Textual Networks and Transcultural Encounters

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Tracing Transregional Connections through References to Sanskrit Texts in the Śaiva Old Javanese Literature from Java and Bali

Abstract: This chapter investigates (Sanskrit–)Old Javanese Śaiva literature belonging to the tantric *tutur* and *tattva* genres, the *śāsana* normative genre, as well as poems (*kakavin*) of Śaiva persuasion, to trace transregional textual connections between the Indian subcontinent and Java and Bali in the light of allusions to or citations of Sanskrit texts. It identifies the specific sources that were in circulation and were considered authoritative, and which may have been prototypical to form the textual "canon" that informed prevalent religious, ritual, and social ideas and practices in pre-Islamic Java as well as Bali. This analysis will reveal text-building and hermeneutical techniques, as well as authorisation strategies, employed by premodern Javanese and Balinese authors to anchor their textual and religious tradition to either a timeless or mythological dimension or a scholastic tradition inspired by Indic norms. This will facilitate our understanding of the transregional textual flows that shaped the literary, cultural, and religious landscapes of the premodern Javanese-Balinese cultural sphere.

Keywords: Old Javanese, Sanskrit, Śaivism, *kakavin*, *tutur*, *śāsana*, Java, Bali

1 Introduction

A rich and extensive body of literature written primarily in Old Javanese and Sanskrit was composed in Java and Bali in the period from approximately the ninth to the sixteenth century. This literature has been preserved up to the present on palm-leaf manuscripts from Bali, Lombok, and to a much lesser extent, Java,[1] in what is now the modern Indonesian archipelago. This literature documents an interesting case of

1 Unlike in Bali (and enclaves in Lombok), where Hinduism is still practised by the majority of the population, Java gradually became Islamised from the fifteenth century onward. As a result, the Islamicate/Persianate (paper) manuscript tradition superseded the Hindu-Buddhist/Indic palm-leaf manuscript tradition.

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transregional connectivity between South and Southeast Asia, and in particular the transmission and "localisation" of Indic linguistic, cultural, and religious elements. These dynamics are pertinent to the issues of multilingualism and vernacularisation, as well as to the "language order" of premodern Java and Bali in the wider framework of the "Sanskrit Cosmopolis" and the ensuing "vernacular millennium" theorised by Sheldon Pollock (2006).[2]

Old Javanese or "Kawi"[3] has been defined by Pollock as a "transregional vernacular" in the Sanskrit Cosmopolis, that is, a language used by literati and religious agents in Java from around the eighth to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, as well as in Bali (and the Balinese enclaves in Lombok) until the modern period. While Old Javanese is one of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, whose grammar and lexicon are very different from Sanskrit, it consists of around 50 per cent Sanskrit loanwords and also exhibits some syntactical influence from that language.[4] Strikingly enough, the ancient Javanese used Sanskrit words even in cases where local words already existed.[5] This, along with local developments in the Sanskrit texts composed or transmitted in Java and Bali – such as a "non-standard" (i.e. non-Pāṇinian) Sanskrit grammar, semantic shifts, or even a hybrid language that has been called "Archipelago Sanskrit" – reflects the significant extent and depth of the penetration of Sanskrit language and Sanskritic culture into the social matrix of the elites and, perhaps, commoners.

This chapter investigates the South Asia–inspired, culturally and linguistically hybrid Old Javanese (and Sanskrit–Old Javanese) literature, with particular attention to Śaiva religious texts of the *tutur* and *tattva* genres,[6] but also including relevant nor-

2 Pollock has theorised the Sanskrit Cosmopolis as a transregional cultural formation extending from the Indian subcontinent to Central and Southeast Asia, where the Sanskrit language articulated politics not as material but as aesthetic power, serving as the vehicle for the elites' self-representation. Further, he has elaborated on the existence of an ensuing "vernacular millennium," during which "cosmopolitan vernaculars" (like Old Javanese) gained ascendancy from around the end of the first millennium onwards in expressing concepts that had previously been the exclusive preserve of Sanskrit.

3 This is the word used in Bali to refer to the language, whose indigenous name is, however, not attested in any pre-Islamic texts from Java. Such Old Javanese *kakavin*s like the *Smaradahana* (1.23) and the *Sumanasāntaka* (182.3) use the form *pinrākṛta*, "rewriting (retelling) in another medium (from Sanskrit to Javanese, from poetry to prose)," suggesting that the Javanese may have conceptualised their literary language as a Prakrit (i.e. vernacular), and as having the same relationship as that of a Prakrit towards Sanskrit.

4 This is especially evident in the *tattva* literature (on which, see below): see Acri (2017, 26–28).

5 For instance, in the case of words used to denote kinship: see *anak* vs. *putra*, *strī*/*bharyā*/*vadhū* vs. *vini*, etc.

6 These terms are hard to translate. The former can be approximately rendered as "memory, recollection, consciousness" and "to tell, report" (*Old Javanese–English Dictionary*, henceforth OJED, see Zoetmulder (1982), s.v.); it is thus perhaps akin to the Sanskrit word *smṛti*, meaning "memory, thinking of or upon," and can also denote a body of sacred texts that are remembered by human teachers. The latter can be broadly translated as "reality, metaphysics, ontological categories," and denotes a body of speculative texts mainly concerned with theological, philosophical, and soteriological matters.

mative texts of the *śāsana* legal genre and poems (*kakavin*) of Śaiva persuasion. The analysis centres on concrete transregional textual connections, specifically allusions to or citations of titles of Sanskrit texts from the Indian subcontinent. While the quotation or borrowing of portions of Sanskrit scriptures in (Sanskrit–)Old Javanese texts has already been described in scholarly literature (see e.g. Goudriaan 1981; Acri 2006, 119–124), references to the actual titles of Sanskrit scriptures have yet to be investigated in a systematic manner.[7] This approach is useful in that it can identify the specific sources that were in circulation and were considered authoritative in a given period, which may have served as prototypes to form the textual "canon" that informed prevalent religious, ritual, and social ideas and practices in pre-Islamic Java as well as Bali. By doing so, we can gain a deeper understanding of the transregional textual flows that shaped the literary, cultural, and religious landscapes of those Southeast Asian islands in the premodern period.

2 *Tutur* and *tattva* literature

An extensive body of religious literature, known as *tutur* and *tattva*, was composed in Java and the neighbouring (and still predominantly "Hindu") island of Bali in the period from the ninth century to the sixteenth century. This literature is mainly concerned with the reconfiguration of Indic metaphysics, philosophy, soteriology, and ritual along localised lines. It is often structured in the form of Sanskrit verses accompanied by an Old Javanese prose exegesis – each unit forming a "translation dyad" (Acri 2006). The Old Javanese prose parts document cases of linguistic and cultural localisation that can be regarded as broadly corresponding to the European categories of translation, paraphrase, and commentary, but which often do not fit neatly into any one category (Acri and Hunter 2020). These "cultural translations" document a creative reuse of Indic material. As such, they reflect the ways in which local agents (re-)interpreted, synthesised, fractured, and restated the messages conveyed by the Sanskrit verses in the light of their contingent contexts, agendas, and prevalent exegetical practices.

Unlike much of the Buddhist literature from premodern Tibet and China, this corpus of Old Javanese and Sanskrit–Old Javanese texts cannot be regarded as a "translation literature."[8] Instead, it is characterised by the original reuse of Sanskrit material

7 Due to space constraints, my discussion is not going to be comprehensive. Besides leaving aside Buddhist works (see below, footnote 9), I will not include the Parva literature, or such texts as the *Sārasamuccaya* (mentioning Vararuci as the author who produced an abridged version of the *Mahābhārata* attributed to Vyāsa).

8 Examples of translation or close rendition are known in Old Javanese literary genres, but are extremely rare (see e.g. the partial rendition of about half of the seventh-century Sanskrit *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or *Rāvaṇavadha* by Bhaṭṭi in Old Javanese, known as the *Rāmāyaṇa kakavin*, the earliest core of which is dateable to around the ninth century).

to create original works that reveal a propensity for elaborating a synthesis and hybridisation of different religious-philosophical streams, such as Śaivism, Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, and Yoga. Whether this textual activity is primarily attributable to individual authors or "reading committees" – similar to the Chinese translation assemblies or the modern Balinese institution of *mabasan*/*pepaosan*, that is, "reading clubs" – gravitating around the court and urban or rural religious institutions, is not known. However, sources from around the fifteenth century suggest that during the late "Hindu-Buddhist" period, such activities may have occurred in the hermitages known as *patapan*, *maṇḍala*, *kabuyutan*, etc. These hermitages, which dotted the mountainous landscape of Java, doubled as institutions where knowledge was produced and transmitted, and were bastions of the Hindu-Buddhist culture even at a time when Islam was becoming dominant in the more accessible flatlands. In any case, the linguistic and intellectual undertakings performed by premodern Javanese and Balinese authors may be regarded as a form of "translation as commentary," simultaneously involving multiple processes: the translation from an Indo-European language into a Western Malayo-Polynesian idiom, the exegesis or reconfiguration of Indic material, and its adaption into a familiar cultural context, aligned with the expectations of both the producers and consumers of literature.

Recent comparative research has shown that the *tutur* and *tattva* textual corpus stems from an early, pre-ninth century, pan-Indian Sanskrit Śaiva Saiddhāntika prototypical tradition.[9] This tradition can primarily be reconstructed through manuscript archives from Nepal and South India, as it had almost disappeared from the manuscript traditions of other regions of the subcontinent. The first pioneering identification of a "quotation" from a Sanskrit Śaiva text from the subcontinent in a Sanskrit text from Bali was made by Goudriaan (1981). He identified two verses belonging to the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* – an early "magical" Śaiva Tantra – in the *Māyātattva* Tantric hymn from Bali (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971, 274–281). More recently, scholars have traced verses of texts belonging to the *tutur* Sanskrit–Old Javanese literature to early Siddhāntatantras, including the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, *Kiraṇatantra*, *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama*, and Puranic texts like the *Agnipurāṇa*.[10] These verses, nearly all in the *anuṣṭubh* or *śloka* metre, are usually "quoted"

9 This chapter, dealing with Śaiva literature, will not discuss references found in Old Javanese Buddhist texts – which, to my knowledge, may be limited to the single mention of the as yet unidentified *Saṅ Hyaṅ Tantra Bajradhātu Subhūti* in the colophon of version C of the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*: see Kandahjaya (2016, 93); compare the mention of a *Tantra Subhūti* in *Deśavarṇana* 43.3. Previous scholarly efforts to trace the verses "quoted" in Sanskrit–Old Javanese Buddhist ritual manuals may be found in de Jong (1974), Ishii (1992), Lokesh Chandra (1995, esp. 295–300), Kandahjaya (2016), and Kanō (2020).

