

The Rediscovery of the *Sudamala* Story: The Narrative Relief of the *Candi Tegowangi* between Literacy and Orality

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This article discusses the intrinsic interplay of literacy and orality that has shaped the image of Indonesian Hindu/Buddhist monuments (*candi*) since the colonial period. It takes as its focus P. V. van Stein Callenfels' 1925 text of the *Sudamala* story, which is the canonical text of the narrative relief of the *Candi Tegowangi* in East Java. This article argues that it exemplifies the authentication process of the "colonial myth" led by the Western read-oriented discipline in conjunction with the development of printing technology as well as the obscured oral/performative agencies embedded in Callenfels' textual practice: inspiration from a Balinese oral tale, the contemporary Orientalist's romanticism, and its application to local performing arts.

Keywords: *candi*, narrative relief, literacy, orality, cultural practice

Introduction

In keeping with W. Ong's reference to the "vatic quality" of printed texts (Ong 1982: 78), it is undeniable that the written colonial discourses on Indonesia's Hindu or Buddhist temple ruins called *candi*¹ have infiltrated even local recognition and cultural practices over the past century. In light of anthropological observation through my collaborative projects,² this article argues the case of the narrative relief of the *Candi Tegowangi*,³ a monument in East Java built around 1400 C.E. in the period of the *Majapahit* kingdom.⁴

The *Sudamala* story depicted on the relief, which was published by Dutch archeologist Pieter Vincent van Stein Callenfels in 1925, is one of the colonial legacies of Indonesia. It largely shares the same issue with the case of Malaysia that A. Sweeney points out: the defamiliarization of oral/aural Malay literature behind its interpretation through the lens of the Western category of "epic," as in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* (Sweeney 1991). This phenomenon would be common in Southeast Asia and brought about by colonial education based on Western literacy. The case of the *Sudamala* story, however, provides a significant interconnection between literacy and orality in the depth of its text-making. First, Callenfels describes that he was inspired by a Balinese oral tale; secondly, it involves a typical colonial imagination as regards the cultural connection between East Java and Bali, while the *Sudamala* text was reconstructed using a rigorous philological method; thirdly, Callenfels' textual practice was also applied to Javanese shadow puppetry "*wayang kulit*" (often called just *wayang*) in collaboration with locals. Today the *Sudamala* story is known as the motif of the narrative relief of the *Candi Tegowangi* as well as one of the repertoires of Javanese *wayang* particularly related to the exorcism ritual (*ruwatan*). Accordingly, this article highlights Callenfels' agency to reexamine how colonial-Orientalist romanticism has acquired authenticity

within the interaction of literacy, orality, and local cultural practices.

However, it is not my aim to unveil the colonial fantasy in pursuit of the alleged original tale. Regarding the interdependence of literacy and orality, I am concerned rather with the highly “relational” nature of cultural meaning/value, particularly in terms of the double standards among outsider rulers and local residents. It is closely reminiscent of *candi* stones that often used to be taken away: while they were carefully preserved by the Dutch as museum collections or house decorations, villagers used them for both secular and religious purposes, as seen in water ducts and graves (Degroot 2009: 21). As regards recent phenomena, moreover, one can observe local activities that form part of the ritual revival of *candi* from their tasteless state as a silent “tangible cultural heritage.” For example, in 2019 the *Candi Tegowangi* became the venue of an annual cultural event that presents a shadow puppetry performance and exorcism ritual for cohesion of the *Nusantara*: the archaic term for “archipelago” in the *Majapahit* period. Also significant is the emergence of local scholars in post-independence Indonesia who played an important role as a “contact zone” in the study of *candi*, including R. Soekmono and Hariani Santiko whom I discuss later. These examples thus indicate the historical negotiations of two powers behind the survival of *candi* and the related culture; their image has also been interwoven within such epistemological gradations between political authority and locals. In this context, the history of the *Sudamala* story can be regarded as an intersection of colonial texts and local practices carried out by writers and performers.

Within the framework of cultural configuration between literacy and orality, this article begins with an overview of the history of discourses on the *Candi Tegowangi* from Raffles’ 1817 report on a “tomb” to the post-colonial arguments represented by Soekmono and Santiko. The second section examines the process of the “rediscovery” of the *Sudamala* story by Callenfels based on his publication *De Sudamala in de Hindu-Javaansche Kunst*. The third section details the elements that supported the authentication of Callenfels’ text: the contemporary belief in the cultural connection between East Java and Bali, the authority of publishing, and local absorption into the ritual *wayang* practice.

1. The Discourses on the *Candi Tegowangi*: Is This a Tomb or a Temple?

The stone monuments called *candi*, including the well-known *Candi Borobudur*, are regarded as the representative cultural heritage of Indonesia. These are the vestiges of Hindu or Buddhist temples built in the era of Indianization during the fourth and fifteenth centuries C.E. Significantly, international concern for the *candi* was promoted by the development of printing technology in the nineteenth century, beginning with Gutenberg’s innovation in the fifteenth century, which also provided for academic interpretations of printed texts. The first trigger was T. S. Raffles’ monumental 1817 book *History of Java*. This book prompted the perception of the *candi* and their cultural value as the only authentic repositories of the culture’s “true” and “lost” histories, with abundant printed drawings in the nostalgic image of the *candi* (Tiffin 2017: 46).

Among the various *candi* in Indonesia, the *Candi Tegowangi* is located in Kediri prefecture, East Java. It was first reported by Raffles to be in “nearly entire” condition (Raffles 1817/II: 36), though it was restored during 1983–1984 (Santiko 2015a: 268–270). The main temple is made

of stone and faces west (figs. 1, 2). It has a square floor plan, the sides of which are approximately 11 meters in length and 4.35 meters in height. The magnificent narrative relief, allegedly of the *Sudamala* story, spans the entire temple. However, the relief is broken off before the end due to the interruption of time. Climbing to the top on the central stairway, one can see a stone stature of *yoni*, the Hindu symbol of femininity, which Raffles mentions as “a highly elegant reservoir of water” (Raffles *ibid.*).

