CAVES AND BATHING PLACES IN JAVA AS EVIDENCE OF CULTURAL ACCOMMODATION*

AURORA ROXAS-LIM
Asian Center
University of the Philippines

There are in Java, a number of caves and bathing places which throw light on the nature and extent of cultural interaction between India and Indonesia. It has been accepted that the transmission of Indian civilization was neither a one-way process nor the consequence of Hindu colonization.[1] It involved the active participation of Southeast Asians who went on regular journeys to India for trade and in search of knowledge. Some achieved eminence enough to become transmitters of Indian culture as attested by the rise of Srivijayan and Mon centers of learning in the first hundred years of the A.D. era.[2] What is also clear is that there was continuous mutual reciprocation of Indian and native ideas. More importantly, in Southeast Asia as it was in India, the "great" tradition represented by the nobility, priestly and scholarly classes was enriched and changed by the "folk" or "little" tradition of the common people.[3]

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[1] F.D.K. Bosch, "Uit de Grensgebieden tussen Indische invloedssfeer en oud-inheems volksgeloof op Java," *BIJ*, 110 (1954), 1-19.

F.D.K. Bosch, "'Local Genius' en oud-Javaansch Kunst," *Medeeldelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 1952, 12-19.

[2] George Coedes, *The Hinduized States of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: 1968, introduction to 3-16. Henceforth cited as "Hinduized States."

[3] Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture*, Chicago: 1956.

For the conceptualization of culture as possessing two levels, that of the "Great Tradition" based on literary and philosophical documentation as practised by the more educated classes of society who are generally based in urban centers, and the level of the peasantry, the "Little Tradition" which is more or less a diluted version of the "Great Tradition." Redfield described peasant society as the recipient of "Great Tradition" which is emulated but not equalled. Successive studies by Redfield and his followers, Milton Singer and Mckim Marriott among others have since shown the complex inter-play of Great and Little Traditions in society and that peasant culture is not simply the provincial epigone of the Great Tradition but provide dynamic changes through dispersion, popularization and constant re-interpretation.

Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes; an Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization*, N.Y. Praeger Pub. 1972.

Indigenous, local traditions of Southeast Asia provided the fertile ground for the growth of Hindu-Buddhist classical tradition. A brief description of the configurations of the indigenous traditions of Southeast Asia is necessary for us to appreciate how they served as the foundation for successive cultural accretions from India. The complex cultural phenomena of indigenous Southeast Asian culture has been called "megalithic" culture by 'Heine-Geldern and 'Quaritch-Wales'[5] or Monsoon Asian culture" by P. Mus, based on the studies of the geographer, Sion.[6] They believed that this "megalithic culture" included the Southeastern regions of India and China in prehistoric times. The essential features of megalithic religion is animism and nature worship, the belief in the existence of a "life force" which animates natural and man-made things that could be lodged in any object or being. This life force is especially potent in certain exceptional individuals, creatures and places, but it is also believed that it is concentrated in mountains and in deceased ancestors. Megalithic faith involves too an elaborate and highly-developed ancestor worship who are associated with mountains, which is their abode and from where beneficial or malignant forces may descend. The spirits of ancestors are venerated by erecting memorials often in the form of menhirs, dolmens and stepped pyramids which are activated by appropriate rituals which make them accessible to human supplications. Part of the ancestral rites are animal sacrifices particularly valuable are buffaloes whose flesh are consumed by the entire community. There are no systematically trained and educated priests, instead special spiritual adepts who may be called shaman-magicians

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[4] Robert Heine-Geldern, "Indonesian Cultures," *Encyclopedia of World Art,* New York: 1963, VIII, 84-90 columns, 41-59.

[5] H. G. Quaritch-Wales, *The Mountain of God, Megalithic Culture of Southeast Asia,* London: 1953.

[6] Paul Mus, "Cults idiens et indigenes au Champa," *BEFEO,* 33, 1, 1933, 367-410. Henceforth cited as "Mus."

Mus discussed how the animistic-nature worship and reverence for ancestors practised by the Chams of South Vietnam, came to incorporate notions of royal prerogatives derived from Siva cults. The adoption of Siva cult served to transcend the localized claims of clan headmen and area chiefs over the lands and peoples under their influence. Indigenous megaliths in the form of menhirs (stone uprights) called *kuts* were transformed under Hindu influence as Siva lingas merging autochtonous conceptions of the local, guardian spirit of the soil with the universalizing cult of Siva as god of fertility and source of legitimate political authority over the lands and peoples.

For an excellent summary of the latest archaeological evidence on the two millenia B.C. to A.D. specially clarification of "Dongson Culture" and the applicability of this term to indigenous Southeast Asian cultures prior to intensive Chinese and Indian influences, see:

R.B. Smith and W. Watson, eds. *Early Southeast Asia, History and Historical Geography,* K.L. & London: Oxford University Press, 1979, introduction.

George Coedes, "Le Substrat Autochtone et la Superstructure Indienne au Cambodge et a Java," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale,* I (1953), 368-377.

George Coedes, "L'Osmone Indienne en Indochine et en Indonesie," *Cahiers d' Histoire Mondiale,* I (1954), 827-838.

are the major intercessors between man and the spirits, and between the living and deified ancestors. The techniques employed in contacting the spirits are through dreams, trance and divination.[7] Our study will deal with the ways by which native ideas were transformed by those imported from India, and how received ideas were in turn re-moulded to suit local needs and circumstances. The resulting synthesis is important in order to understand some of the religious practices which contemporary Javanese undergo when they visit these sites.

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[7] R.O., Winstedt, *The Malay Magician, Being Shaman, Shaiva, and Sufi,* London: 1951. 1-26. Henceforth to be cited as Winstedt.

Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstacy,* N.Y.: 1964, 266-272. Henceforth to be cited as Shamanism.

A.H. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian History and Literature," *Journal of Southeast Asian History,* II, 2 (1961).

"From Buddhism to Islam," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* IX, 1, 1966, 40-50.

Scholars have pointed out the similarities between indigenous shamanistic practices and the Tantras (ca. 150-400 A.D. and 500-1100 A.D.), and Sufism (9th c.), the mystical school of Islam. (Windstedt, Eliade and A.H. Johns). In almost all religions, we find such practices as rituals, worship of deity whether anthropomorphic or not, prayers, and *samadhi*—meditation and contemplation. Meditation involves seclusion, silence, abstinence and physical and mental concentration. What is distinctive about shamanism and which makes it similar to the Yogacarin and Tantra schools and Sufism is the almost exclusive emphasis on psychic-mystical techniques and their strongly antinomian position. These schools reject rational, step-by-step book learning and instruction, and consider acquiring merit through good behavior as nothing more than egoistic concerns. In place of negatively-conceived *Nirvana* or salvation as a state of "nothingness," "Non-Being", etc. these schools take a positive view of salvation, in fact they go beyond salvation of the self by stating as among the Yogacarins, that "there is only Mind," not the division of mind and body, subject and object for "the mind conjures the external world." The goal of the Yogacarins is to achieve "purity of the Self," realization of the "indivisibility of the Cosmos" by breaking down all divisions and contradictions. The Tantras brought the line of reasoning to its logical conclusion by stating that the Cosmos is within the self which generates all forces immanent in the Universe and that what the adept must do is seek the Absolute within himself. Moreover, the Tantras went further than the Yogacarins by employing the physical senses actively as the essence of transcendental, cosmic powers, they allowed the consumption of meat, fish, alcohol and indulgence in sex. The Tantras saw in the procreativeness of nature and of women the manifestation of the Absolute Divine which allowed them to admit female goddesses and fertility cults. The mystical conceptions of the unity of all, the interpenetration of the individual being and consciousness with cosmic forces parallel shamanistic-animistic belief that everything in the universe is impelled by the same, mysterious and deathless power. Finally, because the Tantras emphasized the psychic-mysterious aspects of meditation to the point of ecstatic trance which induce visions and hallucinations this allows for the acceptance of such animistic beliefs as ghosts, witches, spirits, magic and witchcraft.

The teachings of the Yogacarins and Tantras reached Indonesia ca. 750 A.D.-1150 A.D. and China and Japan from 700 A.D. when translations of texts such as *Avatamsaka, Vajrayana,* etc. were widely circulated. Inscriptions from Sumatra and Java of the period show influences of these religious-philosophical currents.

Walter O. Kaelber, "Tapas, Birth and Spiritual Re-birth in the *Veda,*" *History of Religion,* 15, 1 (May, 1976), 343-386. Henceforth to be cited as Kaelber.