10 See Acri (2006, 118–124), mentioning *Vṛhaspatitattva* 7–10 ≈ *Svāyaṁbhuvasūtrasaṁgraha*, Vidyāpāda 4.3–6; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 37–46 ≈ *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 10.3cd–13ef, *Agnipurāṇa* 2.214, 3cd–14ab, *Jñānasiddhānta* 19.5, *Gaṇapatitattva* 43 ≈ *Kiraṇatantra*, *Vidyāpāda* 1.23; *Jnānasiddhānta* 8.3 ≈ *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 1.8, 38; *Jnānasiddhānta* 25.6 ≈ *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, *Mūlasūtra* 6.8

anonymously, without reference to their original sources. They appear to have been extrapolated from their original context and collated to form new texts – sometimes in quite a logical and organic way, such as in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Vṛhaspatitattva*, but often in a more random manner.

A remarkable instance of such "quotations" is found in the *Jñānasiddhānta*, a Sanskrit–Old Javanese *tutur* probably compiled in Bali at a relatively late date using a core of earlier material,[11] where verse 5 of chapter 19 corresponds to *Kiraṇatantra*, Vidyāpāda 1.23. This passage may help trace the line of transmission of this early Saiddhāntika scripture to ancient Java and Bali (see Acri 2006, 123–124). The second half-line is found in neither the Nepalese manuscripts nor Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary (see Goodall 1998, 221 n. 188). However, it appears in the later South Indian redactions, such as the Devakoṭṭai edition, and in the version commented upon by Tryambakaśambhu, who places it after 1.23d (see Goodall 1998, 29). This suggests a late South Indian transmission to Java or Bali, which is consistent with the doctrinal outlook of the text and its probable authorship (see Acri 2022a).

Elsewhere (Acri 2012, 2021a, 2021b) I have reconstructed the doctrinal influence of the early Śaiva scriptures of the Vāthula/Āgneya corpus on Old Javanese Śaiva texts, especially the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Bhuvanakośa* ("The Compendium of the Worlds"),[12] for

(≈ *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 19.4). On a widespread verse on *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* in early Siddhāntatantras, see Grönbold (1996, 9–10) and Vasudeva (2004, 388). See also Acharya (2020) on the parallels between the *Saurasaṁhitā* and the Sanskrit hymn from Bali known as *Sūryastava*; Rastelli (2022) on the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama*, and *Agnipurāṇa* parallels in a section dealing with yoga and subtle physiology. Contextual similarities as well as verses echoing (rather than exactly corresponding to) verses of the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* and *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* are found in the *Bhuvanakośa* (BhK 7.20d and 10.36b = RauSS 8.10d; BhK 10.36a = RauSS 8.10c; BhK 7.20c, 10.36c = RauSS 8.13a; BhK 4.23b ≈ MatPār VP 18.85d; BhK 4.24b ≈ MatPār VP 18.84d).

11 While the dating of the texts of this corpus remains highly problematic, one could mark the fifteenth century as a "turning point" in Javanese-Balinese literary history; indeed, that period witnessed the fall of the Hindu (mainly Śaiva) and Buddhist Kingdom of Majapahit in East Java and its progressive Islamisation, and an influx of Śaiva and Buddhist texts to the nearby island of Bali, carried by literati as well as the priestly elites. A significant part of the Old Javanese textual corpus recovered from Balinese manuscripts may date back to this period.

12 This text shares numerous verse-quarters with various recensions of the *Kālottara*, like the *Śatikakālajñāna*. Although I believe that this is statistically significant, these shared fragments are too short to be attributable with certainty to the aforementioned Sanskrit sources. On the other hand, the fact that part of this text, as well as many other *tutur*s, are arranged as a dialogue between Śiva and Kumāra (and the Goddess), as in the case of the *Kālottara* as well as other texts related to the Āgneya corpus (like the early *Skandapurāṇa*, the *Sarvajñānottara*, etc.), supports the view that this corpus may have been prototypical for Old Javanese texts. For a more detailed discussion, see Acri (forthcoming). Contrast Goodall (2022a, 546) on the absence of clear epigraphic evidence of the study of the *Kālottara* by the Khmers.

instance through an analysis of metaphors that tend to be found in nondualistic Sanskrit sources rather than "orthodox" dualistic mature Saiddhāntika sources.[13] Additionally, I have demonstrated the influence of the early Śaiva exegete Bṛhaspati (c. 650–750 CE) on the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and other *tattva*s, like the Old Javanese *Tattvajñāna* and *Dharma Pātañjala*. I have also investigated the Sanskrit *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* – commonly known as the *Yogasūtra* with the *Bhāṣya* commentary (mis)attributed to Vyāsa – as the prototypical source of the latter Old Javanese text (Acri 2012, 2017). The question of the influences of historical authors and sources from the subcontinent on the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and *Dharma Pātañjala* is relevant to the present discussion. Since it is clear that the Javanese author of the *Dharma Pātañjala* drew directly from the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* or a versified version of the *sūtra*s plus one or more commentaries, I argue that the word *Pātañjala* in the title alludes to the fact that the text was based on the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, while also conflating Patañjali (the Sanskrit word *pātañjala*, meaning "of Patañjali") with the "local" (i.e. Javanese) Pātañjala/Pṛtañjala, the manifestation of Śiva that is probably a synonym of Agastya. Besides constituting a central character in the early Śaiva doctrinal landscape of Java, Pātañjala does indeed feature in a rather lengthy mythological account in the *Dharma Pātañjala* describing the previous manifestations and earthly incarnations of Śiva (see Acri 2014a). Along similar lines, the title *Vṛhaspatitattva* ("the Book of Vṛhaspati") is a double-barrelled reference both to the work of the South Asian exegete Bṛhaspati and to Vṛhaspati, the interlocutor of Śiva in the text, who is by no means a prominent god in Javanese Śaivism and never appears as such – or as an interlocutor in the frame-story – in any other Śaiva texts known to me. Both titles would thus appear to reflect a strategy of anchoring the revealed text to a mythical figure outside of human space and time, by transforming a historical author from the Indian tradition, who was likely unfamiliar to most of the local readership, into a (semi-)divine figure.

While the *Dharma Pātañjala* does not allude to any of its prototypical sources, it contains an interesting and unique passage (pp. 208–210) that refers to Brahmins along with other ethnonyms[14] denoting Persians,[15] Pujut (negritos?),[16] and Nambi[17] as people from overseas whose physical appearance is different. Further, it mentions the

13 See e.g. the metaphors found in the Saiddhāntika (albeit doctrinally not clearly dualistic) *Niśvāsakārikā* and *Trayodaśaśatikakālottara* (Acri 2021a, 2021b).

14 Thus, Brahmins may have been regarded as a distinct ethnic group. Interestingly, the same appears to have been the case in premodern Thailand (see McGovern 2017, 284 n. 1).

15 The ethnonym *parasi* also occurs in the *Ṛṣiśāsana* (4), along with East Africans (*jəṅgi*), South Indians (*kliṅ*), negritos (*pujut*), etc.; it is also attested in Old Sundanese sources (see Aditia Gunawan (2023), note on the occurrence of this word in *Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian* 9.11.31, mentioning also the *Kavi Katanian*), as well as earlier Old Javanese inscriptions.

16 According to OJED (s.v.), and more recently Jákl (2017), the term *pujut* denotes dark-skinned Negritos who came to Java as enslaved war captives, either from Sumatra or eastern Indonesia (including Papua).

17 The referent of this ethnonym is not known, although one may point at the occurrence of the word *nambi* in a Tamil inscription from Bagan in Myanmar related to a South Indian merchant guild,

religious teachings of the people from foreign lands in the same context, thus providing us with a rare glimpse of how "indigenous" sources theorised the transfer of texts and religious knowledge from the Indian subcontinent to Java:[18]

> [208] [. . .] *nihan deyani janma yan mahyun samyajñāna, təlu kvehnya, pratyakṣapramāṇa, anumānapramāṇa, āgamapramāṇa, nāhan saṅ pramāṇa təlu ṅaranya, pratyakṣapramāṇa ṅaranya, ikaṅ vastu tan parakva, yekā pratyakṣapramāṇa ṅaranya, anumānapramāṇa ṅaranya, hana vastu tan katon, ndan siddha hiḍəpniṅ vvaṅ iriya, apan hana cihna paṅavruh iriya, nihan padanya, kadyaṅgāniṅ deśa ri sabraṅ, dadi hiḍəpniṅ vvaṅ riṅ hananya, apan hana katon ikā vvaṅ dudū rūpanya kadyaṅgāniṅ brāhmaṇa lāvan pujut, nambi,* [209] *parasi, ya tikā tinonta, athavā hana kəta vastu tan katon, ri deśa ri nūsa kahananya, kadyaṅgāniṅ maṇik, kasturi, kapur kunaṅ, yekā byaktanyān hana nūsa ri sabraṅ, ikā ta jñāna humiḍəp hananikā, yekānumānapramāṇa, āgamapramāṇa ṅaranya, varah-varahniṅ vvaṅ saṅke deśāntara, ndān yan pacihna ikā, yāpvan tan pacihna adva ikā, yapvan hana cihna, ya ta sinaṅguh āgamapramāṇa ṅaranya, nāhan yaṅ pramāṇa təlu ṅaranya, yatānyan tan kasasar i jñāna, tinut saṅ viku,*
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> [The way of acting of the human beings who desire the right knowledge is as follows. It numbers three [elements]: the valid means of knowledge of direct perception, the valid means of knowledge of inference, the valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture. Thus are the three valid means of knowledge. The valid means of knowledge of direct perception means: the entity that is not a matter of guess. That is the valid means of knowledge of direct perception. The valid means of knowledge of inference means: there is an entity which is not visible, but the thought of men about it is sure, for there is a sign by means of which one can recognise it. *For example: like the foreign countries across the sea, it is possible that men know about their existence, for one sees thus, namely that there are men of different appearance, like the Brahmans and the Pujut, the Nambi, the Persians.* These are seen by you. And further, there still are entities which are not seen, they originate in [foreign] lands, in [other] islands, such as gems, musk, camphor. These constitute the evidence that the islands across the sea exist; it is the mind that infers that they exist. That is the valid means of knowledge of inference. *The valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture means: the teachings of the people from the foreign lands, but [only] if there is a proof; if there is no proof, they are [to be considered] false.* If there is a proof, that is designated as the valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture. Thus are the three valid means of knowledge, so that there is no going wrong of the knowledge according to the men of religion.] [Emphasis added]

The passage quoted above suggests that Brahmins coming from overseas were a social reality in ancient Java, and that they must have been the prime carriers of the "foreign" religious teachings mentioned in the same paragraph.[19]

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recording the construction of a front hall in a Viṣṇu temple by Irāyiran Siṟiyan alias Śrī Kulaśekhara Nambi of Magodayar-paṭṭaṇam in Malaimaṇḍalam (Karashima 2002, 15).

