

affairs, like Arjuna who is a *ksatria* (warrior) Dipanagara's quest was motivated as much for attaining spiritual wisdom as obtaining concentrated, mystical powers in order to bring about an integrated social order. Dipanagara's penance involved the shedding of all vestiges of self-pride and selfish motives by removing all princely trappings, associating with peasants, laborers and humble village teachers, visiting holy sites and mediating in caves. All these efforts was intended to bring himself in harmony with the forces immanent in the cosmos. It is noteworthy that Dipanagara (like Erlangga and Arjuna before him) did not seek revelation in a *kraton* temple or mosque but in isolated, inaccessible mountains and caves. He avoided the company of established religious and political leaders. Moreover, his most intense *tapas* was undertaken in secrecy and seclusion inside the cave said to be the abode of Nyai Loro Kidul, the guardian spirit of all Java, goddess of the southern sea, protectress of Javanese rulers. Thus, in seeking to restore moral and social order in the kingdom, Pangeran Dipanagara received his revelation not from any Hindu-Buddhist or Muslim god, but from the indigenous female deity, Nyai Loro Kidul. It is thus understandable why for Dipanagara's intense soul-searching and yogic exertions, the imagery of the cave was the most suitable setting.

I shall deal with only three examples of bathing places to illustrate how the two pan-Indian themes of Mahameru and the search for *moksa* have been re-interpreted within the Javanese value system and historical experience. Some of these bathing places may have been part of ancient water control systems. However, present archaeological evidence is not sufficient to support the view that large scale irrigation systems were carried out in any sustained basis in large areas of Java as claimed by Maclaine-Pont.⁶⁸ As for historical records, the evidence from inscriptions from about the 5th C. A.D. to the 15th C. A.D. only give sporadic, indirect or tangential reference to waterworks.⁶⁹ Be that as it may, we can assume that bathing places were part of some form of waterworks however small in scale they might have been. Our discussion will focus on the religious symbolism rather than the technological aspects and the manner by which society was organized to build and maintain these waterworks.

Earlier in this essay, we have already alluded to the fact that Javanese kings considered it part of their duty to build and maintain dams and other irrigation systems.

Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java, A Study of the Late Mataram Period, 10th to the 19th C.*, Cornell University, SEAsia Program, Ithaca, N.Y.: 1968, 78-82.

⁶⁸ Ir. H. Maclaine-Pont, "Eenige oudheidkundige gegevens omtrent den middeleeuwschen bevoingstoestand van de zoogenaamde 'Woeste gronden van de lieden van Trik' voor zoover zij wellicht van belang zullen Kunneznign voor eene herziening vander tegen woordigen toestand," *O.V.*, 1926, 100-129.

Although the Tuk Mas inscription only mentions a spring that wells up like the Ganges, it is relevant to our discussion on bathing places for it is one of the earliest evidences of Hindu-Buddhist symbolism which have something to do with water and springs. There are 16 motifs carved over this short inscription most of them became emblems of royal authority and power of which the trīṇḍala is by far the most significant.⁷⁰ F.D.K. Bosch demonstrated that the trīṇḍala or trident is Shiva's symbol of power as provider of water. According to Bosch, a common theme runs through the various legends concerning Hindu deities, Muslim saints and indigenous, local culture heroes in Java. Shiva as Mahaguru and Agastya have attributes such as the trident and a *kundika*, a jar. Similarly, the Muslim saints who propagated Islam into the interior of Java such as Sonan Bonang and Sonan Kalijaga are invariably portrayed as carrying a *chis* (Arabic, for staff). The Javanese culture hero, Ki Ayar Windusuna was said to have used his cigarette (his thumb, or phallus) to cause the appearance of the curative spring at Tuk Pujan on the western slopes of Mt. Merbabu, a mountain visible from Candi Prambanan near Yogyakarta. All of these deities, saints and heroes have the ability to bring forth miraculously a source of water. However, in some exceptional cases, the same power may be used as a punitive measure to punish the community. Whenever the community fails to fulfill its obligations, or society becomes rife with dissension and violence, the gods could cause devastating floods.⁷¹

The ability to bring forth and harness water for the benefit of society has always been an essential technical ability that rulers were expected to possess. The trident or trīṇḍala, the *chis*, the *kundika* (of

⁶⁹ There are very few inscriptions which specifically mention the building of waterworks and even then, they are far in-between. Most of the inscriptions deal with the establishment of the *sima*. If ever there is any mention of waterworks or irrigation at all, it is only incidental. For instance, in the usual closing section of the inscription there is a warning to those who might dare disobey the stipulations of the document that they will be "thrashed against the dikes," or "drowned in the ditches," etc. There are also mentioned people connected with some form of waterworks like tax collectors on the use of waterworks, or some of the witnesses on the occasion of the founding of the *sima* were people in-charge of maintenance of dams, or other similar irrigation works.

⁷⁰ The 16 emblems are: a wheel, shell, trīṇḍala or trident, *kundika* or water-jar, dagger, an axe, 2 knives and 4 lotus rosettes. All of these emblems are sacred to Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism. *IHJK*, I, 165. The Sanskrit inscription was written in Pallava script and was translated by H. Sarcar as follows: "... Originating from pure or bright lotuses. . . gushes out this spring which is as purifying as the Ganges, coming out in some places from stone and sand. . . in others spreading its auspicious and cool water. . ."

H.B. Sarcar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum)*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1972, vol. I, 13-15. Sarcar dates this inscription to the mid-7th C. while N.J. Krom dated it to mid-5th. following Vogel's dating.

⁷¹ F.D.K. Bosch, "Guru, Trident and Spring," *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, The Hague: 1961, 153-170.

Agastya) epitomize the king's technical and magical ability. In Hindu-Buddhist philosophy, specially the Tantric schools, it is considered as a manifestation of potency. Whoever possesses the trīṇḍa is also able to reveal the mysteries and energies of the cosmos. These qualities form some of the most important bases for legitimizing royal authority.⁷²

It is significant that one of the earliest inscriptions in Java the Taruma inscription (issued by Purnavarman ca. 450 A.D.) attributes to the king the digging of canals in order to divert the river, a deed which he was said to have accomplished in a short period of 21 days.⁷³ There is however a gap of over 200 years before inscriptions which specifically mention the building of waterworks recur and only in East Java. A series of 3 inscriptions deal with waterworks which refer to the flood-prone areas in the foothills of Mt. Kelud, Kediri, East Java. The Harinjing inscription mentions the building of dams and canals (804 A.D.) followed by the Tulodong inscription (921 A.D.) and the Kamalagyan Inscription of 1037 A.D. which refer to repair and upkeep of the waterworks.⁷⁴ The Kandangan inscription (1350 A.D.) mentions that Lord Matahun Wijayarajasa had a dam erected and then a temple dedicated to Shiva was built which was inaugurated at the same time as the completion of the dam.⁷⁵ The Kamalagyan inscription of 1037 A.D. attributed to King Erlangga mentioned that the King had dikes built in order to prevent the flooding of the Brantas river, relieve the suffering of the surrounding *desas* (villages) and to benefit the farmers, ship builders, pilots, ship captains and merchants coming from the other islands, and that having done this good deed, he was revered as Bhatara Guru.⁷⁶ In the Prasasti Sumengka (dated ca. 1059 A.D.) also issued by King Erlangga we learn that facilities were built to control the Brantas river, part of its water was diverted into a tank, furthermore, the king who was addressed as "paduka mpungku bhatara guru" had a holy bathing place built and then he became an ascetic.⁷⁷ His place of retreat was called Pawitra which must have been located on the eastern slope of Mount Penanggungan. The bathing place referred to in this inscription could be Belahan.

We shall not dwell in detail on this very well-known site of Belahan, nor on the controversy surrounding its dating and attribu-

⁷² Bosch, 168.

⁷³ H. Th. Varstappan, "Purnavarnan's Riverworks," *BKI*, 128, 1972, 298-307.

F.H. van Naerssan and R.C. de Jongh, *The Economic and Administrative History of Early Indonesia*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977, 24-25.

⁷⁴ van Naerssan, 25-27, 56-57.

⁷⁵ P.V. van Stein Collarfels, "De Inscriptie van Kandangan," *T.B.G.*, LVIII, 1919, 337-347.

⁷⁶ van Naerssan, 59-60.

⁷⁷ van Naerssan, 60-61.

tions.⁷⁸ We shall instead deal with the major themes represented by the statues and the architectural program of the bathing place. The central statues of this bathing place which overlook the main pools consist of Vishnu on Garuda, flanked by goddesses Çri and Lakshmi the latter's 2 front hands hold her breasts whose nipples function as waterspouts. Vishnu on Garuda represents the most benevolent of the Hindu triad, for Vishnu the preserver and protector of humanity is carried by no less than Garuda, the liberator who freed his mother Vinata from slavery by stealing the elixir of immortality, Amerta. Garuda stole Amerta from his enemies, the nagas who were guardians of the magic potion which was kept inside a cavern in the bottom of the ocean. We must also recall that Amerta was originally obtained through the combined efforts of the gods and devas by churning Mt. Mandara (or Meru) which was used as the pivot, while Ananta, the snake served as the churning rope. Vishnu in his incarnation as *kurma* (the tortoise) acted as the base to keep Mt. Mandara stable.⁷⁹ Whether Belahan is the memorial monument to King Erlangga or to King Sindok, the symbolism of the bathing place is an excellent illustration of the symbiosis of received and native ideas. Vishnu on Garuda is a most apt portrayal of redemption. But redemption in this sense seems to be closer to the indigenous conceptions of *lukat*, rather than the more abstract and sublime conceptions of *Nirvana* "nothingness." The exorcist rituals which releases one from a curse or ill-fortune.⁸⁰ Vishnu on Garuda in this sense is also the ancestral, protective guardian spirit whose beneficent influences work through the ritual re-enactment of Garuda who fought for the liberation of his mother, Vinata. The fact that Vishnu is flanked by Çri and Lakshmi signify that the rewards of redemption are fertility and wealth, the major objectives of *lukat* or *ruwat* rites, and certainly

⁷⁸ Th. A. Resink, "Belahan or a Myth Dispelled," *Indonesia*, 6, Oct. 1968, 2-37.

