

THE "SAMĀYA" OF BHARAḌAH AND KUTURAN*

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For those who have visited Bali, and for those who are conversant with the ancient history of Java, the names of Bharadaḥ and Kuturan will not be unfamiliar. The former will simply remember how readily the Balinese refer to these figures. The latter, however, will recall the complex problems involved in interpreting the actions of these two men as recorded in the old literature of Java and Bali--the *Nāgarakrē-tāgama*, the *Pararaton*, the *Calon-Arang*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and so forth.

Among these texts the *Nāgarakrē-tāgama* is unique in that it is the only known manuscript dealing with the history of the kingdom of Majapahit (1292-1520) which was written when the kingdom was still at the height of its power.¹ In their attempt to uncover the history of this once most powerful kingdom in Southeast Asia, scholars such as Brandes, Kern, Krom, Berg, Pigeaud and Poerbatjaraka have studied the *Nāgarakrē-tāgama* carefully, but have inevitably come to conflicting conclusions. The text has been published four times, most recently by Pigeaud, who supplied an extensive glossary and notes.² But the last word has surely not yet been spoken.

One of the central issues for these scholars has been the nature of the historical relations between Java and Bali. Since the reign of the eleventh century Javanese king, Erlangga, Bali was off and on a dependency of Java. Berg, one of the most vigorous students of this relationship, has persistently expressed the view that the conquest of Bali by Majapahit during the reign of Hayam Wuruk was completely justified on the basis of an agreement (*samāya*) made earlier between Bharadaḥ and Kuturan at the time when Java was still ruled by Erlangga.

It is the purpose of this article to re-examine the meaning of the word "samāya" in the *Nāgarakrē-tāgama* and to use the story of Bharadaḥ and Kuturan as told in the *Calon-Arang* to throw new light on the *Nāgarakrē-tāgama*.

In his latest book, Berg refers to the problem raised by the word "samāya" in the following way: "Among other obscure data there is *Nāgarakrē-tāgama* 16, 3, where mention is made of an agreement between Bharadaḥ and Kuturan on the subject of Bali and Gurun. According to

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1. It happens also that so far only one manuscript of the *Nāgarakrē-tāgama* has been found, though some time ago the newspapers in Indonesia spread the story that another manuscript had turned up in Lombok which might have some connection with the *Nāgarakrē-tāgama*.
2. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, 5 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1960-63).

a later interpretation, which comes out in the Calonarang story (BKI, 82, p. 136 ff.), the agreement had to do with the period when Bali would accept Javanese power or influence. This explanatory story, however, offers no answer to the question that *Nāgarakr̥tāgama* 16, 3 poses for us."³ I believe that the *Calon-Arang* story could not answer Berg's question because he did not correctly perceive the kind of light that the story can actually shed. Nonetheless, he was quite right in sensing that the *Calon-Arang* could help to illuminate the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama*

In the course of developing his *bhawacakra* or *kapañcatathagatan* theory,⁴ Berg establishes relationships, first between the *Kṛtanāgara*-hymn and the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama*,⁵ and, second, between the *Kṛtanāgara*-hymn and other so-called satellite-poems, such as the *Sutasoma*.⁶ The first relationship is one between complementary *çākakāla*, in the sense that the *Kṛtanāgara*-hymn is indispensable to the inner structure of the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama*. The second relationship derives from the fact that all the poems mentioned are more or less of the same age as the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama*, which, aside from being a *çākakāla*, is also a *lambang* (supporting poem).⁷ However, perhaps because the *Calon-Arang* is neither a *çākakāla* nor a poem nor, probably, contemporaneous, Berg does not include it in his explanatory scheme. However, it may be that the story has been omitted simply because it does not fit that scheme.

3. C. C. Berg, "Māyā's hemelvaart in het Javaanse Buddhisme," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, NR, LXXIV, Nos. 1-2* (1969), p. 679. See also his "Herkomst, vorm en functie der Middelljavaansche Rijksdelingstheorie," in *ibid.*, LIX, No. 1 (1953), pp. 131ff.

Nāgarakr̥tāgama 16, 3 is translated as follows by Pigeaud, *Java*, III (p. 19):

Verily the other countries there, all to the east of the Javanese country, Guron, Bali are the principal ones, allowed is any travel there.

The covenant of the worshipful, the great sage Bharada, so it is said, was firm.

The partner was the honored prince of sages, Kuturan, renowned, one hears.

See below, at pp. 63-64, for the Old Javanese text and a proposed revised translation.

4. The *bhawacakra*- (change of existence) theory of Berg proposes that a Buddha- (Buddhist) king reigned alternately with a *Çiwaite*-king. The period of the reign of a Buddha-king was called the *hana* or *bhawa* (existence) aspect of the Buddha-king, whereas the period of the reign of a *Çiwaite*-king was called the *taya* (non-existence) aspect of the Buddha-king.

Berg's *kapañcatathagatan*-theory is that between the years 1174 and 1400 there were five Buddha-kings ruling in Java who could be regarded as the representatives of the five (*pañca*) *tathagata* (Buddha or Jina).

5. Berg, "Māyā's," pp. 46ff.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

7. In general *çākakāla* means year or chronogram. In the framework of Berg's theory it means a literary work containing a chronogram or year.

In general *lambang* is synonymous with *kakawin* (poem) but Berg understands the *lambang* poems as having a function in his *kapañcatathagatan*-theory, namely as an underlying element of the *Lalitawistara*-element within the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama*. The *lambang* that Berg understands as the satellite-poems of the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama* are the *kakawin* *Smaradahana*, *Sumanasantaka*, *Arjunawijaya* and *Sutasoma*.