18 All the Old Javanese texts quoted thereafter have been silently standardised, while more significant corruptions or variants have been recorded in footnotes, serving as a critical apparatus. All translations are my own.

19 See also the mention in the *Deśavarṇana* (93.1) of the presence of the Brahmin Mutali at the court of the fourteenth-century East Javanese King Rājasanagara, alongside the Buddhist literate Buddhāditya from Kañcipuram in South India.

What may be a rare instance of direct knowledge of a Sanskrit text composed in the Indian subcontinent is found in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Bhuvanakośa*, which refers to the *Dhīśāstra* (3.31) when describing the generation of the elements from the subtle elements and their respective organs. While the term *Dhīśāstra* is not known from Sanskrit literature, it can be understood as a synonym of *Buddhiśāstra* ("Treatise on the Intellect"), which would allude to an early form of / treatise on Sāṅkhya.[20] The expression *dhīśāstroktaṁ* [. . .] *vākyam* [I am going to tell [you] what has been declared in the *Dhīśāstra*] is not glossed in the exegesis to verse 3.31. However, 3.36 contains the clause *buddhīndriyāni pañcamyāṁ proktāni paramarṣiṇā* [The Organs of Perception have been taught by the supreme seer as a pentad], which the exegesis attributes to Kapila [The Organs of Perception have been taught by the Lord Kapila as being fivefold in nature].[21] Thus, against the interpretation given by the Old Javanese commentary, one can understand *pañcamyāṁ* as meaning "in the pentad [of verses above, i.e. 3.31–35]," referring to the five verses quoted from a work by Kapila. Kapila, whom the Sāṅkhya tradition often calls *paramarṣi* or Supreme Sage, is traditionally credited with the authorship of the lost early authoritative Sāṅkhya work *Ṣaṣṭitantra* ("Treatise on the Sixty Categories", c. fourth century),[22] which was known to Dignāga, Mallavādin and Bhartṛhari (Bronkhorst 1994, 315). The work is referred to in the Sanskrit portion of dyad 4.22 as "This is the doctrine [taught] in the Treatise on the Sixty Categories of the great seer Kapila" ("*ṣaṣṭī tattvam idan tantre | kapilasya mahārṣiṇaḥ*"). This treatise is referred to in the exegesis as the source of the series of fifty categories, whose essence is extracted in verses 4.21–22: "Thus are the fifty categories, which constitute the doctrine (or: 'treatise') of the divine Kapila. The essence has been spoken."[23] This example suggests that the quasi-mythical status of Kapila reflected in South Asian sources was retained in the *Bhuvanakośa*, but that the author of the commentary did not elaborate further on the possible "quotation" (whether actual or imagined) of a portion of text from a prototypical source.

References to South Asian philosophical and religious systems, and the scriptures belonging to them, are found in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Brahmoktavidhiśāstra*.[24] This text describes, through the mouth of the Lord Paśupati, the origin of the world and of the four Vedas, using a series of Sanskrit verses listing various auxiliary scien-

20 Cf. the occurrences in *Mahābhārata* 13.134.57d, 12.2.6006, and 12.343.8.

21 "*ikā taṅ buddhīndriya | vinarahakən bhaṭāra kapila | an lima lvirnya.*" Cf. also the expression *liṅ mahāmuni*, [[according to] the words of the Great Sage], found in the exegetical portion of dyad 3.68.

22 Such is the view of the *Yuktidīpikā* (Larson and Bhattacharya 1987, 127); other sources attribute the authorship to Vārṣagaṇya or Pañcaśikha. See Oberhammer (1960).

23 4.22: "*nāhan taṅ tattva limaṅ puluh, pinakāji bhagavān kapila, ukta sāra.*"

24 Although, strictly speaking, these references are general, i.e. they do not contain actual titles of scriptures, the passage quoted below is significant enough to warrant a treatment here, and moreover it refers to systems that are also mentioned in other texts discussed in this chapter, namely the Alepaka, Mahānātha, Mīmāṁsā, and Pāśupata.

ces (*vedāṅga*) and other philosophical systems. Each one of these is connected with a part of the body of the Veda (verses 2–3):

> *kāmatantro 'pi viguhye kukṣau mīmāṁsaḥ*[25] *saṁsthitaḥ* |
> *pāśupato 'pi hṛdaye mahānāthaś ca urake*[26] ||
> *kaṇṭhe vaiśeṣikaś caiva jihve śikṣā*[27] *tathaiva ca* |
> *alepakas tu śīrṣāyām*[28] *iti vedaśarīra*[29] *vai* ||
>
> [The teaching of the Ars Amatoria is in the genital organ; in the belly is placed the Mīmāṁsā. The Pāśupata is in the heart and the Mahānātha on the chest. On the neck there is the Vaiśeṣika, the Śikṣā is on the tongue; the Alepaka is in the head.]

The Old Javanese commentary paraphrases the verses by stating that the "scriptures/system of knowledge of the Alepakas" (*alepakajñānaśāstra*) represents the head of the Veda ("*kunaṅ ikaṅ alepakajñānaśāstra pinakasirsa pakenanika de saṅ hyaṅ veda*"), while the "scriptures/system of the Pāśupatas" (*pāśupataśāstra*) represents the heart ("*ikaṅ pāśupataśāstra pinakahati pakenanika teka saṅ hyaṅ veda*"). It is remarkable that the Pāśupatas, Mahānāthas, and Alepakas, which in the case of the latter two, probably represent streams of early Śaivism, are mentioned in these verses as belonging to the Vedic stream, alongside such orthodox systems as the Mīmāṁsā and the Vaiśeṣika. As for the Alepakas, they are likely to be a local variation of the Vaimalas known from South Asian sources.[30]

Another remarkable passage is found in the monumental Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Śivāgama* (also entitled *Pūrvāgamaśāsana*), composed by the Balinese priest and intellectual Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen in the late 1930s. While this source, a compendium of Śaiva (cum Buddhist) doctrinal and ethical precepts set within a mythological and narrative framework, is the most recent discussed here, it draws from earlier sources of the *tutur* genre, like the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Vṛhaspatitattva*, as well as other seminal Old and Middle Javanese texts, like the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran*. The passage in question (f. 305r–306r in the single palm-leaf manuscript used here), where the epic character Yudhiṣṭhira teaches a sermon to Candravicandra, features references to Śaiva scriptures/systems known from South Asian Sanskrit literature, which do not

25 Declined as a masculine (unmetrical).

26 *ca urake* features a non-standard hiatus to avoid hypometrism, although the Anuṣṭubh pattern is still irregular.

27 Em.; *śikṣa* mss.

28 Em.; *śirṣayam* mss.

29 Declined as a masculine with irregular *sandhi*, metri causa.

30 For a reference to the Alepakas in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyana*, see below, section 5. For a discussion of the above-quoted verses and the issue of the identification of the Alepakas, see Acri (2008).

occur anywhere else in the corpus of Old Javanese texts accessible to me. Given the significance of this passage, I quote it in its entirety below:[31]

> *gumanti śrī yudhiṣṭhira sira mojar, liṅnira, ḍūh anaku candravicandra, valuyakən taṅ carite ṅūni, sakiṅ ruhur pūrvakaniṅ mavaraha, lvirnya, ikaṅ mamakā, ṅamətvakən aji kaulikā ṅaranya, vənaṅ paṅākarṣaṇa phala bhoga kabhukti təkapnya, mvaṅ amətvakən kasiddhyan kapuruṣan, lavan kaiśvaryan, təkeṅ kamokṣan kasiddha denya. i sornya muvah, nanasa*[32] *ṅaranya, dadama ṅaranya vaneh, ṅamətvakən tattva buddherika, i təṅah muṣṭiniṅ aji ikā, agəṅ kottamaniṅ saṅ ḥyaṅ aji,*[33] *paṅākarṣaṇa kavijilanira bhaṭāra buddha, nimittaniṅ pāpa karma, mvaṅ lara roga, pupug punaḥ vināśa denya, makadon vruh iṅ śūnya səḍəṅiṅ yoga sira, lāvan dūradarśaṇa, dūrasarvajña. kapiṅtiganya, iyama ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji siddhānta, mvaṅ aji kiraṇerika, i təṅah muṣṭiniṅ aji ika, agəṅ kottamaniṅ saṅ ḥyaṅ aji, prokta upadeśa donya, paṅākarṣaṇa kinasihaniṅ rāt kabeh, kapiṅpātnya, śavala ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji mahānātha ika, paṅākarṣaṇa kasanmatan*[34] *de saṅ prabhu donya, mvaṅ śakti viśeṣa təkapnya, uttara vatəkiṅ aji ika, śrī ləṅkeśvara paṅajyanye*[35] *ṅūni, ya sinaṅgah khaḍgarāvaṇa*[36] *rakva. kapiṅlimanya ta*[37] *śiva ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji bhūtatantra ṅaranya, akveh phalanya, təhər agəṅ prabhavanya, atəguh taṅ śarīra denya, kumavruhi daitya rākṣasa sira, vatəkiṅ paścima, neriti, vayabya, aji ika. i piṅnəmnya, bāma ya ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji picu,*[38] *aji maṅgala, aji tilaka ṅaranya vaneh, avyavṛtti*[39] *sarvaguṇa denya, praṇata bhaktīkaṅ rāt kapuharanya, watəkiṅ dakṣiṇa aji ika. kapiṅpitunya, śanaha ṅaranya, anaha*[40] *ṅaranya vaneh, ṅamətvakən aji gāruḍeya*[41] *ika, ṅamrəddhyakən vvaṅ viśeṣa, mvaṅ kavaśa, sakarəpnya siddha, atīndriya phalanya, magave kadīrghāyuṣan, vatək aji pūrva ika. kapiṅvvalunya, manahu ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji prethivijñāna sira, amaṅuṇakən viśeṣa, mvaṅ putusiṅ śivatattva, magave kayovanan sadā phalanya. kapiṅsaṅanya, avaku ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji hora ngaranya, vənaṅ ṅamətvakən asmaratantra, magave kinonəṅanta riṅ rāt phalanya. kapiṅdaśanya, avighna ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən saṅ ḥyaṅ mahāvindu sira, magave kavruhanta riṅ rāt, rakṣaka bhakti agave kamokṣan phalanya, ika saṅ ḥyaṅ daśamūrti ṅaranya.*

> [The illustrious Yudhiṣṭhira spoke in his turn: o, my child Candravicandra, let us go back to the story of the past; the origin of teaching was from above, here is how it looked like: Mamakā brought forth the Kaulikā scriptures, which can act as a means to attract results [like] pleasures; their way is what is enjoyed. Also, they brought forth the status of supernatural prowess and manliness, and the state of lordship. Because of them, release and perfection are obtained. Else,

31 Unless otherwise indicated, the critical notes are based on the palm-leaf manuscript only, rather than the printed edition, which largely derives from the same manuscript and contains several mistakes.

