



BRILL

ON THE JAVANESE KRIS

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ON THE JAVANESE KRIS.

BY

Dr. W. H. RASSERS.

(With 2 plates.)

To His Highness

Pangeran Adipati Aria Mangku Nagara VII

As far as in essays on the kris the problem of the real signification of this mysterious object is also considered and in this connection the question is mooted in what spiritual sphere the kris originally belongs, we nearly always find the following method applied that at once stress is laid on everything that, in connection with this curious dagger, might suggest importation or at least influences from outside the Archipelago. Attention is at once fully given to the tracing of the unknown land of its origin; it is quite evident that certainty on this point is not only considered of importance for the external history of the weapon, but is also thought to carry conclusive weight for the solving of the kris problem in its entirety. On the other hand I have argued in an article „Inleiding tot een bestudeering van de Javaansche kris”¹⁾, the desirability of accepting the actual state of affairs and therefore of treating, while studying the above mentioned problem, the kris as an *Indonesian* object. In doing so, it was not my intention, of course, to deny that there are obvious reasons for thinking of derivation in one form or another in connection with the kris; I only wanted to emphasize the undeniable fact that the kris is an *organic* part of *Indonesian* culture and, as far as we can tell from our knowledge of facts, of this culture alone. As a living cultural element we can observe the kris in the Archipelago only; for a detached study of the kris the data collected there form the only basis. No one has ever succeeded, notwithstanding all the trouble that has been taken, in locating as indigenous property anywhere outside the Archipelago a weapon that could be given the name of

¹⁾ *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen*, afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 1, No. 8 (1938).

"kris"; in the Archipelago on the other hand and especially in Java, it is one of the most characteristic elements of culture. Java without the kris would be Java no longer. It plays in the life of the individual as well as in the life of the community there such an important and at the same time peculiar rôle that various students could not but begin to wonder whether the kris is not in reality something different from what it appears to be at a first and cursory glance.

For the rest I tried to make the idea acceptable that it might be useful, especially at the beginning of the investigation, not to regard the kris exclusively in itself, but to allow ourselves to be led by a number of facts pointing to a certain connection between the kris and the Javanese shadow play. I did not reject possibility that by using this supposition as a lead and by keeping an eye on every feature that would seem to make the nature of this connection more clear, we might at the same time arrive at a better realization of what it is that forms the true character of the kris. For the details of my statements I refer the reader to the above mentioned essay; may it suffice here to give a short survey of what is indispensable for the correct understanding of what I hope to advance further on.

Of the early history of both the shadow play and the kris we know next to nothing. From the few data at our disposal we must conclude that both existed in the Middle Javanese period, but that their function in this culture was probably not very important. In any case they do not belong to the things that characterise this particular shade of Hindu-Javanese culture. In the important remains that have come down to us from this period there is nothing that reminds us of their existence. When, however, the centre of culture moves to East Java, things soon begin to change; and from the very moment that kris and wayang appear within our ken, we have a strong impression that they are not unconnected. They make their appearance so to say simultaneously, in the same place, and in exactly the same way. As soon as the fusing of Indian and Indonesian elements has become so complete that it becomes possible to speak of an independent national-Javanese culture, the position of shadow play and kris in it is such as to make it hard to question their internal relationship. It is not only that they always appear together; it is of much greater importance that they are both typical of this culture. In the Hindu-Javanese culture of East-Java wayang and kris are of dominant interest; to both are attached collective ideas — social as well as religious — of uncommon power; so there is little doubt of

their having formed, in this period, part of one system. Highly remarkable in this connection is the way in which Javanese tradition speaks of this relationship. According to this tradition there is the closest relation between wayang and kris that can be imagined; they are frankly called children of one father. The same divine hero Pañji who created the Javanese theatre and the gamēlan orchestra, which forms an intrinsic part of it, is also said to have been the first kris-smith; he is the inventor and the first wearer of the kris. In the stories telling of Pañji's adventures, which are only dramas retold in novels, the kris is inseparable from him; often the kris is mentioned as the only weapon he will handle; Pañji's supernatural powers are above all in his kris. It is no exaggeration to say that the principal character of the *wayang gēdōg* (i.e. Pañji) and the kris are to a certain extent one and the same to the Javanese.

It is obvious of how great importance it would be, if — as tradition asserts — it should be possible to prove scientifically a real genetic relationship between the Javanese national weapon and the Javanese theatre. We may assume that in this manner the way would also be cleared which would lead to a better insight into the original meaning of the kris; there is no doubt but much that strikes us as strange and seems incomprehensible now, would then at once become clear. For, though the external previous history of the shadow play in Java has remained hidden from us, we have come to know the general outline of its origin and development; we have been able to picture to ourselves the social and spiritual environment in which this ritual and its attendant myth came into being and we have also learned to understand how it was possible that a play imported from India has been able to satisfy so completely and permanently the religious needs of the Javanese people.

In considering by what way it would be possible to define the nature of the relationship between kris and wayang a little more sharply, I was induced to draw the attention in the first place to a closer examination of the outward appearance of the kris and of the curious ornamentation which we find applied almost regularly in all the different parts of this weapon. The idea that these are facts which are sufficiently important to be scientifically investigated, was not new. Indeed, former investigators of the kris have attached so much importance to these outward peculiarities, that they did not deem it impossible that, solely by means of these, not only the place of origin but also the inner nature of this weapon could to a certain extent

be ascertained. This method has, in my opinion, not led to satisfactory results; for so far reaching an argument as these scholars wished to provide, this basis did not prove broad enough; nevertheless their study of the very special forms of the kris and its remarkable ornamentation has certainly not been useless. The opinion that these outward signs are related with the inner meaning of the weapon has become much more acceptable, owing to this study. For at all events we have now obtained the certainty that we have to do with a regular system and that in manufacturing a kris the imagination and artistic inspiration of smith and carver were only free to move within very sharply defined bounds. Up to the present day these bounds have not been altered. It is true, we perceive that in course of time the notion of the purpose of these ornaments has become blurred; here and there we encounter deviations which must be taken as degeneration; but on the whole we can still speak of a strong, living tradition. Still the Javanese craftsman enjoys but a limited measure of freedom in the fashioning of the kris and the ornamentation of the various details; it is quite clear that even now he feels tied down to a small group of ever recurring conceptions and motifs. They are part and parcel of the normal idea of the kris.

Meanwhile, in spite of this considerable simplification in what must be observed by us in the outward appearance of the kris, there remained the obstacle that shadow play and kris, taken materially, are so very dissimilar that properly speaking they cannot be compared at all. The utmost with regard to a possible internal relationship with the shadow play that could be reached by studying the traditional ornamentation of the kris, seemed to be the fact that a strong family likeness with what is usually called „wayang style” is not to be denied. But a conclusion of this kind is not what we are aiming at; moreover it is neither surprising nor of much importance. An investigation which would have as its only aim the determining of so superficial a likeness is superfluous; besides, it cannot be said of this symptom that it would be typical only for the kris: it can be observed in nearly the whole national-Javanese cultural domain. It means little or nothing for a deeper affinity of wayang and kris.

I have tried to remove this difficulty by introducing an intermediate term when comparing kris and shadow play and by using for this purpose one of the best known wayang stage necessities, viz. the so called *kayon* or *gunungan*. That I hit on this object in particular does not mean that I looked upon this triangular screen as something

more typical of the "wayang style" than any other part of the shadow play apparatus; my preference found its cause in the consideration that on investigating the origin of the Javanese theatre it was proved that in this object, which may never be omitted from any stage performance, the *inner meaning* of the play presents itself to us in visible form. The special value of the *kayon* does not lie exclusively in the fact that it shows us the most essential motifs of the wayang style; but these motifs have here in addition to this their full original value, and are moreover arranged in a way that turns them into one significant whole. *Everything* in it — its *form* and *decoration*, the *function* it has at every performance and also its *name* — has become intelligible through the discovery that it is intended to be an exact exposition of the sacred area within which the drama is enacted for once and all, representing therefore the totality of the whole community, divided into two phratries. For the shadow play *kayon*¹⁾ is a representation on a reduced scale of the façade of a ceremonial house that is only accessible to men; in the centre over the closed gate, on either side of which two *raksasas*, representing the phratries, keep guard, is seen the façade mask, the highly conventionalised Kala head, perhaps most resembling a lion, and meant to be a picture of Banaspati, the cannibalistic Lord-of-the-Forest, who is worshipped in this temple. The Serpent, winding itself round the central tree, the main post of the house, as well as the *Garuḍas*, stand for the same thing; they too represent the *kayon* in its entirety, they are in a way identical with Kala. Two animals on either side of the tree symbolise the two phratries in their traditional mutually hostile relation.

Now on comparing this short survey of the wayang play, as demonstrated by the *kayon*, with the system of representations which tradition still more or less dictates with regard to shape and decoration of the kris, we find a remarkable resemblance. These systems cover each other absolutely. All those features that are of dominant interest for the shadow play — the Serpent, the *Garuḍa*, the *Raksasa*, the Kala-head, the *kayon* itself — are at the same time the ever recurring motifs, by means of which the manufacturer of the kris still always, though at present unconsciously, tries to express the nature of this object. The probability of an internal relationship between

¹⁾ See plate I and cf. Rassers: *Over den oorsprong van het Javaansche tooneel* in *Bijdragen Kon. Inst.* dl. 88 (1931).

kris and wayang, which is so strongly stressed by Javanese tradition, is thus considerably strengthened; the relation even assumes the character of spiritual identity and in this connection I was led to giving expression to the surmise that in the religious respect the Javanese still shows towards his kris, there is something living on of the feeling that also this weapon — as well as the kayon — is an emblem of the totality of the community of which he forms a part.

Further confirmation of this fact I have tried to find in the data that we possess about the position of the *smith*, in the past and in the present, in the Javanese community, but above all in the way in which he behaves when plying his trade. Nowadays the smith in Java is a poor and humble man, but all the same he is still a special, we might say honoured, person. From the way in which he is treated and also from his own behaviour it is clear that the belief that his profession brings him into contact with supernatural powers has, neither in himself nor in his fellow countrymen, entirely disappeared. The word for „smith” is *pande* (“expert”), he is addressed as *empu* or *kyai* (“lord”, “master”), and these old terms are in accordance with still existing notions and associations. Forging is not looked upon as an ordinary profane trade, but it is veiled in mystery. The manufacturing of weapons especially is hemmed in by numerous regulations and formalities. That the social position of the smiths was much higher in former times, is a fact; under the government of the princes they are said to have occupied an honoured position at court. We need not even consider it out of the question that at one time the smith under certain circumstances could represent the whole community. For from the passages in the old Javanese chronicles where the smith is mentioned, we repeatedly receive the impression that in ancient Java the rôles of prince and smith more or less overlap; sometimes their relationship is compared to that of brothers. They also appear now and then as each other’s natural enemies; in any case they seem to be placed almost on one line. Just as with the princes the genealogies of the smiths go back to the gods.

However, it is of more practical interest to us to realise how, we may say up to the present day, the smith conducts himself when he is starting on the most important work that can be entrusted to him, viz. the manufacturing of a kris. We then witness a doubtless very ancient ritual, the acts of which are not everywhere and not always equally faithfully observed any longer, but which has all the same preserved its original forms sufficiently clearly to enable us to make

out what it is that we have to see on such an occasion in the shabby Javanese smithy, enclosed by plaited bamboo. For then the smith is not allowed to make his workshop appear in its ordinary way, but he is obliged to decorate it in ceremonial fashion; and the strict regulations in this regard make it very clear that it is the intention to give the smithy the appearance of a primitive tribal temple. In other words the smithy becomes a *kayon*; there is no essential difference between it and e.g. the building that is erected as stage for the performance of a masked play or the sacred ground in or near the Javanese house, used for the performing of some detail of the crisis ritual up to the present day. The possibility that we should overrate the importance of this phenomenon and that it should only be a question of outward resemblance can safely be eliminated. There is too striking a resemblance between the regulations (very strict in both cases) for the decoration of the two buildings; the materials that are used and consist in greenery, flowers and fruit are identical and bear the same names and also the offerings of the kris smith on this occasion do not show, on being compared to the sacred gifts offered at the preparations of a circumcision or a wedding, any marked deviation. Of outstanding importance is the rule that the smith is obliged — to suggest no doubt what his workshop is going to represent — to hang a small model of a tent under the eaves outside, to which is given the name of *tarub*. This feature in itself might be called significant for the whole decoration; for *tarub* is one of the regular technical names by which the festive building used for crisis ceremonies is indicated in Java.

The way Javanese tradition represents the relationship between kris and wayang has therefore appeared to be correct; consequently we can wonder no longer when all the motifs of what we call the decoration of the kris, prescribed by tradition, inevitably recall to us the picture of the *kayon*. We must accept a genetic relation between kris and men's house; the workshop of the kris smith and the space within whose bounds the adventures of *Pañji* should be acted are essentially the same.

I.