Nonetheless, if we compare the theme of the *Calon-Arang* with the main theme of the *Sutasoma* kakawin, we find that both involve a battle between a Çiwaitic and a Buddhist Bhairawa resulting in the former's submission and subsequent conversion to Buddhism. This parallel suggests that the theme at least of the *Calon-Arang* may be very old, no less ancient indeed than that of the *Sutasoma*. Furthermore, a comparison between the stories about Bharadaḥ in the *Calon-Arang* and the *Nāgarakrēṭāgama* suggests that the former may derive from very ancient traditions. Aside from the fact that the *kamal-pandak* (stunted tamarind tree) episode does not appear in the *Calon-Arang* (for reasons suggested below at page 56), in general the references to Bharadaḥ in the *Nāgarakrēṭāgama* are brief and allusive by comparison with the far more elaborate narrative offered in the *Calon-Arang*. This suggests that both derive from a well-established prior tradition, and that the *Calon-Arang* may contain material which can clear up some obscurities in the *Nāgarakrēṭāgama*'s references to Bharadaḥ, just as the *Nāgarakrēṭāgama* can be used to illuminate the *Kṛtanāgara*-hymn.⁸

The two main references to Bharadaḥ in the *Nāgarakrēṭāgama* occur in canto 16 and canto 68. (In one other place, canto 69, the name Mpu Bharada is mentioned, but only in passing.) Canto 68 recounts the episode of the partition of the realm initiated by King Airlangghya (Erlanggya) and executed by the sage Bharadaḥ. In completing his task, the sage was obstructed by a tall tamarind tree, which he cursed to become stunted. So Prapañca, the author of the *Nāgarakrēṭāgama*, refers to the whole story as the story of the stunted tamarind tree.

In text and translation, canto 68 runs as follows:⁹

- 1) a. Nāhan tatwanikang Kamal wiḍita de ning sāmpradāya sthīti,
b.
c. mwanḡ Çrī Pañjalunātha ring Daha tēwēk ning Yāwabhūmyāpalih,
d. Çrī Airlangghya sirāngdani ryyasihirān panak, ri sang rwa prabhū.
- 2) a. Wwantēn bodda mahāyanabrata pēgat ring tantra yogiçwara,
b. sang munggwing tēngah i çmaçāna ri Lēmahcitrenusir ning jagat,
c. sang prāpteng Bali, toyāmārgga, manapak wwaining tasik nirbhaya,
d. kyāti hyang mpu Bharada woḍa ri atītādi trikālāpagēh.
- 3) a. Rāhyang teki pinintakāsihan amarwa ng bhūmi, tan langghyana,
b. hingānyeki tēlas cinīhnaira toyeng kuḍi sangkeng langit,
c. kūlwān pūrwa dudug ring ārnawa maparwa ng lor kidul tan madoh,
d. kādyādoh mahēlēt samudra tēwēking bhūmi Jawa rwa prabhū.
- 4) a. Ngka iring tintiḍī wrksa rakwa sutapārāryyan sangkeng āmbara,
b. nang deçeng Pulungān tikang pasalahan kuḍi praçāsteng jagat,
c. kândēg deni ruhur mikang kamāl i puñcak nyāngawit cīwara;
d. nā hetunya sināpa dadyalita tēkwan munggwa ri pāntara.
- 5) a. tūgwānggōh nika tāmbying jana padārēs mintareng swāsana,
b. (H)etūnyan winangun suḍarṃma waluya ng bhūmi Jawātunggala,
c. sthītyārāja sabhūmī kawruhananing rāt dlāha tan linggara,
d. çīhnā çrī nrēpatin jayeng sakala bhūmin cakrawartti prabhū.

8. Cf. Berg, "Māyā's," p. 316.

9. The text and translation here are taken from Anthony H. Johns, "On Translating the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*," *Lingua*, 15 (1965), pp. 531-63, more particularly pp. 558-61.

- 1) a. As follows is the story concerning Kamal (Pandak) which is known from a well-established tradition
 - b.
 - c. and also that (of the king) *Çrī Pañjalunâtha*¹⁰ at the time that the (is)land Java was divided into two
 - d. (by) *Çrī Airlanggha*, out of love for his children, the two prabhus.
- 2) a. There was a Buddhist of the Mahayanist rite, an adept in tantric (doctrine), and a master of yoga,
 - b. the one who resided in the midst of the graveyard at Lĕmah Citra with whom the whole world sought refuge,
 - c. the one who reached Bali, the sea (his) roadway, treading the waters of the sea without fear,
 - d. the well-known and celebrated mpu Bharada who knew the three ages, the past, etc.
- 3) a. This holy man on being requested to divide the land, did not refuse;
 - b. he marked the boundary (with) water in a jar from the sky,
 - c. (from) west (to) east to the sea, dividing the country into a northern part and a southern part, not far (apart in fact)
 - d. but as distant as though an ocean lay between them, when Java had two princes.
- 4) a. There, by the tamarind tree, so the story goes, the virtuous ascetic from the sky halted,
 - b. and at the deça Pulungan, was the place where that jar, famous throughout the world, was set down,
 - c. for (Bharada) was halted by the height of the kamal tree, the top (of it) catching his garment,
 - d. and that was the reason it was cursed to become small, and moreover to remain on the border¹¹

10. Pigeaud's translation (*Java*, III, p. 79)--"and the Illustrious Pañjalu-Protector in Daha . . ."--is, in my judgment, incorrect, since he assumes that Pañjalu and Daha are one and the same. In all probability, the author meant them as names of the two principedoms which resulted from Erlanggya's partition of the realm. John's translation also seems faulty, but mainly because of a typographical error (Daha is not mentioned at all).

