

HELEN CREESE

## Old Javanese Studies A Review of the Field

For nearly two hundred years the academic study of the languages and literatures of ancient Java has attracted the attention of scholars. Interest in Old Javanese had its genesis in the Orientalist traditions of early nineteenth-century European scholarship. Until the end of the colonial period, the study of Old Javanese was dominated by Dutch scholars whose main interest was philology. Not surprisingly, the number of researchers working in this field has never been large, but as the field has expanded from its original philological focus to encompass research in a variety of disciplines, it has remained a small but viable research area in the wider field of Indonesian studies.

As a number of recent review articles have shown (Andaya and Andaya 1995; Aung-Thwin 1995; McVey 1995; Reynolds 1995), in the field of Southeast Asian studies as a whole, issues of modern state formation and development have dominated the interest of scholars and commentators. Within this academic framework, interest in the Indonesian archipelago in the period since independence has also focused largely on issues relating to the modern Indonesian state. This focus on national concerns has not lent itself well to a rich ongoing scholarship on regional cultures, whether ancient or modern. Indeed, as Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia) has developed as the national language, there has been a corresponding decline in the study of regional languages and cultures both in Indonesia itself and in the wider academic community. As a counterbalance, however, in the last decade there has been a recognition of the importance of earlier social, cultural and religious values for understanding contemporary culture in Southeast Asia, and a renewal of interest in the past (McVey 1995:5; Lombard 1995:11). For Indonesia, the field of Old Javanese studies has a significant role to play in this area.

This review of the field of Old Javanese studies aims to draw together details of scholarly work that has been published in scattered and sometimes relatively inaccessible sources. At the dawn of a new millennium, it is useful to evaluate what has been achieved, to draw attention to work that is currently being undertaken in a range of complementary fields, and to point to some potential developments within this field.

### The 'Field' of Old Javanese Studies

What exactly does the field of Old Javanese studies encompass? Traditionally, it has been rather narrowly defined. Work in the field has comprised mainly discrete studies of individual texts written in the language called Old Javanese. For the first hundred and fifty years or so of the study of the Old Javanese textual corpus, the focus was largely on the publication of editions of literary texts (the older and thus more 'authentic' the better). The epigraphical study of Old Javanese inscriptions was seen as a separate enterprise. Little effort was made to illuminate the texts for those who were unable to read the originals. Early publications in the field often comprised simply the text, sometimes in transcription, but frequently in the original Javanese script, without explanations or even a translation. The discussion of the content and context of each work was confined to an exposition of the extent to which Old Javanese poets had deviated from or violated the norms of Sanskrit poetics or philosophy. The whole tone thus tended to be one of highlighting the decline of civilization rather than celebrating its achievements.

In the post-war period, text editions have continued to appear intermittently, but there are so few scholars whose main interest is textual studies that progress in dealing with the sheer volume of available material has been slow. Hundreds of texts are stored in museums and libraries around the world. Most of them will probably never be properly documented, let alone studied. The trend away from the earlier focus on making primary source materials available has not meant the end of Old Javanese as a field of study, however. Instead, the field has expanded to encompass an increasing number of researchers working in cognate disciplines such as history, archaeology, anthropology, studies in religion, and art history.

One major problem with the definition of a field of Old Javanese studies lies in establishing its boundaries. P.J. Zoetmulder (1974:24) chose to define it in linguistic terms, that is, 'to take the term "Old Javanese" in its broadest sense, and to exclude from consideration only the literature in Modern Javanese'. He therefore went on to deal with both the Old Javanese prose works and *kakawin* and very briefly (in just thirty-two pages) the Middle Javanese *kidung* literature. From a linguistic point of view, I have adopted the same principle here, inserting a somewhat artificial and arbitrary barrier, largely based on genre, between the last extant Javanese *kakawin* from the late fifteenth century and the products of subsequent literary activity in Java itself, although there was admittedly never a clear divide between Old (and Middle) Javanese and later literature in Modern Javanese (McDonald 1980, 1986; Wiryamartana 1990; Supomo 1997).<sup>1</sup> I have, however, expanded the

<sup>1</sup> The Leiden-based newsletter *Caraka* provides regular information on publications in the

geographical and temporal boundaries of the field to include a substantial body of work from Bali, where Old Javanese traditions have continued to flourish until the present.

There are cogent reasons for including Bali, even twenty-first-century Bali, in this review essay. Writing in 1974, Zoetmulder (1974:382-406) devoted just one short chapter to the Balinese *kakawin* tradition, but at that time the full extent of Balinese *kakawin* writing and practice was not well understood. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, the study of Old Javanese in Bali became one of the major areas of study in the wider field of Old Javanese studies.

The widespread interest in Old Javanese in Bali is driven by its continuing relevance to contemporary Balinese culture and religion, and more recently, to definitions of Balinese identity. Old Javanese texts and traditions continue to be important in religious and social practice, as well as in artistic and ritual contexts. Because Bali remained largely untouched by the process of Islamization that affected its neighbours, the Hindu and Buddhist traditions reflected in Old Javanese literature have remained an integral part of its religious life. The rich Old Javanese textual heritage, which stretches back over one thousand years to pre-Islamic Java, has contributed to the continuing viability of the Balinese manuscript tradition. Its religious, moral and philosophical bases have remained central to Balinese world views. Not only does literature from ancient Java remain important, but Balinese poets have continued to produce literary works written in Old Javanese. In Bali, 'Old Javanese' remains a living tradition.

