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## A Princess from Sunda

### Some Aspects of Nyai Roro Kidul

#### **Abstract**

This article examines the roots of Nyai Roro Kidul as a princess from West Java who for various reasons was cast out from her parental palace to meet her fate as the Spirit Queen of the Indian Ocean and future consort of Senapati (the sixteenth-century founder of the Muslim state of Mataram) and his successors. In the process it addresses questions of Nyai Roro Kidul's sexuality and her mythological roots in South, Southeast, and East Asia, as well as her function, with that of the ruler, of maintaining the fertility and thus the welfare of the realm. Her origin as a West Javanese princess embodies the spiritual essence of both the Javanese ruler and his realm, since Nyai Roro Kidul, being part of the ruler's female ancestral line, is the source of life and prosperity for him and thus also for his subjects.

**Keywords:** Nyai Roro Kidul—Southeast Asian mythology—spirits—fertility.

**N**YAI RORO KIDUL, the Goddess of the Southern or Indian Ocean, is one of the most discussed characters in the Javanese spirit world. The mythology surrounding this goddess, who is also known under a variety of other names (see RICKLEFS 1974, 200, n. 67, 203, n. 74), is made more complex by having been influenced by elements of varying origin (SCHRIEKE 1925, 286). She is, as WOODWARD points out, a figure whose “position in the state cult and in popular religion in... Java would require a monograph-length study” (1989, 261, n. 27).

Obviously, a complete study of Nyai Roro Kidul is beyond the scope of a journal-length article. Instead, attention will be paid here to two major elements relating to her, namely her origin as a princess from Sunda (West Java) and her relationship with Panembahan Senapati, the sixteenth-century founder of the Islamic state of Mataram II<sup>1</sup> in Central Java. Subsumed under these are, among others, questions of her sexuality and her association with the color green. It will be shown that, although her relationship with Senapati brought her into great prominence in Java relatively recently, her mythological roots are both much older and go much further afield, to South, Southeast, and East Asia.

#### A PRINCESS OF SUNDA

As a Sundanese princess, Nyai Roro Kidul is generally said to have been the daughter of a ruler of the West Javanese kingdom of Pajajaran, although the accounts differ as to who her father was: Prabu Mundingsari (SRI SUMARSIH et al. 1989–90, 49), Prabu Munding Wangi (ANONYMOUS 1918, 535; DE COCK WHEATLEY 1931, 206; VAN HIEN 1912, 173), Prabu Siliwangi (SJS et al. 1992) or Prabu Cakrabuwana (AYS 1992). Another kingdom, that of Galuh, is mentioned as well, with the thirteenth-century Prabu Sindhula as her father (FLORIDA 1992, 21–22). Other places of origin mentioned are the kingdom of Kediri in East Java, ruled by the legendary seer King Joyoboyo, and an even older kingdom, Koripan, also in East Java, ruled by King Airlangga (r. 1019–49 A.D.) (AYS 1992). Of all these, however, Pajajaran is

most often mentioned.

The reason for Nyai Roro Kidul's transformation from a princess of the court into the Goddess of the Southern Ocean also varies. The most common explanation is that she was a beautiful young woman who, due to magic used by an evil stepmother (BOGAERTS 1990, 12; MEIJBOOM-ITALIAANDER 1924, 205; SJS et al. 1992, 97) or a jealous co-wife (INTEN BAYAN n.d., 20–29; WACHTEL 1977, 19), contracted a skin disease, forcing her to leave the palace and seek refuge in the forest, where, some say, she meditated (SJS et al. 1992, 97). Some tales have her accompanied by her mother.<sup>2</sup>

Other stories say that she declined to marry, refusing one suitor after the next, until her father finally became angry and banished her from the palace, causing her to enter the forest (BOCQUET 1980, 60; RICKLEFS 1974, 375, n. 33). Still other versions combine elements from these stories and have her contract leprosy on the eve of her marriage (DE COCK WHEATLEY 1931, 206) or subsequent to having been banished for refusing to marry (VAN HIEN 1912, 173).

A third set of tales has her meditating in the forest for reasons unconnected with those mentioned above. In doing this she gains great powers and is able to perform miracles, as well as shift her shape between female and male (BOGAERTS 1990, 12; DE COCK WHEATLEY 1931, 206; SUTTON 1993, 129). SRI SUMARSIH et al. (1989–90, 49) add to this that her propensity for meditation was her reason for refusing marriage, leading to her exile.

Once banished to the forest, she wandered around until she came to the cliffs overlooking the southern (Indian) ocean. Here, according to a minority of the authors, she threw herself into the waves in desperation, after which she “was drawn into the depths of the ocean to a sumptuous palace and crowned Queen of the South Seas” (DE COCK WHEATLEY 1931, 206; compare FLORIDA 1992, 22, n. 60), from where she now rules over the (evil) spirits of Java (ANONYMOUS 1918, 535). Most authors, however, tell how she heard voices of spirits or gods, urging her to enter the broiling waves so that she might regain her former beauty and become the queen of the spirit world (BOCQUET 1980, 58, 60; WACHTEL 1977, 19).<sup>3</sup>

Finally it is told that Ratu Ayu (the Beautiful Queen) of Galuh gave birth to a daughter (POERBATJARAKA 1962a, 23), or alternately that Ratu Kidul was born able to speak, saying “I am the *ratu ayu* who controls all the spirits of Java. My palace is in the southern ocean” (WOODWARD 1989, 37). The long dead king Sidhula then appears, proclaiming her to be his grandchild who will not take a husband. However, at the end of time a Muslim king will appear who will rule over Java and be her husband (POERBATJARAKA 1962a, 23–24; WOODWARD 1989, 37).<sup>4</sup>

With the exception of this last version, the story tells of a princess, usu-

ally Sundanese, who is exiled from the court and banished to the forest. She wanders to the south coast and enters the waves of the ocean to become queen of the spirits, both those of nature and those of the dead. The reasons given for her banishment—a desire to live the life of a hermit, refusal to marriage, and skin disease—have in common the fact that they place her outside of the human norm. Hermits in the forest are by definition removed from human society, even though, of course, they remain a factor in it. An unmarried person, as DE JOSSELIN DE JONG (1983, 5) points out, is not regarded as completely socialized and thus is not a full member of society.<sup>5</sup> Chastity, while admired in those engaged in religious pursuits, is not considered normal human or cultural behavior, and can bring trouble (BERG 1958, 10). Those suffering from skin diseases, finally, are often seen as disgusting and subject to exile (compare BRANDSTETTER 1896, 1–5; MATTHES 1869, 2). Skin diseases, as JORDAAN and DE JOSSELIN DE JONG (1985) mention, are felt to indicate that the person is involved in an improper relationship. Once this has been corrected, the disease problem is solved.

This same factor can be seen to play in a very recent account of Nyai Roro Kidul's origin (AYS 1992). According to this account she is Princess Rara Santang, variously cast as the sister or niece of Kean Santang (the mythological bringer of Islam to West Java), or the mother of Sunan Gunung Jati (the historical Muslim proselytizer). It is told that she considered becoming a Muslim but in the end, when the capital of Pajajaran fell, followed Prabu Cakrabuwana,<sup>6</sup> the ruler and her putative father, into exile in the forest, where most of the court turned into spirit-tigers (WESSING 1993) and she became the Queen of the Southern Ocean and the ruler of the spirits of Java. By not becoming a Muslim, she placed herself outside of the new norms prevailing in society and thus became an outcast.

The reasons for her exile can thus be regarded as abnormal social situations in which the princess is not willing or able to fulfill her usual social duties. Her exile, a form of social death, must then be seen as moving her away from these situations into a sphere considered antithetical to normal social life and thus appropriate to her. This sphere is the forest, the place of spirits and other nonhuman powers, and, especially, a place where different social rules are in effect (cf. SCHEFOLD 1989). Once away from human society her rehabilitation takes its course. She gains powers, is cleansed, and takes up her role as ruler of the spirit world.<sup>7</sup>

Various aspects of this complex character have already been discussed by JORDAAN (1984), who among other things highlights her ambiguous nature, her connections with the underworld, her power over life and death, and her position as the source of wealth and prosperity. Here a summary of these points will suffice. To start with the first point, she is at once venerat-

ed and feared (SJs et al. 1992); one frequently hears mention of her unpredictability and of the dangers of disobeying her orders. As queen of the spirits she is often associated with demons and death, but at the same time she is seen as responsible for the welfare and protection of Java (JORDAAN 1984, 104; 1987, 124). For this protection, and perhaps especially for that of the fishermen who go out into the quite dangerous Indian Ocean, she is thought to demand every year the lives of several young men, whom she is said to take to her palace below the waves (LOMBARD 1972; SJs et al. 1992, 50). Yet, contrary to what WOODWARD (1989, 169) writes, though feared she is not seen as a vicious character. Indeed, she is said to be a noble-hearted protector of the tranquility of the court and the people (*INTISARI* 1991, 126–27). It is only when her prerogatives are ignored that she, like many powerful entities, makes her displeasure evident in no uncertain terms.<sup>8</sup>

Like her disposition, her appearance varies. When the moon wanes she is old and ugly and when it waxes she appears as a beautiful young woman (1991, 128), having shed her age like a snake sheds its skin.<sup>9</sup> While she is said to be an eternal virgin, her sexual appetites are considerable. The young men she takes as her due are said to become her lovers or servants, and, like a wanton, she is thought to need ever more of them. This aspect of her personality has recently been exploited by the Indonesian film industry, which has tended to depict the Queen and Nyi Blorong as being sexually insatiable.

