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Introduction

The words of Mpu Kaṇwa, in this Old Javanese poem (*kakawin*) to which he gave the name Arjunawiwāha, have echoed down the centuries for almost a thousand years. It is a humbling thought that with this edition one joins the ranks of many others who have also studied the text and have appreciated its value as a work of literature and as a vehicle for conveying spiritual teaching.

The aim of this publication is to present a text based on a limited number of manuscripts from the Balinese tradition, an English translation that may serve as a guide to understanding the original, some notes of a philological nature to assist in this, and a short explanatory introduction. It is hoped that in this way the poem will become more accessible to both specialists and general readers.

It is a lucky circumstance that the text itself (in Canto 36, stanza 2) provides us with the author's name, Mpu Kaṇwa, the name of the work, Arjunawiwāha, and the king under whom it was written, Śrī Airlangga.

No other works by Mpu Kaṇwa are known. The name Kaṇwa itself is derived from Sanskrit, and alludes to a rishi (sage) to whom some hymns of the Rigveda are ascribed and who is sometimes counted as one of the saptarṣi, the seven great rishis. He is called the son of Ghora and is said to belong to the family of Anggiras. Probably our author wanted to occupy the role of a rishi with his work in Old Javanese by adopting this pen-name.

King Airlangga is known from Javanese history, and ruled in East Java A.D. 1019-42. According to the last stanza of the text (36.2), Mpu Kaṇwa was anxious, as he was about to accompany this king on a military expedition (*samarakārya*). King Airlangga was probably Mpu Kaṇwa's sponsor, as well as king. He is referred to as *sang panikĕlan tanah*, which is normally translated as 'he over whom poets break their pens', an expression that occurs only here and in several late kakawins, namely Śiwarātrikalpa (Lubdhaka), Kuñjarakarna, Ratnawijaya and Astikayana, most probably in imitation of this place.

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Historical background

Because this may be relevant to an assessment of the significance of the text, a little space will be devoted to a discussion of the history of this period, in particular as relating to King Airlangga, using the most recent scholarly opinion as a guide.

The general context is one of rivalry and hostility between the realm of Śrīvijaya, ruled by the Śailendras and located in Jambi (Sumatra) and Kedah, and Java (with its centre in the valley of the Brantas in East Java) during the 10th century, as can be deduced from Chinese reports (Jordaan 2007a:1).

For Java, the sources are mainly epigraphic and art-historical. The inscription which tells us the most is that of Pucangan (formerly called the Calcutta Stone), dated 1041. This is important because, in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese, it gives an account of Airlangga's career up to that date, when he founded the hermitage of Pucangan on Mount Penanggungan in East Java.

We learn that Airlangga's predecessor, Dharmawangśa Tĕguh, died in 1006 during an attack on his palace, and was interred in a sanctuary at Wwatan in 1017. (On the dating of this attack, formerly put in 1016, see Jordaan 2006a:96-105.) At the time of the attack Airlangga was a boy of 16; he had just been invited to witness the marriage of the king's daughter when the attack occurred, but was able to escape with one companion, named Mpu Narottama. It is said that he went to live with hermits in the wooded mountains, wore the bark garments of a hermit and ate their food.

Airlangga must have been born in about 991. His father, Udayana, ruled in Bali, and his mother, Mahendradatta, was of royal Javanese descent, so that he was a relative of Dharmawangśa Tĕguh. It is unclear whether the marriage of the king's daughter went ahead, and if so, whom she married, and whether she survived. It is told that in 1010 brahmans visited Airlangga and begged him to undertake the restoration of the kingdom. This he did, waging many military campaigns, principally against Wĕngkĕr and Wurawari. He must have been well established by 1019, when he was consecrated as king. In his inscriptions his official name is Śrī Maharaja Rake Halu Śrī Lokeśwara Dharmawangśa Airlangga-Anantawikramotunggadewa. The element Dharmawangśa alludes to his connection to his predecessor.

The inscription of Cane, dated 1021, is the first to mention the Rakryan i Hino, by the name of Śrī Sanggramawijaya Dharmaprasadottunggadewī, a female with royal connections (witness the title Śrī). The Rakryan i Hino was the highest executive in the land after the king himself, often the heir apparent. It is the identity of this person that has caused debate. The following details may help to clarify this (see Jordaan 2006a).

At this time the king of Śrīvijaya was King Sanggramawijayottunga-

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varman – a name that is strikingly similar to the above princess's. In 1025 Śrīvijaya was attacked by the Cholas, who had been threatening hostilities for some time. In 1035 Airlangga founded a religious establishment called Śrīvijayāśrama, a name which obviously may allude to Śrīvijaya, although it also suggests simply 'victory'; in 1037 Airlangga is said to have completed the restoration of the kingdom.

In the Pucangan inscription of 1041 we meet for the first time a new Rakryan i Hino, with the name of Śrī Samarawijaya Dharmasuparṇacaraṇa Tĕguh Uttanggadewa; it is not clear what this (male) person's relation was with his predecessor, but again the similarity of name may suggest that he was her son.

Meanwhile, back in 1030, in the inscription of Baru, a Parameśwarī (Queen) had appeared (but without a personal name), alongside the Rakryan i Hino Sanggramawijaya. So now we have two females of high rank in the realm. The hypothesis that has been put forward to explain this is that Sanggramawijaya was a Śailendra princess from Śrīvijaya who had been married to Airlangga to cement a reconciliation and alliance between Java and Śrīvijaya in the face of the Chola threat (Krom 1931:262-3), and that later Airlangga married a Javanese princess.

Further evidence in support of this idea is found in the remarkable division of the kingdom by Airlangga into two kingdoms, Janggala and Pañjalu (Kadiri), apparently to avoid conflict between two sons with equal claims, perhaps one from a non-Javanese wife of Śailendra origin and the other from a Javanese wife. The statuary of the bathing-place Bĕlahan on Mount Penanggungan has also been brought into the argument, as it is thought to depict Airlangga (as Wiṣṇu), flanked by two goddesses, Lakṣmī on his right and Śrī on his left, who would then represent the two queens (Jordaan 2007b). This of course depends on whether the 'gargoyle' statues do indeed depict these royal figures.

Airlangga retired from the world in 1042, and died in about 1052. The question of his marriage, or marriages, may be relevant to an interpretation of the story of the Arjunawiwāha.

Literary history

It may also be useful to sketch the background from the viewpoint of literary history. The Arjunawiwāha was not the first poem of its kind, but the second that has survived. The first was the Old Javanese version of the Indian epic Rāmāyaṇa; it is generally agreed that this was written in about the middle of the ninth century, and in Central Java, while the Arjunawiwāha was written about two centuries later, and in East Java. In other words, there is a

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considerable gap in time and in region. Following the Arjunawiwāha, there is again a gap of perhaps more than a century, but then a period of great literary achievement occurred, in or around the kingdom of Kadiri (still in East Java). The great classic kakawins date from a short period, from 1175 to 1222: the Bhāratayuddha, Hariwangśa, Ghaṭotkacāśraya, Sumanasāntaka, Smaradahana, Kṛṣṇāyana and Bhomāntaka. The next period from which we have kakawins is the latter part of the fourteenth century, in the area of Majapahit, and then again a century later in the mid to late fifteenth century. Details of these works can be found in Zoetmulder's book *Kalangwan* (1974). Poerbatjaraka is of the opinion that in the poem Arjunawiwāha, and the inscriptions of Airlangga, we can recognize 'the highest flight that Old Javanese ever took' (Poerbatjaraka 1926:2).

Following the Majapahit period Hindu-Buddhist civilization in Java declined, and the torch was passed to Bali, where the classics were carefully preserved and much new literature, in the form of kakawin and kidung, was created.

Manuscripts of the Arjunawiwāha are in this way to be found in Bali, while some were kept for a long time in Java as well (and these days manuscripts are to be found in libraries overseas). It will be evident that the palm-leaf manuscripts must have been recopied a number of times, so that the text could be handed down to the present day, and has survived in such a good state of preservation that we find little significant variation. This is thanks to the excellent work of the copyists, and also to the metrical nature of the text.

The story

A summary of the story of the Arjunawiwāha was given by Zoetmulder (1974:234-7), but it may be useful to repeat this information, arranged somewhat differently, canto by canto.

Summary

Canto 1. Introductory lines; the god Indra is worried about the demon Niwātakawaca, who is threatening Heaven, and can only be defeated by a man. The gods decide to look for an ally, and have heard that Arjuna is performing austerities with the intention of being victorious in battle. But first Indra wants to test Arjuna, to see whether he is strong enough, and for this purpose he selects seven of the most beautiful nymphs of Heaven, led by Tilottamā and Suprabhā, to go and tempt him as a means of examining Arjuna's heart. They set out, attended by hand-maidens, and arrive at Mount Indrakīla; description of nature.

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Canto 2. Nature on the mountain seems to be welcoming them; the ladies talk about the types and character of beautiful ladies.

Canto 3. Discussion continues. They approach the cave that serves as Arjuna's hermitage and observe him seated there. They try various ways of distracting him and attracting his attention.

Canto 4. The sun sets and the moon rises; the ladies continue their efforts, and are being affected by desire for him. But Arjuna is still unshaken. After three nights it is clear that his resolve cannot be broken, so they return home to report to Indra; Heaven is overjoyed at the result.

Canto 5. Although the gods are reassured, there is still a doubt: Arjuna might not be interested in using his meditation for worldly power. So Indra disguises himself as an aged ascetic and visits the hermitage. Arjuna greets the sage, who praises his concentration but expresses surprise at the coat of mail, bow and sword lying at the ready. He suggests that Arjuna should pursue his practice to the highest level and abandon the world, which is, after all, only an illusion (comparison with wayang). Arjuna replies that he is only interested in pursuing his duty as a warrior.

Canto 6. Discussion continued. The sage tells him about the power of the senses, and Arjuna realizes that this is the highest truth. However, he explains that he is only doing this because of the bonds of devotion and love for his brother, Dharmātmaja (Yudhiṣṭhira). His only desire is to perform meritorious deeds for the benefit of others. Then the sage turns back into Indra, explains why he was tested, and urges him to continue with his efforts, as good fortune is at hand. He then returns to Heaven and Arjuna redoubles his concentration.

Canto 7. Indra's enemy has hesitated before attacking Heaven and sent out spies who report that Arjuna is performing austerities and may be recruited by the gods, so he sends out a demon by the name of Mūka to kill him. The demon turns himself into a wild boar which ravages the mountain. Arjuna comes out with his bow and arrows to confront it. Meanwhile the god Mahānīlakaṇṭa (Śiwa) has left Mount Kailāśa and in the form of a hunter also hunts the boar.