The term 'Old Javanese' does of course create considerable problems when dealing with Balinese materials, especially in their contemporary manifestations. The label 'Middle Javanese' for the language of *kidung* is equally problematic, since all the extant works appear to have been written in Bali rather than Java. In Bali itself, the term *kawi* is in general use, rather than Old and Middle Javanese. Nevertheless, the language of these Balinese texts, even those composed in the last few decades, is the same as that used in works from ancient Java. The particular historical circumstances surrounding the spread of Islam to Java make it necessary to relocate to Bali in order to continue the study of pre-Islamic 'Old Javanese' traditions. To avoid confusion, however, I have used the term 'Old Javanese' to refer to all work in the field, regardless of the time and place of origin of individual works under discussion.

In this short essay, I cannot hope to cover the field in its entirety or comprehensively. As a useful starting point, I have taken the publication, in 1974,

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wider field of Javanese literature. The KITLV's *Excerpta Indonesica* also provides comprehensive treatment of publications in the field.

of Zoetmulder's seminal work *Kalangwan; A survey of Old Javanese Literature*. Zoetmulder (1906-1995) was undoubtedly the most significant contributor to Old Javanese studies in the twentieth century. *Kalangwan* was the first extensive English-language account of Old Javanese literature. Over half the volume was devoted to the 'bread and butter' of Old Javanese philology – synopses of the plots of the major Old Javanese *kakawin* and discussion of their sources and authorship – but it also contained a wealth of information about the social and cultural world of ancient Java. It was, admittedly, the rather narrow world of court poets and their royal patrons, but nonetheless *Kalangwan* is a treasure trove of information that has probably not received the recognition it merits. In *Kalangwan*, which also appeared in Indonesian translation in 1983 (Zoetmulder 1983a), Zoetmulder deals with most of the earlier scholarship in Old Javanese literature, so this earlier work need not be considered again here.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, his focus on *belles-lettres* precluded the discussion of many other areas of study of which Old Javanese sources were an essential component and which properly belong to the 'field' of Old Javanese studies.

For largely practical reasons, I have restricted this survey to publications in which there is specific discussion of sources written in Old Javanese. A number of recent state-of-the-art publications have covered overlapping areas such as early history and literature (Poeze 1994; Teeuw 1994) and early Southeast Asian state formation (Tarling 1992; Reynolds 1995; Wisseman Christie 1995). It has only been feasible here to cover a selection of the most recent historical studies together with some Indonesia-related publications that were not included in these more general reviews. Because of the sheer volume of publications on Bali that could be classified as dealing with 'Old Javanese', it has been necessary to restrict this survey to academic studies of Old Javanese in its linguistic, literary and historical contexts. Many anthropological studies of Bali necessarily deal with Old Javanese (*kawi*), and Old Javanese traditions remain integral to most contemporary Balinese performing arts. Not only do these areas warrant separate reviews, but their coverage would take me too far from my own area of expertise.

It has also been necessary to restrict the discussion to the comparatively accessible products of commercial and scholarly publishing. The publication of literature in regional languages, including Old Javanese, has remained an important aspect of the Indonesian government's cultural agenda. Many

<sup>2</sup> I have chosen not to include references to most earlier studies in Old Javanese in this essay, partly for practical reasons to do with length, and partly to ensure that the current work being done in the field does not become buried under the weight of the work of earlier generations of scholars. Zoetmulder (1974; see especially Chapter 1, 'Old Javanese language and literature', pp. 3-67) provides a reasonably comprehensive and readily accessible coverage of these earlier contributions.

Indonesian publications comprise government reports with very limited circulation, however, and it is extremely difficult to document accurately the extent of the work that takes place in universities and government-sponsored cultural institutions in Java and Bali. D. Stuart-Fox's *Bibliography of Bali* (1992) is a useful source for Indonesian publications of Old Javanese material in Bali, but there is no comparable source for Java. Nor has it been possible to include systematically the considerable number of theses produced in universities in Java, Bali, the Netherlands, the United States and Australia where Old Javanese studies are taught.

This survey is divided into two parts, each with several sections. The first part covers the traditional domains of Old Javanese studies, the philological, linguistic, and manuscript bases of the field. Section 1, 'Text editions and translations', details publications of Old Javanese text editions in the last thirty years. Section 2, 'Codicology and manuscripts', discusses recent advances in the neglected field of codicology and includes descriptions of recent manuscript catalogues. The third section, 'Lexicography and linguistics', deals with work on Old Javanese language, of which the publication of new dictionaries is an important component.

In the second part, the focus shifts to discipline-based studies in a variety of fields in which Old-Javanese-language sources are the 'tools of the trade'. This part begins with 'Literary studies', followed by a brief discussion of publications on 'Religion and philosophy'. The section on 'Historical studies' is further subdivided into 'Epigraphy and early states' and 'Cultural and social history'. The final section is concerned with 'Art history'. To avoid excessive duplication, most studies are discussed under only one heading, although many, in fact, fit more than one category.

