

*Tracing the 11th-12th Century's of Asia's Connectedness. Learning from Candi
Panataran's Reliefs*

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Abstract

"Man is by nature a social animal", according to Aristotle (384 BC- 322 BC). The history of human civilization is filled with records on when and how the world's communities or societies were segregated by geography, race, ideas, religion, nationality, cultural characteristics, or other categories. Yet, for many reasons, mankind has always managed to find ways to reconnect. For some, the reason might have been innate desire to be a part of a bigger group; while for others, it might be an attempt to unite the many different groups out of ambition to rule.

In Blitar - East Java, the effort to be inclusive could be traced back to the 11th – 12th century. They were carved in stones and placed as reliefs in Candi Panataran. Those reliefs do not depict religious teachings or moral lessons as the reliefs in Candi Borobudur do, nor they illustrate a myth like in Candi Prambanan. Instead, they portray human interactions and the common living arrangement of people in various costumes and headdresses. Despite of being eroded by the many years that have passed, there are still clear signs of connections between different cultures, races, and communities. The details for these reliefs remain inconclusive to this day.

This paper discusses the possible identity of the authority figure behind the building of Candi Panataran, his/her motivation, and the meanings beneath these reliefs.

Keywords:

Candi, Artifact, Visual-narration, global community, Panataran.

Background:

In 1967, the South East Asian countries formed a geo-political alliance called the ASEAN (*Association of South East Asian Nations*), which consisted of ten nations: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The purpose for this alliance is to strengthen intergovernmental cooperation by promoting regional political stability, economic, social, and cultural development, and maintaining a good relationship with the neighbouring countries. Geographically, these 10 nations are united and they share many similarities in genealogical history. Munoz (2009) wrote that the archaeological findings found in Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysian Peninsula, and Sumatra showed similar characteristics, signifying connectedness.



Figure 1. Map of ASEANⁱ

1967 was not the first time these nations were brought together. From the Indonesians' perspective, the effort to unite these countries could be traced back to many centuries ago, to the time of the Majapahit Kingdom (1293 to end of the 1400's)ⁱⁱ. However, the situation back then was very different and the essence of the unity was not based on the desire to promote equal and harmonious interrelation amongst nations, but more on the spirit of expansion. Unity was not achieved through voluntary diplomatic means, *per se*, but some by familial relationships or through marriages of the rulers' family members; some by trade relation and some was forced or by conquest. Nevertheless, unity was achieved many centuries later, although not without efforts and sacrifices. However, lately there have been social tensions due to social or ethnic differences and few political tensions arose in the region, such as socio-cultural tensions between Indonesia and Malaysia, political tensions between Philippines and Malaysia, and many others that do not surface. One should not think of these as significant threats to the unity, but they should still believe that the ties between these nations will always be tested, therefore the preservation and promotion of this unity is truly necessary. As the members of the global community, we must see that we are all connected in many ways to the extent that we are also responsible to that unity. This paper would like to offer a proposition that if we can learn from history some of

the reasons we need to keep this unity, maybe we will not be so eager to throw hostility to our neighbours. By exploring some historical facts from the 10th to the 13th century and analyzing reliefs in the remnants of an old temple in East Java, I am hoping to reveal that the connectedness of ASEAN, as well as the connectedness of the entire world, should be nurtured.

Learning from Candi Panataran.

Candi Panataran is a Hindu temple, situated in the village of Panataran, near the city of Blitar in East Java, Indonesia (coordinate 8.015833°LS 112.209167°BT). It is the biggest temple and the biggest compound of temples in East Java; but compared to the Borobudur Temple in Central Java it is still smaller. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, a British Governor, found the ruins of Candi Panataran in 1815, but it was not known until 1850 when various European scholars came and studied the compound. The site of Candi Panataran can be divided into ten (10) partsⁱⁱⁱ: 1) The front yard, 2). Great Court (*Bale Agung*), 3). Terrace (*Pendopo Teras*), 4). Inscribed monument (*Candi angka tahun*), 5). Center-yard, 6). Dragon Temple (*Candi naga*), 7) Missing monument in Center yard, 8). Back yard, 9) Main temple, 10). Palah Inscriptions (*Prasasti Palah*); see figures 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d below. Six (6) out of ten remains while the other four (4) leave only small evidences of existence at the bottom.