In studying the caves and bathing places of Java, we shall be dealing with two of the most influential Pan-Indian themes— that of Mahameru, the symbol *par excellence* of Hindu cosmology and cosmogony, and the search of *moksa,* liberation or deliverance. In almost all countries influenced by India, Mt. Meru is considered the axis of the universe and the focal point of creation. Mt. Meru is presided over by the god Siva, Lord of the Mountain and his consort, Parvati, daughter of the mountain, goddess of fertility and of the earth. Mahameru is conceived of as having a range of mountain peaks surrounded by concentric continents of mountain ranges which are themselves ringed by intervening oceans. At the very center of Mahameru is Jambudvipa, the abode of the gods with their corresponding ministers and guardians disposed according to the cardinal and subsidiary points of the compass. Mahameru cosmology and cosmogony provides the spatial orientation horizontally and vertically whose levels correspond to the hierarchical order of the universe whether in terms of levels of divinity, or socio-political-economic power. Jambudvipa is the idealized kingdom where divinity and power is concentrated. The farther away one gets from the center, the greater is the diminution of divinity.[8]

Mahameru cosmology integrates time, place, person, things, events and signification. It served as the organizing principle for the localized, fragmentary and sometimes inchaote religious conceptions of Southeast Asia. The magnitude of Hindu cosmology allowed for the expansion and elaboration of its parts, and tolerated a complex admixture of Indian and native cults while retaining its over-all framework.

Mahameru cosmology proved most congenial to Southeast Asian religious systems based on animistic-ancestral worship wherein the sacredness of mountains forms a key element. These beliefs can be gleaned among the less acculturated peoples of Southeast Asia, such

[8] Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia,* N.Y. Pantheon Books, 1956, 19-24. Henceforth to be cited as Zimmer.

A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India,* N.Y.: Grove Press, Inc., 1959, 488-489. Henceforth to be cited as Basham.

For discussion of the parallelism of macrocosm and microcosm and the application of Meru cosmology to the political and social order see:

Robert Heine-Geldern, *Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia,* Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, Ithaca, N.Y., 1956.

Robert Heine-Geldern, "Weltbild and Bauform in Sudostasien," *Wiener Beitrage zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens,* 4, 1930, 28-78.

For the significance of Meru symbolism in 19th C. Bali see:

Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali, Princeton University Press,* 1980, 114-116, 227-229 and 104-109.

Jan Gonda, "Het Oud-Javaansche *Brahmanda-Purana," Bibliotheca Javanica,* 6, 1933, 81-101.

as the Torajas of Sulawesi[9] and the Ngadju Dayaks of Borneo.[10] They believe that gods and spirits reside on mountain tops, that deceased ancestors ascend the mountains from where they mete out rewards or punishments to their progeny. Only those of their progeny who faithfully revere their ancestors and appease the spirits enjoy health, prosperity and abundant crops and animals. The universality of these beliefs among many other peoples in Southeast Asia makes it easy to understand how Mahameru cosmology which integrates all levels of existence into a systematic hierarchy served as the paradigm for the political ideology of the classical Southeast Asian states.[11]

In Burma nature and ancestral spirits called *nat* are propitiated together with the Buddha whose powers are necessary if human endeavours are to be successful. Among all of the *nats,* who are said to be 32 in number, the foremost of them is the Lord of Mahagiri who resides on Mt. Popa associated with the Hindu God Indra, the god of rain and the clouds. Burmese kings periodically paid obeisance to Lord of Mahagiri to seek protection for his land and people.[12] Similarly, in Thailand, the Sukhodaya inscription ca. 1340 A.D. mention besides the ascendancy of Theravada Buddhism, an animistic cult honoring the spirit on Brah Khbun hill near the capital. The relation of the king to this mountain reminds us of the Burmese king's periodic supplications to the Lord of Mahagiri. It is said that this mountain spirit is "the most powerful of all spirits in the kingdom" and that no king could maintain his rule without performing the rites in honor of the mountain spirit.[23] Likewise, the Khmer rulers from

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[9] A. C. Kruyt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel,* 'sGravenhage: 1906, 467-469.

A. C. Kruyt, *De West-Toradjas op Midden Celebes,* Amsterdam: 1938, 3 vols.

[10] Hans Schärer, *Ngaju Religion: The Conception of God among a South Borneo People,* translated into English by Rodney Needham, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963. Henceforth to be cited as Ngaju.

[11] For detailed discussions on the *Devaraja* cult, the political ideology of the classical Southeast Asian states, particularly at Angkor, see:

Nidhi Aeurrivongse, "*Devaraja* Cult and Khmer Kingship at Angkor," in K. Hall and J. K. Whitmore, *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History: The Origin of Southeast Asian Statecraft,* Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976, 107-148.

Herman Kulke, *The Devaraja Cult,* Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, Ithaca, N.Y. 1978.

[12] Sir Henry Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855,* London: 1958, see figure 21.

Megalithic shrines and altars seemed to have been absorbed into Theravada Buddhist worship even during the Pagan period. The altars were used up to the 19th C. according to Yule. For the significance of Mt. Popa and the animistic spirit guardians within the established Theravada Buddhist state cult, see:

H. L. Shorto, "The Dewataw Sotapan: A Mon Prototype of the 37 Nats," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* 30, pt. 1, 1967, 127-140. Henceforth to be cited as Shorto.

[13] Alexander Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, "On Kinship and Society at Sukhodaya," in G. W. Skinner and A. T. Kirsch, eds., *Change and Persistence in Thai Society: Essays in Honor of Lauriston Sharp,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975, 38-44,

Jayavarman II (802 A.D.) to Jayavarman VII (d. ca. 1219 A.D.) established their capitals on a natural mountain or hill or on an artificially built promontory in honor of their ancestral spirits whose abode were on mountains.[14] So central is the association of sacred authority and power with the mountain that the names of Khmer capitals invariably carried the title *vnam kantal,* meaning "central mount."[15] No less is true in Java where the awesome power of active volcanoes make native beliefs in mountain spirits and gods even more dramatic. The Sailendras, Buddhist patrons of Borobudur (8th-10th C.) called themselves "Lords of the Mountain." The conception of Kings as "Lords of the Mountain" persisted up to Majapahit times when rulers like King Rajasanagara (14th C.) identified himself with one of Siva's epithets, Girisa, which means "mountain lord" which is also synonymous with the Himalayas.[16]

Most of the religious architecture of Southeast Asia are graphic representations of the Mahameru cosmology, the construction of which was meant to make the kingdom the earthly parallel of the cosmic order.[17] Buddhist stupas in Burma and Thailand, and the Hindu-inspired temples such as Prambanan in Java recalled in their forms the legendary Mount Meru. In Bali, the temples built up in five or seven storeys are in fact called *meru.* Khmer temples are modelled closely after the five peaks of Meru. Most of the temples have a central pyramid with four surrounding towers at the cardinal points, such as Phnom Bakheng, Mebon, Pre Rup, Angkor Wat and the Bayon at Angkor Thom.[18]

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[14] George Coedes, "La Destination Funeraires des Grands Monument Khmers," *BEFEO,* XL, 315-343. Hencefort to be cited as Monument Khmers.

Menhirs were found in pre-Angkorean Cambodia which were transformed into Siva's linga and were dedicated to Siva-Girisa—Siva of the mountain. The Samré tribe who dwelt on Cardamon mountains of Cambodia erected menhirs in honor of their ancestors up till the 19th C.

[15] Lawrence Palmer Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire,* The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia: 1951, 133 and 236-237. Henceforth to be cited as Briggs.

[16] S. Supomo, "The Lord of the Mountains in the Old Javanese Kakawins," *BIJ,* 128, 1972, 281-295. Henceforth to be cited as Supomo.

[17] Weltbild, 28-34.

[18] Briggs, 133-34.

The incorporation of beliefs in sacred mountains and protective ancestral spirits into the political state ideology is found also in China, Japan and Vietnam. The Thai Shan in Shantung was the scene of earth sacrifices carried out by the Emperor at the time of the summer solstice. Similarly the Kun Lun were sacred even before they were made centers of Buddhist worship. The ten mountain ranges of China were also objects of imperial pilgrimages. See:

J.J.M. de Groot, *The Religions of China,* N.Y., 1912, 16, 194, 201-203.

Henri Maspero, *Le Taoisme et les Religione Chinoises,* Paris: Gallimard, 1971, 18, 29-30.