The establishing of an essential relationship of kris and wayang (more accurately speaking: of kris and *kayon*) is — I indicated this already higher up — chiefly of importance to us because at the

same time it is then determined, in a general way, what social and spiritual sphere we must enter in our imagination, if we should wish to form an idea as to what the real meaning of the kris has been and what must have been its original function. The institution of the sacral men's house is found, it is true, in many varieties, strongly differing from each other in part, but we may say that the underlying principles are the same everywhere; and no doubt it belongs to those phenomena that characterize a society, that is to say up to a certain degree¹). Wherever we come across it, we may be sure that we have to do with a form of society which is still of a totemistic character and which can only be understood from a totemistic point of view, even though the old social and religious system has, up to a point, been weakened and — more here, elsewhere less — disturbed. We have come to consider the men's house in this kind of society to be a continuation, in a more or less permanent form, of the sacred area which, in the more primitive totemism, is prepared now by one clan, now by another, for the festive celebration of all those ceremonies which require the presence and assistance of the *entire* community and among which the initiation of youths occupies a foremost place. The characterizing features of these temporarily sacred meeting-places are still easily recognizable in the men's house. The prevalent scheme of the old tribal organization, the dual system, is strictly maintained in the arrangement of the building, and it also strikes us that this primitive temple will, as a rule, only then assume its full significance when the group, playing the part of the complete community, meets to test, unseen by the women, prospective members and to incorporate them in the social and religious organization. Apart from the great ceremonies, it is true, the men's house is not devoid of interest, but it is often less conspicuous. Where it is used as store room for the sacred objects that are supposed to be materializations of the divine ancestors of the group, it is — also at ordinary times, the centre, usually not accessible to women and non-initiated, of the religious and social life of the community, who have built it and keep it more or less carefully in repair.

¹) For secret societies and men's clubs, their origin, organization and ritual, see: G. Davy, *La foi jurée, étude sociologique du problème du contrat, la formation du lien contractuel* (1922); A. Moret et G. Davy, *Des clans aux empires, l'organisation sociale chez les primitifs et dans l'Orient ancien* (1923); M. Mauss, *Essai sur le don, forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* (*Année sociologique*, nouv. série I, 1925, p. 30 ff.); J. Ph. Duyvendak, *Het Kakean-geenootschap van Seran* (1926); and the literature cited in these works.

For the rest it is difficult to speak in general terms of the structure of these men's house communities. In contradistinction to the relative uniformity of the earlier totemistic systems, these later societies show an extremely varied picture. The strict clan relations have always in some way or other lost something of their significance; the old definition of the totem — that this is a sacred principle, present exclusively and uniformly in the members of an exogamous, traditionally-genealogical group, a principle which, acquired rudimentally at birth, fully develops in the male members of the group by means of a series of ceremonies and gives to each individual, socially as well as religiously, his fixed place in society at large — does not in all probability hold good absolutely anywhere any longer. But the process of decay of which this weakening of the totem is the cause or at all events a common symptom, may affect the system at greatly different points nor does it act with equal intensity in all cases. On the declining of the once ruling principle of group-formation, all kinds of forces are released, which alternately work together or cross and clash. Where moreover in many cases there are, side by side with internal factors, external influences, it is easily understood that there arise widely differing varieties of social structure. The significance of local grouping, as compared with genealogical relationship, is on the increase. The clans often narrow down and become groups of unilateral, but exclusively traceable, relations. A not uncommon feature is that clans more or less shed their exclusive nature; this widens the social horizon for the individual; personal energy and talent obtain more scope. It happens that, apart from any genealogical relationship, a man obtains participation in a certain totem and consequently gains a social status through ceremonial actions which still for a part bear the character of initiation and are also regarded as such, but are in reality purely material offerings. Besides, the functional character which also already belongs to the clans of genuine totemism, is often more strongly stressed in the totem groups of this new type; and, since the former stability (which meant at the same time almost equality) gradually declines and disappears, it may happen that these groups come to arrange themselves hierarchically. More and more a striving becomes apparent in the ranks that are supposed to be the higher ones, the membership of which can only be attained at heavier offerings, to have themselves acknowledged as being special possessors or even exclusive possessors of the totemistic energy. This is frequently attended with a tendency towards endogamy and so to-

wards caste-formation. That lastly, with all these changes, the appreciation of the old clan insignia does not remain unaltered and that these can develop all kinds of variations, is a matter of course. The feeling that one has to do with materializations of mythical ancestors can live on with undiminished strength; the connection with a former genealogical system is as a rule still perceptible; but it is only natural that these emblems also become indications of certain dignities, functions and professions, considered more or less high, which consequently form at the same time ranks and classes.

If we turn into the road that has now been opened up for us, and remembering these facts, consider the data once more that are at our disposal with regard to the kris, then it must strike us that some of these have acquired an unexpected and very special value. And the curious point in this connection is that, whereas on the one hand they give new support to the argument given above in a very few words on the origin of the kris, they at the same time create the impression that the conclusion according to which this dagger is an emblem of the complete community, can only be maintained while we speak about the kris in a very general sense, so to say *in abstracto*, and leave all sorts of nicer distinctions out of consideration. If we have in view the kris, on the contrary, as we know it in real life, the individual object which the Javanese still prizes as one of his most valuable possessions, then it appears that something must be added to the definition. It is also the kris in real life — we may feel sure of it — that expresses the whole of the community, but it does so only in a special sense; what each kris shows is really a certain *aspect* of the mythical tribal hero.

The Javanese distinguishes a great many different kinds of kris and he takes as criteria in this connection details in the shape and in the workmanship of all important parts of the weapon which are often hardly perceptible to the uninitiated and the meaning of which, even when we have become aware of them, remains entirely obscure. But it is incontestable that they have a deeper meaning; the Javanese attaches the greatest importance to maintaining a sharp distinction between all these different kinds and to the invariable adherence to the traditional forms down to the smallest details¹⁾. Krisses of

¹⁾ See for an enumeration of the kris varieties according to the grip J. Groneman, *Der Kris der Javaneser*, in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnogr.* XIX (1910), p. 155-158, and J. E. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië*, Vol. V (1930), p. 204-209. — About the kris grips Grone-

different kinds are to him — though they may be essentially alike, as also admitted by him, — totally differing animated beings. He consequently calls them by different names and they possess for him greatly varying, very special qualities, which may be beneficial as well as dangerous. Already in connection with what we learn from this last mentioned feature, it is apparent that it is not merely a question of classing differently shaped krisses, but also of a classification of *men*. For the beneficial or noxious power of a special kind of kris must not be looked upon as a fixed invariable quality which is peculiar to this variety in itself; a kris possesses its specific nature only or chiefly in concord with the special character of the chance user or possessor. Not every kris suits every Javanese.

Once in a while we find with our informants a remark which might give rise to the idea that the Javanese is entirely free in his choice of the shape of his kris out of all these different varieties and even that he acts according to a certain plan of his own. In the book by Jasper and Mas Pirngadie e.g. we read: "It is easy to understand "that where not only the weapon but the whole work of the smith "as well is wrapped in such mystery, the shape and the motifs used "for the damascening of the weapon have also acquired special significance and so every wearer of a kris has chosen for his weapon "a shape and a pamor motif which, in connection with different "circumstances have been selected by him as the most suitable, the "most auspicious"¹). This is not quite clear; but even if we should have to draw the conclusion from it that there are already regions in Java where personal preference solely determines the shape and decoration of a man's kris, this would only mean that degeneration has reached an advanced stage in those places and that moreover one of the chief characteristics of the kris has entirely disappeared there. For in olden times there was certainly no question of a free and personal choice; what tradition tells us about this, is not much, it is true, but the little we have learned all points so decidedly in one and the same direction, that its value approaches that of facts immediately observed. And indeed, from still existing practices it can be deduced that the classification of the kris according to peculiarities of shape, must in any case be regarded as a symptom of a fixed system of *social* rela-

man says (l.c. p. 184), on the authority of Commissioner J. R. Couperus: „Die ganze Ornamentik ist deutlich umschrieben und benannt, jede Windung und jeder Einschnitt trägt einen eigenen Namen“.

¹) O.c., p. 154.

tions. Certain forms of blade and grip can even now not be chosen at will by everybody, but are bound up quite exclusively with various categories of Javanese society; it is no exaggeration to say that they are up to the present day more or less *characteristic* for those groups. *Nowadays* these groups with which the various types of krisses are thought to be closely related, present themselves to us as *classes*, *professional ranks*, *trades*; sometimes they are *local groups*, inhabitants of *political areas*. Already in this form such a classification ought to make us pause and consider, but moreover tradition shows sufficiently clearly that (especially when, in connection with the characteristics of men's house communities given above, we have learned to notice these phenomena) under this grouping of the kris-varieties an older system of categories is concealed, which opens up more sharply outlined perspectives.

Even today the Javanese are alive to the idea that the present day far reaching specialising of the kris is not original, and that it is the outcome of a far simpler scheme. The latter is invariably represented to us as a primary division into two halves, or rather a *two-three-groups* organization and further another differentiation into *four-five*, with regard to which there is always laid a certain stress, as if it concerned something of importance, on the essential identity of all these varieties. This means that the original system of classification of the different kinds of kris — that is of the object of which we have tried to prove along another line of reasoning that it represents the totality of the community — shows a remarkable resemblance, indeed exactly corresponds with what we know (or may surmise on very good grounds) of the main features of the old Javanese tribal division. We cannot resist the impression that the kris, in its traditionally most important forms, keeps pace with the social organization.

The facts to which I refer here, are the following. — In connection with the shape of the blade as well as of the grip, the present day Javanese divides the kris-varieties, as they have been handed down by tradition, into *two* main groups, which are strictly kept apart, but which are all the same considered to be essentially one. He knows the blade in the first place in its *straight* form (*ḍapur bĕnĕr*) and by the side of this or rather in contrast with it, the *undulate* form (*ḍapur luq* or *ḍapur parung*). Nothing is mentioned in this connection of any association between these two principal forms and special groups of the population in such a way as would give rise to the idea of

connecting them with an old dual system; in itself this distinction would therefore seem to be of little importance. But, if we remember the characteristic feature of a primary tribe-division and the resulting classifications, then it is surely remarkable that these blades should appear to be in their interrelationship at once essentially one and diametrically opposite. The straight as well as the undulate form can be taken here to represent the Serpent, the cannibalistic deity, inhabiting the *tarub*; therefore they are of essentially the same nature; the one form, however, is associated with the idea of "rest", the other one with that of "action": as we saw before the straight blade represents the *sarpa tapa*, the undulate the *sarpa lumaku*¹). Some connection with a social classification at once grows somewhat more probable, when we take into consideration that we do not only find a *dual* division mentioned as the original scheme of the grouping of the kris in connection with its shape, but that the idea of an old division into *four* is still living on. "According to the armoursmith "Ngabèhi Karjadikrama there were originally only four forms of "kris in existence, viz. Brodjol, Tilamputih, Sangkèlat and Panimbai, "from which the other forms have been derived" ²).

The grip forms afford far more points of contact for our view on this question. Different informants who had an opportunity to become acquainted with the ideas still prevailing among the population about this part of the kris, point out that probably in former times special grips were *prescribed* for different *classes* and perhaps for various Javanese *districts* as well ³). Of a completely free choice there can be no question even at the present time. Today, too, this part of the kris is used occasionally to indicate the social status of the wearer; we can still observe that the grip of a man's kris is altered when — owing to his reaching a certain age or for some other reason — he advances in rank, and also that the kris of a

¹) See Groneman, l.c., p. 145.

²) Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, o.c., p. 221.

³) J. W. van Dapperen, *Krisheften*, in *Nederlandsch Indie, Oud en Nieuw* XVI (1931-'32), p. 105: „Very probably special grips were prescribed in olden times for the different classes and perhaps for the different districts in Java". Groneman, l.c., p. 179: „Die Herstellung der Griffe bildet einen besonderen Zweig der Kunstindustrie, und der *pëngukir*, der Fachmann, der diesen Zweig ausübt, kennt viele unter einander wenig verschiedene *wangun* (Gestalten, Formen), die nicht nur für jedes der beiden Fürstenländer eigene Kennzeichen tragen, sondern sogar persönlich, nach dem Rang oder Stand des Auftraggebers verschieden sein können". — See also Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, o.c., p. 190-191.

prince and his next of kin must differ as to the shape of the grip from those belonging to others ¹⁾).

This differentiation of the kris in connection with the shape of the grip, goes back in its entirety, according to the Javanese themselves, to an original division into *two* main forms, the names of which are *tunggaq sēmi* ("budding treetrunk") and *pasikiran* ("littoral"). Of course the Javanese do not realise any more the true explanation of this dualism either, but it is not impossible that they reveal something about it to us all the same, since they do see a certain connection between the phenomenon and the well known historical division of the state of Mataram into the two principalities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta; at the time Sunan Paku Buwana III is said to have accepted the form *pasikiran* as chief type for Solo and Sultan Amēngku Buwana I the form *tunggaq sēmi* for Yogya ²⁾. This Javanese tradition is of interest to us, not because it can be considered seriously for one moment to express the truth in so far as if the distinction of these two primary forms of the kris did not go farther back than the middle of the 18th century ³⁾, but because

¹⁾ Groneman, *ibidem*.

²⁾ Groneman, *l.c.*, p. 181; Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, *o.c.*, p. 200.