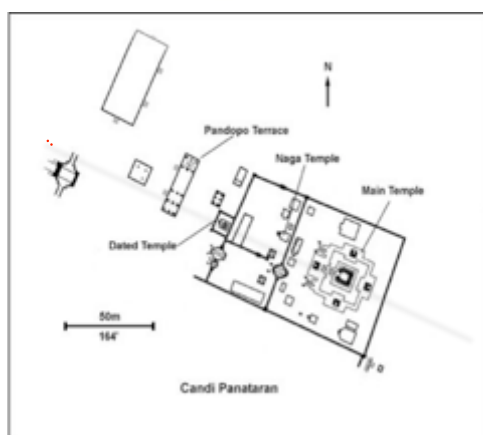


Figure 2a. View from above



Figure 2b. View from google earth



Figure 2c. View from the front



Figure 2d. View from the main temple

Conditions of the reliefs:

Some of the reliefs in Candi Panataran are in good shape, especially the Dragon temple (*Candi Naga*). Believed as a sacred part of the compound, this candi remains relatively more intact than the other parts.



Figure 3a. Dragon temple from below



Figure 3b. Dragon temple from above

Bernet-Kempers (1959, p. 91 cited in Rahardjo 2011, p. 231) regards the formation as the representation of *macrocosmos*, the earth, and its centre is the *paramasiwa* or the centre of the earth. Susanti (2010, p. 15) names the reliefs of this temple as *nawadewata* or *nawasongo*, the nine guardians of the earth. The belief is that there are 8 gods or goddesses guarding the earth and one god named *Batara Syiwa* or *Shva* guarding the zenith. The dragon, held by the nine goddesses, is the earth crust; and it is personified by the name *Batari Pertiwi*, see Sutedjo & Hartadi (2011)^{iv}.

Terrace of Candi Panataran

The terrace is the third structure from the front of this compound and believed to be the veranda for the Kings and nobilities to place their offerings. This structure is rectangular with the diameters 29.05m x 9.22m x 1.5m. The reliefs on this terrace stand on the base shaped like a long dragon body, twisted on the four corners and a crowned dragonhead stands in the middle of one side. Since the reliefs on this terrace stand on the top of the earth crust, the body of the dragon, they should be a portrayal of the living conditions of the society or the Kingdom during the time of construction or before.



Figure 4a, 4b. The crowned dragonhead and body as the base of the terrace.

Current interpretation of the reliefs in the Terrace:

While the reliefs in the main temple had been read as the story of Ramayana and Kresnayana, the reliefs in the Terrace are not conclusive. Some believe the reliefs depict the story of *Sri Tanjung* and *Bubhuksah & Gagang Aking*. *Sri Tanjung* is a legend that is very closed to the Kingdom of Blambangan, located in the furthest east of the island of Java and where the city of Banyuwangi can be found.^v The story of *Sri Tanjung* is very similar to the bible story of King David and Bethseba where the king fell in love with the wife of his subordinate. The King sent the subordinate on a conspiracy mission that would kill him so he could take the wife. In *Sri Tanjung*, the subordinate survived and returned to the Kingdom only to find that his superior nearly raped the wife. The King twisted the story and accused the wife for seducing him instead. The subordinate was angry and killed the wife by his *keris* dagger. The wife swore of her innocence and the blood from her body turned to fragrant water. Later, the place would be called Banyuwangi (*banyu* meaning water and *wangi* meaning pleasant fragrance) the capital for Blambangan. However, there are at least two arguments against the legend of *Sri Tanjung* in Panataran. First, Munoz (2009, p. 417-421) wrote that this Kingdom was the most difficult Kingdom to conquer during the reign of Raden Wijaya, the first Kingdom of Majapahit who acquired power in 1293-1309. The terrain was difficult to conquer and the defence was strong. Therefore, the Kingdom of Blambangan was an independent Kingdom for a long time until 1597, when the Kingdom of Demak defeated it. An independent Hindu-Buddha Kingdom would have a big temple to which the King and their subjects would go to. In Blambangan, it would be Candi Bang. First, it is highly unlikely that the King of Blambangan would go to Panataran to do religious ceremonies, especially when Panataran had been the temple for the Kingdom of Majapahit. Second, the time frame does not fit. A year before the Kingdom of Demak defeated the Kingdom of Blambangan via Pasuruan, the princess of Blambangan was given to marry the King of new Mataram in 1596, but her husband killed her because she refused to convert into the new religion. Even though, the legend of *Sri Tanjung* offers some similarities to the fate of the princess, it is highly unlikely that the reliefs in Panataran represent the metaphor for the story of the princess, because Panataran was built long before those times. The youngest date that can be found in Panataran is 1454M which was during the reign of Majapahit.

