. The man is, like the men on the fifth terrace, simply dressed and has the same decorations including a flower decoration in front of his ears. The man is holding his hands in the above-mentioned ritual gesture. His face is similar to the just mentioned statues. Two statues represent elephants and one of them is mounted. The remaining statue represents a mounted horse. The mythical figure looks like a centaur, the lower part of the body being a horse and the upper part human.

The seventh terrace uncovered four standing figures, two of which are identical. As these statues are placed on both sides of stairs to the eighth terrace they might have represented guardians; however, they do not look as guardians. They stand in upright positions, their arms

⁶⁷ See the plate 'Topographische Schets der Oudheden op Tjetto' in Van der Vlis 1843.

⁶⁸ The same gesture can also be seen on a yogi hanging from a tree on a relief on the ninth terrace of Candi Ceto, and on a yogi in the same position on the *Garuḍeya* reliefs of Sukuh.

crossed in front of their waist. Their hair dress is short and simple and they have a flower decoration in front of their ears. They wear an ankle long cloth (*dodot*). None of them carries a weapon.

The eighth terrace contains two statues of male figures carved in high relief. Both men are seated in a lotus position. One of them is wearing a sacred thread with a rosette and he is holding his hands in the ritual gesture. He wears a diadem, ear pendants and a necklace with drop shaped jewels, a flower decoration in front of his ears, armlets, bracelets and a stomach band made of precious stones and a ring on both thumbs. The other figure, which is partly decapitated, is sculpted with one hand in his lap and the other hand along the body. He wears a necklace with a drop shaped jewel and ear pendants, armlets and bracelets with the same decoration. He is dressed in a *dodot*. Who the two males represent is unknown. Given their jewellery they are of a high caste and may be of royal descent.

In addition to the just described statues the eighth terrace (Fig. 77) encloses some very special ornaments, some of which are made of natural stone. On the west side of the terrace rests a flat natural shaped penis (*lingga puruṣa*) sculpted with three bulges near the glans. The bulges most likely represent penis pins (*palang*) just like the ones on the *lingga puruṣa* of Candi Sukuh. The penis is decorated with a lizard and a fish. Opposite the penis lays a flat triangle made of natural stones, with nine sculpted animals positioned on top of it. On the three sides of the triangle are three sea animals pointing towards the centre: a crab, a mimi and an eel. Positioned on the angles of the triangle are three lizards also pointing towards the centre. In the middle of the structure we find three toads. On the north and south side of the triangle two flat medallions are visible both including a nine-pointed star. Just to the east of the triangle lays a giant bat on which a giant tortoise is placed. Both the bat and the tortoise are made of natural stone. Between the tortoise and the triangle is a seven-pointed star. Three small tortoises lay scattered around the terrace.

Of a number of the remains on the eighth terrace we know that they are related to fertility. The *lingga puruṣa* and the triangle with the nine sculpted water animals are seen as fertility symbols (Crucq 1933:151). The tortoise is as we know connected with the elixir of life. The bat on which the tortoise rests is similar to a bat on the back of a throne which is used in ancestral worship in Pulu Tello, Nias (Schnitger 1942b:Pl.xxii:3), which might indicate that the bat fulfilled a role in ancestral worship. As a result of the above-mentioned elucidations I believe that the remains on terrace number eight might have been connected to ancestral worship, however I do not exclude Tantric practises. I presume that the eighth terrace, even though it is not the highest terrace, must have been of great importance.

The ninth terrace contains a small⁶⁹ standing *lingga puruṣa*, seven statues all representing human beings, and thirteen relief stones placed in a rectangle.⁷⁰

The *lingga puruṣa* is decorated with only one penis pin. The seven statues include: two royal attendants (*panakawan*); two seated figures who are again simply dressed like the statues of the fifth terrace; one male figure with a club and a shield, possibly functioning as a guardian; and two richly dressed people most certainly of high caste. One of these richly dressed figures is a standing male carved in high relief wearing a sacred thread and his hands positioned in the already mentioned ritual gesture. This figure is decorated with abundant jewellery just like the figure in lotus seat from the eighth terrace. He is dressed in an ankle long cloth (*dodot*) which is decorated with sashes and belts. Again it is unknown who these figures represent, however it is evident that they are of high caste.

The scenes depicted on the thirteen relief stones have not yet been identified. One of the figures frequently represented in the scenes is a prince whose hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). The prince could be one of the Pāṇḍawa brothers (neither Bhīma nor Yudhiṣṭhira), or a descendant, just like the prince of the unidentified relief scenes of the small subsidiary building of Candi Sukuh. However the scenes do not show similarities to the scenes depicted on the subsidiary building on Candi Sukuh. There are some similarities though with scenes depicted on the water container on the northern terrace of Candi Sukuh. The reliefs on the thirteen relief stones might narrate more than one story.

The sequence in which I will describe the reliefs is most probably not the correct sequence. In 1928 when they were photographed the reliefs were lying scattered on the ground. Anyway, as they are currently positioned the scenes show in a clockwise direction: (1) The prince and his attendant kneeling and paying their respect to a male deity in front of them. Behind the prince and his attendant are depicted a bull and an elephant. Given the position of his arms, the deity is arguing. Behind the bull we see two enormous fruits, probably jackfruits. (2) The prince meeting a man of the same caste but smaller in stature. The man, most probably also a prince, has a very specific hair decoration. The front lock of the lobster claw is adorned with a crescent and a semi-circular. Both the prince and the other figure are accompanied by two attendants, the attendants of the prince are male and the other princely figure has one male and one female attendant. (3) Three human figures probably in a rural setting. They are holding a weapon or a tool in their right hand, and in their left hand a kind of bunch. One of the figures wears a *supit urang*, the head dress of a prince. (4) A

⁶⁹ Compared to the *lingga puruṣa* of Candi Sukuh this *lingga* is quite small.

⁷⁰ OD photographs 9398-9404.

pavilion with a simply dressed male figure and an attendant. The male figure looks backwards towards his attendant who is carrying two objects; the background features a small pavilion. (5) The prince seated in lotus seat on a platform with his arms alongside his body, two attendants are seated in the same position on the floor besides him. They are all facing to the right. (6) Five human figures with the principle figure lying on a bed; judging from his headgear this figure is a king. The king might be dying or dead. Another king seated by his side is addressing or holding him. Two women of high caste are seated to the left of the king, they are facing each other and are probably in discussion. Behind the king stands a man who is holding an unidentified object. The man looks like the simple dressed man of the fourth relief. (7) The prince and the other princely figure both armed with a bow and arrow oppose each other, a small rock is situated between them. (Almost the same scene is depicted on the obelisk shaped water container with the *Garuḍeya* scenes.) (8) A god carrying a discus, most probably Wiṣṇu, stands opposite an ascetic (*rṣi*) hanging upside down from a tree. The god seems to be threatening the ascetic. The ascetic is most likely performing yoga as his hands are in the above-mentioned ritual gesture. Between the two opponents stands a tree with on both sides possibly a holy water container. (A similar scene is depicted on the obelisk shaped water container including the *Garuḍeya* scenes on the north platform of the third terrace of Candi Sukuh.) (9) The prince seems to be welcoming two women. Between the prince and the two women stands a coconut palm. (10) The scene shows the prince with his attendant. The prince opposes a male figure who, considering his dress, might represent a king. The king most probably argues with the prince. (11) A gate most probably giving entrance to a palace with an attendant, the prince and a king in front of it. (12) A sitting attendant and a man, probably one of the three men of the rural setting but not the prince. In his hand he holds the same tool as in the above-mentioned relief. (13) A king with a kneeling prince and two kneeling attendants.

The depicted scenes on these reliefs seem to narrate a story about two princely figures who oppose each other. One of them, the protagonist, may be a Pāṇḍawa or a descendant of the Pāṇḍawa brothers. The prince is depicted in several settings such as a rural setting and a meditative setting. In several scenes he is confronted with a god and with kings. One of these kings is dying or dead. The simply dressed man who travels with his attendant through rural environments might be involved in the death of the just mentioned king. Furthermore the performance of yoga and the elixir of life are depicted on this relief series.

Candi Menggung on Mount Lawu

Descriptions of Candi Menggung (Fig. 78) mention five terraces which contain six statues, a yoni and an antefix (Soehari 1926:67; Gutomo 1990:3-20). The six statues consist of two double statues, two seated guardians, a giant seated demon, and the statue of a deified king.

The two double statues are found on both sides of the stairs leading to the first terrace. Double statues are so called because they depict human figures on the front as well as on the back. As the statues are severely damaged it is impossible to identify the figures.

The two seated demons (*rākṣasa*) are situated on both sides of the stairs that lead to the second terrace. Given their position they functioned as guardians.

On the fifth and highest terrace is a small circular wall with a gate. The gate is made of concrete and is a recent addition. On the terrace within the circular wall we find a giant kneeling demon (*rākṣasa*) richly decorated and clothed. He is wearing a sacred thread made out of skulls, earrings, a necklace, and a diadem in the shape of the Majapahit aureole. Exceptional is the decoration of a trident, a Śaiwa symbol, between his eyes. The demon holds a club over his left arm, and probably functioned as a guardian.

On the same terrace are also an antefix in the shape of Garuḍa, a yoni, and a statue in high relief on a lotus pedestal. The statue in high relief is very weathered, but I think that it represents a deified king with Śaiwa features⁷¹ even though the statue differs from the usual type of deified royalty. This representation of a deified king has eight arms instead of the usual four. The six upper hands are holding: a thunderbolt; a discus; a crescent; a fly-wisk; a moon with three flames; and a club including a thunderbolt and a rosary. The two lower hands are holding a lotus bud. The front side of the back-slab is decorated with a jar with lotus flowers, and the head and front legs of a deer. According to Soehari (1926:67) the statue was placed on a lotus pedestal which was supported by the mount of Śiwa (a *nandi*). Soehari also discovered a small animal carved on the pedestal which she described as a marten.

Overview

My survey of the other remains on the terraced mountain sanctuaries where Bhīma relics have been found reveals a variety of statues, reliefs and other remnants including various kind of sculptures, stone dies, remainders of water ways, buildings and platforms. It is obvious that many of these other remains are linked in some way or another to the elixir of life, and (royal) ancestral worship. This chapter certainly gives evidence to the fact that mountains in general, and terraced sanctuaries in particular were associated with ancestral worship. The

⁷¹ The decoration is very similar to the ornamentation of a deified royal couple in Klokke 1993b:2-9.

close connection between ancestral worship and holy water was already noticed by Hefner (1985), Hooykaas (1964:139-48, 1968, 1969) and Wisseman Christie (1992:19). Hefner who studied the Tengger, a mountain tribe on East Java, said:

The sacred mountain has an ancestral face. (Hefner 1985:52)

Statues representing deified royalty are frequently found on the terraced sanctuaries and in comparison to other groups of statues their number is relatively large. This indicates that the veneration and worship of these statues must have been very important, and that (royal) ancestral worship must have been common practice on the terraced sanctuaries. This outcome corresponds in outline with what has been said in the *Deśawarṇana* (Canto 67:1) about the worship of royal ancestors. This canto relates the importance of worship for the royal family and their subjects as it bestowed prosperity on the (present) king's reign and the country (Robson 1995:74). Of the famous *Rājapatnī*, whose final death ceremony (*śrāddha*) was held in 1362 C.E., it was said that shrines in her honour were erected in every district whether it was a distinctive royal residence (*weśapuri*) or just a temporary building (*pakuwwan*). She, the *Rājapatnī*, was to be worshipped in the month of *Bhadra* by Amātyas, officials of high rank in the *kraton*, and by also by Brahmans.

The locations for worshipping her are spread far and wide, set up as memorial shrines in every district. Whether it be a *weśapuri* or a *pakuwwan* it is a place of worship of the great *Rājapatnī*. Every month of *Bhadra* she is worshipped by the Amātyas and the Brahmas, all of whom are devoted to her. (Canto 69:3) (Robson 1995:76)

The pursuit of the elixir of life and the medium through which the soul can be released to become a deified ancestor, is visualised on the sanctuaries Kedaton, Penampihan, Sukuh, Ceto, and Menggung. The pursuit of the elixir of life is represented in the shape of statues and antefixes portraying *Garuḍa*, and in the depictions of the narrative *Garuḍeya* on reliefs.

Mountains and (holy) water are as we know intimately related in Javanese myth (see note 36 about the production of the elixir of life), but they are actually not only connected in myth. The mountains and their sanctuaries are quite often hidden in the clouds or by soft rains.⁷² In the vicinity of nearly every mountain sanctuary wells or small waterways can be found, but the two sanctuaries who had a very special relation with (holy) water were Candi Sukuh and Candi Ceto. In various inscriptions found on the sanctuaries they are mentioned specifi-

⁷² This is a nightmare for researchers with cameras and drawing materials.

cally as purifying places (*tīrtha śūnya*). As we have seen Candi Suku possessed a very intricate (holy) water collecting system. From the remains of Candi Ceto it is difficult to determine if it had a similar system, as at the time of discovery no water collecting systems were found. The sanctuary might be left unfinished as Van der Vlis (1843:99) suggested.

The other remains on the Bhīma sanctuaries reveal much more than the two above-mentioned important themes. Given the number of references to Śaiwa deities on the statues and reliefs we can conclude that Śaiwism must have been the most practised religion on the sanctuaries. This corresponds to Santiko's opinion (1998:237-9) about Śaiwism as the main religion on the sanctuaries. Santiko's statement that no images of deities were found on these sanctuaries however is no longer tenable as is proven by this survey.

A Śaiwa god frequently appearing on the terraced sanctuaries is the god Gaṇeśa. This god was popular during the whole Classical Period of Indonesia, but during the Singhasāri and the Majapahit Period in particular Gaṇeśa was considered a very important god (Sedyawati 1994:109-11, 130-2). He was generally invoked to guarantee successful enterprises and to annihilate enemies. According to Sedyawati (1994:247) he also appears in the role of saviour in late Old Javanese sources, and was able to lift curses. In the *Korawāśrama* it is even said that a stone likeness of Gaṇeśa's body should be seen as the prime ancestor before whom many people make curses and take oaths, so that all their wishes might be granted (Sedyawati 1994:248-9).

Other Śaiwa statues found on the terraced sanctuaries, though of lesser importance than the representations of Gaṇeśa, are representations of Śiwa in his ascetic manifestation of Bhaṭāra Guru, and Śiwa's consort Durgā in her manifestation of Maḥiṣāsuraṃardini. Śiwa in his manifestation of Bhaṭāra Guru implies without a doubt the practice of yoga on the mountain sanctuaries. According to Santiko (1992:512) Śiwa's consort Durgā in her manifestation of Maḥiṣāsuraṃardini points to the 'protection of men, particularly against attacks by enemies' and strangely enough not to liberation.

'Worshipping Durgā with moksa as purpose, common among the followers of Sakta had never been known in Java, because Durgā was not viewed as Maḥāsakti, the reason of which was that the Hindu Sakta religion had never developed in Java.' (Santiko 1992:512)

Santiko makes an exception though for a number of Durgā statues with a fearsome appearance (sharp teeth and protruding eyes) from the Majapahit Period. According to her they were worshipped by members of the Bhairawa sect. However as far as I can tell from the evidence presented here these Durgā statues were not of importance on the mountain sanctuaries under discussion.

The omnipresence of guardians (*dwārapāla*) in various shapes and forms on the sanctuaries is obvious. They had the function to protect and safeguard the sacred edifices from evil influences.

References to *r̥ṣi*-hood, the performance of yoga and living an austere life are also to be found on mountain sanctuaries though not to such an extent as Santiko made us believe.⁷³ I only found clear references to *r̥ṣi*-hood on Candi Sukuh where a number of the sculptures, statues and reliefs show a *r̥ṣi* headdress, and on Candi Planggatan and Candi Penampihan where a reference to *r̥ṣi*-hood was made in chronograms. Furthermore I found an allusion to the performance of yoga in some reliefs on Candi Sukuh as well as on Candi Ceto.

Fertility seems to be a subject of importance visualised in the form of statues and other sculptures on the sanctuaries of Candi Sukuh and Candi Ceto, but not on the other sanctuaries. *Lingga puruṣa* decorated with penis pins (*palang*) emerge on both Candi Sukuh and Ceto. Female symbols such as the vagina and the triangular sculpture are positioned opposite a penis in erection, the male symbol par excellence. Fertility symbols such as toads and lizards and other water animals appear on the triangular sculpture on Candi Ceto. And all animal representations and some of the demons on Candi Sukuh are male, portrayed with an erected penis.

Although these above-mentioned symbols refer to fertility in the first place and most probably functioned in an ancestral cult, a number of them as the *lingga puruṣa* decorated with the four balls (*palang*) and the symbols such as the vagina and the triangular sculpture which are positioned opposite a penis in erection might also refer to the practise of Tantrism as they are symbols of the Tantric fundamental dualism of all manifestations. According to Pigeaud (1924:25, 39) Tantrism was most certainly practiced on mountain sanctuaries.

Other things worth mentioning here are the reliefs depicting honourable salutes to people of high caste or to deities; the temptations a royal ascetic has to overcome in order to realise the final victory over the demonical world and divine love. Most of these subjects are mainly visualised on the sanctuaries Candi Kedaton and Candi Penampihan.

Candi Sukuh and Candi Planggatan are the only two sanctuaries that have some reliefs and an inscription touching on military activity. References to actual fights and battles on reliefs are however non existent, so in how far these depictions actually do have a military meaning is uncertain. They might just have an allegoric meaning.

To conclude we can say that the survey proves that not only the practice of Śaiwa dogmas and *r̥ṣi*-hood were crucial to the terraced sanctuaries as Santiko presumed. Contrary to Santiko it appears that

⁷³ According to Santiko, all mountain sanctuaries were inhabited by *r̥ṣi* (Santiko 1998:241).

ancestral worship with its relation to the elixir of life and purification of the soul, and the worship of powerful deities for protection and prosperity were of great importance for those who worshipped on the terraced sanctuaries in the mountains where the Bhīma statues and reliefs as discussed in these thesis were found.

3.1.5 The relation between Bhīma and the terraced sanctuaries

One of the overarching questions posed at the start of this chapter was in what way Bhīma and the mountain sanctuaries are related. Considering the lay-out and architecture of the sanctuaries in the mountains, and the remains within them, it is obvious that ancestral worship was of great consequence, as was the elixir of life, which is related to this worship. In the preceding chapters we have seen that Bhīma is closely associated with the subject of salvation and with the elixir of life. The location of some Bhīma statues on or near tortoises might also refer to the elixir. The elixir plays an important part in most of the stories of which Bhīma is the protagonist, and also on the reliefs depicting these narratives. Even the iconography of one of his statues refers to the elixir.

In addition, Bhīma's iconography, his role in contemporaneous literature, and in the narratives depicted on reliefs all indicate that he fulfilled an important role in the process of ultimate deliverance of the soul. And it was this process that was especially important on the mountain sanctuaries. It is therefore unquestionable that Bhīma was worshipped as a mediator and was found on the highest and most sacred terrace.

Tantrism including the performance of yoga was most certainly practiced on the sanctuaries and again based on preceding information we can confirm that the worship of Bhīma was related to these kind of practices. In the literary sources Bhīma is related to Śaiwa as well as to Buddhist Tantrism. Even though both schools of thought existed side by side in the Majapahit Period, Śaiwa Tantrism certainly prevailed on the mountain sanctuaries.

The aspect of virility and fertility in Bhīma's iconography, which is not mentioned in the Old Javanese literature, seems to fit in well with what we have found on some of the sanctuaries. The volcanic mountains with their abundance of water and their supply of water to the rivers are the essence of fertility. However, fertility as a theme is sparsely depicted on the mountain sanctuaries. The only places where they are conveyed through some of the other remains are the two sanctuaries on Mount Lawu, Candi Sukuh and Candi Ceto. The strange thing is however, that precisely on these two sanctuaries Bhīma has not been depicted with his prominent manliness. This leaves us with

the question whether in these two places in particular Bhīma's fertility aspect was perhaps of minor importance.

The recurring appearance of Gaṇeśa on the Bhīma sanctuaries as a powerful deity, whose stone image according to the *Korawāśrama* was considered a prime ancestor, indicates that a Hindu god represented in stone may have functioned as an ancestor in the Late Majapahit Period, an ancestor who acted as a saviour and before whom people made curses and took oaths. It is precisely in this respect that it is interesting to see that on East Java, Gaṇeśa like other deified ancestors is fairly commonly depicted in a rigid standing position (Redig 1996:105). I therefore wonder if Bhīma who is characterised as an extremely powerful and protective person with qualities of a saviour, might also have been seen as an ancestor. I would like to explore this idea amongst other things in the next chapter.

3.2 The Majapahit Period

3.2.1 Introduction

From my fieldwork and literary sources (Stutterheim 1935) it has become clear that the stone statues representing Bhīma are found on the terraced sanctuaries on mountains in East and Central Java. According to inscriptions found on some of the remains of these sanctuaries and according to data derived from contemporaneous literature we can conclude that a small number of these sanctuaries date from the fourteenth century. The sanctuaries concerned are Candi Papoh and Candi Kedaton which respectively have a date inscription of 1301 C.E. and 1370 C.E. Most Bhīma sanctuaries however date from the middle of the fifteenth century and they include Candi Sukuh which reveals several date inscriptions and chronograms ranging from 1437 to 1457 C.E.; Candi Planggatan with a chronogram of 1456 C.E.; and Candi Ceto which has various date inscriptions ranging from 1468 to 1475 C.E. Charters and date inscriptions dealing with Candi Penampihan indicate that even though this sanctuary most probably dates from the Kediri Period (1194 C.E.), it was still in use around 1460 C.E. Looking at the style characteristics of the Bhīma sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan which include Candi Wayang, Candi Naga and Antiquity II, we can also date these in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Concluding from this date information we find that the sanctuaries on which Bhīma statues appeared date from the early fourteenth to the late fifteenth century and/or were at least in use during that period. The period of the emergence and use of these mountain sanctuaries falls within the reign of the Majapahit dynasty which came into power at the end of the thirteenth century (1294 C.E.) and most probably ended in the third decade of the sixteenth century (1527 C.E.).

Looking at the dates found on the sanctuaries and the presence of Bhīma statues on these sanctuaries, I conclude that the worship of Bhīma must have taken place during the reign of this dynasty. However, there remain questions about the worship to be answered in this section, such as: When did this worship start and why did it arise during this particular period of time? What were the driving forces behind the development of the worship? Were they influenced by religious, cultural and/or political circumstances? Was this worship a pure Javanese affair, or was it induced by foreign influences?

To see these questions answered I will begin with a survey of the Majapahit dynasty and the most significant political events during the reign of its kings and queens.

3.2.2 The genealogy of the Majapahit dynasty and major political developments

The Majapahit dynasty came into power in 1294 with the installation of Raden Wijaya as king (*prabhu*) Kṛtarājasa Jayawardhana.¹ Raden Wijaya had defeated the viceroy of Keḍiri, Jaya-Katwang, who had murdered his father in law Kṛtanagara, the last king of Keḍiri and Singhasāri. After this victory the new king established a palace (*kraton*) at Majapahit in East Java. Majapahit was situated on the same location as the present-day village of Trawulan (Stutterheim 1948),² in a great agricultural area (Subroto 1993:172) with access to overseas trade (Groeneveldt 1960:47-8; Chui 1967:216; Pinardi, Mambo 1993:191).

Raden Wijaya was married the four daughters of Kṛtanagara and the youngest, Gayatrī, became the new queen (Rājapatnī). She was to become an important figure in the Majapahit dynasty.³ The new king did not have an easy start and faced rebellions at the beginning of his reign. His brothers in arms during the fight against Jaya-Katwang were not satisfied with the rewards for their services and demanded more. The new king however managed to solve the problems and established his authority.

Raden Wijaya died in 1309 C.E. and was succeeded by Jayanagara, his son by Tribhūwaneśwari, one of Gayatrī's sisters. Jayanagara's reign (1309-1328 C.E.) was rather turbulent. Wirarāja, who had assisted Raden Wijaya in the battle against Jaya-Katwang, and who was rewarded with the eastern part of the kingdom (Lumajang), revolted against the king together with his son. During this revolt both Wirarāja and his son died, leaving the eastern part of the kingdom under the reign of king Jayanagara. Jayanagara was murdered in 1328 C.E. and the first in line to succeed him was queen Gayatrī, but she had become a nun.

Exerting herself in yoga, she practised Buddhist meditation as a nun, venerable and shaven headed. (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 2:1) (Robson 1995:26)

Consequently the Rājapatnī appointed her daughter Tribhūwanottungadewī as her successor, and so she was to become the first queen (*prabhu istri*) of Majapahit (1328-1350 C.E.). The beginning of her reign was just as turbulent as her brother's and marked by several revolts. These uprisings were however suppressed by the renowned vizier (*patih*) Gajah Mada (1331-1364 C.E.) leaving the rest of her

¹ Two texts, the *Deśawarṇana* and the *Pararaton* indicate that Raden Wijaya installed himself as the ruler of Majapahit.

² See also Stutterheim's enigma, the mystery of his mapping of the Majapahit kraton at Trawulan in 1941 (Gomperts, Haag, Carey 2008).

³ See *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 49:2 (Robson 1995:59).

sovereignty relatively calm. Tribhūwanottungadewī was married to Kērtawardhana, and they bore a son, Hayam Wuruk, and a daughter named Wardhanaduhiteśwarī.⁴ When the Rājapatnī Gayatrī died in 1350 C.E., Tribhūwanottungadewī abdicated her throne in favour of her son, the sixteen year old Hayam Wuruk. He was installed as the ruler of Majapahit under the names Rājasanagara and Sang Hyang Wēkasing Sukha. During his reign (1350-1389 C.E.) the empire of Majapahit expanded considerably and knew its greatest wealth. Rājasanagara was able to achieve this under the guidance of his eminent grand vizier Gajah Mada⁵ and with the help of his next of kin.⁶ According to the *Deśawarṇana* (Canto 13-15)⁷ Javanese influence was imposed on Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, parts of Kalimantan, the Lesser Sundas, the Molluccas, and Onin (New Guinea). Bali had already been under the rule of Majapahit since 1343 C.E. Friendly relations were established during this period with the ruling houses of Thailand, Cambodia, Champa and Annam, and there were many contacts with the Indian subcontinent and China.⁸

Hayam Wuruk died in 1389 C.E. and was succeeded by his nephew⁹ and son in law Wikramawardhana (1389-1429 C.E.), who is also known under the name Bhra Hyang Wiśeṣa.¹⁰ This name was, like the name Sang Hyang Wēkasing Sukha (Hayam Wuruk), an epithet indicating the divine status of the bearer.