Interestingly, Raffles noted the ruin’s name from oral information provided by the residents in the district of *Tiga-Wangi*: it is called *Séntul*, or *chúnkup*, which means “a place of burial or a repository of the dead” (Raffles *ibid.*). However, the collaborative investigations of archeology and philology in the colonial period uncovered further information. In 1896, J. L. A. Brandes completed the translation of the *Parataton*, a chronicle of Javanese kings, which describes the death of the local king Matahun in *Tigawangi* and notes that the place of burial was called *dhanna Kusumapura* (Brandes 1920: 136). Since then, the ruin “*Séntul/chúnkup*” has been known as *Chandi Tigawangi* among the colonial scholars, after the village name. More than four decades later, T. G. T. Pigeaud concluded that the ruin was built after the death of the local king Bre Matahun in 1310 *Shāka* (1388 C.E.) based on the description in the *Nagarakertagama*, the eulogy of the *Majapahit* king Hayam Wuruk (Pigeaud 1960: 264). As a result of this accumulation of text research, the *Candi Tegowangi* is today generally considered to have been built as a memorial to the deceased local king (*bre*) Matahun around 1400 C.E. in the *Majapahit* period.

After Indonesian independence in 1945, *candi* attracted nationalists’ attention due to their potential role in constructing the national cultural identity. As part of this movement,

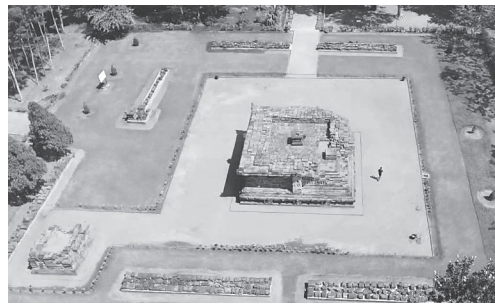


Fig. 1: The drone shot of the *Candi Tegowangi* (photograph by Denny Alafu as part of A. Nozawa’s project in 2018)



Fig. 2: The main temple of the *Candi Tegowangi* (photograph by A. Nozawa)

Indonesian archeologist R. Soekmono was of crucial influence in popularizing “*candi*,” which had previously been known only in Java and a part of Sumatra (Soekmono 2005: 29; 1995: 1), as the general term for Hindu or Buddhist ruins in Indonesia to promote national cultural value. In addition, one of his activities was eliminating the negative image of *candi* as related to “death,” especially that of the *Candi Tegowangi*, so that the ancestral remains would be worthy of the status of world-class cultural heritage.

This ideological shift is clearly observed in R. Soekmono’s 1974 doctoral thesis *Candi: Fungsi dan Pengertiannya*, which was published in 2005 with the same title as part of a compilation spanning Soekmono’s nearly 20-year-long career at the Archaeological Service (The English edition was published in 1995). The first section, *Candi sebagai Makam* (Candi as Tomb), begins with the juxtaposition of the terms “*candi*”—allegedly a general term for “the ancient architectures” in Java—and “*cungkub*,” a more popular term in East Java that is synonymous with “tomb” (Soekmono 2005: 1). Soekmono then takes up Raffles’ report on *Séntul* (or *chúnkup*) as a springboard. Calling the monument “*Candi Tegowangi*” after Dutch scholars, Soekmono insists on the invalidity of Raffles’ mixed usage of the terms “*chándi*” and “*chúnkup*” (equal to *candi* and *cungkub*) for the monument, which means “a place to preserve cremated ashes.” Based on this criticism, Soekmono develops his argument using overwhelming reference materials through the six chapters and then concludes simply but emphatically that “*candi* is not *makam* (tomb), but *kuil* (temple)” (ibid.: 340). Nevertheless, he adopts an inclusive approach: in admitting the death-related aspect of *candi*, he contextualizes it as a subservient element under *candi*’s first mission as a sacred place for “deified kings”; namely, for gods (*dewa*). His aim is to consistently put forward the notion of “Candi as Temple” to be incorporated into the cultural enlightenment of the nation.

Soekmono was at the forefront of national heritage politics as part of the first generation of Indonesian archeologists, the first Indonesian head of the Archaeological Service (1953–1973), and the director of the *Borobudur* Restoration Project (1970–1983). Hence, he also acted on the production of state-centered history. For instance, he omitted the topic of “Indianization” from national cultural history in his educational writings (Bloembergen & Eickhoff 2011: 409). Meanwhile, his aforementioned publications reflect the double standards of his stance: the English edition (Soekmono 1995: 1) introduces *candi* first as “archeological monuments dating from the so-called *Zaman Hindu* or ‘Indianized’ period,” while the Indonesian edition (Soekmono 2005: 1, 29) refers to “*jaman purba* (ancient time)” as the alternative term for “*zaman Hindu*” (the Hindu era). In fact, as the first Indonesian disciple of Dutch archeologist N. J. Krom (the founder of the Archaeological Service), he was in a position to follow on from Krom’s perception of *candi* as “the old Hindu civilization that once made Java great” (Bloembergen & Eickhoff ibid.: 420). In this context, Raffles’ description of the *Candi Tegowangi* was supposedly an annoying phantom for Soekmono’s strategy, which sought to realize the “independence of *candi*” as civilized national culture of the republic.

Since the late 1990s, the archeologist Hariani Santiko has presented a new angle on the *candi* discourses. She indicates the aesthetic aspect of the *Candi Tegowangi* connected with the practice of ritual song “*kidung*” (Santiko 2015a: 271). Santiko was inspired by the counter-clockwise arrangement (*prasawya*) of the reliefs covering the main temple (see fig. 3). Connecting the *prasawya* structure and Javanese local *kidung* tradition in a ritual context, Santiko interprets the

relief as a medium of “*sandiwara keliling*,” which she translates as “roving theatrical performance” (ibid.).