## Part I. Textual studies

### 1. Text editions and translations

In spite of the long history of Old Javanese studies, relatively few Old Javanese literary texts are available in reliable editions or translations. The textual editions that were published up until the 1970s are listed in Zoetmulder (1974:52). Several new editions, many of them of Balinese works, as well as a number of new editions of previously edited works, have been added in the last thirty years. Three major genres are represented in the corpus: prose works, epic poetry in Sanskrit-based metres (*kakawin*), and Middle Javanese poetry in indigenous metres (*kidung*). Each will be discussed separately.

(a) *Prose works*

Prose works in Old Javanese include the *parwa*, the tenth-century Old Javanese adaptations of the Sanskrit epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, and a number of related prose works mainly of a religious or didactic nature. Zoetmulder (1974:68-100) provides a detailed description of the major Old Javanese prose works, the earliest editions of which began to appear at the end of the nineteenth century, often without translation. An edition of the *Udyogaparwa*, the fifth book of the *Mahābhārata*, was published in 1993 (Zoetmulder 1993). The only remaining extant *parwa* that has not been edited is the *Sabhaparwa*. There is only one manuscript of this text available from the Merbabu collection, and it is in such poor condition that it is unlikely that an edition of the *Sabhaparwa* will be possible. Recently there has been a spate of new English translations of most of the *parwa* (Phalgunadi 1990, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1997), as well as the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (Phalgunadi 1999) and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (Phalgunadi 2000).

Partial editions of the *parwa*, particularly the first book, the *Ādiparwa*, have regularly been used in schools and tertiary institutions in Java and Bali for instruction in Old Javanese language. Balinese publishers have also produced a number of Indonesian translations of parts of the *Mahābhārata*, although, since the late 1980s, many of these have been translations of the Indian rather than the Old Javanese versions. A handful of later Middle Javanese prose works have been published or republished, including the *Pararaton* (Padmapuspita 1966; Phalgunadi 1996), *Tantri Kāmandaka* (Mardiarsito 1983), and *Calon Arang* (Suastika 1997).

(b) *Kakawin*

Imbued with Orientalist notions, pioneering scholars of Old Javanese literature worked systematically and chronologically through the corpus of available texts in their quest for the most ancient and authentic Javanese works. By the end of the colonial period, nearly all the Javanese *kakawin* that can be dated to the pre-Majapahit period had been edited, including the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Arjunawiwāha*, *Bhāratayuddha*, *Smaradahana*, *Hariwangśa* and *Bhoma-kāwya* (Zoetmulder 1974:52). Most had been translated into Dutch. Attention then turned to works from later historical periods. Since the 1960s, beginning with Th.G.Th. Pigeaud's major study of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (Pigeaud 1960-3), text editions have usually been produced in either English or Indonesian. Two major publishers have been involved in the production of text editions in English. The KITLV has published four *kakawin* in its Bibliotheca Indonesica Series. The first, the *Śiwarātrikalpa* (Teeuw et al. 1969), appeared in 1969, followed by the *Arjunawijaya* (Supomo 1977) and *Kuñjarakarna* (Teeuw and Robson 1981), and most recently, after a gap of seventeen years, by a Balinese *kakawin*, the *Pārthāyaṇa* (Creese 1998). S.O. Robson's new

translation of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, a welcome replacement for Pigeaud's often ambiguous 'diplomatic' translation (Pigeaud 1960-3), on which commentators have so long been dependent, was published in the KITLV's Verhandelingen Series (Robson 1995). In India, under the auspices of the International Academy of Indian Culture, four *kakawin* editions have appeared: the *Sutasoma* (Soewito Santoso 1975), *Rāmāyaṇa* (Soewito Santoso 1980), *Kṛṣṇāyana* (Soewito Santoso 1986), and *Bhāratayuddha* (Supomo 1993). A number of editions have appeared in Indonesian translation, including the *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* (Wirjosuparto 1960), I. Kuntara Wiryamartana's new edition of the *Arjunawiwāha* (1990), and the *Bhasa Sangupati Salukat* (Suata 1991). Religious and didactic works include the *Nitipraya* (Van Rijk 1996) and *Dharma Śūnya* (Palguna 1999).

Most recently, a new concept in Old Javanese textual publishing has been T.M. Hunter's *Blossoms of longing* (1998), a pocketbook-size anthology of Old Javanese love poetry selected from a number of Javanese *kakawin* intended for a general audience. In addition to extracts from the well-known *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Arjunawiwāha*, this anthology showcases a number of Javanese *kakawin* that had not previously been translated into English, namely the *Ghaṭotkacāśraya*, *Smaradahana*, *Pārthayajña*, *Sumanasāntaka*, and *Bhāṣa Tanakung*.