Canto 8. Arjuna's arrow and the god's arrow strike the boar at the same time and become one. The god accuses Arjuna of not being a good ascetic, but engaging in sinful behaviour by using weapons. Arjuna is furious and defends himself; they do battle, using amazing arrows that escalate in ferocity.

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Canto 9. The battle continues. Abandoning weapons, they wrestle. The god is about to be thrown when he reveals himself as Śiwa in his half-woman-half-man form. Arjuna hastens to pay homage to the god, and utters praises.

Canto 10. The words of his praise: homage to the one who is immanent in all; the origin and destination of the whole world, manifest in both the visible and invisible.

Canto 11. The image of the pot filled with water; the essence of Śiwa is unveiled...

Canto 12. Śiwa interrupts the hymn and presents Arjuna with his boon in the form of the arrow called Paśupati. The god disappears. The author inserts a didactic passage on following Arjuna's example. Arjuna is happy and is planning to return home when two heavenly beings (*apsara*) arrive with a letter from Indra: he asks for help against the demon Niwātakawaca. The emissaries beg him to assist them. He cannot refuse, puts on a magic jacket and sandals, and they set off.

Canto 13. Arjuna and his two companions travel through the sky to Heaven, and can observe the stars, sun and moon, and then see the brightness of Indra's abode, to the east of Mount Meru.

Canto 14. The ladies of Heaven welcome him, and then Arjuna goes into the presence of Indra, who is discussing strategy with Wṛhaspati. He explains to Arjuna about the threat and asks him to protect the realm of the gods. Wṛhaspati then gives full instructions on how Arjuna and Suprabha will go together to Niwātakawaca's court and discover his special gift (vulnerable spot).

Canto 15. Arjuna is entertained, but love is still taboo. The couple set off through the sky, talking amorously, and observe the beauties of the country below.

Canto 16. Description continued. The enemy's country, Maṇimāntaka, comes into view; the demons are preparing for their campaign. Suprabhā is dejected about her task of tempting the demon, but Arjuna reassures her.

Canto 17. Suprabhā takes up a position in the garden while Arjuna hides; the ladies recognize her, and are surprised at finding her there.

Canto 18. Suprabhā explains that she has come to offer herself to the demon king, and so the ladies inform him. He is overjoyed that the 'glory of Heaven'

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has apparently come over to him. He goes to the garden and impatiently tries to take possession of her.

Canto 19. She persuades him to wait and flatters him into telling about his powers; he reveals that his vulnerable spot in on the tip of his tongue, telling her not to divulge this. But Arjuna has been listening in, flies up and kicks down the gate, so the demon king puts her down and the two have the chance to fly away.

Canto 20. The city is in uproar, and Niwātakawaca realizes he has lost her and this was a trick set up by Indra. The whole army arrives and is ready to march against Indra.

Canto 21. Niwātakawaca and his four ministers are full of confidence; they set out. Long description of the demon army on the march; a bad omen for Maṇimāntaka.

Canto 22. Meanwhile Arjuna has arrived back in Heaven and reports what is happening. Indra orders the army to be drawn up; Citrānggada says they have been defeated before, by Kṣitisuta and Meghanāda, by being taken by surprise; he suggests going out to meet the enemy. Only Arjuna and Indra know about the secret.

Canto 23. The king of the gods comes forth, with good portents; long description of the army. Arjuna is at the rear.

Canto 24. They reach the southern flank of the mountain, and the army is drawn up for battle. The location is described.

Canto 25. The two armies meet. Long description of the battle, with attack and counterattack.

Canto 26. The gods are hard pressed and their battle array wrecked.

Canto 27. Arjuna and Niwātakawaca fight, using their powerful weapons; the army of the gods is in disarray, with Arjuna serving as the rear. Niwātakawaca is delighted and opens his mouth to taunt him, but it is filled with arrows and he dies.

Canto 28. The dead or wounded gods are brought back to life, and Indra and Arjuna return home. Meanwhile, the ladies of Heaven have been in distress, wondering what has happened.

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Canto 29. Arjuna is accommodated in the Nandana Wood, and is consecrated as King of Heaven, to replace Indra for seven nights (that is, seven earthly months). Description of the ceremonies. A place has been prepared for Arjuna to rest, with seven houses surrounding it, for the marriage ceremonies.

Canto 30. Menakā is told to wait on Arjuna, and points out the ladies who are ready for him. He is asked to enter, and Suprabhā is the first to be sent in; he courts her, and they are united. Finally she has to leave.

Canto 31. Outside maidens are playing music; next Tilottamā takes her place. He courts her and she is overcome.

Canto 32. Amorous conversation between Arjuna and Tilottamā. Finally her time is up.

Canto 33. A young girl takes her place; she is inexperienced, and has to be reassured by the attendants.

Canto 34. Her allotted time passes; three types have already been described, so the others are not mentioned. Arjuna betakes himself to the Nandana Wood and admires the trees, but is reminded of the people he has left behind in the woods (his family), and so gives expression to his feelings in the form of a poem, written on a board in the roof.

Canto 35. His poem; he is just wondering how to finish it when Tilottamā, who has followed him unobserved, completes it with a suitable line. The seven months have passed, and so he takes leave to return home. Indra apologizes for keeping him so long and gives advice on combating the power of the senses. Arjuna mounts the chariot, driven by Mātali, and sets out. Long description of the pining ladies left behind.

Canto 36. Arjuna reaches the Wadari hermitage and finds his brothers; the story is finished. Let it be called 'The Marriage of Arjuna', Mpu Kaṇwa's first attempt to write verse; he is agitated as he has to join Śrī Airlanggha on a military campaign.

Origins

The mention of Arjuna and his family places us within the framework of the Mahābhārata, the famous Indian epic. This consists of eighteen books (Skt *parvan*, OJ *parwa*), and with this story we find ourselves in the context of the third book, the Wanaparwa (also called Araṇyakaparwa). In the preceding

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book, the Pāṇḍawas have gambled their kingdom, Indraprastha, away, and have to go into exile in the forest for twelve years. It is an interesting project to investigate what links exist between the Old Javanese Arjunawiwāha and corresponding Indian texts. Zoetmulder has already devoted a lengthy discussion to the subject of the possible origins of the story, looking at Indian sources and possible Javanese influences (Zoetmulder 1974:227-43). I propose to revisit the question, adding some more details.

The mention of Śrī Dwaipāyana in AW 6.3d provides a useful clue, as we read: *atutur i pawĕkas sang śrī Dwaipāyana ri sira*, 'bearing in mind the instructions that Śrī Dwaipāyana had given him'. The context suggests that these instructions were to gain weapons with which to wage war on behalf of Arjuna's family, as is clarified in stanzas 4 and 5 of this canto. It was in obedience to these instructions that Arjuna had left his brothers and set out for the mountains in the first place, so this is an important point.

A search of the Sanskrit Wanaparwa reveals a parallel passage, where the sage Vyāsa (another name for Dwaipāyana) appears, realizing that the Pāṇḍawas are in a weak position and will need something much stronger to fight with. He speaks to Yudhiṣṭhira, saying: 'The time shall come of your fortune, best of Bharatas, when Dhanaṃjaya the Pārtha [Arjuna] overpowers the enemies in battle. Receive this magic knowledge [...]. When strong-armed Arjuna has acquired it from you, he will make it successful; he must go to both Indra and Rudra, to obtain weapons [...]. For he will be capable, through his austerities and gallantry, to set eye on Gods [...]' (Van Buitenen 1975:295). And so Yudhiṣṭhira speaks to Arjuna and tells him about the secret knowledge and instructs him to travel to the North.

Having reached the holy mountain, Indrakīla, Arjuna meets an ascetic, 'blazing with the luster of *brahman*, yellowish, braided and wan' (Van Buitenen 1975:297). This ascetic is Indra, just as in the kakawin, Cantos 5-6.

The meeting with Śiva is introduced with the dispute with the hunter (*kirāta*). The demon Mūka in the form of a boar is killed by both Arjuna and Śiva, and in the ensuing fight Arjuna is worsted (Van Buitenen 1975:300-1). The god reveals himself and grants the weapon Pāśupata. 'Soon after, the blessed Lord Śakra [Indra] arrived on the head of Airāvata' (Van Buitenen 1975: 304); Airāvata is, as we know, the name of Indra's elephant mount, but in the kakawin (13.7c) it is the name of one of the two *apsara* who will escort Arjuna to Heaven.

During his journey to Heaven, Mātali, Indra's charioteer, explains about the stars to be seen in the sky: 'Those lights to be seen as the stars look tiny like oil flames because of the distance, but they are very large' (Van Buitenen 1975:308). Here we can compare the kakawin (13.5-6):

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(5) The orbs of the stars, the sun and moon
Appear to be smaller than man himself;
Even so, they are large, and because of their distance
Seen from the earth, they twinkle.
(6) The stars are exceedingly small and only faintly visible
Because of their height above the disk of the moon.
The sun is the same distance from the moon
As the distance of the earth from the sun.

Then having arrived in Heaven, Arjuna is made to sit next to Indra on his throne; he receives a thunderbolt weapon, stays there for five years, becomes skilful with the great weapons he has been given, and even acquires the art of music (Van Buitenen 1975:310).

It turns out that there are 'certain Asuras, Nivātakavacas by name, who, driven mad by the gift of a boon, are doing us disfavours. With the insolence of their strength they have designs to slay the Gods [...]'. It is Arjuna who will be a match for them (Van Buitenen 1975:311).

From this point onwards, the Sanskrit text of the Wanaparwa and the kakawin seem to diverge. The Wanaparwa inserts very long passages, such as the tale of Nala and Damayantī and the tour of the 'sacred fords', before returning to the battle with the Nivātakavacas much, much later – no wonder Mpu Kaṇwa now went his own way.

In short, for about the first third of the kakawin there are some rather striking parallels with the Wanaparwa, suggesting that a closer look at the Sanskrit text might be fruitful. However, the Wanaparwa contains no mention at all of seven nymphs, or of Arjuna being tempted, let alone being married. Similarly, in the kakawin Niwātakawaca (now an individual, rather than a race of demons) has been moved to the very beginning of the story, in order to provide a motivation for Indra's action in having Arjuna tested.