11. Contrary to the opinion of other scholars, Berg believes that what is cursed to become stunted is Bharada himself! (See "*Māyā's*," p. 52.) In my view, the text of the *Nāgarakrētāgama* cannot support such an interpretation. In the first place, it is very unlikely that Bharada, already a great and legendary figure at the time the *Nāgarakrētāgama* was written, would have been depicted in this way. But, in addition, there are technical reasons which, despite the admitted difficulty of the structure of the passage, make Berg's version implausible. Had Bharada been meant as the subject of 4d, the author would most likely have used the word *nira* after *hetū* (as *nira* is used after *cinīhna* in 3b above), rather than *nya*. Even in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is much older than the *Nāgarakrētāgama*, the use of *ira*, *sira*, *nira*, etc., as a respectful term for the third person is rigidly observed. For example, at canto IX, 27 we find:

Hana len aliman ya dalanya masō,
 binulus nya luput sira çīghra mēsāt,
 matakut ya tumon sira sahasika,
 tumēdun ya sakeng aliman malayū.

There was another (demon) who came forward mounted on an elephant;
 he (the demon) stabbed but missed, as he (Hanuman) quickly leaped aside.
 He (the demon) was afraid, seeing him (Hanuman) so terrifying;
 he (the demon) jumped off the elephant and fled away.

(See H. Kern [ed.], *Rāmāyaṇa*, Oudjavaansch heldendicht [The Hague: Nijhoff,

- 5) a. as a boundary marker, and from that time on, people all feared to leave their own dwellings.
- b. The reason (therefore) that a temple of (Prajñaparamita) was built there, was that the land of Java might again be united,
- c. and stable, having a king for the whole country, so known throughout the world, and not to waver,
- d. and to be a sign that the *Grī Nṛpati* was victorious over all the world, a king (who was in fact) a cakravartin.

The *Calong-Arang* version of this division of the realm is very different. Nothing is said about Bharadaḥ's flight with the jar or his curse on the tamarind tree. The story goes as follows:¹²

Some time after the two sons of king Erlangghya were crowned to become kings of Janggala and Kadiri by Mpu Bharadaḥ, the king of Kadiri, heeding bad advice, decided to attack his brother, the king of Janggala. On hearing this, the king of Janggala went to king Erlangghya, who had in the meantime become an ascetic, to inform him of his younger brother's plans. King Erlangghya sent a messenger to admonish the king of Kadiri, but all his efforts were in vain. War between the two brothers broke out, causing many casualties on both sides. King Erlangghya then sent a messenger to Mpu Bharadaḥ informing him of the fighting and asking him to stop it. Mpu Bharadaḥ agreed to carry out this request. He went to the king of Kadiri and prevented him from attacking his brother. Afterwards, he went to the king of Janggala to advise him to stop the fighting. Both kings, fearing a curse if they dared to oppose

1900], p. 118. The translation is mine.)

We can see from the above that the author consistently uses *sira* for the hero Hanuman, while for the demon he uses *ya* and *nya*. Another example comes from the *Nāgarakrētāgama* itself, at canto 42, 1 (the text is adapted from Pigeaud, *Java*, I, p. 32. The translation is my own):

*Çākābda yama çūnya sūryya diwaça nṛpati muwah amati durjjana,
ikang mahiṣa raṅgkah atyaya kaṭungka nika pinalēh ing sanāgara
ring anggawiyānarkka çāka sira motusan kana ri Bāli cūrnitan,
nda tandwa kawēnang ratu nya kahanjang tēka i narendrā sakrama.*

In the *Çāka* year 1202 the king destroyed another scoundrel;
he was Mahiṣarāngkah, who was extremely wicked and loathed by the people
throughout the land.

In the *Çāka* year 1206 he sent (his troops) to ravage Bali.

In a short time its king was conquered and brought before the king as
a humble captive.

The king mentioned in the first line is *Kṛtanāgara* and the author uses the word *sira* to refer to him when he is mentioned again in the third line. For the evil-doer Mahiṣarāngkah, however, he uses *ikang* and *nika*. For Bali he uses *nya*.

Finally, it seems most unlikely that, as Berg would have it, the stunted Bharadaḥ was made into a boundary marker and had to stay permanently on the border. Even Berg ("Herkomst," p. 41) admits that *tugu* means "iets dat overeind staat" (something that stands upright on its end) or "iets dat in de grond gezet is" (something implanted in the ground)--which means that some permanent object was established as boundary marker (cf. text of canto 68, 5a given earlier on page 53).

12. What follows is my own summary of the text and translation given in R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, "De Calon-Arang," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 82 (1926), pp. 110-80, particularly at pp. 140-43 and 176-78.

the great sage, withdrew their armies. Then Mpu Bharadaḥ carefully demarcated the division of the kingdom and returned to the hermitage of king Erlangghya to report the success of his mission.

The *Calon-Arang* version is evidently more plausible, since it is free of magic and irrationalities; and at the same time it seems to help clear up some obscurity in the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama* version.

I would endorse the author of the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama*'s own implied conclusion (see the use of *mwang* at line 3 of canto 68, 1) that his version is essentially a linking or combination of the old legend of the stunting of the tamarind tree by Mpu Bharadaḥ and the tale of the partition of Erlangghya's kingdom. On the one hand, the fact that the jar with the water is mentioned in the *Kṛtanāgara*-hymn confirms that the Bharadaḥ/kamal-pandak legend was already old in Prapañca's time. On the other hand, Prapañca's description of Mpu Bharadaḥ as the great sage who lived in the graveyard at Lēmahcitra corresponds to the description given in the *Calon-Arang*.¹³ Furthermore, the fact that the variant name Erlangghya used throughout by the author of the *Calon-Arang* is here used by Prapañca suggests that Prapañca may have drawn his account from an earlier *Calon-Arang* version.¹⁴

In effect, I am proposing that the kamal-pandak story may have been inserted, through the link of the figure of Bharadaḥ, into the story of the partition of the realm which had an independent existence; and that therefore one should look at the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama* version with this possibility in mind, i.e., that the *Calon-Arang* story of the partition of the realm forms an essential background to the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama* tale.