The story of *Bubhuksah & Gagang Aking* could have some content validity to serve as a reference to the reliefs. *Bubhuksah and Gagang Aking* were brothers; they meditated together despite of their different beliefs. *Bubhuksah* was stocky, strong and loved to eat all kinds of meat while *Gagang Aking* was very thin and weak because he ate only leaves. A white tiger was sent to test them. *Bubhuksah* offered himself to be eaten so the white tiger spared *Gagang Aking*. The story was about sacrifices for others who do not have the same belief. However, none of the reliefs shows close resemblance to the story (see figure 5a, 5b. Relief of a tiger/ tigers in the terrace of candi Panataran).



Figure 5a, 5b. Reliefs of a tiger/ tigers in the terrace of candi Panataran

These two legends were closer to the reliefs in Candi Surowono, in the village of Canggalu-Kediri, the city adjacent to Blitar where candi Panataran is located^{vi}. These small temples were built approximately around similar era.



Figure 6a. Candi Surawana



Figure 6b. Bubhuksah & Gagang Aking

The story of *Bubhuksah & Gagang Aking* was one of the clues pointing to who actually built or inspired the construction of Candi Panataran. It is said to be a part of *Arjunawiwaha*, the poem that was written by Mpu Kanwa, during the era of King Airlangga (1009-1042)^{vii}. Looking at the timeframe, it is highly possible that Airlangga had something to do with the reliefs in Candi Panataran as the initiator of the building of the Candi, then he was the inspiration for the Candi and its reliefs.

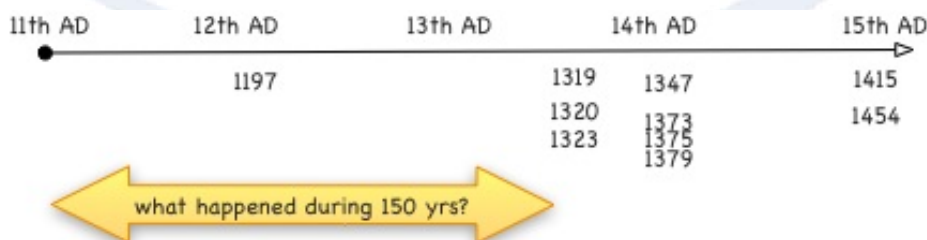


Figure 7. Dates based on stone inscriptions found around candi Panataran

Let's assume that the dates found scattered around candi Panataran as: 1) The dates for the construction and 2) The dates for the Kings' visits. The gap between the oldest date (1197) and the next date (1319) found in the Candi is 122 years. Thus, the first date, 1197, is highly likely to be either the year for the beginning of the construction or the year of completion or visit. If it is the year of the beginning of construction, then the terrace or the whole compound was built under the instruction of the King Kertajaya or *Sri Maharaja Sri Sarweswara Triwikramawatara Anindita Srenggalancana Digjaya Uttunggadewa*. On the other hand, if 1197 was the year of the visit, then the temple was already in place and King Kertajaya was not the one who built it. King Kertajaya might have visited this temple daily as his gratitude, for he and his Kingdom were spared from a big disaster that could potentially wipe off his Kingdom, as written in the inscription of Palah or part no. 10 in the compound of the Panataran:

"tandhan krtajayayahya / ri bhuktiniran tan pariksirna nikang sang hyang catur lurah hinaruhâra nika", "sdangnira Çri Maharaja sanityangkên pratidina i sira paduka bhatarâ palah".^{viii}

In English it can be translated as:

"His majesty Krtajayayahya is very happy that the four corners are avoided from extinction that he daily came to candi Palah".