From the description of her palace under the waves in the *Babad Tanah Jawi* [The chronicles of Java] (OLTHOF 1987, 78–82; henceforth the *Babad*), it is obvious that Nyai Roro Kidul is a chthonic creature (compare PIGEAUD 1962, 319–20). JORDAAN (1984), in fact, characterizes her as snake-like, one important factor in the link that is laid between her and Nyi Blorong.<sup>10</sup> JORDAAN says, however, that “we are in the dark about the snake-cult, which was to have existed in the past” (1984, 109), an admission that somewhat weakens his argument; he refers to matrimonial alliances between kings and serpent deities elsewhere in mainland Southeast Asia and other places (JORDAAN 1987), though the examples he mentions are from East Indonesia.

Indeed, snake-spirits are known throughout the Indonesian archipelago (see PLEYTE 1894; HIDDING 1932, 74, 79; LAUBSCHER 1976, 202–12; TOBING 1963, 93–94; VAN DE WALL 1931, 110; WESSING 1988b). Snakes are often the physical manifestation of tutelary spirits, perceived to be the local owners of the soil and the guardian of its fertility, wealth, and welfare. Most often, like Nyai Roro Kidul, they “reside in water sources (wells, springs, pools, rivers) or certain trees...or sometimes...both” (PEMBERTON 1989, 408, n. 40).<sup>11</sup> In Javanese mythology, furthermore, there are a number of female entities that are all old like Nyai Roro Kidul in her waning state, all suffering from afflictions of the skin, and all in some way related to prosperity, fertility, and

reproduction (JORDAAN 1984, 102).

These tutelary spirits function on both the local, village level, where they are commonly known as *dhanyang*, and at the state level, where they are usually called *dhemit* (VAN HIEN 1912, 170). It is interesting, therefore, that Nyai Roro Kidul is the guardian of the southern quarter of the *kraton* of Yogyakarta (TRIYOGA 1991, 94; WOODWARD 1989, 199).<sup>12</sup> While the snake is not the only form the queen takes (see AYIEK SYARIFUDDIN 1991a, 29; SEMAR SUWITO 1992, 42), it is a creature that is definitely associated with her by her carriage, usually portrayed as a winged *nāga*, “dragon” or “snake” (FISCHER 1994, plate 162), and by Jordaan’s informants, who called the goddess herself a *nāga* (FISCHER 1994, plates 156, 159, 162). As SJS and FURY (1992, 16) call Nyi Blorong a large snake, the connection between them is further strengthened.

#### THE QUEEN AND PANEMBAHAN SENAPATI

As was mentioned earlier, Nyai Roro Kidul gained considerable prominence owing to her association with Panembahan Senapati, the founder of Mataram II, of which the sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta are the inheritors. As the tale is told in the *Babad*, Senapati, having received a supernatural sign that he was to become ruler of all Java, went to the shore of the Southern Ocean to learn God’s will.

Having arrived there, he stood on the shore and prayed to Allah with such intensity that a storm came raging from the west, uprooting trees and causing the sea to boil, killing many fish (compare BRAKEL 1996, 117).<sup>13</sup> Nyai Roro Kidul in her palace at the bottom of the ocean noticed the disaster, and, wondering what could be the cause of such an exceptional disturbance of nature, came to the surface. On the shore she noticed a man, completely absorbed in his prayer. Deducing that he was the cause of the disturbances, she asked him to cease. This he did, and the storms subsided. Having read his thoughts, she told him that his prayers had been granted and that he and his descendants would be rulers of Java.

In the course of all this, the two had become attracted to each other and, retiring to Nyai Roro Kidul’s palace, they made love for three days and nights. She also instructed him in statecraft and promised him that if there was ever danger she and her spirit armies would be ready to defend the realm,<sup>14</sup> as long as those ruling Java continued their love relationship with her.

Senapati went back to the shore, where he met Sunan Kali Jaga, one of the nine holy men who brought Islam to Java. The Sunan admonished him to rely on Allah and not solely on magical powers, saying that if he really wished to be ruler he must willingly accept whatever happened to be God’s will. Despite this warning Senapati, who was in reality a royal usurper, relied not just on Islam but on his supernatural relationship with the Queen

to bolster his position and found Mataram II in 1575.

The relationship between the queen and the rulers of Mataram II has continued in its present-day successors, Yogyakarta and Surakarta.<sup>15</sup> At the installation of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X of Yogyakarta in 1989, for instance, it was reported in several newspapers and magazines that the queen had been seen near the sultan, or had approved of his installation (*JAWA POS* 1989; *EDITOR* 1989, 11).

Although many, if not most, Javanese believe these events to have occurred as told in the *Babad* (*TEMPO* 1988, 29), there are now some who maintain that this tale was made up by Senapati in order to legitimize his political position (POERBATJARAKA 1962b, 19; *INTISARI* 1991, 134). SCHLEHE further writes that these claims were made in response to the advent of Islam, which eliminated the ruler's position as Deva Raja, forcing him to look for other sources of cosmic backing (1991, 200). This argument seems rather far-fetched, however, since the *Babad* clearly shows that Senapati was aware that God was on his side: "Now my prayer to Allah has been fulfilled, my prayer to succeed my father the sultan as king, as the light of Java, and [to have] my sons and grandchildren inherit it. All the people of Java will submit" (OLTHOF 1987, 79). Rather, an explanation should be sought in the Javanese and more general Southeast Asian tendency for rulers to seek to legitimize their position by claiming association with or descent from powerful figures from myth and legend (HEINE-GELDERN 1917, 43).<sup>16</sup>

#### ROOTS OF THE MYTH

Whatever might have been the intentions of Senapati, or those of Sultan Agung after him, this story clearly was not made up out of thin air in the sixteenth century, as is implied by, among others, YANTO DIRDJOSUWONDO (1983–84, 123, 124). One reason that the matter is in question is that the origin of the veneration for Nyai Roro Kidul is not altogether clear. There are some indications of its existence in Majapahit in the fourteenth century, as King Hayam Wuruk (r. 1350–89) is said to have regularly made sacred journeys to the south coast (BOGAERTS 1990, 6; PIGEAUD 1962, 211). The *Babad*, furthermore, while not specifically mentioning Nyai Roro Kidul in this connection, does mention that Cemara Tunggal—a powerful figure from West Java who was able to shift shape between male and female—left the capital because she refused to marry. In her incarnation as a sage (*ajar*)<sup>17</sup> she predicts that Raden Susuruh, whom we will meet again, will rule all of Java, and that whoever rules Java will marry her. Like Nyai Roro Kidul (as whom she will later incarnate [BOGAERTS 1990, 7], or for whom she was the model [RAS 1986, 266]), she promises to put her armies of spirits at his disposal if trouble should arise. Moreover, the royal house of Pajang, which Mataram

II succeeded, is said to have had relations with a river god (DE GRAAF and PIGEAUD 1984, 166).

There are, furthermore, mythic details deriving from India, China, and mainland Southeast Asia that we can assume were long current in Java in the sixteenth century. There is a general tradition, of which the story of the meeting between Senapati and Nyai Roro Kidul is obviously a variant, in which the founders of new states marry princesses whom they find in magic bamboos or who appear from foam floating on the sea (WESSING 1990; JESSUP 1990, 65). Thus the Buginese and Macassarese of Sulawesi tell how Batara Guru's (= ruler) wife-to-be rose from the waves of the sea along with her entourage (MATTHES 1885, 432). Added to this may be the detail that this princess suffered from a skin disease that had led to her exile in the first place (BRANDSTETTER 1896, 2; LAUBSCHER 1976, 202–12; MATTHES 1869, 2).

Veneration of sea spirits, either indigenous or Islamic (like the Islamic saint Nabi Khidir), occurs throughout Indonesia (KRUIJT 1916, 250; DE GRAAF and PIGEAUD 1984, 136). Wemale, a female deity in Ceram, is both the queen of the “mythical beings” (i.e., nature spirits) and the queen of the spirits of the dead, much like Nyai Roro Kidul (RAATS 1970, 32). In Riau a maiden used to be sacrificed to the sea, though now she is only bathed in seawater. Elsewhere a small boat laden with food offerings is sacrificed (JESSUP 1990, 68), reminiscent of the offering boats launched on the south coast of Java (WESSING 1997). Similar elements are found in wider Southeast Asia and beyond. In fact, PRZYLUSKI (1925, 281) and PIGEAUD (1962, 319) speak of an Austro-Asiatic or Austronesian pattern.

As was mentioned earlier, beliefs in spirit-snakes are widespread as well. PLEYTE speaks of its spread among the Malayo-Polynesians and believes it to be an indigenous phenomenon that may have been later exposed in some places to Indian influences (1894, 95). The Semelai of Malaysia say that the *nāga* is related to springs and water as well as being “the enforcer of order,” (GIANNO 1986, 12–15), a role played on Java by the village guardian spirit, the *dhanyang* (compare SRI SOEJATMI SATARI 1986, 231). The Chams and Khmer relate *nāga* to fertility and political rule (JORDAAN 1987, 121, 124–25). Similar stories are told in the New Hebrides (POIGNANT 1967, 85, 91–94). BEYER (1913, 89) reports from the Philippines that the Manobos believe that the earth goddess Dágau resides at the pillars of the earth in the company of a python, while the eels in a lake at the foot of the sacred mountain Múgao are thought to be responsible for the water in the springs and thus the fertility of the rice fields.