In Vietnam, Mt. Tien was believed to be the dwelling place of the Spirit of the Bronze Drum associated with earthly powers. The spirit of the mountain was held so powerful that it was the scene for oath-taking since each oathtaker "was required to drink blood and beg the spirit to strike him dead if he were disloyal." (175) The legendary hero

The second theme that is related to the understanding of the sites under study is the search for *moksa*—liberation or deliverance. In countries which have been influenced by Hindu-Buddhism such as Java and Bali, the four goals of men was already an accepted model of behavior at least among the educated elites by the 8th C.[19] The four goals of human existence are: *dharma*—righteousness, *artha*—wealth, and *kama*—pleasure, the last and ultimate goal is *moksa*. *Moksa* means release or liberation from *samsara,* the confining and repetitive cycle of human condition to be eventually united with the Ultimate Truth.[20] Not everyone can achieve this goal for only exceptional individuals can overcome illusions, ignorance let alone attachment to physical desires or to one's ego. But regardless of the difficulty of attaining *moksa,* most ordinary people can still seek contact with the Divine or Ultimate Truth through various *sadhanas* (methods or means), by worship, meditation, or pilgrimages to holy sites. Even the recitation of a scarcely understood prayer is considered as a possible means of experiencing a measure of Divine and Absolute Truth. The most rigorous method in achieving *moksa* or release is the practice of *tapas* or *yoga,* undertaking self-imposed austerities,

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Bo Linh who united his people and fought the Chinese was said to have descended from a mountain dweller and a mother who lived in one of its caves. (159) The mountain spirit was also believed instrumental in identifying rightful successors to the throne through dreams. The Loe warriors who successfully repelled Chinese rule and established a native dynasty were believed to have sought haven on Mt. Tien. So sacred was Mt. Tien that Buddhist temples were concentrated on the mountain and became the repository of relics of monks who underwent self-immolation.

Keith Taylor, "The Rise of Dai Viet and the Establishment of Thang-Long," in K. R.. Hall and J. K. Whitmore, eds., *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian Statecraft,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1956, 154-158, 175.

In the legendary history of Vietnam, descent of the Vietnamese people is traced to the union of, and cooperation of the spirits of the mountain and of the waters.

Le Thanh Khoi, *Le Vietnam, Histoire et Civilization,* Paris, 1955, 82-89.

In the Philippines, the protective spirit of the mountain was known as "Hari sa Bukid" (associated with Mt. Kanlaon) or Bathala from sanskrit *Bhatara* associated with Mount Banahaw in Laguna and Quezon. Mt. Makiling in Los Baños, Laguna has a guardian deity called "Diwata ng Makiling" (Sanskrit, *Devata*), a female goddess.

[19] J. G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia,* Vol. I, Bandung: A. C. Nix, 1950, see the 3 Rata Boko inscriptions dated 856 A.D., 288-294.

[20] *Moksa* is sometimes translated as "bliss" but this is somewhat of a distortion since it is not supposed to be pleasureable or in any way anchored on one's state of being. *Moksa* is generally conceived of negatively as "liberation," as "cessation of praña, life-breath, or "empty." (235) It is "release from ego," the recovery of "the natural integrity of the self," it is "freedom from sin and error,' the achievement of "complete mental poise and freedom from discord, uncertainties, sorrows and sufferings of life, . . . it is a repose that is ever the same." (354) But "sin and error" in this text refer to one's clinging to mortal, physical states, and to the illusion that there are dualities such as mind and body, subject and object, etc. *Moksa* is "emancipation from all illusion of dualities and contradictions," dissolution of the world and of the self, it means the "displacement of *avidya,* false outlook by *vidya,* right outlook which is wisdom.(507).

involving intense spiritual, mental concentration, and undergoing purification through contemplative and intuitive methods.[21]

In this quest for final release and contact with the Divine, special places are sought where the divine presence can best be contacted. Shrines and temples offer themselves as the most common places for worship. However, any unusual feature of the landscape—mountains, ravines, forests, rivers, estuaries, springs and caves have special potencies sometimes far exceeding that of the temple itself. It could well be that the temples were originally built precisely on such sacred spots where they could share in their magical and mysterious force. Among all of the natural sites, a cave in a mountain near a source of water is believed to possess most extraordinary powers. The cave, located inside the mountain is compared to a *garbhagraha*—the womb chamber. The same term is applied to the innermost chamber of Hindu temples which is believed to be like the cave as harboring the

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Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore, *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy,* Princeton, New Jersey, 1957, 235, 354, 507.

Piet Zöetmulder, *Les Grandes Religions d'Indonesie,* Payot, Paris, 1968, pp. 275 and 288-292.

Old Javanese texts which deal with "salvationary mysticism" according to Gonda are: *Bhuvanakosa* ("The Sphere of the Inhabited World"), *Bhuvanasanksepa* ("A Brief Exposition of the Inhabited World"), *Brhaspatitattva, Ganapatitattva,* and *Vratisasana* which show the amalgamation of Shivaite and Buddhist conceptions. Like the Buddhist texts which we shall enumerate later, they are based on Samkhya-Yoga philosophy. Dates of these texts are still problematic but they could be dated to about the 1500 A.D., since they were "written in Javanese idiom which was in general use in Balinese priestly circles from the 1500 A.D. to the present time."

Jan Gonda, "Old Javanese Literature," *Handbuch der Orientalistik: Litteraturen,* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 19 , 187-245; 187-191.

Buddhist works which deal on mysticism and salvation are: *Sanhyang Kamahayanikan* ("The Holy Mahayana Doctrine") and *Sanhyang Kamahayanikan Mantranaya.* ("The Holy Mahayana Doctrine, Esoteric Introduction").

These texts are concerned with instructions on how to attain salvation by means of meditation, breath control, mantras followed by the exposition on cosmology and cosmogony, the parallelism of microcosm with the macrocosm, the correspondences of parts of the body with sacred syllables, with deities and with *mandalas* (magical diagrams). Since these are manuals to guide the faithful to the path of *moksa* (Javanese, *muksa,* which literally means to lose one's physical form, to disappear) they do not present a coherent philosophical treaties although they are clearly based on Samkhya-Yoga philosophy. They contain references to the 24-25 categories of Samkhya and the 8-fold course of yoga as expounded by Patanjali (5th C. A.D.). The stages of yogic exercises and meditation are said to correspond with the stages of Divine manifestation and emanations (*vyuha*) as well as with *mantras* (magic spells) and the stages of *prañayama* (breath control). See:

J. Kats, trans. and ed., *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan,* 's Gravenhage: 1910.

[21] Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy,* Cambridge University Press, Vol. I, 1922; II, 1932; III, 1940; IV, 1949; V, 1955.

Surendranath Dasgupta, *Yoga Philosophy in Relation to Other Systems of Indian Thought,* Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1974.

strength and mystery of the Divine.[22] The rivers, springs and the swirling mists which descend from mountains are believed to provide the curative, fertilizing and purifying waters that can cleanse and finally liberate, the worshipper. In the endeavour to achieve *moksa* and contact with the Divine, caves, mountains and sources of water constitute the most efficacious environment. This would explain why the Javanese and Balinese built sanctuaries on inaccessible mountain tops and excavated caves at the time when they were capable of constructing great temple complexes as those in Central Java, Borobudur, and Prambanan, 8th-10th C., and Panataran in East Java in the 14th C.[23]

The conception of Mahameru as the model for cosmic order, and the mode of searching for *moksa* and contact with the Divine through *tapas* or *yoga,* are the two themes that form the background of ideas that motivated the building of bathing places and the excavation of caves. However, we should bear in mind that practical considerations may have played important roles in their construction. Caves were used in prehistoric and in contemporary times as shelters, as places for storage, as source of animal food and fertilizers, as well as burial places.[24] As for bathing places they may have been part of water control systems. We can perhaps surmise that the numerous traces of ancient waterworks[25] indicate widespread practice of building such structures if not the kings and nobles, by the villagers themselves. It is also likely that Javanese kings like their counterparts in India, considered it their sacred duty to build and maintain water control systems although such efforts were rarely recorded in inscriptions. In the Old Javanese *Ramayana kakawin* (poem)[26] and the *Nagarakertagama,* there are admonitions that kings and nobles must construct and maintain irrigation canals, ditches, dams, roads and bridges for the benefit of the people.[27]

Caves and bathing places generally received cursory remarks from earlier Dutch researchers because of their run-down conditions. However, the sheer numbers of the ruins of bathing places could not es-

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22 Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple,* Calcutta, 1955, 3-6.

23 A. J. Bernett Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art,* Amsterdam, 1959, 43-49 and 90-94.

24 H. R. van Heekeren, *The Stone Age of Indonesia,* 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957, 2-11.

25 R. D. .M. Verbeek, *Oudheden can Java: Lifst der Voornaamste Overblijfselen uit den Hindoetijd of Java met eene oudheidkudige Kaart, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap der Volkenkundig, Kust en Wetenshapen,* XLVI, Batavia, 1891. Contains the best compendium of archaeological sites and their locations.