Candi Palah is the other name for Candi Panataran.

Who built the Terrace, the Candi's compound and for what purpose ?

King Srengga could have built candi Panataran as the last King of Kadiri, but he could have only visited Candi Panataran to pray as the Kings that came later, including King Hayam Wuruk in the year 1350-1389^{ix}. There are some people who believe that King Arok built this temple, others believe Candi Panataran was Ken Arok's tomb as the first King of Singasari, and the rest believe that it is the temple that worshipped Siwa the god of mountains whose builders were uncertain. Conversely, this paper wishes to propose my opinion that Candi Panataran was not built by any of the Kings named above, it was built or at least inspired by *Sri Maharaja Rakai Halu Sri Dharmawangsa Airlangga Anantawikramottunggadewa*, the first King of Kahuripan. The argument is as follows:

1. The reliefs on the main temple and the emblem of garudamuka are the symbols of Airlangga's Kingdom of Panjalu.

Airlangga was believed to be the reincarnation of the god of Vishnu and Garuda was Vishnu's vehicle (see Figure 8a. *Airlangga & Garuda*). On the third storey of Candi Panataran, there were statues of *garudamuka* or the face of Garuda, the bird of Vishnu (see figure 8b. *Garuda in Panataran*), and on the yard there are emblems of Barong that are common and popular in Bali. Airlangga was the prince of Bali, the eldest child of King Udayana and princess of Java, Mahendradatta, the daughter of Dharmawangsa Teguh and the descendant of Mpu Sindok, the King who left Central Java and built his own Kingdom in East Java in 929AD^x. It is said that Garuda was the emblem for King Airlangga's Kingdom.



Figure 8a. Airlangga & Garuda^{xi} Figure 8b. Garuda Panataran Figure 8c. Barong Bali

Garuda apparently not only known as a legend or a symbol in Indonesia, but also a significant figure related to the god of Vishnu for many countries^{xii}, such as Thailand, Mongolia, India, Nepal, and many other countries.



Fig. 8d. Thailand 8e. Mongolia 8f. West Bengal 8g. Kathmandu

2. Panataran is a Hindu temple yet embraces other religions

Candi Panataran is clearly a Hindu temple (see figure 9a below). Airlangga was a Hindu and believed as the reincarnation of the god Vishnu, yet Airlangga was very open to other religions too, as depicted in figure 9b. There were other priests around: the Buddhist, the Agastya or even the Brahman who provided him shelters and education when he was running to the forest to escape murder by the soldiers of King Wurawari. The King of Wurawari raided his wedding and killed the in-law's family (King Dharmawangsa Teguh's family) and burnt the palace down to ashes (Munoz (2009), Susanti (2010), Rahardjo (2011) and Boechari (2012). Later, when Airlangga was around 19 years old, approximately three years in hiding, Airlangga became the King to replace his father in law with the blessings of priests from three religions: Siwa, Buddha, and Mahabrahmana.



Figure 9a. The King & a Hindu god



Figure 9b. The King & the priests

Reliefs in Panataran show that various religious figures were given special privileges in the Kingdom and performed important tasks, including giving blessings or receiving visits from various kinds of people (note their headdresses in figures 10a, 10b, 10c below).



Figure 10a, b, c. Religious figures performed various functions in the Kingdom.