This connection between snakes and the rice spirit (Dewi Sri, Nyi Pohaci) is found on Java as well (cf. JORDAAN 1984). In one myth the goddess originates from a snake's tear (KATS 1916; PRAWIRASUGANDA 1964, 143–44),

and she may on occasion appear as a snake as well. An Osing informant from the Banyuwangi area calls snakes the *dhanyang* that guard the rice, while HABBEMA (1901, 615) reports from West Java that if certain snakes (*oray naga*) crawl through the rice field the yield will suddenly increase;<sup>18</sup> Nyi Pohaci, one incarnation of the rice spirit, is called Nagagini there (JORDAAN 1987, 125).<sup>19</sup> Having been born as a beautiful maiden from an egg that appeared as a tear from the snake Antaboga's eye, she dies (the reason varies depending on the version of the myth), and from her body sprout various useful crops (or she is reincarnated as these crops), including rice, which grew from her genital area. In some versions she is then reborn as a heavenly maiden who, in West Java, married king Prabu Siliwangi of Pajajaran (PLEYTE 1912, 3).

In China, where the rice goddess was a virginal sea deity (VISSER 1987, 170), reminiscent of Nyai Roro Kidul, snakes or dragons are said to rule the rain (MACCULLOCH 1955, 402; cf. KERN 1916) while reports from India have snakes appearing as women (MACCULLOCH 1955, 410) or functioning as their lovers, literally entering them through their vaginas, simulating the union of the god Siva with the mother goddess (MINTON and MINTON 1969, 194; compare HEINE-GELDERN 1917, 41, 50; MACCULLOCH 1955, 409). As with Nyai Roro Kidul's relation to the Mataram II dynasty, snakes in India are said to guarantee a ruler's reign, and are also associated with barrenness, leprosy, and itch—i.e., skin disease (CROOKE 1955, 412–13)—as well as with rain (STUTLEY and STUTLEY 1984, 198).

Most clearly related to the Javanese data are those reported from Cambodia. There are several versions of a myth that tells of the first ruler, Prince Pra Thong, coming to an island in the ocean where he meets and marries a *nāga* princess, Nang Nakh, who likes to bathe there in a lake. The princess's father, Phaya Nakh (Dragon King), then aids the prince in building the first town. Henceforth the rulers of Cambodia were to cohabit nightly with a nine-headed snake spirit that lives in a tower in the palace and is the owner of all the soil in the kingdom. The welfare of the kingdom and the life of the ruler were thought to depend on this nightly union (GAUDES 1993, 334; cf. CHANDRA 1995, 201).

In summary, we see in Southeast Asia, China, and India a relation between rulers and chthonic beings, often in the form of snakes, as well as a connection between snakes, food crops, and fertility (this last being the ruler's responsibility as well, accounting for his relationship with the *nagini*).

#### HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS

That the Cambodian and Javanese myths should correspond so closely is not surprising, since there have been relations between Java and mainland Southeast Asia since at least the eighth century. During this century Champa was

raided by “Javanese” (perhaps Shailendra) pirates, while according to a Javanese inscription dated to 732 C.E., Cambodia was conquered by Prince Sanjaya (HALL 1964, 96; COEDÈS 1966, 95), who went on to found the Hindu state of Mataram I at about that time. Coedès even feels that Java may have gained suzerainty over Cambodia during the seventh century. The reason for this, according to an account by a tenth-century Arab writer, was that a Khmer king had expressed the wish to see the head of the king of Zabag (Javaka) on a dish before him. When the latter heard this, he mounted a naval expedition against Cambodia and beheaded the Khmer ruler. Having installed a more amenable successor, he presented him with the embalmed head (COEDÈS 1966, 95).

Coedès thinks this a rather unlikely story, as does DE GRAAF, who attributes these deeds to the Shailendra rulers of Java, successors to Sanjaya (1949, 37). However this may be, the involvement would have brought the Javanese into contact with Cambodian court culture, with its tale of the ruler’s nightly cohabitation with the source of his realm’s prosperity.

Mataram I lasted until about 928 C.E. By the time of the fourteenth century and the kingdom of Majapahit, we again have mention of a connection with the mainland, although of a more peaceful kind: we read in the *Babad* that Brawijaya, the ruler, married a princess of Champa, now part of Vietnam, and also a Chinese princess (BRANDES 1920, 212; OLTHOF 1987, 18; ENDAH SUSILANTINI 1981, 492–493).<sup>20</sup> There is some uncertainty concerning the identity of this princess of Champa, who may have been an ex post facto addition to Javanese mythology when Champa “became well-known...as the origin of the Muslim Chinese immigrants” whose “cultural influence must have been important from early times” (DE GRAAF and PIGEAUD 1984, 11, 142–45). It is clear, however, that Majapahit from the beginning maintained good relations with Champa (DE GRAAF and PIGEAUD 1974, 23)—in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, perhaps even in the fourteenth century, Chinese traders hailing from Champa and southern China were actively doing business in Java and elsewhere in Indonesia (STAFF 1995, 21). In some court manuscripts it is mentioned that Sultan Agung of sixteenth-century Mataram II received rice from Champa, *pari Cempa*, which he then planted (BOGAERTS 1990, 57; DE GRAAF and PIGEAUD 1984, 171, 179).

Though some of the historical details seem dubious, there are clear indications of connections between the Javanese courts and those of Cambodia, Champa, and China. In the early sixteenth century, Tomé Pires reported that a Chinese king had sent one of his daughters to marry the ruler of Java (DE GRAAF and PIGEAUD 1984, 70, 72), accompanied by a large retinue. We may safely assume, therefore, that the Javanese court did not remain totally ignorant of the customs and mythology of their consorts’ homelands.<sup>21</sup>

To conclude this section, we have seen how Nyai Roro Kidul and the myth of her relationship with Penembahan Senapati are part of a pattern of belief in female fertility spirits: now associated with snakes, then suffering from skin disease, here coming out of the water, and elsewhere cohabiting with a ruler to guarantee the prosperity of the realm, or some combination of these elements. We will return to these features later, but before doing so we must first ask why it was a West Javanese princess, rather than one from nearby in Java proper, who became Nyai Roro Kidul (or, before her, Cemara Tunggal). In order to understand this, we must take a brief look at the relationship between these two areas of Java.

#### WHY SUNDA?

RICKLEFS (1974, 375) points out that, to the Javanese, the kingdom of Pajajaran in West Java was “a place of particular spiritual significance...a place associated with the spirit world of Java.” Indeed, the name Priangan, a mountainous part of West Java, derives from *parahjangan* or *prajangan*, meaning “place or home of the spirits” (RICKLEFS 1974, 375), or—particularly significant here—of female spirits (LEKKERKERKER 1931, 22).<sup>22</sup> COOLSMA (n.d., 230) derives it from *hiyang* (Sund., to disappear), interpreting Priangan as the land of those who disappeared. However, rather than linking this, as Coolsma does, with the disappearance of the Pajajaran court after it fell to Islam (WESSING 1993), I see this as a reference to the spirits of the ancestors, and perhaps to nature spirits.<sup>23</sup>

The kingdom of Pajajaran in West Java has been cast as a counterbalance to the political power of Java proper; ROUFFAER speculates that its name, derived from *jajar* (in one line), was deliberately chosen to symbolically place this kingdom as an equal to Majapahit (1919, 244). As TEN DAM has shown, however, there are several reasons to reject this theory, first among which is the fact that no *cakravartin* (universal ruler) could recognize the existence of another ruler as equal to himself (1957, 293). There is indeed a balance between the two, although not only in the political sense implied by Rouffaer. Rather, as I will show, this balance comes about from a combination of spiritual and political elements.

Although the first known state on Java was located in West Java (VLEKKE 1947, 497; VETH 1878, 143), neither the *Babad Tanah Jawi* nor the West Javanese chronicle, *Babad Pakuan* mention West Java as the original homeland of the Javanese and Sundanese. Yet the rulers of Majapahit and later Mataram II appear to have descended from Sundanese royal houses. The *Babad Pakuan* (SALEH DANASASMITA and NANA DARMANA 1977, 151) has a king with an Egyptian wife and 2,000 people of Egyptian and Sri Lankan descent come to Java, first founding the kingdom of Mendang Kamulan<sup>24</sup>

and then moving on to Gunung Kidul near Surakarta, to Ngandong Ijo, north of Trinil, to Lodoyo in Blitar, Roban, near Ponorogo, to the island of Lombok, and then finally to Mendang Agung (which was known as the kingdom of Galuh at Bojong Galuh, the ruler of which had married a female spirit [ENDAH SUSILANTINI 1981, 373]). The *Babad Tanah Jawi* precedes the settling at Mendang Kamulan with stays at several places, then continues on via various locations to Kediri, Galuh, Pajajaran, and Majapahit (OLTHOF 1987, 7–12).

Significantly, the *Babad Pakuan* does not mention Kediri. The reason for this may be that the ruler of Kediri, Kuda-Laleyan, removed to West Java, making Pajajaran the new seat of the supreme rulers of Java (BERG 1938, 110; VETH 1878, 143).<sup>25</sup> In leaving Kediri, the ruling house would have taken along (or claimed to have taken along) as many heirlooms (*pustaka*) and other symbols and sources of power as possible, much as was done centuries later when the *kraton* of Surakarta was moved to its present location (cf. PEMBERTON 1989; GERBOTH 1996, 16–17). In moving these,<sup>26</sup> they would have taken the spiritual sources of legitimacy with them, leaving Kediri in essence a place devoid of the spiritual power (*kesakten*) that formed the essence of the ruler's legitimacy (cf. ANDERSON 1972). In the mythology, both Galuh and Pajajaran were certainly powerful kingdoms, Galuh claiming to rule all of Java through four regents (PLEYTE 1916, 541). EKADJATI even mentions that Sanjaya of Mataram I ruled from Galuh, which he says was founded early in the eighth century (1984, 82).