³⁾ It is true that in the report in question this is not expressed in so many words; it actually merely says that, on the division of the state, both princes considered it necessary to adopt a special form of kris grip as the general type for their dominion, — which is already sufficiently remarkable in itself. — Occasionally, it is true, we definitely find the opinion uttered that the shape *tunggaq sēmi* was of quite recent date, made from a design by the above-mentioned Paku Buwana III of Solo [cf. S. Suhari, *De Gajahmati te Solo*, in *Djawa* II, 1923, p. 19]. How improbable this last assertion is, need hardly be demonstrated: what Javanese tradition says in general about the shape *tunggaq sēmi*, makes it sufficiently clear that at any rate we have to do with something very old and extremely venerable with regard to the shape of this grip. The *Babad Tanah Djawi* (ed. Meinsma 1903, I, p. 49-50) mentions as its designer Sunan Bonang, and the context in which this is said, may without doubt be called the islamized version of the myth concerning the origin of the kris generally. Sunan Bonang — this *wali* belongs to the category of Javanese culture heroes, of the „Heeren van den Tijd” [cf. Pigeaud, *Javaansc volksvertoningen*, p. 385 ff.], and he apparently represents here the mythical ancestor of the Javanese people — summons the renowned smith Ki Sura from Tuban and commissions him to make a circumcision knife out of a staff which he gives him; the smith accepts the commission, but carries it out in his own way: he does not make out of the staff an implement for the circumcision, but a kris, or rather (and we think that we now understand what this means) he makes *two* krisses of *different kinds*. Of course both krisses are of a shape that is known with the Javanese as primeval: the one is of the shape Sangkêlat, the other Pasopati. Now, he designs as a grip for these krisses which, as Sunan Bonang foresees, *are going to form part of the costume of all the princes of Java in later times*, the shape of *tunggaq sēmi*.

this distinction is here linked up with the breaking up of the great Javanese community into two fairly equal parts. In my opinion not much imagination is wanted to see that this tradition simply means that the historical "halving" of the state of Mataram has revived the memory of the old tribal dualism once more in the depths of the Javanese mind and that in this connection the kris, the symbol of the totality of the community, could not but show itself again in two aspects, equal in value, but rivals nevertheless. For it appears to me that the feature of rivalry is not wanting either; we strongly receive the impression that however highly honoured the *two* primary types of kris grip are with the Javanese, there is a certain difference in appreciation and that the shape *tunggaq sěmi* is considered superior. From the information received it must be concluded that Solo as well as Yogya would lay claim to it. The description given above of the allotting of the kris grips to the two principalities (the *tunggaq sěmi* being awarded to Yogya) is based on a statement by Commissioner Couperus, which consequently means that it gives expression to the Yogya tradition; diametrically opposed to this is a Solonese author, S. Suhari, who in his above mentioned essay "De Gajahmati te Solo", not only calls the grip *tunggaq sěmi* the current and prevailing one in Solo, but would trace its origin to the first ruler of this state! — However this may be, that we should consider the phenomenon of the fundamental dualism of the kris with reference to the grip in this light, approaches certainty when we observe that we have not only to do with a division into *two*, but with a grouping into *three* as well. By the side, namely, of the two forms *tunggaq sěmi* and *pasisiran*, a third main type is known: *kagoq*¹). As is shown already by the name, this third type must be taken as an "intermediary form", i.e. a form that unites the characteristics of the two primary forms; in my opinion it is safe to conclude that we have to do here again with the phenomenon of the supernumerary group, so well known from primitive classifications, which expressly represents the totality once more²).

¹) Groneman, l.c., p. 181; Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, o.c., p. 201.

²) Cf. Rassers, *Inleiding tot een bestudeering van de Javaansche kris*, p. 57, and the passages in van Wouden's thesis, to which the former refers. Everywhere, in all the details of the kris, something of this system is found again. We came across exactly the same thing already before (see *Inleiding*, p. 35) while examining the widened out mouthpiece of the sheath, which is called the „house" of the kris and the meaning of which is accentuated with Javanese, but especially with Balinese krisses, by the Kala-head set on it. Of this „house",

By far the clearest indications, however, for the problem occupying us here, are to be found in the data about the well known beautiful damascening of the blade, which is obtained by welding (*pamor*), with great care and by means of an extremely ingenious technique, which has been described in detail by Groneman, metals of different composition ¹⁾. Not all krisses undergo this treatment, nor was there probably any strict precept on this point in former times; we must take it therefore that also without *pamor* a kris can have its full significance and perform its functions. But we should not from this draw the conclusion that we have to do here with a mere ornament, that is, with an accidental feature. On the contrary, we have the certainty that these designs, which are in exact accordance with tradition, down to every detail, are in any case of the greatest assistance in making the mysterious value of the weapon assert itself. Also, the kris without *pamor* is not considered to be quite complete; to the Javanese themselves it is something of great importance; *pusaka*-krisses without *pamor*, indeed, are apparently unknown. It is especially during the manufacturing of this blade-decoration that the *ěmpu* shows himself in his full sacred function. "Sometimes *pamor* can even be taken as synonym of kris" ²⁾.

Probably it is even less when it is a question of the *pamor* motif of his kris than in connection with the form of the blade or grip that the Javanese has a free hand. It is especially true of these designs that they are to him living beings, varying in character, having good as well as dangerous qualities, and that they are in mystic correspondence with certain social groups, which are graded according to rank and function. In the translation cited above of a Javanese treatise on *pamor*-motifs ³⁾, of recent date, but no doubt rendering long established ideas, we find a collection of sixteen of such designs, presumably arranged according to their social rank from top to bottom, and each of which is related to some special dignity, function or profession. The highest *pamor* is reserved here for the figure

too, the Javanese distinguishes *two* chief types (*branggah* and *gajaman*), and as a *third* form *tanggal*, which, as we are distinctly informed, is *between the two*. The first two forms are, in native estimation, as full dress shape and shape for daily use, more or less each other's counterpart; in the shape of *tanggal* they apparently find their unity.

¹⁾ Groneman, l.c., p. 96-109, 123-129.

²⁾ J. J. Meyer, *Een Javaansch handschrift over pamor-motieven in Nederlandsch-Indië*, *Oud en Nieuw* I (1906-'17), p. 110.

³⁾ See there, p. 110.

symbolizing at present the religious aspect of the complete community, the prophet Mohammed; then follow the *pamor*-designs of the prince and the leader in battle, down to the lowest group, that of the merchants. So here we see how by means of this damascening the kris has unmistakably become a token of rank; it approaches at the same time a functional emblem. And when, added to this, we take into consideration that the names of these *pamor*-designs have for the greater part been derived from the vegetable kingdom, some of them also from the animal kingdom¹⁾, then hardly any doubt can remain as to the original meaning and character of this classification.

But moreover it is also an established fact that the specialization of the kris according to this principle goes back to an older, simpler division, which at once recalls to us the grouping into five clans, familiar to us from the tribal organization. Javanese tradition has, even at present, not lost sight of the fact that the *pamor*-designs that are in use now, may not be put side by side on the same plan. Apart from the just mentioned, more or less hierarchical, grouping there is a distinction according to age and degree of originality. *Five* designs are considered by popular tradition as the archetypes and therefore as the principal ones; the others are supposed to have sprung from these and are regarded as variations of those main types. These five archetypes are: 1. *wos wutah* (disseminated grains of rice); 2. *sěkar pala* (nutmeg flowers); 3. *sěkar ngaděg* (flowers in erect position); 4. *blaraq ngirid* (coconut leaves strung together); 5. *sěkar těmu* (curcuma flowers)²⁾. According to the criterium of the sacral *pamor*-designs therefore, the emblem of the Javanese total community presents itself to us as a one-in-five grouping. Every kris remains essentially the main figure of the kayon, the Serpent of the forest of initiation; it has invariably the general form of this as well as various more subtle characteristics; but the five primary aspects of the weapon are moreover one by one so identical with five phenomena from the vegetable kingdom, that they also show the likeness (in conventionalized form) of these and bear their names.

The social structure to which all this points answers our expectation. Even though we do not know yet in what way the different groupings of the kris which have become known to us, were connected and were united in one system, there are now in my opinion sufficient grounds for the conclusion that this weapon originally must have had

¹⁾ Groneman, l.c., p. 132-133; Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, o.c., p. 182 ff.

²⁾ Groneman, l.c., p. 130.

the value of a clan-emblem. The Javanese moreover confirm this in their own way when they assure us that the five above mentioned oldest *pamor*-motifs represent *the five Pandawas* of the Hindu-Javanese epic¹). They do not give any reason for this strange identification, nor probably are they able to do so. It would be quite incomprehensible to us therefore, if we had not by other means — i.e. by *lakon*-examination — been able to determine what significance these five *Pandū* sons, born of divine parents, once must have had for the Javanese. In the wayang play they form together the materialization of the tribal hero Pañji; they represent the old main groups of the community in their organic connection²).

Until now I have used, in this part of my argument, only the little that has become known to us about the peculiar system that forms the foundation of the classification of the kris according to differences in outward appearance as well as about the mysterious connection existing, according to Javanese tradition, between some of these kris varieties and certain social groups. Meanwhile it is obvious that at present we also wish to investigate a little more closely the rôle which the kris plays down to the present day in Java and in those parts of the Archipelago that are strongly influenced by Java, in the life of the individual and in that of the community. If the opinion,

¹) Groneman, l.c., p. 130.

²) Rassers, *De Pandji-roman*, (1922), p. 286. — Does it not become extremely likely, now that we have succeeded on so many points in proving the probability of a connection between the social organization and various shape-characteristics of the kris, that also in the number of undulations (*luq*), as this is prescribed for the different kinds of the undulated kris, the totality-character of the *kayon*-serpent is expressed? The regulations regarding the number of these serpent-undulations are of a categorical character and are even now strictly observed; they cannot therefore be meaningless. The number of *luq* is always *odd* and it lies between the limits 3 and 13. [So we are told at least by A. M. K. de Does, *Toestand der nijverheid in Bandjarnegara*, in *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* XXXVI, 1893, p. 71, nt. 1; as appears from the list, published by Groneman from a ms. in the palace in Yogyakarta, there are, however, also krisses with a greater number of undulations, to wit up to 29, *but always an odd number*. See *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.* XIX, p. 156-158]. Only krisses with *twelve* undulations occur, which might point to the fact that, to Javanese feeling, the number 12 expresses very specially the idea of completeness. That the explanation of this phenomenon must be looked for in this religious-social sphere at any rate, becomes even more probable when we see that a kris blade with 5 undulations is again associated with the *Pandawas* (see Groneman, l.c., p. 130).

expounded above, should be correct, we may entertain the hope that in the course of such an investigation some traces of those ideas and practices will be found that, in more primitive societies, where the clan-emblem still fully functions, always accompany it, and make it the exceptional culture phenomenon it is.

In the totemistic communities, such as have been studied for instance in Australia, the ordinary clan-emblem is a very simple, oblong object, made of wood or stone, but which is remarkable for the strange designs often applied on it and especially for the strong supernatural powers which are ascribed to it. Among the sacral objects of a permanent nature it takes the principal place. When a youth has stood the tests of initiation to the end, so that he has socially and religiously to all intents and purposes become a man, then he is given such a piece in evidence of this; normally therefore it is in the possession of every grown up male member of the community. It is regarded as the living materialization of the mythical founder of the genealogical group to which the initiated belongs and at the same time it is considered to be the perfect image of the initiated himself; in mysterious fashion the nature of the two is blended within this object. With the utmost care they see to it that non initiated — in the first place women — do not catch sight of these objects; as a rule they are kept completely hidden; only at important ceremonies, which are only attended by fully initiated, are they taken out. All the emblems of one group are kept together in a secluded spot, which is considered sacred; periodically they are jointly worshipped there by the male members of the clan.

On closely observing, in this light, the data regarding the function the kris still performs to-day (or performed until a short time ago) in Javanese life, we find the above mentioned opinion with regard to the original meaning of this remarkable dagger confirmed on all points. It seems to me that these data are more important for us and more convincing than was reasonably to be expected. We see, not without surprise, that of the features characterizing a clan-emblem in classical totemism there is properly speaking not a single one that does not even now live on in the kris more or less distinctly. This does not mean of course that everything is still equally clear and simple at first sight. Most of the old regulations have lost their stringency, and even where they are still observed, people have apparently lost sight for the greater part of their significance. Nor should we conceal the fact that we come across practices that seem

to clash with the views expounded. Some of these deviations are so important even that they should be expressly looked into; most of them, however, are immediately recognised as symptoms of degeneration and are at once explained by the greatly altered structure of the community where we find these practices. It is for instance clear that the kris as we know it to-day is already becoming to a certain degree a mark of distinction, to which the higher ranks only or chiefly would seem to have a right. We can almost see the mysterious energy of the weapon concentrating in a limited number of varieties that are considered to be of higher value and the use of which is the prerogative of those who occupy the highest places in the social system. At present (so we are assured) only the chiefs and the men of high standing regularly show themselves with the kris¹). But — apart from the fact that, with regard to the view we wish to establish, the question whether the kris forms part of the *daily* dress need not interest us exceedingly — there are a number of phenomena that point to the fact that, not so very long ago, the kris in Java must have been, in the fullest sense of the word, a *universal* social symptom. Properly speaking it is so still: it can be said that still the idea has not yet disappeared that every male Javanese ought to possess a kris, emphatically belonging to his person, and that on special occasions he ought to show himself with it. There is not a single indication that the hierarchical grouping of the kris varieties to which I referred above, should have led to any class of the population or any individual member of the community being deprived of the right of wearing this weapon²). The group of the Gajahmati for instance in the Principalities who, employed at the courts in the stables and bracketed with the Pinggir and the Kalang, at present certainly is not held in high regard socially, has not only the *right* to wear a kris, but a special form of the grip is even *prescribed* for them³). Even the poorest Javanese, when he pays a visit or must

¹) Veth, *Java*, IV, p. 363.