Wikramawardhana lost his son and heir to the throne, Hyang Wēkasing Sukha II, in 1399 C.E. His wife the daughter of Hayam Wuruk most probably died one year later (Krom 1931:428). In 1401 C.E. hostilities broke out between Wikramawardhana and Wirabhūmi, the son of Hayam Wuruk by a concubine (*sēlir*). Wirabhūmi was officially as king (*prabhu*) in control of the eastern part of the Majapahit kingdom, and most probably saw the problems regarding the succession of the throne as an opportune moment to get hold of the entire kingdom. The hostilities escalated in a succession war, known as *parēgrēg*. The war, which stretched both military and economic resources of king Wikramawardhana, ended in 1406 with the murder of Wirabhūmi.

⁴ The title of Wardhanaduhiteśwarī was princess of Pajang, see *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 5:2 (Robson 1995:26).

⁵ Gajah Mada was called the 'pedestal of the kingdom', *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 18:2 (Robson 1995:38).

⁶ His father was an expert in matters of policy and judicial affairs, and his father in law, the Prince of Wēngkēr, was very experienced in the field of agriculture, see *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 3:2 (Robson 1995:27). His brother in law, the prince of Matahun, proved very useful in the field of irrigation. See the inscription of *Kandangan* (Subroto 1993:172).

⁷ Robson 1995:106, see also note 14, 5d.

⁸ The Majapahit kings paid tribute to the Chinese emperors of the Yuan and the Ming dynasties.

⁹ Wikramawardhana was the son of his sister, the princess of Pajang.

¹⁰ This means 'the highest of gods'.

The result was that the eastern part of the kingdom came under control of Wikramawardhana, the 'western' king of Majapahit.

Except for a number of charters issued by Wikramawardhana, and a conflict with the Chinese emperor over the accidental killing of Chinese sailors in 1404 C.E., little is known about Wikramawardhana's reign after 1406. One important event that is recorded however is the great famine of 1426. Krom (1931:427, 430-2) considered the Majapahit empire economically weakened after the succession war and found this fact further attested by the great famine. Noorduynd (1978:209) and Ricklefs (2001:22) confirmed that the hey-days of Majapahit were over after the succession war, and that the kingdom endured further economical decline during the course of the fifteenth century.¹¹ According to some scholars (Krom 1931:446-50; Slametmuljana 1976:186) the decline of the Majapahit kingdom was not only due to the economical recession but also to repeated internal conflicts between various members of the royal family.

Slametmuljana (1976:195) refers to various rebellions and mentions another dynasty on the throne in the late fifteenth century. Noorduynd (1978) argues continuity in the dynastic succession of the current rulers in his article entitled 'Majapahit in the Fifteenth Century'. This article is mainly based on the Waringin Pitu inscription of 1447 C.E.¹² which was issued by king (*prabhu*) Kṛtawijaya and his royal family. Noorduynd (1978:207-74) analyses the relations within the royal family on the basis of the names mentioned in the inscription and reconstructs the succession on the basis of the Pararaton chronicle and a number of younger inscriptions.¹³ Even so, just like other authors Noorduynd was unable to answer questions raised by obscure records dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.

King Wikramawardhana died in 1429 C.E., after having been in power for forty years, a period only equalled by the reign of his famous father in law Hayam Wuruk. Wikramawardhana was succeeded by his daughter Suhita, and she became the second queen (*prabhu istri*) of Majapahit (1429-1447 C.E.). Unfortunately, we know even less about her reign than that of her father.

¹¹ The rise of the Muslim empire Malaka and the increasing influence of the Islam on the north coast of Java which grew independently from the centre of the Majapahit kingdom, complicated the sea trade. A number of the above-mentioned territories which were under the influence of Majapahit, also renounced their allegiances.

¹² The Waringin Pitu inscription, including fourteen copperplates, deals with the royal religious domains of Waringin Pitu which are located on the south bank of the Surabaya river (Noorduynd 1978:259). The inscriptions on copperplate, however, were found in Surodakan, south of Mount Wilis in the regency of Trenggalek. In this regency several Bhīma statues were found.

¹³ The Pamintihan charter issued in 1473, the Trawulan III charter issued between 1447-1466 and the Trailokya puri inscriptions I, II, III, IV from 1486 C.E. (Noorduynd 1978:225, 231, 245; Veerdonk 1996 II:563).

Suhita died childless in 1447 C.E. and was succeeded by her brother Kṛtawijaya, the king who issued the Waringin Pitu charters. Kṛtawijaya who was consecrated as Wijayaparākramawardhana died only four years later in 1451 C.E. He was succeeded by his son Dyah¹⁴ Wijayakumāra who was consecrated as Rājasawardhana.¹⁵ Again his reign did not last long as he died in 1453 C.E. leaving the kingdom without a king for about three years. Noorduyn (1978:238) assumed that the children of Rājasawardhana were too young to ascend to the throne and that therefore the second son of Kṛtawijaya, Dyah Sūryawikrama, also known as the prince of Wēngkēr succeeded his brother in 1456. It is not known why it took the prince of Wēngkēr so long to become king. Most probably there was a succession crisis. Dyah Sūryawikrama was consecrated as king Giriśawardhana, and he ruled the kingdom for ten years. According to Noorduyn (1978:253) he was succeeded by Kṛtawijaya's third son, Dyah Suraprabhāwa, who became known as king Singhawikramawardhana. He most probably ruled until 1474 C.E. His authority was challenged by Kērtabhūmi, the son of Rājasawardhana. Dyah Ranawijaya, consecrated as king Girindrawardhana, succeeded his father Singhawikramawardhana and most probably defeated Kērtabhūmi in 1478 C.E. The period of government of the last rulers of Majapahit is obscure and in my opinion less important for the worship of Bhīma, seen that the last known Bhīma statue, which originates from Candi Ceto, dates from 1472 C.E. Candi Ceto was a sanctuary that most probably remained unfinished (see 3.1.4, Candi Ceto).

3.2.3 Approximate dating of the Bhīma worship

As far as I know, the period covering the reigns of the first three kings of the Majapahit¹⁶ only reveals the existence of one Bhīma statue (Cat. no. 20). This statue was found at Candi Papoh. According to a dated inscription on the southern platform, this sanctuary was founded in 1301 C.E.,¹⁷ but it is very unlikely that the Bhīma statue dates from such an early period. The Bhīma statue from Candi Papoh has some iconographical features that are similar to the iconographical features of Bhīma depictions on the Pārthayajña reliefs of Candi Jago and the Sudamala reliefs on Candi Tigowangi. The Pārthayajña reliefs of Candi Jago are the first known depictions of Bhīma from the Majapahit Pe-

¹⁴ *Dyah* is a title of a young man or woman of genteel birth.

¹⁵ In the Waringin Pitu inscription this king is called Prince of Kahuripan, the title of a crown prince.

¹⁶ Raden Wijaya, Jayanagara and Tribhūwanottungadewī (1294-1350 C.E.).

¹⁷ This foundation is based on the dated inscription found on the southern platform (Krom 1923 II:157).

riod and date, as we have seen in 2.2.3, at the earliest from the middle of the fourteenth century.

Interestingly, on both these reliefs Bhīma is not the protagonist of the depicted narrative, which is something I would have expected had there been a Bhīma worship. As far as I know now Bhīma was for the first time depicted as the main character on reliefs dating from the fifteenth century. In 1.6 I concluded that a canon for the iconography of Bhīma existed before the existence of any actual Bhīma worship. Consequently I presume that Bhīma was not worshipped at the moment the *Pārthayajña* reliefs were sculpted, and neither at the moment the *Sudamala* relief series were sculpted on Candi Tigowangi which was founded between 1350 and 1365 C.E.¹⁸ All things considered, the conclusion can only be that the Bhīma statue on Candi Papoh must be dated after the middle of the fourteenth century. Krom (1923 II:157), who studied the remains on Candi Papoh in his work, suggested that this sanctuary actually functioned later than its inception date suggests.

As a relatively fine sculpted Bhīma statue (see Cat. no. 1) was found near Candi Kedaton, a sanctuary dating from 1370 C.E., I believe that Bhīma might have been the object of worship after that date. The first dated stone statue of Bhīma following the Kedaton statue is a statue from Trenggalek (Cat. no. 25) which according to the interpretation of De Casparis (see 2.3.2) should date from 1409 C.E. Should statue Cat. no. 22, which was found near Candi Gambar Wetan, indeed originate from this sanctuary it must be dated around 1416 C.E. This means that two Bhīma statues (Cat. nos. 1 and 20) of which we know the location, date from the last years of Hayam Wuruk's reign (1350-1389 C.E.), and two other statues (Cat. nos. 22 and 25) most probably date from the period of Wikramawardhana's reign (1389-1429 C.E.). Most Bhīma statues, however, occur on sanctuaries that were founded or were functioning during the rule of Wikramawardhana's successors.¹⁹ These sanctuaries are Candi Penampihan, Sukuh, Planggatan, Ceto, Menggung, Wayang, Naga, and Antiquity II. Drawing this conclusion, we have to take into account that the location of at least eleven statues and the dating of twice this number is unknown.

Let's explore another reason why it is very likely that the worship of Bhīma started late in the fourteenth century and not before, or much later. The floral (*sulur*) motif which is found on nearly a quarter of the statues, was often used as a decorative design on the reliefs of Candi

¹⁸ The *Deśawarṇana* mentions the establishing of the sanctuary by the prince of Matahun, the brother in law of Hayam Wuruk. As Hayam Wuruk came to power in 1350 C.E. and the text *Deśawarṇana* dates from 1365, Candi Tigowangi was most likely founded in between those dates.

¹⁹ Including the reign of his daughter Suhīta (1429-1447 C.E.), his second son Kṛtawijaya (1447-1451 C.E.), and his grandsons Rājasawardhana (1451-1453 C.E.), Giriśawardhana (1456-1466 C.E.) and Singhawikramawardhana (1466-1474? C.E.).

Rimbi, Kedaton and Panataran, and also appeared on a statue²⁰ originating from the latter. Candi Panataran was renovated and enlarged in the second part of the fourteenth century and Candi Kedaton dates, as we know, from 1370 C.E.

All in all the conclusion can be drawn that the worship of Bhīma came into being late during king Hayam Wuruk's reign and that it lasted about a century in view of the fact that the last Bhīma statue dates from 1472 C.E. The Bhīma worship most probably reached its peak in middle of the fifteenth century, as it is obvious that most Bhīma sanctuaries were built in this period.

3.2.4 Religious developments from Hayam Wuruk's period onwards

Following my assumption that the worship of Bhīma came into existence late during Hayam Wuruk's reign, I would now like to concentrate on the religious developments from that period onwards.

From the contemporaneous text *Deśawarṇana* we learn that king Hayam Wuruk was very much engaged in religious affairs, as were his nearest relatives. Śaiwism and Buddhism most definitely could be seen as the state religions, as they were both represented in the *kraton* by their supreme authorities and administrators as is attested by the following quote.

Now to the south of the royal compound are the quarters of the administrators of religious law, very fitting. On the east of course the Śaiwas as the highest, and the Buddhist on the west, nicely arranged. (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 12:5) (Robson 1995:33)

The tasks of the administrators included working on religious law, regulating procedures for the sanctuaries, stimulating the study of Holy Scriptures, and creating guidelines for the dissemination of Śaiwism and Buddhism. Śaiwism had a more prominent place than Buddhism given the following quote from the *Deśawarṇana*.

It was allowed, if on the King's orders, to go to any destination, however, to establish the doctrines of Śiwa, so that people should not stray from the path. Whereas we scholars of the Buddhist discipline, it is well known, Even though it be on royal orders, may not travel in just any direction. (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 16:1-2) (Robson 1995:35)

²⁰ See 1.5.2.

Hayam Wuruk and some of his close relatives²¹ (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 82:1-2) (Robson 1995:84) founded sanctuaries and maintained sanctuaries by establishing a *śima*, a freehold, which meant that the place was freed from taxes and other obligations.

Hayam Wuruk was also very active in restoring ancestral sanctuaries (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 73:2) (Robson 1995:78). He employed officials to watch over the royal sanctuaries and safeguard the status of the so-called free sanctuaries, sanctuaries which did not belong to the royal family. These sanctuaries belonged to several religious movements. Amongst the many religious settlements mentioned in the *Deśawarṇana* are those of the Buddhist Bajradhara, close followers of the Tantric Bajrayāna doctrine,²² the *ṛṣi*, a particular group of religious (clerical) people, distinct from Śaiwa and Buddhist clergy and probably more indigenous and less India-influenced than the latter (Zoetmulder 1982:1545), and the Wangśa Wiṣṇu, a Waiṣṇawa sect (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 77-8) (Robson 1995:80-1).

I have not been able to establish whether the succeeding rulers were as engaged in the religious affairs of the kingdom as Hayam Wuruk, as there are only a few records available from the fifteenth century itself. However it is evident that many terraced sanctuaries were built (Romondt 1951:52, Lampiran E) and royal foundations were established (Waringin Pitu 1447, Trailokyapura 1486). During this era there also seems to have been significant achievements and outputs in the field of religious literature, especially where it concerns texts for esoteric knowledge and Tantric dogmas, as for instance the texts *Dewaruci* and *Nawaruci* and two texts by the poet Tanakung, the *Śiwarātrikalpa* and the *Wṛttasañcaya*.

Over the course of the fifteenth century Śaiwism became the more prominent religious movement in the Majapahit kingdom as we have seen in 3.1.5. This is not surprising as we know that Śaiwism already held a more prominent place than Buddhism under Hayam Wuruk's reign.²³

A worship specifically dedicated to the *lingga* emerged in the fifteenth century (Santiko 1995:56-7). This worship might have been connected to a Śaiwa ritual known as the *Śiwarātri*. The *Śiwarātri* is a ritual associated with the salvation of the soul. A text dealing with this ritual, the *Śiwarātrikalpa*, appeared on Java in the last part of the fifteenth century (Teeuw 1969:64-5). This ritual might have reached Bali and Java through the kingdom of Vijayanagara which was the only Hindu kingdom in South India where Śaiwism flourished (Teeuw 1969:19). However, also according to Teeuw (1969:19), there is no

²¹ Including his father the Prince of Singhasāri, his uncle the Prince of Wēngkēr, and his brother in law, the prince of Matahun.

²² Robson 1995:136 note 77 1a.

²³ Buddhism seemed to have been more the religion for the elite.

evidence that this ritual, which was well known in India, existed on Java. On Bali on the other hand the ritual was definitely known and seemed to have been a prerogative of the royalty (Teeuw 1969:24).

3.2.5 The status of the Pāṇḍawa

During the Majapahit Period the Pāṇḍawa brothers including Bhīma seem to have been very well-liked. We can draw this conclusion from the popularity of the literature in which they appear as the protagonists²⁴ and from the fact that many of these stories were transferred into visual matter.

Bhīma, Arjuna, Sadewa and the offspring of the twins Nakula and Sadewa are the protagonists of many narrative reliefs which were sculpted during this period. As we have seen in 2.2.7, Bhīma is the central character on reliefs narrating scenes from the *Nawaruci* and *Pandu Popo*. Bhīma's younger brother Arjuna is the protagonist on the narrative reliefs representing the *Arjunawiwāha* and the *Pārthayajña*, and Sadewa is the hero of narrative reliefs representing the *Sudamala*.²⁵ The children of Bhīma's twin brothers Sadewa and Nakula are the central characters of the popular relief series *Sri Tañjung*.²⁶ Furthermore there are also unidentified reliefs on the sanctuaries of Sுகು and Ceto depicting without doubt one of the Pāṇḍawa or their offspring.²⁷

Judging from this evidence I think it is fair to say that the depiction of the Pāṇḍawa and their offspring must have been of importance to the patrons who commissioned these reliefs and most of these patrons were members of the royal family.²⁸

In the *Sutasoma*, one of the three *kakawin* written during the reign of Hayam Wuruk, it is often said that the protagonist Sutasoma, who is supposed to be an allegory for Hayam Wuruk (Lombard 1990:25), is a descendant of the Bhārata clan, the lineage of Pāṇḍu (Santoso

²⁴ See 2.2.3, 2.2.4 and 2.2.7.

²⁵ The series are at least depicted four times: once on Tigowangi, once on Sுகು, and on two Sudamala reliefs which are kept in the Museum Nasional. The origin of these last reliefs is unknown.

²⁶ The series are depicted on Candi Surowono, Kedaton and Panataran, all sanctuaries which were established or renovated in the late fourteenth century.

²⁷ See 3.1.4, Candi Sுகು, Candi Ceto.

²⁸ The uncle of king Hayam Wuruk, the Prince of Wēngkēr, established amongst many other sanctuaries Candi Surowono (*Deśawarnana*, Canto 82:2; Robson 1995:84) where we find the narrative *Sri Tañjung* depicted. This narrative is also depicted on Candi Panataran which is considered the state temple of the Majapahit dynasty. The prince of Matahun founded the temple Tigowangi on which the *Sudamala* is depicted. Candi Jago, where we find depictions of the *Pārthayajña* amongst many other depicted narratives, was renovated by the royal family.

1975:178, 301-2, 338). He is even related to the eldest Pāṇḍawa, Yudhiṣṭhira (Santoso 1975:464)

In 2.2.2, which deals with the Bhīma reliefs on Candi Jolotundo, we have seen that the lineage of Pāṇḍu was of interest to a Javanese king in the tenth century. If I look at the *Sutasoma* as well as at the great number of reliefs on which the Pāṇḍawa are depicted, I am convinced that the Pāṇḍawa and their offspring were rather important for the royal dynasty of Majapahit. I presume that the Pāṇḍawa were considered their ancestors and that the reason for depicting the Pāṇḍawa on reliefs is closely connected to this fact.

3.2.6 Theological concepts and the rise of Bhīma in the Majapahit Period

Both the literature and the narrative reliefs in which the Pāṇḍawa brothers appear as protagonists show the Pāṇḍawa brothers and their offspring in a role which deviates from their role in the *parwa*. Whereas the Pāṇḍawa in the *parwa* are mostly involved in alliances and war efforts such as the *Bhāratayuddha*, they are playing a more magical-religious and religious-philosophical role in the literature and narrative reliefs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Bhīma and his brothers now seem to be involved in subjects such as ‘the quest for the elixir of life’ (Bhīma), ‘the attainment of salvation’ (Bhīma), ‘living an austere life in order to vanquish evil forces’ (Arjuna) and ‘exorcism and release’ (Sadewa and Bhīma).

One theme was already of importance for the royalty before the Majapahit Period. The *Arjunawiwāha*, in which Arjuna performs severe penance in order to vanquish evil forces was for example written in the eleventh century (the Keḍiri Period) and was represented on relief in the same period and later on.

The above-mentioned themes seemed to have been pervasive throughout the Majapahit Period. Especially the issue of purification by means of the elixir of life in relation to (royal) ancestor worship and the attainment of salvation by practising yoga were crucial.

The *Deśawarṇana* conveys in detail how the royal family dealt with some of these subjects. The text informs us for example about the final death ceremony (*śrāddha*) for the Rājapatnī, which was performed in 1362 C.E. The intention of this ceremony was to bring happiness to the deified royal ancestor, as this would bring prosperity for her descent and the people of Majapahit. The ceremony was in fact an example of (royal) ancestor worship (Robson 1995:74).

The *śrāddha*²⁹ consisted of many ceremonies and rituals,³⁰ one of which was a food offering from the king, his relatives and high offi-

²⁹ *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 63-67 (Robson 1995:69-74).

cial. In this ceremony the king brought a very special offering consisting of food to his maternal grandmother. The offering was in the shape of Mount Mandara.

The main one was His majesty's: an extraordinary Mount Mandara was his carrier for the wonderful food. At the time when it was turned, models of the host of gods and demons circling around it. (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 65:5) (Robson 1995:72)

As explained before, Mount Mandara is the mythological mountain that produces the elixir of life. The elixir is of vital importance for the purification and final release of the soul. I believe that with this offering the king symbolically purified his deceased ancestor, the Rājapatnī.

If we now look at Bhīma, it seems pretty strange that of all the Pāṇḍawa brothers he was the one chosen to be worshipped during the Majapahit Period and not his brother Arjuna.³¹ Bhīma who was rough and forceful, instead of his brother who was seen as the ideal *kṣatriya*, a symbol for Javanese kings (Kieven 1994:112) from the eleventh century onwards.

Based on the foregoing research I am convinced that Bhīma's descent from Bāyu, the god of the wind, was of importance for his appearance and popularity during the Majapahit Period. The fact that he in (contemporary) literature by means of his ancestry is related to salvation dogmas in which Tantrism plays an important part; that he is connected to vital air (*bāyu*) which is an important element in the performance of yoga; that he is renowned for his supernatural strength (*śakti*) with which he protects and helps those in need, all this was of great significance. What is more, Bhīma's descent from Bāyu is visible in his iconography.

I also believe that Bhīma's ability to obtain the elixir of immortality with which he could release people, was important for his worship. However, this ability is more difficult to reconcile with his descent.

In addition to the obvious relation with Bāyu and the importance of this relation, I would also like to deal with the iconographical relation between Bhīma and the Śaiwa deities during this period. Although Bhīma shows Śaiwa features, he is never directly related to Śiwa in contemporaneous literature, but to Ardanāreśwarī.

Ardanāreśwarī/Ardhanārīśwara is a Tantric concept representing the highest divine being which is neither male (Śiwa) nor female (Umā) but a combination of both. The fact that Bhīma is referred to this specific concept alludes to a high position for Bhīma in the Tantric pan-

³⁰ One of the most important rituals is the *Supraṭiṣṭha* ritual which has the function of enthroning or causing the soul take-up residence in the 'holy flower' for the duration of the ceremonies. Once settled there it can receive homage (Robson 1995:131).

³¹ Arjuna is only once represented in a stone statue in Bali in the shape of a hermit.

theon, a position he actually holds in a Balinese hymn (*stawa*) dedicated to him and in which he is considered Bajrasattwa, an emanation of Buddha in Tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism. These two references indicate that there were Tantric influences in the worship of Bhīma.

There was definitely a relation between Bhīma and Tantric Śaiwism but this relation was not the impetus for his rise during the Majapahit Period as Stutterheim and Santiko believed.³² All in all I am of the opinion that the worship of Bhīma developed as an indigenous phenomenon and that this came about mainly because of his ancestry from the Bhārata and his divine descent from Bāyu.

3.2.7 The Bhīma worship, only a Javanese affair or were there foreign influences?

We know from records during Hayam Wuruk's reign that Majapahit was very prosperous in economic as well as in religious respect. Śaiwism and Buddhism were seen as state religions and many sects and religious communities flourished and were protected by the king.

During this period there were intensive contacts with other parts of the archipelago, the Indian subcontinent, the mainland of South-East Asia and China, especially where trade was concerned. The *Deśawarṇana* also speaks of the migration of many monks and priests from these parts of the world to Java. They came to Majapahit because of the religious diversity and the many experts in sacred texts.

The land of Java has become more and more renowned for its purifying power in the world: It is only India and Java that are noted for their excellence as fine places, because of the number of experts in sacred texts (...).

And so constantly all kinds of people come from other countries in countless numbers – See India, Cambodia, China, Annam, Champa, the Carnatic and so on, Gaur and Siam are their places of origin, sailing on ships with the merchants in numbers, Monks and priests in particular, when they come they are given food and are happy to stay. (*Deśawarṇana*, Canto 83:2,4) (Robson 1995:85)

From these quotes we learn that all kinds of people from the Indian subcontinent visited Java in the second part of the fourteenth century. There certainly must have been some exchanges on the subject of religion and rituals during this period. As I mentioned before the *Śiwarātrikalpa* and possibly the Śiwarātri ritual must have reached Java through relations with the South Indian kingdom of Vijayanagara (1350-1550 C.E.). In Vijayanagara itself not only Śaiwism flourished,

³² See Introduction, 'Previous research on Bhīma'.

but Wiṣṇuism appeared to be very popular as well. The Mādhva sampradāya sect in which Wiṣṇu/Nārāyaṇa³³ was seen as the supreme god had many followers for example. Amongst the followers of this sect Bāyu was highly venerated as the *mukhya-prāṇa* or life-breath, and he was regarded as the ultimate cosmic medium. The Mādhva knew Bāyu mainly through his incarnations Hanūmān and Bhīma (Lutgendorf 2007:66-7; Dallapiccola, Verghese 1998:56). Hanūmān in particular was widely venerated in Vijayanagara (Lutgendorf 2007:60, 66). Bhīma, however, even though represented on a number of reliefs in Hampi, the capital of Vijayanagara,³⁴ did not enjoy such popularity. It remains questionable therefore whether the worship of Bhīma was influenced from South India. Klokke (2006:400), who identified five Javanese statues as representations of Bhīma's brother Hanūmān, also doubted the existence of a relation with Vijayanagara in this matter.

3.2.8 Royal involvement in the Bhīma worship

There is no textual evidence of any involvement of the members of the royal house of Majapahit in a Bhīma worship nor that Bhīma was considered an important ancestor. Yet, it is likely that there was royal concern and that Bhīma was seen as an important ancestor.

As members of the royal family were particularly involved in the rituals concerning purification and migration of the soul – in short with the attainment of salvation – I am assuming that they somehow also must have been involved in the worship of Bhīma. Although there is no written evidence, there is some iconographical confirmation to underpin this statement.