Galuh also seems to have been ancestral to both the rulers of Pajajaran and those of Majapahit, giving it a very significant position. The reason for this must be sought in the very special spiritual position occupied by a wife or mother and her descent group in the lives of both the Javanese and the Sundanese. In brief, a woman and the family she was born into are seen as the vehicle through which descendants are brought into the world. Wife-givers (i.e., the man's in-laws) are therefore literally life-givers.

There is more to this, however, because in both Java and Sunda the mother is regarded as in charge of the child's spiritual development (*batin*), while the father sees to its physical maintenance (*lahir*). Children are said to have a spiritual tie (*tali batin*) with their mother that comes about through the placenta; on Bali, *batin* is believed to flow to the child through its mother's milk (WIKAN 1989, 25) and perhaps through the rice its mother feeds it. In brief, the mother and her people are not only life-givers but, more significantly, the source of the person's spirit. As such they are spiritually superior.<sup>27</sup> Galuh, then, and by extension its successor state of Pajajaran and West Java generally, is the land of the ancestors (and the new location of the ancestral power of Kediri). In particular, it is the land of the *prajangan*, the spirits of

the female ancestors, from which the rulers of Majapahit and later Mataram II are descended.<sup>28</sup>

There are Sundanese and Javanese versions of the story of how Majapahit came to be founded. One Sundanese tale relates that the ruler of Galuh had several children, among them the elder Prince Arja Bangah and the younger Prince Ciung Wanara. A fight ensued between these two brothers, as a result of which Arja Bangah moved east to Majapahit and Ciung Wanara west to Pajajaran. Later this separation was formalized by their father, who divided the kingdom of Galuh between them, using the river Cipamali (Taboo River) as the dividing line (PLEYTE 1916; cf. HIDDING 1929, 38). In terms of descent lines, this makes the Sundanese Pajajaran junior to the Javanese Majapahit.

In the *Babad* (OLTHOF 1987, 15–17), Arja Bangah was the brother of Raden Susuruh and ruler of Galuh, while Ciung Wanara was one of the sons of the ruler of the kingdom of Pajajaran. Ciung Wanara had put the ruler to death, an act to which Raden Susuruh objected. Ciung Wanara was too powerful, however, and Raden Susuruh had to flee, going east to Majapahit on the advice of Cemara Tunggal, the princess of Pajajaran who, as mentioned above, had left Pajajaran because of her refusal to marry and had become a powerful seer. Later Galuh was conquered by the ruler of Pajajaran, causing Arja Bangah to flee to his brother Susuruh in Majapahit. Together they made war on and conquered Pajajaran, after which Susuruh became king of Majapahit and ruled over all the inhabitants of Java—in the Javanese version. Arja Bangah changed his name to Arja Panular. In the Javanese version, then, Pajajaran was not a counter to Majapahit, but a predecessor to it. Other versions of this story exist (see RICKLEFS 1974, 376), but in all the elder brother ends up going east to found Majapahit, while the younger, spiritually powerful brother generally stays to rule Pajajaran. Cemara Tunggal, the exiled princess of Pajajaran, became at least the spiritual consort of Susuruh, just as Nyai Roro Kidul did for the later rulers of Mataram II. Furthermore, as BOGAERTS (1990, 13) points out, the descent of Susuruh and Cemara Tunggal from the Pajajaran dynasty, and thus their relation to each other, is later an important factor in legitimizing Susuruh, now known as Brawijaya (BERG 1938, 100), as the (first) ruler of Majapahit.<sup>29</sup>

An interesting situation now obtains. Since Raden Susuruh came from West Java his spiritual origins lay there, and thus, in a spiritual sense, Sunda was superior to the rest of Java. This, I believe, is the origin of the spiritual significance that Sunda has for the Javanese. At the same time, the ruling line of Majapahit, and thus also of Mataram II, is elder and thus superior to that of Pajajaran. The balance between Java and Sunda, then, derives from this mutual superiority/inferiority, and is a balance between things of this

world (*lahir*) and things spiritual (*batin*). While Java—now Mataram II—may be politically in the ascendant, Sunda is the source of its spiritual power as well as of its rulers' spirit-consorts, Cemara Tunggal and Nyai Roro Kidul.<sup>30</sup>

#### THE RULER AND HIS CONSORT

Brief attention must now be paid to the complementary cosmological positions of the king and queen in the courts of Java. The role of the king has frequently been analyzed and is fairly well known; that of the queen is rather less so.

##### *The Ruler*

As HEINE-GELDERN points out, the basic idea of states organized on the Indian model was that in order for welfare and prosperity to exist there must be a parallelism between the organization of the cosmos and that of the state; the state should be a microcosmic image of the larger cosmos (1942). The king in his palace at the cosmological center of his realm was variously seen as representing and embodying the *śakti* (creative energy) of the Buddha or the gods Śiva, Vishnu, or Indra, while at the same time being identical with his realm. As a representative or reflection of a god, the king should be pure and should maintain order and tranquility at the center; these qualities are in turn reflected in the order (*tata*) and tranquility (*tentrem*) of the lives of the people in his realm (MOERTONO 1974, 3; cf. QUIGLEY 1995, 2). Conversely, the welfare and tranquility of the state were believed to indicate that a proper ruler sat on the throne. Nearly every *wayang* (shadow puppet) presentation dealing with the rule of a king has a passage implying that this is a proper king since his kingdom is populous and prosperous, and that peace, tranquility, and order reign (BERG 1938, 21; FOLEY 1987, 68–69).

In their persons, these rulers may well have modeled themselves on Rāma, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu (DOWSON 1972, 256) and the hero of the *Rāmāyana* epic—at least its Malay version (see ZIESENISS 1963). Ricklefs notes that Ngayogyakarta, the official name of Yogyakarta, has some very obvious similarities to the Sanskrit name Ayodhyā (Ngayodya in modern Javanese), which was the capital of Rāma's kingdom. This name, he says, predates its occupation by Hamengku Buwono I, the first ruler of Yogyakarta after the breakup of Mataram II (RICKLEFS 1974, 80, 81, n. 33). The fact that Mataram II was a Muslim state was no obstacle to this, because as MOHAMED (1995b, 5) and BRAKEL (1995) have shown, Rāma and the whole Rāma epic have become thoroughly Islamized.<sup>31</sup>

The center of the state, occupied by the ruler and his consort, was perceived to be Mt Meru, the cosmic center. This center, which could be a real mountain or an artificial one (WESSING 1988a), was not just the intersection

of certain geographical coordinates, but a “vital force, full of vegetal energy; indeed it was interchangeably identical with the tree of life or the cosmic lotus” (MABBETT 1983, 66, citing Bosch).

Being at the cosmic center of the realm, which through Mt Meru is coordinate with the center of the cosmos, the ruler, in theory, not only influences the welfare and fertility of his realm but that of the cosmos as well. This is the reason that the felicitousness of his behavior is regarded as responsible for the realm’s prosperity and welfare, and that, conversely, these are seen as indicative of his suitability.

In a very real sense, then, the ruler is responsible for, or embodies, fertility, a belief that is most often expressed through the king’s virility: the ruler’s act of coitus not only impregnates his consort, but fecundates the soil as well (BERG 1938, 106; 1958, 10; ANDERSON 1972, 18). As JORDAAN and DE JOSSELIN DE JONG (1985) have pointed out, this amounts to a marriage between the ruler and his realm. An appropriate marriage<sup>32</sup> is indicated by the absence of negative signs, while an inappropriate one may lead to, among other things, skin diseases (compare BERG 1938, 22).<sup>33</sup>

This notion is also reflected in Javanese daily life. As PEMBERTON explains,<sup>34</sup> a groom is said to be king for a day (1989). However, rather than deriving this “kingship” from that of the ruler, as PEMBERTON does, we may more appropriately see the status of groom for a day as reflecting the ruler’s permanent “groomness.” The bride and groom are, literally, on the verge of a cosmic act, namely the consummation of the relationship between the wife-givers and the wife-takers and the insurance, through their fertility, of the continuity of their lines. The ruler in this metaphor is the continual “groom” of his realm, responsible for its fertility. Thus, in the book *Sutasoma*, the hero is advised that the reason he and his consort are incarnated “is to perform the sexual act...together,” which will bring “the most excellent reward in the world, becoming a king of kings” (O’BRIEN 1993, 84).<sup>35</sup>

The creative energy (*śakti*) of a god needs the sexual union of him and his consort to be realized (O’BRIEN 1993, 86). Without this, O’Brien continues, the god’s power would be incomplete. These ideas are reflected in Javanese kingship and are characterized by an “over-riding urgency” for its actualization through copulation: Śiva and his consort incarnate in the royal couple “at the moment of consummation. God Vishnu and His Consort are incarnate there.<sup>36</sup> Every day the gods are worshiped there. What is the result? It is the cause of welfare in the land, of plentiful rain, all plants thrive, and there is plenty in the land” (O’BRIEN 1993, 85–86).<sup>37</sup> In other words, the king’s virility—evidence of his *śakti*—is expressed in the rain that his copulation brings about (cf. BERG 1938, 21; ANDERSON 1972, 27).