32 The editors of the printed version of the *Śivāgama* read *manasa*.

33 The portion of text *i təṅah muṣṭiniṅ aji ikā, agəṅ kottamaniṅ saṅ ḥyaṅ aji,* is not found in the printed edition.

34 Em.; *kasanmatha* ms.

35 Em.; *paṅajinye* ms.

36 Em.; *kaḍgaroravaṇa* ms. (printed edition: *khadga rowana*).

37 Em.; *kapiṅlimanya,* ta ms.

38 Em.; *vicu* ms.

39 Em.; *avyaavṛtti* ms.

40 The ms. actually reads *anaa*.

41 Em.; *gurudheya* ms.

below those [scriptures], there is Nanasa (or: Mānasa?), who is also called Dadama, which brought forth the doctrines of the Buddha. Inside the innermost part of those scriptures, great is the excellence of the holy scriptures, being a means to produce the Lord Buddha, the cause of sin and [bad] karma and also suffering and disease to be ineffective; because of them, they are overcome and utterly annihilated. They have as a result the knowledge of emptiness at the time of yoga, along with [the supernatural faculty of] seeing from afar and omniscience. The third is Iyama (Īśāna?), who brought forth the Siddhānta scriptural system, and the *Kiraṇa* scripture within it. Inside the innermost part of those scriptures, great is the excellence of the holy scriptures: their aim is to enunciate the teachings. They are a means to attract the affection of the entire world. The fourth is Śavala (=Śabara), who brought forth the Mahānātha scriptures, their aim is to attract the kind disposition of the king. Further, by way of them, the highest power [is obtained]. Those belong to the category of Northern scriptures. The illustrious king of Laṅkā was the one who taught them in the past, he is called Khaḍgarāvaṇa, as they say. The fifth is Śiva, who brought forth the Bhūtatantra scriptures. Their fruits are many: one's might quickly becomes great, and the body becomes firm by way of them. He knows the Daityas and Rākṣasas. Those scriptures belong to the Western, Southwestern, and Northwestern category. As for the sixth, his name is Bāma, bringing forth the *Picu* scripture, and the *Maṅgala* scripture, whose other name is the *Tilaka* scripture. All kinds of magical practices are averted[42] by way of them: they cause the people to be submissive and devoted. They belong to the category of Southern scriptures. The seventh is Śanaha; his other name is Anaha, who brought forth the Gāruḍeya scripture. They cause eminent people to flourish and [cause other people to be] subdued; whatever they desire is accomplished. Their result is [to become one who is] beyond the cognisance of the senses. They cause long life. They belong to the category of Eastern scriptures. Eighth, his name is Manahu, who brought forward the *Prethivijñāna* scripture. It causes superiority, and also disappearing in the principle of Śiva; its result is to cause eternal youth. Ninth, his name is Avaku, who brought forward the Hora scriptures, which are able to produce the scripture of the practice of love, whose result is to make you to be obeyed by the people. Tenth, his name is Avighna, who brought forth the holy Mahāvindu, causing you to know the people, [becoming] a protector and a devotee; their result is to cause release. These are called the illustrious Ten Incarnations.]

This passage describes the revelation of sacred scriptures and their fruits by a set of ten deities, referred to as the Ten Incarnations (*daśamūrti*). In so doing, it teaches a system whereby certain scriptures are connected to the directions of the compass, just as it happens in analogous passages of Śaiva scriptures from the Indian subcontinent. While its character is apparently localised, and the name of some scriptures and divine figures possibly garbled, it retains certain interesting correspondences with Śaiva texts from the subcontinent. For instance, the list starting with the third divine entity (Iyama [Īśāna?], the revealer of the Siddhānta, including the *Kiraṇa*, which could be arguably placed at the top/zenith), is also associated with directions of the space, as in the case of the *Mṛgendratantra* (Caryāpāda 1.35–36a) and *Pūrvakāmikā-*

42 This verbal form, as well as its stem, are not attested in OJED, but appear to derive from Sanskrit *vyāvṛtti*, "turning away, deliverance from, getting rid of, exclusion, rejection, removal;" compare *vyāvṛtta*, "turned away from, freed from, rid of, averted, turned back" (Monier-Williams 1899, s.v.).

gama (1.21–27, summed up in Brunner-Lachaux 1985, 363 n. 1), connecting the five currents (*srotas*) with each of the five faces of Sadāśiva,[43] as can be appreciated from Table 1:

Table 1: The five Śaiva currents (*srotas*) and their counterparts in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Śivāgama*.

	Mṛgendratantra* Caryāpāda, *Pūrvakāmikāgama		***Śivāgama* (*Pūrvāgamaśāsana*)**		
Direction	Face of Sadāśiva[44]	Current	Direction	Deity	Scriptures
Up	[Īśāna]	Siddhānta (Kāmika etc.)	Up	Iyama (Īśāna?) (3rd)	Siddhānta (Kiraṇa)
East	[Tatpuruṣa]	Gāruḍa	East	Śanaha/Anaha (7th)	Gāruḍeya
South	[Aghora]	Bhairava	South	Bāma (6th)	Picu, Maṅgala/ Tilaka
West	[Sadyojāta]	Bhūtatantra	West [+ Southwest, Northwest]	Śiva (5th)	Bhūtatantras
North	[Vāmadeva]	Vāma	North	Śavala (4th) (& Khaḍgarāvaṇa)	Mahānātha

Several of the scriptures mentioned in the passage are worthy of note. For instance, the Kaulikā scripture, associated with the enjoyment of pleasure, but also with the obtainment of the power of lordship and perfection, is apparently given the highest status in the revelation hierarchy; it could correspond to the Kaula scriptures, a synonym of which is, indeed, Kaulika. Another option would be to emend the reading to *Laukika* ("worldly"), which would be in harmony with the enjoyment of pleasure, but much less so with the higher supernatural status, as well as the uppermost position in the hierarchy. Further, the *Kiraṇa,* listed among the Siddhānta scriptures, apparently corresponds to the *Kiraṇatantra*, a relatively early and influential Siddhāntatantra, one verse of which, as I have mentioned above, is attested in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Jñānasiddhānta*. Particularly striking is the occurrence of Khaḍgarāvaṇa (emended from *khaḍgaroravaṇa*), the "illustrious king of Laṅkā" (*śrī laṅkeśvara*), as a primordial teacher of the Mahānātha scriptures[45] revealed by Śavala (=Śabara). Khaḍgarāvaṇa was an early Rudra attested in Tantras of the Bhūtatantric Paścimasrotas streams, and also men-

43 See also *Mṛgendratantra,* Kriyāpāda 3.18–19.

44 This fivefold arrangement is not made explicit in the *Mṛgendra* and *Pūrvakāmika*, but is common throughout the Saiddhāntika corpus, and it clearly underlies the system described in both texts.

45 See the passage from the *Brahmoktavidhiśāstra* quoted above.

tioned in Sanskrit hymns from Bali (Goudriaan 1977). According to Slouber (2023, 73–74), one may compare magical practices revolving around this deity with those of the shamanic traditions of the Sora people inhabiting parts of Odisha, whose Sanskrit name was Śavara (Śabara). The present textual instance would suggest a connection between Khaḍgarāvaṇa and a Śabara, understood in the sense of a teacher from a tribal community. A scripture called *Picu* (my emendation from *Vicu*), revealed by Bāma (i.e. the Vāmadeva aspect of Śiva), might represent the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala* (c. sventh century), a Śākta-Bhairavatantra; its connection with magical practices causing submission, which indeed are found in that scripture, is intriguing, as is the fact that the *Picu* – with its cognates *Maṅgala* and *Tilaka*[46] – is placed in the South, instead of the North, as in the case of Sanskrit sources. Further, its connection with submission is in harmony with the perception of the character of the Vāmasrotas in Sanskrit post-scriptural sources: for instance, a work by the early fourteenth-century Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta teacher Umāpati connects this current with the "subjugation of everything" (*sarvavaśīkaraṇa*: see Brunner 1988, 226 and 250 n. 3). This is also confirmed by the Vāmasrotas sources themselves: indeed, the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, an early Tantra belonging to this current, is replete with subjugation practices. As for the Gāruḍeya scripture, it could represent the class of the Gāruḍatantras, a category of texts mainly devoted to the protection and cure from snakebites. I wonder whether the *Hora* scripture could be a corruption for *Sora* – that is, *Saura*, a class of early scriptures revolving around the cult of Śiva as the Sun.

It is to be stressed that, as I have mentioned above, many of the titles of the scriptures listed in the passage, like the Bhūtatantras, the *Kaulikā*, the *Kiraṇa*, the *Picu*, and so on, are not only unattested in the Old Javanese corpus known to me (as is their association with directions), but were also virtually unknown to scholarship until at least three or four decades after the approximate date of composition of the *Śivāgama*, that is, no later than 1938 CE.[47] The present passage is unlikely to be the result of a modern, late-twentieth-century interpolation, since the manuscript in which it is found bears a colophon dating back to 1960 CE; hence, it constitutes evidence of the existence of now-unknown texts from which Ida Made Pedanda Sidemen drew to compile this system of Śaiva (and Buddhist, in the case of Mamakā)[48] scriptural revelation, or of an undocumented oral tradition, both of which preserve the names of authoritative Śaiva scriptures and systems from the subcontinent.