Before turning to the *Calon-Arang*'s version of the encounter of Mpu Bharadaḥ and Mpu Kuturan to cast more light on the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama*'s text, it is necessary to clear up some possible misunderstandings. By making additions originating from other editions of the manuscript which seem to be much later than, or at least not contemporaneous with, the *Nāgarakr̥tāgama*, and most probably not known to Prapañca, Berg ends up with a rather different picture of the story than that presented by Poerbatjaraka. I append below my own translation, together with relevant passages from Poerbatjaraka's translation and Berg's summary. First, Berg's summary:¹⁵

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13. See *ibid.*, e.g., at p. 115. The description may also be included to differentiate between two sages of the same name. Thus the Adiparwa [H. Juynboll, ed., *Adiparwa. Oudjavaansch prozageschrift* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1906), p. 51], speaks of "dudu Kaçyapa bapa sang Garuḍa, Kaçyapa len sangke sira," distinguishing the sage Kaçyapa who is the father of Garuḍa from the sage Kaçyapa who specializes in healing illnesses caused by poison ("wruh ring mantroṣadha sarpabiṣa").
 14. For Berg's argument that Prapañca was quite familiar with an early version of the *Calon-Arang*, see his "Herkomst," pp. 137, 140.
 15. This is a translation of part of Berg's summary as contained in his "Herkomst," p. 132. It should be noted here that Berg argues that Kuturan was not really a contemporary of Erlangghya and Bharadaḥ at all, but rather someone sent by the ruler of Majapahit to establish political foundations in Bali according to Majapahit patterns. I myself believe that Mpu Kuturan was an eleventh century contemporary of Mpu Bharadaḥ and king Erlangghya, as most of the stories indicate, rather than someone who was sent by the ruler of Majapahit in the fourteenth century.

Erlanggya wishes to give each of his sons a kingdom. . . . [They are to be Java and Bali. Bharada is sent to gain the acceptance of Mpu Kuturan, the most powerful figure in Bali.] On his arrival at Çilayukti, Kuturan's dwelling place, Bharada is obliged to wait in the antechamber. . . . After some time, however, Kuturan is prepared to receive Bharada. Bharada explains king Erlanggya's intentions, and says how good it will be when Java and Bali are firmly united. . . . Kuturan's first reaction is a blunt rejection, for he has a grandson whom he wants to make king of Bali. Bharada presses him further, however, and subsequently Kuturan, though indeed not yet prepared to agree, at least does promise that after his death Java will be allowed to attack Bali and will be successful in bringing about the unity of Java and Bali. Annoyed at his poor success, Bharada leaves Kuturan without ceremony, and throws Bali into confusion with new plagues. In punishment Kuturan paralyzes his capacity to travel on a leaf. Bharada is only able to do this again once he has returned to Çilayukti to ask respectful leave of Kuturan. Then he can even return to Daha through the air. In Daha, Bharada gives his report. For fear that Kuturan may curse him, Erlanggya decides to divide Java itself in two. Bharada heartily approves of this at once and proposes to call the two new states Janggala and Kaçiri.

Then, Poerbatjaraka's version:¹⁶

After the Lord Bharadah had made his obeisance, he went and took his seat. Then he spoke to the Lord Kuturan as follows: "I offer my humble thanks for your greeting. The reason why I have come to you here is that I desire to win your consent, particularly in regard to the fact that my pupil, the Lord King of Java, named Great King Erlanggya, with the consecratory name Jatiningrat, has two sons. One of these two is now intended to be made king here on Bali, while the other shall remain on Java. So shall Bali henceforth be peacefully united with Java. That is my wish." The Lord Kuturan answered: "Is that truly the reason why you have come here, my colleague? If that is so, I can give you no consent. I see no reason to make him king here on Bali. For there is already someone, a grandson of mine, who is to become king here. He is the one who shall be elevated to become King of Bali." The Lord Bharadah continued: "Lord, I would still point out again that the other islands, great territories, are all submissive to Java and bring her tribute." The Lord Kuturan spoke: "It does not matter to me that they all pay tribute and are submissive to Java. As regards Bali, I will permit nothing of the sort. I agree that [Bali and Java] be united through war. Then I will do what I can. When I am dead, then the king of Java can have his way and take possession of Bali."

. . . The holy Bharadah spoke: "Ah, my son the King, I have been to Bali, yet I have not achieved my purpose. The holy one of Çilayukti would not consent that one of your sons should become king on Bali. He was very angry and would not agree. One of his grandsons is to become king there. He even measured his power against mine. I almost could not get back to Java. Standing on a breadfruit leaf, I sank in the water." The King said, as he made his obeisance at the foot of the holy one: "Lord, do not continue

16. This is a translation of Poerbatjaraka's Dutch-language version given in "De Calon-Arang," pp. 173-75. Only the most relevant passages are cited here.

with this plan, if things are so. For the supernatural power of the holy one of Bali is extraordinary. If you press him further, he will end by laying a curse on us. We shall divide Java in two." The holy one spoke: "Ha! Your words touch my heart, O King. I shall name [the halves] Janggala and Kadiri. Do not linger, quickly make all preparations while I am still here. I shall in the meantime go to rest in my chamber. . . ."

Finally, here is my own, somewhat longer translation:

Let us relate the state of the king in his capital city. He was pleased, contented in his heart and very famous. Under his rule the people were happy, no disturbance arose. . . . He had two sons, young and goodlooking. It was intended that they would be made kings. [The king] was only in doubt where they should rule. He wanted one of them to reign in the *nusantara* [outer region--literally, other island(s)] and the other in Java. But the king was still very much in doubt. Why? Because his sons were still very young and inexperienced. Were they not generous enough [as kings] they would eventually be left by their attendants. That was why they were not allowed to reign in very distant regions; the king wished one of them to reign in Bali, and the other one to reign in Java, as Bali was near, as if it were still in Java.

The king wished to hear the advice of the vizier, the regent, *rangga*, *kanuruhan*, and all his *mantri*. The king said: "My vizier, and all my *mantri* and *kanuruhan*! I wish to install my sons as kings, one in Bali and one in Java. What do you think of this? Also I wish to send a messenger to wait upon my teacher to ask for his advice. . . ."