²) Raffles, *History of Java* I (1817), p. 87: „The kris or dagger, *which is universally worn by all classes*, completes the dress”.

³) See S. Suhari, *De Gajahmati te Solo*, in *Djawa* II (1923), p. 19, with illustr. — The fact that it is exactly of the Gajahmati that a special kris grip is stated to be prescribed for them, is — this is obvious — of great importance. This obtains its full value when we consider 1° that these Gajahmati are entrusted with a special *hereditary function*, and 2° that their origin myth as well as the historical data distinctly show the *unilateral* character of this group. Herewith we find our opinion of the significance of the kris and of the differentiation of this object in connection with the characteristics of its outward

attend a ceremony — that is to say: when he is not merely a natural human being but makes his appearance in his dignity of member of the community — regards the kris as an indispensable part of his dress; if he does not possess one, then he will in such a case borrow a kris from a relation; without a kris he would be devoid of self-confidence¹). This will show especially at a wedding ceremony. If he appears as bridegroom — consequently as the chief character at a ceremony where as a matter of course the clan-emblem performs its full function — then even the low class Javanese feels the wearing of a kris as a necessity²). The views of the Buginese, Macassarese and the Bimane on the meaning and the indispensability of the kris are no less significant. Not only do they regard the kris as something different from an ordinary weapon, but they also definitely admit that the kris is not a thing that can be worn or put off at will. According to them tradition demands that every man should wear a kris; also physically, in their opinion, a man is only complete when wearing a kris; this object is for them a substitute of one of the left ribs, which man is thought to miss³).

Now can we say that the young Javanese attaches this meaning to the obtaining of his kris that only by this act he becomes a man and can consider himself a complete member of the community? — Judging solely from present day practices, we should certainly not have the right to answer this question unconditionally in the affirmative. But *something* of this appreciation of first possessing a kris of one's own is still alive and we need not doubt but, until a short time ago, this view was still general with the Javanese. The old *adat* — which is still observed here and there — required that every father had a kris made for his son, when the latter was about to reach the age of manhood, and also for the youth to whom he gave his daughter in marriage, which the recipient would regard as belonging especially to his person and which would accompany him

appearance confirmed once more; and further there can hardly remain any doubt as to, in what direction the inquiry into the original character of these and similar groups in Javanese society will have to move. [Cf. in this connection also the observations about the Kalang of Th. Pigeaud, in his: *Javaanse volksvertoningen* (1938), pp. 49, 125, 351, 378-9].

¹) See Poensen, *Iets over de kleeding der Javanen*, in *Mededeelingen v.w. het Ned. Zendelingen*. XX (1876), p. 538; Schmeltz, in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.* III (1890), p. 105.

²) Veth, *Java* IV, p. 363.

³) Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, o.c., p. 151.

through life; from the information we possess on this point we may conclude that the more or less ceremonial bestowing of this kris had at the same time for the youth in question the value of an emancipation in the presence of the community. Nowadays — is stated by our informants — this custom is no longer practised generally¹⁾. They say, in explanation, that the greater part of the population can no longer afford the cost connected with the obtaining of a good kris. But this cannot be the only reason, not even the principal one, for in those same circles people do not shrink from running into debt on account of festivities on the occasion e.g. of a wedding or a circumcision. It is clear that — even though the people know very well that in former times this gift from the father to the son and to the future son-in-law was compulsory — the true notion of the meaning of the kris has become lost. In view of the entirely changed social relations, it would be difficult indeed to imagine that this could be otherwise. Therefore it is the more remarkable that, where the custom has been maintained as a formality that is not understood, this ceremony of the kris-giving always takes place when the boy has attained the age of 15 to 16, that is at the age when formerly the circumcision used to be performed²⁾; and it also deserves notice that the kris still forms an indispensable part of the ceremonial costume which the *budak sunat* (at present often a small boy from 5 to 10 years old) wears when undergoing the circumcision operation — on which occasion he is arrayed as a matter of course “like the hero of the wayang story”³⁾. How closely initiation and kris are related in the mind of the Javanese we knew already as a matter of fact from the above cited story⁴⁾, in which the *ěmpu* Ki Sura forged krisses as equivalents for the *circumcision knife* required by the Moslem Sunan Bonang. — In this connection too the data from Southern Celebes are of great importance to us. Here we need not have recourse to a cautious reconstruction; the

¹⁾ Groneman, in *Intern. Archiv. f. Ethnogr.* XXI (1913), p. 130; J. W. van Dapperen, *Krisheften*, in *Nederlandsch Indië, Oud en Nieuw* XVI (1931-32), p. 101.

²⁾ At present there is a tendency to perform the circumcision ever earlier. See Snouck Hurgronje, *Brieven van een wedono-pensioen*, in *Verspreide Geschriften* IV, I, p. 207; K. A. H. Hidding, *Gebruiken en godsdienst der Soendaneezen* (1935), p. 63.

³⁾ H. S. de P., *Een en ander over gebruiken bij den Soendanees*, in *Djawa* I (1921), p. 106; Hidding, o.c., p. 66.

⁴⁾ See above p. 514, nt. 3.

entire ceremony of the first contact with the kris still has so archaic a colouring here that gesture after gesture might remind us of Australia. When with the Macassarese a boy attains the age of 15, he is admitted as a full member into the group, a.o. by being allowed to wear the kris for the first time. For this initiation he is dressed up in new clothes, as worn by grown-ups, and then led before an old man of high standing, who acts as leader of this ritual. The latter then draws a kris, usually a very old one, which has been handed down in the family, from its sheath and thereupon lays it, while muttering certain spells, for some moments on the head of the boy. "After that the boy gets up and the old man affixes the kris. The kris "band, which is braided of black, blue, gold, red and green thread, "about two metres long and two inches broad, is, by means of the "loop affixed to it, fastened to the kris. The kris is then tied aslant "on the boy's back, after which the band is wound round his waist "and over the kris, so that the beautifully worked side is on the "outside. The boy has now risen to the status of a man" ¹).

The question whether in the respect the Javanese still shows towards his kris, there is still lingering on something of the knowledge that this weapon is in some mysterious way identical with the divine ancestor of his clan, need hardly be put, after what we wrote about the significance which is to be attached to the classification of the kris varieties. Where the old custom of the ceremonial bestowing of the kris on the reaching of manhood is still observed, we can say that, within the boundaries of the genealogical groups, each generation receives its kris from the hands of its immediate predecessor. Every kris is therefore in the literal sense of the word a link in the unbroken chain which unites the succeeding generations of mankind with the mythical founders of the groups. In the succession of the generations the kris is the constant element; provided with its distinctive marks it is the materialization of the eternally living clan hero himself. The case is not altered in the least by the fact that it is always an entirely *new* kris, as is proved by different things, which is given to the young Javanese at the moment when he joins the ranks of the grown-ups. For also this new kris has its full consecrated value; it is of the desired shape and made with the usual precautions in the *tarub*, the house of *Pañji*. At the moment that this object becomes his property,

¹) J. H. B. Jaspers, *Zeden en gewoonten bij de Makassaren*, in *Nederlandsch Indië, Oud en Nieuw* X (1925-26), p. 139.

the young Javanese is made to participate in his divine ancestor¹⁾.

Regarded in this light it becomes intelligible and significant that in Java the kris is in the exact meaning of the word not purely individual property. Those specimens at least to which more than ordinary value is attached, are kept as heirlooms *of the family*. In the type of house that is still often found, which we may call the old fashioned *complete* house — and for which there are good reasons to assume that it originally was a clan house or at least the house of a fairly extensive genealogical group²⁾ — there is always, quite at the back, a part (the *sěntong těngah* or *kobongan*) partitioned off, which is reserved for the cult of the ancestors of the inhabitants and therefore periodically decorated as a *kayon*. The kin-group keep their sacred treasures here, or to put it more accurately: the eternally living ancestors themselves; and to these belong together with other objects, such as lances, gongs, etc., also the krisses. Once a year, on Friday-Kliwon or Tuesday-Kliwon of the month Sura, they are tended and worshipped by the joint relations. Especially in the “kraton” is this ceremony, at which the *ěmpu* acts as officiant, a matter of the highest importance; the reigning prince and all the other princes who are present at the ceremony and assist at it wear the headdress of court, the *kuluq*. But the Javanese of lower rank, too, attach great importance to this “feeding” of the *pusaka* and never neglect it. While they give expression to their deepest respect they take the sacred pieces out of the chests in which they are kept and remove the coverings in which they are wrapped up in ordinary times. Offerings are placed in readiness; incense is burned. The steel of the weapons is rubbed bright with lemon juice and afterwards treated with arsenic, until it has acquired the dull dark burnish which the Javanese love to see; when the blades are dry, they are oiled. Even the liquid that has been used for the cleaning is considered so precious that it is caught in a bowl, which is also regarded as a sacred heirloom³⁾.

But the individual aspect of the clan emblem is not lacking in the

¹⁾ Meanwhile it remains unexplained here that the young Javanese used to receive a kris, not only from his father, but also from his father-in-law (consequently from a different genealogical group). This is one of the points which must be discussed separately afterwards.

²⁾ See *Bijdragen Kon. Instit.* 88 (1931), p. 443 ff.

³⁾ J. Groneman, *De garěbėgs te Ngajogyakarta* (1895), p. 58; do. *Het njiramı of de jaarlijksche reiniging van de erfwapens en andere poesaka's in Midden-Java*, in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.* XVII (1905), p. 81 ff.

kris. In mysterious fashion this weapon is at the same time the absolute equivalent of the possessor, it is his brother, his other self. We already saw several times the extremely naive way in which this feeling of identity of the man and his kris is expressed; it even sometimes occurs that an attempt is made to reproduce in various details of his kris certain striking features of a man's physical appearance¹). Above all else, however, there is spiritual identity. Of the Macassarese, the Buginese and the Bimanese it is said that they regard the kris as the *inseparable brother* of a man; the Buginese consider it a shame when a man dies without having his kris, his "brother", with him²). As is to be expected, the essential oneness of man and kris is especially brought out on the occasion of the marriage ceremony. With the just mentioned peoples it is customary that, when the priest has solemnized the marriage, the husband at once returns for a couple of days to the house of his parents and only leaves his kris with his young wife. Then this weapon is so entirely regarded as the equivalent of the bridegroom that the bride is obliged to manifest the same conventional feeling of aversion towards this object as towards the bridegroom himself³). In Java it is not otherwise; here can the bridegroom even use the kris to entirely take his place at the marriage ceremony. If for some reason the man is prevented from appearing before the pangulu on the day fixed for the marriage, it is sufficient when he sends his kris⁴).

The difficulty which our informants experienced in characterizing in a single word the function of the kris in present day society — is it a weapon? or an ornament? or an object of cult? or something else after all? — has now become quite intelligible. According to its

¹) Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, o.c., p. 200: „The hilts must sometimes show the physical characteristics of those who ordered them and as a proof how small details in the *ukiran* strike the Javanese at once, the instance is cited here of Pangeran Mangkubumi, who could tell immediately by a kris grip that his son, Raden Kartanegara had had it made, because the grip had a long top part, like the upper part of the body of the son in question”.

²) Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, o.c., p. 151.

³) Wilken, *Plechtigheden en gebruiken bij verlovingsen en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel*, in *Verspreide Geschriften* I (1912), p. 498-9; Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de ethnologie van Zuid Celebes* (1875), p. 29.

⁴) Raffles, o.c. I, p. 318. See also C. F. Winter Sr., *Javaansche Zamenspraken* I, No. 18. — This replacing of the bridegroom by his kris is said to take place especially in case a man of high rank marries a woman of a lower class; on the other hand the usage is seldom observed when a man marries for the first time. [See J. W. Winter, *Beknopte beschrijving van het hof van Soerakarta in 1824*, in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 54, 1902, p. 51].

nature the kris is all this simultaneously. No doubt the Javanese value the kris as a powerful weapon, also in the accepted meaning of the word; but its significance as such is never determined by any objectively perceptible quality. For the Javanese the kris is his tutelary spirit; through this object he participates in his divine ancestor; in a social and in a religious sense it makes of him a personality. In this connection we should pay attention for a moment to the way in which the Javanese carries his kris with him. There is a fixed (though not generally strictly observed) etiquette on this point and this in no way leads to the kris being regarded as a weapon in the ordinary sense of the word. For the kris is not worn in such a way as to be immediately at hand in case of sudden danger; it is the proper thing to wear it at the back, fastened obliquely in the girdle, so that the lower end of the sheath is on the left side and the grip on the right side¹).