⁷⁹ *The Amerthamantana*, myth of the creation of Amerta, the elixir of immortality is found in the 1st book of the *Mahabharata*. It is known in Indonesia as "Pamutaran Susu Laut," the churning of the Ocean of Milk. However, in the Javanese and Balinese versions, the elixir emerged not from the ocean but from the mountain.

R. Soekmono, "Amerthamantana," *Amerta*, 1, 35-39.

One of the goddesses whose breasts function as waterspouts could also be compared to Devantari, the goddess who emerged from the churning of the ocean bearing the shell containing Amerta. The consort of Vishnu, Çri Lakshmi is represented in the bathing place as two separate figures.

⁸⁰ "lukat" or "ruwat" literally means, "to let loose," "to be free," specifically from a curse or ill-fortune, illness, etc. Javanese word *muksa* literally means "to disappear, lose one's physical body" therefore closer to the meaning of *lukat* than the Sanskrit word *moksa* in the context of Hindu-Buddhist philosophy.

J. Gonda, "Old-Javanese literature," *Hundbuch der Orientalistik: Litteraturen*, Leiden: E.J Brill, 1976, 199-201.

Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java, A Study of the Late Mataram Period, 16th to 19th C.*, Ithaca: Cornell University, 1968, 160,

the primary goal of animist worship as far as most ordinary lay people are concerned. We must not however discount that on another level, the deity portrayed is not simply a localized, clan deity but the supreme and universal god, Vishnu who bestows life-giving, purifying and healing waters in the form of Amerta.

In Hindu iconography, Vishnu represents the sun and together with *vahana* (vehicle) Garuda, they soar up and cover the expanse of the heavens. Vishnu and Garuda are the embodiment of the uranic forces of the universe eternally struggling against the chthonic forces represented by the nagas.⁸¹ Thus we see, the universalizing process by which intrusive cultural ideas functioned to elevate and expand, isolated, particularized events and deities making them part of a universal, cosmic order.

The next bathing place we shall discuss is located in Simbatan Wetan, near Magetan, east of Madiun on the foothills of Gunung Lawu about 400 meters above sea level. It is a very fertile area with abundant water supply which is planted to rice, soy beans, peanuts, corn and other crops. The area abounds in traces of temple stones consisting of makaras, spout figures and other architectural parts.⁸² The bathing place of Simbatan Wetan which is fed by underground springs is a rectangular pool measuring about 13.40 m. by 12 m. and 3 m. deep at the east corner and 4 m. deep at the west end. At the east end of the pool is a stairway which leads down to another but smaller basin 1.40 m. sq. which is lined with worked stone walls. At the back wall of this smaller basin located inside the larger one, is a statue of a two-armed goddess about 58 cm. ht. with both hands supporting her breasts and the nipples function as spouts, similar to the Çri and Lakshmi statues found at Belahan. Right above this female goddess, Çri is a kala head about 1 m. wide.⁸³ I would identify

⁸¹ Gosta Liebert, *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976.

J. Gonda, *Visnuism and Sivaism, A Comparison*, London: 1970, 71-76.

⁸² Krom, *Inleiding*, II, 310-312.

⁸³ The Çri or Lakshmi statue of Simbatan Wetan is flanked by two simple lotus bud spouts with the Kala head above. Unlike the female spout figure at Belahan, the Simbatan Wetan statue stands unadorned without an aureole or parasol. It is also less articulated with simpler ornamentation, and is proportionately more squat than the Belahan statues. As for the Kala head, in contrast to the Central Javanese Kala heads and that of Belahan Kala spout stone, the Simbatan Wetan is without a lower jaw, limbs, horns and fangs. Instead it is treated more as stylized foliage.

Stylistically, Belahan is dated to the 10th C. or even earlier. Similar female spout figures are found in Sadon, Sarangan (in Kabupaten Madiun, east side of Gunung Lawu), in Kediri area and Goa Gajah, Beduhulu, Bali.

The site where Belahan bathing place is located on a narrow, triangular shaped terrain about 800 m. long with the base of the triangle about 400 m. long at the north, and the apex of the triangle at the South. (See sketch based on Resink). The only extant bathing place is at the South end marked F in Resink's map. Nearby is another bathing place (now destroyed) marked E. On a higher ground are remains of a small temple marked G. Due north about 300 m.

this statue as a variant of the goddess of fertility. The statue of Çri and the Kala head on the wall of the smaller basin is submerged in water most of the year except for one day when the villagers celebrate the ritual of *slametan bersih desa*, cleansing rites of the village. This ritual is held on *jun'at pahing* (actually Thursday night is considered Friday) on the last full moon of the year. The ceremony is characterized by feasting, dancing, singing and a great deal of gaiety all around the desa. To prepare for the ritual, the villagers gather rice, goats or sheep, bamboo ornaments, baskets containing food and flowers and pails and other water containers. Female dancers are engaged from outside the village and gamelan orchestra is commissioned. At an appointed time, all the villagers empty the pool of its water using baskets and pails. As much as 70-100 men work continuously in draining the pool. The moment the first fish is caught from the pool, gamelan playing and dancing start. The male dancers drawn from among the villagers drink wine while they dance with the women dancers. They continue to dance with much fanfare until the pool is entirely drained of water to reveal the statue of Çri and the kala head on the wall of the smaller basin. Once the statue is revealed, the festivities and fanfare reach a crescendo then as the music subsides they wait for the pool to slowly fill up again with water which takes almost the whole night. According to the villagers, the pool has never been found dry.

We are not certain whether the smaller basin with the female spout figure was submerged underwater in ancient times, nor of its exact relation to the other structures which were probably built on the site. What is clear however is that Simbatan Wetan shares with Belahan the dominant theme of Amerta, the purifying and rejuvenating water as bestowed by Visnu consort, Çri Lakshmi. The presence of Çri or Lakshmi as the main cult image who is treated as a spout figure at Simbatan Wetan shows strong Tantric tendencies. We shall have more to say about Tantrism at Simbatan Wetan later. But as far as water symbolism is concerned, it is noteworthy that the goddess is flanked to two lotus buds as water spouts. The lotus is the most pervasive symbol of sacred, purifying and revivifying waters in Hindu-Buddhist tradition all over Asia.⁸⁴ Moreover, above the Çri or Lakshmi

away from the extant bathing place are remains of a large basin with a cave nearby. At the extreme end of the very rough triangular terrain are two adjacent walled courtyards with gateways, marked A and B in the map. Adjacent to these two walled courtyards and located on higher ground is another walled courtyard marked C with remains of a small temple, and a *bale* (house or any structure which is not a temple), and 3 tiny altars set in a row in front of the temple. The terrain is very rough and slopes to the west. See:

Th. A. Resink, "Belahan or a Myth Dispelled," *Indonesia*, Oct. 1968, No. 6, Ithaca, N.Y., 2-37.

⁸⁴ F.D.K. Bosch, *The Golden Germ: An Introduction to Indian Symbolism*, The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1960. Henceforth to be cited as "Germ."

statue is a kala head which does not seem to function only as the symbol of time and for warding-off evil. The way the kala head is depicted shows that it is more of a foliage or stylized cloud-water form which is one of the dominant ornamental motifs in East Javanese art. Gone are the conventional lion or monster head, its horns, sharp, pointed teeth, its clawed hands in a threatening gesture, and its large, protruding eye.⁸⁵ Instead, we see continuous curves and curlicues more like vines and tendrils suggestive of vegetal, watery growth.

Although the archaeological remains at Simbatan Wetan are relatively simpler than at Belahan, its significance is enhanced for us today because of the *slametan bersih desa* (cleansing rituals of the village) carried out by the villagers in modern times. The annual draining of the pool together with animal sacrifices seemed to signify the cleansing of whatever ailed community life at Simbatan Wetan, for each villager contributed and participated in the festivities. But together with the theme of purgation, purification, and the celebration of community solidarity, was the assertion of the impulses to life, and it is these features which show strong affinities to Tantrism. Village rites included: offerings of food, flowers, incense, and other village products, feasting, wine drinking, even some opium was used, and dancing of two male villagers with two professional female dancers hired for the occasion (in a *tayuban*). They danced around with fishes in their hands (which were caught from the pools) accompanied by exuberant playing of the gamelan orchestra.⁸⁶

All of these practices undoubtedly had their bases in animistic-fertility cults, but they also alluded to Tantric erotic imagery. It would not be far-fetched to take this line of interpretation since Tantrism was a dominant religious development in Java from the 10th to the 11th C. at about the time that Belahan and Simbatan Wetan were built.⁸⁷ Tantrism proved more congenial to animistic fertility cults

⁸⁵ *Germ*, 145.