Among her works on *candi* in Java, Santiko devotes her fullest attention to this issue in her articles about the *Candi Penataran*, allegedly the state temple of the *Majapahit* kingdom built on the southern edge of East Java. She points out the combination of two opposite arrangements of the narrative reliefs that form the symbolic structure embedded in the complex: the counterclockwise direction (*prasawya*) and the clockwise direction (*pradaksina*).⁵ Then, referring to Sanskrit texts, she concludes that the *Candi Penataran* is a representation of the sacred Mt. *Mahameru* (or *Mandala*) in the story of *Samudramanthana* (Santiko 2012: 26–27; 2015b: 238): a Hindu creation myth that depicts the generation of *amritalamerta* (the water of immortality) by winding the body of a dragon around the holy mountain (*Mahameru/Mandala*) and then pulling each end of the dragon in opposite directions. In Santiko’s view, this story suggests that the two opposite relief arrangements exactly correspond to the “clockwise spanning” of the mountain by gods (*deva*) on the right side and the “counterclockwise spanning” by demons (*asura*) on the left side.

Given that the *Candi Tegowangi* was also built by the *Majapahit* kingdom, it could be suggested that the narrative reliefs of the two *candi* were installed following the same or similar concept as that which Santiko observed when relating them to the *Samudramanthana*. This inspiring interpretation leads us to further questions: do the two types of reliefs, which are contrasted by the opposite directions, exactly embody elements of dichotomous philosophy such as gods and demons or life and death?; does the so-called *Sudamala* relief arranged in the *prasawya* represent the latter symbol? Santiko does not delve deeply into these issues; rather, she interprets the combination of *pradaksina* and *prasawya* as the spiral process of a spiritual journey by invoking Soekmono’s view on Shaivist “*moksa* (liberation)” as the common aim of *candi*, Jill Purce’s spiritualism, and the doctrine of *yoga Kundalini* (Santiko 1995: 22–26). Her analysis, however, suggests two important aspects of the *Candi Tegowangi*. The first is the connection with a pilgrimage practice that accompanies ritual song (*kidung*):⁶ an original form of circumambulation of the time. The second is the symbolic *prasawya* relief arrangement, which is particularly observed in some *candi* built in the *Majapahit* period. These elements seem to be crucial to revealing ontological issues of *candi* in East Java and the narrative reliefs.

2. The Text-Making of the *Sudamala* Story and the Relief Interpretation

The relief of the *Candi Tegowangi* is arranged in *prasawya* (counterclockwise) direction, which starts at the right side of the façade and goes round to end at the opposite side (fig. 3). According to this direction, one sees the first panel at the west side, follows the development of drama at the south, and then comes to the climax at the east (though the final panel is broken off before its ending). It was Dutch archeologist P. V. van Stein Callenfels who identified this relief as a representation of the “Javanized” Hindu epic “*Sudamala*.” The title means “purifying” via the juxtaposition of the Javanese terms *suda* (clean) and *mala* (dirty, impure). Sadewa, the main character of the story (fig. 4), and his twin brother, Nakula, are described as deities of medicine and the sword in the *Mahabharata*. This story thus adopts the characters from the Sanskrit literature and is considered to have been created in the *Majapahit* era or earlier and to have taken place locally.⁷ Therefore,

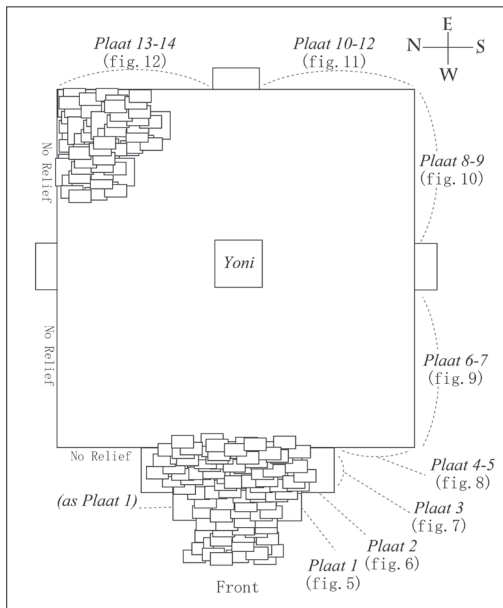


Fig. 3: The top view of the main temple and the relief arrangement



Fig. 4: The image of Sadewa on the relief (photograph by A. Nozawa)

the *Sudamala* story is thought to be an example of “the Javanization of the *Bharata* (religious Sanskrit text)” that prevailed in the East Javanese period⁸ in contrast to the previous period of “the Sanskritization of Jawa” (Supomo 2004: 309–332).

According to the story generally recognized, Bathara Guru (Shiva) becomes angry with his wife, Uma, who is turned into the female giant, Durga, as a result of Bathara Guru’s curse; he then banishes her to the forest of death (*setra gandamayū*). Hearing that only Sadewa has the power to free her from the curse, Durga orders her servant, Kalika, to possess Sadewa’s mother, Kunti. Losing her sanity, Kunti takes Sadewa to the forest to serve as Durga’s hostage. At the climax, Bathara Guru descends on Sadewa’s body, which is stuck to a tree, and purifies Durga so that she returns to her original form. In turn, they give Sadewa special power and weapons to defeat the enemies of the kingdom (Kalantjaya and Kalantaka). Following his victory, Sadewa visits a hermitage with his twin brother, Nakula; finally, they marry the two daughters of a sage.

This section examines Callenfels’ commitment to the interpretation of the relief and the text-building of the *Sudamala* story that we know today. It focuses on the three points that I observed in *De Sudamala in de Hindu-Javaansche Kunst* (Callenfels 1925), which consists of four chapters: I. *Tekst en Varianten* (Text and Variants); II. *Vertaling* (Translation); III. *Reliefverklaring* (Relief Statement); IV. *De Verhouding van Tekst en Basreliefs* (Relation of Texts and Reliefs).