The king ordered a *kanuruhan* to go to the hermitage. . . . Soon he arrived at the hermitage. The *kanuruhan* said: "I am the *kanuruhan*, ordered by your son to ask advice of you, my lord, because [the king] has two sons, and he wishes to install one of them as king in Bali and the other [as king] in Java. This is your son's concern upon which your advice is requested, my lord. Whatever you say, it will be done."

The hermit answered: "If that is the wish of the king, he cannot do it. The reason is that though there is no king in Bali now, there is a great hermit who stays at the hermitage of *Çilayukti*-village, an older brother of mine. He is very powerful; his name is *Mpu Kuturan*. I will go to Bali first, to visit the great sage of *Sukti* and ask for his permission. And you, *kanuruhan*, return to the city. Tell the king what I have said to you. When I return from Bali, I will go immediately to the city to wait upon my son, the king, to report everything I get from Bali. . . ."

The great sage *Bharaḍah* set out for Bali to the hermitage of *Sukti*. . . . Soon he arrived at *Sēgararupēk* [Strait of Bali]. He waited for a ferryman. But none was seen by the great sage. Then he saw breadfruit leaves lying on the shore. He took them and floated them on the water. Then the great sage *Bharaḍah* got on them. He stood on the breadfruit leaves and went eastward, heading for [a village] called *Kapurañcak*. . . . The journey of the sage is not related. Soon he arrived at the village of *Sukti* and took a seat in the guestroom.

The great sage *Kuturan* was in meditation at that time. For a long time he did not come out of the hermitage, still doing his prayers. The great sage *Bharaḍah* was not patient enough to wait for him

there in the guestroom. So he created water, engulfing the great Kuturan up to his neck. Still he did his yoga, not disturbed at all. Then he created red ants floating on the water and swarming around the neck of the sage Kuturan. Still he remained doing his yoga. Then the water dried up, the red ants seemed to be wiped off. He [Kuturan] already knew that his colleague from Lĕmah-tulis had come, but he pretended not to know. At length, after a long while, the great sage Kuturan came to the guestroom. Mpu Bharadaḥ stood up from the seat in the guestroom, and was welcomed by the great sage Kuturan: "Well, well, my younger brother, how happy I am. What brings you here? It is a great pleasure [for me] that you have come. Be seated. You have not visited me for quite a long time."

Mpu Bharadaḥ made his obeisance, then took a seat. Then he addressed Mpu Kuturan, saying: "I thank you for your welcome. My intention in visiting you, my lord, is to ask for your mercy, since my pupil, the king of Java, by name Erlanggya--Jatiningrat is his consecratory name--has two sons. He wishes to install one of them as king in Bali and the other one in Java. It is better that Bali and Java be united soon. That is the purpose of my visit, my lord."

The great sage Kuturan said: "If that is the purpose of your visit, my brother, I will not permit it. I do not want to hear that he [the king] will install a king here in Bali, because there is a descendant [of mine], a grandson, who is intended to be installed as king in Bali."

Mpu Bharadaḥ said again: "My lord, I tell you once more that all the other regions, great kingdoms, make submission and pay tribute to Java."

Kuturan said: "They make submission and pay tribute without reason. But here, in Bali, I will not permit [people] to do so. I have no objections if he invades [Bali] to make it into one country with Java, but I'll do my best to resist. Once I am killed, then it is up to the king of Java to rule Bali."

Then Mpu Bharadaḥ went and left the hermitage. He created a very terrible earthquake. Trees were wrecked and uprooted. People living on the shore were drowned by floods. Numerous houses of farmers collapsed. . . .

Let us speak of the sage Bharadaḥ. He left the village of Çilayukti and soon arrived at Kapurañcak. Immediately he looked for the breadfruit leaves to float them on the water and to ride on them. But at that moment the breadfruit leaves sank. Again he floated and wanted to ride on them, but [to no avail]; the leaves sank. The great Bharadaḥ was at his wit's end, saying: "What is happening to me? It seems that I will not be able to return to Java." But in an instant he remembered: "Oh, I have not yet asked leave of the great sage of Sukti. I will go back to ask permission to take leave of him."

Mpu Bharadaḥ went back to the place of Mpu Kuturan. Soon he arrived there and met the great sage of the village of Sukti. Mpu Bharadaḥ made his obeisance and asked permission to leave: "I ask your permission to leave, my lord."

The great sage of Sukti answered: "Well, you may leave, my brother, farewell! . . ."

The journey of the great sage is not related. Soon he arrived in the city of Daha, and found his son, king Erlanggya, giving audience. . . . The great sage asked forgiveness, saying: "Ah, my son the king, my mission to Bali has not been successful. The sage of the hermitage of Çilayukti will not permit one of your sons to be crowned king in Bali. He did not agree [with your wishes] and was very angry. A grandson of his is going to be made king. Then he dared to oppose my power. I was almost not able to return to Java. I mounted on breadfruit leaves and they sank."

The king, making his obeisance, answered respectfully: "My lord, if it is so, do not force him, because the great sage of Bali is extremely powerful. If you impose your will on him, it will only harm yourself. Just divide the island of Java."

The sage said: "Oh yes, what you say, O King, I like it. Call [the kingdoms-to-be] Janggala and Kaḍiri. Do not be too long, make preparations immediately, while I am still here. I will retire to my quarters."

The king accompanied the great sage as he retired to his quarters in the ivory building. There he was regaled with food and drink. Let us not speak about the great Bharadaḥ. Let us talk of the king. He went out again to order two thrones built, and also two pavilions where the princes would be crowned. The thrones, indeed the pavilions, that they built were extremely beautiful, their poles wrapped with colored cloth. Not to mention the numerous decorations of gold and nine sorts of jewels--they were marvelous. The thrones were built one on the east side and the other on the west. The guruloka, brahmins, bhujangga, and rēsi were present to give their blessings at the coronation ceremonies.