As Robson points out in his article in the present volume on the desirability of a new English translation of the *Arjunawiwāha*, there has been a tendency to consider *kakawin* that have already been edited and (even partially) translated as having been 'done', so that editors are inclined to look for something fresh. Nevertheless, in recent years, apart from Robson's own *Nāgarakṛtāgama* translation (1995), a number of other texts have been re-edited, including *Arjunawiwāha* in Wiryamartana's edition (1990) and P. Henry's partial translation of the same work (1986), as well as the *Bhāratayuddha* in S. Supomo's new English translation (1993). Editions and translations of the major Javanese *kakawin* have been published regularly in Bali in both Roman and Balinese script and with Balinese and/or Indonesian translations (see Stuart-Fox 1992:443-9).

New texts edited more recently usually belong to the Balinese rather than the Javanese tradition. Several editions and translations in Indonesian and English of Balinese *kakawin* works dating from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries have now been completed, many as doctoral theses. These include the *Subhadrāwīwāha* (Creese 1981), *Dimbhiwicitra* (Suastika 1985, 1986), *Candraberawa* (Suastika et al. 1986-7), *Kakawin Gajah Mada* (Pradotokusumo 1986), *Kṛṣṇāntaka* (Ando 1991), *Kēbo Tarunāntaka* (Supartha 1991), *Rāmakāṇḍa Śatrughna* (Bidja n.d.), and *Pārthāyaṇa* (Creese 1998). The interest in Old Javanese literature on the part of a new generation of Balinese scholars is a welcome development, as local interest in the cultural and liter-

ary heritage is crucial to the continuing viability of the study of the Old Javanese and Balinese textual heritage.

### (c) *Kidung*

In 1974, Zoetmulder (1974:407) noted that, since Berg's pioneering efforts in the 1920s and 1930s, scant attention had been paid to *kidung* literature. Over a quarter of a century later, the situation has not really improved. Since Robson's edition of the *Wangbang Wideya* (1971), only two *kidung* have been translated: the *Kidung Angling Darma* in G.W.J. Drewes' edition (1975), and the *Kidung Wargasari* in Margaret Fletcher's edition (1990). Even in Bali, *kidung* are rarely published.

## 2. Codicology and manuscripts

A large proportion of the Old Javanese manuscript corpus in Dutch collections had already been described by pioneering scholars such as J. Brandes and H.H. Juynboll by the beginning of the twentieth century. Later came Pigeaud's three-volume *Literature of Java*, which appeared between 1967 and 1970, followed by a *Supplement* in 1980. In the last twenty-five years, a considerable amount of additional cataloguing work has been produced to enhance and expand the contributions of these earlier scholars. New descriptions of manuscripts in European collections have been published (Pigeaud 1975; Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977, 1982; Hinzler 1986-7). Pigeaud's own *Supplement* to his earlier catalogue (1980) provided considerable additional information on the extant Old Javanese manuscript corpus in Bali. New interpretations of chronograms have been offered (Noorduyt 1993; Teeuw 1998). T.E. Behrend et al. (1998) have published a new descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Perpustakaan Nasional in Jakarta.

In the late 1970s, C.C. Hooykaas (1979) set up the Balinese Manuscript Project (also known as the Hooykaas-Ketut Sangka (HKS) Collection) to document and transcribe the Balinese textual corpus (see Pigeaud 1980:94-198, 212-41; Creese 1999:61-3). The project continues until the present. New insights into the extent and nature of the Balinese manuscript and literary tradition were gained as the project developed (Hinzler 1983). New textual works and new manuscripts of well-known texts were discovered, as, for example, two new manuscripts of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (Hinzler and Schoterman 1979), a text which had long been thought to exist in only one manuscript. More than six thousand manuscripts have now been transcribed. Not only have the more extensive descriptions supplemented earlier information, but they have changed the perception of Bali's role as the mere preserver of Old Javanese texts (Zoetmulder 1974:41-2). The richness of the Balinese tradition has become much clearer (Marrison 1986; Hinzler 1993; Rubinstein 1996a; Creese 1999). As a more reliable chronology has been

developed, it has been possible to provide insights into both the specific historical contexts of a number of individual works and the role of textual activity in Balinese politics more generally (Vickers 1982; Creese 1991, 1996; Rubinstein 1996b).

For the Javanese manuscript tradition, important new information about scriptoria in the Merbabu area has been advanced (Wiryamartana 1993). In their essay in the present volume, W. van der Molen and Wiryamartana provide further details of this Javanese literary centre. A facsimile edition of a later manuscript of the Old Javanese *Arjunawijaya*, *Serat Lokapali Kawi* (Cod. Or. 2048) has been produced (Arps and Van der Molen 1994). Most recently, G.E. Marrison (1999a, 1999b) has published descriptive catalogues of Sasak, Balinese and Javanese manuscripts from Lombok.

## 3. Lexicography and linguistics

By far the most important publication in the category of lexicography and linguistics is Zoetmulder's long-awaited *Old Javanese-English dictionary*, published by the KITLV in 1982. The publication of this dictionary has revolutionized work in the field of Old Javanese studies. The comprehensive textual base it incorporates allows for far more accurate interpretations of textual sources. An Indonesian translation of Zoetmulder's dictionary was published in 1995, rendering obsolete the considerable number of small Old Javanese dictionaries that had been published in Indonesia in the 1970s and 1980s and were based largely on Juynboll's Old Javanese word list (1923).