26 R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *Het Oud-Javaansche Ramayana, TBG,* 72, 1932, 151-214. Henceforth to be cited as *Nagarakertagama.*

27 Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century,* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1962, Vol. IV, 299-301; Canto 88, verse 2-3 the Speech of the Prince of Wengker; and Vol. IV, pp. 299-300. Henceforth *Nagarakertagama.*

cape the notice of researchers. It is from these early, short reports that we get a fairly good idea of numerous sites whose traces were still visible as late as the 19th C. The bathing places are concentrated primarily at the foot of mountains, along rivers and water courses, near natural springs and on slopes of hills which form watersheds. As for the caves, they too were treated perfunctorily in archaeological reports. Like the bathing places caves hardly yielded any inscriptions. It is in literature and in legends that caves and bathing places figure prominently as the setting of extraordinary events. Besides being considered as the natural habitat of the numerous guardian spirits of Java, they are also believed to be connected with legendary and historical figures.[28] Some of the caves which may be dated to the Classical Hindu-Javanese Period (from ca. 5th to 15th C. A.D.) may have been pre-historic sites.[29] In terms of scale, interior plan or in sculptural and architectural ornamentation, cave sites in Java are small. This is particularly true when we compare them with those found in India or China.[30] For the most part, cave sites are modest in scale, at great distance from one another, and often located in isolated and inaccessible places. We can ask why the Javanese who were capable of building large temple complexes after the Indian models as early as the 7th and 8th C. did not undertake extensive and elaborate cave excavations as those in India and China. The same question can be asked regarding bathing places and waterworks which again are for the most part miniature pools and canals when placed beside the huge waterworks constructed in these two countries.[31]

In the Deccan, a combination of factors favoured large-scale and sustained excavations for almost 1,000 years. The western ghats com-

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[28] H. A. van Hien, *De Javaansche Geestenwereld* . . .
L. Adam, "Eenige Historische en Legendarische Plaatsnamen in Yogyakarta," *Djawa,* 1930, 150-161.
Van Hien and Adam give a list of sacred sites in Java and the legends and myths associated with them. For the Muslim sites see:
D. A. Rinkes, "De Heilige van Java," *TBG, 55,* 1913, 223-245.

[29] H. R. van Heekeren, *The Stone Age of Indonesia,* 's Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1957, 2-11.

[30] Muriel Neff, "The Origins of the Indian Cave Temple," *Oriental Art,* Spring 1956, 21-26.
James Burgess and James Fergusson, *The Caves of India,* London: W. H. Allen, 1880, 163-165. Henceforth, Caves of India.
S. Mizumo and T. Nagahiro, *Unko Sekkutsu*: *Yun-Kang* (The Buddhist Cave Temples of the Fifth Century A.D. in North China), 16 vols., Kyoto, 1951-56.
Ichiro Hori, "Mountains and their Importance for the Ideas of the other World in Japanese Folk Religion," *History of Religions,* 6, 1, August 1966, pp. 22-43.

[31] Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China,* Vol. IV, Part 3 on Irrigation, London: Cambridge University Press, 1954-55. For Irrigation Systems in India, see:
Emmanuel Adiceam, "La Geographie de l'Irrigation dans le Tamilnad," *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient,* 1966.
Sachindra Kuman Maity, *Economic Life in Northern India in the Gupta Period, ca. 300-550* A.D., Delhi: Matilal Banarsidass, 1970.

posed of trap basalt with alternating layers of hard and soft rock rendered them easily workable for excavation. Moreover, while the basalt was impermeable to rain, the area had abundant surface water. The region also yielded semiprecious stones such as agate, carnellian, onyx, etc. which were articles of trade from the Mediterranean to Southeast Asia and China. The major cave sites such as Ellora, Elephanta and Ajanta were also located all along the trade routes connecting the Indian ports into the interior of the subcontinent.[32] All these practical considerations taken together served to reinforce the religious motivations that led prosperous kings and merchants to patronize the large-scale excavations of caves. The patrons found an excellent opportunity to express their piety, acquire merit and engage in trade at the same time.

Such a happy combination of circumstances did not obtain in Java. In this island, the caves which served as settings for religious worship and meditation were not only small, simple affairs if man-made, but many more were natural caves and rock shelters. It was only in Bali that cave excavations were carried out in much larger scale by comparison to those found in Java.[33] But notwithstanding the simplicity of man-made caves in Java, they disclose certain philosophical and religious beliefs which large monuments do not reveal. The question to ask is why at the height of Hindu-Buddhist influence when ruling elites were building large temple complexes were the caves and bathing places built and patronized, and why people continued to go to these sites even up to the time when Islam entered Java?

Unlike temple complexes such as Prambanan and Borobudur, caves and bathing places served the needs of indigenous, animistic religion. Large temples were the focus of state worship associated with the ruling dynasty. Their architectural program required the support of learned priests, monks and scholars steeped in Hindu-Buddhist speculations, and involved the participation of the wider community from construction to congregational rituals. The caves and bathing places on the other hand were retreats for individual worship and meditation. Temple complexes were palladia of state around which religious and political authority were focused, while the caves seemed to have served centrifugal, even unorthodox religious and political currents.

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[32] Vidya Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples*, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972, 30-33.

[33] A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Amsterdam: C. P. J. van der Peet, 1959. The combination of mountain sanctuaries, caves and bathing places was fully articulated in Bali, see:
A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Monumental Bali*, The Hague, 1977.

This line of interpretation is borne out by literary and historical accounts which showed that these sites served not only as places of spiritual retreats of famous kings and religious leaders, but as refuge for nobles who lost favor at court, and other political and social outcasts whose experiences in the caves became celebrated in oral tradition. The isolation, inaccessibility, diffused iconography of the sculptural and other decorations, and most of all the natural and unspoiled settings of the sites, served the more spontaneous, individual spiritual needs of the worshippers. The experience in the caves seemed to be analogous to what Karl Otto called the "encounter with the nouminuous,"[34] and which can be compared with shamanistic trance of animist religion. It is a spiritual experience which dispenses with all the trappings of institutional religion, the clergy, philosophical texts, doctrines, and the congregation leaving the individual to his own, private, direct experience of the Divine.

The sacred caves in Java are of two types, natural and man-made, and among the latter, many were merely enlarged and reworked natural caverns or rock shelters. The caves are provided with interior cellas, niches and rarely with elaborate sculptural or architectural articulation as in India. In the case of Indian Buddhist caves, liturgical requirements led to the evolution of cave interiors consisting of longitudinal *mandapam,* rectangular interior space like a nave with colonnaded side aisles ending in an ambulatory apse enshrining a *stupa*[35] (mound). This type of architectural cave interior never developed in Java or Bali where some of the caves were believed to have been Buddhist-inspired.[36] Almost all of the caves studied were associated with sources of water. Natural caves such as Gua Langsé (associated with Nyai Loro Kidul, goddess of the Southern Sea), Gua Cermé (in Bantul near Jogjakarta), Sih Pahlawan (in Kalegising, Purworejo), and Ngrong Renggel (in Tuban) have subterranean springs, with interior waterfalls and fountains. Others were either located near a lake as Gua Semar on the Dieng plateau near Wonosobo, or beside waterfalls as Gua Slarong in Bantul, near Jogjakarta. The three cave sites in Kutaarjo, Purworejo were oriented towards the river as were Gua Buta and Gua Sumbercanting in Bondowoso. Some caves were integral parts of a bathing place as Gua Sunan Mas (in Surocolo, near Imogiri). The caves on the Ratu Boko plateau

[34] Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy,* trans. by J. W. Harvey, London: 1946.

[35] Caves of India, 36-49.

[36] W. H. Stutterheim, "Aanteekeningen," *Bij,* 89, 1932, 264-269. Although Stutterheim thinks that most of the sites in Tulung Agung such as Candi Dadi, Cungcub, Sangrahan, Bayolongo, and the cave sites at Selamengleng, Gua Tritis and Pasir were Buddhist, he conceded that there were no strict differentiations between Buddhist and Hindu sects.

were believed to have been part of the kraton complex.[37] At Suniaragi near Cirebon, the caves were simulated in brick and cement and they formed part of the built-up promontories and hills inside the garden with pools.[38]

We can also divide the caves into two groups in terms of sculptural ornamentation and religious associations. In Central Java, the caves were mostly Shivaite. Sih Pahlawan and Gua Slarong for example had linga-yoni in the former it was inside the cella while in the latter it was placed infront of the caves. In East Java, the caves were generally Buddhist as the series of caves on the hills located about 5 kilometers east of Trowulan, near Mojokerto.[39] Similarly believed to be Buddhist caves were: Gua Selamengleng in Kediri, and the cave of the same name in Tulung Agung, and Gua Pasir and Gua Tritis, also in Tulung Agung. As for the caves in Bondowoso, namely Gua Buta and Gua Sumbercanting, they could not easily be categorized either way. These natural caves had simple reliefs, a Banaspati (or Sanskirt *Vanaspati*) above the cave mouth, and animal and human forms were carved on the cliff walls near the cave entrance (at Gua Buta).