3. Diversity was nurtured, promoted, and flourished at the era of Airlangga

The reliefs in the terrace and main temple show that there were many non-Javanese people around (see series of figure 11 until figure 15 below, and notice the headdresses). When Mpu Sindok of Isyana dynasty moved from Central Java to East Java and built his Kingdom there, there were no records of foreigners. According to Rahardjo (2011), records of *wargga kilalan* or foreigners started to appear in the *inscription of Cane* dated 1021, inscription Patakan, and OJO LXIV, all written during the era of King Airlangga. It seems that foreigners were welcomed and encouraged during the reign of Airlangga to trade and to visit, confirmed by Susanti (2010, p. 224) based on the *inscription of Kamalagyan*^{xiii}. International trade flourished and many people of other origin came through the harbor of *Hujung Galuh*, including from India (such as Klin & Aryya), from *Sinhala* (Srilangka), *Pandikira* (in South Asia), *Drawira*, *Champa* (Vietnam), *Kmir* (Khmer), *Renen* (Mon), in Susanti (2010, p. 116, 221). Reliefs in Candi Panataran show some traces of these people (see the resemblance between headdresses in the reliefs and headdresses that can still be found nowadays in the some areas on ASEAN nations).



Figure 11 a, b. Compare to the headdress of a Red Hmong woman, Vietnam^{xiv}



Figure 12 a, b. The turban of Sinhalas, or the Singh^{xv}



Figure 13 a, b, c. The Mons and young mons of 21st century^{xvi}





Figure 14a, b, c, d, e. Similarities with *Thangkul Naga*, Nagaland soldiers^{xvii}.

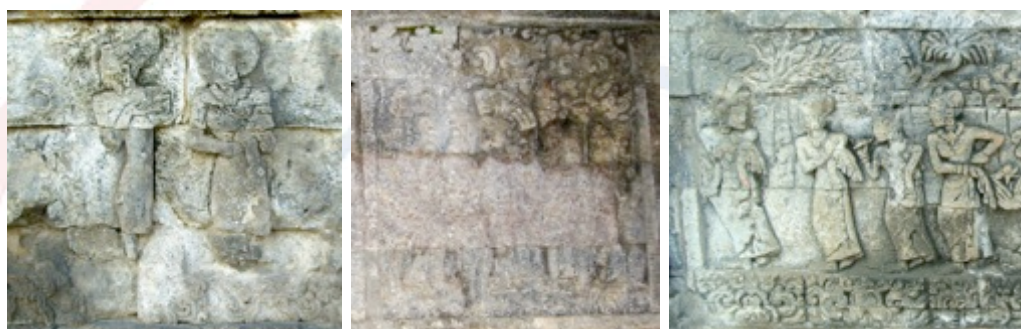


Figure 15 a, b, c. Various other headdresses

4. Mpu Kanwa's *Kakawin Ramayana* was the product of Airlangga's era

It is hard to conclude whether the reliefs in the main temple contain the story of Ramayana and Kresnayana as the myth says. Yes, there are some reliefs of monkeys, giants, and archers, which were the figures in Ramayana, but the story could have been entirely different. After all, Ramayana is a story that can be and have been reinterpreted so many times in so many versions (Sugi Lanus, 2005 cited in Kompas^{xviii}). There are many versions of the story of Ramayana and Mahabarata in the world that are very different than the original Ramayana from India^{xix}. Susanti (2010) and Boechari (2012) mentioned that King Airlangga instructed Mpu Kanwa to write *Kakawin Ramayana* and *Kakawin Arjunawiwaha* in 1021-1035. Yet, the version of Mpu's Kanwa's *Kakawin Ramayana* was very different; only a small part of the original Mahabarata was similar to the story in Mpu Kanwa's *Kakawin Ramayana* (Zoetmoelder cited in Susanti, 2010, pg. 76-77). Berg, 1938; Moens, 1950; Zoetmoelder, 1957, disagree with each other on whether *Kakawin Arjunawiwaha* was talking about Airlangga (Susanti 2010, p.80-81). Nevertheless, there is a high probability that the reliefs could have also been talking about the lifestory of Airlangga in metaphor of Ramayana and Kresnayana. Amongst the old rulers of Java, Airlangga was the most productive one in keeping records^{xx}.

Messages beneath the reliefs in Candi Panataran

If candi Panataran was built to contain the life story of King Airlangga, then what are the messages that he wished to preserve and leave them to the generations after him?