46 Both names are too general and common to allow for any precise identification (compare the *Jñānatilaka* and the *Śāradātilaka*).

47 I thank Putu Eka Guna Yasa for this information, which he drew from the chronicle *Babad Brahmana Mas* (f. 44v–45r), where Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen, the author of that text, states to have composed the *Pūrvāgamaśāsana* (= *Śivāgama*) in 1860 Śaka or 1938 CE.

48 Could this be a modification of the name of the Buddhist goddess Māmakī, consort of Ratnasambhava, in the Tantric system of the five cosmic Buddhas?

A striking case of precise referencing to Old Javanese texts is documented in a corpus of Śaiva texts in Old Sundanese occasionally mixed with Old Javanese and "pseudo-Sanskrit," likely composed around the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. Although this corpus does not, strictly speaking, belong to Old Javanese Śaiva literature, it is relevant to mention it here briefly, as it provides a pertinent contrast to the dynamics discussed in this chapter concerning the Old Javanese and Sanskrit traditions. As demonstrated by Aditia Gunawan (2023, 83), the *Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian* mentions as many as twenty-six Old Javanese texts, including *kakavin*s like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sumanasāntaka*, and *Bhomāntaka*, and also recommends intellectuals to go to Java and learn its language in order to receive training in religious matters. Another Old Sundanese text, the *Svavarcinta*, contains allusions to the Old Javanese–Old Sundanese texts *Śikṣā Guru*, the Old Sundanese *Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian*, and the Old Javanese *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu,* which it calls "the Great Book" (*vataṅ agəṅ*).[49] These texts served as authoritative sources for the transmission of religious doctrine and, judging by the number of manuscripts in existence – especially in the case of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* – must have circulated widely in West Java. This suggests an effort by the diglossic literary, religious, and cultural tradition of pre-Islamic Sunda to anchor itself in the Old Javanese tradition, which was perceived as prestigious, authoritative, and normative.

The discussion above shows that precise references to Sanskrit texts – especially those that were perceived to be composed by human authors rather than revealed by divine entities – are extremely rare in Sanskrit–Old Javanese Śaiva texts of the *tutur* and *tattva* genre. This may be due to the need to preserve the timeless spatio-temporal dimension of these texts, which were regarded as both revealed and seminal rather than as second-hand compendia derived from revealed scriptures.[50] This suggests that Javanese and Balinese authors may have tried to produce "new texts" that were not authorised via their allegiance to a prototypical canon of sources, including "foreign" sources. Instead, they anonymously embedded Sanskrit verses or words as a way of authorising the discourse. However, by the study of the contents of such texts and other rare references, it is clear that prototypical Sanskrit Śaiva sources played a significant role in shaping this "local" – and simultaneously "cosmopolitan" – Javanese-Balinese genre of medieval Śaiva literature, which must thus be regarded as the hybrid product of cross-cultural transactions.

49 See *Svavarcinta* 759–762: "*lipi lupa di pitutur, mupuṅkur na siksa guru, ṅaləmpaṅan siksa kandaṅ, ṅahantəkən vataṅ agəṅ*" [[for he] forgets the advice, leaving behind *Siksa Guru*, transgressing the *Siksa Kandaṅ*, denying the Great Book] (Aditia Gunawan 2023, 82). A colophon of a manuscript of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* explicitly refers to it as the "Great Book," which matches the description quoted above, also found in other Old Sundanese texts (Aditia Gunawan 2023, 100, 109, 117). The oldest dated manuscript of this work is from 1435 CE.

50 While this is not the right place to undertake a comparative discussion, I should like to mention that this state of affairs may be contrasted with Khmer inscriptions, referring to Śaiva Saiddhāntika scriptures like the *Sarvajñānottara*, the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, the *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, and the *Pārameśvara*: see Sanderson (2001, 7–8 n. 5; 22–23; 2003–2004, 356–357); Goodall (2017, 136–138).

3 The *Ṛṣiśāsana*

A striking – and, indeed, unique – case of reference to, and quotation of, actual Sanskrit Śaiva scriptures from the subcontinent is found in the *Ṛṣiśāsana*, an Old Javanese–Sanskrit normative text on ascetics' rules of conduct preserved in Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts. At the very outset (par. 1, Sanskrit verse and Old Javanese exegesis), the text refers to itself (or to the prototypical text or teaching from which it stems) as the *Śaivaśāsana*, which was revealed by Śiva himself as he was incarnated in the world as the mythical ancestor Manu. This text is introduced as a guide for the Śaiva masters of the Bhujaṅga category, who would in turn relentlessly petition for the welfare of the world, the state bureaucracy, and the king. This incipit is interesting as it traces the sacred genealogy of the text and authorises it as a revealed scripture of sort. The text continues with a Sanskrit quotation followed by an Old Javanese exegetical portion, in a section describing the regulations for the treatment of the property of a deceased hermit (par. 12):[51]

ajinya nihan:

svaryātasya hi svadṛvyam, yat kiñ cit pustakādikam |
tad guror vaśam āpannam, bahnaye dātum arhati ||
guror abhāvāt tad bhāgaiḥ, tribhiḥ kāryaṁ mahātmabhiḥ |
devadevasvabhāgo 'nyaḥ, dvitīyaś cāpy athāgnaye ||
bhojanaṁ 'pi tṛtīyasya, niḥsvaḥ syād athavā yatiḥ |
tanmātraṁ yasya tan nāsti, tat tasmai sampradīyate ||
svāryagurur dravyaṁ mahat, devāya vinivedayet |
kartavyaṁ hi vibhos tena, prāsādādikam ādarāt ||
pustakānāṁ yathājyeṣṭha,-krameṇa paripālanam |
kartavyam abhiyuktais tu, śiṣyair nyāyena sarvadā ||

nāhan tāji bvat saṅ hyaṅ mataṅga, nihan ajinya ri saṅ hyaṅ vāthula

yatīnāṁ putra yad dravyaṁ, yat kiñ cit pustakādikam |
grāmyebhyas tan na dātavyaṁ, gurūtsedho 'bhidhīyate ||

maṅkana liṅ saṅ hyaṅ āgama, sira ta kinonakən śrī mahārāja kayatnakna mpuṅku riṅ kaśaivan makabehan, təka ri mpuṅku tamolah riṅ panaivāsikan, saṅkā ri gə̄ṅny ārəmbha mahārāja manu ri mpuṅku riṅ kaśaivan,

[The authoritative texts [have this to say] about it:

51 The edited text corresponds to the in-progress edition established by Marine Schoettel, Arlo Griffiths, and Timothy Lubin in the ERC DHARMA online repository; the underlying XML data will remain accessible indefinitely on https://github.com/erc-dharma/tfd-nusantara-philology, while the translation is my own.

> The personal property of the deceased one, in whatever small amount, beginning with manuscripts etc., that had entered in the possession of the guru, it is proper to give it away to the fire.
> Because of the absence of the guru, it should be turned by the great souled ones in three parts: one is the part owned by Śiva (*devadeva*), the second [should be given] to the fire;
> There is consumption of the third part. Or, if there be a destitute ascetic, who does not even have a trifle, then it is given to him.
> The property of the great guru who has gone to heaven, it should be offered to the divinity [i.e. Śiva], indeed temples and so on should diligently be built with it for the Lord,
> Of his manuscripts, great care should be taken by his disciples, who have been appointed [for this task] according to their order of seniority, always following the proper rules.

Such are the instructions in accordance with the holy *Mataṅga*. As follows are the instructions according to the holy *Vāthula*:[52]

> O son, whatever the property of ascetics [may be], in whatever small amount, beginning with books etc., it is not to be given to the village community. [That, indeed,] is called "the body of the guru."

Such are the words of the sacred scriptures. They have been given as a command by the Great King [Manu], [ordering that] all the masters of the Śaiva division be treated with great attention, including the masters dwelling in the permanent establishments, because of the great efforts of Great King Manu toward the masters of the Śaiva division.]

The attribution of the quoted Sanskrit verses to the *Mataṅga* is striking especially because those verses can indeed be traced, with slight variations, to the section on observances (Caryāpāda) in the edited version of the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*, 10.77–81,[53] an important and relatively early Tantra of the Śaivasiddhānta.[54] As for the Vāthula, it arguably refers to a designation of the *Āgneyatantra*, one of the twenty-eight main Siddhāntatantras which has not survived. However, a good number of subsidiary works of "sections" (*upabheda*), including various recensions of the *Kālottara*, present themselves as redactions of the Āgneya/Vāthula (Goodall 1998, xlv–xlvi; 2004, xxiii–xxv). It is rele-

52 This is an emendation of *bakula* (mss. AC) and *barkula* (ms. B), which is easy to justify from a palaeographical point of view. The letter *b* is often a variant spelling of *v*, and *t* is frequently confused with *k* in Balinese manuscripts; the oscillation between *th* and *t* is also common.

53 "*tadguror vaśam āpannam anyebhyo datum arhati* | *guror abhāvāt tadbhāvabhāvāc chāstrāṇi kārayet* ||77|| *mahaddhi devadevāya dvitīyaṁ cāpy athāgnaye* | *bhājanādi tṛtīyaṁ tu nisve syād athavā yadi* ||78|| *tanmātraṁ yasya tan nāsti tat tasya tu pradāpayet* | *svaryātasya guror dravyaṁ devāya vinivedayet* ||79|| *kartavyaṁ ca vibhos tena prāsādādikam ādarāt* | *pustakānāṁ yathājyeṣṭhakrameṇa paripālanam* ||80|| *kartavyam abhiyuktais tu śiṣyair nyāyena sarvadā* | *svaṁ svaṁ vṛttam ihopāttaṁ tatpālyam ucitaṁ tataḥ* ||81||." Note the variant *anyebhyo* ("to others" in 77a vs. *bahnaye* "to the fire" in the *Ṛśiṣāsana*).