The most remarkable point is that the text-making is based on inspiration from an oral transmission in Bali, not Java: a tale called “*Sudamala*” that had been “*op Java geheel vergeten* (totally forgotten in Java)” (Callenfels 1925: 3) at that time. This publication is thus a textual practice in the “rediscovery” of the *Sudamala* story, a lost cultural memory of medieval Java, by a Dutch scholar. The introduction (ibid.: 3–5) describes the research process that began with an

attempt to relate the reliefs to the *Kartawiyoga* story from the *Mahabharata*. Callenfels gave up the idea in 1919. Subsequently, on a brief trip to Bali, he was surprised to hear the *Sudamala* story from a local Balinese person who knew neither the *Candi Tegowangi* nor the narrative relief. Thinking that it matched what was depicted, he applied the story to his interpretation of the relief. Based on his conviction, he searched for materials related to the story and gathered ten manuscripts—eight from the *Warneriaansch Legaat* (Leiden), one from *Ethnographisch Museum* (Leiden), and one from *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen vertegenwoordigde* (Batavia/Jakarta). He then patched the damaged manuscripts and finally presented them in his publication. They appear as integrated text in Chapter I (with notes on the variation of local terms in the manuscripts), which consists of four parts: I (105 sentences), II (45 sentences), III (31 sentences), and IV (196 sentences). These are translated into Dutch in Chapter II.

The second point of interest is that the editorship integrates multiple media; namely, the visualization of textual narrative that corresponds to the relief's images in a form of "book." As seen in the various *candi* in Java, the style of the narrative relief of the *Candi Tegowangi* is like that of a picture scroll without clear boundaries. In Chapter III, after summarizing the *Sudamala* synopsis from the integrated manuscripts in the previous chapters, Callenfels divides the relief into fourteen independent pictures to describe the scenes (*ibid.*: 112–115). The divisions are presented in fig. 3 and figs. 5–12. However, the pictures in Callenfels' publication are much better for examining the detail of each scene due to limitations of space and the damaged condition of the relief today. Table 1 is the overview of the descriptions on each plate/*plaat* (*ibid.*: 112–115).⁹

One should remark, however, that there are some missing scenes, which calls into question the consistency of the images on the relief and Callenfels' interpretation. The most crucial point is that the image of Shiva, including the first scene of him banishing his wife, is not depicted at all. As for *plaat* 8a (fig. 10), which depicts a deity who has four arms, the swell of the breast probably represents the figure of a goddess; Callenfels assumes it is Huma/Uma. The second point of concern is the loss of the battle scene between Sadewa and the kingdom's enemies (Kalanjaya and Kalantaka) on the relief, though it is popular as the climax of the *Sudamala* story today.

Despite these differences, there are two points that the images on the relief and the textualized story have in common. First, the characters in this drama can be classified into five categories: nobles (particularly women and young men), servants, a sage, a deity (likely a goddess), and evils (Durga, Kalika, and other ghosts). There is no depiction/description of commoners such as merchants or farmers. Another important element is the theme of "overcoming a crisis" that underlies both representations. There can be no doubt, regardless of where the motif comes from, that the story concerns a young nobleman and his family who experience the threat of evil but are finally led to prosperity, which is symbolized by the marriages of two couples, by the power from sacred beings.

More investigation is needed to clarify the relationship between the so-called *Sudamala* story and the ten reference materials. However, it is certain that Callenfels, true to his responsibility as a man of letters, sought academic authenticity by presenting both the actual process of the text-making and an elaborate comparison of local terms. The accumulation of his work was finally integrated into a book that is filled with abundant texts and pictures. It could be said that, in contrast to the narrative relief that invokes oral-aural perception among people at the site, this

Table 1. Callenfels' interpretation of scenes

<i>Plaat</i>	Fig.	Image	Interpretation
1	5	A woman holding a drum	The drum might have been an accompanying musical instrument for reciting the <i>Sudamala</i> story of the time.
2	6	A woman with a child	Three possibilities that the woman represents a Javanese lady, Kunti (Sadewa's mother), or Uma (Shiva's wife).
3	7	A woman praying at a gate/ temple	Kunti is arriving at the grave (the forest of death) governed by Durga.
4	8	A female giant pointing at a woman	Durga is furious with Kunti for being denied the offer of Sadewa as a sacrifice.
5	8	A woman being chased by a female ghost	Kalika (Durga's servant) is about to possess Kunti, who is leaving the grave.
6a	9	A woman and a servant at the left side and five people at the right side	Kunti is confessing her decision to offer Sadewa to Durga to her five sons called the <i>Pandawa Lima</i> (from the left: Yudistira, Bima, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sadewa).
6b	9	A woman leading a man holding his hand	Kunti is taking Sadewa to Durga's place, the forest of death.
7	9	A man tied to a tree between two demonic women and ghosts	Durga at the left side is ordering Sadewa, who is tied to a kapok tree, to free her from the curse; Kalika and ghosts are behind Sadewa at the right side.
8a	10	A goddess with three servants and a man kneeling	Huma/Uma, who turned from the figure of Durga, is giving gifts and a holy name, " <i>Sudamala</i> ," to Sadewa as a sign of gratitude.
8b	10	A man walking with two servants	Accepting Huma/Uma's advice, <i>Sudamala/Sadewa</i> is leaving for the hermitage <i>Prangalas</i> .
9a	10	A man and a woman kneeling before a priest	At the meeting with the sage Tambapetra, <i>Sudamala/Sadewa</i> is expressing his respect with Tambapetra's daughter, Padapa.
9b	10	A man walking with a priest, three women, and two servants	Tambapetra is introducing <i>Sudamala/Sadewa</i> to Padapa's sister, Soka. Sadewa's servant, Semar, also meets Padapa's servant, Ni Towok.
10a	11	A man holding a woman and a servant	The marriage of <i>Sudamala/Sadewa</i> and Padapa (Semar is peeping into the room).
10b	11	A priest meeting a man	Tambapetra is welcoming Nakula's arrival at the hermitage.
11, 12	11	Nine people including a priest and those in 6a	After winning the battle with Kalanjaya and Kalantaka, <i>Sudamala/Sadewa</i> and Nakula return home with Tambapetra.
13	12	Five women gathering	Kunti is welcoming the two brides, Padapa and Soka.
14	12	Two men and a servant	The two are likely Tambapetra and Darmawangsa (Yudistira).

publication became a new form of narrative supported by the Western read-oriented discipline and printing technology of the time.