As Zoetmulder pointed out, when considering the question of an Indian model for the kakawin, there exists a work by Bhāravi (6th century) known as the Kirātārjunīya which contains a story similar to the kakawin, up to the granting of weapons, and even has Indra sending gandharwas and apsarasas to disturb Arjuna, with a lengthy description of their journey through the forest (Zoetmulder 1974:239-40). The Kirātārjunīya consists of eighteen sargas, and a summary is provided by I.V. Peterson in her study of this *mahākāvya* ('court epic') from the viewpoint of poetics (Peterson 2003:30-3).[1]

The summary shows that, while the nymphs are present and have a seductive role comparable to the kakawin, there are nevertheless numerous differ-

1 Another summary can be found in Keith 1920:109-11.

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ences in detail. Only in the kakawin is their action motivated by a need to test Arjuna for the task of defeating Niwātakawaca on behalf of Indra. And only in the kakawin do we find Arjuna's reward for defeating him, in the form of becoming King of Heaven and being united with the seven heavenly ladies.

In short, from general themes and even textual details it appears that Mpu Kaṇwa knew both the Wanaparwa and the Kirātārjunīya, but that he then created a new and original work, with its own logic. He was not translating someone else's work. His poem seems to be responding to a creative impulse that arose in the setting of Java and of the reign of King Airlangga, in the first half of the eleventh century. This conclusion is in general agreement with Zoetmulder's, when he says, 'The most likely assumption, therefore, seems to be that the *kakawin* was an original creation of *mpu* Kaṇwa, or that the story already existed in Java and was cast into this form by him' (Zoetmulder 1974:240-1), and 'The part of the story which begins with Śiwa's disappearance after granting Arjuna his favour, that is, about two-thirds of the poem, is virtually an entirely new creation' (Zoetmulder 1974:243).

It is worth adding that, alongside the Arjunawiwāha, there is another kakawin that tells about Arjuna's adventures in this context, namely the Pārthayajña, which describes his journey to Mount Indrakīla, and within this frame includes much spiritual teaching. This work, however, dates from a later period, and is unpublished (for a summary and discussion, see Zoetmulder 1974:367-74).

Finally, almost as a footnote, we should note that of the books of the Mahābhārata we have in Old Javanese prose versions the first (Ādiparwa), fourth (Wirāṭaparwa), fifth (Udyogaparwa) and sixth (Bhīṣmaparwa). The second (Sabhāparwa) is found in just one manuscript in the Merbabu Collection (Kuntara Wiryamartana and Van der Molen 2001:53), and the third (Wanaparwa) is missing. Further, the Wirāṭaparwa is dated to 996, and the others are also datable to the reign of Dharmawangśa Tĕguh. In other words, these summaries or adaptations of the Sanskrit into Old Javanese were made not long before disaster struck the kraton in 1006. So we can only speculate on whether an Old Javanese version of the Wanaparwa ever existed, or was perhaps lost, and do not know whether Mpu Kaṇwa was acquainted with it in Sanskrit or Old Javanese. However, this is not important, as he must have been well versed in Sanskrit, certainly if he was able to read and take ideas from the Kirātārjunīya.[2]

[2] Poerbatjaraka remarks that the language and the spelling of the Arjunawiwāha agree in many respects with the inscriptions of Airlangga (Poerbatjaraka 1926:2). In connection with dating, this is a suggestion that deserves to be investigated further.

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Kakawin and its significance

Kakawin and kāvya

Old Javanese poetry is written in a form called *kakawin*, that is, verse arranged in 'stanzas' of four lines each, with their syllables arranged in patterns based on 'quantity', as in Sanskrit; a number of these stanzas in the same 'metre' constitute a canto. Detailed descriptions of this system have been given in many other places, so need not be repeated here.[3] Instead, some remarks will be made in an attempt to explore the nature of *kakawin* a little further.

We have often claimed, parrot-fashion, that *kakawin* is the pendant of the Indian *kāvya*. In fact A.K. Warder informs us that *kāvya* have been composed in various languages, especially Sanskrit, but also including Tamil and languages 'as remote as Javanese, which has an extensive *kāvya* literature' (Warder 1972:8). The term *kāvya* is defined as 'literature as a form of art', and thus it excludes religious scriptures, histories and all technical works (Warder 1972:x). An extensive theoretical literature on *kāvya* has been preserved. Poetics and drama are closely connected, the most ancient treatise on the subject being the Nāṭyaśāstra. 'Naturally these two branches of study overlap, drama being a form of *kāvya* and using the same style and figures, whilst poetics is actually treated in the Nāṭyaśāstra as part of the techniques of the theatre' (Warder 1972:9).

D. Ingalls writes: 'When it is the plot of the narrative that holds our interest and furnishes our delight rather than a mood or suggestion induced by poetic means, we are not dealing with kāvya' (Ingalls 1965: 5).

So it seems we may have to revise our original assumption regarding the equation of *kakawin* with *kāvya*. In fact probably we should have been referring to *mahākāvya* ('great kāvya or kāvya of great things'), of which Warder says, '[...] we are concerned with an artificial epic as opposed to the true epic of more ancient times. As the aim here is comprehensiveness, the *kawi* [poet] displays his skill in lyric descriptions as well as in epic narrative' (Warder 1972:169).

A primary characteristic of *kakawin* is that it contains narrative. The other elements, namely descriptions of nature and of romantic episodes, or of teaching (philosophical or religious), have to be placed within the framework of the narrative plot. In other words, the author's aim is basically to carry us from the beginning of the action through to the end, as effectively as possible.

The aesthetic theories of Indian poetry as set out in the Nāṭyaśāstra may have had some influence on the technique of Javanese poets, in view of

[3] See, for example Zoetmulder 1974:101-121; Teeuw and Robson 2005:21-30.

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the prominence of *rasa* (the theory of the arising of the six sentiments) in literary thinking at the time, even though there is no comparable textbook in Old Javanese to support this. Nevertheless, the fundamental closeness of poetry and drama in the Indian source may have something to teach us about Javanese poetry.

Peterson tells us that court epics (*mahākāvya*) 'may tell a story and may impart moral values in doing so, but their primary function is to adorn and beautify, and thus render auspicious, the persons and milieu that they celebrate. *Alaṃkāra*, 'ornament,' a key concept in Sanskrit poetics as well as in Indian civilization, is useful in explaining the cultural function of *kāvya* [...]. In Indian civilization ornaments are intrinsically auspicious, that is, life-offering, capable of ensuring the prosperity and well-being of the person or thing they adorn. As language in its most artistic – 'ornate,' 'figurative' – form, *kāvya* works are themselves *alaṃkāras*, auspicious ornaments for their courtly milieu. But drama and court epic, the two poetic forms with themes and imagery closest to the lives of kings, are especially charged with the auspicious function of reflecting, augmenting, and ensuring the prosperity and royal glory (*śrī*) of the king, under whose protection the community of patrons and poets flourished' (Peterson 2003:10-11). We will encounter the concept of *śrī* again shortly, as it is directly relevant to the Arjunawiwāha.

Regarding language, one more point can be quoted here: 'The court epic [...] is a ceremonial text not in that it is embedded in specific sacred contexts, but that, as a sophisticated form of panegyric or praise-poem, like the chants of the Vedas, it *embodies* the sacred power of speech, a power that is capable of increasing the glory of the object of praise' (Peterson 2003:11).[4]

The world of the kakawin is an elevated one, inhabited not only by human beings but equally by gods and demons, and their interaction (conflicts and unions) does not serve to tell us about human emotions, but appears to carry messages of a different kind – not purely lyrical, not purely philosophical, not purely historical. We can formulate the hypothesis that each specimen teaches us something about the nature of the relation between the visible and the invisible (or human and divine), a subject which is crucial for managing the power-relations that complicate existence in this world.

On an earlier occasion (Robson 1983:299-309) I proposed the idea that allegory may have been an integral part of kakawin, in the sense that there are two layers of meaning or interpretation. How this might apply to the Arjunawiwāha will be explained below.

The ritual act of composing kakawin creates a context in which a living

[4] Referring to panegyrics, Ingalls makes a similar point: 'To say a thing in ritual is to bring it to pass' (Ingalls 1965:291).

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ruler and a mythological figure can be identified and the attributes of the latter transferred to the former in the shape of allegory. In the case of the Arjunawiwāha, if Arjuna is described as achieving his goals, as being victorious and enjoying the rewards of his efforts, then anyone identified with him will share in these. Whether this person is Airlangga may be deduced from the opening and closing stanzas.

Kakawin serves to place Javanese royalty in a mythological context in order to tap into the source of power. As an artifact, the kakawin text itself is imbued with divine power, as it is a 'temple of words' (*caṇḍi bhāṣa*) into which the deity descends, or is called down by means of the poet's religious acts, so that he will have the ability to carry the story through from beginning to successful conclusion (Teeuw and Robson 2005:1).

If in all this we are drawing close to the thought-world of the Javanese dalang, this may not be coincidental. The 'technology' of wayang was after all familiar to Old Javanese poets, and Mpu Kaṇwa himself used it as an image: *walulang inukir molah angucap* (AW 5.9b), 'chiselled leather that moves and talks'.

Structure

The dense texture and complex grammatical structures of a Sanskrit *mahākāvya* contrast starkly with the simple, more open weave of Old Javanese, which has been described as additive or periphrastic (Uhlenbeck 1979:409). This is more suited to the perception of a narrative by ear, and there is ample evidence that the Old Javanese kakawin was intended *to be heard*. The logical implication of this is the presence of a reciter and an audience. And parallel to the linguistic level, the narrative level of the work will also have had to take account of the ability of an audience to keep track of the storyline, by being developed in a linear manner, with clearly articulated transitions from topic to topic.

We have no other term for the reciter than *kawi*, the actual poet or creator of the work, and assume that the author also performed the work. The term *dalang* is found only once in Old Javanese.[5]

The plot-structure of the poem deserves further study. P. Henry claims that the work 'manifests, on several levels, a concern with the image of balanced opposites [...]. The most striking instance of this concern with balance can be seen at the highest level of the poetic structure, where movement away from Mt Meru is paired with movement toward it, both on a large

5 This is in a comparison '*hanan bangun dalang*' (Kṛṣṇāyana 21.2); but the term is common in Middle Javanese.

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scale (Heaven tests Arjuna, Niwātakawaca attacks Heaven) and a smaller one (Arjuna goes up to help the gods, Arjuna and Suprabhā go down to trick Niwātakawaca). This four-fold structure is punctuated by description of the forest and countryside, in a manner resembling the use of the mountain/forest puppet (gunungan/kayon) in Javanese and Balinese wayang performance' (Henry 1986:22).