This iconographical evidence concerns the decorations on the front of the back-slab of three Bhīma statues.³⁵ These statues, in high relief, display decorations that almost always occur on statues of deified royalty. The decorations include the Majapahit aureole and the jar with lotus plants.³⁶ The fact that these decorations are sculpted on statues representing deified royalty and statues representing Bhīma indicate to my mind towards a relation. In 1.5.2 I have argued that there is a direct link between the Majapahit aureole and the ruling house because the aureole was used as a symbol for the ruling king or queen, and their intimate family.

Another indication that the royal family must have been involved in the worship of Bhīma is found on the sanctuaries of Mount Lawu,

³³ Nārāyaṇa is another name for Wiṣṇu.

³⁴ See 1.1.2.

³⁵ See 1.2.5, 'Special iconographical ornamental features'.

³⁶ Lunsingh Scheurleer (2008:322) considers this decoration a component of the Standard (iconographic) Formula for deification statues.

Candi Planggan, Candi Ceto and Candi Sukuh in particular. To my mind Sukuh is the most important of these three sanctuaries. Without a doubt it was related to a royal patron. This relation has also been highlighted by Sbeghen (2004:242) in her study on Candi Sukuh, though in another respect. The remains on this sanctuary most definitely point towards a relationship with a 'noble' court. This becomes visible in the themes represented on the reliefs and in the choice of the statues, especially in the huge *lingga* which was generally related to a royal patron. The holy man whose consecration is mentioned in the inscription on the *lingga* is a *bhagawān*, and he might have been of royal descent or related to the royal house. Other objects from Candi Sukuh that most definitely point towards a patron of exceptional stature are the very tall statues of Bhīma and Garuḍa, both related to the quest of the elixir of life and to purification. The rich decorations of the statues also indicate such a relationship.

Candi Sukuh, Ceto and Planggan display a strong similarity in the style of the statues, reliefs, decorations, the architectural ornaments, and the chronograms. As we have seen in 3.1.4, the statues, reliefs and inscriptions on these sanctuaries are related and represent the same themes. Given this great similarity in the archaeological remains I presume that these sanctuaries were founded and sponsored by one noble family close to the royal family, or that the founder might have even been a member of the royal family itself.

The three above-mentioned sanctuaries were built over a period of more than thirty years and inscriptions are found ranging from 1437 to 1475 C.E. This indicates that these sanctuaries were in function during the reign of Suhīta (1429-1447 C.E.), her brother Kṛtawijaya (1447-1451 C.E.), and her nephews Rājasawardhana (1451-1453 C.E.), Giriśawardhana (1456-1466 C.E.) and Singhawikramawardhana (1466-1474? C.E.).

A prince who has always held a position close to the king or queen of Majapahit is the prince of Wēngkēr. King Giriśawardhana bore the title 'prince of Wēngkēr' before he ascended the throne in 1456 C.E.³⁷ His vice-royalty was situated to the southeast of Mount Lawu and it is in this region that most of the more richly decorated and larger Bhīma statues are found. As the prince of Wēngkēr and the later king Giriśawardhana he might have been involved with the sanctuaries and could have favoured the Bhīma worship.

A further reason for thinking that there must have been royal support and that Bhīma was considered a prominent ancestor is to be found outside Java. In the myth concerning the origin of the sultan dynasties of Dompu and Bima, entitled *Ceritera asal bangsa jin dann segala dewa dewa*, Bhīma holds a central place as a prominent ancestor. I will briefly describe the content of this myth and Bhīma's place

³⁷ See Noorduyn 1978:229-30.

within it before discussing the relation of the genealogy with the Majapahit Period and royal involvement. I will use the critical text edition of the myth by Chambert-Loir (Chambert-Loir 1985).

The myth of origin is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter the first spirit (*jinn*) called Jan Manjan and the first human called Adam are created by Allah, with the spirit's creation one thousand years earlier than Adam's. The second chapter narrates the lineage of Jan Manjan, starting with his son Sang Yang Tunggal and ending with Bhagawān Biyasa and Bhagawān Basugi. Sang Yang Tunggal has two sons, Bhaṭāra Indra Guru and Sang Hyang Wenang, but the lineage continues with Bhaṭāra Indra Guru, and not with Sang Hyang Wenang as his parentage comes from evil spirits (*hantu*) and devils (*syaitan*). Bhaṭāra Indra Guru has one son Bhaṭāra Indra Brahmā and a grandson Mahārāja Indra Palasyara. Palasyara bears the title of *bhagawān*. Bhagawān Palasyara in his turn has two sons, Mahārāja Tunggal Pandita and Bhaṭāra Indra. The lineage proceeds with Mahārāja Tunggal Pandita who has two sons, named Bhagawān Biyasa and Bhagawān Basugi, who rule over the spirits of the west and the abode of the gods (*kahyangan*). In the names of Bhagawān Palasyara (Parāśara) and Bhagawān Biyasa (Byasa) we recognize the ancestors of the Pāṇḍawa.³⁸

The battle between Zulkarnain and the spirits of east and west is the main theme of the third chapter.³⁹ Zulkarnain is an allegory for Alexander (Iskander) the Great, one of Adam's descendants. Zulkarnain wins the battle and marries the beautiful daughter of Bhaṭāra Tunggal, the son of Basugi. The genealogy proceeds in the fourth chapter with the lineage of Bhagawān Biyasa, who has a son Pandudewanata and a daughter Kuntinalibrangta. In these last two names we recognise Pāṇḍu and Kuntī, the parents of Bhīma. Pandudewanata and Kuntinalibrangta marry and from their incestuous relation⁴⁰ the five Pāṇḍawa brothers are born.⁴¹

A battle breaks out between Mahārāja Boma and Bhīma, who is assisted by his brother Rajuna (Arjuna). Mahārāja Boma is related to Sang Yang Jaharanang, the fourth son of Jan Manjan. The stake of the battle is the island of Java. Rajuna gets eliminated at the beginning of the war, but his place is taken over by Ghaṭotkaca, Bhīma's son by the giant Hadimbī, who continues to fight beside his father. At the end of the battle Boma flees and Bhīma becomes the ruler of Java.

In chapter five Bhīma travels eastwards to the Nusa Tenggara. When he arrives on the island of Satonda (Sumbawa) he has a relation with

³⁸ See the genealogy of the Pāṇḍawa (Fig. A).

³⁹ This chapter only occurs in the critical text edition of Chambert-Loir and is not found in other texts.

⁴⁰ Incestuous relations are a common feature in myths of origin.

⁴¹ In the *Mahābhārata* Mādri, the second wife of Pāṇḍu, is the mother of the youngest Pāṇḍawa brothers, the twins Nakula and Sadewa.

the daughter of the king of serpents. Bhīma continues traveling, but in the meantime his daughter is born. When he returns to Satonda he marries his daughter and two sons are born from this incestuous union, Mahārāja Indra Kemala and Mahārāja Indra Zamrut. After eight generations Indra Zamrut becomes the ancestor of the dynasty of the sultan of Bima, and Indra Kemala becomes the ancestor of the rulers of Dompu.

The various existing manuscripts of the *Ceritera asal bangsa jin dan segala dewa dewa* contain different versions of Bhīma's travels to the east and the marriage from which Indra Kemala and Indra Zamrut are born. They do however not affect the genealogy in which Bhīma takes a central place (Chambert-Loir 1985:163).

As the Hindu gods and the protagonists of the *Mahābhārata* figure largely in the genealogy, Chambert-Loir (1985:90) presumed that the Hindu part of the myth already existed before the main religion on Bima became the Islam. He was also of the opinion that the Islamic elements were added to the genealogy at a later stage.

On est donc raisonnablement fondé de considérer qu'un premier état du mythe existait avant l'islamisation de Bima et que des éléments musulmans y ont été par la suite ajoutés, afin de valider le texte au regard de la nouvelle religion, en soumettant la généalogie tout entière à la première creature d'Allah et en rapportant, après la création du monde, le récit de son islamisation par Iskandar. (Chambert-Loir 1985:90)

His assumption is not inconceivable, as we know from sources as the *Pararaton* and the *Deśawarṇana* that Sumbawa was under control of Majapahit from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards.⁴² Pu Nala, a high placed palace functionary (*tumenggung*) and later a minister under Hayam Wuruk subjected Dompu in 1357.⁴³ Zollinger suggested that, based on written sources from Dompu, 'descendants' of the Majapahit rulers settled on Dompu:

The fact is that descendants of the gods on Java, notably of Modjo Pahit, had become kings, – that some of them had left Java, and landed on Nissa Satonda⁴⁴ and finally settled at Dompou, became rulers of the country.⁴⁵

⁴² See *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 12:6 and 13:3 (Robson 1995:33-4) and the commentary on 12:6d (Robson 1995:105).

⁴³ See *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 72:2-3 (Robson 1995:77) and the commentary on this canto (Robson 1995:135).

⁴⁴ A natural landing point for ships from Java.

⁴⁵ 'Dat namelijk afstammelingen van de goden op Java (met name van Modjo Pahit) koningen geworden waren, – dat eenige van hen Java verlaten en te Nissa Satondo geland, en zich eindelijk te Dompou nedergezet hadden en beheersers van het land geworden waren.' (Zollinger 1850:139)

He stated that Bhīma was the first settler and ruler.

The man who came from Java must have been called Sang Bima, or Maha Radja, or Dewa. His eldest son, Indra Komala, ruled Dompou, the youngest, Indra Djamroet, moved to the land of Bima, where he became the ruler. The present rulers of Bima believe that they descend from him.⁴⁶

Zollinger's statements are clearly based on the above-mentioned genealogy from the myth. It is obvious however that the Majapahit nobility settled on Dompou and Bima because of the economic importance which was due to the resources and foreign trade (Chambert-Loir 1989:99-101).

Although Zollinger (1850:126) states otherwise, material remains such as statues,⁴⁷ *lingga*, relief stones and inscriptions have been found on the eastern part of Sumbawa and these remains confirm the existence of a Hindu-Javanese nobility. One of the inscriptions found west to the bay of Bima⁴⁸ is, according to De Casparis, carved in Javanese script of the Later Majapahit Period. According to De Casparis this script slightly resembled the regional script of Candi Sukuh (Casparis 1998:466). Candi Sukuh was, as we have seen before, an important Bhīma sanctuary which was most probably under royal protection.

It might very well be that Bhīma was introduced in Sumbawa because of his importance for Javanese religious life and the Javanese nobility. He became the protagonist and a prominent ancestor in a creation myth which legitimised the later dynasties of rulers of Bima⁴⁹ and Dompou. A state kris⁵⁰ dating back to 1640 C.E. crowned with a golden image of Bhīma confirms this relation once more.

3.2.9 Conclusion

Iconographical evidence sustains the view that the worship of Bhīma arose during the last decennium of Hayam Wuruk's reign, which is the last part of the fourteenth century, and that it lasted for about a century. Given the number of statues dating from the middle of the fifteenth century the worship of Bhīma must have reached its peak in

⁴⁶ 'De man, die van Java kwam, moet Sang Bima, of Maha Radja, of Dewa geheeten geweest zijn. Zijn oudste zoon, Indra Komala, regeerde te Dompou, de jongste, Indra Djamroet, trok naar het land van Bima, van hetwelk hij beheersers werd. Van hem geven de tegenwoordige koningen van Bima af te stammen.' (Zollinger 1850:139)

⁴⁷ Representing deities as Māhākāla and Gaṇeśa.

⁴⁸ Also known under the name Wadu Tunti (Batu Pahat).

⁴⁹ The fact that he occupies such a central place in the myth of origin explains the name of the dynasty and the name of the place Bima on Sumbawa.

⁵⁰ The kris is now part of the collection of the House of Orange-Nassau Historic Collections Trust, see Wassing-Visser 1995.

that period. The richness of decorations and the increasing size of the statues in the western part of the kingdom are indications that the worship was particularly important in that part of the kingdom. The ninth ruler of Majapahit, Girīśawardhana (1456-1466 C.E.) whose vice-royalty was situated in the western part might have favoured this worship.

The conclusion may be that the worship was in the first place a Javanese phenomenon, based on the status of the Pāṇḍawa. The fact that not only Bhīma, but also two of his brothers and some of their offspring played an important role in cultural as well as religious life during the Majapahit Period is in this respect meaningful. Because of the popularity of the Pāṇḍawa which is mirrored in the reliefs on sanctuaries patronised by the royal family and because the Bhārata are frequently mentioned in a contemporaneous text as the ancestors of Hayam Wuruk, the Pāṇḍawa must have been considered ancestors of the rulers of the Majapahit dynasty. Given his worship Bhīma was the most prominent ancestor. The fact that Bhīma fulfils an important ancestral role in the genealogy of the Sultans of Bima and Dompu, a role which must originate from the Majapahit Period, confirms that he was considered an important ancestor in this period.

Release of the soul in which the purification through the elixir of life plays a fundamental role and religious philosophical concepts connected to the attainment of salvation in which the performance of yoga is essential, were important motives for the Bhīma worship, and protection was another. Bhīma's descent from Bāyu played a significant role in both and must therefore have been the impetus for his appearance during the Majapahit Period. As the salvation dogmas were pervaded with Tantric concepts and practices there were most certainly Tantric influences in the Bhīma worship. Śaivism was the main religion on Java in the last part of the Majapahit Period, so it is very likely that these influences were of Śaiwa origin.

Ancestor worship in which the purification through the elixir of life plays a fundamental role and religious philosophical concepts connected to the attainment of salvation were particularly important to for the highest circles of the Majapahit society. Therefore the existence of a relationship between members of the royal court and the worship of Bhīma is very plausible. The occurrence of specific decorations reserved for deified royalty on the back slab of some Bhīma statues point in that direction.

Because of the contacts between the kingdom of Majapahit and the South Indian kingdom of Vijayanagara where Bāyu and his incarnations Hanūmān and Bhīma were venerated as the *mukhya-prāṇa* or life-breath, Indian influences in the development of the worship of Bhīma on Java cannot be excluded. However, the possibility of such an influence is negligible.

General conclusion

This study deals with Bhīma representations that appeared during the Majapahit Period (1296-1527 C.E.). These representations, including statues and depictions on relief, were mainly found on mountain sanctuaries on East Java and part of Central Java. Given the number of statues and fragments found it is obvious that a worship of Bhīma existed during the Majapahit Period. But what were the motives for such a worship, and who were involved? Did any specific god play a role in it, and is it possible to say something about the origin, the spread, and date of this veneration of Bhīma?

Right from the start of this study it became clear that there was a relation between the Bhīma representations and the present-day *wayang kulit* iconography of Bhīma, but what was the extent of this relation? To find answers to these queries I formulated at the beginning four aims:

1. To find out the motive or motives for the worship of Bhīma, and to investigate whether this worship was related to any specific god departing from the iconography of the representations.
2. To determine the spread of Bhīma's worship and to try dating this worship more specifically.
3. To find out whether this worship was a pure Javanese affair or was influenced from abroad, and who were involved in the worship.
4. To research the extent of the influence of the *wayang* on Bhīma's appearance.

Ad 1. I tackled the first question concerning the motive(s) for the worship of Bhīma and its possible relation to specific gods for the greater part in Part 1. This part deals with the iconography of Bhīma in a wide range and starts with his iconography outside Java (Indonesia). Placing the iconography of Bhīma on Java in a perspective was in my set-up a method to get a clear understanding of Bhīma's iconography and to be able to interpret his Javanese features in a correct way. Consequently this would lead to the motives for his worship.

The Chapters 1.1-1.3 illustrate a considerable difference in the iconography of Bhīma in and outside Java. Outside Java Bhīma almost always appears to be depicted in an active or threatening pose wielding his club. These representations, including depictions on relief and statues, are predominantly based on his role as hero and ruthless warrior in the battle of the Bhārata (*Bhāratayuddha*) which forms the central part of the epic *Mahābhārata*. Apparently this awe-inspiring side of Bhīma's character was significant for the patrons who ordered the creation of his representations.

The Bhīma representations on Java do not seem to have an association with the dynamic and warlike figure from the *Mahābhārata* at all. The statues here portray him in a rigid manner, a stiff standing person who, on occasions, holds an unmistakably decorative club. This club only appears on the statues, but never in the depictions on relief. On Java Bhīma is always dressed in a simple loincloth which is in stark contrast to the wardress in which he is often depicted outside Java.

Another striking difference between Bhīma's iconography in and outside Java are his genitals. On Java they are very prominent and a much exposed feature, whereas in other countries this feature is absolutely non-existent in his iconography.

But there appear to be some iconographic similarities if one compares Bhīma representations in and outside Java. In the countries I compared he is for instance represented as a noble or royal figure, and has a powerful, muscular, appearance. These features were obviously important everywhere. His noble status is expressed in his elaborate ornamentation consisting of ear ornaments, ear pendants, diadems or crowns, necklaces, sacred threads, armlets, bracelets and anklets and occasionally foot ornaments. In India, Nepal and Cambodia these ornaments are carved in the shape of precious metals decorated with gems, but on Java these decorations predominantly consist of flowers, fruits, thunderbolts, sceptres and snakes (cobras).

From the comparison of Bhīma's iconography in and outside Java it is clear that the representations of Bhīma on Java must have had a special significance different from elsewhere.

The interpretation of Bhīma's iconographical features based on relevant and/or contemporaneous sources (1.5) indeed highlights another impact of his iconography and also reveals a number of aspects which indicate the motives for his worship. Characteristics that come to light in Bhīma's iconography include strength and aversion of evil, a relation with death, salvation and immortality, and fertility.

Bhīma's features emphasising his strength and aversion of evil include a coarse and powerful appearance and a powerful, sometimes demonic face, the presence of his club, and the long thumbnail(s) in the two different hand gestures. On the basis of the meaning of these features I conclude that protection is one of the motives for the veneration of Bhīma. The *poleng*-patterned cloth Bhīma wears on a small number of statues might have been associated with protection too, but with a special kind of protection. On Bali the figure who wears this type of cloth has the ability to move within divine and demonic circles, and has the capability of guiding and protecting souls which have left the body of the deceased.

This specific ability leads to other features of Bhīma, which are also visible on Śaiwa statuary from the same period (1.4) and relate to death and the conquest of death as well. They are the decorations carved in the shape of a cobra such as Bhīma's sacred thread and

necklace, and on a few occasions his armlets and anklets. Bhīma's special iconographic features such as 'the cobra and the tree of life', 'the cobra biting its own tail', and his *bajra* and *ruyi* ornaments all stand for immortality.

Bhīma's eye-catching iconographical feature, his prominently visible genitals, point, together with some other iconographical features, towards a third motivation for his worship namely fertility. The genitals stress Bhīma's strong virility, and thus the aspect of fertility. Other marks emphasising fertility are the decorative features in the shape of fruits, flowers and vines. They include the tendril (*sulur*) on occasions twining from the pedestal to the hollow of Bhīma's knee or his thigh, the flower called *puḍak* and the fruit mangistan which both appear as ear ornaments. All these features are related to growth, love making and along these lines also to fertility.

With respect to the second part of the first question, namely whether the worship of Bhīma was related to any specific god, I have come to the conclusion that Bāyu, the god of the wind, must have been of importance. Bhīma's descent from Bāyu is visible in his iconography as features such as his club and the thunderbolts (*bajra*) are clearly linked to this particular god. Bhīma shares these features, amongst other features, with his stepbrother Hanūmān, who is just like Bhīma the son of the god of the wind Bāyu. The similarity in iconography of Bhīma and Hanūmān indicates that their descent of Bāyu was of importance in the Majapahit Period.

Both protection and immortality as motives for devotion are definitely supported by Old Javanese literature. This is what I found in my investigation of Bhīma's role in Old Javanese literature as set out in 2.1. This chapter deals with Bhīma in Old Javanese literature, in particular the *parwa*, *kakawin*, *kidung*, and the Balinese Sanskrit text *Bhīmastawa*.

The *parwa* reveal numerous stories about Bhīma's supernatural strength and his empathic and protective qualities. Bhīma's protective qualities, mental strength and his relation with salvation and immortality are the main topics of the *stawa* and *kidung*. The *kidung* reveal that Tantrism is an important doctrine in obtaining salvation, and Bhīma's descent from Bāyu is particularly stressed in respect to these doctrines.

Although Bhīma reveals Śaiwa elements in his iconography, this is not repeated in the literature of the Majapahit Period. In the *kidung Nawaruci* and *Dewaruci*, in which Bhīma is the protagonist, he is never directly related to Śiwa. Nevertheless, in one of these literary sources, the *kidung Dewaruci* to be precise, he is referred to as Ardanāreśwarī, a Śaiwa concept representing the highest divine being. This divine being is neither male (Śiwa) nor female (Umā), but a combination of both. This particular reference alludes to a high position of Bhīma in the Tantric pantheon, a position he actually holds in the *Bhīmastawa*,

the Balinese hymn dedicated to him. In this hymn he is considered as Bajrasattwa, an emanation of Buddha in Tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism. On the basis of these findings I conclude that there were definitely Tantric influences in the worship of Bhīma, most probably of Śaiwa as well as Buddhist origin.

If we look a bit closer to the Buddhist references, I found that Bhīma's *bajra* and *ruyi* decorations might point to a relation of Bhīma with the Bajrayāna doctrine. This doctrine was followed by the Bajradara sect that flourished during the Majapahit Period and enjoyed royal protection.

The *kidung Nawaruci* and *Dewaruci*, in which Bhīma is the protagonist, also highlight Bhīma's association with the elixir of life, a prerequisite for salvation and immortality. The association of Bhīma with the elixir of life is visible on several terraced sanctuaries on which Bhīma statues occur, especially on the sanctuaries found on Mount Lawu.

Something happened to the status of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period as I gathered from the ambiguity in the way Bhīma statues were represented. Three quarters of the statues demonstrate a representation that is common for statues representing guardians and demonic emanations of deities: statue in the round with a plain pedestal. The remaining quarter however exhibit a more divine appearance which is only seen with representations of gods and deified ancestors: such as statue in high relief, sometimes with a lotus cushion as pedestal, or carved in the round with a double lotus pedestal including elaborate lotus decorations.

These findings lead me to the conclusion that Bhīma acquired a divine status (*bhātara*) during the Majapahit Period. This conclusion is supported by two sources, a contemporaneous inscription and a more recent one. The contemporaneous source is an inscription found on a Bhīma statue revealing the name of *bhātara Bhīma* which refers to Lord Bhīma. The other source is a travel report from the nineteenth century in which the Baduy address Bhīma as *bhātara*, meaning god or lord. The Baduy consider themselves descendants of the last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Pajajaran in West Java.

Ad 2. Through the geographical arrangement of the data in the quantitative analysis it becomes clear that the worship of Bhīma was fairly widespread on the mountain sanctuaries within the vice-royalties of the royal family in East and Central Java. What also is revealed is that the worship of Bhīma seems to have been more intense in some places. I deduce this from the fact that certain sanctuaries have a greater number of Bhīma statues and/or fragments than others.

These sanctuaries are located on Mount Lawu in the western part of the Majapahit kingdom (present-day Central Java) and on Mount Penanggungan which is situated close to the seat of the Majapahit kingdom in East Java. The iconography of the Bhīma statues from

these sanctuaries exhibit a specific regional style. There are some similarities in the sculpturing of statues in other regions as well, as is evident from the detailed inscriptions of each statue in the catalogue, but these similarities are not as significant as the similarities of the statues found Mount Penanggungan and Mount Lawu.

The statues from the sanctuaries on Mount Lawu show the greatest variety of iconography within the corpus of Bhīma statues and they also seem to be closest in relation to the Javanese *wayang kulit* iconography. The statues in the southwest and western parts of the kingdom including Mount Lawu exhibit more jewels in their iconography. The richness of the decorations in that part of the kingdom and the increasing size of the statues point to the fact that the worship of Bhīma was more intense and important here.

Considering the number of statues dating from the middle of the fifteenth century and the fact that Bhīma is the protagonist on reliefs from that period, I am of the opinion that the worship of Bhīma reached its peak around that period. However, for various reasons of dating and style, I am assuming that the worship of Bhīma started to develop earlier, namely during the later years of the reign of Hayam Wuruk, in the second half of the fourteenth century. As the youngest Bhīma statue dates from 1472 C.E. the worship of Bhīma must have lasted for about a century.

Ad 3. The answers on my third research enquiry which considers whether the worship was a pure Javanese affair and who were involved in the worship, are mainly based on 3.1-3.2. These chapters offer a closer look at the sanctuaries in which the representations were found and the Majapahit Period itself. My conclusion is that the Bhīma worship was a Javanese phenomenon primarily based on the status of the Pāṇḍawa as the ancestors of the Javanese kings. The ancestry of the rulers of Majapahit which stems from the lineage of the Bhārata, including the Pāṇḍawa (not just Bhīma) comes to light in the culture of the Majapahit Period. Most of the Pāṇḍawa brothers and their offspring played an important role in cultural and religious life during the Majapahit Period. They often featured in stories and were depicted on relief series. Their roles were adapted to fit the important religious themes of this period. So, instead of being mostly involved in combat as described in the Old Javanese *parwa*, they were now involved in more magical-religious and religious-philosophical themes such as ‘the quest for the elixir of life’ and ‘the attainment of salvation’ (Bhīma), ‘living an austere life in order to vanquish evil forces’ (Arjuna) and ‘exorcism’ (Sadewa).

I am of the opinion that Bhīma’s development into a primary ancestor was due to his descent from Bāyu. His relation with salvation (Tantric) dogmas and his supernatural strength which enabled him to guide and protect people, also if it considered the souls of deceased

people, were important qualities for worship. That Bhīma was regarded as one of the primary ancestors may also explain his rigid representation, a very unusual pose for Bhīma in the totality of his representations throughout the Hindu world.

Ancestor worship was a very important form of devotion on the terraced sanctuaries. Therefore it is no coincidence that so many Bhīma representations were found on the mountain sanctuaries. They were regarded as highly spiritual places, built close to where the deities and deified ancestors dwelled.

Considering the fact that in the contemporaneous South Indian kingdom of Vijayanagara Bhīma and his stepbrother Hanūmān, as sons and incarnations of Bāyu, were related to the principal life-breath (*mukhya-prāṇa*) and thus to Tantric dogmas I do not fully exclude Indian influences in the Bhīma worship on Java. There were connections between Majapahit and Vijayanagara. Still, I stand by my conclusion that Bhīma's iconography and his worship were firmly rooted in the Javanese culture and do not show influences from abroad.