54 Marine Schoettel, with whom I read relevant passages of the *Ṛṣiśāsana* between 2020 and 2021, is to be credited with this discovery. A presentation on the same topic, entitled "'Thus Are the Words of Saṅ Hyaṅ Mataṅga': Quotations of the *Mataṅga-Pārameśvara* in an Old Javanese Treatise," was delivered by her at the 2021 International Indology Graduate Research Symposium in Vienna.

vant to mention here, as briefly discussed above (p. 105–106; n. 12–13), that many Śaiva *tutur*s bear traces of doctrines found in this corpus.

The passage quoted above suggests that, unlike most of Śaiva doctrinal *tutur*s and *tattva*s, the *Ṛṣiśāsana* – while setting its origin in the mythical time linked to the ancestral Manu, conceived of as a worldly incarnation of Śiva – does refer to two treatises in Sanskrit. This is probably because, rather than presenting itself as a text revealed directly by Śiva to a divine interlocutor in a timeless temporal dimension, as in the case of many other *tutur*s and Sanskrit Tantric texts, it authorises its discourse in a "scholastic" or śāstric manner. This approach mirrors that found in the Sanskrit commentarial tradition on revealed Śaiva texts. Thus, the Sanskrit and Old Javanese scholastic discourses appear to share similar strategies of exegesis and textual authorisation in this instance. The reference to and quotation of the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* and the lost *Vāthula* suggest that those texts were considered authoritative in Java and Bali and support the general perspective that the corpus of early Siddhāntatantras was the textual basis from which premodern Javanese authors drew to form new scriptures. Furthermore, the latter quotation reinforces the specific view that the *Vāthula* corpus may have played an important prototypical role for the formation and historical development of Śaivism in Java and Bali.

4 *Pratasti Bhuvana*

References to the titles of Sanskrit and Old Javanese texts in connection with the four eras of Hindu mythology and rulers of Java are found in the Old Javanese *Pratasti Bhuvana*,[55] a relatively late source related to texts written in the Majapahit period (late thirteenth to late fifteenth century), like the *Rājapatiguṇḍala*, the *Tantu Paṅgelaran*, and so on. While late and remarkably corrupt, the *Pratasti Bhuvana* is highly interesting, as it appears to have preserved early genealogical material that includes the names of kings known from the Central Javanese period, otherwise only attested in inscriptions.[56] The transmitted text, which I have constituted from three manuscripts (hereafter: A, B, and C), is too corrupt to attempt a full translation of even a few paragraphs. Instead, I will present the edition and translation of a brief excerpt below,[57] along with a concise analysis of subsequent relevant passages:

55 The word *pratasti* may be a corruption of *praśasti*, "royal eulogy," i.e. "charter, inscription," while *bhuvana* means "world."

56 And yet it has received scant scholarly attention, a summary of it having been published by Pigeaud (1924, 294–295) in his edition and translation of the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran*. See also Robson and Hadi Sidomulyo (2021, 110–111) and Sundberg (2022, 170–171 n. 2).

57 I have silently standardised the spelling (including vowel quantity) of words occurring in the three manuscripts used for this edition (see the section "primary sources" at the end of this chapter).

kunaṅ pva kvehiṅ ratu samana, 6, kunaṅ kṛtābhiṣekaniṅ[58] *ratu, śrī jayapuntā, śrī panaraban,*[59] *śrī puntāpirad,*[60] *śrī pūrvaśeṣara, śrī vārphalandaṅ,*[61] *śrī lokapāla,*[62] *samaṅkāna kvehiṅ ratu duk dvapara, paḍa bhakti riṅ deva, kaṅ vvaṅ samana, saṅ prabhū təkā*[63] *saṅ viku, samana mətu liṅgapurāṇa*[64]

[As for the number of kings at that time, [they were] 6; now, those [who were] consecrated among the kings [were] the illustrious Jayapunta, the illustrious Panaraban, the illustrious Puntapirad,[65] the illustrious Pūrvaśeṣara,[66] the illustrious Vārphalandaṅ, the illustrious Lokapāla, such was the number of the kings at the time of the Dvapara [age]. The people at that time, the [from] kings to the clergymen, they were all devoted towards the gods. At that time the *Liṅgapurāṇa* came out.]

The schema of six kings per *yuga* seemingly integrates the names of historic individuals into a mythic structure. The reference to the arrival of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* in association with the six kings of the mythical Dvapara age, among which we can recognise the historical names of Rakai Panaraban (r. 784–803) and Dyah Lokapāla (= Rakai Kayuvaṅi, r. 855–885), is most striking. This is especially the case because the text characterises the period after the reign of the latter king as the transition to the Kali age, which appears to reflect the dynastic chaos mentioned in later Old Javanese inscriptions referring to the period after Lokapāla's death (Wisseman Christie 2001, 46–47). Although no copies of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* have survived in Java or Bali, and the text is not mentioned anywhere else in Old Javanese literature, its reference and attribution of mythical status may reflect a historical memory of a Sanskrit source that might have been in circulation in the Central Javanese period. This possibility is supported by the fact that echoes of its Śaiva doctrines have been detected by Sundberg (2022, 171–171, 192, 197–198) in the architectural layout of the Loro Jonggrang Śaiva sanctuary at Prambanan, which was probably built during Dyah Lokapāla's reign.[67]

58 A; *kṛttabhikṣekaniṅ* B; *krettabhiksakaniṅ* C.
59 AC; *vanaraban* B.
60 AB; *pintā pirad* C.
61 AB; *varpa landhaṅ* C.
62 Norm.; *lākāphalā* A; *lokapala* B; *kaphala* C.
63 BC; *təkāniṅ* A.
64 AB; *liṅga prana* C.
65 Could this be Ḍapunta Pirad? The word *ḍapunta*, equivalent to the Old Javanese honorific prefix (*m*)*pu*, is found in the name of King Dapunta Hiyan Śrī Jayanāśa (or Jayanāga), mentioned in a series of late seventh-century Śrīvijayan inscriptions in Old Malay, including the Kedukan Bukit inscription.
66 Could this be Pūrvakeśara? (*keśara* or *kesara* = [lion's] mane).
67 Having said this, I must express the caveat that what we now refer to as *Liṅgapurāṇa* (as reflected by the edited text) may not correspond to the text(s) that existed and circulated in the ninth century, for Purāṇas have complex and multilayered textual histories. See, for instance, Hazra (1940, 92–96), who, having defined the *Liṅgapurāṇa* as "a manual for Liṅga-worshippers" formed by two textual entities, points out that none of the quotations found in numerous early Sanskrit works can be traced in the edited *Liṅgapurāṇa*, suggesting that the text "*is most probably the result of a destructive recast to which the earlier Purāṇa was subjected*" [emphasis original], and that, while most of the text might

After the six kings mentioned above, another series of six kings follows, among which we can recognise Balituṅ (as *balintuṅ*; Rakai Vatukura Dyah Balituṅ, r. 898–910) and Siṇḍok (as *sedek*; Rakai Halu Dyah Siṇḍok Śrī Īśānavikrama Dharmottuṅgadevavijaya, r. from c. 928 to the mid-ninth century), during the age of Kali that brings the final dissolution (*kalisaṅhāra*). This period is associated with all kinds of vices by the people, the reign of a Malay king in Sunda, and the arrival to Java of the texts *Kuṭāramānava*[68] and *Sārasamuccaya*[69] as well as all the *dṛvyāgama* (= *dravyāgama*), which may perhaps be translated as "scriptures about property," arguably belonging to the *śāsana* genre. In fact, the text adds that *śāsana* texts were moved (*tumular*) when the destruction hit. Furthermore, the texts of *Manuśāsana* [*Ordinances of Manu*], *Ṛṣiśāsana* [*Ordinances of the Sages*], *Kuṭāramānava*,[70] and *Sārasamuccaya* [*Compendium on the Essence [of the Mahābhārata]*],[71] *dṛvyaśāśaṇa* (= *dravyaśāsana*, [*Ordinances on Property*]), and *āgama*[72] [*Revealed Scripture* / *Sacred Book*] are mentioned in connection with King Batati, who reigned during the period of the catastrophe.[73] All the aforementioned titles correspond to the titles of actual Old Javanese(–Sanskrit) works on legal matters as well as rules for Śaiva ascetics and priests (see e.g. the *Ṛṣiśāsana*) that have survived in Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts. These are difficult to date and probably stem from post-eleventh-century East Java (some perhaps even from the Majapahit period), but this does not exclude the possibility that their earlier cores were already in circulation in the period of the shift of the political and cultural power from Central to East Java in the late tenth century.

The *Pratasti Bhuvana*'s historiography reflects a conventional idea of the four mythical eras (*caturyuga*), but with the intriguing addition of a few names of real Javanese kings. However, I am inclined to interpret the comment that the *śāsana* texts needed to be moved because of the catastrophe that struck Java during the Kali age as a mythicisation of actual events. According to a widely accepted scholarly opinion, primarily based on archaeological data, Central Java was struck by a geological and environmental catastrophe – likely a series of volcanic eruptions and earthquakes leading to localised destruction of the centre of power – during the early tenth cen-

have been composed by 1000 CE, many passages could have been inserted significantly later than that date.

68 *kutāmanava* ABC.

69 *samuccaya* AB; *samurcaya* C.

70 *thamanava* AB; *kutāmanava* C.

71 *sarmuccaya* AB; *samurcaya* C.

72 *gama* ABC.

73 Most of these texts are mentioned in the *Ṛṣiśāsana* (3.3) as being collectively denoted as *Rājaśāsana*: "*Rājaśāsana* means the precepts for kings, those who devote themselves to warfare: the Compendium of the Essence of Policy (*Sārasamuccaya*), the Laws of Manu, [*Kuṭāra*?]*Mānava*, in the past, future and present. These are called the precepts for kings" ("*rājaśāsana ṅaranya, śāsana saṅ prabhu, sirāmrayatna irikaṅ yuddha, sārasamuccaya, manuhāgama mānava, atītānāgatavartamāna, rājaśāsana ṅaranika*").

tury. This disaster is believed to have prompted the transfer of the centres of power and culture to East Java.[74] At the same time, the *Pratasti Bhuvana*'s association of the texts with past historical eras and their contemporaneous Javanese rulers reflects a strategy to authorise the texts by anchoring them to a quasi-mythical cosmic as well as worldly time, whose divisions are characterised by either the virtues or vices of society.

5 Old Javanese *kakavin*s: *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Smaradahana*

In addition to their literary and aesthetic merits, many Old Javanese poems in Indic metres can also provide valuable information about the religious landscape of their period. An early *kakavin* of Śaiva persuasion that offers important and rare insights about ascetic groups, philosophical schools, religious factions, and texts in ancient Central Java is the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, most of which can be dated to around the second half of the ninth century.