Lastly the question whether the kris is an object to which, according to its nature, especially the *male* part of the community has a right, need hardly be considered. What could be said above about an old, not yet quite relinquished connection between the kris and the Javanese initiation of youths, speaks for itself in this regard. The kris is still in Java a more or less secret thing; seldom, if ever, is it drawn from its sheath in the presence of others; above all there is a fear of bringing it into contact with woman; at the annual worshipping of the family weapons it is only the men — as appears from the descriptions — who assist at it. Popular belief, indeed, appears especially clearly on this point from the old tradition, of which Groneman tells us from a Javanese manuscript that was in his possession, and which shows us the kris as pre-eminently male, having its origin in the phallus of the divine ancestor. We are told about Sunan Bonang — that is the same *wali* who was mentioned above in connection with the origin of the kris — that he would not beget children and refrained from all sexual intercourse; he even removed his sexual organ and made it into the kris Kyai Kala Munjeng, which he left as an heirloom to his younger brother Sunan Giri and from whom it passed again to his son²).

Yet it cannot be ignored that the bond which in present day practice

¹) C. Poensen, *Iets over de kleeding der Javanen*, in *Mededeelingen Nederl. Zendelingen*. XX (1876), p. 414.

²) *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.* XIX (1910), p. 193. See for a different wording of the same myth Groneman, *De garëbëgs in Ngajogyakarta* (1895), p. 55 ff.

unites the kris with the male part of society, is not so exclusive as might be expected after what was said before. Also women sometimes wear a kris; and the remarkable thing is that it is the very kind of kris which is mostly regarded as the oldest (the kris Majapahit), of which it is said that it is used by the agricultural population as a preventive against crop diseases and further that it is *especially worn by women*¹⁾. It is impossible now to determine already whether we have to do here with a real deviation, or with a symptom of degeneration. When we consider that sometimes mention is made in Javanese tradition of a *female* krissmith²⁾, we cannot a priori say that it is unthinkable that women should ever have anything to do with the kris. We shall return to this question later on; for the present it may suffice to point out that from the data at our disposal we receive the impression that, at least nowadays, the wearing of the kris by a woman is at all events exceptional. It is expressly stated that it is nearly always women of high standing who venture to bear this weapon and moreover it is always a small-sized kris (a so called *patrēm*)³⁾. Taking this into consideration, then the most obvious explanation of this phenomenon is surely that we must see in it the consequence of the vanishing sense of the true meaning of the kris. We might regard it as a kind of concession to woman, consequently comparable more or less to what we observed before in connection with the wayang, where the women were also allowed to catch a glimpse of the mystery of the sacral men's house ritual⁴⁾. However this may be, on comparing this extended usage of the kris, which is reluctantly suffered so to say, with the air-tight structure of the facts marshalled above, it would appear that we ought not to attach too much importance to this deviation and that it cannot seriously weaken our argument that the original function of the kris is that of a totemistic clan emblem.

¹⁾ G. A. J. Hazeu, *Iets over koedi en tjoendrik*, in *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* XLVII, p. 410.

²⁾ Cf. Rassers, *Inleiding*, p. 38, nt. 2.

³⁾ J. D. E. Schmeltz, in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnogr.* III (1890), p. 105; L. Th. Mayer, *Een blik in het Javaansche volksleven* (1897), II, p. 538; S. Kalff, *Javaansche poesaka*, in *Djawa* III (1923), p. 157.

⁴⁾ See *Bijdragen Kon. Inst.* 81 (1931), p. 367.

II.

There is, however, still another difficulty, which appears to me to be so important, and which is of so fundamental a character, that we should not put off its special discussion any longer; it obliges us to retrace our steps for a moment and to consider the question of the correctness of some propositions from which we started in connection with the views expressed above.

In order to obtain a foundation for my research, I have begun by calling the attention to a number of facts apparently pointing to an internal connection between the kris and the wayang theatre; after that I have tried my best to make it acceptable that the Javanese smithy under certain circumstances acquires the significance of a tribal temple, a sacred meeting-place of the complete community. By means of a comparison, which I exerted myself to make as exact and objective as possible, I have attempted to establish the view that the workshop of the master smith, as soon as he is going to manufacture a kris, begins to show all the characteristics of a sky-tree, a primitive *kayon*¹⁾, as we know it in Java as the stage for the masked play or, put more generally, as the ornamented buildings or parts of them that are used at the performing of the kris ritual. And lastly I have again endorsed the view, which has many supporters, that such a tribal temple, by virtue of its origin, is accessible solely to men and is therefore to be regarded as a sacral men's house in a more or less clearly pronounced form.

It seems to me that, generally speaking, the correctness of the equalization: *kayon* = tribal temple = sacral men's house, cannot easily be called in question. After the studying of the different forms of the Javanese stage had made me adopt this view, all kinds of other phenomena have led to its being confirmed and now in dealing with the kris, several characteristics of the national Javanese weapon, which up till now had not, or at any rate not yet satisfactorily, been explained, proved easily understandable in the same sphere of ideas while fitting in with the rest. But perhaps it will not have escaped the careful reader, that in the course of our argument on the kris, besides the deviations to which I drew the attention above and which

¹⁾ See Rassers, *Inleiding tot een bestudeering van de Javansche kris* (1938), p. 48 ff.

are apparently less important, we have been confronted with a serious objection.

In trying to gain an insight into the meaning of the ceremonial decoration of the workshop of the kris smith, we had to inspect the different rooms used at the performance of the Javanese kris ritual¹⁾. These rooms appeared to be situated partly in the house or at any rate to form one whole with the dwelling-house; sometimes they were detached buildings, in the yard, erected for the purpose; and it was always seen that a sky-tree ornament, such as we know from the *topeng* stage e.g., and which occurs in emblematic form at every wayang performance, is considered indispensable for these ceremonial buildings. The fixed relation between *kayon* and kris ceremony showed itself unmistakably. But it must have been plain at the same time that among all the different *kayons*, thus under discussion, there has been at least one that could hardly be designated as a sacral men's house, however far we extend the limits of this idea.

We have seen that, when preparations are made for the solemnizing of a marriage, the first thing to be done is always the building of the *tarub*²⁾, for the house of the bride as well as for that of the bridegroom. By this was meant apparently that the front part of the house — the *pěndapa*, where also in ordinary circumstances the male guests are received and where at festivities the theatrical performances are given — is changed into a *kayon*. It is exactly by means of this decoration with living foliage and all kinds of other appropriate things the *pěndapa* is made fit to be used as a meeting-place for the group which is to represent the complete community on that occasion. So far consequently everything is as was to be expected. But the remarkable thing now is that an important part of the marriage ceremony does *not* take place in the *tarub*. When, as the ritual requires on the evening of the marriage, bridegroom and bride sit down in state side by side on richly ornamented mats and then perform some important ceremonial actions under the eyes of the attentive crowd of spectators, then all this does *not* take place in the decorated *pěndapa*, but quite at the back in the *omah buri*, namely before the middle one of the three rooms that are situated there against the back wall of the house, the so-called *sěntong těngah* or *boma*; in the Principalities they call it *kobongan*. And this room, (to which, as appears from different things, a certain hallowed significance is ascribed also in

¹⁾ Ibidem, p. 51 ff.

²⁾ Snouck Hurgronje, l.c., p. 225.

ordinary times), is on this occasion clearly provided with the features which, in connection with the nature of the ceremony for which it will be used presently and of the group that is meeting there, are to be expected. This room, too, becomes a "tribal temple"; this appears among other things from the placing, on either side of the entrance, of the two sky-trees loaded with delicacies, the *kěmbar mayang*. As a matter of fact, it is not only this sacred room that shows itself as a *kayon* on this occasion; there are plenty of indications to prove that the entire back premises should be regarded as such. From information on this point it is clear that on the occasion of the marriage ceremony the decoration of the back part of the house is hardly surpassed by that of the *pěndapa*, and that it is effected in the same way and by the same means. In short, at a marriage the Javanese do not restrict themselves to the erecting of one single *kayon*; there are *two* ceremonial community houses, both decorated in the way laid down by tradition.

That there are, in the course of one ritual performance and within the boundaries of one and the same social group, two places that are both found to serve as "tribal temple" and consequently are each other's exact counterpart, need not be so remarkable in itself; it is possible that we simply have to do with a duplicate or an extension and that, for a reason which escapes us, one part of the ritual is carried out *here* and another part *elsewhere*. But it is difficult to assume that the matter is so simple here; the question probably lies deeper. We here face the fact, bewildering at first sight, that two sacral rooms, used for the marriage ceremony and which in consequence should be perfectly identical in character — they are both *kayons* — are at the same time essentially different and must even be regarded as forming in a way a perfect contrast of each other.

To realize this it is sufficient to recall our former exposition of the arrangement of the complete Javanese house¹). I then drew attention to the fact that this house cannot be looked upon as a homogeneous dwelling-space, but that it is necessary, if we want to understand the system underlying this type of house, to observe the essential difference that is made between the front part of the building-complex — the *pěndapa*, including the *kampung* or *paringgitan*, if these happen to be there — and the back premises. In the very construction we feel already the intention to make a definite separa-

¹) See *Bijdragen Kon. Inst.* 88 (1931), p. 125, and cf. the plan printed behind (pl. II).

tion and the difference stands out even more strongly in the use that is made of the two "houses". A summary survey of the data at my disposal, led me at the time to the conclusion that the front part is reserved for public and sacral life and that it is moreover exclusively the *men's* domain; woman practically did not seem to be concerned with it at all. In the *pëndapa* — thus I summed up the data — the head of the family receives his male visitors, and when at high festivals the divine ancestors are supposed to honour the large kin group, assembled at the house, with a visit, then the master of the house sees to it that the whole ceremony is enacted in the *pëndapa* (respectively in the *paringgitan*) and that only men act in it and assist at it. The back premises on the other hand seemed to me to possess a profane character; they are the place where the daily life of the family is lived and it follows that there is especially the domain of *woman*. It is therefore from the *omah buri* that, when on festive occasions a wayang performance takes place in the front part of the house, the women are allowed half a glimpse — but no more — of the show. This feminine sphere of the back premises also made itself felt in another way. On closer inspection, namely, it appeared that part of these back premises — the *boma* or *kobongan*, of which we spoke just now — really has an undeniably sacral character and here too a strong association with the female sex seemed to manifest itself again. For according to Javanese ideas this *kobongan* is especially destined to enable the inhabitants to receive the goddess Sri in the house. Now this Dèwi Sri is the goddess of the rice and of agriculture in general, but the way in which she acts in the wayang did not leave me in doubt as to her being the ancestress of the Javanese people as well. All this gave rise to my opinion that this construction of the complete Javanese house, so closely bound up with the sex contrast, must be regarded as a symptom of a social dualism, such as we must assume for ancient Java, on the strength of numerous phenomena. The front part of the house is reserved for the sacred performances with the ever attendant gamēlan; it is therefore clearly the domain of the "inventor" of this ritual, the divine hero Pañji; in the back part of the house, especially in the *kobongan*, his female counterpart Dèwi Sri (*alias* Sēkar Taji or Candra Kirana) is the dominant figure.

But when we then find the sky-tree decoration put up (as appears to be the case e.g. on the occasion of a wedding-festivity) by the side of the *kayon* decoration of the *tarub*, also in this *kobongan* — consequently in the temple in the *female* part of the house and which is

dedicated to the *ancestress* of the Javanese people — then it is clear that we are up against a difficulty in two respects. In the first place it must make a strange impression that two *kayons* — ceremonial houses of the *total* community — have been included in an arrangement founded upon a social dualism so that their relationship becomes that of *phratries*; and further we should then have to do with a *female kayon*, which — if at least our opinion of the significance of this feature is the right one — we can only call an absurdity.

Meanwhile we have, after all, not yet even mentioned the most remarkable thing in the mutual relationship of the two principal compartments of the Javanese house. This only becomes clear when we realize that this *kobongan* (and its association with the female sex can hardly be doubted), is used by the genealogical group inhabiting the house a.o. as a storehouse for their sacred treasures, the so-called *pusaka* objects, to which belong, with other things, also the *family krisses*. It is not only the Javanese of inferior rank who keep the sacred weapons in this place, it is the fixed general custom even in the *kratons*. Herewith we arrive at this paradoxical situation that the krisses, about which we concluded above that they are originally clan emblems — objects that are supposed to have their origin in the sexual organ of the *male* tribal hero and of which we thought we could state that they are manufactured in a *men's* house and therefore carefully kept from the vicinity of women — are stored, *not* in that part of the large house which we would call the “men's house”, but of all places in the back part of the house, which proved to have been reserved more or less for the women and moreover in the room which is destined in particular for the cult of the *ancestress*. It is in that room then that the important ceremony takes place of the annual solemn feeding and worshipping of these *pusaka*; but then — another curious thing! — the female character of the *kobongan* disappears all of a sudden and *only men* may be present in this temple of women.