Zoetmulder's central role in Old Javanese studies covers not just literature and lexicography, but also linguistics. His Old Javanese grammar, *De Taal van het Adiparwa*, originally published in 1950, has remained the definitive grammatical study of Old Javanese for fifty years. It was reissued by the KITLV in 1983. The two-volume Indonesian version published under the title *Bahasa Parwa* (Zoetmulder and Pudjawijatna 1967) has recently been republished in a new edition (Zoetmulder and Pudjawijatna 1992-93). Similarly, Zoetmulder's two-volume Old Javanese reader, *Sekar Sumawur* (1958, 1963), has recently also been republished in Indonesia (Zoetmulder 1994-95). Supomo and Hunter are currently editing a companion anthology of *kakawin* excerpts selected by Zoetmulder before his death in 1995. This anthology is to be titled *Sekar Inikēt*. For English speakers two publications have been available: A.S. Teselkin's grammatical overview (1972) and M.S. Zurbuchen's prose anthology (1976).

A limited number of linguistic studies on aspects of Old Javanese language have appeared. E.M. Uhlenbeck has been the most prolific (1986, 1992, 1994). Others working in this area include Hunter (1988), A.K. Ogloblin (1991, 2000), A. Clynes (1994), and B.J. Hoff (1998).

## Part II. Literary, historical and cultural studies

### 4. Literary studies

The seminal character of *Kalangwan* in the field of Old Javanese literary studies has already been mentioned. Zoetmulder's study highlighted the value of Old Javanese texts both as literary works and as products of Javanese culture and society at different historical moments. Another recent general work is the Lontar Foundation's lavish and beautifully produced book on Indonesian manuscript traditions, *Illuminations* (Kumar and McGlynn 1996). *Illuminations* has three chapters relating specifically to Old Javanese studies: one on scripts and epigraphy by Hunter (1996), a general survey of Old Javanese literature by Supomo (1996), and a chapter on Balinese *lontar* traditions by R. Rubinstein (1996a). Indonesian overviews of Old Javanese literature have been written by I Wayan Simpen (1982), I Gusti Bagus Agastia (1987), and Umar Kayam (1997).

New academic paradigms in the field of textual studies that arose from postmodernism and deconstruction, post-colonial studies and, more recently, cultural studies, have led to a shift away from the critical methodology of classical philology to more text-centred approaches to textual works (Vickers 1986; Creese 1998; Rubinstein 2000). A.L. Becker (1995) has contributed substantially to the discussion of the wider theoretical issues. In view of the small number of textual studies in the last decade, however, the impact of these theoretical developments has yet to be measured. For Old Javanese, Robson's work on poetics (1983) and philological principles (1988) has contributed to the wider debates on textual practice in Indonesian studies that appeared in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* in the late 1970s to the mid 1980s (see Teeuw 1994:681). Van der Molen's study of the *Kuñjarakarna* (1983) examined the philological and codicological issues surrounding textual studies in Old Javanese. More recently this author has turned his attention to variation in the *Prasthānikaparwa* (2000). Philological aspects of the *Kuñjarakarna* have also been discussed by Wiryamartana (1984). Edi Sedyawati et al. (1995) have addressed the poetics and aesthetics of Old Javanese literature.

In the last quarter of a century, there has been a regular flow of articles dealing with a variety of Old Javanese literary texts, both prose and poetry. There is considerable overlap between literary analyses and discussions of religious and philosophical issues, as well as the cultural and social aspects of texts. Of all the extant Old Javanese *kakawin* works, the oldest Old Javanese literary work, the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, has continued to attract the greatest interest. Robson (1980) has argued convincingly for an earlier dating for this work, pushing its time of origin back to the mid ninth century. The problem of interpolation in the text of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* has

continued to exercise Uhlenbeck (1975, 1989). Vinod Khanna and Malini Saran (1993) and M. Nihom (1997) have discussed links to Indian *Rāmāyaṇa* traditions. In the art history field, A. Iyer (1997a) and C. Levin (1999a) have explored textual and visual representations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Another *kakawin* that has attracted considerable notice is the Majapahit Buddhist *kakawin*, the *Sutasoma*, with articles by J. Ensink (1974) and A. Hobart (1990), a PhD thesis by T. Aoyama (1994a), and K.P. O'Brien's extensive work (1988, 1988-89, 1990, 1990-91, 1993, 2000) on this text. The quintessential *kakawin* hero, Arjuna, has been the focus of studies by M. Lutzker (1984) and H. Creese (1998, Chapter 5). L.J. Sears (1984) and Zurbuchen (1991) have explored the transmission of epic traditions from India to Bali. Supomo (1985, 2000) has discussed the theme of love in *kakawin* poetry.

Prose works that have attracted attention include the *Ādiparwa* (Rengkung 1994), the Buddhist text *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (De Jonge 1974; Singhal 1991; Ishii 1991, 1992), Tantri stories (Bidja 1991), the *Swargarohanaparwa* (Schipper 1992), the *Aridharma* (Becker 1989), and the Balinese *Singhalangghyalaparwa* (Geria 1996). R.Ng. Poerbatjaraka's study of the *Agastyaparwa*, originally published in Dutch in 1926, has now been translated into Indonesian and recently republished (Poerbatjaraka 1992).