The chapters that are the most interesting for the present enquiry are chapters 8 and 24–25, which can neither be found in the text's main prototype, the seventh-century *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or *Rāvaṇavadha* by Bhaṭṭi, nor the more famous, and older, *Rāmāyaṇa* attributed to Vālmīki. These chapters can therefore be regarded as the product of "local genius," drawing from a shared discourse found in Sanskrit *kāvya* transmitted literature as well as inscriptions. Chapter 8, among other topics, includes a description of a Śaiva temple in Laṅkā, which has been interpreted as an allegorical representation of Candi Śiva in the Loro Jonggrang complex in Prambanan (Central

74 See Wisseman Christie (2015, 51). Even though inscriptions of the early tenth century suggest that the shift of political gravity may have been more gradual than scholarship has hitherto assumed, geological, archaeological, and textual research still support the catastrophe scenario: for instance, some Śaiva temples were found buried – virtually intact, and with complete ritual deposits – under several metres of volcanic debris that covered them while they were still active places of worship (see Indung Panca Putra et al. 2019, 94; Sastrawan 2022, 21). The fact that some temples, like Liyangan, show signs of (attempted) repair and rebuilding, does not invalidate the natural catastrophe hypothesis, but rather suggests that a chain of events triggered by one or more eruptions and earthquakes might have gradually led to the decline of the Central Javanese civilisation. Indeed, Sastrawan (2022, 23) thinks that "[i]t is certainly plausible that ongoing eruptive activity placed stress on the Javanese state's infrastructure and that such stresses may have contributed to the decision to move the palace." Another possibility is that the royal palace and/or its palladium were struck by a localised eruption, which would have been taken as a bad omen, and prompted the political and religious elites to abandon the region and resettle in East Java. The historical memory of this shift– whether sudden or gradual – may have been preserved in later Old Javanese transmitted textual sources, like the *Pratasti Bhuvana*, in the guise of a sudden catastrophe, which would have agreed with the kind of mythological/cosmological framework within which such historical narratives were elaborated.

Java). Meanwhile, the highly allegorical and satirical chapters 24–25 describe the peace in Laṅkā by means of an extended allegory of animals – mainly birds – serving as alter egos of human religious and political actors (see Acri 2008, 2010, 2011, 2014b).

Chapter 8, referring to the play of the geese in 71d, mentions a text called *Indrāṇiśāstra* in relation to the knowledge of amorous play, including a posture called "the play of swans" (*haṅsalīlā*);[75] a similar allusion is found in 11.27d–28ab, mentioning Indrāṇī and Śācī (wives of Indra) in connection with erotological manuals.[76] The *Indrāṇiśāstra* may be a reference to the eponymous Old Javanese treatise (probably based on Sanskrit prototypes) on erotology and "sexual yoga" that has survived in Balinese manuscripts, which is just one of many sources forming a specific genre (see Creese and Bellows 2002). Furthermore, the mention of *śāstra vəgig* in the clause *sanənəhnikaṅ maṅaji śāstra vəgig*, "befitting those who practise evil scriptures," in 8.31a, which refers to demons madly laughing and engaging in magical practices resembling acts of sorcery (*ṣaṭkarmāṇi*) described in Sanskrit Tantric manuals, may allude to a genre of "evil scriptures"[77] on black magical practices. These texts would be described in modern Indonesian and Balinese languages as *ilmu hitam* and *aji leyak* – witness the eponymous Old Javanese–Balinese text *Aji Vəgig* preserved in the Gedong Kirtya collection of Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts in Singaraja, Bali (No. IIIc 2218/1).

Chapters 24 and 25, besides mentioning animals representing human characters affiliated to the Śaiva "sects" such as the Pāśupatas ("The followers of the Lord of Cattle"), Alepakas ("The Spotless Ones"), (25.20c), and so on,[78] also refer to the titles of Sanskrit religious and philosophical texts associated with these groups. For instance, 25.20b refers to the followers of the sage Jaimini, that is, the Mīmāṁsakas:

si parañjañan jañan ujar majajar
aji jaiminīnujarakənya kəna

[The *parañjañan*-birds stand in a row, constantly [engaged] in lengthy conversation;
they are reciting the works of Jaimini properly.]

75 8.71cd (with reference to Rāvaṇa's heavenly nymphs): "They understood about amorous sports and the practice of 'swan's play' and had finished their study of the Indrāṇī text" (tr. Robson 2015); "*vruh riṅ krīḍā riṅ ulah haṅsalīlā, riṅ Indrāṇīśāstra sāmpun paṅajyan*."

76 11.27d–28ab (reporting Sītā's letter to Rāma): "You understood about love-play and everything that the best love manuals say. You were accomplished in the Indrāṇī and Śācī modes and were not uninformed at all. Regarding the distinct feelings of them – you knew about them all" (tr. Robson 2015); "*riṅ kridhā vihikan kite savinuvus riṅ kāmaśāstrottama, riṅ Indrāṇi lavan Śacī tama tuvin tātan mapuṅguṅ kita, ri pratyekanike rasanya ya kabeh sāmpun kita vruh rikā*."

77 See OJED s.v. *vəgig*: "naughty, mischievous, insolent, wanton."

78 On the verses alluding to those sects, see Nihom (1995) and Acri (2008).

The expression *aji jaimini* could refer to the early (*pūrva*) Mīmāṁsaka doctrine[79] in general or, more probably, to the Sanskrit treatise entitled *Mīmāṁsasūtra* attributed to Jaimini (c. 300–200 BCE). While no traces of Mīmāṁsā tenets have been found in the surviving Old Javanese literature,[80] this reference suggests that the seminal text attributed to Jaimini would have been known at least by name to the audience, even if it probably never actually circulated in Java.[81]

In 25.23a–c, a general reference to revealed scriptures or "Āgamas," which in Śaiva context specifically refers to the corpus of (Saiddhāntika, but not necessarily so) Tantric scriptures, is found in association with bees, apparently representing a type of wandering hermit:

> *viku bhikṣukaṅ bhramara nitya mahas*
> *gumuruh hyaṅ āgamanikān paṅinum*
> *mavərə varəg madhu ya matta cala*
>
> [Begging wandering ascetics are the bees, always travelling about;
> they roar their sacred scriptures (*hyaṅ āgama*) while drinking.
> They are intoxicated and satiated of honey, mad and agitated.]

Given the description of bees as intoxicated (*mavərə*), drinking the nectar of flowers (*madhu*, obviously alluding to a drinking bout in the case of their human alter egos, where *madhu* would stand for alcohol),[82] mad (*matta*) and agitated (*cala*),[83] it appears that the human counterparts alluded to here could be the antinomian Śaiva ascetics of the Kāpālika type. These ascetics were notorious for their transgression of dietary norms of purity and were stereotypically represented in Sanskrit literature as drunken and mad villains, as well as deceitful conmen masquerading as holy men (Acri 2014b, 2022b). Furthermore, the fact that they "roar" like bees may be a reference to the recitation of mantras. If my identification is correct, the reference to their scriptures as "Āgamas" is intriguing, since no first-hand Kāpālika sources have survived to us.

79 This was an orthodox Brahmanical system of scriptural hermeneutics and ritual, as opposed to the Uttara Mīmāṁsā, i.e. what is generally referred to as "Vedānta."

80 See, however, the reference to Mīmāṁsā in the verses of the *Brahmoktavidhiśāstra* quoted above, section 2.

81 Goodall (2022b, 14), discussing the rare references to Mīmāṁsā found in the Sanskrit inscriptions from the Khmer domains, concludes that this state of affairs "points up how insignificant Mīmāṃsā seems to have been, generally, among the Khmers."

82 See Monier Williams (1899, s.v. *madhu*): "the juice or nectar of flowers, any sweet intoxicating drink, wine or spirituous liquor."

83 See OJED s.v. *cala* I, "moving, trembling, quivering, unsteady, agitated," and compare *cala* II for a different meaning: "II annoyed, displeased, upset, angry. Is there a connection with I, via the meaning 'disturbed', or 'shaking' the head?"

An allusion to an actual Sanskrit text may be found in 25.18a–c, which refers to parrots as exponents of the logical-epistemological school of Buddhism:

> *tuhu tarka tañ(ṅ) atat atatva humuṅ*
> *macəṅil cumodya si jalak magalak*
> *paḍa niścayeṅ aji viniścaya ya*
>
> [Truly logicians are the green parrots, busy with categories,[84] making loud noises.
> Engaged in debate [with them] and raising difficult questions are the passionate starlings.
> They all have a fixed opinion about (*niścayeṅ*)[85] the "Teaching on ascertainment" (*aji viniścaya*).]

In my view, the expression *aji viniścaya* in line c (associated with *tarka*, "logic" or "logician," in line a) alludes to the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* [*Determination of Valid Knowledge*], a fundamental treatise on argumentation in philosophical debate by the famous seventh-century philosopher Dharmakīrti, a seminal figure of the logical-epistemological school of Buddhism.[86] The starlings are likely meant to represent (Brahmanical?) opponents.

The mention of *Aji Sāṅkhya* in 25.21d ("*aji sāṅkhya saṅ kalirañan larañan*" [The Sāṅkhya treatises are prohibited to the grasshoppers]) is likely a reference to treatises of the Sāṅkhya philosophical school (i.e. the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, *Yuktidīpikā*, *Sāṅkhyavṛtti*, *Gauḍapādabhāṣya*, *Suvarṇasaptati*, *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, etc; compare the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* and *Dhīśāstra* mentioned above, p. 108–109), general allusions to which are found in some Old Javanese texts and inscriptions.[87] Alternatively, it could be understood as a synonym of "philosophical Śaivism," or "Śaiva metaphysics," given that Śaivism incorporated the twenty-five ontological principles of the Sāṅkhya into its ontology and cosmology as both principles and ontological levels. For instance, the booklet entitled *Aji Sāṅkhya* by the modern Balinese intellectual Ida Ketut Jlantik (1947) draws from Sanskrit–Old Javanese Śaiva treatises to create a new, synthetic treatise in Balinese that articulates the main tenets of "Modern Balinese Hinduism" to a broad audience.

Stanza 25.24cd refers to peacocks in the following terms:[88]

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84 See OJED s.v. *atattva*, "to debate the *tattwa*?"