The internal inconsistencies in this briefly sketched complex of phenomena leap at the eye; and I already alluded to the great *general* interest which the uncertainty, thus caused, has for us. It really is not only the view propagated by me about the purport of the shadow-play *kayon* and of the ceremonial decoration of the Javanese house which has been brought into jeopardy; doubts must also arise as to the soundness of our view regarding the origin and the nature of the Javanese theatre and lastly the argument furnished above about the old function of the kris is in great danger of losing its chief foun-

dation. For we have assumed a close connection between all these phenomena and tried to make it acceptable. The thought forces itself upon us that when I sketched before in a few lines the arrangement of the Javanese house, full justice has not been done to all the facts and that in any case the importance of the problem has been underestimated. We now perceive that a clear insight into some of the most important phenomena in Javanese culture is not possible, before we have fully accounted for what is hidden behind the mysterious division of the house into the two halves of *salu* (*omah ngarěp*) and *omah buri*; a clearer idea of the sacral significance of the *kobongan* especially — this *kayon* in the female part of the house — is of the greatest importance to us. I called the idea “female *kayon*” an absurdity just now, but we must not lose sight of the fact that there is some reason, indeed, to assume that the Javanese think differently about it and that this term expresses a reality to them. When formerly ¹⁾ I gave utterance to some reflections on the constitution of the offering of the kris smith and of the offerings at crisis ceremonies in general, I argued the probability that the invariably conical shape of the lump of rice which is served then must have a symbolical meaning for the Javanese and that they see representations of the *kayon* in these *tumpěng*; I pointed out then that the large food-offerings also of conical shape that are carried in the procession at the *garěběg*-ceremonies in the Principalities are also called *gunungan* (i.e. *kayon*) on those occasions. With these princely food mountains now there is always a distinction made between *male* and *female* ones (*gunungan lanang* and *gunungan wedok*); and it is unthinkable that this classification with regard to the sexes should be without a deeper meaning, for the using of these two kinds of *kayon* regularly — though we are still completely in the dark as to the how and why — corresponds with the nature of certain ceremonies: at the *garěběg mulud* and *běsar* there are always *gunungan* of both sexes in the royal procession, at the *garěběg puwasa* only male ones may be used ²⁾.

So when I now pass on to stating once more — this time as completely and systematically as possible — the data about the arrangement of the Javanese house, this does not mean the introducing

¹⁾ *Inleiding tot een bestudering van de Javaansche kris*, p. 57.

²⁾ See Groneman, *De garěběg's te Ngajogjakarta* (1895), p. 33 and 41, and pl. XXI and XXII; R. Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo, *De garěběg's in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta* (1931), p. 25-31, 136. The last mentioned author distinguishes properly speaking five varieties of the *gunungan*, but the “male” and “female” ones are the two principal kinds.

of an arbitrary digression; within the scope of our article on the kris a discussion of these facts cannot be left out. We must in the first place consider, whether on close inspection the problem of the relation between the two *kayons* in the Javanese house presents itself to us in the form which I have outlined just now; if so, then we shall have to try and find an explanation of the difficulties encountered.

We owe the fullest particulars to Poensen¹). He begins with pointing out that the structure of a complete Javanese house, whether large or small, always shows the same principal features. There are always found a back part and a front part, completely separated by a wall, that is to say that the only means of communication between the two parts is formed by a door. The front part of the house (*omah ngarĕp* or *salu*) of Javanese of high standing usually consists of a *pĕndapa* without walls, but which can be closed by means of bamboo Venetian blinds, reaching to the ground; with smaller houses this *pĕndapa* is simply an open gallery. This part of the house serves to receive visitors. At the back it is in direct communication with a room that might perhaps better be called a kind of landing, the so-called *kampung* or *jagasatru*; it really forms one whole with the front part of the house. In humble houses this landing is sometimes lacking, at least it is not a separate room; with grand houses they speak of the *paringgitan*, as the wayang is performed here. The back part of the house (*omah buri*) is always completely walled in, but for the rest it can be considered the replica of the front *pĕndapa*; the system of house-posts is quite the same for the back and the front part. This part of the house is the actual living-quarters of the family; sometimes a couple of small bedrooms are partitioned off on one of the sides; the back wall, however, is always hidden from sight, since three rooms are built against it, the front walls of which are exactly level with each other; a separate door gives admittance to each of these rooms from the general living-room. Of these three the middle room is called *boma*; in it stands a couch, which, however, is never used for sleeping with well-to-do people. For the *boma* is a sacred room; on the occasion of a wedding-festivity e.g. it is decorated: a couple of curtains, made of muslin or some other material, with a

¹) C. Poensen, *Javaansche woningen en erven*, in *Mededeelingen Ned. Zend. Gen.* XIX (1875), p. 101-146; see especially p. 138-141.

multi-coloured border and gathered up by gold or silver hooks, are hung in the door-way, so that one can look into the room; at the head and the foot of the bed of state is placed a beautifully wrought chest and on it in the right hand side a mirror and on the left hand side a small cupboard, in the shape of a pyramid, in which medicine is kept. Right across the bed lies a pile of cushions (*pajëgan*) with gaily coloured covers; sometimes they are ornamented on either side with silver plates. In front of this sacred sleeping-place the newly married couple must sit down on the floor on mats, in the midst of female visitors and surrounded by lighted lamps, first in the parental home of the bride during five days and nights, after that in the house of the bridegroom. The room to the right of the *boma* is called *sëntong*; it serves for the storing of all kinds of provisions and fragile household articles. To the left is a similar room (*sarong*) harbouring implements, such as weaving-loom, spinning-wheel etc. Both rooms (according to Poensen) exist solely for the benefit of woman and housekeeping.

An article by Soerjo Winoto¹⁾ confirms Poensen's description on all points, but it gives some further information as well. This author treats in particular the "regent"'s²⁾ house in the Government's territories, but he observes that the resemblance between this *kabupaten* and the houses of nobility in the Principalities is very great. He too mentions as the essential part of the front part of the house an open *pëndapa*, serving for festivities and for the reception of visitors; he specifies this more particularly by saying: *male* visitors. The *paring-gitan* is in *direct* communication with it. Very often there are found one or two separate buildings in the front yard, in which the instruments of the gamëlan are kept and where they are also played every Saturday evening and Sunday morning. When there are no such special music buildings available, the instruments are placed in the *pëndapa*, where they, as the author says, "form a curious but typical kind of furniture". The back part is called *jërambah* by this author; he characterizes it as the principal building, the actual dwelling-place, where the life of the family is lived, especially that of the women. It is always enclosed by walls, but for the rest it is similar to the *pëndapa*. This similarity is even more strongly stressed by this

¹⁾ Soerjo Winoto, *De regentswoning*, in *Nederlandsch Indië, Oud en Nieuw* IV (1919-20), p. 131-148.

²⁾ "Regent": native administrator nearest in rank to the assistant-commissioner ("assistent-resident").

author, as he mentions in addition that often the roof of the front part and the back-part roof are not different either. Now the construction of these roofs is dependent on fixed and highly remarkable rules. The centre part of the ceiling, which is very carefully worked, consists of two parts, separated from each other by a richly decorated cross-beam; the two spaces resulting from this halving are further filled up with layers of profiled beams, in such a way that the following layer is always projecting a little beyond the preceding one. Now there must always be an odd number of these layers, and it varies according to the rank of the possessor of the house. Three layers are found with persons of high rank; with more exalted persons five or seven; nine roof layers in the kraton only. — In such great houses much care is also devoted of course to the arrangement of the *boma*. “While the woodwork has been carefully fashioned and carved and “richly painted, the material with which the sacred sleeping-place is “covered shines in its splendour owing to its ingeniously woven “cloths, embroideries and suchlike. In the same room there can also “be kept the sacred weapons, *pusaka*. The care and the keeping of “this sanctuary is entrusted to a woman who has reached a certain “age, from 45 to 50, I believe, a woman whose life must be ir- “reproachable as well”¹⁾.

The only thing worth recording for us, from a short essay by Sastro Amidjojo²⁾ is, that he, too, calls the back part of the house the “large house” (*grija agěng*) and further that the names he gives of the three rooms partitioned off against the back wall are: of the middle one: *kobongan*, *sěntong těngah*, *pajangan*; of the two others: *sěntong kiwa* and *sěntong těngěh*.

Also Ir. Noto Diningrat³⁾ mentions *sěntong těngah* as the name of the “sacred room” in the back part of the house, and he also points out the great care which is given to this part of the house and the high significance which is attached to it. Nothing of importance (he says) could happen in one’s life, but it was “viewed spiritually” in this room. About the function of this sanctuary he says moreover the following, which is a real addition to what we learned about it before: “There it was that the newly married couple, kneeling down

¹⁾ L.c., p. 139.

²⁾ Sastro Amidjojo, *Het bouwen van Javaansche huizen*, in *Djawa* IV (1924), p. 105-113.

³⁾ Ir. Noto Diningrat, *Grondslagen van de bouwkunst op Java*, in *Nederlandsch Indië, Oud en Nieuw* IV (1919-20), p. 107-124.

"at the feet of Hywang Maha Agung gave themselves in full surrender, invoking his blessing, that they might receive in their midst "a being coming from Him, who will help to prepare his coming as "Ratu-Adhil, his appearance as Righteous King. And when messages "came from the spirit world, then it was in this room that he repaired "with his parents in the spirit, to receive the instructions of Hywang "Maha Suci. And when the marriage was going to be contracted, he "retired in that room for a fortnight, to prepare himself for the new "period of his life" ¹).

Finally we also owe to Hazeu ²) a short statement about the sacred room in the back part of the Javanese house. The names given by him are: *sěntong těngah* or *amben těngah*; in the Principalities: *kobongan*, with people of higher rank: *pajangan* or *pasarean agěng*. His descriptions only add a few features to what was already known from other sources. He remarks on the presence of the bed of state with piled up cushions and on the decorating by means of fine mats, dainty fabrics and embroideries. Further there are found all kinds of toilet requisites (small mirror, comb, fragrant oil) and some pots containing the usual ingredients for the offering. The *pusaka* weapons (krisses, lances, etc.) are also sometimes kept here. Before the *kobongan* stand one or more old-fashioned lamps and frequently also two painted statues, representing a man and a woman in old-Javanese costume (*loro blonjo* i.e. the anointed pair). Also from Hazeu's report it is clear that the sacred room was not only used at the marriage ceremony, but that a regular cult is performed there; a.o. incense is always burned there on Thursday evenings. Some declare (Hazeu adds) that this room was originally intended for the reception of the rice goddess Dėwi Sri, whenever she should wish to visit the mortals; others, however, are of the opinion that the *kobongan* must serve more generally as a (temporary) residence for the spirits of the ancestors.

Herewith, I believe, I have advanced, from the descriptions of the Javanese house known to me, all those facts that may be of interest to us. And if, on the basis of this survey, we carefully trace the principal features of the plan of this house once more, then we feel

¹) L.c. p. 112.

²) G. A. J. Hazeu, *De kobongan in het Javaansche huis*, in *Verslag v. h. Eerste Congres v. h. Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland* (1921).

inclined to follow the Javanese custom and to speak henceforward of *two* houses which, it is true, form one whole and communicate with each other internally, but which should nevertheless be regarded as separate entities; and for the rest we cannot but be struck by the great resemblance shown by the two buildings. The design is absolutely the same for the front and the back part; the system of house posts and joints and frequently the very special way of roofing are the same for both houses. The last-mentioned feature is important for us for more than one reason. This curious roof construction, the same in front and at the back, does not only render the outward resemblance of the two houses more complete, but it lends, in my opinion, at the same time new support to the proposition above¹⁾ expressed by me that they are, in essence too, alike and equal, and that the front as well as the back part of the house are definitely intended to function as a meeting-place for the complete community. When the celebrating of some crisis ceremony is approaching, this totality character is strongly stressed, as we saw, by means of the *kayon*-decoration introduced on these occasions; but now we perceive that also in ordinary times these characteristics are *permanently* to be found in the construction. Only in this view does it seem possible to find a plausible explanation for the extraordinary requirement that an *odd* number of beams must *always* be used for the construction of the roofs which crown the two house parts, the number of which ranges between three and nine, rising with the social rank of the occupant. When we exactly represent to ourselves this construction, as Soerjo Winoto describes it, then automatically the idea urges itself upon us that these roofs are really *meru*, that is to say that they also represent "sky-trees"; with the categorically prescribed numbers *three, five, seven* and *nine* we find ourselves again in the same realm of ideas we came into touch with as we studied the nature of the offering of the smith and various characteristic details of shape in the parts of the kris²⁾.

But in spite of this totality character and of this unmistakable identity, back and front part of the house show very specific features all the same and in this respect it is of great importance that we

¹⁾ See p. 530.

²⁾ See *Inleiding*, p. 57, and above p. 518. — About the connection of these numbers and a former division of human society, see also Pigeaud's views on the masque in his: *Javaanse Volksvertoningen* (1938), §§ 28, 30, 353, 362, 365.

receive a strong impression that, in the estimation of the inhabitants, they are not *absolutely* on one line either. The back part, which is always entirely enclosed by walls, is held to be the "great", "distinguished" house; the *pěndapa* is in normal circumstances entirely without walls, properly speaking it is no more than an open gallery. Now if we consider that this division of the complete Javanese house into two rooms that are intrinsically alike, but one of which, nevertheless, is supposed to be slightly superior to the other, has at the same time this meaning that it separates the sexes at the ritual, then it will be considered natural that I should come to regard this phenomenon in the light of an old dual organization of the community. It is especially with regard to the front part of the house that we can speak of an exclusively male sphere: it is emphatically stated that the *pěndapa* serves for the receiving of *male* visitors, while it is further pre-eminently the place where *topeng* and *wayang* plays — consequently the ritual performances at which only men assist and at which male spectators are accommodated with a privileged place — are given. The wayang-orchestra, the *gamēlan*, is also regarded as being very closely connected with this part of the house; it forms, as they say, the characteristic furniture of the *pěndapa*; it is also typical that where the musical instruments are kept in a separate building, this house is at any rate always to be found in the *front yard*. On the other hand, the *omah buri* shows in a number of features a certain analogy with the female part of the group residing in the house. The back part of the house is used for the daily life of the family, in which as a matter of course the women are most conspicuous; the two rooms on either side of the sacred centre of this part of the dwelling serve solely as store-rooms for objects that are of interest for the *women*. Even more important in this respect is the fact that especially the sacred room is found to show quite frankly its female character; for only thus can the prescription be understood that the guarding of the *kobongan* should exclusively be entrusted to a *woman*.