Pioneering scholars of Old Javanese invariably looked to India for origins in order to legitimize Javanese literary works in ancient Indian traditions. The twentieth century saw a shift away from this approach and a search instead for indigenous roots and examples of 'local genius'. Some of the recent work in Old Javanese literature has again focused the lens on India, this time, however, not as the elusive point of origin that earlier generations had pursued, often fruitlessly, but instead as a source of traditions and ideas that served to enrich cultural innovation. Studies in this area have included those by J.G. de Casparis (1988) on words of Indian origin in Old Javanese, Supomo (1995) on the early development of Sanskrit influence on Java, and a number of studies by scholars of India who have sought to clarify links between Sanskrit traditions and specific Old Javanese works. Notable in this area are the work of Lokesh Chandra on the *Kuñjarakarna* (1983, 1986) and Nihom's studies of a variety of texts, including the *Kuñjarakarna* (1994a), *Wṛhaspatitattva* (1995), *Rāmāyaṇa* (1996), and *Śiwarātrikalpa* (1997), as well as of Pali loanwords (1994b). Hunter's essay in the present volume continues this line of inquiry and attests to the value of looking again at earlier scholarship. He takes as his text the first *kakawin* edited in the mid nineteenth century, the *Wṛttasañcaya*, to offer new insights into Old Javanese versification. Other papers concerned with the study of Sanskrit by Old Javanese poets include those by J.A. Schoterman (1981), Tjokorda Rai Sudharta (1986), and A. Radicchi (1996) on Sanskrit grammars and lexicons. Rubinstein's monograph on Balinese *kakawin* composition (2000) deals extensively with texts

concerned with prosody and poetics, including the *Canda*, the *Bhāṣapraṇa* and the *Swarawyañjana*.

As is the case with text editions, the wider study of *kidung* continues to attract little interest. Robson (1979) has considered the possible dating of a number of *kidung*. The only major recent study of the *kidung* genre remains A.H. Vickers' study of the *Kidung Malat* (1986).

### 5. Religion and philosophy

Old Javanese religious and philosophical texts have rarely been the subject of detailed study. A wealth of material awaits further exploration. The esoteric and difficult nature of both the content and the language of these texts, as well as the Balinese rather than Javanese focus of many of them, are factors that have contributed to the lack of interest in this sub-field. Only a handful of scholars have worked in this area, including T. Goudriaan (1978; Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971) and Hooykaas (1964, 1966), who published a number of textual editions and studies of Balinese religious works written in *kawi*. Haryati Soebadio's English edition and translation of the *Jāna-siddhānta* (1971) has now been translated into Indonesian (1985). A number of studies have been concerned with the interpretation of religious teachings. In their edition of the *Kuñjarakarna*, A. Teeuw and Robson (1981:9-37) present a detailed analysis of the Buddhist religious teachings contained in the poem. Zoetmulder (1991) contributed a paper on the *triwarga* in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana*; I Made Purna et al. (1993) have studied the didactic works *Striśāsana* and *Putraśāsana*; I Gusti Ketut Gede Arsana et al. (1992) have considered the *Dharma Sasana*; D.E. Weatherbee (1994) has discussed the concepts of *aṣṭabrata* and *saptadewawṛtti* in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*; and M.M. Sukarto K. Atmodjo (1991-2) has examined the tortures of hell in the *Kuñjarakarna*. In addition to textual analyses, a number of cross-disciplinary studies, combining archaeology and art history, have sought to illuminate ancient Javanese religion by making more extensive use of architectural and iconographical sources (Jordaan 1989, 1991a, 1991b, 1996, 1997; Santiko 1989, 1997; Handari 1994; Dowling 1992, 1994). The most interesting results are being achieved in this area.

In Bali, a strong interest in the religious and moral principles contained in the ancient literature has emerged. There have been a significant number of recent translations and editions of Old Javanese didactic and philosophical texts, such as *Sarasamuscchaya*, *Ślokāntara* and *Wṛṣpatitattwa*, most of which have been published in Bali. Not surprisingly, these kinds of texts have come to enjoy considerable popularity, as Balinese seek to establish a textual basis for increasingly orthodox Hindu practices. Increasing numbers of Indonesian translations of Indian Hindu texts, both ancient and modern, including the Sanskrit epics, are available in bookshops in Bali. These trends

suggest that new interpretations of religious works in the future are likely to be more doctrinal than academic.

### 6. Historical studies

This category is one of the more difficult to deal with comprehensively, as the boundaries between the study of Old Javanese sources and the study of the societies that produced them often become blurred. History, particularly that of the early period, is a field in which few scholars work. As in the case of literary studies, there have been few researchers with the necessary linguistic and discipline-based skills to build on the early descriptive work of pioneering scholars. On the whole, historians must still rely on pre-war classic texts such as those of N.J. Krom (1931) and G. Coedès (1968). While a considerable amount of work has been done on Southeast Asia as a whole, and the study of early history has undergone something of a revival under the impetus of broader comparative frameworks (see Wisseman Christie 1995; Reynolds 1995; Aung-Thwin 1995; Andaya and Andaya 1995), Indonesia-specific work remains somewhat scarce. The fragmentary and problematic nature of the sources available for this period continues to hamper progress. Nevertheless, a number of important studies have recently appeared that make use of Old-Javanese-language sources.