I can find no real evidence for a 'four-fold structure', but agree that there is a free communication to and from Heaven, and that the descriptions of nature may have more than decorative significance.

The storytelling moves fast and smoothly. There are no, or few, sudden transitions, and the narrative material is often distributed over more than one canto; the canto divisions do not correspond to episodes.

A possible division of the story into five parts could be made as follows:

Cantos 1-11	Introduction; Arjuna's ascetic practices; the boar killed; fight with Śiwa
Cantos 12-14	The hymn; grant of the weapon; summons to Heaven and instructions
Cantos 15-19	Arjuna and Suprabhā's journey; Suprabhā's trick
Cantos 20-27	The battle; death of Niwātakawaca
Cantos 28-36	Arjuna's reward in Heaven; return home[6]

The climax of the poem is the death of Niwātakawaca (Canto 27). This is written in the metre Jagaddhita ('Welfare of the World'), which might be an indication of its importance. However, against this idea is the fact that it is also used for Canto 3, for example, which does not have any special place, as it contains only (part of) the scene of attempted seduction. Otherwise it cannot be said that the text displays any clear markers regarding division of the story, or any stock scenes familiar from modern wayang. On the contrary, the author strives for a smooth, seamless composition, which flows naturally from beginning to end.

Given that the climactic moment of the drama is the defeat and death of the demon Niwātakawaca, and the amount of space devoted to the great battle between his forces and those of Indra, not to mention the fact that the demon's threat to Heaven supplies one of the two mainsprings of the action,

[6] Peterson tells us: 'In the *Nāṭyasastra* Bharata analyzes the development of the dramatic plot as coming about through the interrelationship of three kinds of structures consisting of five items each: five objective components of the plot, five stages in the progression of the action, and five points or "junctures in the presentation of the action," [...] The most important item in the list is *kārya*, the aim or goal of the poem's action, literally, "that which is to be done," [...]' (Peterson 2003:36-7).

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it can be argued that the conflict between gods and demons is a central theme of the poem. One can observe the same strife between gods and demons in many other works, for example on a grand scale in the Bhomāntaka (Teeuw and Robson 2005), as well as in Indian Hinduism. The gods and demons represent the powers of good and evil, or order and chaos, which are constantly in contention for domination of the world. Kings, the rulers of men, play the part of gods in their duty of establishing and maintaining the welfare of the realm by rooting out 'evildoers'. Each time there is a threat to the balance of forces, a divine figure is obliged to intervene in order to restore order. There may be several layers of significance in this theme. A psychological one is suggested by Zimmer: 'Men in whom serene clarity or goodness (*sattva*) prevails, worship gods; men in whom violent activity and desire prevail, worship yakṣas and rākṣasas' (Zimmer 1952:399). Another one might be ethnic: demons inhabit a non-Aryan region (*anāryadeśa*), as we learn from Bhomāntaka 79.11a.

The plot of the Arjunawiwāha has a cyclical movement, in the sense that it goes from the introduction of problems (Indra's being threatened by a demon in 1.2cd and Arjuna's striving for victory in battle in 1.4c) to the solution of these problems – the demon is defeated and Arjuna has the weapon needed to become 'all-conquering' (*digwijaya gati nira*, 36.1d). The drama as a whole thus symbolizes completion and achievement; it could not stop before these two goals have been reached. Mpu Kaṇwa states his aim at the outset as *mikĕt kawijayan sang Pārtha ring kahyangan*, 'to compose the victory of Pārtha [Arjuna] in Heaven'.

In other words, the enactment of the drama (in the form of recitation) actualizes in the imaginary world an outcome that may have been relevant in the visible world, and the audience will have been aware of the circumstances of the time and what the work may have been aiming to achieve. The king, Airlangga, who is offered homage as sponsor in the final line (36.2d), and by implication in the opening lines, is also aware of the matter and has given his blessing (approval or assent) (*anganumata*, 36.2d). The author is concerned because he is about to face a military campaign and has to accompany his king (various interpretations are possible here, see Comments). This is precisely the situation in which the depiction in kakawin form of Arjuna's victory would have served a useful end.

As an added complication, Poerbatjaraka was of the opinion that the text of the Arjunawiwāha is 'not free of interpolations and botchings', although he admits that all the manuscripts, including the ones from Java, contain the offending unauthentic passages. He asserts that they can be recognized from their use of language, such as frequent use of reduplicated forms (Poerbatjaraka 1926:4-6). While we may totally disagree with his views on interpolation on the basis of the inadequate arguments presented, there may

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after all be something more here than meets the eye.

In Canto 17, stanza 4 has been placed between square brackets in Poerbatjaraka's edition, showing that he considered this as an 'interpolation'. And when we look at it in its context, it is indeed true that it is superfluous, and a telling detail is the repetition of the word *sphaṭikagṛha* from 17.4d in the first line of the next stanza, 17.5a – something which is stylistically improbable.

Furthermore, subjectively one detects a shift in style in the poem, from the simple, clear style of the first half (approximately), to the more complicated, pretentious style of the second half. Style is hard to measure. However, we could count the number of unusual Sanskritic words that appear in the second half, words in fact unique to the Arjunawiwāha,[7] and the sometimes clumsy sentence structures.[8] These exotic words are found from about Canto 21 onwards, one example being *bhujagacarma*, 'snake-skin', in 21.7a – this is precisely a word that already turned up in 17.4b, in the so-called interpolated stanza. What does all this mean?

My hypothesis is that there are two 'layers' in the composition. The first layer or draft runs up to about the end of Canto 20, the point in the story where the demon army is about to march out. For some reason, the composition may have been left off here, to be taken up later, with the insertion of 17.4 and a continuation from Canto 21 to the end. This might account for the difference in style. It is impossible to say who the writers were – whether Mpu Kaṇwa went away to study fresh Sanskrit sources for his description of the battle, the inauguration in Heaven and the erotic encounters, or whether he handed it over to a disciple or a team of disciples. But it may have implications for our approach to the structure and significance of the text.

Cultural concepts

As foreshadowed in 2001 (Robson 2001:48), if one wants one's translation to be moderately comprehensible for readers beyond the narrow confines of specialists, it may be useful to attempt a sort of conceptual framework, with the purpose of clarifying some of the concepts that underlie this Old Javanese work and provide its logic and momentum.

[7] These are indicated in the Comments. Some look like Sanskrit, but are not listed in Monier-Williams (1899).

[8] Poerbatjaraka used the word 'gewrongen' (forced, contrived) (Poerbatjaraka 1926:111). He was not wrong.

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The kakawin world and its inhabitants

The world of the kakawin is broad. The writer's eye ranges far and wide, taking us to places far beyond the reach of common mortals. The events described and the characters who enact them are by no means limited to the earth and humanity.

The story of the Arjunawiwāha opens with the god Indra (*bhaṭāra Śakra*, 1.2c), the king of the gods, who of course lives in Heaven, the *indrālaya* (1.3a). We also immediately hear about the *daitya* (demon) Niwātakawaca, whose fort is located on the southern slopes of Mount Meru and who intends to destroy Indra's abode. The said mountain is at the centre of the world, and Heaven (also called *swarga*, 1.3d) is situated around it. We learn later (18.1b) that Niwātakawaca's realm is called Maṇimāntaka, a name which does not seem to have been found elsewhere.[9] So Niwātakawaca is not *in* heaven, but close enough to it to be a threat. Does this mean that he is on earth, or is the distinction irrelevant? Apart from Indra, all the other gods also live in heaven, as well as the rishis (1.3d), led by Wṛhaspati (14.14d), and Wasiṣṭha (29.5c) and, most importantly, the *apsara* and *apsarī*. The role of the *apsarī* will be central to the story.

Our hero is also introduced early (1.4c). He is called Pārtha, Arjuna, Phalguna, Dhanañjaya or Pāṇḍusuta. He is a human being (*mānuṣa*, 1.3c), and this is a crucial difference, as only a human being (not a god, demi-god or demon) can achieve what has to be done, according to what the Lord (probably Śiwa) has decreed. We will call him Arjuna. He has wives, Subhadrā and Ulupuy (1.9c), and older and younger brothers, of whom only the eldest is named, being called Dharmātmaja (6.4c). They dwell in the Wadari forest hermitage (36.1b), which is presumably on the earth. Their lost realm is Hastina, located within the bounds of southern Bhāratawarṣa (15.7d), that is, India or the kingdom of Bhārata. (The name Java, by the way, is found nowhere in the Arjunawiwāha.)

Travelling through the air (*ambaramārga*, 15.4a) from Heaven to Niwātakawaca's camp, the nymph Suprabhā and Arjuna are able to look down on the earth and can see various scenes. Because they are travelling south, Hastina may be somewhere south of Mount Meru.[10] Suprabhā is able to fly because she is a denizen of heaven, but Arjuna has to wear a special jacket and sandals in order to fly.

When Niwātakawaca has been deceived and then marches against Heaven,

[9] A town of the daityas called Maṇimatī in the Mahābhārata is listed by Monier-Williams (1899:775).

[10] *Bhārata-warṣa-maṇḍala kidul ndi kunĕng arah-arah ri Hastina*, 15.7d.

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the location where he joins battle with Indra's army, *lambung ikang giri-rāja kidul* (24.1a), is described in quite concrete terms (24.4), so it is clearly on earth, although Arjuna's subsequent victory was already termed as *kawijayan sang Pārtha ring kahyangan* (1.2b), 'Arjuna's victory in Heaven'. At least it was close to Heaven, as the demon forces were reported to have been harassing the inhabitants of Heaven (24.1).

There are several more points of interest in connection with location. We can list them in order. Firstly, the *apsarī* leave Heaven flying through the air and then descend on Mount Indrakīla where Arjuna is performing austerities in a cave (1.11); secondly, the god Indra visits Arjuna in the guise of an elderly mendicant to question him (5.2d); and thirdly Arjuna is escorted to Heaven by two emissaries from Indrakīla on the orders of Indra to receive his instructions, heading eastwards (*angawetan*,13.3a).

Each of these journeys is between the realm of men (*mānuṣapada*) and the realm of the gods (*surapada*), and is achieved without difficulty. This leads us to the conclusion that the two are interpenetrable. In other words, the gods can appear at any time and intervene in the affairs of men. The two locations are equally real and distinct, and there is a close connection between the natural and the supernatural in 'kakawin thinking'. This clearly represents an important feature of the thought-world of early Java, as seen in this source. And in the same way, the characters who people this world are both men and gods. Arjuna, a human being, in fact has Indra as his father, as is indicated here (e.g. Indra calls him *wĕkangku*, 'my son', in 14.9b).