Clearly then, the promotion of fertility through the provision of water

by means of maintaining order and engaging in sexual intercourse is one of the ruler's primary tasks:<sup>38</sup>

She who is the living image of the daughter of the Lord of the mountains (i.e. Uma),  
and whose body was created by Lokesha, Keshava and Mahesvara (i.e., Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva),  
to be embraced by the king, the Lord of Java,  
to increase the prosperity of mankind to everyone's delight.  
(NOORDUYN 1978, 212)

It is in this light that we must see the sexual relationship between the rulers of Mataram II and Nyai Roro Kidul, who is, as we have seen, a *nāga*, closely connected with the waters of the underworld and the maintenance of order (GIANNO 1986, 12–15). Since the *nāga* are the owners of the soil as well, this sexual relation actualizes the requirement stated above, that the ruler must marry his realm. In Cambodia, neglect of these conjugal duties was thought to bring the realm into danger, and the absence of the *nāga* foretold the king's imminent death (GAUDES 1993, 334). This also explains why rulers would marry women, both those from conquered realms and those received as gifts from subject peoples. By copulating with them the rulers fecundated the subject territories and truly brought them under their rule (O'BRIEN 1993, 85–86; BERG 1958, 12, 14).<sup>39</sup>

#### THE QUEEN

It is obvious from the above that the royal consort, far from being a secondary figure, is indeed an essential element in the proper functioning of the realm. With all that, however, her perceived nature is not at all clear in the literature. As a woman she is the embodiment of *batin* (spirit), or wisdom, in the Buddhist view (O'BRIEN 1983, chap. 3), and her union with the ruler (or that of men and women in general) is necessary for the achievement of full humanity. *Lahir* (body) without *batin* is death, and the reverse is non-being in the world. Thus both are equally necessary, for individuals as well as for the realm, and lead to a "parity in status between a king and a queen in marriage...as the fusion of Means [*lahir*] and Wisdom [*batin*] in which both would necessarily have equal status" (O'BRIEN 1993, 92).

BOGAERTS characterizes the feminine as ambiguous (1990, 22). As Sri, together with Vishnu, it is a manifestation of order; as Durgā and Kala, it represents wilderness and chaos. Indeed, the feminine is often portrayed as the source of dangerous passions and attachment to things of the world (see LIND 1974, 133). *Kāma* (love) and *Yama* (death) are seen to be one (O'BRIEN

1993, 101). When the divine maiden Tilottamā first walked around the assembly of the gods, all eyes except Brahma's followed her (i.e., everyone was distracted), "whence the multiplication of [the god's] faces and eyes" (NIHOM 1995, 521), and Śiva's spouse had to distract him from his meditations before creation could take place (O'BRIEN 1993, 77; BOGAERTS 1990, 33).<sup>40</sup>

Femininity is also related to the earth, especially to its fertility. As we have seen, women are said to represent the realm that the ruler must marry, and in copulating with them he fecundates the realm. This does not mean, however, as is sometimes implied in the literature, that women, nature, and the soil are identical. If they were, there would be no reason for the ruler to cohabit with the *nāga* (the owner, or the energies, of the soil), as uniting with his consort would suffice. Rather, women, the realm, the soil, and the *nāga* are thought to have something in common and thus belong to the same category. This, however, does not make them identical. Crops are the fruit of the soil, but not the soil itself; the rice spirit is the energy of the crop, not the crop itself. Sri, Sita, and Laksmi (born in a furrow [DOWSON 1972, 176]) are daughters of the land, but they are not the soil.

Thus in uniting with his consort or other women the sovereign establishes his rule over the realm by contributing to its fertility, represented by these women. This relates to his control over the forces in the territory, which is one of his primary responsibilities (WOODWARD 1989, 166; POERBATJARAKA 1962a, 20). One of these powers, embodied in or symbolized by the *nāga*, is the energy of the soil, the actual fertilizing or creative energy, and, in the sultan's position as a representative of a god, his *śakti* (HOSTETLER 1982, 130).

As we have seen, the *nāga*—in this case Nyai Roro Kidul—is the embodiment of the fertility of the realm. One of the traditions of the Surakarta court was that upon the installation of a new ruler the flower *wijayakusuma* (*Pisonia grandis*, var. *Silvestris*; RAHARDI et al. 1991) had to be obtained from the island of Karang Bandung (Nusakambangan) off the south coast, an effort in which success was not necessarily insured. This flower, which according to VAN HIEN gives invincibility in battle (1994, 7–12), was given to Roro Wudu (the daughter of King Mundang Wangi), who had gone into exile for refusing to marry—that is, to Nyai Roro Kidul, who gathers her followers together on Nusakambangan (RAHARDI et al. 1991, 148; compare OCHSE 1931, 539–40).<sup>41</sup> This flower, which perhaps corresponds to the above-mentioned cosmic lotus full of vital force and vegetal energy (MABBETT 1983, 66), blooms briefly at night, spreading its essence far and wide, only to wilt by dawn.<sup>42</sup>

By obtaining this flower the Surakarta ruler established his relationship

with Nyai Roro Kidul, and thus with the energies it was his duty to subdue and which simultaneously controlled him; if, in Śaivite thought, his were the hot, virile energies of the male, hers were the cooling, feminine ones of the waters of fertility and creation (O'FLAHERTY 1971, 9).

#### THE WORK OF THE CLOUDS AND THE RAIN

These waters of fertility may come from springs, guarded by *dhanyang* or *dhemit* (tutelary spirits), or from the sky in the form of rain. Indeed, PIGEAUD calls Nyai Roro Kidul the "Goddess of the Ocean and the Sky" (1962, 80), which corresponds to the Vedic notion that "the waters" refer especially to those of the air, leading Agni, the god of fire, to be called the "descendant of the waters" (KERN 1916, 396). The *nāga* that must be venerated, Kern continues, are primarily those revealed in lightning flashes and only derivatively those living on earth. It is not surprising that snakes, being incarnate in lightning, are seen as allied with rain (JORDAAN 1987, 125) and with rain clouds. The Chinese dragon, the counterpart to the Indian *nāga*, is likewise a creature of the sky, hidden by the clouds and showing only its head or tail (MACCULLOCH 1955, 402).

This image also appears in the court poetry associated with the court dances of Yogyakarta (*Bedhaya Semang*) and Surakarta (*Bedhaya Ketawang*), which are closely linked with Nyai Roro Kidul (BRAKEL-PAPENHUIJZEN 1988; SUTTON 1993). This poetry in the beginning generally refers to love relationships and elsewhere uses flower and honey metaphors to suggest sexual intercourse between the sultan and Nyai Roro Kidul, referring in one part "to the dry season and the raging tropical rainstorm" (SUTTON 1993, citing BRAKEL-PAPENHUIJZEN 1988).<sup>43</sup> This, as we have seen, is a reference to the fertilizing rains brought by the ruler's sexual relations. BERG compares the ruler's power with the rain (1938, 21), which sometimes fecundates the barren soil and brings rich harvests and blessings, yet at other times washes away fertile soil and causes destruction (see SUTTON 1993, 134).

The sexual relationship between the sultan and the spirit queen is further illustrated by the fact that during the performance of these dances, which involve nine dancers dressed as brides, a tenth one, representing Nyai Roro Kidul, occasionally appears (BRAKEL-PAPENHUIJZEN 1988, 42, 44; EDI SEDYAWATI 1991, 25). Nyai Roro Kidul may also possess one of the dancers, who falls into a trance and then has sexual relations with the ruler that night (CAREY and HOUBEN 1987, 17). This love relationship neutralizes the destructive forces of the spirit world (BRAKEL-PAPENHUIJZEN 1988, 46), which the ruler must control.

In discussing the text of the poetry, SUTTON seems unsure how the "many references to cloud and rain" relate to the other parts (1993, 133),

being evidently unaware of the meaning this combination has among the Chinese, for whom “the work of the clouds and the rain” is a metaphor for sexual intercourse (see EDGERTON 1954, 2:11). This reference to Chinese eroticism should not surprise us, considering the Chinese influence on the Javanese courts discussed earlier.

Indeed, these roots may well go deeper. A classic figure of Chinese folklore is Madame White Snake, a man-eating monster who lives in a lake and likes to dine on young men (LAI 1992, 54; 1994, 38),<sup>44</sup> reminding us of Nyai Roro Kidul and her appetites. A companion of Madame White Snake is a little green snake that develops into the green dragon of the east (LAI 1992, 64), once again reminiscent of the spirit queen, especially in view of the green dragon’s opposition to the white tiger of the west, both in China and in Korea (LAI 1992, 64; ZOZAYONG 1972, 11).<sup>45</sup> On Java the directions east and west seem at first to be reversed, the green Nyai Roro Kidul having come from West Java to meet with the rulers of Java in the east.<sup>46</sup> Now, however, she is established in the east (relative to Sunda), her palace being located off the coast at Parang Tritis, south of Yogyakarta.

#### THE CONTROL OF SEXUALITY

In his union with his consort, then, the ruler promotes the fertility of the land, while in his relations with Nyai Roro Kidul he affirms his claim to it. This does not mean that such sexual relations are unrestrainedly indulged in. On the contrary, especially in the Islamic context, it is the ruler’s task to control these sexual energies<sup>47</sup> and thereby attain supreme rulership.