Man-made caves had simple plans, most of them were no more than rectangular cellas with niches and alcoves. The more complex interiors were found in the three cave sites in the villages of Kimeri and Pituruh, Kabupaten Purworejo, and Gua Selamengleng in Kediri, but even then, the dimensions were small, the maximum length of the largest interiors were no more than 9 meters square. The Purworejo caves were of special interest since they may be said to represent some of the earliest evidence of linga worship in Java. This conjecture is based on the simplicity of the linga-yoni found inside the cave cellas. These had extremely simple profiles with no other ornamentation suggestive of the dolmens and menhirs which tribal animistic groups put up to honor deified ancestor and geniis of the soil.[40] The linga-yoni found in these caves appear even more rough and crude when compared with the versions found in temple com-

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[37] N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot Hindu-Javaansche Kunst,* 's Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1923, vol. I, 244-246. Henceforth, Inleiding.

[38] Denys Lombard, "Jardins a Java," *A. A.,* 20, 1969, 142-145.
Paramita Abdurachman, editor. *Cirebon,* Yayasan Mitra Budaya, Jakarta, 1982.
I am indebted to Prof. B.O.G. Anderson for calling my attention to this new publication.

[39] O. V. 1926, 148-150.

[40] Sumijati A. S., "Tinjauan tentang beberapa trudisi megalitik di daerah Purbalingga (Java Tengah), *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi,* Proyek Penelitian dan Penggalian Purbakala, Jakarta, 1980, 98-109.
F. M. Schnitger, "Les Terrasses Megalithiques de Java," *R. A. A.,* XIII, 3-4, 1939-1942, 101-114.

plexes as Prambanan, Panataran or Jago.[41] The rough workmanship and simplicity of the linga-yoni and the caves seem to suggest that the Purworejo caves were earlier than the temples. Perhaps it could also be suggested that the cave sites were provincial epigones of refined and elegant art centered at court. It may also be that the caves were deliberately kept as simple and as roughly-hewn as possible to be consistent with the simple worship that was carried on in the caves. But this last possibility has to be discounted with when we consider some of the East Javanese caves where we find very refined reliefs. Nevertheless, the caves in Central Java tend to be much more simple than those in East Java and Bali. One last example will suffice to illustrate this point.

In Gua di Bang, in Bantul near Jogjakarta,[42] there are caves carved out of limestone hills overlooking the plains. There is a central, shallow niche like an altar where a seated deity (perhaps Indra or Shiva) flanked by standing male guards (Dvarapalas) are carved in relief on the cliff wall. Right below this altar-niche and projecting from its surface wall is a linga-yoni. An alcove to the right once housed a Durga statue whose only remains is the square indentation on the floor for the pedestal. On the back wall of the alcove are traces of some kind of relief which again like the Durga statue is missing. To the opposite side of the niche-altar is a small cave whose walls show reliefs of Durga attended by Dvarapala carved inside rectangular panels. Set back inside the cave is a small linga-yoni similar to the one found infront of the niche-altar. Again, all the relief sculp-

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41 *Ancient Indonesian Arts, plate* 166 linga-yoni from Tandjongtirha.
The Prambanan linga-yoni has clearly articulated parts defined by projecting mouldings; a base, a central but short shaft, and a wide overhanging capital on top of which the linga rests. The shaft of the yoni has rectangular, inset panel reliefs of *kalasa* (vase of plenty) with simplified *prajapati* (mythical wishing tree), and on the moulding projecting above the shaft is carved a horizontal series of beaded pendants alternating with rosettes. The yoni spouts ends in two volutes treated with stylized foliage and topped by kala heads in the same style and workmanship as those that decorate the temple staircase of Prambanan. Below the yoni spout and consistent with the symbolism of the linga-yoni is a naga resting on a lotus base and crowned with a lotus cushion on which the yoni spout rests. The simple linga atop the yoni has a lotus pedestal similar to that which crowns the naga. Central and East Javanese linga-yonis found in temple precincts have similar refined and elegant treatment as the one found in Prambanan. See: Bernet-Kempers, plate 166.

42 Gua di Bang is in Piyungan, Bantul located on a hill near an ancient temple made of bricks and andesite. Nothing but heaps of stone remain of the old structures. A Buddhist inscription was found on the plateau with date of 786 Saka (874 A.D.) which contained a Buddhist mantra. A Durga statue was found inside a shallow cave while reliefs of Durga flanked by Dvarapalas were on the walls of another small cave. Information was provided by Drs. M. M. Sukarto Atmodjo, Professor of Archaeology, University of Gajah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, July, 1979.

tures and linga-yoni are very rudimentary and roughly hewn, without any traces of mouldings and ornamentation. They give the impression that they were left unfinished.

A short diversion is called for regarding the significance of the linga-yoni in ancient and modern Java to show the reworking of indigenous, animistic beliefs into the framework of Hindu Shivaite cult. During my field work conducted in 1979-1980, in search of the less studied temples, the only traces available of ancient structures were usually loose stones and the linga-yoni.[43] Some of them were kept undisturbed in the vicinity or compounds of Muslim gravesites and mosques. Many of these linga-yoni were still venerated by the villagers by offerings of flowers, incense and sometimes food. It also happens that ancient temple stones and even natural ones whose forms suggest the linga-yoni served as objects of village worship. (Sendang Sanjaya near Salatiga, Gua Cerme and the Gua Slarong in Bantul near Jogjakarta, Gua Sih Pahlawan, in Kalegesing, Purworejo, and the three cave sites in Kutaarjo also in Purworejo).

In indigenous, animistic worship, gods of the soil and of fertility were propitiated when new lands were opened up for agriculture, and during periods of planting and harvest. Spirits of ancestors were similarly venerated through rituals and the setting up of stone memorials. The linga-yoni, symbols of the gods Shiva and Uma was absorbed into the indigenous belief system as supreme ancestral and guardian spirits of the land and its people. No doubt, the close affinity between Shivaite and animistic conceptions eased the symbiotic absorption of received and native symbolism. But no less important is the fact that the linga-yoni as form belongs to the category of universal symbols. Like simplified, irreducible forms such as the circle, square, triangle, the egg, the cross and their variants, the linga-yoni allowed for ambiguity of interpretations. The linga depicted generally as an upright cylinder or pillar, is suggestive of male prowess and potency, while the yoni, the horizontal form, represents female regenerative powers

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[43] The proliferation and wide dispersal of linga-yoni in Java may also be explained by the ancient practice of using them as commemorative stones on the occasion of the establishment of a *sima,* a religious foundation. The establishment of a *sima* involved the demarcation of land and villagers exempted from the customary taxes and corvée due to the king or noble in order to transfer the revenue from the land and the labor of its inhabitants in favor of the newly-established religious foundation. The linga-yoni may have been set up to commemorate the occasion and sometimes inscriptions were inscribed on these stones stating the founding of the *sima.* Thus, we may surmise that the linga-yoni of the Shivaite cult was incorporated into indigenous, local practices and beliefs involving cadastral and social arrangements. See: the Mantyasih Inscription issued by King Balitung in 907 A.D.

W. F. Stutterheim, "Oorkonde van Balitung uit 905 A.D. Randasoeri I," *Inscriptie van Nederlandsch-Indie,* Oudheidkundige Dienst N.I., Batavia: 1940, 3-38.

H. M. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java,* Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1922, 2 vols., II, 64-66.

of the earth, and woman as eternal *genetrix*. Man's eternal concern for the fertility and continuity of life, for immortality the shifting tensions and harmony of oppositions found its most appropriate embodiment in the linga-yoni. It is also relevant to stress that the worship of the linga was rooted in Indian tribal beliefs before it became the emblem of the god Shiva whose cult developed towards the historical period under Aryan influence. After the development of the Shiva cult, the linga often by itself, attracted more adherents and became the most widely dispersed and most numerous statuary in India.[44] Similar observations may be applied to Java as well where the installation of memorials to guardian spirits, deified ancestors and culture heroes was the seedbed for the growth of the Shiva cult.