The remarkable thing, however, is that, as soon as — on the strength of these quite significant facts — we venture to lay full stress on the association of the back part of the house with the female sex, and would draw conclusions from it, we come into conflict with other phenomena. We notice then that at least at present there is no question of the *kobongan* being in any way *reserved* for the women, nor is the expectation confirmed that it is exclusively

a *female* divinity towards whom the cult is directed here. From the information stated above, it clearly appears that men as well as women and not less regularly, take part in the cult in the back part of the house. A single author (Hazeu), it is true, mentions the opinion that this room should especially be used for the worshipping of the rice goddess Dèwi Sri, but by the side of this others speak of ancestors in general and even of one very exalted figure, as appears from the name, *Hyang Maha-Agung* or *Hyang Maha-Suci*, who is undoubtedly to be regarded as a male divinity. Not without surprise one wonders what factors are really at work here and what idea we must form of the relation (unmistakably existent) between this sanctum and the female sex, seeing that, on the other hand, nothing of this is apparent from the practice of the cult. And our surprise increases when we remember the above mentioned¹⁾ fact that on a special occasion — viz. at the annual cleaning and worshipping of the sacred weapons — the *kobongan* seems to entirely belie this *female* nature and adopts the character of a perfect *men's temple*.

Another method remains to us to make our idea of the curious relations in the Javanese house more complete and perhaps more clear as well. We can once more examine — and this, too, somewhat more extensively and exactly than we did before — the procedure of the important ceremonies that are attended not only by the residents proper, but by a much larger group, and while doing so, especially direct our attention to the way in which the different parts of the house are implicated. Among those important events in family and social life which cannot take place without great festivities and at which traditional customs strongly try to hold their own, are still in Java *circumcision* and *marriage*. It is still felt in large circles as a duty to attend such a ceremony and for its arrangement, also with humble desa people, all those who are old or who are versed in such matters, meet and take counsel together. There is consequently a fair chance that on the occasion of these ceremonies, which are originally “totality” ones, the different parts of the dwelling-place (including the yard) will be seen to be used even now in a way not too far deviating from the function they originally performed.

When a circumcision ceremony is about to take place, the preparations begin, some day beforehand, with the invoking of the

¹⁾ See above p. 532.

blessing of the ancestors on this momentous action; the boy who is going to be circumcised is taken to the grave of his father or, if the latter is still alive, to the last resting-place of his father's parents or ancestors; the boy offers flowers and incense there. From the way in which this is reported¹), we might receive the impression that this visit to the graves of the ancestors only takes place with boys or that at least it was obligatory only for them. Such, however, is not the case. In many parts of Java, it is true, this old custom is no longer practised with girls, but it is difficult to see in this anything else than a symptom of the fact that, in general, probably from motives of propriety, the circumcision of girls is less generally made public. It has become the custom to treat the operation somewhat mysteriously when girls are concerned and to let it go by without any festivity; parents e.g. have their daughter circumcised on the same day as her elder brother, so that it happens unnoticed as it were, although the festivity is in honour of both; sometimes the operation is given a different name or it is done in private. Here and there it even happens already that the operation is entirely omitted for girls. This, however, remains an exception; and old-fashioned people who thoroughly know the old adat and attach importance to it, by no means hide the circumcision of their daughters. It is true, with them the circumcision of the girls does not take place "in public" either, i.e. in the front yard, but the festive display is as great or at any rate little less great than for the boys. And in such families the custom of the ritual visit to the graves of the ancestors is certainly kept up to the present day, also with the girls²).

After this invoking of the blessing of the ancestors, they pass on to the building of the *tarub*. As I already mentioned before this consists in the extending (resp. building), and the ceremonial decorating of the *pëndapa*, the front part of the house. This is the festive building, where (as is also indicated by the name) the *tayuban*, i.e. the ritual dances, will take place and where, to the

¹) For this summary I again follow Snouck Hurgronje's *Brieven van een wedono-pensioen* (*Verspreide Geschriften* IV, 1). It is true that the data given here have for the greater part been collected in West-Java, but we may assume that on the principal points they also hold good for the other parts of Java; moreover they stand out on account of great accuracy and a wealth of fine detail. I have borrowed some additions from Schrieke's publication of material *Allerlei over de besnijdenis in den Indischen Archipel* (in *Tijdschrift Bat. Genootsch.*, vol. 60, 1921).

²) See the account by J. v. d. Mey about the circumcision in the East-Preanger, in Schrieke, o.c., p. 419.

accompaniment of the gamelan, the shadow play, which is likewise considered indispensable on this occasion, is performed. As soon as the *tarub* is finished, a religious meal is held, consisting of victuals prescribed by tradition, while to each course is given a separate ritual purpose. As is to be expected, dishes are in the first place dedicated to Ki-agěng-Tarub, the Lord of the Ceremonial House; but further the preachers of the Islam buried in Java, the former rulers of Java, the ancestors of the master of the house, the mythical founder of the *desa*, the wild and harmful animals, the spirits ruling over sea and forest, Adam and Kowo (Eve), the brothers and sisters of the master of the house (among the latter his „unreal” brothers, viz. the amniotic fluid and the placenta which entered the world with him), all the evil creatures who might otherwise disturb the feast, the prophet Mohammed with all his blood relations and companions, are also remembered.

The operation itself is not performed in this *tarub*, and as I said before, the boys and girls are kept apart. For the boys a small partitioned-off room is prepared, which is mostly decorated in the well-known way as a *kayon*; sometimes the constructing of this building is omitted and then the circumcision is simply performed in the open air. However, whether a special room is partitioned off or not, the operation always takes place in the *front yard*. The name of the circumcision room is not the same everywhere; we find especially the terms: *k(r)obongan*, *tarub*, *kěbon alas*, *tratag*. In or in front of this outhouse the offering (*sajen*) is set out, and on either side the well-known set of sky-trees (*kěmbar mayang*) is placed. During the operation — at which only men are present — the patient is seated in the lap of a somewhat elderly person, or else on a chair or a bench, covered with woven cloths of different kinds; here and there it occurs — this is reported a.o. from the East Preanger — that the boy is placed on the head of a slaughtered buffalo, which is considered a great honour¹⁾. Snouck Hurgronje reports a curious custom found among the Sundanese; here, namely, the boy, after the operation is over, must for a moment touch the bared nipple of one of his female relations. The girls are circumcised by a woman, and — I pointed this out already above — the operation is not performed “in public”, in the front yard, but on a bed in the house, consequently: in the *back part* of the house, which, however, is *not* decorated for the

¹⁾ Schrieke, l.c., p. 421.

purpose. As to the *sacral* part of the back of the house, the *boma* or *kobongan*, in particular, this has apparently nothing to do with the entire ceremony.

Besides the wayang performances and dances already mentioned, the festivities attending a circumcision also always include a so-called *jagongan*, i.e. a social gathering during the night preceding the operation. The time is beguiled in all sorts of ways; some enjoy a game of cards; others listen to the reciting of some story or other; it also occurs that the boy who is about to be circumcised shows his knowledge of religion by reciting a few of the short chapters of the Koran. This common watching during the night preceding the circumcision is sometimes, but (as Snouck Hurgronje observes) wrongly, called *midadarèni*; there is a *jagongan* called *midadarèni*, which, however, does not belong to the circumcision ceremony, but forms part of the wedding festivity, "since *widadaris* are supposed "to come down from heaven into the house of the bride in the night "preceding the marriage" ¹⁾).

The difference showing itself here with regard to the *jagongans* is not the only point on which the circumcision ceremony distinguishes itself from the marriage ritual, although, for obvious reasons, the resemblance between the two ceremonies is very great. I pointed out already that the most important and striking deviation is the fact that on the occasion of a marriage not only the *pěndapa* is used, but that the ceremony is enacted in the back part of the house as well as in the front part. — For a marriage ceremony the houses are being decorated already for days before the ceremony — after an offering has first been made on the graves of the ancestors and their blessing has been invoked, just as with the circumcision — the house of the parents of the bridegroom as well as that of the bride; and now they do not confine themselves to the *pěndapa*; the green decoration is also affixed in the well-known manner to the back part of the house, owing to which also this part of the house changes into a tribal temple. It is true that the decoration of the front part seems to be somewhat more complete than that of the back part. But much care is also bestowed on the arrangement of the *kobongan*. It is here that the *kěmbar mayang* is placed now and one or two complete offerings; two mattresses are laid down on the sacral couch at a little distance

¹⁾ Snouck Hurgronje, o.c., p. 211.

from each other, and in the intervening space some money is often placed, together with a little rice; the whole thing is then covered with a sheet. They take care that everything is ready on the day before the marriage, especially in the house of the bride. For then there come, in solemn procession and with a great show of humility, a number of persons to offer to the bride, on behalf of the bridegroom, the so-called *lamaran* or *sĕrahan*, i.e. all kinds of wedding-presents, consisting chiefly of different sorts of raw or prepared food, often also one or more live buffalos; in some districts a gift of money must also be given, which has the name of *tukon* (*purchase money*). It sometimes occurs that the young bridegroom himself, as a matter of form, is delivered up to his future parents-in-law, in order to *njantri*, as it is called, i.e. to work as a *santri* (buffalo-herd) or in a similar humble capacity. This is no more than a formality. "His parents say as it were to those of the bride: just as those "possessing nothing, must gain their wives by means of working "as day-labourers, so our son may be regarded in his relation to you. "The boy remains only part of the day in the house of his future "wife, then some relations come to call for him and the *njantri* is "finished" ¹⁾.

Then the social gathering takes place to which I referred just now, and which is called *midadarèni*: in the houses of the two families, but especially in the house of the bride, a number of persons spend the night waking, since they expect that the heavenly nymphs (*widadari*) then will come to visit the bride and bless her. Neither Snouck Hurgronje nor any other informant definitely states in what part of the house this descent of the heavenly spirits is expected; but if we take into consideration that this ceremony is *not* appropriate to a circumcision and that this visit is especially meant for the *bride*, and further that those heavenly beings are *female* ones and that in particular the *women* present are interested — they are in a state of great tension and until the very last moment busy improving and embellishing —, then we need not doubt any longer but that this *midadarèni* takes place *in the back part of the house*, in the vicinity of the *kobongan*.

The (according to modern opinion) official solemnization of the marriage — in the mosque or at the house of the pengu — takes place without any outward show; the bride need not even be present.

¹⁾ Snouck Hurgronje, o.c., p. 226.

Dressed in state, i.e. dressed like a woman of high rank in the wayang, she expects her husband, seated before the *kobongan*; from this place, as soon as the bridegroom with his numerous suite appears at the entrance of the *pëndapa*, she goes to meet him for the ceremonial "bringing together". It also occurs sometimes that the bridegroom calls for his bride on the way at a house where she has been dressed. After arriving at the house of the bride's parents some ceremonies first take place in the *pëndapa*, which rather differ locally, and after that the bridal couple sit down before the entrance of the *kobongan*, their faces turned towards the front-door, and surrounded by the eldest members of the family; the other guests remain in the front part of the house, where a meal is prepared for them. Finally the newly wed, seated before the *kobongan*, have to perform some symbolical actions, during which they themselves remain quite passive and allow themselves to be guided by the elder female blood relations. Thus the bridegroom is brought a mat, on which some "money, some rice (what had been put ready between the "mattresses e.g. in the *ambèn tengah*), sometimes some pulse and "flowers have been spread; he throws all this into the lap of his young "wife, who must hand it on again to her mother. This mother then "declares herself to be astonished and pleased at the considerable "amount of the "rodjokojo", of the first earnings that the young "husband has brought home to his wife. Oh, she says for instance, he "has earned 1000 guilders for you on his trip to Surabaja! Then the "father of the bride sometimes takes his daughter on one knee, her "young husband on the other and answers to the question of those "present: "Which is the heavier?" that they are perfectly balanced, "which predicts that neither will rule unduly over the other" ¹⁾).

If, when considering the data regarding the arrangement of the complete Javanese house, we also include this account of the two chief crisis ceremonies, then it is clear that the preliminary characterization of the significance and the mutual relations of the chief parts of this house, given above, is fully confirmed by it. We find the same features over-familiar by now, but also the same contradictions. The social group which is concerned in the celebrating of these great ceremonies and which therefore as we must assume represents the total community, uses for its gatherings the *pëndapa* as well as the

¹⁾ Snouck Hurgronje, o.c., p. 232.

back part of the house; at the wedding we saw the two places functioning simultaneously as ceremonial meetingplaces, at the circumcision it was only the front part that was used as such. On the one hand therefore it is certain that front and back part of the house are essentially equal, we might say, indeed, identical; but on the other hand we are again forced to conclude that the two rooms cannot without comment be put on one line. The circumstance that a certain ritual is firmly connected with one of the houses only, whereas the other part remains perfectly passive on that occasion, clearly shows that the two "tribal temples" — in spite of all essential equality — yet perform special functions and have a character of their own. From this point of view, we may probably also consider it of importance, that the names by which the two sacral rooms are called, altogether differ from each other. For the back part of the house we find the terms: *sěntong těngah* or *amben těngah*, *boma*, *kobongan*, *pažangan*, *pasarean agěng*; as soon as the *pěndapa* is provided with the kayon decoration, it is well-nigh exclusively indicated as *tarub*. The terms used for the back and for the front parts of the house are never interchanged ¹⁾).