Significantly, as the third remarkable point, the text-making of the *Sudamala* story was promoted as part of a revival of Javanese *wayang* culture. Thus, while Callenfels' work was represented as a visualized "text to read," it was also applied to the local performing style that centered on "aesthetic oral story-telling." It is seen in Callenfels' multifarious thoughts in the text on the potential of the *Sudamala* story as a ritual performing art. As the first step, given the Middle Javanese poetic meter¹⁰ of the original materials, he defines this story as a *kidung* poem: a genre that flourished in East Java after the eleventh century (Callenfels 1925: 140, 153). He also mentions



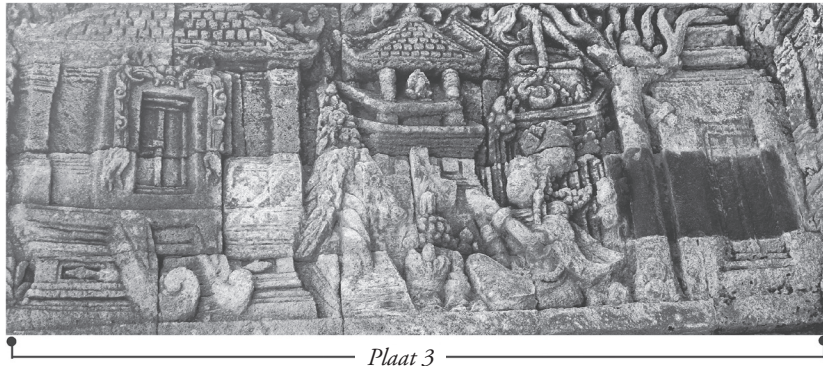
— *Plaat 1* —

Fig. 5: *Plaat 1* at the west side
(photograph by A. Nozawa)



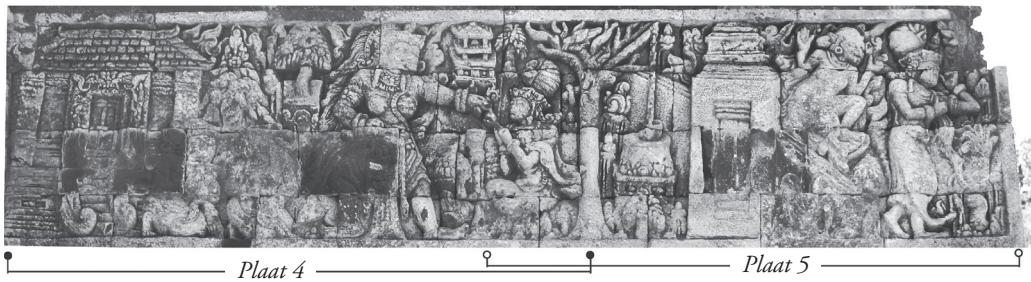
— *Plaat 2* —

Fig. 6: *Plaat 2* at the west side
(photograph by A. Nozawa)



— *Plaat 3* —

Fig. 7: *Plaat 3* at the west side (photograph by A. Nozawa)



— *Plaat 4* — *Plaat 5* —

Fig. 8: *Plaat 4-5* at the west side (photograph by A. Nozawa)

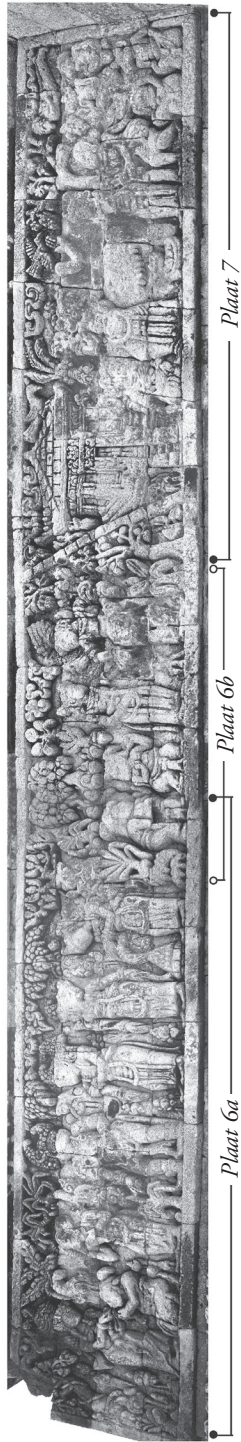


Fig. 9: *Plaat 6-7* at the left of the south side (photograph by A. Nozawa)

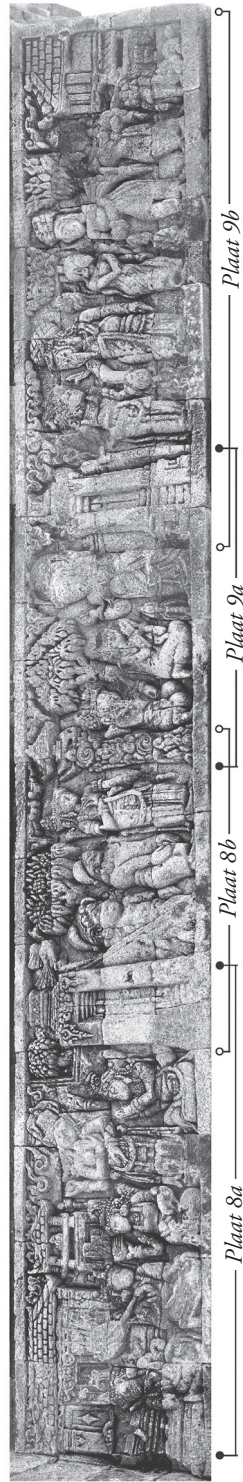


Fig. 10: *Plaat 8-9* at the right of the south side (photograph by A. Nozawa)