The persistence of the belief and veneration of the linga was reported as late as 1879 when the Teguh inscription (ca. 450 A.D.), one of the oldest inscriptions in Indonesia was found near Tanjung Priok, in Jakarta. The villagers worshipped the inscription stone with flowers and incense.[45] In some Muslim sites, the linga-yoni were also venerated, although I must hasten to add that these practices were not officially sanctioned by Muslim authorities. In the *makam* (grave-site) and *masjid* (mosque) of Sonan Bonang in Tuban,[46] there was a well where a yoni was submerged and where people performed ablutions in the belief that the water was more efficacious. In the *makam* of Sonan Giri in Gresik, and in the *makam* and *masjid* at Sendang Duwur in Lamongan, southeast of Tuban,[47] there were *cungkub* (small structures to house graves or tombs) supported by single pillars decorated with intricate carvings to simulate trunks of trees. These artificially-fashioned tree trunks were themselves carved with miniature landscapes depicting hills, rockeries, streams, and animals of the forest. I believe that a case can be made that these *cungkub* symbolize conceptions structurally related to the linga as ancestral memorial. The *cungkub* is like a bridge between deceased ancestors, spirits of the potency and fertility of the soil, and the beneficient and protective powers of the Divine. That this argument is not too far fetched as far as Muslim sites are concerned can further be supported by one of the most valued *pusaka* (sacred heirlooms)

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44 Wendy D. O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Siva*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, 9-12.

45 H. Th. Varstappen, "Purnavarman's Riverworks," *BKI*, 128, 1972, 298-307.

46 I wish to acknowledge the help of Bapak M. Harisoebagyo and Bapak Suwarjan, D.P.K. Kab. Tuban for the opportunity to study the sites in this Kabupaten in 1979.

47 Aside from the two gentlemen, I wish to thank Bapak Marsoedi, Bapak Camat of Kecanatan Paciran, Kabupaten Lomongan, Tuban for his help in arranging my field trip to Sendang Duwur, Lomongan, Tuban.

of the Sultan of Cirebon.[48] In the museum of the *kraton,* the Kasepuhan in Cirebon, there is a wooden 30 cm. high linga supported by a square pedestal and fitted with movable wings. Here we find the synthesis of animistic with Shivaite conceptions pressed into the service of exalting the Sultan's authority as derived from both ancient, indigenous powers, as well as the universalizing god Shiva.

Having reviewed some of the cave sites in Central Java, it is time to discuss some of the East Javanese cave sites. Most of the East Javanese caves which are man-made were said to be Buddhist. Our main interest is how Buddhist conceptions were lifted into indigenous beliefs. The Gua Selamengleng at Kediri is located on Gunung Klotok about 5 km. west of Kediri.[49] The interior plan is an arrangement of chambers oriented laterally. The cave mouth faces Southeast towards the river which is reduced to a tiny stream during the dry season. On the incline of the hill approaching the cave, there are many spout *makaras,* loose statues of Dvarapalas, a Mahaguru, and other roughly made statues which Krom generally called "Polynesian." Right below the cave entrance are two stone tubs for collecting water. The cave mouth leads into the main chamber where there is a stone altar and behind this altar is a seated figure of the Buddha in *dhyana mudra,* (stance of contemplation, both legs in lotus position, hands clasped together and placed on the lap). (This chamber measures 4 m. wide by 2.5 m. deep and 1.74 m. in ht.) On the back wall of the main chamber is niche with an inscription in old Javanese which has been dated on paleographic grounds to the 11th C.[50] On the side wall of the main chamber is a relief representing a cemetery scene. To the left of the main chamber is a small, dark cella, semi-circular in ground-plan accessible through a short flight of stairs. On the back wall of this dark cella is a relief of the Buddha also in *dhyana mudra.* The cave walls of Selamengleng are treated with cloud-formations as if they were stalactites which I think is intended to make the cave visitor realize that he has entered the realm of the spirits.[51]

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[48] My trip to Cirebon was kindly arranged by Drs. Satyawati Suleiman and Drs. Hasam M. Ambary of the National Research Centre of Archaeology of Indonesia, to whom I wish to express my gratitude.

Inajati Adrisijanti, "Telaah Singkat Tentang Bangunan Bertiang Satu," *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi,* Proyek Penelitian dan Peninggalian Purbakala, D. P. and K., Jakarta, 1980, 470-476.

[49] "Anteekeningen . . .," *Bij,* 89, 1932, pp. 268-269.

Ny. Sudjiati, Sdr. Moh. Atim Sf. and Sdr. Moh. Sahana of the D.P.K of Kediri were my helpful companions to Gua Selamengleng, Kediri, April, 1980.

[50] W. F. Stutterheim, "Some Remarks on Pre-Hinduistic Burial Customs in Java," *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology,* 1956, 74-76.

[51] Besides cloud forms on the walls of the cave, there is a crowned naga depicted on the side wall of the "foyer" just before entering the main room of the cave. The presence of the naga alludes to the story of Amerta, the elixir of immortality which the nagas guard against Garuda.

It is interesting that the subject of the relief on the side wall[51a] of the main chamber represents according to Stutterheim, a cemetery scene. The relief shows open fields and interspersed among the trees are small, house-life structures which were earlier mistaken for granaries, but later on corrected by Stutterheim as ossuaries meant to receive the exhumed bones of the deceased. Corpses and skeletons are depicted scattered on the grounds.[52] It is noteworthy that instead of depicting the Buddhist hell, or any of the *jataka* stories (the different incarnations of the Buddha), the sculptor chose an indigenous subject, called the *tiwah*, a series of rituals connected with the dead. The Dayaks of Borneo still practice these rites. It involves secondary burial, that is, after the fleshy parts have disintegrated, the bones are exhumed to be buried again or kept elevated on the house-like structures called the *sadang* (urns or ossuaries) as depicted on the reliefs. In explaining the subject of the reliefs, besides drawing from the ethnographic data about the Borneo Dayaks, there is a reference of a similar ceremony in the *Tantu Panggelaran* where *wong attitiwa* (Javanese, participants in a *tiwah,* or funeral rites) were said to meet in cemetery grounds to pay respects to the dead.[53] A similar ceremony is described in the *Nagarakertagama,* cantos 53-59. The ceremony called *çraddha* (Sanskrit) was performed in honor of Queen Rajapatni.[54] The conceptions surrounding the *tiwah* of the Dayaks, and the *çraddha* of Hindu funeral rites center on the belief that the soul of the dead must be provided with the final avenue for release and redemption. In the Dayak conception, the soul or life-force of the deceased must be released from its mortal remains to enable it to join the realm of deified ancestors and spirits. This indigenous conception coincides with the Hindu-Buddhist doctrine of *moksa* or *nirvana* which also meant release, liberation from the contingencies, and illusions of karma. Cremation is the high point of the *çraddha* ceremony which is intended to purify and liberate the soul from the polluting and confining mortal state. We thus see how Buddhist and indigenous conceptions are fused together in the symbolism found inside the cave. The cloud-formations on the cave walls, the Buddha statues in *dhyana mudra* equate the cave with the spiritual realm. The relief which depicts the *tiwah* is consistent with Buddhist tenets regarding the transitoriness of mortal existence and the necessity of redemption from such a state. This Buddhist conception is joined with indigenous beliefs surrounding

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[51a] There is a crowned naga on cave wall of the foyer.

[52] The cave walls today are almost completely covered by soot from candle offerings so that the reliefs are no longer visible.

[53] Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran, Een-oud-Javaansche Prozageschrift,* Leiden: 1924, 112, 192-221.

[54] Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century,* The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1962, Vol. IV, 169-182.

death as only the beginning of immortality since the deceased, once liberated from his mortal body becomes part of the deified ancestors.

There is reason to believe that the site of Gua Selamengleng was a sacred site long before Buddhism was adopted as a religion in Kediri. Less than one kilometer north of Gua Selamengleng is Gua Sela Bela, a natural cave without any trace of architectural or sculptural features. This cave is believed to be the home of the guardian spirit of Kediri, Buto Locaya. The legend says that Buto Locaya took human form as Kyai Daha and became the chancellor of King Jayabhaya of Kediri, while his younger brother, Kyai Gun Tungul Wulun served as the King's general. When the king and his daughter retired from the world, Buto Locaya also gave up his mortal remains having fulfilled his mission to serve as adviser to the King. Buto Locaya and Kyai Gun Tungul Wulun are believed to be the first inhabitants of Kediri and are the protectors of the territory who see to it that Kediri comes to no harm specially from volcanic eruptions.[55]

The antiquity of the site of Gua Selamengleng as a ritual center can also be corroborated by other archaeological remains in the area. Nearby is a megalithic site called Punden Dewi Sekatarji which is composed of stone terraces following the slope of the hill. It also had traces of a bathing place made of bricks and andesite.[56]

Gua Selamengleng is located South of the Wajak mountains about 10 km. Southeast of Tulung Agung. There are two rectangular caves cut into the rock outcroppings on the mountain slope. The cave facing northwest towards the river is of interest to us. The cave overhang is carved with a huge *kala* head giving the impression that one is entering through the monster's gullet.[57] The cave interior is no more

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[55] Mas Soema-Santiko, *Babad Kediri, de Geschiedenis van het Rijk Kediri,* opgeteekend in het jaar, 1873, trans. P. W. vander Broek, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1902.