In Javanese mythology this is first illustrated in the relationship between Ken Angrok and Ken Dedes, a luminous-wombed woman of whom it is told that whoever possesses her will become a universal ruler (BRANDES 1920, 59). This couple founded the royal house of Kediri, and thus both the house of Majapahit and that of Pajajaran derive from them as well.<sup>48</sup>

The obverse of this feminine power is also shown in the mythology. Time and again we read of a sage who marries a princess but refrains from sexual relations with her for a time, even though she urges him to possess her. In the *Babad Cirebon* [History of Cirebon] this sage is the Muslim saint Sunan Kali Jaga, who marries Nyi Rara Panas (the hot maiden), whose previous husbands had all died on their wedding night. Rather than indulge his desires, the Sunan meditates and in the middle of the night notices a snake appearing from his wife’s pudenda. He captures this animal, upon which it turns into a *keris* (sacred dagger), itself a snake-like object (FORMAN and SOLC n.d.). The Sunan did not stay to enjoy conjugal bliss, however, but went on his way the following day (PRAWIRASUGANDA 1964, 85–86; LUBIS 1969, 77–78). Elsewhere this fatal queen is said to be Nyai Roro Kidul, and

the action to take place in Kediri (WACHTEL 1977, 19–20).

Clearly, “the red lotus,” “the majesty...hidden in the juncture of her legs” (O’BRIEN 1993, 88, n. 53; 86, n. 45), is not just a source of pleasure to be innocently indulged in. Rather, the man (ruler) must control the (wanton) sexuality of the female, because in so doing he gains control over her fertility and thus over that of the realm. Femininity, then, is seen as a dangerous force, able to arouse passion, attachment, and confusion (O’BRIEN 1993, 101), and yet necessary for the continuation of the realm.<sup>49</sup> Improper chastity leads to trouble, as our Sundanese princess found out, and so sexuality must be controlled rather than denied. Women are seen as reflecting nature, so that sexuality is regarded as at best an ambivalent force, much like the river and the ocean that are the home of Nyai Roro Kidul: “The river can be both good and evil. When the water flows in an orderly fashion, it is good; when the same water floods, it is evil” (LAI 1994, 34). Similarly, Nyai Roro Kidul has, like Madame White Snake, taken on the role of a virtuous benefactress, though underneath neither has fully shed her “demonic persona” (cf. LAI 1992, 53).

#### CONCLUSION

As SCHRIEKE indicated, the figure of Nyai Roro Kidul has been influenced by elements from a variety of sources, combining Indian and even Islamic associations with the basic Southeast Asian belief in snake spirits (1925, 286). These Southeast Asian concepts, however, very likely have a common base with East Asian beliefs in dragons and river spirits, from whom our snake queen inherited her green color and her association with rulers, and to whom she owes the allusions to clouds and rain in reference to her sexuality. We have seen, furthermore, that she is the ruler of the spirit world of Java and, as a *nāgini*, the owner of the soil and the essence of its fertility.

In this article two aspects of the complex figure that is Nyai Roro Kidul have been focused upon: her origin as a Sundanese princess and her relation with rulers. Indeed, in the context of the Javanese state she cannot be understood apart from her relationship with Senapati, his successors, and the dynastic history of Java.

Nyai Roro Kidul’s relationship with Senapati, as we have seen, exemplifies the ruler’s relationship with his consort. While the ruler’s sexual relations with his consort(s) fecundates the realm, his cohabitation with the realm’s snake-spirit—the real owner of the soil—actualizes his claim to the land and the fertility inherent in it. Both legitimate his position.

Nyai Roro Kidul’s origin as a Sundanese princess means that she embodies simultaneously the spiritual essence of the Javanese realm and that of the ruler (particularly his ties with his [female] ancestral line, the

source of life and prosperity for the ruler and, through him, his subjects). His relationship with Nyai Roro Kidul thus gives the ruler two sources of legitimacy to add to Allah's consent to occupy the throne of Java. The first is access to spiritual power (*batin*/wisdom), and the second is a claim on the physical resources of his realm and the essence of fertility and prosperity (*lahir*/means) that they represent. Encompassing both the reality and its essence, Nyai Roro Kidul allows him to be a legitimate ruler and the guarantor both of his subjects' tranquility and of the realm's continued welfare. A solid base from which to rule, indeed.

## NOTES

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1. Historically, two kingdoms of Mataram existed on Java, one a Hindu state (ninth and tenth centuries) and the second an Islamic one (sixteenth century). Since in the course of this discussion both will be mentioned, I label the earlier Hindu kingdom Mataram I and the later Islamic one Mataram II. In the literature they are also known as Old and New Mataram.

2. While this skin disease is not further specified, JORDAAN and DE JOSSELIN DE JONG mention another mythological case in which a person was struck with cloasma (*kedal*), in which white spots appear on the victim's skin (1985, 254). "Cloasma," however, derives from the Greek and means to be or become green (WEBSTER 1970, 316).

3. Most generally, Nyai Roro Kidul is said to be the ruler of the spirits and of the Southern Ocean. Some informants in Parang Tritis, however, insist that she is the *patih* (chief minister) of an older entity, known as Ratu Kidul, who actually rules the Southern Ocean (this is considered by Groneman [cited by BOGAERTS 1990, 11] to be an error). In this scenario, Nyai Roro Kidul is in charge of the spirit world. Nyai Roro Kidul and Ratu Kidul do not differ significantly, both being described as very beautiful, as seated on golden thrones, and the like. Ratu Kidul, however, seems to prefer the color purple, while Nyai Roro Kidul is said to be partial to green (compare FURY AFRIANTO 1989; HERMAN and SEMAR 1992; INTISARI 1991, 126; SCHLEHE 1991, 199). Their relationship is reminiscent of the one in Chinese mythology between Madame White Snake and her "hand-maiden" and former counterpart, the Little Green Snake (LAI 1992, 52, 64).

4. In a rather deviant version (INTEN BAYAN n.d.) Nyai Roro Kidul is the daughter of a noble woman of Mataram who is married to a man identified only as "teacher." Falsely accused of adultery, she flees to the kingdom of Joyo Kulon on the south coast of West Java. Her baby, at first known as Banyu Bening, is born under humble circumstances but amid signs of an affinity with water. She is found in the forest by Prince Sucito, who at first marries Princess Nurid of Mataram and later takes Banyu Bening as a second wife. The chief minister (*patih*) of Joyo Kulon strives to take over the kingdom and, using witchcraft, causes Banyu Bening and her mother to contract a skin disease, because of which Banyu Bening cannot conceive. Later he causes Nurid's and Sucito's fathers' deaths. Sucito and Banyu Bening now rule, with the latter's name changing to Ratu Kidul. The *patih* continues his machinations, causing Sucito to lose his mind and banish Ratu Kidul to the forest. She comes to the ocean and disappears into it.

5. Marriage and childbearing are both the social norm and a nearly sacred duty. Being single, therefore, is at best a latent condition, in which the married state is present though not yet expressed. The Sundanese of West Java, for instance, see a person's life as the progressive unfolding of predetermined potentialities, a process that is expressed in the grammar of their language as well (WESSING 1976).

6. This ruler is usually said to be Prabu Siliwangi, a title under which various rulers of the kingdom of Pajajaran are subsumed. The historical details of the story as told by Ays vary considerably from those found elsewhere (WESSING 1993).

7. In none of the stories I have read is any mention made of what she ate while wandering through the forest. It seems unlikely, however, that it was rice, as this is associated with settled human life and would not have grown naturally in the wild. On Java, rice is considered to be an indispensable food, and, I suspect, an important factor in differentiating humans from the denizens of the spirit world (compare TERWIEL 1994, 16, 18); one of the Chinese characters used to write "humanity" includes the elements for "large" and "rice." ENDAH SUSILANTINI mentions a hermit named Ratu Mas Retna Pembayun who did not usually eat and meditated on Mt Kombang, illustrating a negative correlation between spiritual practice and the consumption of food, i.e., rice (1981, 427). Tomé Pires reported on such hermits on Java early in the sixteenth century, writing that some "of them do not eat rice nor drink wine; they are all virgins, they do not know women" (DE GRAAF and PIGEAUD 1984, 159).

8. In the summer of 1994 a sudden tidal wave destroyed several villages along the southeast coast of Java. The reason given by the local people was that at a circumcision ceremony being held at the time the wrong *lakon* (story) was being presented. Of the *wayang* troop and the circumcized boy no further trace was found (Ibu Nahariyah, letter, June 1994).

9. As MACCULLOCH (1955, 399) indicates, snakes are themselves ambiguous, some being harmful, others being harmless or even beneficial. In West Java some snakes presage discord, divorce, and death, while others, especially ones with "dragon scales" (*oray naga*) are a sign of future wealth and prosperity if found lying close to the rice basket (HABBEMA 1901, 615). Graves and sacred places may be guarded by snakes as well, and if one goes there with a certain goal in mind their appearance is often taken as a sign that one's wishes will not be granted (HABBEMA 1901, 617; compare DOMINIKUS RATO 1992). This, in addition to their ability to "rejuvenate" by shedding their skin, may be the reason why they occupy an uncertain position in myth and ritual.