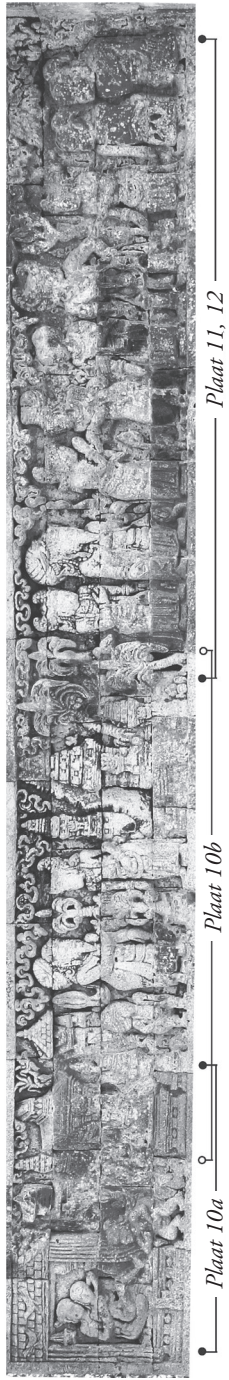


Fig. 11: *Plaat* 10–12 at the left of the east side (photograph by A. Nozawa)



Fig. 12: *Plaat* 13–14 at the right of the east side (photograph by A. Nozawa)

that it might have been sung with accompanying musical instruments, taking as a cue the image of a drum depicted on *plaat* 1 (fig. 5) (ibid.: 158). Based on this recognition, he invokes Cohen Stuart's 1875 article to suggest that this story was not literature for the people of high culture but a folktale that was created by a local poet before the building of the *Candi Tegowangi* and had been transmitted orally (such as in the *Sri Tanjung* story). Then, in terms of performative context, he remarks on the magical nature of the *Sudamala* story represented in the first phrase of the text: it expresses a wish for Shiva's forgiveness in order to support longevity and preservation from illness and negative forces (ibid.: 10, 84).¹¹ It inspired Callenfels to recognize the original connection between the *Sudamala* story and the Javanese local exorcism ritual "*ngruwat*," referring to the similar Balinese "*mawinten*" ritual that included the story (Balinese version) at that time.

This accumulated analysis became the basis of Callenfels' specific concern regarding the relation between the *Sudamala* text and Javanese *wayang* (ibid.: 155–158) stated in the introduction: "this study offers the further knowledge of *wayang* literature and its cultural development" (ibid.: 9). As he remarks on the images of servants resembling the well-known fool character "*Semar*" in today's Javanese *wayang*, the main motivation of his study seems to have been the reconstruction of the lost *lakon* (story) of the medieval Javanese *wayang*. Significantly, he describes his experimental work of editing "the *lakon* of *Sudamala*," which could be compatible with the Javanese cultural context of the time. Though there is no further information on how it was realized as a performance, Callenfels notes that it was a collaborative work with a *dalang* (puppeteer) from the court in Surakarta (ibid.: 166). These facts reveal Callenfels' crucial agency in reviving the *Sudamala* story between literacy and orality as an archeologist, a philologist, and an applied ethnomusicologist.

3. The Colonial Myth between Literacy and Orality

The *Sudamala* story by Callenfels has been transmitted as a canonical text among subsequent scholars such as R. M. N. Poerbatjaraka & T. Hadidjaja (1952: 77–87), P. J. Zoetmulder (1974/1983: 539–542), S. Mulyono (1978: 9–13), A. Kinney, M. J. Klokke, and L. Kieven (2003: 237–244). Meanwhile, the "making" process, which is based on Callenfels' provisional idea from the Balinese tale and the patchwork of collected materials, seems to overlap the concept of "*bricolage*" that C. Lévi-Strauss found in the pattern of mythological thought; that is, "doing things with whatever is at hand" (1962/1966: 17). In this sense, the *Sudamala* story is a "colonial myth" created by the scholarly paradigm of the time.

What power, then, was politically and ideologically navigating the production of this colonial myth? Callenfels' source of idea in particular indicates a significant pattern of thought that uncritically connected a Balinese tale with the medieval relief in East Java. It was, in fact, a very typical view of Indonesian history among colonial Orientalists, who shared a belief in "Bali as a repository of Old Javanese culture" following the legend of the *Majapahit* kingdom's exodus to Bali in the sixteenth century by the Islamization of Java.

As H. S. Nordholt reveals, it was W. R. van Hoëvell, then president of the Batavian Society for the Arts and Science, who upheld this notion in the middle of the nineteenth century. Hoëvell gave Sanskrit scholar Rudolf Friederich the task of researching Bali to discover "ancient Java" in

order to implicitly exercise his belief that the “Balinese are in the same situation as the Javanese at the beginning of the fifteenth century” (Hoëvell 1846 in Nordholt 1994: 91). Afterwards Friederich developed such an image of Bali through his writings, as “He had found in Bali a culture of Hindu-Javanese origin in the Balinese nobility, which had supposedly been established there in the fourteenth century by conquerors from the Javanese realm of the Majapahit.... This image has proven itself extremely persistent and is still repeated today” (Nordholt *ibid.*).

This finding strongly indicates the reason why Callenfels took a trip to Bali in 1919. He was struggling to identify the motif of the narrative relief of the *Candi Tegowangi* at that time, having found the invalidity of the *Kartawiyoga* story that he had first proposed. Given the contemporary dominant thought, it could be assumed that he decided to leave for Bali in search of the cultural memory of the *Majapahit* kingdom. Therefore, it would be more precise to say that Callenfels expected Bali to provide him with the missing story depicted on the relief than that the *Sudamala* story he found in Bali had been forgotten in Java already. Of equal significance is that Callenfels chose the opposite direction of intent to that of H. N. van der Tuuk, the Dutch linguist who first mentioned the *Sudamala* story in the nineteenth century. Tuuk introduces two manuscripts of the *Sri Tanjung* (“*Sritañjun*” in the text) story found in Bali and Banyuwangi (East Java), including a brief description of the *Sudamala* story that appears in the former text (see note 7). Importantly, while mentioning his concern with the pagan feature represented in both manuscripts, these descriptions are incorporated into Tuuk’s statement to distance himself from the excessive reliance on the cultural connection between Bali and East Java (Tuuk 1881: 54–56). This background therefore suggests a paradoxical process whereby, despite Tuuk’s relativistic perception approximately four decades earlier, Callenfels reinforced the imagined cultural linkage by connecting the *Sudamala* story and the medieval relief in East Java via the alleged Balinese oral tale; it necessarily reminds us of the criticism of the anthropological “myth of fieldwork” (Clifford 1988: 24) due to its close similarity to Tuuk’s summary. Eventually, Callenfels embodied the textual existence of the recalled medieval Javanese tale by doing exactly the same work as Friederich, who “immersed himself in the ‘old texts’ and extracted primarily from these” (Nordholt *ibid.*), more than seven decades later. Friederich, Callenfels, and numerous followers have thus served to institutionalize Hoëvell’s romanticism for over a century.