The princes, after being dressed up, came out to be crowned. They took their seats in the pavilions. They were crowned there and given blessings by the brahmins, bhujangga and rēsi, who carried out the coronation ceremonies. Gongs, gēnding, pereret, and other musical instruments were booming. After they were given the blessings, they sat on their respective thrones. They looked marvelous. The one sitting on the throne on the east side was called the king of Janggala, the one sitting on the throne on the west side was called the king of Kaḍiri.

The novelty of this translation rests on a reinterpretation of Mpu Kuturan's final reply to Mpu Bharadaḥ's request. The original text reads as follows:¹⁷ "Mawacana sira çri Kuturan: *Niṣkaraṇa* ika kabeh asrah upēti eḍep mareng Jawa kabeh. Yan i ngkene ng Bali, tan paweh nghulun yan mangkana. *Suka ingsun* yan lurugēn sabhumekēna; lah sa-antuk-antuk i nghulun *lḗkasa*. Yan nghulun *huwus paratra*, samana ta sakahyuning ratu Jawa areha iking Bali."

There are three important points to be made on this passage. (1) *Niṣkaraṇa*. I suspect that *niṣkaraṇa* already had an idiomatic meaning very close to the New Javanese phrase *ora teges*, as used, for example, in the sentence *olèhmu keraja-raja mbélani dèwèké iku ora teges* (your defending him doesn't make sense at all). The use of such idioms in the *Calon-Arang* is evident elsewhere, e.g., *jaga*--New Javanese *didjagakaké* (expected to be) (Poerbatjaraka, "De Calon-Arang," p. 136); *dingarryan*--New Javanese *kadingarèn* (how come that?) (p. 138); and

17. The text is taken from *ibid.*, p. 139.

amigraheng angga--New Javanese *nglarani awak* (hurt oneself) (p. 140). (2) *Suka ing.sun*. In the light of the above, I think *suka ing.sun* is also used idiomatically in the sense of "I've no objections . . ." "Go ahead. . . ." The New Javanese is *kena kowé*. The word *lěkas(a)* is here synonymous to *tandang* which, though it has various meanings, is best understood in this context as "to counterattack, to take measures to counter."¹⁸ (3) *Yan nghulun huwus paratra*. Poerbatjaraka (p. 173) translates this literally as "When I am dead" and in this is followed by Berg ("Herkomst," p. 132). This leads the latter to make the mistake of thinking that Bharadaḥ and Kuturan came to some accord, which is absolutely not the case. My reasoning is as follows:

First, Kuturan's words are clearly a challenge to battle, addressed to Bharadaḥ or Erlanggya. There is an almost exactly comparable *gloka* (cxvi, 8) in the *Sutasoma* kakawin which goes:¹⁹

hana pwa ri pějah patik nrpati, durbala saha bala koça wahana,
muwah sahana sang nareçwara wiçirṇna tēlas ika mamarwwateng raṇa,
samangka ta narendra yan larisa carwakna tēkap i çakti ning musuh,
kuněng ri hana ni nghulun syapa tika wěngang umalapa sang nareçwara.

Only when I am powerless, slain together with all the army, its
transport and vehicles,
and all the kings too are shattered, annihilated like mountains
on the battlefield,
only then can Your Majesty be sacrificed without hindrance because
of the enemy's power,
but while I still live, who is there who can touch Your Majesty?

Kuturan could very well have added a paraphrase of the last line to his words, e.g., "kuněng ri hana ni nghulun syapa tika wěngang umadėgakna ratwing Bāli?" [but while I still live, who is there who can set up a king in Bali?]. In the *wayang* plays such phrases are very frequent, appearing in such variations as:²⁰

Bėgasuksma: 'Ora tēdėng aling-aling, aku radjaputra Tawanggantungan,
Radėn Bėgasuksma kang dadi aranku. Hėh Pamadya! Adja
ganggu gawė kang dadi karepku, ulungna dėwi Wara Sumbadra.'

I will reveal my identity, I am the Crown Prince of Tawang-
gantungan. Radėn Bėgasuksma is my name. Hey! Don't inter-
fere with my desired intent, surrender Wara Sumbadra.

Premadi: 'Wara Sumbadra kena kok-gawa, jėn bareng karo mustakanė
satrija Madukara.'

You may take Wara Sumbadra only along with the head of the
knight of Madukara [Premadi].

Second, if the two sages indeed came to some accord, why should they fight afterwards, even though indirectly, especially when it is

18. H. H. Juynboll, *Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst* (Leiden: Brill, 1923), pp. 492, 1, and 227.

19. Soewito Santoso, "Boddhakawya Sutasoma" (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1968), ii, p. 183; iii, pp. 231-32.

20. Ki Siswoharsojo, *Wahju Purba Sedjati* (Yogyakarta: Siswoharsojo, 1956), p. 112.

evident that Bharadaḥ was no match for Kuturan? If Bharadaḥ felt that he could defeat Kuturan, he surely would not have accepted such a half-way agreement and would have fought to get his way. Indeed this is what he did, but without success.

Third, if Bharadaḥ really got the impression that there was some agreement in the words of Kuturan, why did he not report it to king Erlanggya? Such an agreement, had it existed, however partial and therefore disappointing, would have been important enough to be reported and perhaps recorded for future use as suggested by Berg.²¹ It seems very queer indeed that Bharadaḥ never breathed a word of it.