⁸⁶ Field report from Simbatan Wetan, Dec. 1979. I wish to thank the help of the officials of the D.P.K. at Surabaya, East Java specially Drs. Cokrosoedjono (Head of the Branch Office of the National Research Centre of Archaeology at Mojokerto) for arranging my field trip to the site.

N.J. Krom, *Inleiding II*, 310-312.

⁸⁷ Tantrism developed as a schismatic offshoot from orthodox Hinduism and Buddhism as early as the 3rd C. A.D. which had its center in the province of Bengal, India. It spread swiftly to China, Mongolia, Korea and Japan from the 5th C. A.D. and to Southeast Asia by the 7th C. A.D. or earlier.

Among its teachings, the Tantras sought to hasten the attainment of salvation and make it available to everyone even to the layman within his own lifetime. This is a drastic departure from the conventional Hindu-Buddhist teachings which assume that salvation can only be attained by individuals who possess spiritual superiority like learned monks and saints. Moreover, orthodox teachings stress that the best method of achieving salvation is through methodical, rational procedures of learning and tutelage under a guru combined with asceticism and self-abnegation. Still, even if the novice undergoes all the ortho-

for it stressed mystical-magical techniques in the attainment of salvation. Instead of suppressing the senses, Tantrism stressed their full enjoyment. Rather than negate the body as was the tendency in orthodox Hindu-Buddhist religion, the Tantras used the body as a *yantra* (a magical device) to attract and concentrate the forces of the universe within the body. Among the techniques employed towards this purpose were: breathing and physical exercises, intense meditation to the point of trance, including the consumption of the forbidden things such as: wine, fish, meat, beans, grains (and other aphrodisiacs) and indulgence in *maithuna* (sexual intercourse).⁸⁸ Kalacakra, Vajrayana and Hevajra sects of Tantrism were known in Central

dox methods of spiritual and moral training, there is no guarantee that he can achieve salvation, for no one can escape the slow, evolutionary stages of *samsara*, continuous re-births as dictated by previous acts, thoughts and achievements, one's *karma*.

The Tantras believed that there are short-cuts to salvation. They took up the mystical-meditative techniques from Vedanta-Yoga and Bhakti, expanded, even reversed their techniques and meanings and brought them to the extremes. The body and the senses were considered the supreme instruments for salvation by using them to the fullest through physical regimen, magical-mystical rites which could fortify the body as the microcosmic vehicle of mystical, macrocosmic powers. The "sects" if we can make temporary distinctions between them, were divided generally into "Left Hand" or "Black Tantra" and "Right Hand" or "White Tantra" which corresponded to esoteric and exoteric Tantrism respectively. Esoteric sects stressed magical, mysterious cults usually described in the literature in mind-boggling terms as terrible, horrifying even disgusting rituals like Yab-Yum (sexual intercourse with a magical female partner), meditating in graves strewn with decaying, suppurating corpses and drinking human blood, eating human brains from a human skull while dancing over a corpse, etc. See:

Aghenanda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition*, London: Rider and Co., 1965, 69-71.

P. H. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966.

Vajrayana Tantra was known as early as the 7th C. as gleaned from Sri-vijayan Inscriptions and from the inscriptions of the Sailendras. See:

J. G. de Casparis, *Inscripties van den Cailendra Tijd*, Bandung: 1950.

The *Sang-Hyang Kamahayanikan* is an instructional manual for Tantric Buddhism which centered on *Vajrasattva*, See:

J. Katts, *Sang-Hyang Kamahayanikan*, p. 78.

According to Moens, the Kalacakra sect of Tantric Buddhism which developed in Bengal from about the 8th C. A.D. was brought to Indonesia by the monk, Attica (d. 1055 A.D. or Dipankaracrjāna) from the University of Wikramacila in the 10th C. Attica was said to have stayed for 12 years in Srivijaya (Suvarnadvipa) where he taught Kalacakra. It must have been from Sumatra that Java received Kalacakra Tantrism during the East Javanese period when the relations between the two regions were strong in the 13th-14th C.

King Kertanagara of Singhasari (1268-1292 A.D.) exemplified the practitioner of Hevajra-Kalacakra rites. He was portrayed in the *Pararaton* as a vagabond, robber, swindler, murderer, a drunkard and licentious person—qualities which made him a magically-powerful person. Upon his assumption to the throne of Singhasari after murdering the previous king, he married the widowed Queen Dedes and later in life had the statue of Hari-hara or Siva-Buddha installed in his memorial temple. See:

J. L. Moens, "Het Boddhisme op Java en Sumatra in zijn laatste bloeiperiode," *T.B.G.*, 64, 1924.

⁸⁸ Aghenanda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition*, London: Rider and Co., 1965, 69-71.

and East Java, and the texts and art of the period indicated that some of the esoteric rituals (including *maithuna*) were known. Also noteworthy was that the Tantras were not too concerned with conventional morality. Being mystics, they believed that salvation transcended all mundane distinctions of right or wrong, material or spiritual, secular or sacred, ultimately according to Tantras these were all One. *Moksa* could be obtained more quickly through union with a *sakti*, the female cosmic principle.⁸⁹ These conceptions were in accordance with the native shamanistic tradition wherein magic, mystical trance techniques which altered everyday reality were paramount. Thus, we could see the *tayuban* (dancing with female professional dancers while drinking wine and holding fishes) as an allusion to the magical union of *sakti* which activated the male principle. It was at the same time an allegory of the indivisible unity of the worshipper with the Divine.

The last bathing place we are going to discuss is Sendang Sanjaya, an ancient temple site which had been transformed into a modern dam. The remains of an ancient bathing place formed the hub of 8 other bathing places located along the river Sanjaya in Salatiga. The bathing places were in a valley surrounded by low-lying hills with lush vegetation. The source of water were underground springs as well as the arteries of the river Sanjaya. Today, there are 3 pools oriented west to east on the south side of the river Cinge, an artery of the river Sanjaya. Although the pools have been cemented, there were traces of ancient temple stones, fakaras, spouts and conduits. A Ganesha statue was kept behind the fence right near the entrance to the power station. On the cemented platform next to the largest pool were architectural ornamental stones which were venerated by the people as if they were *linga-yoni*.

Previous reports about Sendang Sanjaya go back to 1730 which referred to the place as Kali Taman. Subsequent reports in 1876 mentioned temple ruins found along the river Sanjaya. All of the reports more or less commented on the purity and abundant flow of the water from underground springs. The reports also mentioned remains of *lingas*, Ganeshas and many ornamental stones.⁹⁰

Stutterheim gave an intriguing report of two copper inscriptions dated 1022 Saka (1100 A.D.) which mentioned that in Pupus (name of *desa*) a *sima* was marked out in 1022 Saka mentioning the series of *desas* concerned and encompassed by the *sima*. The inscription continued that the *sima* belonged to the descendants of *rahyangta* Sanjaya and that the workers of the grounds will henceforth bring

⁸⁹ P. H. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966.

⁹⁰ H. J. de Graaf, "De Verdwenen Tjandi te Salatiga," *B.K.I.*, 113, 1958 117-120.

their harvests and rents to the prince in-charge of the *sima*, and that the usual obligations of taxes and labor will not be applied on the villagers. Furthermore, it mentioned that a *prasada* (a temple tower, or a temple) was newly established in the *sima*, but it did not mention its exact location. This inscription was significant according to Stutterheim because it showed that 200 years after the supposed transfer of hegemony to East Java, we have epigraphic evidence that some form of Central Javanese government continued. Also of interest was that, if this Sanjaya was the same person named as the founder of Mataram Dynasty in the inscription of 907 A.D. issued by Balitung, this would show that there was already a century-long tradition centered on Mataram. It could also mean that a *prasada* was established in honor of King Sanjaya somewhere in the area of Salatiga.⁹¹ Whether the inscription of 1022 Saka refers to Sendang Sanjaya still remains a faint possibility.

Be that as it may, Sendang Sanjaya, like Simbatan Wetan is another example of an ancient temple and bathing place which serve as the focus of village rituals in modern times, rituals which allude to mystical-Tantric rites. Every full moon people led by the lurah of Cibongan, a nearby *desa* together with his "secretary" (whom the people call Bapak lurah's *sakti*) congregate at exactly midnight for prayer and meditation before the altar beside the largest pool where they have arranged the temple stones to make them appear like linga-yoni. They light five candles before the linga-yoni and recite prayers which show syncretism of Hindu-Buddhist and Muslim prayers. Afterwards they descend into the pool in a ritual bath submerged in water up to their necks. They continue reciting prayers until all of the five candles are consumed by the flames. When all the candles are melted down, they ascend from the pools which signals the end of the purification rite.⁹²

Bapak Gunadi is an example of a modern-day Javanese whose life seemed to have been patterned after the mythical hero Arjuna, and the historical heroes Erlangga and Pangeran Dipanagara. A respected community leader for over two decades, (he was recipient

⁹¹W. F. Stutterheim, "Aanteekeningen..." *B.K.I.*, 89, 1832, 264-269.

⁹²Field report from Salatiga. April 22-24, 1980 and May 30, 1980.