Given the fact that members of the royal house of Majapahit were very much occupied with rituals concerning death and salvation, and because of the occurrence of a number of decorations on Bhīma statues which are in general reserved for deified royalty, I conclude that a relation between members of the royal court and the worship of Bhīma existed. Members of the royal house were often patrons of temples complexes and sanctuaries, and a royal patronage is evident in the remains of the terraced sanctuary Candi Sukuh on Mount Lawu. This sanctuary which is closely related to two other sanctuaries on Mount Lawu, Candi Ceto en Candi Planggatan, houses a number of important Bhīma remains including the largest and most impressive Bhīma statue in the corpus of Bhīma representations.

Ad 4. My fourth research question deals with the extent of the *wayang* influence on Bhīma's appearance during the Majapahit Period. In the chapters that deal with the iconography of the stone representations of Bhīma on Java (1.2) and Bhīma's role in the relief scenes (2.2), I demonstrate that one can definitely identify an iconographical canon in relation to Bhīma, even though there is no evidence of an existing canonical text, only in the *kidung Nawaruci* and *Dewaruci* and the *stawa* a number of Bhīma's iconographical features are mentioned. The fact that the iconography of the Bhīma statues is in many respects, but certainly not all, similar to mostly earlier 'wayang style' depictions of Bhīma on relief suggests that the iconography of the statues must have been derived from an already existing iconography. The early 'wayang style' depictions of Bhīma belong to reliefs with narrative scenes about the Pāṇḍawa, their allies and/or enemies, and their accompanying attendants. This leads me to the conviction that there must have been an iconographical canon for of all figures on reliefs

depicted in 'wayang style', and that this iconography, including that of Bhīma, originates basically from wayang performances.

The close relationship between the iconography of Bhīma statues and the wayang shaped figures during the Majapahit Period is exceptional. As I point out in 1.4, the Bhīma statues are an isolated phenomenon, and Bhīma's iconography cannot, except for a small number of features, be equated to the iconography of the contemporaneous statues.

The few narrative reliefs in which Bhīma plays a part or in which he is the protagonist are nearly all derived from wayang stories (*lakon*), or have the structure of a wayang play. These *lakon* are in most cases still known in present-day Java. The aforementioned findings indicate that wayang was an important medium for the worship of Bhīma.

Afterword

With this broad, iconographical based research on Bhīma representations I disclosed some of the mysteries surrounding the worship of Bhīma on Java during the Majapahit Period. Some interesting facts about the worship of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period emerged. However, the aspect of fertility, which was clearly present in Bhīma's iconography, could not further be defined.

Woro Aryandini who published a study on the image of Bhīma in the literature from the Classical Period up to 1940 encountered the same difficulties when placing the fertility aspect in the history of Bhīma even though it was certainly present. She stated that for farmers fertility was connected to Bhīma, but she could only base this on very recent data.

On Java there is definitely a relation between Bhīma and farmers based on fertility, and this relation is called *Lintang Bhīma Sēkti* (constellation of Bhīma gifted with supernatural powers). This astrological constellation is based on the wayang shape of Bhīma and is visible during the East monsoon. The constellation was the sign for Javanese farmers to plant their rice. However, this astrological phenomenon is only written down in the beginning of the twentieth century and can therefore not be related to any aspect of fertility in the representation of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period.

My findings prove anyway that the image of Bhīma as a fertility symbol can be found outside Java, for example in Central India where it was also related to farming and in Nepal where touching his club was an aspiration of women who wanted to become pregnant.

Appendix: Catalogue of Bhīma representations

This catalogue contains a description of each of the Bhīma statues, fragments as well as unbroken ones,¹ and all the depictions of Bhīma on the reliefs I have examined.² For each statue and relief I will start with a description of its location as well as its origin should these two not be the same. Before I give a detailed description of the iconographical features and comments on the style, I will say something about the condition of the representations at the moment of examination.

Should there be any evidence either recorded in reports or photographs of any of the statues and reliefs in a better condition than I found them in I will mention this in the descriptions. To get some idea of the previous condition of the materials examined here, I consulted reports of the Dutch Archaeological Service, early photo collections of the Dutch and Indonesian Archaeological Service and the collection Claire Holt.³ I also consulted these collections in the case of theft, demolition or extreme weathering of statues and reliefs. Working with these collections made me realize again how valuable these collections are in the study of the material culture of the past. The use of photographic material other than my own is always indicated in the description.

The descriptions of the statues and reliefs of which only photographs are available are very limited because most of the objects were weathered when they were photographed. Most of the statues are photographed from the front which makes it very difficult to give a complete and proper description of all the iconographical features. The height and material of these statues and of the reliefs are also often unknown.

In the provided descriptions of the Bhīma depictions on reliefs, I will not elaborate on the meaning of the reliefs as presented in 2.2. I will nevertheless introduce the relief scene briefly in the description. This also applies for the statues containing inscriptions.

In this catalogue I will describe the statues first, followed by the reliefs. The numbering of the representations corresponds to the numbering used in the quantitative iconographical analysis in 1.2.5 and the numbering in 3.1.3 which deals with the location of the Bhīma statues on the terraced sanctuaries.

¹ I will describe the statue as a fragment when the statue is decapitated, misses any limbs or any other significant part of the body.

² I will not describe the Jolotundo reliefs here, as they do not originate from the Majapahit Period.

³ The Holt collection and the photo collection of the Dutch Archaeological Service are in the Kern Institute in Leiden; the last mentioned collection can also be consulted at the University Library of Leiden.

1 Statue carved in high relief on a plain pedestal (Figs. 79-81)

Height: 107 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum Trawulan, Mojokerto
Literature: Woro Aryandini 1998:151-2, 431 (plate)

Part of the collection of the Museum Trawulan in Mojokerto since 1992. The statue originates from the western slope of Mount Argapura, and was found near Candi Kedaton, *desa* Andangbiru, *kecamatan* Tiris, *kabupaten* Probolinggo, East Java.⁴ Most likely, the sculpture originated from Candi Kedaton, but it is not mentioned in any of the early descriptions of the sanctuary.⁵

Condition: The statue is in a good condition, only the pedestal is slightly damaged.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured against a plain back slab; the sculpturing of the statue is refined. Bhīma is represented in an upright position with his arms alongside the body. On both his hands his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*), but the shape of the claw differs from its usual shape, in which the pincers are placed behind each other; in this case the pincers are placed next to each other. Bhīma also wears a hair ribbon with precious stones and a diadem (*jamang*) which is modelled on the rays of the sun, like the Majapahit aureole. The diadem is set with precious stones.

Bhīma's face is sculptured delicately with fine eyebrows, slightly protruding eyes, side-whiskers, a small drooping moustache and a goatee. He also wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks. Above each of the earlobes is a hole, most probably for a flower decoration.⁶

Bhīma's necklace (*kalung*) is in the shape of two intertwining cobras whose heads meet on the chest opposing each other. His armlets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) consist of a plain band ornamented on both sides with thunderbolts (*bajra*). Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*) which is represented in a rather stylised way.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*), and the sash is sculptured with a chequered (*poleng*) pattern. The front tail of the sash consists of two parts: one part rests on Bhīma's right thigh and shinbone and has a floral motif in the centre (Fig. 80); the other part covers his genitals like a veil.

A tendril (*sulur*) is sculptured on the pedestal of the statue between

⁴ The words in italic as *desa*, *kecamatan*, *kabupaten*, meaning village, subdistrict, and district or regency are administrative units within the province. The *desa* is the smallest and the *kabupaten* is the largest administrative unit.

⁵ Bhīma statues are not always mentioned in early descriptions as they were not always recognized as such.

⁶ In Bali during the ritual of the *Surya-sewana* (the preparing of the holy water) the priest wears a flower decoration above the earlobe. When a Balinese *dalang* prepares holy water specific *wayang* puppets mostly representing divine figures wear a flower behind their ear (Hinzler 1975:60).

Bhīma's feet (Fig. 81). This is an unusual place for the *sulur*; as it generally appears on the back of a statue ascending from the pedestal.

On this statue Bhīma wears triangular foot ornaments, see also Nos. 22, 29.

2 Statue carved in high relief on a lotus cushion (Fig. 82)

Height: 135 cm

Material: Probably andesite

Location: ?

Literature: ROD 1904:102; Stutterheim 1935:40; Woro Aryandini 1998: 122

Photographs: H 490-4

Excavated in 1933 in the vicinity of the village (*desa*) Sapih (ROD 1904:102; Stutterheim 1935:40). This village lies on the northwestern slope of Mount Bromo, *kecamatan* Sukapura, *kabupaten* Probolinggo, East Java. The original site of this statue is unknown, as is its present location.⁷

Condition: The statue looks quite weathered and is damaged at the top of the back slab, as well as on the right side, at the left hand, at the upper leg (left as well as right), and at the sash.

Description: As the present place of this statue is unknown, its description is entirely based on photograph H 490. The sculpturing of the statue looks coarse.

Bhīma is sculptured against a decorated back slab. He is represented in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnail is visible (*kuku pancanaka*) in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

Bhīma's hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) with long curls hanging down on his back and shoulders. His powerful face (*muka gagahan*) has protruding eyes, a broad nose, and a moustache. Bhīma wears a diadem (*jamang*) which is too weathered to describe. He also wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are almost certainly shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

His armlets (*kelat bahu*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a plain band with triangular decorations at the top. The exact shape of the decorations is difficult to determine because they are badly weathered. The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) consist of three plain bands.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash hangs straight down covering Bhīma's genitals, and ends at his feet in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*). The back tail consists of two parts both of which are sculptured against the back slab; they also end in a swallowtail.

The front side of the back slab shows a Majapahit aureole, which is an exceptional decoration for a Bhīma statue. Only this statue features this symbol which is an emblem of the ruling house of Majapahit.⁸ The back slab also

⁷ I was unable to trace the statue in 1996.

⁸ See *Deśawarṇana*, Canto 3:1 (Robson 1995:38).

features inscriptions on the back and on the right edge, unfortunately they are illegible.⁹

3 Statue carved in the round on a double lotus cushion (fragment)

(Figs. 83-84)

Height: 46 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Holy bathing place Banyubiru
Literature: Woro Aryandini 1998:164-5, 440 (plate)
Photograph: OD 14601

This statue is standing in an enclosed area on the site of the holy bathing place Banyubiru, *desa* Sumberejo, *kecamatan* Winongan, *kabupaten* Pasuruan, East Java. The statue has number 32 PSA 88.

Condition: The head, a part of the chest and the shoulders of the statue are missing; and of the left arm only the lower part and the hand remain. The left knee, the pedestal and a part of the club are damaged.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On his left hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapita mudra*. His right hand rests on his club (*gada*). The club has four segments which consist of oval ornaments and is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*) on haft and top.

Bhīma's sacred thread has the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*). His armllets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by a plain band ornamented on both sides with thunderbolts (*bajra*); the bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) consist of a plain band with the same ornaments only on top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). He is holding the front tail on his left thighbone; his genitals are therefore clearly visible. The back tail rests on his right buttock and disappears behind his club.

On the back of the statue a tendril (*sulur*) ascends from the pedestal and covers the legs up to the hollow of the knee. Also from the pedestal ascends a large leaf with grooves that covers Bhīma's right leg up to his buttock. Most probably the leaf represents a banana leaf.

4 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 85-86)

Height: 46 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Candi Pari
Literature: Woro Aryandini 1998:159-61, 437 (plate)

This statue is standing in the inner chamber (*cella*) of Candi Pari. The sanctuary lies in the *desa* Pari, *kecamatan* Porong, *kabupaten* Sidoarjo, East Java. The statue has number 14/SDA/92.

⁹ I asked the late Prof. Dr. J.G. de Casparis to read the inscription from the existing photographs, but after having studied the inscription he told me that it was impossible to read such a badly weathered inscription from a photograph.

Condition: Of the statue only the torso remains including the upper limbs and hands. The sacred thread is damaged and the necklace is weather-beaten.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

Bhīma wears a necklace (*kalung*) in the shape of the crescent moon (*tanggalan*). His sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakaranrang*) rests on his left shoulder; the head and tail of the cobra are intertwined at the height of his waist. Bhīma has chest (*bulu dada*) and pit hair (*bulu ketiak*).

His armlets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) are sculptured by a band with precious stones and ornaments in the shape of a thunderbolt (*bajra*) on top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail is draped on the left side around his genitals which are therefore clearly visible. The back tail is knotted at the waist and hangs down on his buttocks.

5 Statue carved in the round on a double lotus cushion (fragment) (Figs. 87-88)

Height: 42 cm

Material: Andesite (reddish brown)

Location: The holy bathing place Jolotundo

Literature: Van Romondt 1951:27; Woro Aryandini 1998:135-6, 420 (plate)

Photographs: OD 14169; H 566 -7

Located in a pavilion on the enclosure of the holy bathing place Jolotundo. It originates from Antiquity II on Mount Penanggungan, *kecamatan* Trawas, *kabupaten* Mojokerto, East Java (Van Romondt).

Condition: The statue is weather-beaten and in a very bad condition. The photographs H 566-7 show that the head and a part of the left arm were already missing in 1935. In 1996 also the right arm had disappeared, the statue was broken at the height of the thigh, and a part of the right side of the pedestal including the (right) foot was lost.

Description: As the statue is in a bad condition I will use the photographs H 566-7 for the description.

Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body, he has a slim posture. On his left hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*. His right hand rests on his club (*gada*). The club has four segments consisting of oval ornaments which are separated by rings. The club is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Bhīma wears a necklace in the shape of the crescent moon (*tanggalan*). The sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakaranrang*) rests on his left shoulder. The head and tail of the cobra are intertwined at the height of the waist. Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*) and rosettes on the place of the nipples (see also Nos. 6, 10, 46). His armlets (*kelat bahu*), bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a wide band with orna-

ments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) in bas-relief (see also Nos. 6-7, 9-10).

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail is draped on the left side around his genitals which are therefore clearly visible. The tail hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet. The back tail is knotted at the waist and ends in a swallowtail on the pedestal.

6 Statue carved in the round on a double lotus cushion (fragment)

(Figs. 89-90)

Height: 52 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: The holy bathing place Jolotundo
Literature: Van Romondt 1951:40
Photographs: OD 14169, H 567-8

Located in a pavilion on the enclosure of the holy bathing place Jolotundo. It originates from Antiquity II on Mount Penanggungan, *kecamatan* Trawas, *kabupaten* Mojokerto, East Java.

Condition: Photographs H 567-8 show that the head and a part of the club were already missing in 1935; the legs were broken from the right thighbone to the left shin-bone. The statue is less weathered than No. 5, but also in a bad condition.

Description: Photographs H 567-8 have been used for the description.

Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On his left hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*. His right hand rests on his club. The club (*gada*) has three segments consisting of oval ornaments which are separated by rings. The club is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Although Bhīma's head is missing, a part of his hair dress is still visible; long curls lie on his back and shoulders.

Bhīma wears a necklace in the shape of the crescent moon (*tanggalan*). His sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) rests on his left shoulder. The head and tail of the cobra are intertwined at the height of the waist. Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*) and rosettes on the place of the nipples (see also Nos. 5, 10, 46). His armlets (*kelat bahu*), bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a wide band with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) in bas-relief (see also Nos. 5, 7, 9-10).

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail is draped on the left side around his genitals which are therefore clearly visible. The tail hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on his feet. The back tail hangs down in a swallowtail on the pedestal.

Although this statue is larger and more voluminous than No. 5, the statues show many similarities and could have been carved by the same sculptor.

7 Statue partially carved in high relief on a plain pedestal (fragment)
(Fig. 91)

Height: ?
Material: Probably andesite
Location: ?
Literature: Van Romondt 1951:19
Photograph: H 552

Found on Candi Wayang, formerly Antiquity VIII (Van Romondt 1951:19) on Mount Penanggungan, *kecamatan* Trawas, *kabupaten* Mojokerto, East Java. In 1996 I could not trace the fragment anymore.

Condition: According to photograph H 552 the head and arms of the statue and a part of the club were missing in 1935 and the statue was at that time weather-beaten.

Description: As the present location of the statue is unknown, photograph H 552 has been used for the description.

Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position against a partial back slab. Judging from the position of his body I presume that his arms were hanging alongside his body. Next to his left leg stands a fragment, probably a club (*gada*). Van Romondt (1951:19) calls it a double thunderbolt (*bajra*). The club/thunderbolt (?) has three segments consisting of oval ornaments which are separated by rings. The top and bottom section are crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*) and also the middle section has a decoration that looks like a thunderbolt. His sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur naga-karangrang*) and rests on his left shoulder. His anklets (*gelang kaki*) consist of a wide band with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) in bas-relief (see also Nos. 5-6, 9-10).

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail rests on his right thighbone, which make his genitals clearly visible. Between the legs an intertwined cord (?) is discernible.

Claire Holt photographed only the front side of the statue. It is therefore impossible to find out whether the back side of the partial back slab was decorated.

8 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Fig. 92)

Height: ?
Material: Probably andesite
Location: ?
Literature: Van Romondt 1951:20
Photographs: OD 11922, 11940-41

This statue of which only a head remains, was found on Candi Naga, formerly Antiquity XVI (Van Romondt) on Mount Penanggungan, *kecamatan* Jetis, *kabupaten* Mojokerto, East Java. In 1992 I could not trace the fragment anymore.

Condition: According to the above-mentioned photographs the head was weather-beaten.

Description: As the present location of the head is unknown, the description is based on the OD photographs.

Bhīma's hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). His face shows small protruding eyes, side-whiskers and a drooping moustache. Bhīma wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*). His ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are most probably in the shape of a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*.

9 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (fragment) (Fig. 93)

Height: 23 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: The holy bathing place Jolotundo
Literature: Woro Aryandini 1998:136, 421 (plate)

Located in a pavilion on the enclosure of the holy bathing place Jolotundo, *kecamatan* Trawas, *kabupaten* Mojokerto, East Java. The original site is unknown.

Condition: Only a part of the legs and the pedestal remain.

Description: According to the position of the club (*gada*), Bhīma is holding the club (*gada*) in his right hand. The club differs from the one Bhīma usually holds, it lacks segments.

Bhīma wears anklets (*gelang kaki*) that consist of a wide band with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) in bas-relief (see also Nos. 5-7, 10).

The front tail of the sash hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet; the back tail hangs down in a swallowtail on the pedestal.

Considering the style of the anklets, a wide band with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals in bas-relief, I presume that the fragment originated from one of the terraced sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan (see Nos. 5-7, 10).

10 Statue carved in the round on a double lotus cushion (fragment) (Fig. 94)

Height: 42 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: The holy bathing place Jolotundo

Located in a pavilion on the enclosure of the holy bathing place Jolotundo, *kecamatan* Trawas, *kabupaten* Mojokerto, East Java. The original site is unknown.

Condition: The statue is weather-beaten and shows remains of lime on the body, the ornaments and the club. The head is missing.

Description: Bhīma is represented in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both hands his long thumbnails *kuku pancanaka* are visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*. His right hand rests on his club (*gada*).

The club has three segments consisting of oval ornaments which are separated by rings. The club is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Bhīma wears a necklace (*kalung*) in the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*). His sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur ulur nagakarangrang*) rests on his left shoulder. The head and tail of the cobra are intertwined at the height of the waist. Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*) and rosettes on the place of the nipples (see also Nos. 5-6, 46). His armlets (*kelat bahu*), bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a wide band with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) in bas-relief (see also Nos. 5-7, 9-10).

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). He is holding the front tail of his sash on his left thighbone, which makes his genitals clearly visible.

Considering the style of the anklets, a wide band with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals in bas-relief, and the chest hair and nipple rosettes I presume that the fragment originated from one of the terraced sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan (see also Nos. 5-7, 9).

11 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 95-96)

Height:	40 cm
Material:	Andesite
Location:	Museum Trawulan, Mojokerto
Literature:	Woro Aryandini 1998:152-3, 432 (plate)

Belongs to the collection of Museum Trawulan, Mojokerto (inventory no. 26/589/896). The statue has been part of the collection of Museum Mojokerto before it moved to Museum Trawulan. Prior to the collection of the Museum Mojokerto, before 1913, it belonged to the regency (*kabupaten*) of Mojokerto. As finds within the area of the regency were brought to the office of regency, the statue originates from the Mojokerto area including Trawulan, the capital of Majapahit.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered. The pedestal and the lower part of both legs are missing. The nose, the left eye and the right knee are damaged, and the neck and the right shoulder have been repaired.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapita mudra*.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows heavy eyebrows, protruding eyes and a drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). He wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

His necklace (*kalung*) is most likely in the shape of the crescent moon (*tanggalan*), however, due to the weathering it is difficult to determine.

His sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) rests on his left shoulder. The head and tail of the cobra are intertwined on the

chest. His armllets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) are sculptured by a plain band with *ruyi* decorations at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of his sash rests on his right thighbone, which makes his genitals clearly visible. The back tail hangs down on the left part of his buttock and thighbone.

12 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 97-98)

Height: 30 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum Trawulan, Mojokerto

Belongs just like No. 11 to the collection of Museum Trawulan, Mojokerto (inventory number 436/896). This statue too has been part of the collection of Museum Mojokerto before it moved to Museum Trawulan. Prior to the collection of the Museum Mojokerto, before 1913, it belonged to the regency (*kabupaten*) of Mojokerto. It originates from the Mojokerto area like No. 11.

Condition: The statue misses the upper part of the body as well as the anklets and the pedestal. The genitals, the tail of the sash and both legs are damaged.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapīta mudra*.

His sacred thread is in the shape of cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) of which head and tail are intertwined at the height of the abdomen. His bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a plain band with *ruyi* decorations at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash is draped on the left side around the genitals which are therefore clearly visible. The sash hangs down on the feet. The back tail is knotted at the waist and hangs down.

13 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (fragment) (Figs. 99-100)

Height: 35 cm
Material: Andesite (reddish brown)
Location: Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan

This statue is standing in the courtyard of the Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan, and belonged to the collection of H. MacLaine Pont.¹⁰ The statue has number 578. It might originate from the Penanggungan; the colour of the stone suggests such a place of origin (see No. 5).

Condition: The statue is badly weathered. The upper part of the statue is missing and the hands and pedestal are seriously damaged.

¹⁰ H. MacLaine Pont was an English engineer who carried out excavations in Trawulan. He was very interested in the irrigation systems from the Majapahit Period and in the remains of the *kraton* of Majapahit.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On his right hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapīṭa mudra*.

The sacred thread is most probably in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*), however, due to extreme weathering it is difficult to determine.

His bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a plain band with most likely *ruyi* decorations at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash is draped on the left side around the genitals which are therefore clearly visible. The tail hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet. The back tail is knotted at the waist and also hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail on the pedestal.

14 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 101-102)

Height: 25 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan

This statue is standing in the courtyard of the Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan and has number 536/BTA/OUB/24.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered. The head, the legs and the pedestal are missing.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On his left hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*. Considering the shape of his right hand, Bhīma might have held a club.

His sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) and rests on his left shoulder. The head and tail of the cobra are intertwined on his chest. Bhīma had most probably chest hair (*bulu dada*). The armbands (*gelang tangan*) and bracelets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by two plain bands with most likely ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash is draped on the left side around the genitals which are therefore clearly visible. The back tail is knotted at the waist and hangs down.

15 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 103-104)

Height: 33 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan

This statue is standing in the courtyard of the Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan and belonged to the collection of H. MacLaine Pont. The statue has number 546/BTA/OUB/24. The original site is unknown.

Condition: The statue misses the upper part of the body, the feet and the pedestal. The genitals are damaged.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms along-

side his body. On both his hands his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

The sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*). As only a small damaged part of the sacred thread remains it is difficult to determine where exactly the head and tail of the cobra are intertwined.

The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) are sculptured by a plain band with most likely ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash rests on the left shinbone, Bhīma's genitals are therefore clearly visible. The back tail is knotted at the waist and hangs down on the right buttock. Both tails end in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*). A tendril (*sulur*) ascends between the legs.

16 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 105-106)

Height: 28 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan

This statue is standing in the courtyard of the Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan and belonged to the collection of H. MacLaine Pont. It has number 20/BTA/TRW.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered and the head, a large part of the legs and the pedestal are missing.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapīṭa mudra*.

Bhīma presumably wears a necklace (*kalung*) in the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*), however, due to extreme weathering it is difficult to determine.

The sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) and rests on his left shoulder. As the sacred thread is weathered too, it is impossible to determine where exactly the head and tail of the cobra are intertwined. It looks like Bhīma has hair on his chest (*bulu dada*).

The armlets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) are carved by a band with precious stones with *ruyi* ornaments at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail is draped on the left side around the genitals, which makes his genitals clearly visible. The back tail is knotted at the waist and rests on the right buttock and leg.

17 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 107-108)

Height: 29 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan

This fragment of a Bhīma statue is standing in the courtyard of the Suaka Jawa Timur, Trawulan and has number 783/BTA/TRW.

Condition: From the statue only the pedestal and a small piece of the legs remain. Because the feet and a part of the legs measure 29 cm, it must have been a large statue.

Description: Bhīma is represented in an upright position. The anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a plain band with at both sides triangular ornaments. A tendril (*sulur*) ascends from the pedestal.

18 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 109-110)

Height: 54 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Candi Gilang
Literature: Woro Aryandini 1998:121, 438 (plate)

This statue¹¹ is standing on the highest terrace of Candi Gilang, *desa Pager-sari, kecamatan Ngantang, kabupaten Malang*, East Java.

Condition: The statue is in a very bad condition. It is broken at the waist and the head. A large part of the right arm, a part of the legs and the pedestal are missing.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

His necklace and sacred thread are both in the shape of a cobra and have the texture of a snakeskin (see also No. 19). The sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) rests on his left shoulder. The head and tail of the cobra are intertwined at the chest.

The armllets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) are sculptured by a plain band with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). He is holding the front tail on his left thighbone, which makes his genitals clearly visible. The tail ends in a swallowtail (*kunca*).