Menakā, who is the supervisor of the *apsarī* in heaven, is actually a relative of Arjuna's[11], and Zoetmulder explains (Zoetmulder 1982:2046b): 'M. seems to be an elder relative or ancestor of Arjuna through the nymph Tapatī, mother of Kuru; compare Ādiparwa 157-159'.

No children of Arjuna are mentioned here, but we know that his wife Subhadrā (sister of Kṛṣṇa) would have a son, Abhimanyu, whose adventures are related in the kakawin Ghaṭotkacāśraya. His other wife, Ulupuy (Skt Ulūpī), was a daughter of the Nāga king Kauravya (their marriage is found in the Ādiparwa). He was of course also married to Dropadī in common with his brothers; she is called Drupadātmajā here (3.9b).

Asceticism

A theme that occurs regularly in Old Javanese literature is the practice of austerities. One can assume that it occupied a prominent place in the thinking of the people of early Java, as to some extent it does today. In early Java the

[11] *Tuwi tan waneh tuha-tuhânggĕh ira makakulârya Phalguna* (30.1c).

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idea was probably adopted from India, as part of the complex of religious and philosophical thought that became established in Java and formed the fertile soil from which a variety of cultural expressions grew. Of course the concept of abstinence in a religious context is familiar in Islam, Christianity and Buddhism, but it is in Hinduism that we have to look for further clarification of the workings of asceticism as they apply to our text.

The term in Old Javanese is *tapa* (Sanskrit *tapas*), 'religious austerity, bodily mortification, penance, asceticism' (Zoetmulder 1982:1945b), with its various derived forms, and often in combination with *brata*, 'religious vow or practice, any pious observance, meritorious act of devotion or austerity, solemn vow, holy practice (fasting, continence etc.)' (Zoetmulder 1982:260a).

There is an explanation in H. Zimmer's *Philosophies of India* which is worth quoting in full:

'The practice of tapas belongs to the pre-Aryan, non-Vedic heritage of archaic Indian asceticism. It is among the most ancient non-Brāhmanic elements of the old Indian yoga. It is a technique for the winning of complete mastery over oneself through sustaining self-inflicted sufferings to the utmost limit of intensity and time; also, it is the way to conquer the powers of the universe itself, the macrocosm, by subduing completely their reflection in the microcosm, one's own organism. What it represents is an extreme will for power, a desire to conjure the unlimited hidden energies that are stored in the unconscious vital part of human nature' (Zimmer 1956:400n).

This type of asceticism is morally neutral. In other words, it can be used for good or evil purposes. In our story, Arjunawiwāha, we see Arjuna practising asceticism with the purpose of finding the power necessary to defeat his family's enemies. But the same method has also been used by the demon Niwātakawaca earlier. When Suprabhā has arrived with the intention of deceiving him, she says to him:

19.3 'But Your Majesty already has magical powers and has obtained boons:
You are invulnerable, immortal and possess the eight qualities of kingship.

4. Your fame dominates the entire world,
And has spread through the whole of Brāhma's realm.
Wiṣṇu's world and Śiwa's world are both hushed,
Not to mention Indra's abode, which is overawed.

5. However, what is your most astonishing quality,
Obtained by restraining the senses and performing austerities?
If you have devoted yourself to yoga for a hundred ages,
You will have won a very great favour from Rudra.'

And he replies:

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6. ‘My dear lady, let me tell you, come!
The place where I did my austerities was very suitable:
On the slopes of the Himālaya there is a cave,
Four times it has collapsed and been completely blocked.
7. My worship to call up Rudra was always immaculate,
So the Lord was kind and took pity on me.
He acceded to every desire I requested:
The earth, heaven and so on he gave me to be my slaves.’

So there is an almost mechanical aspect to this process: the more intense the austerities practised, the greater the results. These results are depicted as gifts or favours granted by Rudra.[12] The god Rudra is the same as Śiwa, also called Mahānīlakaṇṭa and Śangkara.

Another term used in the same context as *tapa* is *yoga* (for example 19.5c above). Obviously this does not have the modern meaning of stretching the body into strange poses as a form of exercise. This is a huge subject in Indian thought; it is defined variously as the ‘practice of introvert concentration’ (Zimmer 1956:280), or ‘yoga consists in the (intentional) stopping of the spontaneous activities of the mind-stuff’ (Zimmer 1956:284), or, at greater length, ‘Yoga can be defined as a discipline designed to yield an experience of the sovereign aloofness and isolation of the suprapersonal nucleus of our being, by stilling the spontaneous activities of matter, which, in the form of the bodily or psychic shell, normally overlie the life-monad’ (Zimmer 1956:316). Yoga is founded on a doctrine of ‘psychological functionalism’ which was elaborated by Sānkhya. In Hindu mythology, Śiva, the Universal God (Īśwara, the ‘Lord’ in Old Javanese) is the supreme lord of yoga.

The definition of *yoga* given by Zoetmulder is: ‘exertion, endeavour, method or practice of mental concentration or penance (to control the senses, arrest the fluctuations (*wṛtti*) of the mind (*citta*), obtain supernatural power, achieve union with the deity or liberation)’ (Zoetmulder 1982:2363).

In the Arjunawiwāha, Arjuna practises *yoga*, for example:

5.4b *linĕsu nira ng yoga sakarĕng,* ‘he relaxed his yoga for a moment’;
5.6a *ikung yogābhyāsâtiśaya,* ‘that yoga practice of yours is extraordinary’.

His aim is not to achieve liberation (although he could have pursued it to that length), but to win victory in battle. He will only be able to do this if he can

12 *Yan langgĕng ikang Śiwasmṛti ḍatĕng śraddhā bhaṭārêśwara,* 1.5b.

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tap into a source of great power. After all, the Pāṇḍawas are in a vulnerable position, even if right should be on their side. Arjuna needs a weapon that can defeat his enemies, and it is only Śiwa who can provide one powerful enough to do the job. This is why it is vital for Arjuna to be strong and to maintain his concentration, despite all the seductions devised by the seven beautiful nymphs. If he should waver, then his efforts would all have been in vain.

So power is an underlying concept in the thought-world of early Java. However, this kind of power is not the usual, mundane kind, but one concentrated in a supernatural source, namely the gods. If we can gain access to this and channel it toward our purposes, then we will succeed. Perhaps 'energy' would also be a suitable term. In Old Javanese we have the terms *prabhāwa,* 'might, power, strength; an extraordinary, supernatural potency' (Zoetmulder 1982:1377) and *śakti,* 'power, strength', as well as *kaśaktin*, which is simply 'might, strength' (Zoetmulder 1982:1607-8).

The world of early Java was one in which power could be exercised by a range of beings, such as gods, sages and demons. The hero and warrior had to negotiate, propitiate or combat these, and it was the king's function to promote 'good' and eradicate 'evil' forces, in order to bring about the 'welfare of the world'. The aim is not balance or equilibrium, but the total annihilation of evil, often embodied in demonic figures. In our story, Niwātakawaca is the threat, and has to be defeated. He is not revived at the end of the battle, but is consumed by a fire-arrow with all his servants and vehicles (28.1b).

Duty and kingship

One of the most important basic concepts underlying the story of the Arjunawiwāha, one without which there *is* no story, is that of duty (*dharma*). It is only because of Arjuna's perception of his duty that he is performing austerities with the aim of obtaining the divine favour of a weapon in order to restore his family's rights. Further, it is the duty of a *kṣatriya* (warrior, prince) to fight in order to uphold justice. The fact that this duty is central to the kakawin tells us that it is closely related to and a product of the court culture of early Java and, more abstractly, the concept of kingship, as it functioned at that time.

The term *jagaddhita* ('welfare of the world') is so prominent in Old Javanese, referring to what a ruler is supposed to restore and maintain, that it must have represented a central idea in the thinking of the poet and his audience. The king is a *kṣatriya* and he has as his duty the protection of the realm; he is a refuge for those in distress.

The concept of kingship has to be included among the important underlying themes of the Arjunawiwāha. We have already noted that Arjuna is seeking to support his family in their efforts to regain their kingdom, but should

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not forget that in the Arjunawiwāha Arjuna himself becomes king – he is inaugurated as King of Heaven with full rites and ceremonies (*abhiṣeka* 29.8b), to replace Indra for a fixed term of seven months, 'to receive the fruits of his heroism' (29.1-7). He is bestowed with the Eight Qualities of Kingship (29.3d).

The description of the 'marriage' to the seven nymphs follows on this immediately, so it is hard to escape the conclusion that there is some connection. This is then part of the enjoyment of his reward, as Menakā says, '... be kind enough to accept the rewards due to one who has been victorious in battle. May you accede to the allurements of the seven' (30.2ab). The number seven applies to both the time spent in Heaven and to the nymphs.

Furthermore, we may recall that Indra is Arjuna's father, so there is a degree of legitimacy in occupying this position in Heaven, albeit temporarily. It was also not Arjuna's brothers who begat offspring who would succeed in the line of the Pāṇḍawas but Arjuna himself, through his son Abhimanyu and grandson Parikṣit. The Pāṇḍawas seem to have been regarded as primeval kings in Javanese thinking, as suggested in Deśawarṇana 43.1a (Robson 1995).

It is the achievements of Arjuna in his asceticism and winning a special weapon from Rudra which enable the Pāṇḍawas to gain the final victory – none of his brothers undertook such an action – and it was Arjuna, the skilled archer, who took a leading role in the Great War of the Bhāratas.

The story of the Arjunawiwāha then provides proof of how Arjuna, and in due time his line, was endowed with the qualities for kingship ('pleasure and power', 34.4a). Heaven is the source of his power, granted by Indra, so any king who could be identified with Arjuna, by descent or by description, would enjoy the same powers.

Eroticism and nature

The idea that the passages of description of erotic activities in the Arjunawiwāha might be interpolations has long been abandoned as some early twentieth century prudery. Instead, we prefer the view that all the various passages in the text belong there, including the nymphs and nature. This invites an interpretation of the significance of eroticism in the Arjunawiwāha. Such an interpretation must be based on the text itself, rather than refer to material from later kakawins which may, or may not, be relevant – after all, the next specimen dates from more than a century later.

My suggestion is that at least on one level the aim of the Arjunawiwāha is didactic. This view is in keeping with the opinion of Warder (1972:15-6) that one of the functions of *kāvya* is to teach. What does it teach?