R. M. Sutjipto Wirjosuparto, *Apa Sebabnya Kediri dan Daerah Sekitarnya tampil ke Mukha dalam Sejarah,* Jakarta: 1958.

[56] N.J. Krom, *Inleiding* II, 392.

[57] Caves whose entrances are carved like that of an animal monster is the Tiger cave in Udayagiri, in Orissa, India. It is one of the earliest sculptured caves dated by Burgess and Fergusson to late B.C. or early A.D. Another cave with an animal-monster entrance is found in the South among the raths of Mahavallipuram called Saliwan Kuppam. There are two other caves in East Java which have monster heads carved on the cave mouth (called Kala, or or Banapasti) Gua Buto and Gua Sunbercanting in Kabapaten Bondowoso. In Bali, Gua Gajah in Beduhulu is carved with a large Karang Bhoma, as the monster head is called in Bali. This type of monster head recalls Indian Kirttimukha which is used to crown arches, doorways, gates, niches, pendentives and also carved at the back of statues. This practice is also found in Java and Bali. The use of Kala heads at entrances and doorways clearly shows its apotropaic function and as a symbol of time.

Gosta Liebert, *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions: Hinduism-Buddhism-Jainism,* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976, p. 138.

W.F. Stutterheim, "The Meaning of the Kala-makara ornament," *Indian Art and Letters,* N.S., 3, 1929, 27-52.

than a rectangular chamber. On the central wall immediately facing the viewer is a relief representing the story of Arjuna Metapa, as an ascetic. The story is a short episode from Chapter VII, of the *Mahabharata* but it is the theme of a longer Javanese poem, *Arjunawiwaha.*[58] The *Arjunawiwaha* plot centers on the hero's exploits to get the Pandava clan out of the impasse in their battle against their cousins, the Korawas. Realizing the weak position of his family, Arjuna decides to seek out the magical weapon *pasupati* to enable his brothers to fight the Korawas. He ascends Mt. Indrakila, enters a cave and undergoes severe *tapas.* Arjuna's *tapas* generated so much power that it disturbed both the devils and the gods. The story is depicted on the Selamengleng cave walls as a series of continuous scenes interspersed with landscapes. The first scene, shown on the left panel shows the god, Indra seated on his lotus throne in *svargaloka* (heaven) attended by the priest Narada and the beautiful nymphs. The gods are conferring on how to combat the monster, Niwatakawaça who has sworn to destroy heaven and the gods for frustrating his attempts to obtain the beautiful nymph Suprabha as his wife. The gods are rendered helpless in combatting the monster for the latter acquired supernatural powers after performing *tapas.* Unknown to the gods is that Niwatakawaça has one tiny, vulnerable spot on his body, the tip of his tongue. Since none of the gods could fight the Niwatakawaça, they decided to seek the help of Arjuna who is performing *tapas* inside a cave on Mt. Indrakila. The two nymphs Suprabha and Tillotama are dispatched to arouse Arjuna from his deep meditation. It is also a way by which the gods could test hero's resolve as a *yogin,* and if Arjuna passes this test the gods could take him as their ally. The two nymphs are shown on the next panel enroute to Mt. Indrakila, passing mountains and streams. One of the nymphs is shown relieving herself in a stream. The central, back wall of the cave is occupied by Arjuna performing *tapas* while the two nymphs are depicted trying to seduce him to no avail. The last scene depicts the contest between Arjuna and Shiva, the latter disguised as a hunter. The two argue over whose arrow hit the wild boar Muka, the brother of the monster, Niwatakawaça who is sent to kill Arjuna. The scene where Arjuna discovers the one vulnerable spot of Niwatakawaça and kills him and his brother Muka is not depicted on the cave wall. Neither is the final scene in *svargaloka* (where Arjuna is rewarded seven days and nights of amorous bliss with the nymphs) depicted.

The *Arjunawiwaha* introduces a new twist to the theme of the quest for spiritual knowledge and contact with the divine through *tapas.* The story shows that the primary objective of the ascetic is not necessarily to obtain *moksa* but gain miraculous powers to enable

[58] P.J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan, A Survey of Old Javanese Literature,* The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1974, 234-237.

him to fight his enemies. *Tapas* or yoga is only a means to achieve worldly gains. Arjuna temporarily withdraws from society and undergoes penance, only to return with a magical weapon and re-invigorated by the rewards of heaven. It is a story well-loved in Java by at least the 11th C. The story must have been widely circulated since it is the subject of the reliefs in many temples. The *Arjunawiwaha* story is depicted on the temple walls of Jago (near Malang), Panataran (near Blitar), Sorowono and Tigawangi, (near Kediri), Kedaton on mount Andongbiru, Kraksaan, ca. 80+ km. Southeast of Probolingo, E. Java) and on the terrace temples on Mt. Penanggungan—25 km. Southeast of Mojo Kerto. In Pejeng, Bali there is a large statue of Arjuna which is kept in the middle of the ricefield facing the office of the provincial branch of the National Research Institute of Archaeology in Beduhulu.[59]

The theme of Arjuna's penance is echoed in Gua Pasir[60] where again we find on the central wall of the cave, an ascetic in deep contemplation unmindful of the female head turned seductively to him. On either side of this central scene are depicted amorous couples representing *panakawans* (clowns) who are wearing the usual attributes of ascetics; simple loincloth (like G-strings), turban and a waist chain. The Panakawans in contrast to the central figure are shown yielding to the seduction of their female companions. In Gua Pasir, the theme of the ascetic is depicted with the least reference to the conventional Hindu or Buddhist iconography. Unlike the Dhyana Buddha in the Selamengleng, Kediri cave, or the Tulung Agung cave, we are not certain whether the relief depicts Arjuna being seduced by the nymphs, or the Buddha being tempted by Mara. The lack of specific iconographic details, and the presence of the *panakawans* show that the theme of the ascetic in search of *moksa* has been fully transformed into an Indonesian conception. In East Javanese art, the heroes although drawn from Indian epics of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* undergo exploits more in keeping with Javanese experiences, notable among them is the presence of the servant-confidante Semar and clowns like him. Semar is associated with the spirit and ancestral gods of Java who plays the contrasting *Kasar* character

[59] The statue of Arjuna at Pejeng, Beduhulu, Bali shows the hero wearing an ascetic's turban holding a shell which functions as a spout. Beside Arjuna are his two Panakawans shown on relief. There are also two nymphs whose navels function as spouts. The hero Arjuna is transformed and given the attributes of Visnu-Indra as provider of life-giving waters.

[60] W.F. Stutterheim, "De Goewa Pasir bij Toelaeng Agoeng," *TBJ*, 73 1933, 453-468. Stutterheim published pictures taken by Claire Holt which showed the reliefs in a better state of preservation than they are today. Besides the conventional accoutrements of yogins (hermit's turban, waist chain and loincloth), there are ghantas depicted on relief which were made to appear as if they hang down the ceiling of the cave. Details such as these give an illusion of depth. The cloud motifs on the cave wall are also rounded and full similar to the Gua Selamengleng cloud forms in Kediri.

(rough, low in status, subject to all human foibles) to *halus* (noble, refined, spiritual) character of *Arjuna*.[61] The presence of Semar-type characters on the walls of the Gua Pasir cave is an excellent manifestation of the Javanese re-interpretation of the Arjuna Metapa theme. At one level, since Semar readily yields to temptation, his behavior shows the resoluteness of Arjuna's ascesis. But on another level, since most everyone knows how the story eventually ends, with Arjuna obtaining the magic weapon pasupati and then enjoying amorous bliss in heaven, Semar's directness and openness is an ironic comment on the fundamental mortality of all human idealism.