85 See OJED s.v. *niścaya,* "(Skt inquiry, ascertainment, fixed opinion, conviction; resolve, fixed intention, purpose) certain, sure, convinced, feeling sure, feeling safe, sure of oneself, confident, resolved, trusting."

86 He was one of the primary theorists of Buddhist atomism, which holds that the only items considered to exist are momentary Buddhist atoms and states of consciousness.

87 See, e.g. *Sārasamuccaya* 170.2 ("*saṅ hyaṅ sāṅkhya, saṅ hyaṅ purāṇa*"); *Abhimanyuvivāha* 4.1, 4.8, 6.4, 28.1 (references drawn from OJED s.v. *sāṅkhya* II); Buṭak inscription of 1294 CE, 2b ("*sāṅkhyavyākaraṇaśāstraparisamāpta*") (texts cited in OJED s.v. *Sāṅkhya*); *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* 3.2 ("*aji kāvya saṅkhya prakaraṇa kalpa purāṇa nyāya, viniścaya chanda gaṇita*").

88 Compare the "sister stanza" 24.106: see Acri (2014b, 16–17).

aji saṅ kumāra ajiniṅ mrak arūm
majule makuñcir agələm maṅigəl

[The teaching of the illustrious Kumāra is the teaching of the graceful peacocks;
They act thoughtlessly, wear a tuft on the top of the head, and are never tired of dancing.]

These lines apparently allude to the sect known in Sanskrit sources from South Asia as the Kaumāras, who worshiped Skanda-Kumāra (Śiva's son) as their primary deity. This group was especially popular in the southern regions of the Indian subcontinent. The reference to the strenuous practice of dance apparently alludes to the dances of ritual or devotional character performed in honour of Kumāra – possibly by Kaumāra practitioners: a Kaumāra source, the Caṅkam Tamil poem *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, dating to the sixth or seventh century, devoted to the worship of Skanda/Murukaṇ, describes the *kuravai* dance as performed by hillmen inebriated by the liquor made from honey (Hardy 1983, 618). As in Old Javanese *aji* could refer to either a written text or, more generally, to a transmitted teaching or body of knowledge, the expressions *aji saṅ kumāra* ("the teaching of the illustrious Kumāra") and *ajiniṅ mrak* ("the teaching of the peacocks") in the line may refer to a specific "Book of Kumāra" as a prototypical source of the Kaumāras, or to the Kaumāra doctrine more generally.

An intriguing allusion to a "book of the illustrious Kumāra" (*pustaka saṅ kumāra*) which originated in Kashmir and eventually turned into the island of Java is found in the twelfth-century *Śaiva kakavin Smaradahana* by Mpu Dharmaja (38.13–15):

vvantən pradeśa katuduh girināthakanyā
ṅhiṅ rāmya dakṣiṇapathe java madhyadeśa
kāntargateṅ lavaṇasāgara meru tulya
pāvitra lot paraparan bhagavān agastya. 13
tatvanya ṅūni riṅ uśāna rəṅən kramanya
riṅ kāśmirān pratita pustaka saṅ kumāra
siṅsal yuga kṣaṇa śināpa təkap bhaṭāra
nūṣātirāmya təmahanya magəṅ halimpuṅ. 14
ndah ṅkā tikiṅ vəkasi janma bhaṭāra kāma
śrīśānadharma makapuṇya huripnirāsiḥ
saṅ hyaṅ ratiḥ sira muvah tumutur tan imbā
riṅ jaṅgalāsi masəkar sira yan dadi strī. 15

[There is a land designated by the daughter of the Lord of the Mountains (i.e. Umā); the only charming one in the South, [i.e.] Java, the central land, surrounded by the Salt Sea, like the Meru, sacred and always visited by the Lord Agastya.

Listen to the course of its history in ancient times! In Kashmir, when the Book of Kumāra was well-known, and an era was blown away, it was immediately enchanted by Śiva, becoming a very charming, extensive elongated island.

Now, that is the place of what is left of the incarnation of the Lord Kāma. He is the ancestor of the loving illustrious [prince] Īśānadharma. The holy Ratih once again thinks about him constantly. In Jaṅgāla indeed she has become, as it were, a flower among women.]

The association between the Book of Kumāra and Java is obscure. It might be attributable to the island's elongated shape, which resembles that of a palm-leaf manuscript. A reference to the island of Sri Lanka (*parṇadvīpa*) as having the name of Kumāra, next to the mention of the island of Java, is found in the Sanskrit Śaiva Tantric text *Kubjikāmatatantra* (21.10cd).[89] All these locales could have been perceived as belonging to the ninth island of the Bharatavarṣa continent – probably denoting the southern regions of India, Sri Lanka, and islands of the Indian Ocean – customarily mentioned (as K[a]umāradvīpa, Kumārīdvīpa, or Kumārikadvīpa) in accounts of sacred geography found in Sanskrit sources.[90]

The aforementioned instances of mention of, or allusion to, Sanskrit religious and philosophical texts drawn from the *Rāmāyaṇa* highlight the deep and sophisticated knowledge of Indic literature that would have been necessary to grasp the allegorical and satirical intent of the author and produce the intended comedic effects for the audience. On the other hand, the *Smaradahana*'s conceptualisation of Java as a sacred text originating from Kashmir and turned into an island reveals the high status of written texts as manuscripts in the Javanese imagination. This portrayal may also reflect an effort to authorise and lend prestige to Javanese society and its contemporary royalty by tracing their pedigrees to divine ancestors and a sacred text from the Indian subcontinent belonging to the Śaiva mythological framework.

6 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to frame the connections between the Indian subcontinent and Java and Bali in the premodern period in terms of the transfer of linguistic elements, literary conventions, and religious norms. This transfer formed a dynamic conversation between Sanskrit cosmopolitan elements and local responses that led to the adaptation and "vernacularisation" of the former. The references – in the form of citations or allusions – to Sanskrit texts as well as Old Javanese texts inspired by the Sanskrit tradition found in Old Javanese Śaiva literature have provided a relevant case study to discuss prevalent text-building and hermeneutical techniques, authorisation strategies, and religious norms adopted by premodern Javanese and Balinese authors. Instead of presenting the parallels between South Asian and Javanese-

89 "*parṇadvīpaḥ kumārākhyaḥ, yavadvīpaḥ tathāparam*." The same text attributes this appellative also to Śrīparvata (in Andhra Pradesh) in 2.23 ("*śrīparvataṁ kumārākhyam*"); compare 2.24, "*śrīmatkaumāraparvatam*."

90 See e.g. *Vāmanapurāṇa* 13.10: "*ayaṁ tu navamas teṣāṁ dvīpaḥ sāgarasaṁvṛtaḥ, kumārākhyaḥ parikhyāto dvīpo 'yaṁ dakṣiṇottaraḥ*"; *Suprabhedāgama* Kriyāpāda and Caryāpāda (3.125–130, section captioned Jñānapāde-Śivasṛṣṭividhipaṭalaḥ, "*tato bhāratavarṣañ ca navabhāgaṁ prakalpitam . . . navamā tu kumārākhyā teṣāṃ bhedāḥ*"*); Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha* 24.37ab ("*ayaṁ ca navamo dvīpaḥ kumārīdvīpasaṁjñitaḥ*").

Balinese texts in a general manner, the focus was placed on actual citations and allusions to Sanskrit texts found in Old Javanese texts belonging to various genres. This approach uncovered a web of intertextual connections that provides new insights about the attitudes of the ancient Javanese and Balinese authors towards a "foreign" literary and religious tradition.

A few interesting facts have emerged from this analysis:

1. The rarity of precise references to Sanskrit texts in Sanskrit–Old Javanese Śaiva *tutur*s and *tattva*s may reflect an effort to preserve the timeless spatio-temporal dimension of the texts, which were regarded as revealed literature, in spite of the fact that their contents, and quoted or appropriated material, reveal a direct indebtedness to a prototypical Śaiva canon from the Indian subcontinent. This argument extends to the possible allusions to premodern Indian authors in the titles of Old Javanese Śaiva texts, in which the authors were mythicised to anchor the texts in an India-derived local religious discourse that would not betray their human origin. Furthermore, the *Dharma Pātañjala*'s mention of authoritative teachings or texts brought to Java by foreign people (i.e. Brahmins), provides us with a rare glimpse of how local sources theorised the transfer of texts and religious lore from the Indian subcontinent to Java by intellectuals who acted as cultural brokers. Finally, the elaboration by Ida Made Pedanda Sidemen in his *Śivāgama* of a localised version of the system of Śaiva revelation linked to the directions of the compass and some prototypical divine figures who taught specific scriptural corpora found in Śaiva sources from the subcontinent reveals a continuity – and at the same time an original approach – in the desire to anchor the Śaiva tradition to ancestral revealed textual canons. This is all the more remarkable as the names of most of such canons, known from Sanskrit scriptures, are either unattested in other Old Javanese sources, and only traces of their scriptures have survived until the modern period in the Old Javanese corpus preserved in Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts. This suggest the existence of an oral tradition that was still alive by the time of Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen, a priest of extraordinary learning.
2. The citation of Sanskrit verses explicitly attributed to two Sanskrit Saiddhāntika scriptures in the *Ṛṣiśāsana* reflects a different strategy of authorisation, namely the anchoring in a scholastic discourse that mirrors that found in the Sanskrit śāstric exegesis on Śaiva texts.
3. The mention of the Sanskrit *Liṅgapurāṇa* in the *Pratasti Bhuvana*, alongside references to Sanskrit–Old Javanese texts of the *śāsana* genre in connection with Javanese kings and cosmic eras, might reveal a historical memory of the *Liṅgapurāṇa*; of the natural catastrophes that caused the gradual shift of power from Central to East Java; and of the actual dislocation of the *śāsana*s in an attempt to preserve them. Additionally, it reflects an effort to authorise those texts by attributing them a quasi-mythical status.

4. The allusions to Sanskrit religious texts and doctrines, as well as the human actors associated with them, in the allegorical and satirical chapters of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* reveal a deep knowledge of Indic literary and religious tropes by both the author and his audience. Meanwhile, the *Smaradahana*'s depiction of Java's origin as a sacred text originating from Kashmir highlights the prestige of (Indic) texts and manuscripts in Java. It also reflects an effort to authorise and enhance the prestige of its ruling elites by presenting them as earthly incarnations of deities belonging to the Śaiva mythological landscape.

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