19 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (Figs. 111-112)

Height: 58 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum Nasional, Jakarta.
Literature: Woro Aryandini 1998:105, 407 (plate)

Part of the collection of Museum Nasional in Jakarta (inventory number 6401). The statue originates from *kecamatan Ngantang, kabupaten Malang*, East Java, however the original site is unknown.

Condition: The condition of the statue is quite good, but there are damages at the left side of the face and at the left arm. The left ear pendant and the

¹¹ This statue might be the same as mentioned in Stutterheim 1935:39.

long thumbnail at the left hand are missing and the neck has been repaired.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapīta mudra*.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows heavy eyebrows, protruding eyes, a bump between his eyes and a drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) with a large curl behind his ears (see also No. 20). He wears a diadem (*jamang*) which is modelled on the rays of the sun, like the Majapahit aureole. He also wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks. The necklace (*kalung*) and the sacred thread are both in the shape of a cobra. The head and tail of the necklace are intertwined on the chest. The sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) rests on both shoulders and has like No. 18 the texture of a snakeskin. Here the head and tail of the cobra are intertwined on the neck and shoulder.

The armllets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by a plain band with on both sides ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*). The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) feature the same ornaments only at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash is draped on the left side around his genitals, which makes the genitals clearly visible. The tail is hanging down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet. The back tail is knotted at the waist and is hanging down in a swallowtail on the heels. Below the swallowtail a small tendril (*sulur*) ascends.

20 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Fig. 113)

Height: ?

Material: Probably andesite

Location: ?

Literature: ROD 1908:153; Krom II 1923:157; Stutterheim 1935:39, Pl. 7

Photograph: H 408

Found at the site of Candi Papoh on the left stair wing of the largest of two basements (see Krom). I could not trace the statue in 1996 and therefore the description is entirely based on photograph H 408.

Condition: Only the upper part of the statue remains, the right forearm is missing. The condition of the fragment seems quite good.

Description: Considering the remaining part of the statue, Bhīma was most likely represented in an upright position with his arms hanging alongside his body.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows heavy eyebrows, a bump between his protruding eyes, side-whiskers and a drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) with a large curl behind his ears and long curls on his shoulders. He wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means

of their stalks. The necklace (*kalung*) has the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*). The sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) and rests on both shoulders (see also No. 19).

The armlets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by a band with precious stones with ornaments in the shape of thunderbolts (*bajra*) at the top. Bhīma has hair in his armpits (*bulu ketiak*).

21 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 114-115)

Height: 69 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Pendopo Kabupaten Blitar

This statue is standing in a pavilion belonging to the *kabupaten* of Blitar.¹² The statue which shows the number 42 was already before 1940 in the possession of the *kabupaten*. According to the information I received from the *kabupaten* the statue originates from Ngecok near Candi Panataran.

Condition: The statue is rather damaged. The left part of the head including a part of the hair dress, most of the legs and the pedestal are missing. The remaining part of the right leg, the sacred thread and the face are damaged.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands the long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

The remaining part of Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows heavy eyebrows, protruding eyes, a drooping moustache and side-whiskers. Bhīma's hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). He wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*). Due to the damage the shape of his ear pendants is difficult to determine.

His necklace (*kalung*) and sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) are both in the shape of a cobra and they are joined. The head and tail of the cobra that shapes the necklace are probably intertwined on the chest, the head and tail of the cobra that shapes the sacred thread hand are intertwined on the abdomen. The armlets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) are sculptured by three plain bands with *ruyi* ornaments at the top. Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*).

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). He is holding the front tail of his sash on his left thighbone, which makes his genitals clearly visible. The back tail is knotted at the waist and rests on the right upper leg. Both the front and the back tail end in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*).

22 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (Figs. 116-117)

Height: 107 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum Adam Malik, Jakarta
Literature: Woro Aryandini 1998:109-11, 410 (plate)

¹² I thank Mrs. H. van Bommel who drew my attention to the statue.

Part of the collection of Museum Adam Malik, Jakarta. According to the information I received from the museum the statue was acquired in the seventies and originated most probably from Candi Gambar Wetan¹³ on Mount Kelud.

Condition: The statue is in a good condition. Except for the repaired long thumbnail on the right hand, there are no damages.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands the long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapīta mudra*.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows protruding eyes, a drooping moustache and a goatee. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). He wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

His necklace (*kalung*) has the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*). The sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) rests on his left shoulder. The head and tail of the cobra are intertwined on the chest. His armllets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by a band with precious stones with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) at the top. The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) feature a double plain band with the same ornaments at the top and the anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a double plain band with ornaments in the shape of a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). He is holding the front tail of his sash on his left thighbone, which makes his genitals clearly visible. The tail ends in a swallowtail (*kunca*). The back tail is knotted at the waist and hangs straight down in a swallowtail on the tendril (*sulur*) which ascends from the pedestal. Bhīma wears foot ornaments in a triangular shape (see also Nos. 1, 29).

23 Statue carved in high relief on a plain pedestal (Figs. 118-119)

Height: 120 cm

Material: Probably andesite

Location: ?

Literature: ROD 1908: 223, 227; Stutterheim 1935:40

Photograph: H 544

In 1933 this statue was kept in the *desa* Tunggangri. Stutterheim presumed that it was brought there from the mountains. I discovered during my research in 1996 that the statue was no longer there. The authority of the *desa* told me that in the beginning of the sixties the people had smashed the statue into pieces because they considered it 'demonic' and that subsequently the fragments were thrown into the river.

¹³ The staff told me that the statue was found in the early sixties nearly half a mile to the southwest of Candi Gambar Wetan and that it most certainly belonged to Candi Gambar Wetan.

Condition: According to photograph H 544 the statue was in 1933 in a good condition, only the legs were broken at the height of the knees. The back slab was broken at the height of the thighbones and the pedestal was missing. The eyebrows, eyes, nose, goatee and ear pendants were painted with a dark color, probably black.¹⁴ A light colour, probably white, was visible around the eyes.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured against a plain back slab in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. He has a robust posture. On both his hands his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows heavy eyebrows, protruding eyes, a moustache, a goatee and a fringe of beard and his hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). He wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks. The necklace and sacred thread are both in the shape of a cobra. The head and tail of the cobra that shapes the necklace (*kalung*) are intertwined on the chest. The sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) rests on his left shoulder. Here the head and tail of the cobra are intertwined at the height of the chest.

Bhīma's armlets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by a band set with precious stones with most probably ornaments in the shape of a thunderbolt (*bajra*) at the top. The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) feature a plain band with the same ornaments at the top.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash is very short revealing Bhīma's genitals very clearly.

24 Statue carved in high relief on a plain pedestal (Figs. 120-121)

Height: 170 cm

Material: Probably andesite

Location: The property of the Bupati of Trenggalek

Literature: Van Delden-Laërne 1894:239-40; Woro Aryandini 1998:130-1, 417 (plate)

This statue is standing on the property of the *Bupati* of Trenggalek where I discovered it in 1996.¹⁵ The information about the place of the statue came from Van Delden-Laërne. In this publication¹⁶ the statue is recorded as one of more than fifty statues on the property of the *Bupati*, the former regency of Trenggalek. According to information I got from the *kabupaten* it originates from the hamlet Ngreco, *desa* Parakan, *kabupaten* Trenggalek, East Java.

Condition: The statue is very weathered but in a reasonable condition.

¹⁴ It is difficult to determine a color on a black and white film.

¹⁵ The information about this discovery has been passed on to Mrs. Woro Aryandini who used it in her dissertation (Woro Aryandini 1998:417).

¹⁶ I thank Prof. Dr. E.P. Wieringa who drew my attention to the subject.

Description: Bhīma has a robust posture just like No. 23. He is sculptured against a plain back slab in an upright position with his hands on his hips. On both his hands the long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*. His club rests against the back slab next to his right leg and has four segments consisting of oval ornaments which are separated by rings. The club is on the haft and on the top crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows protruding eyes, a moustache, a goatee and a fringe of beard. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). He wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

Bhīma's necklace (*kalung*) has the shape of a cobra; the head and tail are intertwined on the chest.

The armlets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) consist of a band set with jewels with *ruyi* ornaments on top. The anklets (*gelang kaki*) are in the shape of a cobra, the head and tail are twisted on the front side. Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*)

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of his sash is draped on the right side around the genitals, which makes the genitals clearly visible. The tail hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on his feet.

This statue and No. 23 have a similar robust appearance and might originate from the same workshop.

25 Statue carved in high relief on a plain pedestal (Figs. 122-123)

Height: 122 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Museum Mpu Tantular, Surabaya

Literature: Wuryani 1987:468-87; Woro Aryandini 1998:131-3, 418 (plate)

This statue is since 1979 part of the collection of Museum Mpu Tantular in Surabaya (inventory number 0400164). According to the information I got from the staff the statue originates from Trenggalek. There is however no information about a specific place or site.

Condition: The statue is very weathered and skimmed with mortar. Parts of the face, the feet and the pedestal are missing. There are serious damages at the club and the edges of the back slab. The statue shows black paint on eyebrows, eyes and moustache.

Description: Bhīma has a thin posture. He is sculptured against a plain back slab in an upright position with his right arm bent in front of his waist and his left arm hanging alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

His left hand rests on his club which has four segments consisting of damaged oval ornaments. The club is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows small eyebrows, small protruding eyes,

and a moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) with long curls hanging down on the back slab. He wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are most probably attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

The necklace (*kalung*) and sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) are both in the shape of a cobra and are joined on the chest. Due to the damage it is difficult to determine where the heads and tails are intertwined.

The armllets (*kelat bahu*), bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by two plain bands with presumably *ruyi* ornaments at the top.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash is broken off at the height of the genitals, the tail probably rested on the left thighbone. The genitals are clearly visible. Two back tails are knotted with bows and end in the shape of swallowtails (*kunca*) on the back slab.

The backside of the back slab features an inscription (see 2.3.2).

26 Statue in the round on a double lotus cushion (fragment) (Figs. 124-125)

Height: 91 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Museum Tulung Agung, Tulung Agung

Part of the collection of Museum Tulung Agung in Tulung Agung.¹⁷ The original site is unknown.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered. The head is missing and the right shoulder, the chest, the sacred thread and the tail of the loincloth are damaged. The statue is broken at the height of the knees and there are damages on the lower part of the back.

Description: The carving of the statue is coarse. Bhīma has a robust posture, he is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On his right hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*, his left hand rests on his club (*gada*). The club has two segments consisting of oval ornaments which are separated by rings with precious stones. The club is on haft and top crowned by a sceptre (*ruyi*). Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*), hair in his armpits (*bulu ketiak*) and pubic hair (*jambut*).

Bhīma's necklace (*kalung*) has the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*). His sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) rests on his left shoulder and consists of two parts, one part around the neck (this part is broken) and one part lying on the abdomen. The head and tail of the cobra are intertwined at the height of the chest. His armllets (*kelat bahu*), bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a band with precious stones with *ruyi* ornaments at the top.

¹⁷ My thanks to Mr. Dwi Cahyono who informed me about the statue and to Mrs. Lydia Kieven who photographed the statue and took its measures.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash rests in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the right thighbone and covers partly the genitals which are nevertheless visible. The back tail is knotted at the waist and ends in a swallowtail on an abundant vegetation of lotus buds, lotus leaves and lotus flowers (Fig. 125).

27 Statue partially carved in high relief on a double lotus cushion (fragment) (Figs. 126-127)

Height: 73 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Candi Penampihan
Literature: Noordziek, 1856:426; ROD 1908:203; ROD 1913:287; Bosch 1915:306; Krom II 1923:375; Stutterheim 1935:39

This statue is standing on the first and lowest terrace of Candi Penampihan, *desa* Geger, *kecamatan* Sendang *kabupaten* Tulung Agung, East Java. The statue has number 249.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered. The head and the upper part of the shoulders as well as the the right hand and a large part of the left arm, except the left hand, are missing.

Description: The carving is coarse. Bhīma has a robust posture just like No. 26. He is sculptured against a partial back slab in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. His left hand rests on his club (*gada*) which has two segments consisting of oval ornaments, separated by rings. The club is crowned on haft and top by a sceptre (*ruyi*). Bhīma has hair on his chest (*bulu dada*) and in his armpits (*bulu ketiak*).

Bhīma's necklace (*kalung*) has the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*). His sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangkang*) and rests on his left shoulder. Due to the damage and the weathering it is difficult to determine where the head and tail of the cobra are intertwined. His armlets (*kelat bahu*) which are sculptured by a band set with precious stones with *ruyi* ornaments at the top. The anklets (*gelang kaki*) consist only of *ruyi* ornaments.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail rests on the right thighbone. The tail partly covers the genitals, which are nevertheless clearly visible. The back tail hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*), but is sculptured in bas-relief on the partial back slab (Fig. 127).

The carving of the back slab seems unfinished.

28 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 128-129)

Height: 26 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Candi Hutan Dadapan
Literature: Woro Aryandini 1998:162-4, 439 (plate)

This statue is standing on the second terrace of Candi Hutan Dadapan, *desa*

Bajulan, *kecamatan* Brebek, *kabupaten* Nganjuk, East Java.¹⁸

Condition: The statue is badly weathered and broken in three pieces. Only the lower part of the statue remains. Of the lower part a part of the legs, the feet and the pedestal are missing. From the right arm only the hand remains and from the left arm only the lower arm. Both the thumbnails (*kuku pancanaka*) are broken.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On his right hand the long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapīṭa mudra*.

His left arm shows a bracelet (*gelang tangan*), which is sculptured by a plain band with *ruyi* ornaments at the top.

On the lower part of the statue a part of the sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) is visible.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash rests in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the right thighbone, which makes his genitals clearly visible and also his pubic hair (*jambut*). The back tail lies on the left upper leg.

At the back of the statue at the height of the thighbone the top of a tendril (*sulur*) is visible.

29 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (Figs. 130-131)

Height: 56 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum of Ethnology, Leiden
Literature: Juynboll 1909:29

Part of the collection of the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (inventory number 905-28). The statue was acquired in 1892 and originates from Madiun. The original site is unknown.

Condition: The statue is in a very good condition. There are only some small damages on the pedestal. Remnants of black paint are found on hair, eyes and feet (including the foot ornaments).

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his right arm in front of his waist and his left arm alongside the body. On his right hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapīṭa mudra*. Bhīma has hair on his chest (*bulu dada*). His left hand rests on his club (*gada*) which has three segments consisting of oval ornaments. The club is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*) on haft and top.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows protruding eyes, a bump between his eyebrows, a drooping moustache and a goatee. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) and he wears a diadem (*jamang*) which is modelled on the rays of the sun, like the Majapahit aureole. The diadem is decorated with precious stones. Bhīma wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear

¹⁸ My thanks to Mr. Dwi Cahyono who provided me with information about the statue after an earlier attempt of both of us to reach the site failed.

pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistan are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

Bhīma's necklace has the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*). His sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) rests on his left shoulder. The thread consists of two cobras whose heads and tails are intertwined on the chest and below the genitals.

Bhīma's armllets (*kelat bahu*), anklets (*gelang tangan*) and the left bracelet (*gelang kaki*) show oval ornaments which are similar to the ornaments that constitute the segments of the club. The right bracelet is sculptured by a plain band with on both sides small triangular ornaments. These ornaments are difficult to identify.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail is draped on the left side around the genitals, which makes the genitals clearly visible. The tail ends in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on his feet. Bhīma wears feet ornaments in a triangular shape (see also Nos. 1, 22). The back of the statue is sculptured with a unique decoration in bas-relief (Fig. 131). The bas-relief features a tree with the head of a cobra. The head of the cobra is situated on the trunk where the foliage starts.¹⁹ Above the tree there are five lotus pericarps in different sizes, and on both sides of the pericarps are lotus buds and flowers.²⁰

30 Stone statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal? (Figs. 132-4)

Height: 195 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Collection K.R.T. Hardjonagoro, Solo²¹

Literature: Raffles 1817:50; Williams 1815:138-9; Van der Vlis 1843:18; Hoepermans 1913:281; Krom II 1923:379; Muusses 1923:501; Stutterheim 1935:37; Darmosoetopo 1976:66; Duijker 1992:21-2, 2001:81; Woro Aryandini 1998:112-4, 412 (pl.)

This statue is part of the collection of K.R.T. Hardjonagoro in Solo and originates from Candi Sukuh, *desa* Sukuh, *kecamatan* Ngarogoyoso, *kabupaten* Karanganyar, Central Java.

Condition: The statue is in a reasonable condition, only the neck is repaired and a small piece of the nose is missing. The pedestal is not original.

Description: The statue is the largest Bhīma statue in the corpus and is of

¹⁹ This relief resembles a relief originating from Madiun (see Muusses 1923:511), displaying a tree with the head of a cobra just above a container (Fig. 45). The container is placed at the bottom of the tree. On both sides of the container the head of a deer. The container which is placed under the tree most probably refers to the elixir of life (*amṛta*).

²⁰ The lotus ornamentation resembles the decoration of a statue from Jebuk. This statue, which probably represents queen Suhita (1429-1447 C.E.), shows a backside covered with lotus pericarps, buds and flowers arising from a pool. The decoration is more delicate than the decoration of the Bhīma statue.

²¹ The collection of the late Mr. K.R.T. Hardjonagoro is bequeathed to the government of the Republik Indonesia.

royal stature. Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his right arm in front of his chest and his left arm alongside the body. On both hands his long thumbnails (*kuku pancanaka*) are visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

With his right hand he holds the head of a cobra which is a part of his sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*). His left hand rests on the front tail of his loincloth (*sabuk*).

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows small protruding eyes that are emphasized by a thick line, a drooping moustache and a fringe of beard. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) but differs from the usual type. The back pincer is large and has an open structure. The hair dress is almost similar to the *gelung supit urang* of Bhīma in his present Javanese *wajang kulit* representation. Bhīma wears two kinds of ear ornaments (*sumping*), one in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*) in front of his ears, and a jewel in the shape of a droplet behind his ears.

Above the earlobes and the *puḍak* is a hole, most probably for a flower decoration during rituals (see also No. 1). Bhīma's ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

Bhīma wears a special type of diadem (*jamang*) with one big jewel in the shape of a droplet placed on the front pincer.

His necklace (*kalung*) is in the shape of a cobra. The tail of the cobra lies on Bhīma's chest and is twisted twice around his neck. The sacred thread rests on his left shoulder.

The armlets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) are sculptured by three bands, the outer bands are set with precious stones; the inner band is plain. A big jewel in the shape of a droplet is attached to the bands.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The sash has a chequered pattern (*poleng*). The front tail of the sash hangs straight down covering his genitals, and ends at his feet in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*). The back tail is partly covered by an ornament in the shape of Bhīma's club. The club has five segments separated by rings and is crowned by a single thunderbolt on top and a double thunderbolt (*bajra*) on the bottom. The three segments on top contain an inscription (see 2.3.2).

31 Statue carved in the round on a pedestal with relief (fragment) (Fig. 135)

Height:	75 cm
Material:	Andesite
Location:	Candi Sukuh
Literature:	Van der Vlis 1843:29; Krom II 1923:380; Muusses 1924:33; OV 1924:116; Crucq 1930b:264-5
Photographs:	OD 7174-5

This statue with number 502 originates from Candi Sukuh, *desa Sukuh, kecamatan Ngargoyoso, kabupaten Karanganyar, Central Java*. Fragments are now preserved in a closed pavilion next to the site.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered. The head and the lower part of the sash at the front and back are missing but the swallowtail on the back is still there. The statue is broken on three places (the waist, the knees and the

pedestal). The pedestal is damaged at the front. In 1924 the statue was less weathered and not yet broken at the waist, as is evident from the OD photographs.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his left arm alongside his body and his right arm bent in front of his waist. As his right hand is badly weathered it is not clear whether he was holding the head of a cobra like he does in No. 30. On his right hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

Bhīma's necklace (*kalung*) consists of a chain with three precious stones fashioned in a triangular shape. The armlets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) consist each of three bands, the outer bands are set precious stones; the inner band is plain. A big jewel in the shape of a droplet is attached to the three bands (see also No. 30).

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The sash has a chequered pattern (*poleng*). The front tail of the sash hangs straight down covering his genitals. The lower end of the front tail is missing but ended probably in swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet like the back tail.

On the square pedestal coils a serpent that bites its tail; on the serpent an inscription is carved. See for the meaning of this special feature 1.5.3 and for the translation of the inscription 2.3.2.

The statue shows many similarities with No. 30, such as the position of the arms, the ornaments and the sash in a chequered pattern (*poleng*). Most probably it is sculptured by the same sculptor as No. 30 or originates from the same workshop.

32 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (fragment) (Figs. 136-137)

Height:	88 cm
Material:	Andesite
Location:	Candi Ceto
Literature:	Van der Vlis 1843:89-90; Krom II 1923:382-4; Darmosoetopo 1976:102-15

This statue with number CT 30, is standing on the eighth terrace of the Candi Ceto, *desa Ceto, kecamatan Jenawi, kabupaten Karanganyar, Central Java*.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered. The head and a large part of the left shoulder are missing. The left side of the body and the left hand are damaged.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his left arm alongside his body and his right arm bent in front of his waist. On both hands his long thumbnails (*kuku pancanaka*) are visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

His necklace (*kalung*) is like his sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) in the shape of a cobra; I presume that the necklace and sacred thread were joined. However as the statue is broken at that point it is difficult to determine.

Bhīma's bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by two plain bands on which a big jewel is attached in the shape of a droplet

(see also Nos. 30-31).

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The sash has a chequered pattern (*poleng*). The front tail of the sash hangs straight down covering his genitals, and ends at his feet in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*). The back tail also hangs down and ends in a swallowtail on the heels. Above the swallowtail is a decoration in the shape of a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

As the statue shows many similarities with Nos. 30 and 31 the sculpture might originate from the same workshop. There is however a difference in time in the sculpturing of the statues. The statues from Candi Sukuh were carved in the forties and fifties of the fifteenth century and those of Candi Ceto in the sixties and seventies.

33 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Figs. 138-139)

Height: 110 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Candi Ceto

Literature: Van der Vlis 1843:92; Krom II 1923:382-4; Stutterheim 1935: 38; Darmosoetopo 1976:85-119; Woro Aryandini 1998:115, 414 (plate)

Photograph: OD 9389

This statue with number CT 07 is standing on the ninth terrace of the Candi Ceto, *desa Ceto, kecamatan Jenawi, kabupaten Karanganyar, Central Java*.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered, and broken at the height of the abdomen; the head is missing. In spring 1992 the damaged head was still connected to the body, however at the time of my research in 1996 the head had disappeared. The club is damaged.

Description: As the head is missing the description is partly based on the OD photograph. Bhīma is sculptured in a kneeling position, a unique position as it occurs only once in the corpus of Bhīma representations. His right arm is bent in front of his waist and his left arm hangs alongside his body. On both hands long thumbnails (*kuku pancanaka*) are visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

With his left hand Bhīma is holding a club that rests against his shoulder. The club has four plain segments separated by rings. The club differs from the usual shape in which the segments consist of oval ornaments, in this case the segments are plain.

Like No. 30 Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows small protruding eyes that are emphasized by a thick line, a moustache and a fringe of beard. His ear ornament (*sumping*) is in the shape of a *puḍak* (*Pandanus tectorius*). Above the earlobes is a hole, most probably for a flower decoration during rituals (see also Nos. 1, 30).

Bhīma's hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). The lobster claw differs from the general type. Just as No. 30 the back pincer is large and stylized and has an open structure. This lobster claw is similar to Bhīma's *gelung supit urang* in the present *wayang kulit* iconography.

Bhīma wears a special type of diadem with one jewel in the shape of a droplet placed on the front pincer of the *supit urang*.

His necklace (*kalung*) consists of a two-headed cobra whose heads meet on the chest opposing each other (see also No. 1).

His armlets are also in the shape of a cobra whose head and tail are intertwined. However the bracelets (*gelang tangan*) are sculptured by three plain bands with a big jewel in the shape of a drop attached to them.

The anklets (*gelang kaki*) feature a plain band with a triangular ornament, probably a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The sash has a chequered pattern (*poleng*). The front tail of the sash ends in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the left thighbone and covers Bhīma's genitals. A thunderbolt (*bajra*) is depicted on the lower end of the tail. The back tail hangs down on the buttocks. A thunderbolt (*bajra*) and a date inscription (see 2.3.2) are situated in a cartouche on the lower end of the tail (Fig. 139).

As the statue has many similarities with Nos. 30-32 the sculpture might originate from the same workshop.

34 Statue carved in the round (fragment) (Fig. 140)

Height: 30 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Candi Planggatan

The statue of which only two fragments remain, is located in front of some reliefs on the second terrace of the Candi Planggatan, *desa Berjo, kecamatan Ngargoyoso, kabupaten Karanganyar, Central Java*.

Condition: The statue consists of a badly weathered head and the upper part of a body.

Description: Considering the fragments I presume that Bhīma was sculptured in an upright position with his right hand placed in front of his chest and his left arm alongside the body. This position is similar to Bhīma's arm positions on Candi Sukuh and Ceto. On his right hand the gesture *muṣṭi mudra* is discernible, but as a result of damage and weathering the long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is difficult to determine.

Bhīma's sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakaran-grang*) and rests on his left shoulder. The armlet (*kelat bahu*) on his left arm is sculptured by a band with precious stones showing ornaments at both sides. The shape of the ornaments is difficult to determine due to the weathering.

The small part of Bhīma's sash shows a chequered (*poleng*) pattern. The remains show similarities with Nos. 30-33 and might have originated from the same workshop.

35 Statue carved in high relief on a plain pedestal (fragment) (Figs. 141-142)

Height: 76 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Candi Menggung

This statue is standing between the roots of a large *waringin* tree on the third

terrace of the Candi Menggung, *desa* Nglurah, *kecamatan* Tawang Mangu, *kabupaten* Karanganyar.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered. The head and hair dress are severely damaged and parts of the back slab, pedestal and right arm are missing. The statue is broken at two places, the head and the waist.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms hanging alongside his body. On his right hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

Bhīma's hair was probably dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) with long curls on back and shoulders. However it is difficult to determine because of the severe damage of the head. As the statue is stuck between the roots of the *waringin* tree it is impossible to examine the back of the statue.