#### (a) Epigraphy and early states

The number of researchers working on epigraphical sources is critically low. For the most part, scholars are still dependent on the limited and now often outdated translations of earlier generations of scholars. The most important studies in epigraphical work are those by De Casparis (1975, 1981, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c), Boechari (1979, 1980, 1986), N.C. van Setten van der Meer (1979), and A. Barrett Jones (1984). Lokesh Chandra has presented a brief reinterpretation of one inscription (1977). Other work on the Central Javanese inscriptions includes studies by Djoko Dwiyanto (1986), T.S. Nastiti et al. (1982), and Sukarto K. Atmodjo (1975, 1986). L.-C. Damais' important studies on the dating of Old Javanese inscriptions and manuscripts have recently been reissued (Damais 1990, 1995). In the present volume, J. van den Veerdonk, whose recent PhD thesis (1996) analysed the inscriptions from the Singhasari and Majapahit periods, discusses curses in the Singhasari period.

A number of scholars have made use of Old Javanese textual materials in their work on the Javanese kingdoms of the pre-Islamic period. The most prolific scholar in the area of the early Javanese state is J. Wisseman Christie. Her review of state formation in early maritime Southeast Asia published in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* in 1995 surveys the wider Southeast Asian context at that time, and I will not cover the same ground again here. Because the major indigenous sources for this period comprise



inscriptions which deal almost exclusively with taxation and land grants, interest in early states is slanted towards economic history. Wisseman Christie's own recent work (1993a, 1993b, 1996, 1998) has continued to be mainly concerned with economic factors, including trade, marketing and money. Other relevant papers on the early economic history of Java include work by Nastiti (1994) on market systems, A. Roxas-Lim (1994) on irrigation systems, and A. van Aelst (1995) on coinage.

There is a considerable amount of ongoing research in archaeology departments in Indonesia, but as the results are generally presented in local seminars and in-house publications, it is not really possible to indicate here the extent of the contribution of local scholars. One significant recent publication that brings together the work of both Indonesian and foreign scholars is the proceedings of a conference on precious metals in early Southeast Asia (Kal 1999), which contains a number of important papers dealing with gold, including those by H.I.R. Hinzler (1999), Levin (1999b), and S.S. Satari (1999).

#### (b) Cultural and social history

Sources for the study of pre-Islamic Javanese cultural and social history are extremely fragmentary. Apart from the epigraphical sources mentioned above, there are very few documentary sources. Ever since its publication in the early 1960s, historians have therefore relied almost exclusively on Pigeaud's *Java in the fourteenth century* (1960-3), in which the author presents an exhaustive analysis of Prapañca's *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, a *kakawin* written in 1365. The central role of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* is attested by the number of publications that have focused on the Majapahit period, including work by J. Noorduyn (1978), Supomo (1979, 1995), C.J.G. Holtzappel (1986), T. Aoyama (1992, 1994b), K.R. Hall (1996, 2000), Soebadio (2000), and Creese (2000a). The recognizably historical character of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* has made it the most 'acceptable' historical source, in spite of the considerable methodological problems the text presents. Similarly, the undated *Pararaton*, which describes the final downfall of the Majapahit dynasty, has enjoyed a certain credibility. Few historians, however, have paid attention to the more obviously literary works, even those that can be accurately dated. This is in fact one area in which Old Javanese studies has much to contribute.

Since the publication of *Kalangwan* (Zoetmulder 1974), there has been little doubt that in spite of the Sanskrit settings and mythological stories, Old Javanese *kakawin* poetry reflects the Javanese or Balinese world. It has become common practice for editors of text editions to consider the cultural and social context of the textual works under study. The Majapahit countryside and physical landscape have been discussed in the editions of the *Siwarātrikalpa* (Teeuw et al. 1969) and *Arjunawijaya* (Supomo 1977). Supomo's study of the *Arjunawijaya* contains important information on the royal

palace and religious foundations in Majapahit Java (Supomo 1977:49-68). The physical environment of Old Javanese texts in general terms has been described by A. Day (1994). Wiryamartana has considered the sea in Old Javanese literature (1992).

As well as the physical environment, Old Javanese literary works contain a wealth of information on political and social ideals. Robson (1981) has studied the cultural history of Java in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Javanese kingship has been the focus of studies by Supomo (1979, 1981), P.J. Worsley (1991), and J.J. Ras (1991). *Kidung* have proved to be useful sources in studies of precolonial Balinese polities (Vickers 1986; Creese 1997), as well as for the roles of women in precolonial Balinese society (Creese 2000b). The performing arts have also attracted interest. Robson's edition of the *Wangbang Wideya* (1971:32-9) includes an analysis of the performing arts mentioned in that text. Sedyawati (1993), Siti S. Kolimah (1996) and Timbul Haryono (1997) have written articles detailing the performing arts depicted in Old Javanese inscriptions.