The Arjunawiwāha teaches that:

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1. The princely class (kings) have a duty to perform;
2. Once that duty has been performed, its rewards may be enjoyed;
3. Sexuality and its enjoyment are good and legitimate; and
4. The pursuit of a spiritual aim is not in conflict with the above, providing one is not attached to the delusions of the senses.

The nymphs are an essential element in the story, because it is their attractions which are used as temptation, and which are therefore by a kind of 'poetic justice' provided as a reward for having been resisted. In this sense, the *wiwāha* (union with the nymphs) completes the dramatic structure of the story. Without this climax the work would not be complete. At the end of the story, Arjuna has done his duty for the sake of family; has enjoyed his reward for serving Indra; and has received instruction on spiritual matters from both Śiwa and Indra. This being so, he can return to his family and (later) be victorious over his enemies. In this sense, the text is optimistic and has a 'happy ending'.

Kuntara Wiryamartana is of the opinion that 'tampaklah bahwa kakawin yang bertema *kawijayan sang Pārtha ring kahyangan* (AW I.2b) itu, berintikan persatuan Arjuna dengan *Śakti*. Persatuan Arjuna dengan Śaktilah 'perkawinan Arjuna'' (Kuntara 1990:372).[13] Similarly, Creese believes that 'it is possible for lovers to achieve union not only with each other but also with the divine. In this way the energy and power of the divine is [are] realized in human beings. In tantric practice, sexual intercourse is perceived as ritual [...] The supreme deity of tantric practice is Śiwa in union with his divine consort Śakti [...]' (Creese 1998:201). However, in the Arjunawiwāha the word *śakti* is not used in this sense, and it appears not to have been used as such anywhere in Old Javanese (compare Zoetmulder 1982:1607-8), bearing in mind the definition of *Śakti* as found in Sanskrit, 'the energy or active power of a deity personified as his wife...' (Monier-Williams 1899:1044). The *apsarī* in the poem are not goddesses in disguise, or have any family associations with gods. The idea of tantric marriage seems to be based more on imagination or wishful thinking than on evidence. However, a comparable idea will be proposed in the next section.

The mention of *smarāgama* ('the art of love', 31.5b) in the context of sexual union probably serves to underline the supreme skill of the lover, and does not exclude the use of secret formulas for use to guarantee a good result, in the same way as is found in some modern Javanese *primbon*.

13 'It is evident that the kakawin which has the theme of 'Pārtha's victory in Heaven' has as its core the union of Arjuna with *Śakti*. It is the union of Arjuna with *Śakti* which is 'the marriage of Arjuna'.

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The modern reader will be struck by the use of features of the landscape, such as trees and mountains, as 'animate' actors in the story. Their function is to heighten emotional effects by matching the feelings of the human actors; in this way, an erotic mood can be created by describing parts of nature as resembling beautiful women. However, there is no evidence that 'the beauty of nature expressed as female beauty in Java symbolizes and celebrates the goddess alone', or that 'the beauty of the natural world is represented as Woman', as claimed by Rubinstein (2000:125). Finally, the term *kalangwan* (or *kalangön*) 'beauty', much discussed in this context (Zoetmulder 1974), does not occur in the Arjunawiwāha, and the author gives no clues regarding his theory of aesthetics.

Theme and significance

Airlangga and Arjuna

The opening six lines of the Arjunawiwāha are very important for an understanding of the theme and significance of the work as a whole. The first four lines (Canto 1.1) describe the characteristics of a person at a particular stage of spiritual development. This person is a *paramārthapāṇḍita,* 'scholar who understands the highest truth' (1.1a). As such, he does not seek refuge in 'the Void', that is, the state in which the world is perceived as 'empty', but has moved on and taken a step further (line a). Line (b) describes his intentions from a negative angle: he does not seek the objects of the senses as if engaged with or catering to worldly things. Then line (c) tells us what he does long for, namely to succeed in winning fame for deeds of valour and the welfare of the world. This implies that he has the inner peace required in order to be content to allow a 'screen' (*kĕlir*) to remain between him and the divine 'Cause of the World', the deity who brings everything into existence. It is not necessary to be one with the deity, because there is work to be done on behalf of those who live in the world.

The purpose of providing this explanation is to indicate the kind of person to whom the author (in the first person, 'I', OJ *–ku*) offers the deepest respect, bowing his head in the dust of the sandals of such a one (1.2a). The person who possesses such a level of understanding will be a reliable source of blessing (*manggala*) for the poet, as he commences the task of composing his poem. The poet needs the beneficial influence of the *manggala* in order to bring to a successful conclusion the work of narrating the victory of Pārtha (Arjuna) in Heaven (1.2b). This is a work laden with significance.

So who is being referred to? No name is given here. However, at the end of the poem we read that the king is Airlangga, and the poet who has written

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the *kakawin* refers to himself as Mpu Kaṇwa. The two, the poet and his king, have thus been linked, and it is most likely that here, at the beginning, it is also King Airlangga who is being alluded to. In other words, it is Airlangga who is the sage who does not seek to devote himself to release from the world, but instead strives to win fame for deeds of valour and to promote the happiness of others, in keeping with the duty of a *kṣatriya* prince.

However, there is another layer of significance in these opening lines. As we will soon see, the poem is going to depict the deeds of Arjuna, who is doing something similar – he is exerting himself in ascetic practices with the object of being victorious in battle (1.4c). Indeed, in order to dispel any doubt that he may actually wish to take his austerities as far as reaching release from the world, he is tested by the god Indra in the form of an elderly sage (Cantos 5 and 6). Arjuna explains that the duties of a warrior are fame and valour, and provided these are adhered to they will lead to final liberation (5.10d). In this way the opening passage of the Arjunawiwāha refers to both Airlangga and Arjuna.

As discussed at length by Berg in 1938[14], this opens up the possibility that the poem is an allegory, in which the adventures of Arjuna allude to the career of Airlangga, who is known to have taken refuge in a monastery, before being asked to return to the world to defeat his enemies and restore the kingdom. This suggestion seems not unreasonable, although it cannot be proved beyond all doubt.[15]

It is clear that Arjuna is determined to adhere to the duty of a warrior and to seek the welfare of others. The ones he wishes to help are his family, in the first place his eldest brother. He says to Indra: 'I am bound by the bonds of devotion and love. There is an elder brother of mine, Śrī Dharmātmaja – He is the one for whom I am performing austerities, with a desire for world-conquest' (6.4). The immediate aim of Arjuna's austerities (*Śiwasmṛti*, 1.5b) is to be rewarded by Rudra (Śiwa) with a weapon which can be used in the coming struggle for the benefit of his family. If he gets this special weapon, this will also make him an ally for Indra and Heaven, who are being threatened by the demon Niwātakawaca. So Indra wants to make sure that Arjuna is strong

14 'De Arjunawiwāha, Er-Langga's levensloop en bruiloftslied?' [The Arjunawiwāha, Airlangga's career and wedding song?]

15 Within the context of his discussion of vernacularization in India, Sheldon Pollock takes as a telling example the work *Bhāratam* (also called *Vikramārjunavijayam,* Arjuna's Victory of Power, c. 950) by the Kannada author Pampa. He shows how this is a clear allegory, identifying king Arikesari with Arjuna (Pollock 2006:356-63). The similarity in theme and time with Mpu Kaṇwa's work is remarkable, as Pollock says, in view of 'the virtuously simultaneous rise, in the ninth and tenth centuries, of the vernacular *kāvya* in the Deccan and the *kakawin* in Java' (Pollock 2006:537).

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enough, and his method for doing this is by using the charms of seven heavenly nymphs to test his resolve and the strength of his mental concentration.

The theme of Arjuna's asceticism (*tapa*), in particular the scene where he is tempted by the ladies, has been frequently depicted in art, for example Balinese paintings (Worsley 1988), East Javanese temple reliefs (Candis Kedaton and Surowono) and other places. It is even mentioned as the name of a wayang lakon in Malay literature.[16].

The theme of the poem as described by the poet in 1.2b is *mikĕt kawijayan sang Pārtha ring kahyangan*, 'to compose the tale of Arjuna's victory in Heaven'. But which victory is meant? It is probably not the victory over his own senses, essential though this is, but the victory over the demon Niwātakawaca, by means of which Heaven is saved from destruction. After gaining his weapon, Arjuna could have returned to the world immediately to help his family, but he is restrained by Indra, who has another task for him. Once this is done, and Arjuna has been rewarded and wishes to leave Heaven, Indra has to let him go and adds, 'My aim was that poets in days to come should give a beautiful description of your victory!' (35.6d) – a lovely touch of irony on the part of Mpu Kaṇwa.

The marriage

Indra rewards Arjuna, in accordance with his promise, by installing him for a time as king of Heaven and by allowing him to amuse himself with the seven heavenly ladies, whose beauties he had earlier resisted. It is this passage of erotic description that supplied the name Arjunawiwāha ('Marriage of Arjuna') that is given to the poem in its closing stanza (39.2a). However, we are not to consider this as abandonment to the senses, seeing that Indra has just warned against precisely this danger in a passage of teaching addressed to Arjuna before his departure from Heaven. We are definitely not intended to be under the impression that unbridled enjoyment is the message of the poem.

Berg (1938:24-6) wondered whether the whole final stanza, including the references to Arjunawiwāha, Mpu Kaṇwa and Airlangga, was an addition made to the text at a later date, and as evidence he claimed that the use of words is not in keeping with the rest of the text. I can find nothing to support such a linguistic argument, and point out that the stanza in question is present in all manuscripts. Even so, the use of the word *wiwāha* here is interesting, as it seems to contrast with the *kawijayan* mentioned at the beginning as theme of the story. Does *wiwāha* really mean 'marriage' or 'wedding', and if so, what sort?

[16] Hikayat Andaken Penurat, ed. Robson 1969:74 and 100.

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In an attempt to answer this, we observe that a word for 'wife' (*strī*, *kurĕn* or *binī*) is used nowhere to refer to the nymphs, and there is also no suggestion that one or more of these will accompany Arjuna homewards. Clearly, the coupling is strictly short-term – as the text says, one day and night each. On the other hand, the terms *piniḍuḍuk* (29.10d), *pawarangan* (29.10a) and *mamaranga* (34.3a) all seem to indicate some kind of wedding ceremony, although a ritual, an officiant or offerings are not referred to. The function of the *apsarī* is to tempt and to provide pleasure (they can play music too, as well as write poetry!), rather than to accompany a husband or to supply offspring. So this may have been a special type of *wiwāha*. The basic meaning in Sanskrit is 'leading away (the bride from her father's house)', and there are eight kinds of marriage, including the *gandharva-vivāha*, which is defined as 'the form of marriage peculiar to Gandharvas; a marriage proceeding entirely from love without ceremonies and without consulting relatives (allowed between persons of the second or military class)' (Monier Williams 1899:346). And *apsaras* are the wives of *gandharvas*. We can conclude that the term *wiwāha* was indeed fitting.