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of the provincial award for meritorious public service) he decided to retire in order to devote the rest of his life to contemplation. He would be gone from his home for days, wandering up the mountains of Java and visiting ancient ruins including Sendang Sanjaya. He frequented a nearby cave in Cibongan to perform *semedi* (Javanese for Sanskrit, *Samadhi*) which caused others to meditate in the same place. Sometimes, he went to other towns disguised as a street singer pretending to be a mendicant. Although he was over 65 years old, Bapak Gunadi could outlast younger people in mountain climbing and doing without food and sleep for days. His piety and devotion, his kindness and helpfulness to anyone who sought his advice and help, attracted adherents so that he soon found himself with a sizeable following in Salatiga. His followers organized themselves loosely into the Yayasan Sanjaya. This civic and cultural foundation arranged for the midnight rituals at Sendang Sanjaya, and undertook activities in safeguarding the ancient temples and bathing places in and around their area. One of Bapak Gunadi's faithful followers was a conscientious and beautiful young woman who assisted him in correspondence, arranging transportation and lodgings for the visitors to Sendang Sanjaya, etc. She became so closely associated with Bapak Gunadi that people began calling her *sakti*. Many participants in the full-moon midnight rituals claimed that the water of the pool and the prayers led by Bapak Gunadi had curative powers and that it could even heal animosities and grant wishes.

It would not take much stretching of the imagination to see analogies between contemporary characters and events at Salatiga and the mythical and legendary ascetic heroes of the past. Moreover, it is quite apparent that the people were aware of the allusions to mystical-magical Tantrism in their leader's behaviour and in the rituals.

Conclusion:

What insights about Javanese cultural developments can we learn from a study of caves and bathing places? The most obvious of course is that they give us an indication of the way the Javanese regard their landscape and their relation to the world. The attitudes are undoubtedly animistic—wherein every single object, creature and phenomenon is imbued with a spiritual substance and significance somehow related to human will and psychology. But more than these, the sites give further evidence that the Javanese mode of re-fashioning Indian themes of Mahameru and the quest for *moksa* served to heighten and expand the significance of local landmarks and native experiences.

⁹³ C. J. Grader, "Brajoet: De Geschiedenis van een Balisch Gezin," *Djawa*, 19, 1939, 260-275.

Heroes and plot structures drawn from Indian epics of the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, Buddhist texts, etc. provided models upon which native characters and local events were patterned. Each locale whether it be a spring, a river, a cave, and a mountain was viewed as the center, or a part of cosmic Mt. Meru. A particular event and each individual character was given an exalted significance within the context of universal cosmogony and eschatology. While it is commonly known that in Southeast Asia, Meru cosmology was the paradigm for the unified and integrated kingdom, it also served as the model for a perfect and universal order. Meru became the focus for the heightened expectations that things could be better than what they were. It is within these conceptions that dissensions and centripetal currents found the avenue for expression—as the quest for *moksa* and *amerta*.

Caves and bathing places provided the most appropriate setting for the quest for *moksa*. And as we pointed out earlier, the Sanskrit *moksa* (“Bliss” for “Nothingness”) was recast into Javanese *muksa*, associated more with exorcist conceptions of *ruwat* or *lukat* (“to let loose” or “to free” from a curse or ill-fortune), meanings consistent with animistic beliefs regarding the process of contacting ancestral spirits and gods, and the unification of the soul of the deceased with the deified ancestors. While *lukat* involved purification, it also meant the removal of the causes of ill-fortune, disease, malevolent forces, rather than the dissolution of ego in the Buddhist sense, or cleansing from error and sin in the Christian context. Javanese *muksa* allowed no cleavage between spiritual and physical rewards of salvation, for alongside inner peace and spiritual knowledge was the promise of fertility, prosperity and well-being. The imagery of *amerta* in the Javanese sense was associated with the elixir of life and potency as much as it was an aid to attune oneself with the immanent forces of the cosmos and thereby obtain *sakti*, power. Hence, we find in the caves and bathing places symbols and imagery associated with water, with mother’s milk and semen. The linga, the chis, trident, triçula were instruments of potency and for bringing forth miraculous waters. The lotus, clouds, ripened fruits, jewels, conch shell, the *kundika* or jar, umbrella, the makara, the naga and female breasts all are water symbols.

As for the imagery of the cave, its isolation, inaccessibility, its dark, and quiet interiors made it most suitable to the type of mystical experience undergone by Arjuna and Dipanagara. The cave was more conducive to the intuitive, contemplative and trance-like techniques of shamanistic-animistic beliefs. More importantly, the caves were also associated with the local gods and guardian spirits of Java.

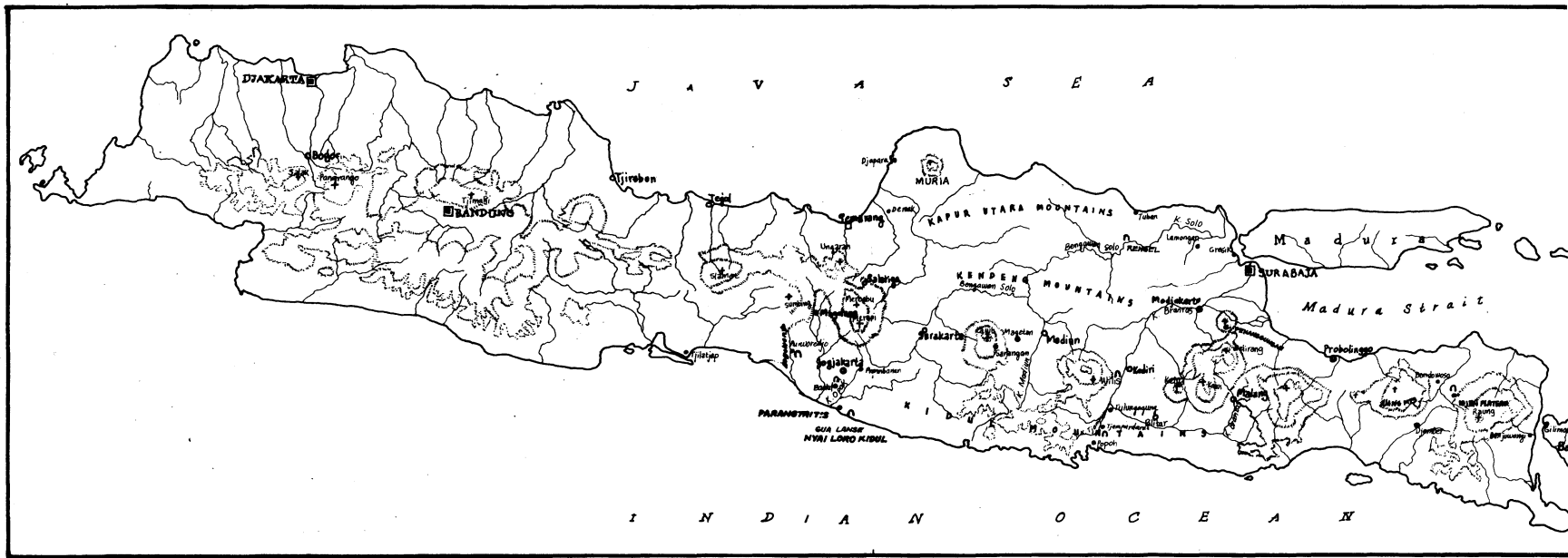
Hence, whoever communed with these spirits had the sanctions of the primordial forces of the land.

Artistically, the caves and bathing places proved important evidence for changes in style. These sites give us more examples of the early East Javanese art from the late 10th to the 12th c. The art of Kediri, a transition to Singhasari art maybe exemplified by Simbatan Wetan and nearby sites, Belahan, and the Selamengleng caves together with Jalatunda (west of Belahan on Mt. Penanggungan). At Gua Selamengleng (Tulung Agung) and the bathing place of Jalatunda the human figures tend to be relatively more attenuated, lithe and supple than Central Javanese forms. The makara and other ornamental motifs tend to be more abstract curves and curlicues reminiscent of stylized foliage. As for the iconography, we find the pervasiveness and persistence of animistic fertility cults since *lingayoni* predominate. But we also find the most original innovations in iconography during this period. The amalgamation of Hindu-Buddhist symbols which moved towards Tantrism which stressed the female element, *sakti* as *Çri* and/or Lakshmi, the consorts of Visnu. The female deities were treated as spout figures, the bestowers of the elixir of immortality but quite literally as nurturer of mankind. As for Visnu, it seemed that by the late 10th C. this god took on the attributes of Indra (as god of the rain and clouds) and of Siva (the supreme ascetic, possessor of *paçupati* and the tricula, both weapons of spiritual power and harbinger of *amerta*). Visnu on Garuda became a dominant deity and sometimes Garuda alone or Visnu's consorts became the major cult image. Nowhere else in Asia is *Çri* or Lakshmi treated as spout figures, as providers of *amerta* and nurturer of mankind. While the source of this imagery could be traced to Indian examples (*Çri*, Lakshmi, Bhu, Dewantari, Sita, Gangga, Uma, etc.) there is an indigenous model for the female spout figure. At Goa Gajah in Bali there are spout figures very much like the ones at Simbatan Wetan and Belahan which could be *Çri* or Lakshmi. But there are spout figures which are not direct offshoots of Hindu-Buddhist iconography and whose attributes are described in indigenous texts called *gaguritan*. One of the heroines in these Balinese folk stories is Man Brayut, the woman who is so prolific that she gives birth to countless children and is depicted constantly breast-feeding surrounded by her numerous progeny.⁹³ Man Brayut is sometimes also depicted as a spout figure in pottery and in stone. There were at least two examples of Man Brayut spout figures at the provincial Museum in Den Pasar, Bali.⁹⁴ It is quite possible that