New insights into the cultural and social history of more recent historical periods have been gained in the ongoing research into literary practices centring on Old Javanese texts in Bali. Some of the advances concern the vocalizing of texts and music in contemporary contexts, such as in the studies by R.H. Wallis (1980) on textual recitation, Zurbuchen (1987, 1991) on *wayang*, and R. Schumacher (1995) and Rubinstein (1992) on *kakawin*. Rubinstein's work (1996b, 2000) on the practice of *kakawin* in Bali has provided new knowledge about the importance of the *kakawin* genre in Balinese literary life through the centuries down to the present. This work, detailing Balinese textual practices that have close ties to ancient Java, may well be of use to scholars looking at the less well-documented pre-Islamic historical periods. Old Javanese literary sources, in fact, form a virtually untapped reservoir awaiting more extensive analysis. Two articles in the present volume consider the potential of texts for historical and cultural studies, as well as the methodological problems they present. Supomo looks at contemporary life as depicted in the thirteenth-century *Sumanasāntaka kakawin*. Creese evaluates the evidence for the deaths of women in ritual suicides (*sati*) throughout the Old Javanese period.

#### 7. Art history

This final section turns the spotlight on the area in which some of the most innovative work is currently being done. New studies of architectural monuments, temple reliefs and iconography by a number of art historians are continuing to bring to light a great deal of new information about the ancient Javanese world and the world view of the societies that built such awe-inspiring monuments as the Buddhist temple at Borobodur and the Siwa



complex at Prambanan. Recent studies of these two temple complexes are leading to a far deeper insight into the Central Javanese period.

The correspondence between the stories that survive in Old Javanese texts and the narrative reliefs on temples from the Central and East Javanese periods has long been recognized. A number of recent textual editions have sought to contribute to a broader understanding of the cultural interests of pre-Islamic Java by considering products of the visual arts. In their study of the *Śiwarātrikalpa*, Teeuw et al. (1969) include a section by Th.P. Galestin on Balinese illustrations; the *Kuñjarakarna* edition (Teeuw and Robson 1981) has an essay on the Candi Jago reliefs by A.J. Bernet Kempers; and Drewes' study of the *Angling Darma* (1975) includes some discussion of the reliefs of Candi Jago, a subject also recently discussed by Hunter (2000). Worsley (1986, 1995) has made a study of the *Arjunawiwāha* reliefs on Candi Surawana. While these earlier studies have proceeded from the textual to the visual, recent work is proceeding in the opposite direction, from the visual to the textual.

One of the major contributors to this field is M.J. Klokke. Her work on Tantri reliefs (1993) was the first major study of the kind, and she has published a number of related studies (Klokke 1991, 1992, 1995; Klokke and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1994). Sedyawati has made an important contribution in this area with her work on Gaṇeśa statuary (1994). I Wayan Redig (1996) has also considered Gaṇeśa. Borobodur has provided a focus for the study of Buddhist traditions in the Central Javanese period (Ishii 1991; Fontein 2000). J. Fontein (1989) has also explored the relationship between Borobodur reliefs and textual sources. R.E. Jordaan (1993) has considered the relationship between Buddhism and the Prambanan complex. The *Rāmāyana* reliefs at Prambanan have provided the particular focus for a number of studies (Sedyawati 1993; Iyer 1996, 1997a, 1997b; Levin 1999a, 1999b, 2000). The East Javanese *Arjunawiwāha* reliefs have been analysed by L. Kieven (1997); and the *Kṛṣṇāyana* reliefs are considered by Fontein (1997) and Moertjipto and Bambang Prasetyo (1997). The recent publication of a collection of essays under the title *Narrative sculpture and literary traditions in South and Southeast Asia* edited by Klokke (2000a) showcases some of the important current work in this area. Kieven (2000) considers representations of the heroes Arjuna, Bhima and Pañji at Candi Kandalisada. And there are several papers dealing with narrative traditions such as the *Rāmāyana* (Levin 2000), *Kṛṣṇāyana* (Klokke 2000b), and Tantri tales (Patil 2000).

#### *Further directions in Old Javanese studies*

The potential of Old Javanese sources for elucidating the Javanese and Balinese past is only just beginning to be realized. A great deal of work is being

done under the umbrella of Old Javanese studies. The attached list of references includes over two hundred monographs, articles and academic theses that have been published in the last thirty years. Most of these are aimed at a small, specialized audience of experts. There is a pressing need for comparative studies and greater synthesis if scholars in other disciplines are to find Old Javanese a useful resource in their own areas of study. There is no denying that definitive interpretations will continue to be hampered by the scant and fragmentary evidence of the sources. The methodological hurdles are indeed formidable. However, as the work in the sub-fields of art history and cultural and social history suggests, new conjunctions and more imaginative uses of the sources by a new generation of researchers may lead to better understandings. The multi-disciplinary nature of many of the more innovative studies reviewed here suggests that progress in the field will continue steadily as a result of the relaxing of discipline boundaries and interpretive frameworks as well as the recognition that there is much to be gained from a broad approach to sources. The essays presented in this volume indicate some of these new directions.

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