Creese has made a comprehensive study of the forms of marriage and their ceremonies as found in the kakawin literature, but finds that, 'The earliest Javanese *kakawin* give little attention to detail: the wedding of Rama and Sita in the *Ramayana*, for example, is dealt with in two stanzas, and the *Marriage of Arjuna*, despite its title, has very little to say about the actual celebration of Arjuna's marriage to the seven heavenly nymphs' (Creese 2004:134).

In view of the fact that the 'marriage' of Arjuna to the seven nymphs comes at the end of the poem, and much space is devoted to it, this theme was foremost in the author's mind at the moment when he had to find a name for the composition, hence *wiwāha* instead of *kawijayan*. One can even speculate that he was in a hurry to finish, as the final two stanzas give an impression of abruptness, and this might be explained from his mention of being anxious about being on the point of accompanying the king on a military campaign[17].

The matter of marriage is also relevant to the allegorical meaning of the poem as proposed by Berg, because if it can allude to Airlangga's other exploits, then why not extend this to a marriage as well? Against this argument we can point out again that Arjuna in the story was already married to three women, namely Subhadrā and the 'jewel' Ulupuy (1.9c), and of course Dropadī in common with his brothers. To have to equate a bride of Airlangga's, even allegorically, with a bunch of sexy *apsarī* might have been undiplomatic. Could Airlangga have married seven new wives, or one wife

17 *Samarakārya*; the word *samara* 'battle' has no connection with *smara* 'love'.

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with the charms of seven heavenly women, in the form of either a Śailendra princess or a Javanese princess?

On the other hand, so much space is given to the *apsarī*, both in the context of the temptation and in the 'marriage' scenes, that there can be no doubt that they occupied a special place in Mpu Kaṇwa's artistic scheme. They did not just fly in. In fact, he includes an almost academic study of their types. We find a first passage in Cantos 2 and 3, where five types are discussed, and a second in 34.3, where only three types are listed out of the possible seven. The author seems intent on offering a sort of handbook on feminine charms, a mini-Kāmasūtra, not inconsistent with an ancestry of kakawin in not only *kāvya* but also the Sanskrit love poem and science of erotics, as suggested by Creese (2004:284).

The enjoyment of the heavenly ladies is termed a 'reward' (*gañjaran*) for victory over the demon. However, there is a deeper message here. The poem is not a celebration of indulgence. On the contrary, Indra gives teaching that is placed at the conclusion of the poem and thus intended to have prominence, as a climax and encapsulation of the teaching in two stanzas (35.7-8). The purport is that you should not let the favour go to your head or forget to concentrate the mind. 'If you abandon yourself to the senses, you will end up in stupidity and ignorance, and have to begin again'. And then in a striking image, reminding us of pictures of ruined temples, he says:

> 'Many a *caṇḍi* has fallen, it will be plain, because of a *waringin*, *bodhi* or *hambulu* tree [three kinds of fig],
> But if their roots are pulled out one by one when still small, how could they do it?
> The conclusion is: weed out the intoxication and confusion that grow in your heart and sweep them away!
> If you yield to them, the danger is that their power may destroy completely the strength [you have acquired].'

Returning to the discussion of the possibility of an allegorical marriage, we note first that Suprabhā, with whom Arjuna has an emotional bond (Tilottamā is the only other mentioned; the remaining five are unnamed), is the most desirable nymph in Heaven. As we gather from the conversation in Canto 17.7-10, Niwātakawaca wishes to possess her – heavenly women can even be sent as gifts. Suprabhā's unexpected arrival at Niwātakawaca's court is *sākṣāt handaru* ('like a meteor', 17.8a), and it is said that *śrī ning kendran tĕkânurun mara ngke* (17.8b), 'this royal splendour of Heaven has descended hither'.

The term *śrī* used here is a vital clue. It is not a personal name, but is a personification of something beautiful, radiant or prosperous, often belonging to a palace or kraton, but also natural phenomena (compare Zoetmulder 1982:1819),

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and is of course always female. While the palace is inviolate, it retains its *śrī*; it can also lose it.[18] This is why Niwātakawaca may not have Suprabhā: she represents the Fortuna of Heaven. Arjuna's 'marriage' to Suprabhā and the other nymphs follows immediately on his formal installation as king of Heaven, and should therefore be seen as part of assuming this sovereignty. However, this marriage is limited in time and in place – it does not apply on earth, only in Heaven.

A synonymous term used in Old Javanese poetry is *lakṣmī*, as in *lakṣmī ning pura* 'the good fortune of the palace' (Zoetmulder 1982:959). In fact, we already had *lakṣmī ning suraloka* in AW 1.7a, 'the beauties of Heaven', referring to the group of seven nymphs, led by Suprabhā and Tilottamā, and it comes again in Niwātakawaca's words in 18.7b: *lakṣmī ning suraloka kagraha tĕkapku sampun angalih,* 'I have the glory of Heaven in my grasp, now that she has come over to me'. The name Suprabhā would mean 'with a beautiful light (splendour, radiance)'; it is apparently not found in Sanskrit sources, that is, was created by Mpu Kaṇwa for the purposes of this story.

In the kakawin Pārthayajña the *lakṣmī ning pura* ('goddess of the palace') actually appears and gives lengthy instruction to Arjuna on spiritual subjects (Zoetmulder 1974:369). Both this story and Arjunawiwāha can be seen in the reliefs carved on Caṇḍi Jago in East Java (Brandes 1904).

The term *rājalakṣmī* occurs in the Pucangan inscription of 1041 (stanza 12), where it says of Airlangga that he *makadrabya ng rājalakṣmī muwahakna harsa nikanang rat*, 'has as his possession the light of kingship in order to restore the happiness of the world'. Poerbatjaraka translated this term with 'wahyu Karaton' (Poerbatjaraka 1941:433), but found it difficult to translate into Dutch. It is of course also Sanskrit, 'the Fortune or Prosperity of a king (personified as a goddess), royal majesty or sovereignty' (Monier-Williams 1899:874), and in Old Javanese we find it in several texts, translated with 'good fortune and śakti of the king (also personified)' (Zoetmulder 1982: 1483) – although I do not agree with the use of 'śakti' here (see above). This seems to provide confirmation for the interpretation of *śrī* and *lakṣmī* offered here. The equation of a queen with *śrī-lakṣmī* was already made by Weatherbee in 1968, in his study of ancient Javanese politics; he also draws attention to this *rājalakṣmī* possessed by Airlangga (Weatherbee 1968:418). Gonda tells us that, 'Like Viṣṇu himself, Śrī-Lakṣmī maintains relations with kingship' (Gonda 1969:220), and 'Viṣṇu's marriage with Śrī is always con-

[18] The image of the 'meteor' or shooting star reminds us of the pulung or 'light of royalty' in the form of a star which can be seen moving (*angalih*) from an old kraton to a new one, a good example being found in the Babad Tanah Jawi, where it moves from Demak and descends on Jaka Tingkir, who will become Sultan of Pajang (Olthof 1941: Javanese text p. 41).

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sidered very important', but in the Viṣṇupurāṇa she is not yet regarded as the Lord's Śakti (Gonda 1969:229).

It is remarkable that the same idea is found in the Kirātārjunīya, which 'begins with the word *śrī* (good fortune), and Bhāravi uses the word *lakṣmī* (indicating auspiciousness) as a sort of signature in the final stanzas of all the *sarga*s [...]. Draupadī makes the wish that the king's lost sovereignty or royal splendour (*lakṣmī*) should return to him' (Peterson 2003:64-5).

If we were to pursue the proposition that Arjuna's 'marriage' can be seen in an allegorical light, and if we were to seek to attach an identity to Airlangga's bride, then this person should be one who will confer legitimacy on his reign, just as the marriage did for Arjuna in Heaven. In that case, the bride is not likely to have been a foreigner, but rather a Javanese woman; in other words, the Śailendra prinsess Sanggramawijaya Dharmmaprasadottung-gadewī is not qualified, as Airlangga would not have been concerned with a claim to Śrīvijaya, and we have to give preference to Parameśwarī, presum-ably a Javanese woman, who first appears in the inscription of Baru in 1030. It is curious that she is just called 'Queen', without a personal name; we also do not know whether she was of royal descent. After all, Suprabhā also did not have royal pretensions. If this identification with Parameśwarī is accept-able, then we would also be able to suggest a dating for the poem, to some time shortly before 1030, when Airlangga was still occupied with military campaigns. But all this is mere surmise, and is probably not something which can ever be proved beyond doubt.[19]

Finally, on this point, in common with Jordaan (2007a:8-9), one's mind wanders on to a story from a much later time in Java's past, namely how according to the Babad Tanah Jawi Senapati 'married' Nyai Lara Kidul in her palace under the sea, as part of accumulating supernatural powers before becoming ruler of Mataram, and ancestor of all the branches of present Central Javanese royalty.

Philosophy and mysticism

At the point in the story where Arjuna has received his boon, the arrow Paśupati, from the god Śiwa and has been taught how to use it, he is happy and out of this world. Here the author inserts three stanzas of comment on his own behalf, apparently addressed to his audience. He makes it clear that we are to take Arjuna as an example: 'He is worthy of imitation, as he achieved success through his steadfast devotion' (12.4d). Or again, '... your every desire

[19] Much thought has been devoted to this business; for example, Moens argued that the bride was a daughter of Dharmawangśa Tĕguh (Moens 1950). See also Weatherbee 1968:418-20.

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is accomplished by taking Paṇḍu's son [Arjuna] as an example' (12.7d). This sums up the teaching of the Arjunawiwāha in the field of philosophy.

The arrow Paśupati is granted as a boon (*anugraha*) conferred by Śiwa as a result of Arjuna's concentration on the god, and this provides the setting for the famous 'hymn to Śiwa', embedded in the text at this point. The two cantos concerned, Cantos 10 and 11, were discussed at great length by Berg, who also included Balinese paraphrases, a kidung version and modern Javanese texts as well (Berg 1933).