It is also significant that Callenfels describes the involvement of the two mentors, N. J. Krom and Indonesian philologist R. M. N. Poerbatjaraka, in his research since 1915 (Callenfels *ibid.*: 3). Including these relationships, the background of Callenfels’ research suggests an interesting aspect: the trip to Bali might have been undertaken upon a request by Krom, the then-head of the Archaeological Service for which Callenfels had been working since 1915, within a kind of hierarchy like that of Hoëvell and Friederich. This theory is supported by Krom’s writing in his 1923 publication. He reports that “the narrative relief of the *Candi Tegowangi* was recognized as the *Sudamala* story by Callenfels’ research,” preceding Callenfels’ 1925 publication by two years. His statement is followed by the *Sudamala* synopsis, which is just as it is in the Callenfels’ later book, and a footnote: “The following explanation of the relief is taken from a personal statement by the aforementioned archaeologist, who hopes to publish his research result in a timely manner, but has now given us a permission to report the essential” (Krom 1923: 218–219). Krom therefore became the first to write about the alleged “*Sudamala* relief” in this manner. These facts are even

reminiscent of a systematic coursework in colonial academia that shaped the story by involving a mentor's eyes in its framing, field research, and thesis composition. Given the 1915 coincidence of Callenfels' employment in the Archaeological Service and his research start, it is evident that Krom had participated in the "rediscovery" of the *Sudamala* story from the first stage. In the end, his preceding writing on it should have given academic legitimacy to Callenfels' work as an endorsement from the authority in archaeology.

The *Sudamala* synopsis has recurred among subsequent scholars following the "bureaucratic reproduction" (Nordholt *ibid.*: 93) formed in the colonial period. It was supported not only by the academic discipline of references but also by the Western concept of authorship; concretely, the "authority of publishing" under the patronage of European-led printing technology of the time. Upon this advantage, the authenticity of the *Sudamala* relief was realized by visualizing the compiled images and texts; as K. M. McGowan significantly argues, the tendency of "utter visibility" in "a predominantly masculinist academic discourse" is seen in the study of Javanese medieval texts (McGowan 2011: 486–497). It could be said that this style was even inherited by Soekmono, the first Indonesian disciple of Krom, who published the comprehensive *candi* study in English and served to uphold his idea of "*Candi* as Temple."

However, given the recent ritual revival of *candi* in Java, of particular significance to today's humanities would be a reexamination of what has been obscured under the dominance of "visualized literacy" associated with printing technology or modernity; namely, local transmission centered on orality and physical practice. Regarding this issue, Santiko's previously mentioned perspective is worth developing. It could be said that Santiko's eyes carefully traced an ephemeral ancient practice in the specific *prasawya* relief arrangement. While the idea of the "roving theatrical performance (*sandiwaru keliling/men-men*)" (Santiko 2015a: 271) is still arguable, it rather inspires us to recognize a cultural reality in the medieval Java: the "coexistence with death" in various interactive relationships, including a pilgrimage at the *candi* that accompanied *kidung* singing.

The style of *kidung* practiced in this context, however, needs further ethnomusicological research that makes comparisons to today's local transmission in East Java. M. Kartomi's study of the *Matjapat* songs in Central and West Java is a significant resource on this issue; especially the practice of *Malam Kidungan*, in which people gather at night to sing magical songs to protect themselves from evil spirits (Kartomi 1973: 8–9). As I argued in my previous article on the *Candi Penataran* (Nozawa & Hanan 2019), this case thus suggests that the similar *kidung* practice existed in medieval Java and was performed in a specific style corresponding to the death-related nature of the *Candi Tegowangi* as well as the spiritual narrative depicted on the relief. From this perspective, the site might have been an aesthetic contact zone at that time between two realms such as life and death or visible and invisible.

Meanwhile, it is also significant that, especially in East Java, the *Sudamala* story has been transmitted until today as a *lakon* (story) of *wayang* specifically related to an exorcism ceremony called *ruwatan* or *ruwatan murwakala*.¹² It is held for those who have some ominous background history in a Javanese traditional sense (an only child, children born at sunset, etc.). In this ceremony, *ki dalang*, the puppeteer who plays the role of the priest, presents a sacred *wayang* performance for liberating (*kalukat*) ritual participants from bad luck (*sengkala*). The *Sudamala* story is included in these specific stories/*lakon* that tell of the expelling of evil power. According

to my project collaborator Yohan Susilo, the professional *dalang* who teaches at Universitas Negeri Surabaya, “The *Sudamala* story is really a special *lakon* in Java, since it is permitted to be performed only by a special *dalang* who mastered strong spiritual power” (pers. comm., 15 July 2018).