If this reasoning holds any truth, we may conclude that there was no agreement at all, and that Kuturan did not foretell that Java and Bali would eventually be united. On the contrary, he very clearly expressed his outrage at Erlanggya's proposal and his feelings were perfectly understood by Bharadaḥ. Thus the word "samāya" in *Nāgarakrētāgama* 16, 3c should not be rendered as *accord*,²² *afspraak*,²³ *covenant*,²⁴ *gelofte*,²⁵ and so forth, but rather by meeting or encounter.²⁶ With this I feel that the time has come to reconstruct the *Calon-Arang* tale in the *Nāgarakrētāgama*, which I do from *Nāgarakrētāgama* canto 68 followed directly by the passage in canto 16.²⁷ The two texts would run together more or less as follows:²⁸

Nāgarakrētāgama 68

Calon-Arang

1. a. As follows is the story concerning Kamal Pandak which is known from a well-established tradition
- b.
- c. And also that (of the kings) of Pañjalu and Daha at the time that the (is)land of Yawa was divided into two
- d. (by) Çri Airlangghya, out of love for his children, the two prabhus

He had two sons. . . . it was intended that they would be made kings.

21. Berg, "Herkomst," pp. 133ff., 246.

22. Ibid., p. 134.

23. Ibid., pp. 140-41, 253ff.

24. Pigeaud, Java, II, p. 33; III, p. 19.

25. H. Kern, Het Oud-Javaansche Lofdicht Nāgarakrētāgama, met aantekeningen van Dr. N. J. Krom (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1919), p. 55.

26. Monier Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary (new edition, New Delhi: Motilal Basarnidas, 1964).

27. See my translation of Nāgarakrētāgama 16, 1-2 in "Boddhakawya," i, pp. 90-95 where mention is made of the existence of long-standing travel restrictions which I connect with Erlanggya's period of rule.

28. In the left-hand column, the text and first translation are drawn from Pigeaud, Java, I, pp. 52-53 and 13; II, pp. 79-80 and 19. The second translation is my own. In the right-hand column, the translation is of Poerbatjaraka's text at pp. 136, 115, 138, 137, 139-41.

2. a. There was a Buddhist of the Mahayanist rite, an adept in tantric (doctrine), and a master of yoga,
- b. The one who resided in the midst of the graveyard at Lēmahcitra, with whom the whole world sought refuge,
- c. The one who reached Bali, the sea (his) roadway, treading the waters of the sea without fear,
- d. The well-known and celebrated mpu Bharadah who knew the three ages, the past, etc. . . .

3. This holy man, on being requested to divide the land, did not refuse. . . .

Nāgarakrēṭāgama 16

3. tuhun ikanang digantara sawetan ing
Yawaḍara
i Gurun i Bāli mukya kawēnang
parānaktikā
samāya nirang mahāmuni Bharada
rakwa mapagēh
lawan ika sang munīndra Kuturan
prakaça karēngö

(Pigeaud)

Verily the other countries there, all to the east of the Javanese country, Gurun, Bali are the principal ones, allowed is any travel there.

The covenant of the worshipful, the great sage Bharada, so it is said was firm,

The partner was the honored prince of sages Kuturan, renowned, one hears.

There is a story told by the old ones relating the adventures of the venerable Lord Bharadah, when he dwelt in his hermitage at Lēmahtulis. His supernatural power was matchless, above all the way in which he taught religion. He was complete in his understanding, and he knew the beginning and the ending of the world. He carried on his excellent asceticism in extraordinary fashion. . . . (p. 115)

The great sage Bharadah set out for Bali to the hermitage of Sukti. . . . He saw breadfruit leaves lying on the shore. He took them and floated them on the water; then the great sage Bharadah got on them. He stood on the breadfruit leaves and went eastward, heading for (a village) called Kapurañcak. . . . (p. 138)

The kanuruhan said: "I am the kanuruhan, ordered by your son to ask advice of you, my lord, because (the king) has two sons, and he wishes to install one of them as king in Bali and the other (as king) in Java. This is your son's concern upon which your advice is requested, my lord. Whatever you say, it will be done." The hermit answered: "If that is the wish of the king . . . I will go to Bali first, to visit the great sage of Sukti and ask for his permission. (p. 137)

Mpu Bharadah . . . [said]: ". . . My intention in visiting you, my lord, is to ask for your mercy, since my pupil, the king of Java, by name Erlanggya--Jatiningrat is his consecratory name--has two sons. He wishes to install one of them as king in Bali and the other one in Java. It is better that Bali and Java be united soon. . . ."

The great sage Kuturan said: "If that is the purpose of your visit, my brother, I will not permit it. I do not want to hear that he (the king) will install a king here in Bali, because there is a descendant (of mine), a grandson, who is intended to be installed as king in Bali."

Mpu Bharadah said again: "My Lord, I tell you once more that all the other regions, great kingdoms, make submission and pay tribute to Java."

(New translation)

It was true that the districts east of Java,
Prominent amongst them Gurun and Bali,
were proposed to be ruled by his sons,
[But] it was said and well known that
in the meeting of the great sage
Bharaḍah
And the mighty Kuturan [he] was firm
[in his refusal].

4. Karaṇa ni sang bhujangga tinitah ri
lakwa rasika
ikang inutus mangulwana ngawetana-
krama huwus,
saji-saji ning lumakwakĕn i sâjña
sang narapatî
sawiku sadayanangujar²⁹ aweh rĕsĕp
ning umulat

(Pigeaud)

Because the honoured ecclesiastical
officers are ordered for travels, their
worships, according to rank,
Those who are sent either West or East,
anywhere, have a custom already:
What is held in readiness by those who
perform all orders of the honoured
Prince, is:
Any *wiku* (ordained priest) every time
when he speaks affords pleasure to
those who see him.

(New translation)

Therefore the bhujangga--on his [Bhara-
ḍah's] orders--
Were bidden to go to the west and east
[pangastren = pavilions]; already
arranged
Were all the compulsory offerings
ordered by the king,
And, together with the wiku reciting
their formulas, they gave pleasure to
the onlookers.

5. irika tang anyabhumi sakahĕmban ing
Jawapuri,
amatĕhi sâjña sang nṛpati kapwa
satya ring ulah,
pituwi sing ajñalangghyana dinon
wiçîṛṇa sahana,
tĕkap ikanang watĕk jaladi
mantryaneka suyaça.