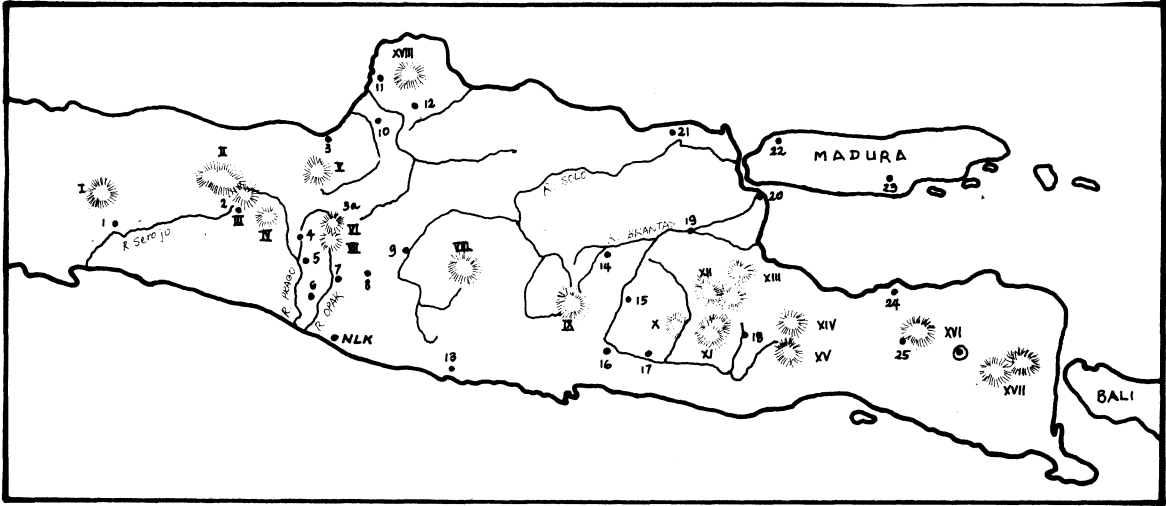
⁹⁴ At the Provincial Museum at Den Pasar, Bali, there were two stone statues of Man Brayut nos. 38 and 2196. No. 38 showed Man Brayut surrounded by her children who cling closely to her, one of them was shown suckling at her breast. No. 2196 depicted Man Brayut as a spout figure, the nipples were drilled to serve as spouts. The statues were studied in October, 1979.

considering the close relations between Java and Bali throughout history, it is not unlikely that Man Brayut was similarly known in Java and that the Belahan spout figure was inspired both by Indian and indigenous models.

Finally, it is equally significant that these ascetic heroes were always accompanied by panakawans. Being earthly, seemingly grotesque and comical figures, they provide humorous contrast to the sublime heroes and saints. I believe however that the juxtaposition of the panakawans with gods and heroes have philosophical and religious significance. Their presence suggest that as humans struggle for perfection, they must learn to accept human imperfectibility. And the fact that these scenes were depicted up on mountain and caves seem to be a reminder that there remains the vast and awesome environment that escapes human control and comprehension. Not only must man accept his inherent imperfections he must also understand the capriciousness and unpredictability of human existence itself. The presence of panakawans yielding to sensuality beside the resolute ascetic at Gua Pasir, Selamengleng or Bapak play-acting as a *mbok mbrek* (Javanese mendicant street singer) making his own ironic statement to his pious endeavours, dramatize for us the breath, depth and sense of maturity and humor of Javanese thought.



Map of the island of Java indicating the general location of caves and bathing places discussed in the text



MOUNTAINS AND MONUMENTS

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| I Slamet | XI Butak . Kawi |
| II Prahū . <i>Dieng</i> | XII Andjasmara . Ardjuna .
Welirang . <i>Djawi</i> |
| III Sendara . <i>Pringapus</i> | XIII <i>Penanggungan . Belahan .
Djalatunda</i> |
| IV Sumbing | XIV Tengger . Brama |
| V Ungaran . <i>Gedong Sanga</i> | XV Smeru |
| VI Merbabu | XVI Yang |
| VII Merapi | XVII Raung . Merapi |
| VIII Lawu . <i>Sukuh . Tjeto</i> | ● Bondowoso . Gua Buta
Gua Sumber-
Canting |
| IX Willis | XVIII Muria |
| X Kelud . <i>Panataran</i> | |

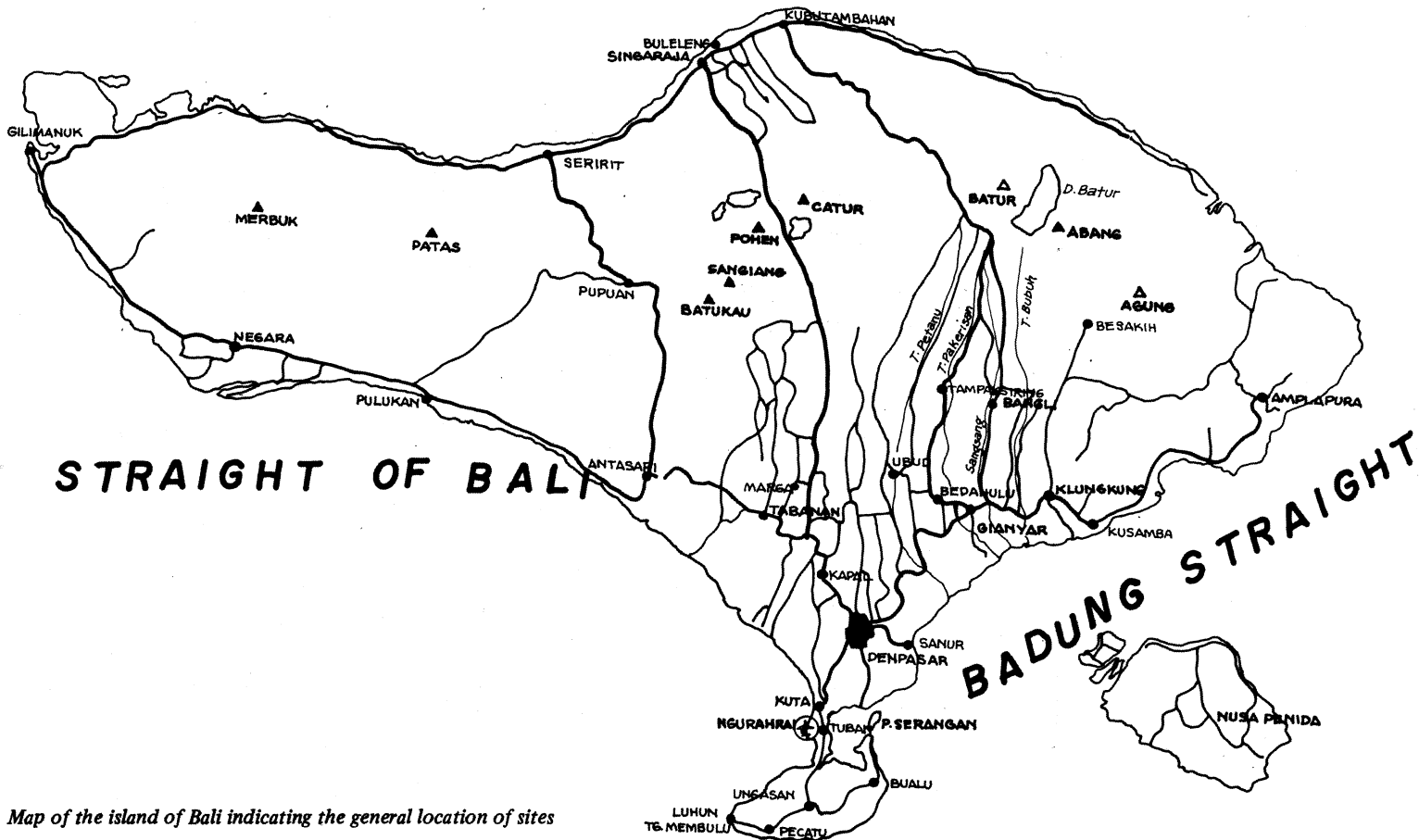
TOWNS AND MONUMENTS

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Purwakarta | 15 Kediri . <i>Salamangleng K. Tigawangsi .
Surawana</i> |
| 2 Wanasaba | 16 Tulung Agung . <i>Salamangleng T.A .
Gua Pasir</i> |
| 3 Semarang | 17 Blitar . <i>Sawentar . Bara . Sumbardjati .
Panatdran</i> |
| 3a Sendang Sanjaya, Salatiga | 18 Malang . <i>Sanggariti . Badut . Djago .
Sumberawan . Singasari . Kidal</i> |
| 4 Magelang . <i>Barabudur . Mendut .
Pawon . Banan</i> | 19 Madjakarta . <i>Trawulan . Tikus .
Badjang Ratu . Tralaja</i> |
| 5 Muntikan . <i>Ngawen . Gunung Wukir</i> | 20 Surabaya |
| 6 Jogjakarta Nyai Loro Kidul | 21 <i>Sandangduwur</i> |
| 7 Prambanan . <i>Lara - Djonggrang .
Kalasan . Sari . Sewu . Ploason . Sadjivan</i> | 22 <i>Air Mata</i> |
| 8 Klaten . <i>Bajat</i> | 23 <i>Pamekasan</i> |
| 9 Surakarta | 24 <i>Djabung</i> |
| 10 Demak | 25 <i>Kadaton</i> |
| 11 Djapara . <i>Hantingan</i> | |
| 12 <i>Kudus</i> | |
| 13 Patjitan | |
| 14 Madiun | |
| Simbatan Wetan
Sadon | |