Considering Callenfels’ passion regarding the making of the *Sudamala* text, allegedly the “forgotten story” that may “possibly have had a connection” with the Javanese exorcism ceremony (*ngruwat/ruwatan*) in the old days, the fact above necessarily raises a question: what if Callenfels’ textual practice did finally realize the revival of the *Sudamala* story in the ritual context of Islamized Java? Interestingly, the description of the *Sudamala* story in *wayang* as part of a *ruwatan* ceremony begins to appear in post-1950s publications (Poerbatjaraka & Hadidjaja, Zoetmulder, and Mulyono: *ibid.*). Though further investigation is needed to clarify the background of its transmission, at least the present ritual context of the *Sudamala* story appears true to the “purification” that the title signifies (fig. 13). Seen in light of this fact, there should have been local people who orally transmitted the story within their communities outside of the scope of Callenfels’ observation. However, it also allows us to consider the likelihood that Callenfels’ publication impacted the spread of this story more drastically, including its adoption into the ritual *wayang* stories. From this viewpoint, one can observe the phenomenon that “writing served largely to recycle knowledge back into the oral world” (Ong 1982: 117).

Even so, seeing this hypothesis through local eyes indicates that it should have been a productive tactic for cultural survival in the colonial period. This coexistent interaction reflects L. J. Sears’ view about the transition of *wayang* tales: “they chose to adopt and adapt new concepts because these concepts allowed them to accrue cultural capital while introducing intellectual tensions that enhanced their art” (Sears 1996: 35). The “new” *Sudamala* story in ritual *wayang* could therefore be thought of as a collaborative practice of the colonial myth by locals, intended to enrich their “cultural capital” through an era in the long history of Javanese *wayang* that has accumulated a series of cultural adaptations; namely, Indianization, Islamization, and Dutch colonialization.

Conclusion

The rediscovery of the *Sudamala* story exemplifies how the paradigm of Western literacy acted upon the text making and interpretation of the narrative relief of the *Candi Tegowangi*. Examining the details, however, one finds a complex interplay of literacy and orality in the whole process. While there is a negative aspect to marginalizing local perception of the relief, which might have been transmitted until the time, it is also clear that Callenfels tried to fulfill his academic ethic as a literacy-trained scholar by restoring his findings within Javanese *wayang* culture in collaboration



Fig. 13: Durga’s purification by Sadewa in *wayang* (performed by Yohan Susilo; photograph by A. Nozawa, 2018)

with a local *dalang*. Considering some vestiges that he left, either directly or indirectly, this cultural interaction would suggest an ambiguous reality wherein we “have no nonliterate singers of tales whose bardic performances maintain cultural continuity from generation to generation” (Strate 2008: 128). In 1924, Callenfels was writing his dissertation on the *Sudamala* story in Noordwijk aan Zee (Callenfels 1925: 9). He could never have suspected how the age of mechanical reproduction would later connect his work and Indonesian culture through recurring in-text references. Still, in concluding this article, I should note an important fact: Callenfels’ research in Bali was carried out amid the reconstruction after the 1918 flu pandemic and the 1917 Bali earthquake. It thus leaves room for further examination of the notion of “purification” that both Callenfels and the locals found in the *Sudamala* story through their respective practices. From this historical perspective, including the recent ritual revivals of *candi* and their interruption by the 2020 coronavirus pandemic, the unvisualized issues under the past literacy-centrism would be of particular significance for observing the ongoing story of *candi* and the narrative reliefs.

Notes

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1. As mentioned in the first section, ‘*candi*’ is a relatively new term that emerged in the process of turning the ancient Hindu/Buddhist monuments into the national cultural heritage of Indonesia. In the colonial period, it was spelled as ‘*chándi*’ or ‘*tjándi*.’
 2. I have carried out two projects supported by Japan Society for Promotion of Science (2016–2018) and the Toyota Foundation (2018–2021) in collaboration with Indonesian archeologist Yohanes Hanan Pamungkas. However, he unfortunately passed away in 2018 just after finishing the first stage of the latter project.
 3. This article uses the most common designation “(*Candi*) *Tegowangi*” among several variations such as *Tigawangi* or *Tigowangi*.
 4. The Hindu kingdom that flourished in East Java from 1293 to circa 1500 C.E. Trowulan (in Mojokerto prefecture) is considered to have been its capital at this time.
 5. Among the narrative reliefs at the *Candi Penataran*, only the *Krisnayana* relief on the second floor of the main temple is arranged *pradakšina* (clockwise), while the relief of Javanese local tales in the front yard and the *Ramayana* relief on the first floor of the main temple are arranged in *prasawya* (counterclockwise) direction.
 6. In addition to the case of the *Sudamala* relief, the practice of singing in circumambulation could be related to the three reliefs at the *Candi Penataran*, since the stories depicted in these reliefs also follow the style of ritual song: Middle Javanese *kidung* poem (the *Panji* story) and Old Javanese *kakawin* poem (the *Ramayana* story and the *Krisnayana* story).
 7. According to H. N. van der Tuuk, the manuscript of the *Sri Tanjung* found in Bali includes a description stating that the author “Chitragotra” composed this story after the *Sudamala* story (Tuuk 1881: 55). However, since there is another *Sri Tanjung* manuscript from Banyuwangi (Java), no academic consensus has been reached about its author.
 8. This is the historical period extending from the transfer of administration from Central Java to East Java in the eleventh century C.E. until the fall of the *Majapahit* kingdom in the fifteenth century C.E.
 9. The following six pictures (*plaat* 15–20) are taken from the narrative relief of the *Candi Sukuh* that was built near Solo (Central Java) in the *Majapahit* period. Callenfels identifies this relief as the *Sudamala* story as well, so the two reliefs are compared in the latter part of this chapter.
 10. *Kidung* poem is written in Middle Javanese as the developed style of Old Javanese *kakawin* poems shared among nobles in the early Hindu-Java period until the eleventh century.
 11. Original text: *Sangtabya nama siwaya mangke, tan kabèta ri tulah, luputa saruwa roga hiringong, dirgayusa batuduh wungkal, denya milwamarnna mangke*. (translation: May the forgiveness of the lord Shiva free us from curse and all illness, give us long life, and remove our impurity by participating in the following story.)
 12. In Bali today, the *mawinten* ceremony mentioned by Callenfels is no longer observed. Instead, the related tradition exists as a series of purification rituals called *Sudamala* and the *Sapu Leger* ceremony that include specific *wayang* performances for propitiating evil spirits (Umeda 2006).

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