10. In recent writings Nyai Roro Kidul and Nyi Blorong have been characterized as mother and daughter, a relationship that SCHLEHE (1991, 206) has called into question, criticizing it as nontraditional and the product of the Indonesian film industry. Indonesian sources are divided on the matter: GOW (1992, 1) and *TEMPO* (1989) accept the relationship, while HERMANADI (1992, 19) prefers to see Nyi Blorong as one of Nyai Roro Kidul's followers (see also FISCHER 1994, 108). SRI SOEJATMI SATARI (1986, 231–32) says she could be either. A follower could, of course, be an *anak buah*, a relationship that overlaps to some degree that of a child (*anak*). Other sources cast her as an adversary to the queen (DE COCK WHEATLEY 1931, 206), or make no connection between them at all, characterizing Nyi Blorong more as a kind of *ipri*, a snake with the body of a beautiful woman to whom one may appeal for wealth but at a considerable price (DREWES 1929, 23; VAN HIEN 1912, 145, 150). However this may be, the two have much in common, something that must have been obvious to the film makers as well. Also, as SCHLEHE herself observes, ideas about spirits tend to vary with circumstances (1991, 195); furthermore, these mythological ideas are constantly being recombined and remythologized through placement in novel contexts (WESSING 1990, 250). Like local interpretations of religious ideas (WOODWARD 1989), mythology also has its local versions and interpretations that draw at once on wider patterns of belief and local circumstances and needs.

11. On the local level these tutelary snake-spirits may serve not only as the guardians of rice fields but also as agents to remind people—if necessary by biting them—of sacred promises they have made. PIGEAUD, describing what clearly seems to be a fertility dance, describes how a “female dancer with a mock snake round her neck makes dancing gestures with arms and head standing on a Javanese earthenware water-bottle. The implication that she represents chthonic power (the snake) and water is clear” (1962, 320). Elsewhere in Indonesia, among the Sa’dan Toraja, the goddess of pox and other skin diseases is clearly associated with springs and fertility (WATERSON 1995).

12. In Madurese mythology she is married to Raden Segoro (DOMINIKUS RATO 1992, 18–20), the guardian of the southern quarter of the palace of Sumenep (ZEIN M. WIRYOPRAWIRO 1986, 43). This southern orientation is interesting, because the *nāga* is the guardian of the west (O’BRIEN 1993, 175), which is also the direction on Java where Nyai Roro Kidul originated, and from which the storm came that brought Senapati and the queen together.

13. These disturbances are reminiscent of those described in the myth known as “The Churning of the Milk Sea” in Indian mythology: The fish that were killed soon floated to the surface, while after a time the mountain being used as a churn became wreathed in flames due to the tremendous friction, so that the elephants, lions, and other animals living there fell down dead (STUTTERHEIM 1926, 334). BRAKEL has indicated the parallels between this tale and Rāma’s actions in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana*—Rāma, in attempting to cross to Langka, loosens a magic arrow at the ocean that wreaks havoc among the fish and *nāga* living under the waters (1996, 117–18).

14. WOODWARD mentions that the queen’s spirit armies are believed to have aided Senapati, Sultan Agung, and Hamengku Buwono I in various battles against the Dutch, as well as having helped the national cause during the revolution (1989, 168). “Many Yogyakarta Javanese believe,” he continues, “that Indonesia does not need a strong navy because Ratu Kidul will sink any hostile ship entering Indonesian waters.”

15. EDI SEDYAWATI (1991, 25) reports that in another version the two meet when Senapati is clearing a site in the forest for the capital of his new kingdom. Even though some commentators (POERBATJARAKA 1962, 1:21; EDI SEDYAWATI 1991, 25) maintain that Senapati did not make love to Nyai Roro Kidul (Edi Sedyawati calls theirs a spiritual relationship), many others (e.g., RAS 1987, 348; SCHLEHE 1991, 199–203) characterize the liaison between the queen and Senapati, or his descendants, as a marriage. However, the *Babad* nowhere says that they were ever actually married, and an informant in East Java characterized the queen as the *sahabat karib* (intimate friend) of whoever ruled Java. The *Babad*, furthermore, has her say that “it is better to remain single and be a queen. All I wish is that there be no one to give me orders” (OLTHOF 1987, 81). Her relationship to the Surakarta court, now characterized by MOHAMED as a spiritual one (1995a, 38), is said to have changed when the ruler, Pakubuwono X, went to meet her for the first time. Stumbling on the stairs, he was caught by an invisible being whom he heard saying, “Oh my dear child!” Startled, the king rudely replied, “What’s this ‘my dear child’ business? You’re supposed to be my lover, not my mother!” (PEMBERTON 1989, 194). This would seem to indicate that from the ruler’s point of view too she was not a legitimate spouse. The queen, Pemberton continues, became rather angry at these words and told the king that “the old alliance of consort relationships was over; thenceforth she would treat the king like a son.” In Yogyakarta the relationship may also be changing, as the late Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX is reported to have preferred to call the spirit queen Eyang (grandparent or ancestor) Rara Kidul (MOHAMAD ROEM et al. 1982, 102).

16. This does not take away the fact that, as RAS discusses, the *Babad* has been adjusted several times to fit then-current conceptions (or needs) regarding the truth of past events;

“[T]his *babad* is definitely meant as a survey of historical facts. The account may be selective, and the historical picture presented may not agree with what can be verified from other sources, nevertheless it is meant to be believed” (1986, 256).

17. Cemara Tunggal/Nyai Roro Kidul, the former able to shift between male and female forms, is reminiscent of the Northern Thai spirit Upagutta, who is at once a Buddhist monk and a *nāga* (RHUM 1994, 145–50). Upagutta controls the rain and is said to live in the Garuda-Nāga World (RHUM 1994, 147–48), that is, the world of the fields and the water, linking him with the sky-*nāga* described by KERN (1916). Like Nyai Roro Kidul, Upagutta lives under the sea. He is said to be “the son of a fish...who became pregnant by inadvertently drinking the semen of the Buddha” (RHUM 1994, 148, citing Davis), but also “the son of the Buddha and...Gangā the river goddess” (RHUM 1994, 149). Nyai Roro Kidul is likewise reported to be the product of a union between the Muslim saint Nabi Khidir and the daughter of Batara Gangga, the Lord of the Ganges (JORDAAN and DE JOSSELIN DE JONG 1985, 265). As a monk Upagutta is an ascetic, like the male *ajar* Cemara Tunggal, and as an ascetic has, at least temporarily, distanced himself from his male virility. Asceticism of course does not make ascetics female, but does allow them to accumulate a greater store of *śakti*, the female creative energy, which is the purpose of much ascetic practice.

18. In the literature (JORDAAN 1984, 112; BOGAERTS 1990, 38) the impression seems to be that the rice goddess, Dewi Sri, is only perceived positively, unlike Nyai Roro Kidul. While she is seen as a benign deity, this impression is not totally correct. Informants in West Java, in socializing their children, often emphasize that various actions, such as stepping over the drying rice, whistling in the rice storeroom, and other unseemly behavior would displease Dewi Sri and result in bad harvests and a quickly diminishing store of grain. Thus even though Dewi Sri is benign, care must be taken not to offend her. Similarly, the rice goddess of the Manabos in the Philippines diminishes the fertility of the fields if she is displeased with people’s conduct (RAATS 1970, 30). Interestingly, SCHRIEKE reports that Nyai Roro Kidul is also depicted as benign in the Tengger area of East Java, where she is thought to be responsible for the harvest (1925, 286). All this may be due to the fact that people are extra careful not to offend a goddess upon whom their daily food depends.

19. In another myth, this goddess or spirit is, like Nyai Roro Kidul, a princess banished from the palace because she refuses to marry (HIDDING 1929, 72–73, 110; RASSERS 1959, 21). In the rice myth of Nawang Wulan, in which the rice originates from a heavenly nymph caught and married by a culture hero, the nymph is unable to return to heaven and becomes Nyai Rara Kidul (WOODWARD 1989, 100, citing Santoso).

20. Some recent folklore from a village in East Java reports that king Brawijaya or Majapahit used a cave that was part of the Kedaton temple as a magical passageway to the mystical kingdom in the southern ocean where he would confer with Ratu Kidul (AYIEK SYARIFUDDIN 1991b, 32). This tale is probably a remythologization, incorporating the *sumur gumuling*, an underground passage in the pleasure garden of the Yogyakarta palace.

21. Foreigners, including Chinese traders, were no strangers to these courts in any case (COLLESS 1975, 139–42).

22. LEKKERKERKER (1931, 22) notes that the word *Hyang*, or *Yang*, a form of reference to the gods, may be found in names of mountains such as Dieng (with its honorific prefix *di*) in Central Java and Mt Ijang in East Java.

23. One ruler of Pajajaran is (posthumously?) called Banjaran-Sari, which in various older Javanese poems is the name of a place in the world of the dead (BERG 1938, 115), perhaps emphasizing his spiritual connection to the ancestors.

24. The word *Mendang* appears in the name of several states, while *kamulan* means origin. *Mendang Kamulan* could therefore be read as “original state” (JANZ 1913, 427; PIGEAUD

n.d., 163). EKADJATI (1981, xxvii) has Ratu Pusaka, the founder of Galuh, and his followers survive the biblical flood by climbing Mt Padang and Mt Galunggung in West Java, which somehow escaped being covered by water. When after forty days the waters subsided, they descended from the mountains and, finding their homes destroyed, made their way to Bojong Galuh, a place miraculously marked, where they founded a new state.

25. While it would be tempting to read Galuh for Pajajaran here, another tradition tells that Pakuan, the center of Pajajaran, was built in 1433 by Sang Ratu Dewa (Raja Purana), the son of the ruler of Galuh (FRUIN-MEES 1920, 109). According to the *Babad*, however, Kuda-Laléyan was the son of Raden Panji (son of the king of Koripan [RAS 1986, 265]) and a prince of Kediri, Candra Kirana, also known as Dewi Galuh (OLTHOF 1987, 12). Their descendants were destined to rule Galuh, Pajajaran, and later Majapahit and Mataram II. The reasons given for the move to West Java vary. BERG says the ruler was defeated in a civil war (1938, 110). VETH adds to this possible pestilence, earthquakes, and floods, while also indicating that the dating of the event varies considerably (1878, 143).