These verses are a concise expression of a profound mysticism (very difficult to translate). This is a non-duality, found in Indian religion: the divine pervades and includes all. The imagery is probably borrowed from Indian sources; for example, 'the image of the moon found in pots of water' occurs in the Amṛtabindu Upanishad (and perhaps other places). The deity is *sang sangkan paran ing sarāt* (10.2d), 'the origin and destination of the whole world.' For the person who understands this, 'the essence of Śiwa in his supreme reality is unveiled' (11.2d). This echoes what was said of *sang hyang Jagatkāraṇa* 'the divine cause of the world' in 1.1d. Mpu Kaṇwa shares his devotion with us and offers an insight that is valuable for his readers, at any time or place.

The translation of Canto 10 is moderately straightforward, but Canto 11 is much more difficult. The grammatical problems are discussed in the Comments with a literal translation. In lines a, b and c of stanza 2 of this canto we find the same construction, which is then capped by line d, thus:

> You are found though you are not found,
> You are imagined though you are not imagined,
> And you are grasped though you are not grasped,
> When the highest essence of Śiwa is unveiled.

The intention is that at this stage of religious insight the distinction between the seeker and the sought, and so on, is dissolved and there is only direct apprehension of the truth of non-duality. The veil or screen has been removed. The use of a paradoxical mode of expression is common in mystical literature.

To support this view one can cite several passages from the Upanishads. From the Kena Upanishad: 'He truly knows Brahman who knows him as beyond knowledge; he who thinks that he knows, knows not' (Prabhavananda and Manchester 1957:31). From the Muṇḍaka Upanishad: 'The eyes do not see him, speech cannot utter him, the senses cannot reach him. He is to be attained neither by austerity nor by sacrificial rites. When through discrimination the heart has become pure, then, in meditation, the Impersonal Self is revealed' (Prabhavananda and Manchester 1957:47). And finally Zimmer quotes a commentary on the Māṇḍukya Upanishad, 'There is no dissolu-

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tion, no beginning, no bondage, and no aspirant; there is neither anyone avid for liberation nor a liberated soul. This is the final truth'; and he quotes Śankara's Upadeśasahasrī, 'Only the one who has abandoned the notion that he has realized Brahman is a knower of the Self; and no one else' (Zimmer 1956:456-7).

However, others have seen it somewhat differently. Poerbatjaraka wrote: 'Gij zijt gevonden door hem, die U niet vindt; Gij zijt gezien door hem, die U niet ziet; Gij zijt gevat door hem, die U niet vat; Gij zijt het hoogste geluk zonder den minsten sluier' (Poerbatjaraka 1926:83). And Claire Holt translated this Dutch into English with: 'Thou art found by him who does not find thee; Thou art seen by him who does not see thee; Thou art grasped by him who does not grasp thee; Thou art the highest bliss without the slightest of veils' (Holt 1967:77). Unfortunately, the Old Javanese is not easy to interpret.

However, as one might have predicted, at exactly the same point in the story the Kirātārjunīya (XVIII.21-43) also has a 'grand hymn of praise' (*stotra*), in which Arjuna 'glorifies Śiva as the supreme Deity' (Peterson 2003:175). The full translation of the Kirātārjunīya which is being prepared by Professor Peterson will probably enable us to examine whether it can help in interpreting this difficult passage in the Old Javanese.

After the close of the Hindu period in Java, manuscripts of the Arjunawiwāha were preserved in Bali, but also in Java, as this was a particularly well known work. As a result, in later centuries Modern Javanese adaptations were made, with the new title Mintaraga or Wiwaha, in the *tembang* verse-form. The story continued to be valued for its teaching. However, a discussion of this is beyond our scope, and has already been thoroughly explored by Kuntara Wiryamartana (1990).

Text edition and manuscripts

The earliest published version of the Arjunawiwāha is that of Friederich (1850). This was not available for consultation. However, the edition which has been generally used thus far is that of Poerbatjaraka (1926). This scholar states that his edition has as its basis (*grondslag*) Friederich's text (his B); he also used a number of manuscripts that were available in Batavia in the collection of the Bataviaasch Genootschap, among these one originating from West Java and dated 1334 (his A). His best manuscripts were, he says, G and H, both in Balinese script. As well as these, he also consulted some Leiden manuscripts 'as far as necessary' (*voor zover nodig*). These included three (Cods. 1875, 1876 and 2205), which have the same text and are just as accurate as (*gelijkluidend met, en even keurig als*) his G and H. He continues:

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'Since the comparison with the best Leiden manuscripts resulted in little difference in the reading, we did not consider it necessary to always mention this' (Poerbatjaraka 1926:9).

Poerbatjaraka's text has the misfortune of containing a large number of printing and other errors. His critical apparatus is unclear. In short, it seemed justified to attempt to produce a new text.

This new text is, however, based on only a limited number of manuscripts. In other words, no attempt was made to trace and consult all existing manuscripts, right around the world. In view of the fame of the work, there must be quite a large number. The manuscripts used are all from the Balinese tradition, from the Leiden University Library (with one exception, see below), and are in reasonable condition. It was discovered that they provide near unanimity for most of the text, and that the variants found were insignificant in many cases. However, there are some places where interesting variations occur, and these can be seen in the critical notes. The manuscripts used were:

A Cod Or. 1875, lontar, dated Śaka 1673, A.D. 1751 (Delft Collection)
B Cod. Or. 1876, lontar, dated Śaka '89, A.D.1767 (Delft Collection)
C Cod. Or. 2205, lontar, no date (Palmer van den Broek Collection)
D Cod. Or. 2206, lontar, dated Śaka 1664, A.D. 1742 (Palmer van den Broek Collection) (bad writing, text in disorder)
E Cod. Or. 3588, lontar, no date (Van der Tuuk Collection), very unclear (many pages too dark to read)
F Cod. Or. 5107, lontar, dated Śaka 1716, A.D.1794 (Lombok Collection), two lines per page, very clear
G Cod. Or. 5122, lontar, dated Śaka 1779, A.D.1858 (Lombok Collection), neat, but a number of pages damaged[20]
R private collection of S.O. Robson, purchased in Klungkung in 1971, dated Śaka 1857, A.D. 1935, mentioning Smarapura (Klungkung), good condition, small script.

Translations

Poerbatjaraka provided a Dutch translation, but omitted those passages which he considered spurious (*onecht*). He was planning to provide 'extensive notes' to his translation (Poerbatjaraka 1926:7), but apparently these did not eventuate.

In 1990 Kuntara Wiryamartana provided a complete translation into Indonesian, in the context of his study of the way in which the Old Javanese

[20] For descriptions of MSS A to G, see Pigeaud 1968.

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text was received and recreated in Modern Javanese. His text is based on one manuscript, from the Javanese (as opposed to the Balinese) tradition, namely the lontar manuscript MP 165 from the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where it arrived in 1878. (For a full description of it and its script, see Kuntara Wiryamartana 1990:19-23.) A diplomatic and a critical edition of this text are given, and this then serves as a starting-point for the discussion of how the text was transformed into a new shape in Modern Javanese.

Regarding the method of translation, we read: 'Terjemahan dibuat berdasarkan terbitan teks dengan perbaikan bacaan. Sedapat mungkin diusahakan terjemahan kata demi kata. Namun demikian, mengingat konteks kalimat, kelancaran bahasa Indonesia dan kejelasan pengertian, tidak selalu mungkin menterjemahkan suatu kata Jawa Kuna secara konsisten dengan kata sama dalam bahasa Indonesia' (Kuntara Wiryamartana 1990:34).

It is unlikely that anyone would want to defend the advisability of attempting to translate 'word-for-word' from any language into another. But a more serious difference from the present, English, translation relates to the question of syntax, and whether one line (quarter-stanza) of text can be considered a complete unit of meaning, or whether there is the possibility that the lines can be linked to each other in different relations of dependence. For example, sometimes one finds that line (a) sets the topic and the next three expand on that, or one finds that lines (a) and (b) belong together, over against lines (c) and (d). These are questions that call for more attention. In order to give an impression of Kuntara Wiryamartana's style of translation, one can quote a random stanza, as follows (28:10):

> Ada pula yang sangat sedih, terlalu bingung hatinya.
> Barangkali selalu disumpahi di peraduan.
> Gadis kecil belum tahu liku-liku percintaan.
> Boleh saja orang bermain bohong selagi bersanggama'. Compare:
>
> 'Here was one who was very distressed, in especially low spirits –
> She had apparently had oaths made to her again and again in bed,
> A young girl who had no understanding of how things are in matters of the heart,
> Or of how dishonest a man can be when making love.

Kuntara Wiryamartana's translation was consulted, and in a few places it deviates widely from the present one, and some of these have been mentioned in the Comments. For the rest, it was not considered either necessary or useful to point out every small difference of interpretation or emphasis.

One notes that there had also been an earlier Indonesian translation, by

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Sanusi Pane (1960), but this merely follows Poerbatjaraka's Dutch, even down to the omissions.

An English translation of the first 13 cantos of the Arjunawiwāha was published by Patricia B. Henry in 1986. This is a revised version of work submitted for her PhD (1981) in the Department of Linguistics of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor). Henry used Poerbatjaraka's text and consulted a wide range of works in order to produce a translation that has to be given credit as a sensitive and readable rendering of the Old Javanese.[21] A noteworthy feature of her work is the very full explanatory Commentary that she offers. It is a pity that she did not go further with her translation.

The present translation is thus the first complete rendition into English. Sadly, by no means all the textual problems could be solved. As with earlier publications (for example, Deśawarṇana 1995, Bhomāntaka 2005), it turned out that a number of the problematical words were not to be found in the dictionary (Zoetmulder 1982), or that the meaning given there for a particular word did not fit the context; such cases have been mentioned in the Comments.

With all its shortcomings, the style of translation is the same as that of the above earlier efforts to render Old Javanese poetry into English. Balinese commentaries were not consulted, as these belong to a different tradition of scholarship, and anyway were not available; and even it they were, my Balinese is not good enough to use them.

As the years go by, the number of Old Javanese texts available in good editions and moderately acceptable English is gradually increasing. But there is still a long way to go, as there are some kakawin classics that have still not been published, and there are older publications that will have to be revised. The aim continues to be to make at least the main Old Javanese texts accessible, to that they can be studied and appreciated. After all, the very existence of this literature is a remarkable phenomenon, not to mention its literary qualities and what it can tell us about the history and culture of Hindu-Buddhist Java.

[21] Henry comments: 'Unfortunately, the magnificent dictionary recently completed by Zoetmulder (1982) had not yet been published at the time I did most of the translation. While I have since checked a number of translation problems with the Zoetmulder dictionary, I mainly relied on other works.' (Henry 1986:2.)

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