Map of Central and East Java indicating major mountains and the general location of the sites discussed in the text. (Based on Bernet-Kempers, 1959, p. 25)



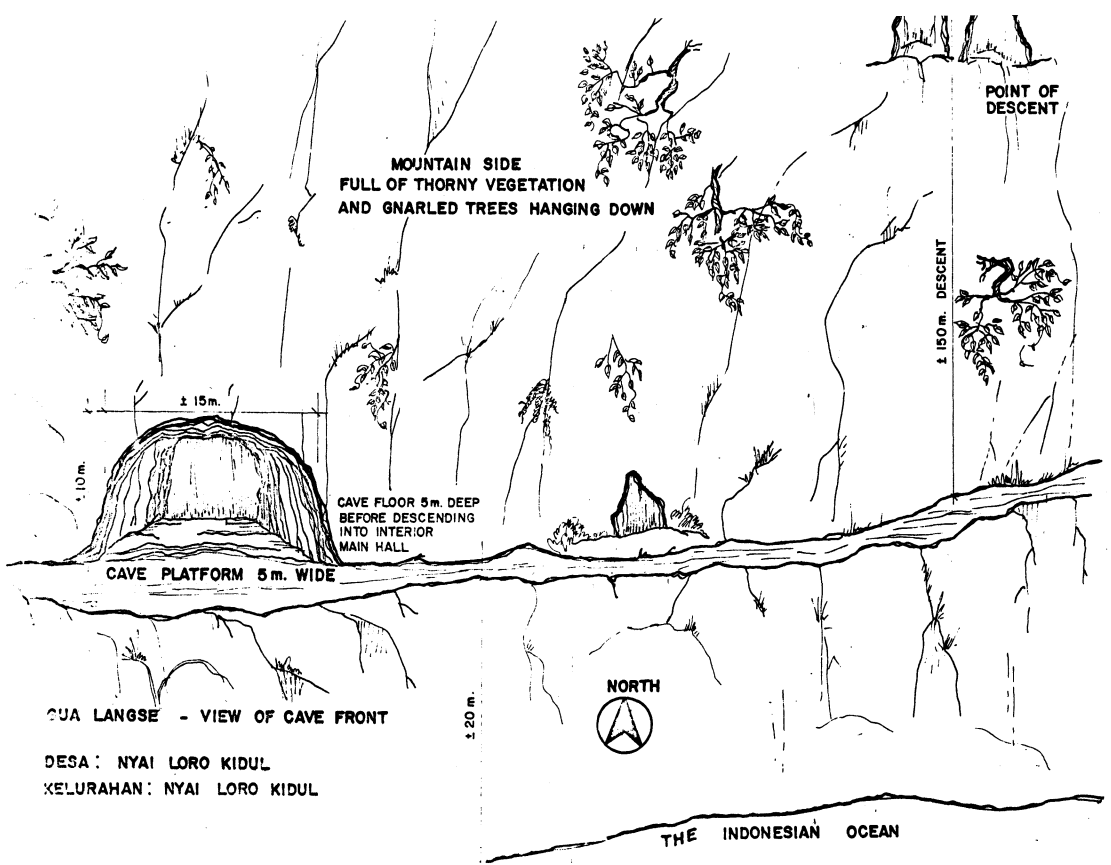
BALI SEA



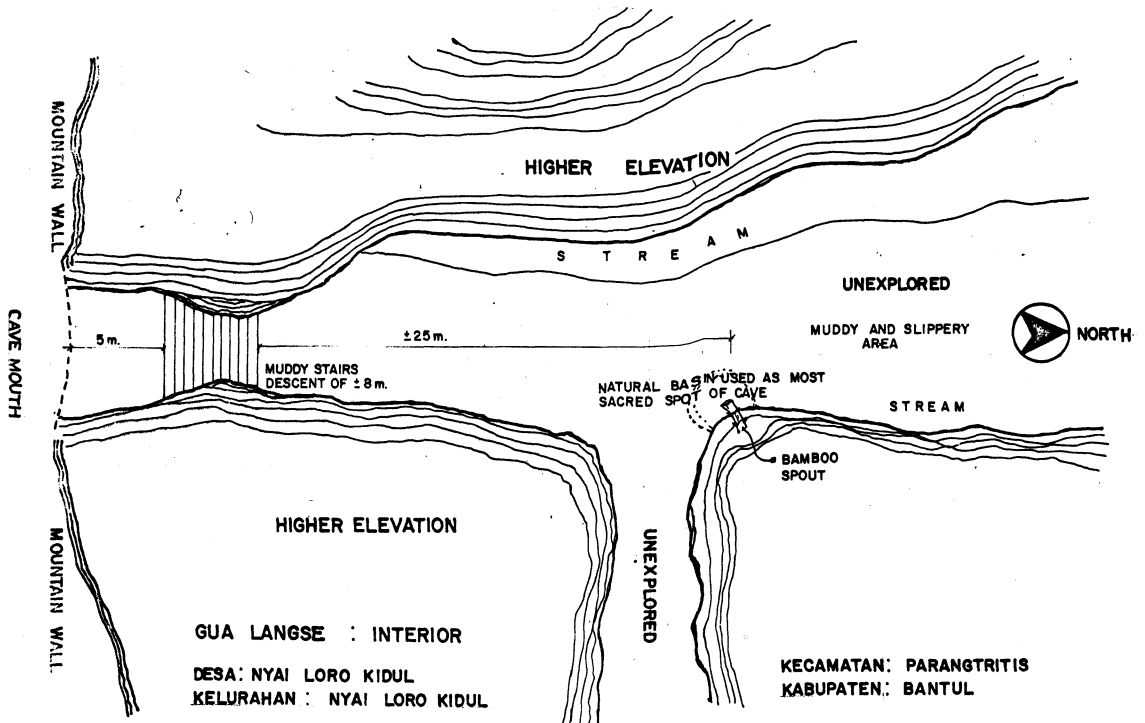
STRAIGHT OF BALI

BADUNG STRAIGHT

Map of the island of Bali indicating the general location of sites



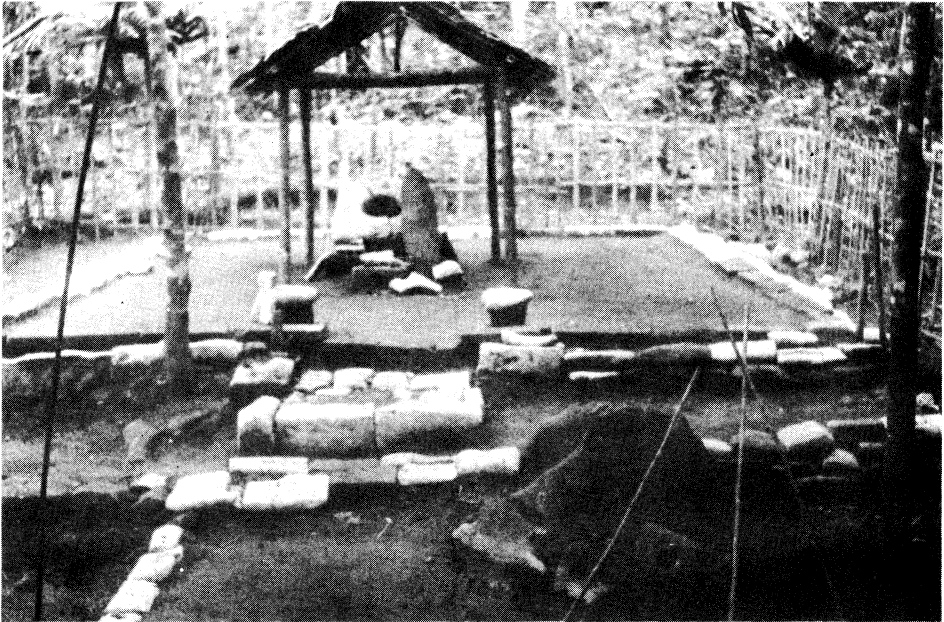
Drawing of Gua Langse or Nyai Loro Kidul, view of the cave front. (Drawn by Linda Lu-Lim)



Drawing of the cave interior, Gua Langse or Nyai Loro Kidul. (Drawn by Linda Lu-Lim)