Well, looking at his life experiences and his establishments when he was a King, I can theorize as follows:

1. That unity is very important for prosperity

If the reliefs in Candi Panataran were about the living situations around 11th - 12th century, then it was highly likely there were no more wars. Instead of wars, the reliefs in the Terrace depicted common lives; there was a mugger, a couple, men seducing women after a party, a daughter and a mother, children playing, lots of men carrying goods, and so on. They seem to be enjoying themselves in the lifestyle that could not be possible if there were always wars. It was a peaceful time for the people in who lived on the land. During Airlangga's 23 or 24 years of reign, wars happened only when he tried to legitimate his position as the King of Kahuripan. But as soon as he was settled and had gained acceptance, Airlangga focused on the economic growth and on the security of the people. He opened trade with other nations, welcomed (and taxed) foreigners who came to trade, repaired Waringin Sapta dam so that Harbor Hujung Galuh could be accessible for traders. He regulates trading system by categorizing the goods and put quotas on them. He also kindly gave away many lands for the people who had helped him during the early days of his reign (in Susanti, 2010).

2. Civil war is always destructive to all

King Airlangga was very afraid of civil war and he tried to avoid it as much as possible. This attitude might have been influenced by the trauma of the conquestation that killed his family members and the entire family of Dharmawangsa Teguh (his father-in-law) on Airlangga's wedding day^{xxi}. The event was marked as *pralaya*, or the big disaster. The attack was planned and funded by the Kingdom of Srivijaya, the one Airlangga's father-in-law tried to conquer many decades earlier. Instead of waging war against his ancestor's enemy, Airlangga married Srivijaya's princess, his descendant. The marriage was also an interreligion marriage as the princess was Buddhist^{xxii}. Airlangga believed that civil wars must be stopped at all costs. Munoz (2009) theorized that he truly loved her, had a daughter who was supposed to be a crown princess, but later declined the throne and passed it on to the brothers. To avoid bloodshed caused by a sibling rivalry, Airlangga had to split the Kingdom into two: Panjalu and Janggala. Airlangga thought that if each son had his own throne, the two would work side by side instead of fighting against each other^{xxiii}. Nonetheless, civil war broke out when he left the throne in 1043. Unity was difficult to achieve despite King Airlangga and his descendants' efforts to maintain peace. In 1223, the Kingdom was attacked and conquered. A new regime came to throne called the Kingdom of Singasari. That was the end of Sailendra's dynasty, which held significant power for almost five centuries in the politics of Nusantara until the 12th century. The Kingdom of Srivijaya was weaker and was later defeated because of the ambition to rule over other vassal states. The Kingdom of Kahuripan was also overthrown because of a civil war. These historical facts should teach us a lesson that unity and peaceful connectedness should always be preserved to achieve economic growth. Disputes based on differences of beliefs or races should always be avoided or resolved peacefully.

3. The war is actually the individual yet united war against evil

The reliefs in the main temple of candi Panataran showed elements that were common in the story of Ramayana: there were monkeys and Hanuman, the King monkey, also evil-looking creatures with long skull-necklaces and humans dressed in fancy clothes belonging to princes and nobilities. Yet, if examined closely, it was not Indian Ramayana but Airlangga's *Kakawin Ramayana*, as being pointed out above. One of the main difference from the story of Ramayana from India was that the Indian enemy was a ten-headed giant called Dasamuka, while in candi panataran there were many different evil-looking in similar-size bodies. Most of them were carved with swirly ornaments, signifying the cloud on *heavens* above, instead of solid ground with the body of a dragon or snake in the Terrace (Figure 16a, b, c below).



Figure 16 a, b, c. Various shapes of evil sitting on clouds

The reliefs conveyed a message that the war in heaven as well as wars on earth should be wars against evil and death, instead of war against each other.

Conclusion:

There are many things we can learn from Candi Panataran and many other mysteries to solve. The reliefs provide many clues on historical events, insights, and lessons from the past, which could help as facts to teach peace and harmony to the younger generation. So far, we can see that connections between Asian countries have already been established since the 11st to 12th century. This connectedness was lost during colonialism, but was repaired in 1967, thru ASEAN.