One of the most celebrated heroic exploits in Javanese legends and myths is the powerful ascetic. In Javanese stories and legends, regardless of all the extraordinary feats that a hero may be capable of performing, still it is the ability to be in contact with supernatural and magical powers through *tapas* or some form of yogic exertion which is the *sine qua non* for heroism. Indeed, all other heroic deeds are thought to be the direct consequences of performing *tapas*. What fully qualifies Arjuna as a full-pledged hero is his experience as a powerful ascetic. Among all the abilities of the heroes, it is the capacity to obtain magical-supernatural powers through spiritual effort which could command reverence and awe. Arjuna is the prototype of the succeeding heroes in Javanese legends and history whose exemplary life exercises a strong moral force in Javanese society as a whole.

Asceticism which entails withdrawal from the usual social concerns to live a life of seclusion and austerity is an ancient and revered tradition in Java. Inscriptions often mention kings who voluntarily withdrew from active life of the kraton in order to live in an *asrama* (a place of retreat for religious study and meditation) often located on isolated, mountain retreats. Queen Tribhuwana (Rajapatni) in her later life, as it must have been customary among nobles of her time, sought the life of a simple mendicant to devote the rest of her life in prayer and meditation.[62] The life of an ascetic is the crowning conclusion to a full and active existence. However, practicing *tapas*

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[61] This is one of the earliest examples of reliefs depicting the Panakawans. Stylistically the reliefs of Gua Pasir could be dated to early East Javanese art, related to Jalantunda which is dated to the 10th C. A.D.

The depiction of the panakawans is most interesting for they provide the earthly, humorous parody to the sublime resoluteness of the ascetic whether it is Arjuna or the Buddha. This is a thoroughly Javanese conception in Javanese hagiography such creatures as panakawans, dwarfs, geniis are considered sacred, magical creatures. As for Semar he is also considered a god who is often more sympathetic to humans than the higher gods of Hinduism and Buddhism. Semar, in the lakons is the ever loyal, practical and down-to-earth character, while Arjuna for all his nobility and heroism could be headstrong and fool hardy. It often happens that Semar is the one who saves Arjuna from embarrassment and from losing his dignity. J. Kats, "Wie is Semar?," *Djawa*, III, 1923.

[62] Pigeaud, 1962, IV, 169-182.

during the prime of one's life was also an accepted practice among many lay people, particularly so with those directly concerned with the management of social affairs.

The theme of *Arjuna Metapa,* the ascetic who obtains extraordinary powers, explains the function of many of the natural caves in Java which are considered as some of the most sacred sites and are objects of pilgrimages today.[63]

Among the most celebrated natural caves are the ones found within 25 km. length of the Gunung Sewu chain near Parang Tritis facing the Indonesian Ocean. The fame of these caves stem from being the habitat of protective spirits and having been the place of meditation and refuge of legendary figures such as Sunan Kalijaga (active 17th C.), Shaik Maulana Mahgrabi (active 17th C.) and Pangeran Dipanagara (b. Nov. 11, 1785-Jan. 8, 1855).[64] The fact that many of these caves have been used as hiding places by thieves, criminals and rebels have only increased their efficacy in the eyes of the populace as a place potent with magical powers. Hence, *dalangs* (storytellers and manipulators of puppets of the shadow play *wayang*) *dukuns* (healers and doctors) who wish to improve their skills, bureaucrats and politicians desirous of aggrandizing their careers, rejected lovers, students, traders, usurers, bandits, etc. seek from these caves the successful execution of whatever projects they have in mind. These caves are under the protection of the villagers, and yet none of these visitors are barred from entering the caves.

Some of the caves are unprepossessing as Gua Semar on the Dieng plateau and Gua Cebongan, near Salatiga. Others such as Sih Pahlawan, Gua Cerme and Gua Langshe are spectacular structure which have vaulted tunnels that branch out into labyrinthine caverns with forests of stalactites and stalagmites, with subterranean spring and waterfalls. These caves are the most appropriate settings for the

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63 During the time I conducted field work in 1979-1980 while there were many sincere pilgrims, there were many more who were curiosity seekers. Local and tourism officials were thinking up ways of making the caves tourist spots.

64 R. Ng. Djadjalana, *Pasangrahan Parangtritis,* Bale Poestaka, Batavia Centrum, 1933. Djadjalana discussed the sacred caves on the Gunung Sewa chain near Parangtritis. Of special interest are the caves associated with Sunan Kalijaga and Pangeran Dipanagara, such as Gua Slarong, Cerme and Langshe or Nyai Loro Kidul facing the Indonesian ocean.

P.B.R. Carey, *Babad Dipanagara, An Account of the Java War,* K.L.: 1981. English translation with notes and explanations. Carey traced the preregrinations of Dipanagara from the time he was seeking divine revelation to the prosecution of the war. The places where Dipanagara wondered in search for spiritual revelation and as rallying centers for his followers were some of the sacred caves near Parangtritis. One of the most famous caves, Gua Slarong is now a tourist attraction with asphalted road, a statue in plaster of the Pangeran riding on horseback, a copy of the one as the National Park in Jakarta, and a cemented stairway leads up all the way to cave overlooking Bantul fields.

intense, emotional and mystical experience that the yogin undergoes in his search for the divine, supernatural powers and enlightenment. Erlangga (ca. 1006-1049 A.D.),[65] Sunan Kalijaga (active in the 1650's),[66] and Pangeran Dipanagara (ca. 1785-1855) are some of the historical figures who have followed the mythical exploits of Arjuna. Among the three celebrated ascetic-heroes, we get a more intimate understanding of Pangeran Dipanagara's mystical experience from his autobiography *Babad Dipanagara.*[67] Dipanagara's asceticism is not the total abnegation and withdrawal from active, secular life. A man of

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[65] King Erlangga's career exemplified the life of a sage-king. He was barely out of his teens when the kingdom suffered *pralaya* — massive devastation due to continuous dynastic wars. For his safety he fled from his kingdom and sought refuge in an hermitage, afterwards he returned to save and unify the kingdom. His life history was summarized eloquently by C.C. Berg: "...driven away from his *Kraton* (capital), finding a resting place in an hermitage and living for a long time a hermit's life, and then persuaded by the hermits to take upon himself the task of restoring order in the chaos prevailing over Java and struggling to conquer his enemies and finally triumphantly enjoying the fruit of his endurance in a glorious reign."

C.C. Berg, "Arjuna wiwaha, Erlangga's levensloop en bruiloftslied?," *BKI,* 9p, 1938, 94.

[66] J. Meinsma, *Babad Tanah Djawi,* 74-76.

B. Schriecke, *Ruler and Realm in Early Java,* van Hueve: 1957, 7-23.

[67] Pangeran Dipanagara is the most beloved hero of Indonesia. He fought for Java's independence against the Dutch from 1825-1830. Son of the Third Sultan of Solo whom he served as adviser, he was bypassed in the selection for the succession but nevertheless served the new Sultan (Mangkunegaran IV) also as an adviser.

Pangeran Dipanagara belonged to the group of Javanese folk heroes called *kraman,* rebels against central authority some of whom were commoners and even bandits. Dipanagara was a noble *kraman* and like many before, he belonged to the disaffected nobility who sided with the faction that was unsuccessful in seizing power. Rendered effete by having lost official positions, the *kramans* wandered about with their closest followers through mountains and forests, visiting sacred sites including graves, religious leaders, and performed tapas. Dipanagara lived at a time when the Javanese people suffered severely from the consequences of Dutch colonial pressures due to seizure of peasant lands, burdensome taxes and corvée. Frustrated by the impotence of the Sultan to protect the people, and outraged by what he felt to be the moral breakdown of Javanese court nobles who allowed themselves to be drawn into a life of idle pleasures, Dipanagara withdrew from the court. He behaved like a *kraman* wandering through nature, undertaking pilgrimages to sacred sites and graves and sought out *gurus* and *kyais* (religious teachers), activities which attracted increasing numbers of followers. By the year 1824 he found himself at the head of a full-scale uprising. Dipanagara was aware of the superiority of Dutch arms and the complicity of Javanese court officials who acted as spies and mercenaries. He avoided direct confrontation by waging guerilla war. In areas which he controlled or wrested away from the Dutch, he freed the people from taxes and corvee. These areas were called *merdikan* — "places of freedom," an allusion to lands similarly exempted from taxes and corvée for the benefit of religious schools. Dipanagara was eventually defeated through Dutch treachery and the collusion of pro-Dutch courtly nobles. Nevertheless, the Java war of 1825-1830 aroused the Javanese peasantry who saw in Dipanagara a provision of *Ratu Adil,* the Just King who would succor them from their miseries.

P.B. Carey, *Babad Dipanagara, An Account of the Java War,* K.L.: 1981.

M.C. Ricklefs, "Dipanagara's Early Inspirational Experience," *BKI,* Vol. 130, 1974.