The necklace (*kalung*) has the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*). On both sides of the necklace lies a braid. The sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) and rests on the left shoulder; the head and tail of the cobra are intertwined at the height of the chest. Bhīma wears a stomach band. His armlets (*kelat bahu*) and anklets (*gelang tangan*) consist of a plain band with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) on top.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash hangs down on the feet partly covering the genitals, which are visible though. The tail shows a floral ornament. The back tail is sculptured against the back slab and ends in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*).

36 Statue carved in high relief on a double lotus cushion (Fig. 143)

Height: 49 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Museum Nasional, Jakarta

Literature: *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1880:147; Woro Aryandini 1998:138-9, 422 (plate)

According to the *Notulen* since 1880 part of the collection of Museum Nasional (formerly the Bataviaasch Museum in Jakarta (inventory number 91). The statue was before 1880 part of the collection Scheepmaker in Surabaya. The original site is unknown.

Condition: The statue is in a reasonable condition. There are some damages on the nose, the left hand and the front side of the pedestal. The right side of the back slab is damaged.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his right leg slightly bent and placed in front of his left leg. His right arm hangs alongside his body and his left arm is bent in front of his waist. On his left hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*. His right hand rests on his club (*gada*) which has three segments consisting of oval ornaments which are separated by rings. The club is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows protruding eyes, heavy eyebrows and a drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit*

urang). He wears a diadem (*jamang*) which is modelled on the rays of the sun, like the Majapahit aureole. He also wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*) and ear pendants (*anting-anting*) which are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of the stalks.

His sacred thread in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakaranrang*) rests on his left shoulder; the tail and head of the cobra are intertwined from chest to shoulder and the head of the cobra appears next to his left ear. His necklace is in the shape of two cobras whose heads are intertwined on the chest. Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*).

His armlets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by a plain band with on both sides ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*). The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) feature a plain band with the same ornaments only at the top.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail rests on the left thighbone and ends in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*). The genitals are clearly visible. The back tail ends in a swallowtail on the back slab.

37 Statue in high relief on a double lotus cushion (Fig. 144)

Height:	48 cm
Material:	Andesite
Location:	Museum Nasional, Jakarta
Literature:	<i>Notulen Bat. Gen.</i> 1880:147; Woro Aryandini 1998:139-41, 423 (plate)

According to the *Notulen* since 1880 part of the collection of Museum Nasional (formerly the Bataviaasch Museum) in Jakarta (inventory number 92). The statue was before 1880 part of the collection Scheepmaker in Surabaya. The original site is unknown.

Condition: The statue is in a reasonable condition. There are damages on the forehead and nose and the front part of the hair dress is missing. The back slab is damaged at the left upper side.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his right leg in right angles with his left leg. His right leg is slightly bent. His right arm hangs alongside his body and his left arm is placed in front of his chest. On his left hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*. His right hand rests on his club (*gada*) which has three segments consisting of oval ornaments. The segments are separated by rings. The club is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows small protruding eyes, a broad nose, a drooping moustache and a goatee. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). He wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and ear pendants (*anting-anting*) which are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks. His sacred thread in the shape of cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakaranrang*) rests on the left shoulder where head and tail are intertwined. The

head of the cobra rises above the shoulder. The armlets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by a plain band with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) on both sides. The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) consist of a plain band with the same ornaments only at the top.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail is draped on the right side around the genitals, which makes the genitals clearly visible. The tail ends in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the upper leg. The back tail ends in a swallowtail on the back slab.

38 Statue in high relief on a double lotus cushion (Fig. 145)

Height: 56 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Museum Nasional, Jakarta

Literature: *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1899:49; Woro Aryandini 1998:142-3, 425 (plate)

Belongs since 1899 to the collection of Museum Nasional (formerly the Bataviaasch Museum) in Jakarta (inventory number 285a). According to the *Notulen* the statue comes from the legacy of Mr. De Rooy, Wlingi, Blitar. The original site is unknown.

Condition: The statue is in a good condition, only a part of the back pincer is missing and the sacred thread shows some damages. The back slab also shows damages at the top and at the left side. The double lotus cushion is very weathered. According to the *Notulen* the statue was painted yellow, the face was white, the colour of the clothing (the sash) was blue with golden rims and the jewels were gilded. At present the statue does not show any remnants of paint.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured against a plain back slab in an upright position with both arms alongside his body. His right leg is slightly bent and his right hand rests on his upper leg. On both his hands his long thumbnails (*kuku pancanaka*) are visible in the gesture *kapita mudra*.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows heavy eye brows, protruding eyes, a broad nose and a small moustache. His hair is dressed in the lobster claw (*supit urang*) with long curls on his back and shoulders. Bhīma wears a diadem (*jamang*) which is modelled on the rays of the sun, like the Majapahit aureole. The diadem is set with precious stones and has at the front a large jewel in the shape of a drop. He also wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and ear pendants (*anting-anting*) which are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

The necklace (*kalung*) and the sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) are both in the shape of a cobra and are joined at the chest. The head and tail of the cobra are intertwined between chest and waist. Above both shoulders the head of a cobra ascends. It is difficult to determine whether the cobra heads are part of the necklace. His bracelets consist of two plain bands.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth. The front tail of the sash covers a part of the genitals and ends in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the left

thigh and back slab; the genitals are nevertheless visible. The back tail ends in a swallowtail on the back slab.

39 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (Fig. 146)

Height: 55 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum Nasional, Jakarta
Literature: *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1864:240; Woro Aryandini 1998:144-5, 426 (plate)

Part of the collection of Museum Nasional in Jakarta (inventory number 286). According to the *Notulen* the statue originates from Rawapulu, Surabaya, however the original site is unknown.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his feet together and his arms alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnails (*kuku pancanaka*) are visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

His face (*muka gagahan*) shows heavy eyebrows, protruding eyes, a broad nose, a drooping moustache and side-whiskers. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*supit urang*) of which the pincers are closed. He wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and ear pendants (*anting-anting*) which are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

The necklace (*kalung*) and the sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) are both in the shape of a cobra and are joined at the chest. The head and tail of the cobra are intertwined between chest and waist.

Bhīma's armllets (*kelat bahu*), bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a plain band with ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*) at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail is draped on the right side around the genitals, which makes the genitals clearly visible. The tail hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet. The back tail hangs down in a swallowtail on the pedestal.

40 Statue in high relief on a plain pedestal (Figs. 147-148)

Height: 60 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum Nasional, Jakarta
Literature: *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1892:10, bijlage xvii, p. CLXV; Woro Aryandini 1998:145-6, 427 (plate)
Photograph: OD 931

Since 1892 part of the collection of Museum Nasional (formerly the Bata-viaasch Museum) in Jakarta (inventory number 286a).²² According to the *Notulen* it belonged before that period to the collection of Mr. Han Kok Ping in Surabaya. The original location is unknown.

²² Stutterheim 1935:36 mentions this statue erroneously as numbered 286b.

Condition: The statue is in a good condition, only a part of the long thumbnail on the left hand is broken.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured against a decorated back slab in an upright position. His right arm hangs alongside his body and his left arm is placed in front of his chest. On his left hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapita mudra*. His right hand rests on his club (*gada*) which has six circular segments and is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*). The haft is set with precious stones.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows slightly protruding eyes, a broad nose and a small moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). A small ribbon adorns the lobster claw. From the neck two large ribbons ascend against the back slab.²³

Bhīma wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*) and earrings (*subeng*) instead of ear pendants. A heart-shaped flower is hanging in front of his ears (see also No. 30). His necklace (*kalung*) consists of a two-headed cobra. The heads are intertwined on the chest. Bhīma nipples are marked by a four-pointed star.

His armllets (*kelat bahu*), bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by two-headed cobras. The heads are intertwined, with one head up and one down.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The sash has a chequered (*poleng*) pattern. The front tail of the sash hangs straight down covering Bhīma's genitals and ends at his ankles in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*). The front tail is, just above the swallowtail, decorated with a double scroll.²⁴ A small double thunderbolt (*bajra*) is sculptured between the feet (Fig. 148). The back slab shows on the left and the right side a container with a lotus flower, a lotus leaf and three lotus buds, placed on top of each other. A jar with lotus flowers was a well-known ornament on statuary representing deified royalty during the Majapahit Period (see also 1.4.2).

Bhīma shows specific decorations that are similar to the decorations of the Bhīma statues of Candi Sukuh and Ceto, such as the flower decoration in front or the ear, the *naga* decorations and the *poleng* sash. Therefore it is presumable that the statue originates from the Lawu area.

41 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (Figs. 149-150)

Height: 91 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum Nasional, Jakarta
Literature: *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1910:Bijl. III, p. xxvii; Woro Aryandini 1998: 107-8, 408 (plate)

Since 1910 part of the collection of Museum Nasional (formerly the Bata-

²³ I noticed this kind of decoration on Buddhist statuary from the Majapahit Period.

²⁴ This decoration is often found in China. It is known as an architectural decoration during the Ming Period, but it also frequently occurs on the clothing of minorities in Southern China.

viaasch Museum) in Jakarta (inventory number 286b). According to the *Notulen* the original location is unknown.

Condition: The statue is in a good condition. The sculpturing is refined and stylized.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On his left hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapīta mudra*. With his right hand he is holding a club which has three plain segments separated by rings. The segments are similar to the segments of the club of No. 33.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows protruding eyes, a bump between the heavy eyebrows, a broad nose, side-whiskers and a large drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) which is rather stylized. On the back pincer a scroll is visible.

Bhīma wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*) and ear pendants (*anting-anting*) shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

The sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) consists of two crowned cobras and rests on the left shoulder. The heads of the cobras are intertwined between waist and genitals.

The armllets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by a wide band with a string of precious stones and delicately sculptured *ruyi* ornaments on both sides. The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) feature a plain band with the same ornaments at the top.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash is draped on the right side around the genitals, which makes the genitals clearly visible. The tail hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet. The back tail merges into the pedestal which gives the impression that the carving was not finished.

42 Statue carved in high relief on a double lotus cushion (Fig. 151)

Height: 70 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Museum Nasional, Jakarta

Literature: *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1880:147; Woro Aryandini 1998:146-7, 428 (plate)

According to the *Notulen* since 1880 part of the collection of Museum Nasional (formerly the Bataviaasch Museum) in Jakarta (inventory number 290). The statue comes from the collection Scheepmaker in Surabaya. The original location is unknown.

Condition: The statue is badly weathered and skimmed with mortar. A part of the left hand is missing and the statue is broken at the waist.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position against a plain (?) back slab. His arms are hanging alongside his body. On his left hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

Bhīma's face shows slightly protruding eyes, a broad nose, side-whiskers

and a large drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) with long curls on his shoulders. Bhīma wears a diadem (*jamang*) which is modelled on the rays of the sun, like the Majapahit aureole. He also wears ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks. The necklace has the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*). Bhīma's sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) and rests on his left shoulder. Due to the weathering it is difficult to determine where exactly the head and tail of the cobra are intertwined. Bhīma's armlets (*kelat bahu*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a plain band with most probably ornaments in the shape of thunderbolts (*bajra*) on both sides. His bracelets (*gelang tangan*) feature the same ornaments only at the top.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash hangs straight down covering Bhīma's genitals and ends at his ankles in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*). Just above the swallowtail is a depiction of a floral scroll. Bhīma is holding his back tail in his right hand. The tail ends in a swallowtail against the back slab. Next to Bhīma's left leg might be a remnant of a jar.

43 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (Fig. 152)

Height: 148 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum of Ethnology, Leiden
Literature: Leemans 1885:27; Juynboll 1909:29; Woro Aryandini 1998:153-5, 433 (plate)

Since 1848 in the collection of the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (inventory number 1403-1861). The statue comes from the legacy of Baron van der Cappellen (Leemans; Juynboll). The original location is unknown.

Condition: The statue is in a reasonable condition but there are damages at the nose and ears, the right upper arm and the necklace. The back pincer of the *supit urang* is repaired, just as the neck, the left thumbnail, both legs and the genitals.

Description: Bhīma has a robust appearance. He is sculptured in an upright position with his feet together and his arms alongside his body. On both hands his long thumbnails (*kuku pancanaka*) are visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

Bhīma's face shows protruding eyes, a broad nose, side-whiskers and a large drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a large lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). He wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and ear pendants (*anting-anting*) which are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks. Above the earlobes is a hole, most probably for a flower decoration during rituals (see also Nos. 1, 30, 33).

Bhīma's necklace has the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*). His sacred

thread in the shape of a two-headed cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) lies on his left shoulder. The heads of the cobra are intertwined on the abdomen.

Bhīma features hair on his chest (*bulu dada*) and in his armpits (*bulu ketiak*) and rosettes on the place of his nipples (see also Nos. 5-6, 10, 46). The last mentioned feature is characteristic for Bhīma statues from the Penanggungan area.

The armllets (*kelat bahu*), bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by three plain bands with *ruyi* ornaments at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash is draped on the right side around the genitals, which makes the genitals clearly visible. The sash ends in a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet. The back tail rests on the right upper leg.

44 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (Figs. 153-154)

Height: 47 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum of Ethnology, Leiden
Literature: Juynboll 1909:29

Since 1850 in the collection of the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (inventory number 1403-1973). The original location is unknown.

Condition: The statue is in a reasonable condition but there are damages on the two pincers of the *gelung supit urang*, the nose and the sacred thread. There are remnants of black paint on the hair dress, side-whiskers and eyes, white paint on the body and the armllets and the necklace and the ear pendants show remnants of yellow paint.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On his left hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapita mudra*. His right hand rests on his club. The club has three segments consisting of oval ornaments which are separated by rings. The club is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows protruding eyes, a bump between his eyebrows, a broad nose and a drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a *gelung supit urang*. Bhīma wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*) and ear pendants (*anting-anting*) which are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

The necklace (*kalung*) is in the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*) and the sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) is shaped like a cobra. The thread lies on both shoulders and the intertwining heads of two cobras meet at the height of the thighs and oppose each other. Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*).

Bhīma's armllets (*kelat bahu*), bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by two plain bands with triangular ornaments; the shape of the ornaments is difficult to determine.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash is draped on the left side around the genitals, which makes the genitals clearly

visible. The tail hangs down in swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet. The back tail hangs straight down and ends on the tendril (*sulur*) which ascends from the pedestal.

45 Statue carved in the round on a plain pedestal (Figs. 155-156)

Height: 86 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Museum of Ethnology, Leiden

Belongs since 1947 to the collection of the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (inventory number 2630-11). The statue originates from the collection J.A.F. Wiederholt. The original location is unknown.

Condition: The statue is in a reasonable condition; only the neck is repaired.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnails (*kuku pancanaka*) are visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows small protruding eyes, a broad nose and a drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). Between the pincers the hair is smoothly dressed and tied with ribbons. Bhīma wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks. Above the earlobes is a hole, most probably for a flower decoration during rituals (see also Nos. 1, 30, 33, 43).

Bhīma's armlets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) are sculptured by a plain band with *ruyi* ornaments at the top. His anklets (*gelang kaki*) consist of a plain band.

The necklace (*kalung*) and the sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) are both in the shape of a cobra. The head and tail of the cobra that shapes the necklace are intertwined on the chest. The sacred thread lies on the left shoulder and the head and tail of the cobra are intertwined at the height on the waist.

Bhīma's sash is tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). Bhīma holds the front tail on his left thigh, which makes his genitals clearly visible. The back tail lies on the right upper leg. On the back side a tendril (*sulur*) ascends from the pedestal.

46 Statue partially sculptured in high relief on a plain pedestal (Fig. 157)

Height: 80 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Belongs since 1979 to the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (inventory number is 11-1989). The original location is unknown.

Condition: The statue is in a good condition. There are some small damages at the right ear, the left thumbnail and the bracelet.

Description: Bhīma is sculptured in an upright position with his feet together, his left arm alongside his body and his right arm in front of his waist. On his right hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *kapita mudra*. With his left hand he is holding a club (*gada*) which has five plain segments and is crowned by a thunderbolt (*bajra*).

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows slightly protruding eyes, a broad nose, a drooping moustache, side-whiskers and a goatee. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). The parting of the hair on the forehead is unusual, with a curl and a smooth lock on both sides. The locks are tied with a band with precious stones between the front and the back pincer.

Bhīma wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*); his left ear pendant (*anting-anting*) is shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistan is attached to the earlobe by means of his stalk.

Bhīma wears a necklace (*kalung*) in an angular shape. On both sides of the neck lies a braid. His sacred thread is in the shape of a crowned cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) (see also No. 41) and rests on his left shoulder, the head and the tail are intertwined on the abdomen. Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*), hair in the armpits (*bulu ketiak*) and pubic hair (*jambut*). His nipples are just like his elbows marked by rosettes (see also Nos. 5-6, 10, 43). The last mentioned feature is characteristic for Bhīma statues from the Penanggungan area.

Bhīma's armllets (*kelat bahu*), bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a plain band with ornaments probably in the shape of thunderbolts (*bajra*) at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail of the sash is draped on the left side around the genitals which makes his genitals clearly visible. The front tail hangs down in a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet.

47 Relief with a Bhīma representation (Fig. 158)

Height:	50 cm
Material:	Andesite
Location:	Candi Jago
Literature:	Van Stein Callenfels, Poerbatjaraka 1919:371; Krom II 1923: 95; Woro Aryandini 1998:168-9, 446 (plate)

A part of the continuous relief series *Pārthayajña* on the second terrace of the Candi Jago, *kecamatan* Tumpang, *kabupaten* Tumpang, East Java. The reliefs on which Bhīma is represented, are located on the south wall (see 2.2.3).

This relief is the first of four reliefs on which Bhīma is depicted. The representation of Bhīma on this relief and the three following reliefs are probably the earliest representations of Bhīma in the Majapahit Period.

Condition: The relief is badly weathered. It does however not show real damages.

Description: The relief represents the scene in which Yudhiṣṭhira plays dice with the Korawa and loses his kingdom and all his possessions through foul

play by the Korawa. Yudhiṣṭhira and the Korawa are sitting in the royal pavilion (see Fig. 55). Bhīma is standing on the right side of the pavilion and looks in the direction of the pavilion. Characteristic for the depiction of human beings on reliefs during the Majapahit Period is the turned position of the body. The feet are in side-view while the body and head are for three-quarter en face. On this relief and the three following reliefs it is obvious that Bhīma is taller than the other Pāṇḍawa and that he has in relation to his brothers a coarse figure.

Bhīma is depicted in an upright position with his arms alongside his body. On both his hands his long thumbnails (*kuku pancanaka*) are visible in the gesture *kapīṭa mudra*.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows protruding eyes, heavy eyebrows, side-whiskers and a drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) with a large curl below the back pincer.

Bhīma wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

His armlets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by a plain band with on both sides ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*). The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) and anklets (*gelang kaki*) feature the same ornaments, however only at the top of a plain band.

The necklace and the sacred thread are both in the shape of a cobra. The necklace (*kalung*) shows two cobra heads which are intertwined on the chest. The sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) lies on the left shoulder and the head and tail of the cobra are also intertwined on the chest.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail is draped on the right side around the genitals, which makes the genitals clearly visible. The front tail hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet.

48 Relief with a Bhīma representation (Fig. 159)

Height:	50 cm
Material:	Andesite
Location:	Candi Jago
Literature:	Van Stein Callenfels, Poerbatjaraka 1919:372; Krom II 1923: 95; Woro Aryandini 1998:171-3, 448 (plate)

A part of the continuous relief series *Pārthayajña* on the second terrace of the Candi Jago and the second of four reliefs on which Bhīma is depicted.

Condition: The relief is badly weathered but has no real damages.

Description: The relief shows the scene in which the Pāṇḍawa go in exile after Yudhiṣṭhira has lost all his possessions. The Pāṇḍawa have just left the palace (see Fig. 56).

Bhīma is depicted in an upright position. His iconography is almost identical to the iconography on the first *Pārthayajña* relief (No. 47). However, there are some differences: his anklets are missing, and the tail of his sash is draped on the left side around the genitals, instead of the right side.

49 Relief with a Bhīma representation (Fig. 160)

Height: 50 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Candi Jago
Literature: Van Stein Callenfels, Poerbatjaraka 1919:372; Krom II 1923: 95; Woro Aryandini 1998:170-1, 447 (plate)

A part of the continuous relief series *Pā Pārthayajña* on the second terrace of the Candi Jago and the third of four reliefs on which Bhīma is depicted.

Condition: The relief is badly weathered but shows no real damages.

Description: The scene reveals the meeting of the Pāṇḍawa with the sage (*rṣi*) Dhomya. Bhīma and Arjuna are facing each other (see Fig. 57).

Apart from his position, the iconography of Bhīma is identical to his depiction on the second relief. Bhīma is depicted with his right arm slightly bent and his hand on his hip. His head is turned backwards.

50 Relief stone with a Bhīma representation (Fig. 161)

Height: 50 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Candi Jago
Literature: Van Stein Callenfels, Poerbatjaraka 1919:372; Krom II 1923: 95; Woro Aryandini 1998:173-4, 449 (plate)

A part of the continuous relief series *Pārthayajña* on the second terrace of the Candi Jago. It is the last of the four reliefs on which Bhīma is depicted.

Condition: The relief is badly weathered.

Description: The relief shows the scene in which Arjuna (Pārtha) takes leave of his family in order to perform austerity on Mount Indrakila (see Fig. 58).

Apart from his pose, the iconography of Bhīma is identical to his depiction on the second and third relief. Bhīma stands on his right leg, his left leg is bent. His head is turned backwards and downwards which is an exceptional pose. His right arm is bent and his hand rests on his hip while his left arm hangs alongside his body.

51 Relief with a Bhīma representation (Fig. 162)

Height: 50 cm
Material: Andesite
Location: Candi Tigowangi
Literature: Krom II 1923:219; Van Stein Callenfels 1925:106; Woro Aryandini 1998:176-7, 451 (plate)
Photographs: OD 3010, 7106

A part of the continuous relief series *Sudamala* on the base of the Candi Tigowangi, *kecamatan* Paré, *kabupaten* Kediri, East Java. It is the first of two relief scenes in which Bhīma depicted. The relief is located on the south wall

(see 2.2.4).

Condition: The relief is weather-beaten.

Description: The scene shows the Pāṇḍawa and their mother Kuntī after Kuntī has returned from the cemetery Gandamayū (see Fig. 59). Bhīma is on this and the following relief taller than his brothers and he has a coarse figure.

Bhīma is depicted in an upright position with his right arm alongside his body. His left arm is bent and his left hand rests on his abdomen. On his right hand his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra* and on his left hand in the gesture *kapita mudra*

Bhīma's face shows protruding eyes, side-whiskers, a drooping moustache and a goatee. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). Bhīma wears ear ornaments (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendants (*anting-anting*) are shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistans are attached to the earlobes by means of their stalks.

The necklace and the sacred thread are both in the shape of a cobra. The necklace (*kalung*) shows two heads that are intertwined on the chest. The sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) lies on the left shoulder and the head and tail of the cobra are also intertwined on the chest. Bhīma has chest hair (*bulu dada*).

The armlets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by a band set with precious stones with on both sides ornaments in the shape of lotus petals (*padma*). The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) have the same band and ornaments however only at the top. The anklets (*gelang kaki*) are sculptured by a plain band with the same ornaments at the top.

Bhīma wears an unadorned sash tied a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail is draped on the right side around his genitals, which makes his genitals clearly visible. The tail hangs down in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on the feet.

52 Relief with a Bhīma representation (Fig. 163)

Height: 50 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Candi Tigowangi

Literature: Krom II 1923:219; Van Stein Callenfels 1925:107; Woro Aryandini 1998:175-6, 450 (plate)

Photographs: OD 7108

A part of the continuous relief series *Sudamala* on the base of the Candi Tigowangi. It is the second of two scenes in which Bhīma is depicted.

Condition: The relief is weather-beaten.

Description: The scene shows the Pāṇḍawa and their mother Kuntī. Kuntī welcomes Sadewa (Sudamala) and his bride, the daughter of Tambapetra, after Sadewa has delivered Umā from her curse and the holy man Tambapetra from his blindness (see Fig. 60).

Bhīma's iconography is similar to his depiction on the first relief, No. 51.

53 Relief with a Bhīma representation (Fig. 164)

Size: 107 x 122 cm

Material: Andesite

Location: Candi Sukuh

Literature: Van der Vlis 1843:23; Muusses 1923:501; Van Stein Callenfels 1925:106; Stutterheim 1926:116, 1930b:565-7; Woro Aryandini 1998:179-81, 453 (plate); Duijker 2001:76

Photograph: OD 7116

This relief is located on the northern part of the third terrace of Candi Sukuh, *kecamatan* Ngaroyoso, *kabupaten* Karanganyar, Central Java.

Condition: The relief is weather-beaten and the figures on the relief are damaged.

Description: The relief depicts a scene from the *Nawaruci* (see Fig. 63), Bhīma stabbing the giant Indrabāhu (see 2.2.7).

Bhīma is depicted in an upright position. With his left hand he grabs the giant and lifts him from the ground. His long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible on the sash of the giant. Bhīma's face shows small protruding eyes that are emphasized by a thick line, a broad nose, a drooping moustache and a fringe of beard. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*) and is similar to the hair dress of the Bhīma statues of Sukuh and Ceto (Nos. 30-33). Bhīma wears a diadem (*jamang*) in his hair which is dominated by several jewels in the shape of a droplet. The jewels on his armllets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) have the same shape, just as his ear ornament. His damaged ear pendant (*anting-anting*) was probably shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistan is attached to the earlobe by means of its stalk. In front of his earlobe is a flower depicted, probably a *puḍak*, and above the earlobe is a hole, most likely for a flower decoration (see also Nos. 1, 30, 33, 43, 45).

The necklace (*kalung*) consists of a double chain with three (precious) stones, a large one in the centre and two smaller aside.

The sacred thread has the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*), the head of the cobra lies on the left thighbone. The serpent has a maculated skin.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The sash has a chequered pattern (*poleng*), except for the swallowtail (*kunca*) which has stripes. The front tail covers his genitals.