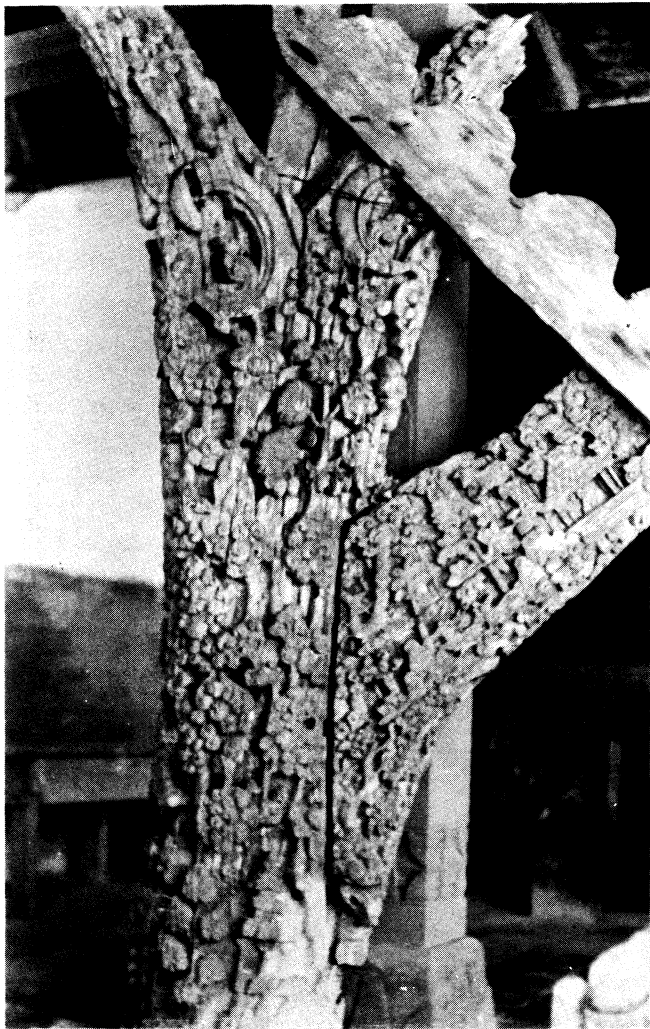
Dipanagara's cave, Gua Slarong in Bantul, south of Jogjakarta, photograph shows part of the cave mouth and the frontage of the hill were the cemented and fenced area has been built for visitors to the cave



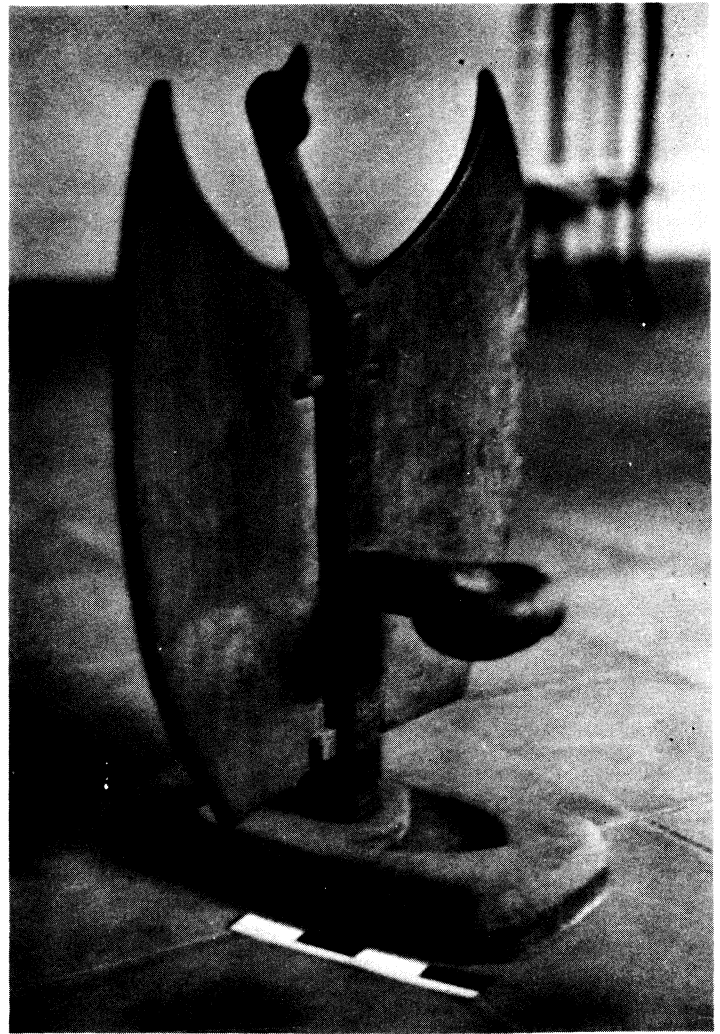
Sacred precinct at the entrance of Gua Sih Pahlawan, Danurejo, Kalegesing, Purworejo. Photo shows the cungkub (a shed over a sacred site or grave) surrounded by stones arranged in a square which is fenced



Close-up of the linga-yoni found inside the sacred precinct of Gua Sih Pahlawan, Danurejo, Kalegesing, Purworejo



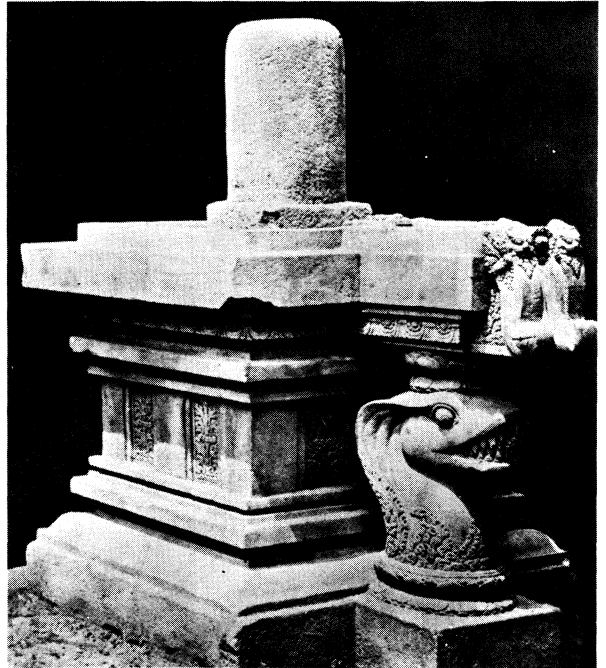
Pillar of a cungkub (a shed over a grave or sacred site) at Sendang Duwur, the tree trunk is elaborately carved to represent a forested landscape, found inside the grave site of Sendang Duwur, near Lamongan, Kabupaten Tuban .



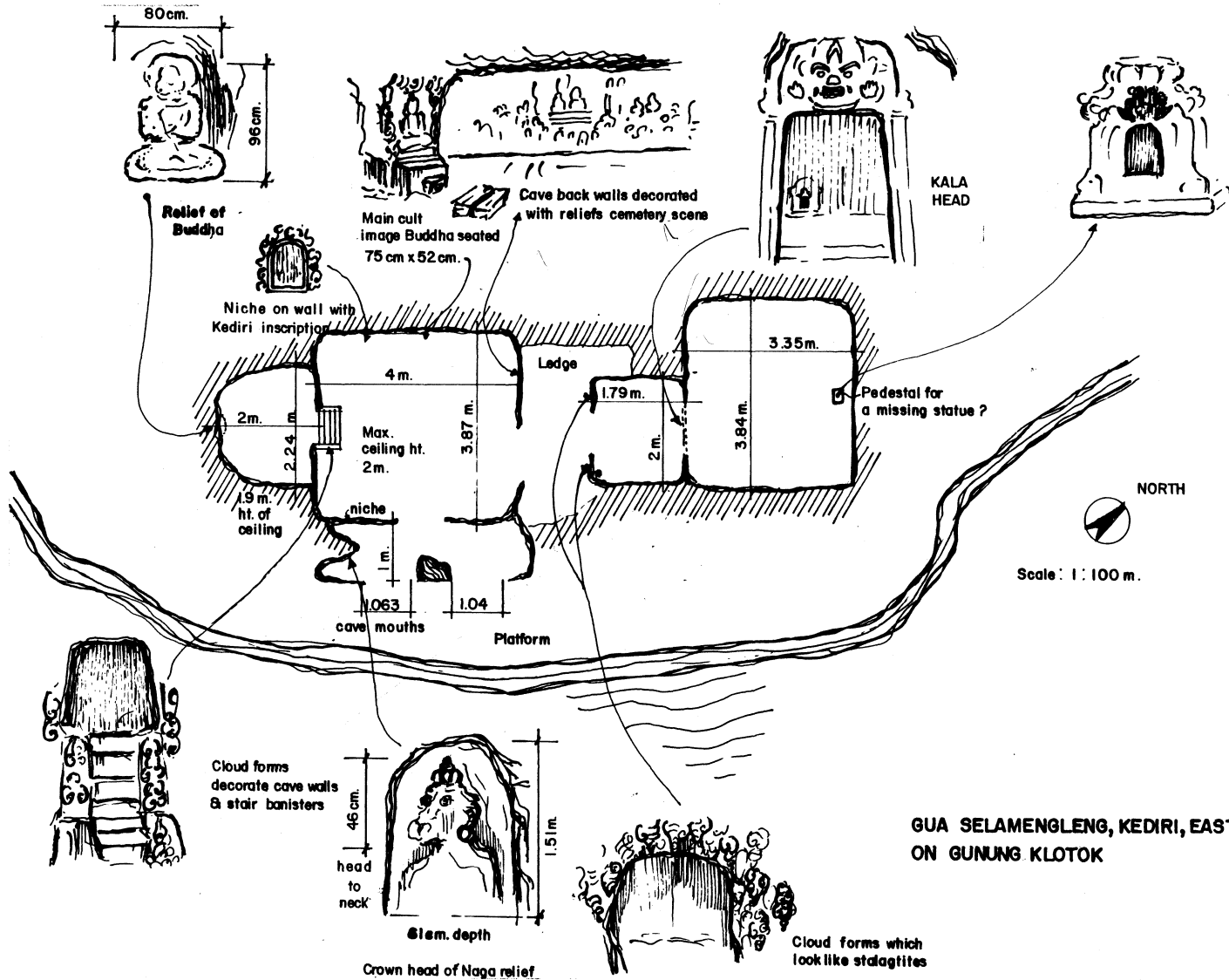
Winged linga-yoni in the collection of the Kasepuhan of the Sultans of Cirebon.