Kuturan said: "They make submission
and pay tribute without reason. But
here, in Bali, I will not permit
(people) to do so. I have no objec-
tions if he invades (Bali) to make it
into one country with Java, but I'll do
my best to resist. Once I am killed,
then it is up to the king of Java to
rule Bali."

The king . . . answered . . . : " Just
divide the island of Java." The sage
said: "Oh yes, what you say, O king, I
like it. Call (the kingdoms-to-be)
Janggala and Kaḍiri. Do not be too
long, make preparations immediately,
while I am still here. I will retire
to my quarters."

. . . Let us talk of the king. He went
out again to order two thrones built and
also two pavilions where the princes
would be crowned. The thrones, indeed
the pavilions, that they built were ex-
tremely beautiful, their poles wrapped
with colored cloth. Not to mention the
numerous decorations of gold and nine
sorts of jewels--they were marvelous.
The thrones were built one on the east
side and the other on the west. The
guruloka, brahmins, bhujangga, and rĕsi
were present to give their blessings at
the coronation ceremonies.

. . . After they were given the bless-
ings, they sat on their respective
thrones. They looked marvelous. The
one sitting on the throne on the east
side was called the king of Janggala,
the one sitting on the throne on the
west side was called the king of Kaḍiri.

29. Sadayana in Balinese and Sundanese still means "all."

(Pigeaud)

Then surely, the other lands, anywhere,
that are in the guardianship of the
Javanese Royal compound,
Are executing any orders of the honoured
Prince, equally, faithful in conduct.
Even though there were any commandment-
breakers, they are visited by expedi-
tionary forces and annihilated,
altogether,
By the activity of those (warriors)
there who belong to the Jaladhi (sea)
mandarins, numerous, glorious.

(New translation)

At that time all [the rulers of] the
other countries which were under the
rule of Java,
Observed the decisions of the king
[concerning the partition of the king-
dom and the coronation of his two sons]:
all were loyal in conduct.
Besides whoever [dared] to oppose the
decisions, [they] would be attacked and
destroyed
By the numerous and meritorious atten-
dants who were like the ocean.

Some remarks on the above new translation of *Nāgarakr̥tāgama*
16, 3-5 are appended to buttress the general argument of this article.

At 3b: *parānaktikā*. All the various emendations so far suggested
seem to me to have been influenced by interpretations of the previous
stanza. If stanza 3 is connected with canto 68, no emendation is re-
quired.³⁰

At 3c: If "samāya" is rendered with the original Sanskrit mean-
ing, then it fits with the *Calon-Arang* version, while if it is linked
with the New Javanese meaning, it leads to misunderstanding. If my
interpretation is right, it offers evidence that in the Majapahit era,
Old Javanese authors still had an adequate knowledge of Sanskrit.³¹
Furthermore, it is known that the word order of Old Javanese *çloka* or
Javanese *tembang* in many cases causes severe difficulty in translation
and interpretation. Very often one has to turn the *çloka*'s or the
tembang's word order into prose form before translating. The prose
order I would propose here is: *rakwa karēngö [i] samāya nirang*
mahāmuni Bharada lawan ika sang munindra Kuturan prakaca [siran]
mapagěh.

At 4a: If we look at the *Calon-Arang* story, we see that once king
Erlanggya asked Bharada to carry out the partition of the kingdom, the
sage in turn ordered the king to make preparations at once. That is

30. As Pigeaud has already made the necessary comparisons with other writers on the
text, the reader is urged to consult his *Java*, especially volume II.

31. Cf. H. B. Sarkar, "The Migration of Sanskrit grammar, lexicography, prosody and
rhetoric to Indonesia," *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, VIII, 2 (1966), pp. 84,
92-93.

why I regard the bhujangga mentioned here as the bhujangga of Erlang-gya's court and understand rasika as referring to Mpu Bharadaḥ himself. The words "kûlwân" and "wetan" do not refer to districts but merely to the pangastren built on the western and eastern side of the courtyard. The bhujangga, wiku and rësi were divided into two groups, and thus constituted had to give assistance in the performance of the dual coronation ceremonies. That is also the reason why Prapañca says that these priests together with the offerings and the sound of the mantra gave joy to the onlookers. The words "akrama" and "huwus" at 4b should be linked with "saji-saji" in 4c. The phrase "saji-saji ning lumak-wakĕn" (the required offerings) I render as "compulsory offerings."

Stanza 5. This stanza is actually Prapañca's commentary on the whole occasion. Each time there is a coronation, it is always announced that all subjects must obey the decisions of the king. Otherwise they will be destroyed.³²

It may be concluded from the disquisition above that there was neither an agreement between Bharadaḥ and Kuturan nor a prophecy by Kuturan that after his death Bali would be forcibly united with Java.

32. Compare W. L. Olthof (ed.), Poenika Serat Babad Tanah Djawi Wiwit Saking Nabi Adam Doemoegi Ing Taoen 1647 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1941), p. 113, concerning the coronation of the son of Panembahan Sĕnapati. On that occasion Pangĕran Mangkubumi uttered a similar warning to the subjects of Mataram. The passage runs as follows:

Thereafter on the day Soma [Monday] Ki Dipati Mandaraka together with Pangĕran Mangkubumi came out to the sitinggil [audience hall] and approached the Pangĕran Dipati Anom. The Pangĕran Dipati was seated on a golden throne. Dipati Mandaraka and Pangĕran Mangkubumi flanked him to the left and right. Pangĕran Mangkubumi stood up and said loudly: "All you men of Mataram, bear witness that the Pangĕran Dipati is now become Sultan, succeeding his father. If there is any man dissatisfied in his heart and who does not give his blessing, show your face now, and I will take him on in battle." All the people of Mataram applauded in chorus.

The translation is mine.