54 Relief with several Bhīma representations (Fig. 165)

Height: 223 cm

Mat: Andesite

Location: Candi Sukuh

Literature: Krom II 1923:379; Stutterheim 1930a:24, 1935:49; Woro Aryandini 1998:178-9, 452 (plate); Duijker 2001:76

Photograph: OD 7126

This relief in the shape of an arch of deer is standing on northern basement of the third and highest terrace of Candi Sukuh, *kecamatan* Ngaroyoso, *kabupaten* Karanganyar, Central Java.

Condition: The relief is weather-beaten.

Description: On the relief stone three scenes are depicted on top of each other. The scene on the top is the largest scene and also the most significant one as it occupies almost three quarters of the relief stone. The two smaller scenes below are separated from the larger one by a two-headed serpent (no tail).

The large scene on top represents an episode from the *lakon Pāṇḍu Popo*; the meeting between Bhīma and Śiwa. The two smaller scenes show passages from the *lakon Bhīma Bungkus*: Nārada with the tot Bhīma, and two ascetics with Bhīma in his caul (see 2.2.7 and Fig. 64).

The iconography of Bhīma on the top scene is almost similar to the iconography of Bhīma on the preceding relief (No. 53), however there are some minor differences. Bhīma's right hand shows a long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) in the gesture *kapīta mudra* and under the front tail of his loincloth a tiny part of his genitals is visible. The three jewels of the necklace (*kalung*) are now in the shape of a triangle.

The iconography of Bhīma in the two smaller scenes, Bhīma as a tot and Bhīma in his caul, is not relevant to this research and will not be discussed here.

55 Relief with a Bhīma representation (Fig. 166)

Size: ?

Material: Probably andesite

Location: ?

Literature: Stutterheim 1940:132; Van Romondt 1951:41; Woro Aryan-dini 1998:181-2, 454 (plate)

Photograph: OD 12634

This relief was located on the retaining wall of the second terrace of the hermitage on Candi Kendolisodo, Gunung Bekel, *kabupaten* Mojokerto, East Java. According to the information I received from the Suaka Jawa Timur in Trawulan it disappeared in 1990.

Condition: The relief consists of eight blocks which are weather-beaten and damaged. Most of the corners have small damages and Bhīma's right arm and a part of his chest are broken off.

Description: As the relief has disappeared, the description of Bhīma is entirely based on the OD photograph. The relief represents a scene from the *Nawaruci* in which Bhīma descends the ocean in search of *armṭa*, the elixir of life (see 2.2.6 and Fig. 62).

Bhīma is depicted in an upright position with his right hand resting on his thighbone and his left arm strongly bent. On both his hands his long thumbnails (*kuku pancanaka*) are visible in the gesture *kapīta mudra*. Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows heavy eyebrows, protruding eyes, side-whiskers and a

fringe of beard. His hair is dressed in the lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). The hair between the pincers is dressed in a smooth way and tight with a ribbon. He wears an ear ornament (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*), and his ear pendant (*anting-anting*) is shaped like a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. The mangistan is attached to the earlobe by means of the stalk.

Bhīma's necklace (*kalung*) has the shape of a crescent moon (*tanggalan*). His sacred thread is in the shape of a cobra (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) and rests on both shoulders. The head and tail of the cobra are most probably intertwined on the chest.

The armlets (*kelat bahu*) and bracelets (*gelang tangan*) are sculptured by a band with ornaments on top, probably thunderbolts (*ruyi*). Due to damage this is difficult to determine.

Bhīma wears a sash tied as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The front tail is draped on the left side around the genitals which makes the genitals clearly visible.

56 Relief with a Bhīma representation (Fig. 167)

Size: ?
Material: Probably andesite
Location: ?
Photograph: H 536

Originates from Candi Selokelir, Mount Penanggungan, *kabupaten* Mojokerto, East Java. The relief was probably part of a retaining wall of one of the terraces. The present location is unknown.

Condition: The relief consists of seven blocks and is incomplete.

Description: The description of Bhīma is based on a detail of photograph H 536 (see Fig. 61). The relief might represent an episode from the *Bhīma-swarga* (see 2.2.5).

Bhīma is depicted in an upright position standing on his right leg with his left leg crossed over his right leg.²⁵ With his right hand he holds a branch of a tree, his long thumbnail (*kuku pancanaka*) is visible below the foliage. Bhīma holds his left arm in front of his body with his long thumbnail in the gesture *muṣṭi mudra*.

Bhīma's face (*muka gagahan*) shows protruding eyes, a broad nose, side-whiskers and a drooping moustache. His hair is dressed in a lobster claw (*gelung supit urang*). The hair between the pincers is tight with a ribbon.

Bhīma wears an ear ornament (*sumping*) in the shape of a *puḍak*, the masculine flower of the pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*) and his ear pendant (*anting-anting*) is in the shape of a mangistan, the fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*.

The necklace and the sacred thread (*ulur-ulur nagakarangrang*) are both in the shape of a cobra. They are probably joined together on the chest but as the relief blocks are shifted it is difficult to determine. The necklace (*kalung*) shows a twist but no heads of cobras. The head and tail of the cobra that

²⁵ Bhīma is depicted in the same position on the fourth relief of Candi Jago (No. 50). The meaning of the position is unknown.

shape the sacred thread are intertwined from the waist to the abdomen.

The armlets (*kelat bahu*) are sculptured by two plain bands with probably thunderbolts (*bajra*) ornament on top. The bracelets (*gelang tangan*) only consist of two plain bands. Due to weathering the decoration of the anklets (*gelang kaki*) is difficult to determine.

Bhīma wears his sash as a loincloth (*sabuk*). The sash has most probably a chequered pattern (*poleng*). There are two front tails. The first is draped on the left side around the genitals, which makes the genitals clearly visible. The tail on the right side covers the right leg. Both tails end in the shape of a swallowtail (*kunca*) on his feet.

Abbreviations

BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient
BKI	Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
EFEO	École Française d'Extrême-Orient
H	Holt Collection. Collection of Javanese archeological photographs made by Claire Holt, kept in the Kern Institute, Leiden University
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
OD	Collection of photographs made by the former Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, kept in the Kern Institute and in the University Library, Leiden University.
OV	Oudheidkundig Verslag Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië / in Indonesië
ROC	Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera
ROD	Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
VBG	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
VKAVW	Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam

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Summary

The worship of Bhīma *The representations of Bhīma on Java during* *the Majapahit Period*

This study deals with the stone representations of Bhīma, the second of the five Pāṇḍawa brothers and one of the protagonists of the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata*. These representations which include statues and reliefs appeared during the Majapahit Period (1296-1527 C.E.) and were mainly found on mountain sanctuaries in present East and Central Java.

The *Mahābhārata* which originates from India, spread as a part of the Hindu culture to other parts of Asia. In Indonesia, particularly on Java and Bali, the *Mahābhārata* became an important source of inspiration for literature, *wayang*-performances, and sculpture. During the tenth century parts of the epic appear in an Old Javanese version and its most important protagonists become well known characters. Reliefs appear with these protagonists, especially with the third of the five Pāṇḍawa brothers, Arjuna. Bhīma too appears on reliefs and is mentioned in a charter from the tenth century. Unfortunately, nothing is known about Bhīma after this period and it is not until the Majapahit Period that he reappears.

Given the present number of Bhīma statues and/or fragments it is obvious that a worship of Bhīma existed during this era. The question is however why, and what were the motives? Did any specific gods have a significant role in this worship, and is it possible to say something about its origin, its spread, date, and who were involved? It is obvious that *wayang* influenced the representation of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period as there are many similarities with his current *wayang kulit* iconography. However, to what extent did this influence spread and what does it tell us?

To find answers to these queries I formulated four questions with the aim to set out the objectives of this research. These objectives are: 1. To find out the motive or motives for the worship of Bhīma, and to investigate whether this worship was related to any specific gods departing from the iconography of the representations; 2. To determine the spread of Bhīma's worship and try to date this worship more specifically; 3. To investigate whether this worship was a pure Javanese affair or was influenced from abroad, and who were involved in the worship; 4. To research the extent of the influence of the *wayang* on Bhīma's appearance.

The corpus of stone representations of Bhīma dating from the Majapahit Period, consisting of 46 statues and ten reliefs, are the basis of this study. The research focuses on the description, analysis and interpretation of the iconography of Bhīma. In addition there are two comparative surveys. One is the comparison of Bhīma statues with contemporaneous statues from Java, the other deals with Bhīma representations outside Java. The worship of Bhīma outside Java, so far as is known, is also mentioned in this survey.

This last mentioned survey has in particular been done to place the iconography of Bhīma on Java and his worship in a wider perspective, which makes it possible to interpret his Javanese iconography in a correct way and to find the motives for his worship.

In addition to the iconographical part written sources are examined on other aspects of Bhīma, and on the cultural-historical and religious context of the Bhīma worship.

This study has been divided into three parts. Part 1 is dedicated to 'The iconography of Bhīma'. Part 2, 'Bhīma in literature, narrative relief scenes and inscriptions', is largely based on the analysis of Bhīma's role in written sources. Part 3, 'The material and historical context', contains the description and interpretation of the terraced sanctuaries on which most of the Bhīma representations are found and gives a survey of the historical and religious developments during the Majapahit Period.

This broadly based approach does justice to the subject 'The worship of Bhīma', as studying this phenomenon from written sources only would lead to limited results.

Part 1 consists of the chapters: 'The iconography of stone representations of Bhīma and the worship of Bhīma outside Java' (1.1); 'The iconography of stone representations of Bhīma on Java during the Majapahit Period' (1.2); 'Comparison of the iconography of Bhīma in and outside Java' (1.3); 'The iconography of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period compared to the iconography of statues from the same period' (1.4); and 'The interpretation of the iconographic features of Bhīma' (1.5).

Chapter 1.1 contains a survey of the iconography of Bhīma statues and reliefs outside Java, in particular Cambodia, India, and Nepal. This survey demonstrates that the iconography of the Bhīma representations often reflects his royal status and his role as hero and warrior in the *Mahābhārata*. The worship of Bhīma in India and Nepal is often of tribal origin and related to the Hindu god Śiwa or one of his manifestations, however, in a few cases it is related to his father, the Hindu god of the wind Bāyu. The motivations for Bhīma's worship outside Java are based on protection, prosperity and fertility.

Chapter 1.2 includes a quantitative analysis of Bhīma's iconographical features during the Majapahit Period, in which the current categorization and glossary of the *wayang kulit* has been applied for the indexation and descriptions. Although the analysis incorporates both statues and reliefs, the emphasis lies on the statues as they are the main object of worship and form the largest corpus of Bhīma representations. In spite of the weathered condition of many statues and the fact that quite a number of them are decapitated or in pieces, the analysis reveals a remarkable consistency in the iconographical features.

Bhīma is depicted in a straight, almost rigid, position with his arms alongside his body and his feet firmly placed one next to the other. Bhīma has a sturdy appearance, and in most cases his genitals are clearly visible. His hands are sculpted with a long thumbnail in two different gestures. His other standard features include a specific hair dress, ear, neck, arm, foot and ankle ornaments, a sacred thread, and a sash worn as a loincloth. On several occasions Bhīma is depicted wearing a diadem, and in a third of the statues his

hand is resting on his attribute, the club. Most of Bhīma's features are equal to his current *wayang kulit* iconography.

The consistency of the features indicates the existence of an iconographical canon, a canon which almost certainly also existed for the protagonists of the *Mahābhārata* depicted in *wayang* style on relief and which given this fact was definitely derived from *wayang* performances.

Another outcome of the analysis is that three quarters of the statues are sculpted in the round with a plain pedestal (a few have a lotus cushion as pedestal). The remaining quarter are carved in high relief and often have a lotus cushion as pedestal.

A map showing the locations of the Bhīma statues reveals that his worship was spread throughout the territory of the royal family of the Majapahit. The geographical arrangement of the data in the quantitative analysis shows that there are similarities in specific iconographical features and that these are regionally defined. In particular statues found on the sanctuaries on Mount Penanggungan (East Java) and Mount Lawu (Central Java) exhibit a specific regional style. The geographical arrangement also reveals a larger number of statues on these mountains which indicates that the worship on these locations must have been more intensive than on other places.

The statues found in the southwest and western (Central Java) parts of the kingdom exhibit more jewels in the iconography, in other words more wealth. The statues also increase in size in relation to the centre of the kingdom, around Trawulan, which makes me think that the worship was more important in these areas.

The comparison of the iconography of Bhīma in and outside Java (1.3) illustrates considerable differences. Outside Java Bhīma is always depicted in an active pose wielding his club. This representation is predominantly based on his role as hero and warrior in the *Mahābhārata*. On Java on the other hand, the Bhīma statues do not seem to have an association with the warlike figure from the *Mahābhārata* as he is depicted in a rigid pose, standing straight up with his arms alongside his body and his feet positioned next to one another. His club is but a decorative attribute which is found on only a third of his statues and not on reliefs. Bhīma's ornaments, which outside Java are made of precious metals decorated with jewels, consist on Java mostly of flowers, fruits, vines, thunderbolts and snakes (cobras). Bhīma's clothing differs as well. On Java he is dressed in a simple loincloth which is often tucked up to show his prominent genitals, while outside Java he is often clothed in a battle outfit and is hiding his private parts.

On the deviating iconography of Bhīma in Java compared to his iconography outside Java I base my assumption that Bhīma's iconography on Java during the Majapahit Period must have had another significance than elsewhere.

Chapter 1.4 in which the iconography of Bhīma is compared to the iconography of certain groups of contemporaneous statues, illustrates that Bhīma statues bear some resemblance to other statues, but that on the whole the statues appear to be an isolated phenomenon. The iconographical similarities concern the groups of statues with the function of a guardian, some Śaiwa deities and statues of deified royalty.

With the guardians Bhīma shares his way of presentation, namely in the round with a plain pedestal. This kind of presentation is to be found on three

quarters of Bhīma's statues, and is in contrast to his presentation in high relief on a lotus pedestal, which occurs in a quarter of his statues. This kind of presentation is found on statues of deities and deified royalty. The ambiguity in presentation indicates a change of status of Bhīma during the Majapahit Period. With guardians Bhīma also shares some demonic facial characteristics and some ornaments as his diadem and necklace; with deified royalty Bhīma shares lotus ornaments, and in one case the Majapahit aureole; and with some Śaiwa gods and a Buddhist god he shares his sacred thread and other decorations in the shape of a cobra.

The interpretation of the iconographical features of Bhīma (1.5) shows that his iconography on Java can be associated with protection, immortality and fertility. It is likely that these particular aspects form the motives for his worship. Features emphasizing his protective role include Bhīma's coarse and strong appearance, his powerful, sometimes demonic face, the presence of his club, and the hand gestures with his fearsome long thumbnail who symbolize strength and aversion of evil; the features that stand for immortality are his decorations in the shape of the 'plant of long life' (*ruyi*), the (double) thunderbolt (*bajra*) and his ornaments in the shape of cobra's; the features that represent fertility or are related to sex are his ornaments in the shape of vines (*sulur*), the flower of the pandan, the fruit of the mangistan and Bhīma's prominent genitals.

Furthermore the iconographical interpretation demonstrates that Bhīma's club and thunderbolt can be related to Bāyu.

Part 2 includes the chapters 'Bhīma in Old Javanese literature and in a Balinese Sanskrit text. The *parwa*, *kakawin*, *kidung* and *stawa*' (2.1), 'Bhīma's role in relief scenes' (2.2) and 'The Bhīma inscriptions' (2.3).

The investigation of the literary sources and the narrative reliefs is focused on Bhīma's role in these sources and the question whether this role can enlighten us about the motives of his veneration as found in Part 1. In addition it explores whether these sources add anything to the already discussed findings.

The literary sources are arranged chronologically. The *parwa* are the oldest known sources in Old Javanese and date from the tenth century onwards. The *kakawin* date from the twelfth century, and the *kidung* are contemporary to the Bhīma statues, at least if we consider the content. Unfortunately we are unable to date the *stawa*, but it is possible that this text is from the same period.

The literary texts are analysed on the basis of four questions relating to Bhīma's role and character in the stories, the connection to his father (the god of the wind Bāyu), his iconography, and his relationship with other gods. The analysis confirms a couple of the aspects found in the interpretation of Bhīma's iconographical features such as his role of protector, and his connection with immortality and the elixir of life. The last two aspects are particularly important in contemporaneous literature (*kidung*). The doctrines linked to salvation and the accomplishment of immortality are derived from a Tantric Śaiwa as well as a Tantric Buddhist origin. Both religious schools of thought were manifestations of the same principle.

The relation between Bāyu en Bhīma which is visible in the iconography of Bhīma is important in the contemporaneous literature (*kidung*) as well, and is

mainly related to salvation dogmas and Tantric rituals. This literature emphasizes Bhīma's mental strength and inner search for salvation, and his capability of bringing salvation to others. Obtaining the elixir of life is essential in this quest. Salvation and Bhīma's pursuit for the elixir also play an important role on several Bhīma reliefs. It concerns reliefs from the middle of fifteenth century in which Bhīma is clearly the protagonist. Earlier reliefs dating from the latter half of the fourteenth century depict Bhīma in a more inconspicuous capacity, as part of the family and/or a spectator to events led by his brothers.

The iconography of Bhīma is seldom referred to in the older literary sources such as the *parwa* and the *kakawin*. In the *stawa* and other contemporaneous literature on the other hand the iconography seems to be implied frequently, a sign that his iconography must have been known. However, the mentioning of these iconographical features does not point towards a kind of canon, like there is for the current *wayang* iconography, where form can be related to content.

In his iconography Bhīma has connections with Śiwa but this seems not to be the case in the literature of the Majapahit Period. However, there are relations between Bhīma and the Tantric Śaiwa god Ardanāreśwari and the Buddhist god Bajrasattwa in respectively the *kidung* and *stawa*. These associations refer again to the Tantric character of Bhīma in this period.

The number of inscriptions on statues representing Bhīma is relatively small, just five in total. In addition to this, there is one inscription on a relief representing Bhīma as the protagonist, and a charter in which Bhīma is mentioned. The charter does not originate from the Majapahit Period but dates from the tenth century, and describes the festivities on the occasion of the foundation of a tax-exempt territory for the maintaining of a monastery. Bhīma is the central character in two performances, of which one, a *wayang* performance, is dedicated to the deity of the sanctuary. It appears from the charter that Bhīma was a well loved character of the *Mahābhārata* in the tenth century.

The short inscriptions on the Bhīma statues provide us with little information about the veneration of Bhīma. The inscriptions mainly consist of chronograms including dates and numbers. In case of one of the statues we know that it was consecrated by a holy man (*ācārya*). The inscription on the pedestal of another statue indicates that Bhīma was regarded a *bhatāra*, a deity. The inscription on the Bhīma relief reveals that the sanctuary on which the relief was located was a place for salvation through holy water.

Part 3 includes the chapters 'Bhīma statues and terraced sanctuaries' (3.1) and 'The Majapahit Period' (3.2). The first chapter describes and interprets the terraced sanctuaries which were established mainly during the late period of the Majapahit and on which the Bhīma statues, some of the Bhīma reliefs and other remains were found. The most important aim of this chapter is to explore the significance of the sanctuaries and the location of the Bhīma statues and reliefs within them. I also investigate the relevance of the other remains on the sanctuaries.

On the basis of similar sanctuaries on Bali, I conclude that the terraced sanctuaries on Java which as on Bali often consist of three successive terraces with buildings on the highest and most sacred terrace, shared a similar func-

tion. It means that the worship of (deified) ancestors was of great consequence on these sites. Holy water or the elixir of life was in this matter of vital importance. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that amongst the statues on these sites are quite a number of deified (royal) ancestors. The acquisition of the elixir of life is also often suggested through or represented on reliefs, statues, structures and antefixes. Beside the stone edifices which frequently consist of a triplet and which were possibly dedicated to the Tripuruṣa (Wiṣṇu, Śiwa en Brahmā), many statues and stone dies were unearthed. The stone dies supported most probably wooden shrines and open pavilions.

It is impossible to make representative pronouncements about Bhīma's location on the sanctuaries because of the small number of statues of which the location could be determined. It is clear however that most of these statues were found on the highest terrace.

The remaining statues on the sanctuaries represent predominantly the Śaiwa gods: Gaṇeśa, Durgā and Bhaṭāra Guru, Śaiwa symbols such as the *lingga* and *yonī*, and guardians. Śaiwism was clearly the main religion during the late Majapahit Period, something which has already been established in previous research. Of the gods Gaṇeśa appears the most. This god was invoked to guarantee successful enterprises and destroy enemies, however it is a known fact that in later times stone images of this god were considered ancestors who acted as saviours and before whom people made curses and took oaths.

The presence of statues representing Bhaṭāra Guru indicates the practice of Tantric rituals on the sanctuaries. Bhaṭāra Guru is associated with the exercise of yoga. However, specific references to ascetic life and hermits are rare and only appear on the sanctuaries on Mount Lawu and on a few narrative reliefs on Candi Kedaton and Candi Jago.

Chapter 3.2 offers a closer look at the Majapahit dynasty, the major political developments during the Majapahit Period, the possible driving forces behind the development of the Bhīma veneration and the possible involvement of members of the royal household.

The Majapahit dynasty ruled from 1294-1527 C.E. and reached its heyday during the reign of Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389 C.E.). The major islands of the archipelago were under the authority of the empire and there were trade relations and other contacts with countries in South Asia, the mainland of South-east Asia and China. Majapahit also attracted a great number of priests and monks. This religious migration can be attributed to the freedom of religion and the great number of scribes attached to dynasty.

After the reign of Hayam Wuruk the kingdom fell into gradual decline. The succession war between his heirs, which took place at the beginning of the fifteenth century, was largely to blame for this, as well as the increasing economical power of Malaka and the loss of authority of the dynasty within the archipelago. Even so, some of Hayam's successors including his son in law Wikramawardhana (1389-1429 C.E.) and his daughter queen Suhita (1429-1446 C.E.) still ruled for a long time. It was only after the reign of Suhita's brother Krtawijaya that the successions of the throne became less clear. As there are less written sources available from the fifteenth century it is very difficult to get a good grip on everything that happened. It is clear, however, that there was plenty of religious building activity taking place, in particular

in regard to the terraced sanctuaries. Literary and other religious activities were also still thriving especially where it concerned the search for salvation.

From the literary sources and the archaeological remains, in particular the reliefs, we learn that some of the protagonists of the *Mahābhārata*, especially the Pāṇḍawa and their offspring, were very popular figures during the Majapahit Period. The stories narrated on the reliefs however are no longer based on the *Mahābhārata* but on Old Javanese texts which found their origin in various religious themes of the time, such as asceticism, the quest for salvation, obtaining the elixir of life, and exorcism. The reliefs are depicted in *wayang* style indicating that this medium of representation was very popular.

One contemporaneous text frequently refers to the clan of the Bhārata as the ancestors of the most important ruler of Majapahit, Hayam Wuruk. The king was even directly related to the oldest brother of the Pāṇḍawa, Yudhiṣṭhira. Therefore we can assume that the Pāṇḍawa were regarded as ancestors of the Majapahit dynasty. Bhīma is however the only Pāṇḍawa who was worshipped given the number of statues representing him. From previous chapters we learn that Bhīma's lineage from Bāyu was of significant importance in the iconography as well as in literature, which supports the assumption that this connection was one of the most important reasons for his presence during the Majapahit Period, especially because the relationship between Bhīma and Bāyu is based on salvation dogmas and supernatural strength.

Considering the fact that the Pāṇḍawa were seen as ancestors of the Majapahit and that Bhīma's iconography was mostly influenced by the *wayang kulit* I am pretty sure that his worship was not influenced from abroad but should be regarded as a purely Javanese phenomenon. However, there were ties between the kingdom of Majapahit and the South Indian kingdom of Vijayanagara where Bāyu and his sons Hanūmān and Bhīma were worshipped in a Tantric doctrine. Given the above mentioned reasons I consider this influence nevertheless as negligible.

Based on the iconographical sources we can establish that the worship of Bhīma must have developed during the last decades of the fourteenth century and sustained until the second half of the fifteenth century. Considering the quantity of statues and the foundation of most of the Bhīma sanctuaries, it had its peak around the middle of the fifteenth century. As there is no textual information or evidence about the people involved in the veneration of Bhīma I am unable to make any proper assumptions on this aspect. However, I am of the opinion that the royal family must have been involved in the worship in some way and deduct this from some iconographical features of the statues and environmental circumstances as for instance the fact that several terraced Bhīma sanctuaries were without doubt under royal patronage.

A catalogue of all the representations of Bhīma researched and discussed in this research concludes this study. It contains a detailed description of each image followed by a discussion of the special iconographic features and stylistic comparisons.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

De verering van Bhīma De afbeeldingen van Bhīma op Java tijdens de Majapahit-periode

Deze studie handelt over de stenen afbeeldingen van Bhīma, de tweede van de vijf Pāṇḍawa broers, en een van de protagonisten van het hindoeïstische epos Mahābhārata. Deze afbeeldingen, zowel beelden als reliëfs, kwamen voor tijdens de Majapahit-periode (1296-1527 A.D.) in het tegenwoordige Oost- en Midden-Java en werden vooral aangetroffen op terrasvormige bergheiligdommen.

De Mahābhārata, die zijn oorsprong heeft in India, raakte als onderdeel van de hindoeïstische cultuur verspreid over andere delen van Azië. In Indonesië, vooral op Java en Bali, werd de Mahābhārata een belangrijke bron voor literatuur, wajangvoorstellingen en beeldhouwkunst. Delen van het epos verschijnen in de tiende eeuw in een Oud-Javaanse versie en ook de belangrijkste protagonisten zijn in die periode bekend. Er verschijnen reliëfs met deze protagonisten, vooral met de derde van de vijf Pāṇḍawa-broers, Arjuna. Ook Bhīma komt voor op reliëf en wordt genoemd in een oorkonde uit de tiende eeuw. Na deze periode is er echter niets meer bekend over Bhīma tot aan de Majapahit-periode.