Recommendation:

Unfortunately, the restoration in Candi Panataran was not as tidy as it was for Candi Borobudur. There were many misplaced stones and therefore the reading is distorted, such as the two pieces of stones below (Fig. 17a & 17b). They could be placed together to become a cakravartin, or the sign of an ideal leader who leads the four corners of the world with compassion and ethics^{xxiv}. More efforts are needed to reconstruct additional meanings on the reliefs in Candi Panataran.



Figure 17a. Half cakravartin in main candi



Figure 17b. Half cakravartin in the terrace

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End Note:

ⁱ Taken from <http://kromchol.rid.go.th/ffd/internation/Eng/asean%20eng/asean.htm>

ⁱⁱ History says that the *Oath of Palapa* by Gajah Mada, mahapatih of the King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit Kingdom, contained a desire to unite the countries that we know now as Asean countries and he spent his career life achieving the goal.

ⁱⁱⁱ Reference is taken from http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Candi_Penataran

^{iv} http://lakubecik.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9:jagad-gumelar&catid=1:artikel&Itemid=2

^v From http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Tanjung

^{vi} Candi Surawana, a Siwa's temple located near Candi Panataran
http://candi.pnri.go.id/jawa_timur/surawana/candi_surawana1.htm

^{vii} Bubhuksah dan Gagang Aking is part of Arjunawiwaha,
http://kedirikab.go.id/?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=78; <http://the-jalmo.blogspot.com/2012/09/bentuk-bangunannya-masih-ada-meski-tak.html>

^{viii} It means: *His majesty Krtajayayahya is very happy that the four corners are avoided from extinction that he daily came to candi Palah*, other name for candi Panataran.

http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Candi_Penataran

^{ix} The book of *Nagarakertagama*, believed to be written in 1365, stated that Hayam Wuruk, the King of Majapahit visited candi Palah or candi Panataran.

http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Candi_Penataran

^x From http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mpu_Sindok; Munoz 2009:339; Susanti (2011:3); Boechari (2012:93-94)

^{xi} Collection of Museum Trowulan, East Java.

^{xii} From <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Garuda>

^{xiii} There is still uncertainty whether the harbor is close to the city Mojokerto now or around the coast of Surabaya.

^{xiv} From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/waltercallens/5517221057/in/set-72157625822672404>

^{xv} From <http://www.punjabnn.com/2009/06/15/>

^{xvi} From <http://burmadigest.info/2008/01/26/the-golden-days-of-the-great-mon-empire-i/>

^{xvii} From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/10913960@N04/994337729/>

^{xviii} Sugi Lanus is a Balinese Literature expert and a Balinese Hindu. Harian KOMPAS rubrik Teroka, 23 Desember 2005 <http://www.kompas.com/>

^{xix} Ramayana is a love story of Rama and Sinta. A wicked giant who had 10 heads named Dasamuka kidnapped Sinta, forced Rama and his brother Laksmana to search for her in the Kingdom of giants. Rama was helped by Hanuman, the King of white forest monkey. Rama later found Sinta and defeated Dasamuka.

^{xx} At least 33 stone inscriptions found that were made during the reign of Airlangga (M-Johan in Susanti, 2010, p.xxi). No one is certain how many others that haven't been found or published yet.

^{xxi} Airlangga escaped with his confidante, Narottama; they were protected by a Rsi for more or less 3 years in the wilderness.

^{xxii} Munoz (2009, p. 350-351) theorized that Airlangga very broken hearted when she died in the year of 1041, that not long after her passing he decided to leave the throne in 1042 and became a sage. Munoz (2009) refers this to *Nagarakertagama*, 68.3-4: G Th. Pigeaud, *Java in 14th century, a study in cultural society*, the *Nagarakertagama* by Rakawi Prapanca of *Majapahit* (1963) vol.5.

^{xxiii} Munoz (2009, p. 351 based on Boechari,1968) theorized that Airlangga had only one son, the other son was actually the brother of Airlangga's bride-to-be that died in the attack of Wurawari on the wedding day, but escape and reclaim the throne.

^{xxiv} In Susanti (2010, p.101) & <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chakravartin>