26. PEMBERTON mentions that for the move of the court from Kartasura to Surakarta, the ruler and his consort were dressed as a bride and groom (1989, 61). It cannot be said that this was also the case during the move from Kediri, but the symbolism is significant, as will become clear below.

27. In much of Southeast Asia, a person's reputation derives from the mother's side, and wife-givers are thought to have a special power over their wife-takers and an ability to influence their welfare (Dr. F. K. Lehman, letter 16 May 1994; LEACH 1966, 18–20).

28. Senapati, the founder of Mataram II, was a fifth-generation descendant of Brawijaya (the ruler of Majapahit) who, significantly, combines in his person the three female descent lines of three of Brawijaya's consorts (DE JOSSELIN DE JONG 1983, 14). The fact that this royal line originated in Kediri may account for the occasional reference to Nyai Roro Kidul as a Princess of Kediri (see AYS 1992).

29. This is perhaps the crux of the Bubad incident of 1357, an affair quite insulting to the Sundanese. In brief, king Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit fell in love with a princess of Pajajaran, proposed, and was accepted. The ruler of Pajajaran and the princess, along with a large entourage, arrived at Bubad, only to be treated like vassals by Hayam Wuruk's vizier, Gajah Mada, rather than as the prospective father-in-law and bride (i.e., life-givers, spiritual sources). A battle ensued, which the Sundanese contingent lost, resulting in the bride's suicide (DE GRAAF 1949, 65–66).

30. Note that in 1680–81 the sultans of Cirebon chose to be "protected" by the V. O. C. (Dutch East-India Company), rather than by Mataram II (DE GRAAF and PIGEAUD 1984, 129).

31. LUTGENDORF (1995, 10) points out that the figure of Rāma has been quite adaptable through time. This identification of the ruler with Rāma may well continue today, if we can believe PEMBERTON's informants, who claim that in spiritual exercises President Suharto of Indonesia "always becomes Rāma, and Bu Tien [his wife]...Sinta [Sitā]" (1989, 476).

32. In this ideal marriage, the ruler is not cast as the one absolutely in charge. Rather, as in the husband and wife relationship discussed earlier, the relationship is complementary and the ruler may be characterized as the "younger" of the two (DE JOSSELIN DE JONG (1986, 221), while the people's voice may well override the ruler's concerns (see BRANDSTETTER 1896, 15).

33. Indeed, as JORDAAN (1988, 157) points out, Javanese chroniclers distinguish bad rulers from good ones by attributing some kind of physical defect, such as a skin disease, to the bad ones (see LIND 1974, 68).

34. PEMBERTON (1989, 123) discusses how "the roles of 'king' and 'groom' are publicly drawn together." The roots of this phenomenon go back much further, however, than the

“nineteenth-century conflation” of political and cultural power that he proposes (1989, 62).

35. Boys undergoing the circumcision ceremony are also considered to be kings for a day. This ritual not only makes the boy a member of the Muslim community but readies him for marriage as well; in West Java he is married to the rice goddess (RIKIN 1973, 130), symbolically equating him with Vishnu, her traditional groom (JORDAAN 1987, 130). In Java the rice harvest is called a “‘rice-stalk wedding’ for [the rice goddess] Sri,” while the “human bride is constructed as a sign of Sri” (PEMBERTON 1989, 296, 306). HOOYKAAS (1956, 309, n. 65) writes that “the Javanese bridegroom was considered as a god, the bride as a goddess, the ceremonial bed as an altar. In every consumation of a marriage the original myth was reenacted.” Edible bird’s nest harvesters on the south coast of Java are married to a maiden belonging to the court of Nyai Roro Kidul (*TEMPO* 1982, 75). The nests are made by edible-nest swifts, incarnations of Sri’s brother Sedana (KATS 1916). According to SCHRIEKE, the harvesting of these nests required a mask or puppet presentation, using the *Rāmāyana lakon* (story) dealing with Rāma’s crossing of the sea to Langka, referred to earlier (1925, 285).

36. BEATTY (1996, 279) writes about the current Javanese belief that “since not every act of sex leads to conception, for life to exist there must be a third admixture, and this is divine. The mystics refer to this third ingredient by a variety of terms: the Hidden (*ga’ib*), Life (*wrip*), Wisnu (Vishnu), or Power (*kwoso*). As they put it, ‘The Arabic word is Allah,’ though, of course, this is not what most people understand by Allah.”

37. Penis and plough are, of course, closely related (BOSCH 1961, 167, n. 28). In the past rulers ploughed a furrow around their capital upon their installation (PARANAVITANA 1970, 31–33), and often ploughed the first furrow or turned the first spade at the start of the agricultural season (HALPERN 1964, 27; WESSING 1988a, 179–81). The close connection between such circumambulation and sexual intercourse is shown in a *wayang* story cited by HOOYKAAS, in which a queen “refuses to yield to her husband” before she has ridden the cow Lembu Andini (1956, 303–304). Her husband, having fetched the animal from heaven, then rides it with her “three times round the reception pavilion of his dwelling,” after which they are united forever, i.e., have intercourse. The ploughing of the furrow around the capital can furthermore be seen as the ritual intercourse of the ruler with his realm.

38. Rulers are not the only ones to promote rain through sexual activity. It has been noted in various places in Southeast Asia that farmers, in times of drought, will copulate in their fields, or place images of sexual organs or copulating couples there to bring rain (DEMAINE 1978, 51–52; HANKS 1972, 97; KLAUSNER 1974, 17–19; RAJADHON 1960, 41). Rens Heringa (personal communication) reports that today among the elite in Tuban, East Java, this is done more circumspectly, in the rice barn (*gladag*). In Thailand large phalluses near bodies of water propitiate the water spirits, and when placed in shrines in the fields promote fertility and a good harvest (FRIEDMAN 1977, 172, 177). Hanks’s informants’ statement that the “effrontery would spur the deities of the sky to wash them away” seems a later rationalization. Also, WILKEN’s (1912, 41) idea that this was done as a kind of imitative magic to arouse the crop’s sexual urges is also not quite correct—it is simply a mechanism to cause rain. The degree to which rain and livelihood, luck, and fortune (*rejekhi*) are related is illustrated by the fact that on Java there are places where people, having ritually cleansed themselves, copulate in the open, specifically with a person not their spouse, in order to attract good fortune in business or other aspects of life (SENTOT JS 1990, 28–29). These days, however, this custom has tended to become a form of prostitution (SJS, BAMBANG and MOY 1993, 39).

39. The acquisition of women through conquest or war (*hañang*) seems to have been quite common. BERG mentions the capture of Nawang Wulan, Senapati’s spouse Retna-Jumilah, Ken Angrok and Ken Dedes, and Brawijaya’s Wandan woman (1958, 10–14).

40 One of SCHLEHE’s informants commented that she, the informant, desired the spirit

queen's power to make men crazy about her (1991, 205).

41. It is not surprising then that one of the spirit queen's official titles is Kanjeng Ratu Kencanasari, "Flower or Essence of Gold" (FLORIDA 1992, 21). PEMBERTON (1989, 474) reports that in the 1970s and 1980s President Suharto at critical moments in his administration sent delegations to Nusakambangan to obtain him this "flower of noble power."

42. As a bud this flower resembles an erect penis, while after blooming it hangs down flaccidly.

43. BERG mentions how the king's power (*kesakten*) may be compared to the rain that sometimes laves and fecundates the thirsty soil, and at other times brings floods and destruction (1938, 21).

44. It should be noted that BRAKEL (1996, 162) strongly denies that there is any linguistic connection between the myth of Nyai Roro Kidul and the sacred *bedhaya* song texts. Madame White Snake may well be reflected in the White Crocodile of the Southern Ocean (DE GRAAF and PIGEAUD 1974, 307, n. 310) and elsewhere (WESSING 1988a, 163).

45. Dragons, of course, are symbolic of the latent (ARMSTRONG 1993, 10), the condition of the Sundanese princess in her unmarried state. In ZOZAYONG the dragon's color is blue rather than green (1972, 11), but this presents no great obstacle in view of the fact that in Indonesian languages no distinction is traditionally made between these two colors. The current use of either *blauw* or *biru* for blue is respectively derived from Dutch and, probably, English (*blue* becoming *bilu*, and *bilu* in turn becoming *biru*). KARTINI, furthermore, says that the arrival of Nyai Roro Kidul at the *Badaya* dance is indicated by a blue shadow that hovers among the dancers (1988, 14a), while the newsmagazine *Tempo* reports that a Chinese person had seen the queen wearing a blue garment. Blue princesses or maidens associated with water are known elsewhere in Indonesia as well (see SNOUCK HURGRONJE 1925).

46. While these rulers, with the exception of those in West Java (HIDDING 1932, 80), are not said to be tigers themselves, they are associated with white tigers that occasionally serve them as vehicles on their way to found a new capital (WESSING 1995, 202). The *nāga* and the tiger, furthermore, can be seen as the spiritual and the physical owners of the area, once again representing the ruler and the queen.

47. Even the sexual behavior referred to by BERG (1938, 27) and ANDERSON (1972, 10) was only apparently unrestrained, as the practices of tantrism were thought to exhaust the passions and thus allow the accumulation of cosmic powers.

48. CAREY and HOUBEN (1987, 16) state that the princess of the flaming womb was descended from the royal house of Pajajaran.

49. These feelings are not just found in the Javanese *kraton*, but amongst the population as well (WESSING 1997).

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