Gegeven het thans bekende aantal Bhīmabeelden en/of fragmenten daarvan is het duidelijk dat Bhīma werd vereerd tijdens de Majapahit-periode, maar waarom, wat waren de motieven? Speelden specifieke goden een rol van betekenis in deze verering en valt er iets te zeggen over het ontstaan, de verspreiding en de datering van de verering en over degenen die erbij betrokken waren? Het is duidelijk dat de wajang een rol van betekenis speelde in de vormgeving van de Bhīma-afbeeldingen uit de Majapahit-periode aangezien er veel gelijkenissen zijn met de huidige *wajang kulit*-iconografie van Bhīma, maar wat is de omvang van die wajang-invloed?

Om een antwoord op deze vragen te krijgen, formuleerde ik vier vragen die de doelstellingen van dit onderzoek bepalen. Dat zijn: 1. Het motief of de motieven te vinden voor de verering van Bhīma en te onderzoeken of de verering was gelieerd aan een specifieke godheid, uitgaande van de iconografie van de Bhīma-afbeeldingen; 2. De verspreiding van de Bhīmaverering vast te stellen en te proberen de datering van de verering nader te specificeren; 3. Te onderzoeken of de Bhīmaverering een puur Javaanse zaak was of beïnvloed werd van buiten de archipel, en wie er betrokken waren bij de verering; 4. De omvang van de invloed van de wajang te onderzoeken.

Het corpus stenen Bhīmabeelden (46) en -reliëfs (10) uit de Majapahit-periode verschaft de informatie waarop dit onderzoek is gebaseerd. De focus ligt hierbij in de beschrijving, de analyse en de interpretatie van de iconografie van Bhīma. Ter aanvulling zijn er twee vergelijkende iconografische overzichten. Het ene overzicht vergelijkt de Bhīmabeelden met contemporaine beelden op Java. Het andere handelt over Bhīma-afbeeldingen buiten Java. In dit overzicht wordt, voor zover bekend, ook de verering van Bhīma vermeld.

Het laatstgenoemde overzicht is met name opgenomen om de iconografie van Bhīma op Java en zijn verering in een breder perspectief te zien, hetgeen het mogelijk maakt om zijn Javaanse iconografie op een juiste manier te interpreteren en de motieven te vinden voor zijn verering.

Ter aanvulling van het iconografisch gedeelte is er in geschreven bronnen onderzoek gedaan naar een aantal aspecten van Bhīma, en naar de cultuur-historische en religieuze context van de Bhimaverering.

Deze studie bestaat uit drie delen. Deel 1 handelt over ‘De iconografie van Bhīma’. Deel 2, ‘Bhīma in de literatuur, verhalende reliëfs en inscripties’, is grotendeels gebaseerd op de analyse van Bhīma’s rol in geschreven bronnen. Deel 3, ‘De materiële en historische context’, omvat de beschrijving en interpretatie van de terrasheiligheden waarop de Bhīma-afbeeldingen zijn aangetroffen en een overzicht van de historische en religieuze ontwikkelingen tijdens de Majapahit-periode.

Deze brede aanpak doet het meeste recht aan het onderwerp ‘De verering van Bhīma’ omdat de benadering van een dergelijk fenomeen vanuit uitsluitend geschreven bronnen te marginaal is.

Deel 1 bestaat uit de hoofdstukken ‘De iconografie van Bhīma-afbeeldingen en de verering van Bhīma buiten Java’ (1.1), ‘De iconografie van stenen Bhīma-afbeeldingen op Java tijdens de Majapahit-periode’ (1.2), ‘Vergelijking van de iconografie van Bhīma binnen en buiten Java’ (1.3), ‘De iconografie van Bhīma tijdens de Majapahit-periode vergeleken met de iconografie van beelden uit dezelfde periode’ (1.4) en de ‘De interpretatie van de iconografische kenmerken’ (1.5).

Hoofdstuk 1.1 bevat een overzicht van de iconografie van de Bhīmabeelden en -reliëfs buiten Java, namelijk in Cambodja, India en Nepal. Dit overzicht laat zien dat de iconografie van de Bhīma-afbeeldingen vaak verwijst naar Bhīma’s koninklijke status en zijn rol van held en krijger in de *Mahābhārata*.

De verering van Bhīma, bekend uit India en Nepal, is vaak van tribale oorsprong en is veelvuldig gerelateerd aan de hindoeïstische god Śiwa of een van zijn verschijningsvormen. Een enkele maal echter is de verering gerelateerd aan Bhīma’s vader, de hindoeïstische god van de wind Bāyu. De verering is gebaseerd op bescherming, welvaart en vruchtbaarheid.

Hoofdstuk 1.2 bevat een kwantitatieve analyse van Bhīma’s iconografische kenmerken tijdens de Majapahit-periode. Hierbij wordt voor de indeling en de beschrijving gebruik gemaakt van de hedendaagse categorisering en benaming in de Javaanse *wajang kulit*. Hoewel de analyse zowel de Bhīmabeelden als -reliëfs betreft, ligt de nadruk op de beelden omdat zij de objecten van verering zijn en ook het grootste corpus vormen. De analyse toont, in weerwil van de vele onthoofde, gebroken en ernstig verweerde beelden, aan dat er een substantiële consistentie in de iconografische kenmerken is.

Bhīma wordt rechtopstaand afgebeeld met de armen langs het lichaam en de voeten naast elkaar. Hij heeft een robuust uiterlijk en zijn geslachtsdelen zijn vaak open en bloot afgebeeld. Hij heeft een lange duimnagel die hij in twee verschillende handhoudingen toont. Zijn overige standaardkenmerken zijn een specifieke hoofdtooi, oor-, hals-, arm- en beensieraden, een kasteoord en een sjerp gedragen als lendendoek. In sommige gevallen draagt hij een diadeem in het haar en in ruim een derde van de beelden rust zijn hand

op zijn knots. De meeste van de net beschreven kenmerken zijn gelijk aan Bhīma's hedendaagse *wajang kulit*-iconografie.

De consistentie in kenmerken toont aan dat er een iconografische canon moet zijn geweest, een canon die vrijwel zeker ook bestond voor alle protagonisten van de *Mahābhārata* die in wajangstijl op reliëf zijn afgebeeld en die gezien dat feit afkomstig moet zijn van wajanguitvoeringen.

Eveneens blijkt uit de analyse dat de Bhīmabeelden voor driekwart in het rond zijn gehouwen op een onversierde pedestaal (enkele hebben een lotuskussen als pedestaal), en dat een kwart van de beelden in hoog reliëf is, meestal staand op een lotuskussen.

Een kaart met de vindplaatsen van de Bhīmabeelden laat zien dat de Bhīmaverering verspreid was over het gehele grondgebied van de koninklijke familie. Uit de geografische spreiding van de data in de analyse wordt duidelijk dat er overeenkomsten zijn in specifieke iconografische kenmerken van Bhīma en dat deze overeenkomsten regionaal bepaald zijn. Vooral beelden afkomstig van heiligdommen op de berg Penanggungan, Oost-Java, en op de berg Lawu, Midden-Java, laten een speciale stijl zien. Uit de geografische spreiding komt ook naar voren dat, gegeven het grotere aantal Bhīmabeelden op voornoemde bergen, de verering daar waarschijnlijk intenser was dan op andere plaatsen.

De beelden in het westen (overeenkomend met Midden-Java) en het zuidwesten van het koninkrijk tonen meer juwelen in hun iconografie, in andere woorden meer rijkdom. De beelden zijn daar ook groter dan in het centrum van het koninkrijk, rond Trawulan (Oost-Java), wat doet veronderstellen dat de verering in het westen en zuidwesten belangrijker was.

De vergelijking van de iconografie van Bhīma binnen en buiten Java (1.3) laat zien dat er aanzienlijke verschillen zijn. Bhīma wordt buiten Java altijd actief en met knots afgebeeld. Deze afbeeldingen zijn gebaseerd op zijn heroïsche en krijgsrol in de *Mahābhārata*. Op Java daarentegen lijken de beelden helemaal geen associatie met de strijdlustige figuur uit de *Mahābhārata* te hebben omdat Bhīma rigide wordt afgebeeld, rechtopstaand met zijn armen langs het lichaam, en zijn voeten naast elkaar. Bhīma's knots is op Java een decoratief attribuut dat nog maar bij een derde van de beelden voortkomt en niet op reliëf. Bhīma's sieraden, die buiten Java vaak gemaakt zijn van kostbare metalen en edelstenen, bestaan op Java veelal uit bloemen, vruchten, ranken en slangen (cobra's). Ook Bhīma's kleding verschilt. Op Java draagt Bhīma een heupkleed dat in de meeste gevallen opgeschort is om zijn prominente geslacht te tonen, terwijl hij buiten Java vaak gekleed is in krijgskleding en alles behalve zijn geslacht toont.

Op de nogal afwijkende iconografie van Bhīma op Java ten opzichte van buiten Java baseer ik de veronderstelling dat de iconografie van Bhīma op Java tijdens de Majapahit-periode een andere betekenis heeft.

Hoofdstuk 1.4, waarin de iconografie van Bhīma wordt vergeleken met de iconografie van bepaalde categorieën contemporaine beelden, laat zien dat de Bhīmabeelden wel enige iconografische overeenkomsten vertonen met andere beelden, maar vooral dat het voorkomen van Bhīmabeelden tijdens de Majapahit-periode een fenomeen is dat op zichzelf staat. De iconografische gelijkenissen hebben betrekking op de categorie beelden die een wachtersfunctie heeft, op enkele śiwāitische goden en op beelden van vergoddelijkte koninklijke figuren.

Met wachters deelt Bhīma de manier waarop de beelden gepresenteerd worden, namelijk in het rond op een onbewerkte pedestaal. Deze manier van presentatie komt voor in driekwart van zijn beelden en contrasteert met zijn presentatie in hoog reliëf op een lotus-pedestaal, die in een kwart van zijn beelden voorkomt. Deze presentatie vindt men bij goden en vergoddelijke leden van het koninklijk huis. De ambigue presentatie geeft aan dat er een verandering in de status van Bhīma plaatsvond gedurende de Majapahit-periode. Met wachters deelt Bhīma ook enkele demonische gezichtstrekken, enkele sieraden als de diadeem en een specifieke halsketting. Met vergoddelijke leden van het koningshuis deelt Bhīma lotus-ornamenten en in één geval de Majapahit-aureool, en met šiwaitische goden en een boeddhistische god deelt hij zijn kastekoord en andere sieraden in de vorm van cobra's.

De interpretatie van Bhīma's iconografische kenmerken (1.5) brengt aan het licht dat zijn iconografie op Java aan drie aspecten gerelateerd kan worden, namelijk bescherming, onsterfelijkheid en vruchtbaarheid. Het is aannemelijk dat deze aspecten ook de motieven voor de verering van Bhīma vormen. De kenmerken die met bescherming in verband kunnen worden gebracht, zijn Bhīma's krachtige, ietwat demonische uiterlijk, zijn robuuste en gesperde lichaam, zijn knots en zijn handhoudingen met lange duimnagel die kracht en afwerping van het kwaad symboliseren; de kenmerken die onsterfelijkheid symboliseren zijn ornamenten in de vorm van de 'onsterfelijheidsplant' (*ruyi*), de (dubbele) donderkeil (*bajra*) en sieraden in de vorm van cobra's; de kenmerken die vruchtbaarheid weergeven of met de lichamelijke liefde in verband worden gebracht, zijn ornamenten in de vorm van ranken (*sulur*), de bloem van de pandan, de vrucht van de mangistan en Bhīma's prominente geslachtsdelen.

De interpretatie laat verder zien dat Bhīma's knots en de donderkeil gerelateerd kunnen worden aan Bāyu.

Deel 2 omvat de hoofdstukken 'Bhīma in de Oud-Javaanse literatuur en in een Balinese Sanskriettekst. De *parwa*, *kakawin*, *kidung* en *stawa*' (2.1), 'Bhīma's rol in de reliëfscènes' (2.2), en 'De Bhīma-inscripties' (2.3).

Het onderzoek van de literaire bronnen en de reliëfs die gebaseerd zijn op (orale) verhalen is vooral gericht op de rol die Bhīma heeft in die bronnen en op de vraag of die rol iets zegt over de in Deel 1 gevonden motieven voor de Bhīmaverering dan wel iets toevoegt aan de al gevonden aspecten.

De literaire bronnen hebben een chronologische opbouw: de *parwa*, delen van de Mahābhārata, zijn de oudst bekende, zij stammen uit de tiende eeuw en mogelijk later, de *kakawin* stammen uit de twaalfde eeuw, en van de *kidung* is bekend dat ze contemporain zijn met de Bhīma-afbeeldingen, althans inhoudelijk. Van de *stawa* is geen ouderdom bekend, maar ook deze tekst is mogelijk contemporain met de afbeeldingen.

De teksten worden geanalyseerd op basis van vier vragen die betrekking hebben op Bhīma's karakter in de betreffende tekst, de relatie met zijn vader (de god van de wind Bāyu), zijn iconografie, en zijn relatie met andere goden. De analyse bevestigt een aantal van de aspecten die gevonden waren na de interpretatie van Bhīma's iconografische kenmerken, namelijk zijn beschermende rol en zijn relatie met onsterfelijkheid en het onsterfelijheidselixier. Die laatste twee zaken zijn vooral belangrijk in de contemporaine literatuur (*kidung*). De doctrines verbonden met het bereiken van onsterfe-

lijkheid hebben zowel een tantristisch-śiwaitische als een tantristisch-boeddhistische achtergrond. Beide richtingen waren manifestaties van hetzelfde principe.

De relatie tussen vader en zoon (Bāyu en Bhīma) die zichtbaar is in de iconografie van Bhīma, is ook belangrijk in de contemporaine literatuur (*kidung*) en komt daar voor in betrekking tot verlossingsdogma's en tantristische rituelen. In deze literatuur gaat het om Bhīma's innerlijke kracht en zijn zoektocht naar verlossing, waarbij hij ook in staat blijkt zelf te verlossen. Het verkrijgen van het levenselixer is daarbij essentieel. Ook op verschillende reliëfs waarop Bhīma voorkomt, spelen het levenswater en de verlossing een belangrijke rol. Het gaat dan om reliëfs uit het midden van de vijftiende eeuw waarin Bhīma duidelijk de protagonist is. Op eerdere reliëfs, gedateerd in het late midden van de veertiende eeuw, speelt Bhīma een onopvallende rol binnen zijn familie, en zijn enkele van zijn broers de protagonisten.

De iconografie van Bhīma wordt nauwelijks vermeld in de oudste literaire bronnen, de *parwa* en *kakawin*, maar in de contemporaine literatuur en de *stawa* speelt de iconografie wel degelijk een rol, een teken dat de iconografie toen bekend moet zijn geweest. Het is echter niet zo dat de vermelding van de iconografische kenmerken de vorm heeft van een canon zoals die tegenwoordig bestaat in de wajang, waar vorm en betekenis aan elkaar gerelateerd zijn.

Een relatie tussen Bhīma en Śiwa zoals die gelegd kan worden in de iconografie is niet te vinden in de literatuur, wel worden er relaties gelegd tussen Bhīma en de tantristisch-śiwaitische godheid Ardanāneśwarī en de tantristisch-boeddhistische godheid Bajrasattwa in respectievelijk de *kidung* en *stawa*. De relaties refereren wederom aan het tantristische karakter van Bhīma in die periode.

Het aantal inscripties op Bhīmabeelden is bijzonder klein, vijf in totaal. Ook is er nog een inscriptie op een reliëf waarop Bhīma de protagonist is en een oorkonde waarin Bhīma wordt genoemd. De oorkonde dateert niet uit de Majapahit-periode maar uit de tiende eeuw en beschrijft de feestelijkheden tijdens de instelling van een onbelast goed voor de instandhouding van een klooster. Bhīma is de protagonist in twee voorstellingen, waarvan één, een wajangvoorstelling, aan de godheid van het heiligdom gewijd is. Hieruit blijkt dat Bhīma in de tiende eeuw een geliefde protagonist was uit de *Mahābhārata*.

De korte inscripties op de Bhīmabeelden geven maar beperkte informatie over de verering van Bhīma. De inscripties zijn overwegend chronogrammen of jaartallen in cijfers. Duidelijk is wel dat in geval van één beeld, een geestelijk leidsman (*ācārya*), het beeld heeft gewijd. De inscriptie op de pedestaal van een ander beeld geeft aan dat Bhīma wordt gezien als een *bhatāra*, een godheid. De inscriptie op het Bhīmareliëf tenslotte geeft aan dat het heiligdom waarop het reliëf is aangetroffen een plaats was voor verlossing door middel van heilig water.

Deel 3 omvat de hoofdstukken 'Bhīmabeelden en terrasheiligdommen' (3.1) en 'De Majapahit-periode' (3.2). Het eerstgenoemde hoofdstuk omschrijft en interpreteert de terrasheiligdommen, die hoofdzakelijk in de latere Majapahit-periode ontstonden en waarop de Bhīmabeelden, een deel van de Bhīmareliëfs en de andere overblijfselen zijn gevonden. Het gaat in dit hoofd-

stuk vooral om de betekenis van de heiligdommen en de overblijfselen en om Bhīma's plaats op de heiligdommen.

Op basis van vergelijkbare heiligdommen op Bali kom ik tot de conclusie dat de heiligdommen, die vaak uit drie terrassen bestaan met op het hoogste en heiligste terras stenen bouwsels, een functie hadden die vergelijkbaar is met die van de Balinese tempel. Dat wil zeggen dat de verering van (vergodelijkte) voorouders op deze locaties belangrijk was. Heilig water of het levenselixer speelt hierbij een cruciale rol. Deze conclusie wordt bevestigd door op de heiligdommen gevonden beelden waaronder zich relatief veel beelden van vergodelijkte (koninklijke) voorouders bevinden. Ook het verkrijgen van het levenselixer wordt veelvuldig door middel van reliëfs, bouwsels, antefixen en beelden verbeeld of gesuggereerd. Naast de stenen bouwsels die herhaaldelijk in de vorm van een triplet voorkomen en mogelijk aan de Tripuruṣa (Wiṣṇu, Śiwa en Brahmā) waren gewijd, werden er ook veel neuten en beelden gevonden. De gevonden stenen neuten ondersteunden hoogstwaarschijnlijk houten schrijnen en open paviljoens.

Over Bhīma's plaats op de heiligdommen is vanwege het kleine aantal beelden waarvan de plaats vastgesteld kon worden, geen representatieve uitspraak te doen. Wel is het duidelijk dat de beelden hoofdzakelijk op het hoogste en heiligste terras werden gevonden.

De overige beelden op de terrasheiligdommen representeren hoofdzakelijk de śiwaïtische goden Gaṇeśa, Durgā en Bhaṭāra Guru, de śiwaïtische symbolen *lingga* en *yonī*, en wachters. Het śiwaïsme was duidelijk de dominante godsdienst in de latere Majapahit-periode, hetgeen ook al was gebleken uit eerder onderzoek. Van de goden komt vooral Gaṇeśa relatief veel voor. Van deze god, die vooral werd aangeroepen voor het doen slagen van ondernemingen en het vernietigen van vijanden, is bekend dat in latere tijd zijn stenen afbeeldingen werden beschouwd als voorouders.

Uit het feit dat er beelden van Bhaṭāra Guru zijn gevonden, kan worden opgemaakt dat er tantrisme werd beoefend. Bhaṭāra Guru is verbonden aan de beoefening van yoga. Echter, specifieke referenties naar ascetisme en kluisenaarschap zijn er weinig, behalve op de heiligdommen op de Lawu en op enkele verhalende reliëfs op Candi Kedaton en Candi Jago.

Hoofdstuk 3.2 gaat in op de Majapahit-dynastie, de belangrijkste politieke ontwikkelingen tijdens de Majapahit-periode, de mogelijke drijfveren achter het ontstaan van de Bhīma-verering, de datering, en een mogelijke betrokkenheid van leden van het koninklijk huis bij de verering.

De Majapahit-dynastie regeerde van 1294-1527 A.D. en bereikte haar grootse bloeitijd tijdens de regering van Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389 A.D.). Het rijk had toen gezag over belangrijke eilanden in de archipel en had handels- en andere contacten met bevriende rijken in Zuid-Azië, het vasteland van Zuidoost-Azië en met China. Majapahit had een grote aantrekkingskracht op priesters en monniken, vanwege de grote mate van godsdienstvrijheid en de vele schriftgeleerden die aan de dynastie verbonden waren.

Onder Hayam Wuruks opvolgers ging het slechter, in het bijzonder door een successieoorlog in het begin van de vijftiende eeuw maar ook door de toenemende economische macht van Malaka en door het verlies van gezag van de dynastie in de archipel. Toch bleven ook de opvolgers van Hayam Wuruk, zijn schoonzoon Wikramawardhana (1389-1429 A.D.) en zijn dochter koningin Suhīta (1429-1446 A.D.), lang op de troon. Pas na de regering van

Suhīta's broer Kṛtawijaya worden de opvolgingen schimmiger. Omdat er uit de vijftiende eeuw minder bronnen in de vorm van inscripties zijn, is er ook minder vat te krijgen op die periode. Wel is duidelijk dat er nog genoeg religieuze bouwactiviteit was, vooral op het gebied van terrasheiligdommen, en dat er literaire en religieuze activiteit was, met name gericht op verlossing.

Uit literaire bronnen en uit archeologische overblijfselen, in het bijzonder reliëfs, blijkt dat gedurende de Majapahit-periode een aantal protagonisten van de *Mahābhārata* en in het bijzonder de Pāṇḍawa en een deel van hun nakomelingen erg populair waren. De verhalen die aan de reliëfs ten grondslag liggen, zijn echter niet meer ontleend aan de *Mahābhārata*, maar zijn gebaseerd op de belangrijkste religieuze thema's van die tijd, ascetisme, het bereiken van verlossing, het verkrijgen van het levenselixer en exorcisme. De reliëfs worden in wajangstijl afgebeeld, wat aangeeft dat dit medium erg populair is.

Een contemporaine tekst refereert vele malen aan de Bhārata, de clan waartoe de Pāṇḍawa behoren, als voorouders van de belangrijkste Majapahit-vorst Hayam Wuruk. De vorst wordt zelfs gelieerd aan de oudste Pāṇḍawa, zodat we met enige zekerheid mogen aannemen dat de Pāṇḍawa als voorouders van de Majapahit-dynastie werden beschouwd. Bhīma is echter de enige Pāṇḍawa die gegeven het aantal beelden dat van hem bestaat vereerd werd. Aangezien uit de vorige hoofdstukken blijkt dat Bhīma's afkomst van Bāyu zowel iconografisch als literair belangrijk was tijdens de Majapahit-periode, is het vermoeden gerechtvaardigd dat zijn afkomst de belangrijkste reden was voor zijn verschijning in de periode, dit met name omdat de relatie tussen Bhīma en Bāyu verbonden is met verlossingsdogma's.

Gezien het feit dat de Pāṇḍawa als voorouders werden gezien en dat Bhīma's iconografie in de beelden voor een groot bepaald door de wajang is bepaald, geloof ik niet dat de verering van Bhīma van buitenaf beïnvloed werd. Toch zijn invloeden vanuit het contemporaine Zuid-Indiase koninkrijk Vijayanagara, waar sprake was van verering van Bāyu en zijn zonen Hanūmān en Bhīma op basis van een tantristische doctrine, niet helemaal uit te sluiten, er waren namelijk banden met Vijayanagara. Desondanks acht ik de mogelijkheid om de hierboven genoemde redenen bijzonder klein.

Wanneer wij ons baseren op iconografische bronnen kunnen wij vaststellen dat de Bhīmaverering zich hoogstwaarschijnlijk heeft ontwikkeld in de laatste decennia van de veertiende eeuw en heeft voortgeduurd tot het late midden van de vijftiende eeuw, waarbij gegeven het ontstaan van Bhīmaheiligdommen en het aantal beelden de populariteit het grootst was in het midden van de vijftiende eeuw. Omdat er geen tekstuele informatie is over degenen die bij de verering van Bhīma betrokken waren, kunnen daarover moeilijk uitspraken gedaan worden. Ik meen echter dat er sprake was van bemoeienis van het koninklijk huis en baseer dat op enkele iconografische kenmerken van de beelden en ook op bepaalde omgevingsfactoren, bijvoorbeeld het feit dat er in het geval van bepaalde Bhīmaheiligdommen gesproken kan worden van koninklijke patronage.

Ter afsluiting volgt nog een catalogus van alle behandelde afbeeldingen van Bhīma. Van elke afbeelding wordt een iconografische beschrijving gegeven, waarna de speciale kenmerken en stijlovereenkomsten worden besproken.

Curriculum vitae

Marijke Duijker werd op 27 september 1944 te Amsterdam geboren. In deze stad doorliep zij van 1956 tot 1960 de MULO. Zij volgde daarna een opleiding voor doktersassistente en medisch analiste. Na een aantal jaren in deze functies gewerkt te hebben, volgde zij van 1980 tot 1983 Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs aan de Joke Smit Scholengemeenschap voor Volwassenen te Amsterdam, dat zij met een eindexamen afsloot.

In 1984 begon zij een studie bij de Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië van de Universiteit Leiden en in 1988 rondde zij deze studie af met een doctoraalexamen.

Van oktober 1990 tot en met mei 1992 was zij vervolgens werkzaam voor het Inter Consultancy Bureau (Project afdeling Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië) van de Universiteit Leiden, eerst als freelance-medewerker en later als docent.

In 1995 ontving zij in het kader van haar Bhīma-onderzoek een reisbeurs van het NWO en van augustus tot en met september 1996 verrichtte zij veldwerk op Java.

Van februari 1997 tot en met februari 1999 was zij in het kader van haar Bhīma-onderzoek als gastonderzoeker verbonden aan het CNWS (Onderzoekschool voor Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Amerindische Studies) en gedurende het laatste trimester van 1997 werkte zij als docent archeologie bij de Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië.

Vanaf 2001 was zij als externe promovenda eerst verbonden aan Pallas (Instituut voor historische, kunsthistorische en letterkundige studies), en later (2008) aan het LUCID (Leids Universitair Instituut voor Culturele Disciplines).