Drawing of the front view of the cave called Gua di Bang in Joyodirdo, Piyungan, Bantul, Central Java. (Drawn by Linda Lu-Lim)

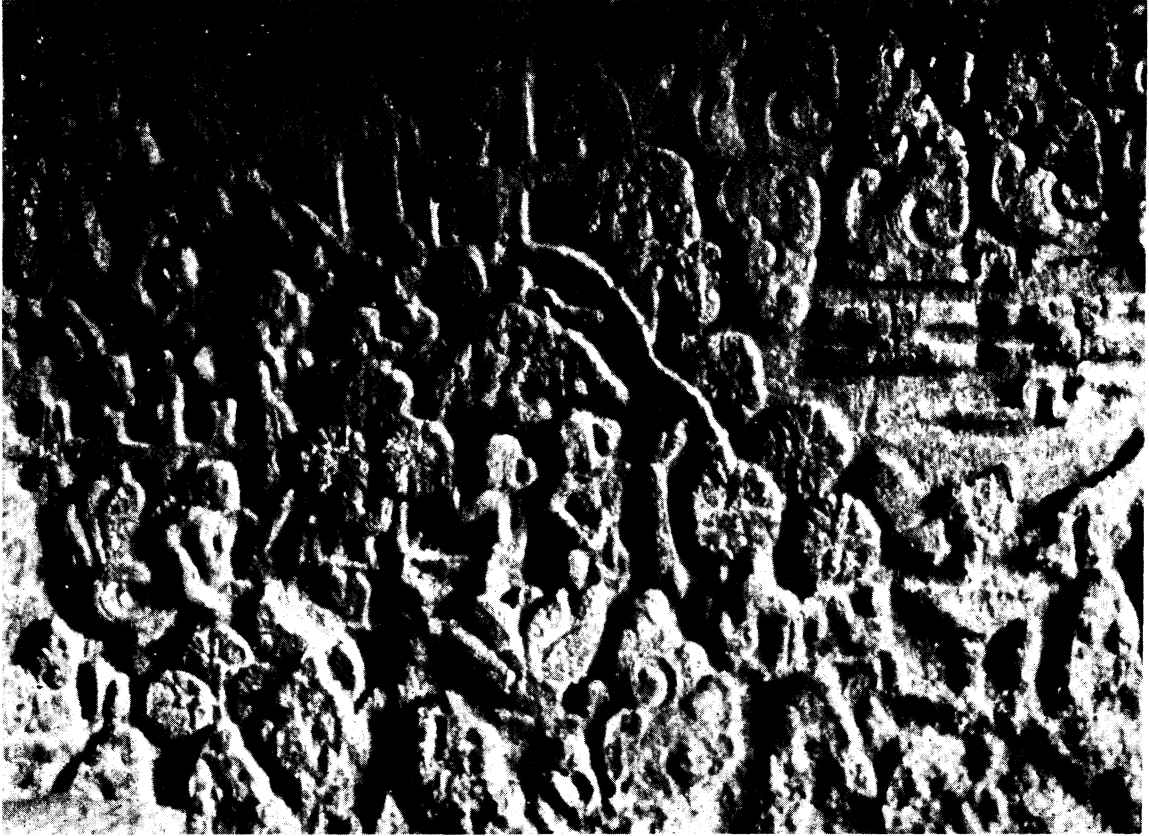


Central niche of Gua di Bang in Joyodirdo, Piyungan, Bantul southeast of Jogjakarta. Reliefs inside the niche shows a seated, male deity flanked by standing, male deities, in front of the relief is a roughly-hewn linga-yoni. This central niche is flanked on its left by a small cave inside of which are reliefs of dvarapalas and a Durga. On the right side of the central niche is a shallow rock shelter. Right photo shows linga-yoni found at Tanjungtirtha now in the collection of the Prambanan Museum. (After Bernet-Kempers, plate 166)

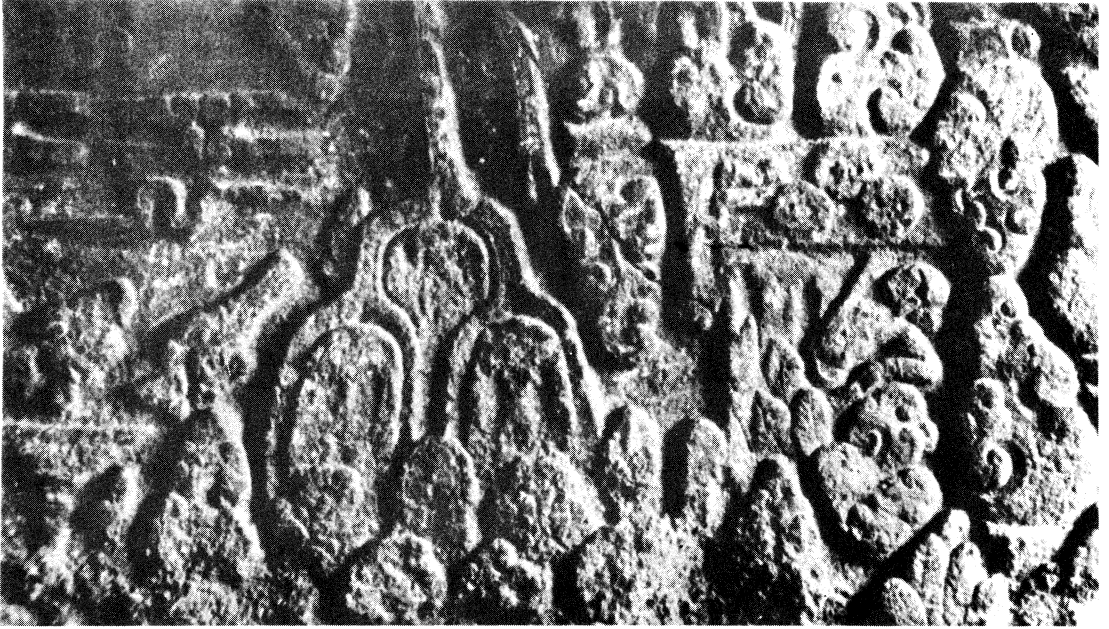


**GUA SELAMENGLENG, KEDIRI, EAST JAVA
ON GUNUNG KLOTOK**

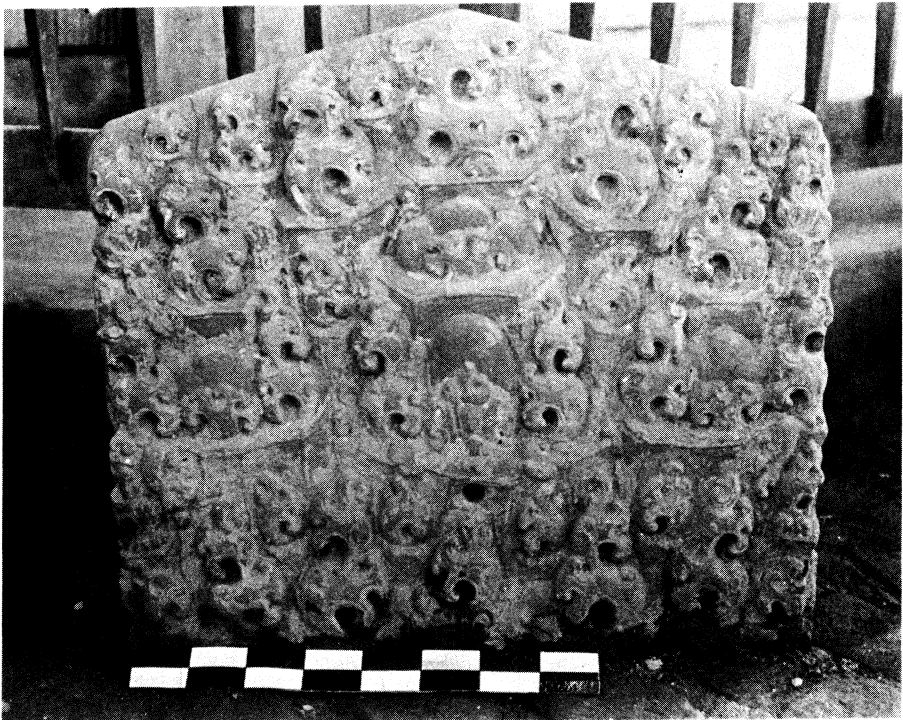
Drawing of the cave plan and details of cave interior of Gua Selamengleng, Kediri, (Drawn by Linda Lu-Lim)



Relief on cave wall of Gua Selamengleng, Kediri. (Based on W. F. Stutterheim, Bijdragen 89, 1932)



Relief on cave wall of Gua Selamengleng, Kediri. (Based on W. F. Stutterheim, Bijdragen 89, 1932.)



Stone block with relief of stylized cloud-rock formations found in the collection of the Kabupaten of Kediri. The cloud-rock formations are stylistically similar to those found in the cave of Selamengleng in Kediri and Tulungagung as well as the bathing places of Jolotunda and Belahan on Mt. Penanggungan. It is noteworthy that the stone block is very much like the ones found at the bathing place of Jolotunda .