That this division of the complete house must be connected in some way or other with the sex dualism within the closed oneness of the community, showed sufficiently clearly again in the last stated data. Also without our pointing this out every time, the reader will have noticed that on the occasion of the ceremonies the women remain by preference in the back part of the house and that the men regard the *pěndapa* as their special domain. But however great importance we should wish to attach to these facts, it remains very uncertain all the same whether the simple contrast male > female can in itself be sufficient to make us entirely understand the relation between *tarub* and *kobongan*. We cannot escape from the impression that mixed up with this other factors are at work there. We could just now observe already that — at least nowadays — the back part of the house certainly does not bear an exclusively female character, for also male members of the group regularly seek contact there with the divinity (which moreover shows itself in male as well as in female guise), but in addition to this there now appear to be very good grounds for the supposition that, in olden times in particular, the absolute parallel phenomenon manifested itself with regard to the

¹⁾ Only it strikes us that the name of *kobongan* is also sometimes used for the circumcision hut in the *front yard*, by the side of *tarub*, *tratag*, *kěbon alas*.

pëndapa. For that matter, also as far as the present day situation is concerned, the opinion that the ritual sphere in this part of the house would be permanently and purely "male", is, to say the least of it, doubtful. Taking all the data into consideration, we cannot maintain with absolute certainty that the religious worship here exclusively concerns a *male* being, and the view that only persons belonging to the male sex should be concerned with the cult in the *tarub*, would seem to be even less tenable.

The ritual of the circumcision, which appeared to be so closely connected with the *tarub* and the front yard, is, it is true, a matter particularly of importance for the male part of the community nowadays, but the facts stated above leave little room for doubt that this has not always been the case, and they even create the impression that this specialization is of comparatively recent date. We have to do here with an evolution which is still in progress, and of which we can see in what direction it is moving. In remote districts, where the old customs are still most faithfully kept up, circumcision is, also for the girls, still a matter of the highest moment and the formalities observed on this occasion are the same as for the boys. Outside this conservative sphere a distinct tendency makes itself felt to keep the operation on the girls secret or even to omit it altogether; at this moment the situation is this that pretty generally the girls still undergo the operation, but at a very early age, in a mitigated form and as secretly as possible. There is every reason to conclude that it is owing to *this*, that the circumcision of the girls does not take place in the front yard, but on a bed in the walled-in dwelling-house; for it is difficult to assume that there should be an *essential* connection between the circumcision of girls and the back part of the house. This back part, as we already observed above, is no hallowed ground on this occasion; it remains entirely undecorated; from no action does it appear that the *kobongan* is in any way concerned with the celebration. Apparently the divine blessing on the operation for *both* sexes is expected from that part of the house that we would call the "men's house".

Is it still, therefore, sufficiently justified to call the *pëndapa* by this name? On the occasion of the religious repast which takes place when the arrangement of the *tarub* with a view to a circumcision ceremony has been completed, some courses, it is true, are in the first place dedicated to the Great Lord-of-the-Tarub; but on considering the curious medley of figures to whom the various dishes further are dedicated — by the side of beings of a distinctly divine

character, culture heroes and nature spirits, we find ordinary mortals and even harmful beasts! — we have to admit that here again there is strikingly little evidence of any pronounced preference for the male sex; special victuals are intended for Adam *and Eve*, not only for the *brothers* but also for the *sisters* of the host!

Considering what may be the gain of this elaborate discussion of the arrangement of the Javanese house and of the purpose the principal parts of it must serve, it appears that this chiefly consists for us in the fact that the main features of the problem implied (where these were found to be sharply definable as well as where they seemed to be more or less vacillating) now stand clearly before our eyes. Our insight, however, has not been immediately enlightened by it, and especially in connection with the meaning of the *kayon* decoration which is periodically affixed to the front part as well as to the back part of the house, the same uncertainty still remains. We cannot but assume that it is the same *total* community which meets in the front part as well as in the back part of the house; but it is equally certain that in ritual respect the two chief parts of the Javanese house differ all the same. There are also numerous and strong indications that this difference has something to do with sex dualism and with a primary tribe division; other phenomena, however, proved to be in glaring contrast with this view.

Perhaps the attentive reader has already been able to form an idea of the direction in which our further research will have to proceed. It appears to me, however, that attempts to try and find a solution of the problems we have come across exclusively with the aid of the data stated up till now, will not lead to much more than to a more or less likely conjecture. It would seem better to me to extend the field of our investigations a little and, in the difficult position into which we have got, to look for assistance in one of the most important and best known Javanese sacred tales. The applying of this method moreover carries the profit with it, that, without abandoning the investigation of the system underlying the internal arrangement of the Javanese house, we return at the same time to the real subject of this study — the Javanese kris. The story, namely, which I have in mind was already mentioned for a moment above and I could indicate it then as the origin myth of the princely house of

Mataram, but at the same time of the kris. Groneman¹⁾ reports the following version of it:

During the last time of the empire of Majapahit a hermit, the paṇḍita Sèh Maulana Maribi, had selected for a dwellingplace an old tree which stood in the primeval forest by the side of a pool. A hermitess, dèwi Rasa Wulan, a daughter of the regent of Tuban, came to bathe in the water and she became pregnant through the power of the sacred glance of the hermit. In an unusual fashion, viz. by way of her coil of hair, she bears a child and for shame she flees to another part of the country. The father takes the child to the desa Tarub, where the widow of the head of the village, Njai agěng ing-Tarub, who had just lost her own baby, adopts the boy as her child. The boy is first called Kidang Tilangkas, later, when he was older, Jaka Tarub and, after the death of his foster-mother, Kyai agěng ing-Tarub.

Tradition further tells that Sèh Maulana Maribi, perhaps in order to confirm the supernatural birth of his son, removed his penis and changed it into a bronze kris, which came to his son and his son's descendants under the name of Braja Sungkuh, and was afterwards changed again into a pike, called Kyai Pelèrèd. One of those descendants became the ancestor of the princes of Mataram.

Jaka Tarub was a tremendous hunter. One day, when he was out shooting birds, he surprised some widadaris, who, having come down from the sky for a few moments, were enjoying themselves bathing in a remote pool. Jaka Tarub secretly took away the sky-garment of one of the nymphs, so that she could not return to the sky with her sisters. The name of this garment was Ontra Kusuma. In her distress the poor sky nymph, dèwi Nawang Wulan, then vowed that she would become either the daughter or the wife of the man who would provide her with a presentable garment; the daughter if the helper should be old, — his wife, if he should be a young man. Then Jaka Tarub provided her with a suitable garment and married her. The daughter born from this marriage became the earthly ancestress of the house of Mataram.

When, shortly after Nawang Wulan had born this girl, she found her sky garment under the store of rice in the shed of her husband,

¹⁾ *De garěbhěg's te Ngajogyakarta* (1895), p. 55.

she resumed her long lost liberty to return to the sky. But in order not to rob her child, which she could not take with her, of the mother's breast, she allowed the father to call her back again, by means of the smoke of rice straw and benzoë, every time the little one would cry for lack of food. In the sky, however, she was no longer admitted, on account of her marriage with a mortal inhabitant of the earth. But the Ratu Kidul, the mighty goddess of the South Sea, took pity on the poor cast off being, and appointed her as *patih* or regentess, which function she still performs under the name of Nji Lara Kidul.

In the prose version of the Babad this same story runs as follows¹⁾:

In Kudus lives Kyai agëng ing-Kudus, who has three sons, the two elder ones by one mother, the youngest by another woman. This youngest son refuses to marry and in this way arouses his father's displeasure. Therefore he goes away in the night and comes to the mountain called Këndëng, where he applies himself to asceticism. Wandering further and further he happens to arrive in a garden with a water-pool, overshadowed by flowering trees. Ki Jaka sits down under a tree overhanging the pond. The owner of this pleasure-garden, Kyai agëng ing-Këmbang-Lampir, has a beautiful daughter, who refuses to enter into matrimony. One afternoon she goes, quite alone, into the garden to fetch water. Ki Jaka hides behind a tree and the girl without hesitation bathes in the pond. When afterwards she wants to go home again, Ki Jaka follows her and presses her to give herself to him. After a time the daughter of Kyai agëng Këmbang-Lampir is found to be pregnant and she refuses to say with whom she has had intercourse. As her father is enraged at this, she runs away from home in the night. When her time has come, she bears a son in the forest; she dies at the birth; the little one lies at her feet.

Kyai agëng ing-Selandaka, who loves hunting with the blow-tube, happens to find the boy in the forest; he takes him up and goes on hunting. When he sees a doe, he pursues it everywhere, but all of a sudden it is gone. Displeased he puts the little boy down under a tree and proceeds on his way, ever looking for the doe. Now the spot where he has put down the child, was the place where formerly the hermitage of Kyai agëng ing-Tarub had been and after the latter's

¹⁾ *Babad Tanah Djawi*, I, 3rd ed. (1903), p. 36-41.

death, his widow was still living there. She finds the child and adopts it and when he is seven years old, he appears to be very beautiful; all his comrades love him. His great pleasure is hunting in the forest with the blow-tube; when he is grown up, he refuses to marry. One day he has gone into the forest again and sees a curious bird; he shoots a dart at it, but misses. He pursues the creature everywhere till he has come into a large forest; there he does not see the bird any longer. Now in the middle of the forest there was a spring in which the sky nymphs were used to bathe, and because it was Tuesday-kliwon they had all repaired there. Ki Jaka hides and on seeing the naked girls his desire is kindled; he takes away the garment of one of the widadaris and hides it. Then he raises his voice for a moment at which they all become frightened and, taking their garments, fly up. Only one, Dèwi Nawang Wulan, stays behind as her garment is gone. Ki Jaka goes up to her and asks her to become his wife, then he will return her garment to her. And so it happens; Ki Jaka marries Nawang Wulan, to the great joy of the widow of Tarub. In course of time the latter dies and her adopted son now assumes the name of Kyai agěng ing-Tarub; his wife bears him a very beautiful daughter, called Rara Nawang Sih.

One day Dèwi Nawang Wulan is going to wash swaddling-cloths in the river and she asks her husband to see to the rice which is on the fire meanwhile; she repeatedly warns him not to raise the lid. Kyai agěng looks after the rice and at the same time after the child and he wonders how it is possible that whereas his wife has only one rice shed at her disposal the store never dwindles; he does not understand it. He raises the lid just to see how little rice she cooks and he finds but one single ear. When she comes home, his wife examines her cooking and then it appears that the one ear has remained exactly as it was when it was put in the pot. She understands that her husband has raised the lid and flies into a passion; she now wants to return to the sky, but is unable to do so; her supernatural power has been broken. From the moment that she has become a human being, Nawang Wulan must pound rice every morning and in course of time the whole store comes to an end. Then she finds at the bottom her jacket, which her husband had taken away at the bank of the pond and the name of which is Onta Kusuma. She puts it on and at once her supernatural power has returned again. She now returns to the sky: it has been ordained that she and her husband cannot be united permanently; she charges her husband to take the

child, if it should cry, to the *panggungan* and to burn rice-straw and black *kĕtan* there; she will come to the earth then to suckle her child. Hereupon she takes rice-straw and black *kĕtan*, sets fire to it and rises into the air, following the smoke. Kyai agĕng ing-Tarub is very sad; he faithfully obeys the orders of his wife. When the child grows up, it resembles the mother.

It is not my intention now to try and make at once an attempt to arrive at a running commentary of this curious account of events from primeval times in Java, meaning that also all the details will be discussed¹). This would not be very well possible either; the way towards this end can only gradually be paved. For the moment it seems better that we should limit ourselves to throwing full light upon some of the principal features in order to make it acceptable that the range of ideas in which this myth moves and the internal arrangement of the Javanese house are not unconnected, but on the contrary very closely bound up with each other. As to the meaning of these principal features, generally speaking there can hardly be any difference of opinion on this point. The kernel of the myth, as it is found with very slight deviations in the two versions, tells us the history of the origin of the great Javanese community, which is afterwards to become the state of Mataram; we learn about the supernatural birth of the princely pair of ancestors, of the wonderful adventures that lead to the contracting of their marriage, and we witness the tragic way in which separation becomes unavoidable. Even at a superficial perusal it must have struck the reader that the two principal characters are precisely those supernatural beings to whom the cult in the back part and in the front part of the house respectively is by preference directed; and on closer consideration it will, in my opinion, not be difficult to prove that in both cases they stand in the same relation to each other and that the associations bound up with them are also exactly the same. In short, we shall see

¹) A serious attempt to determine the meaning of the story has, to my knowledge, not yet been made. It is true, C. M. Pleyte Wzn. (see his essay *Zijn de widyādārī in de Indonesische legenden aan de Hindus ontleend?* in *Feestbundel-Veth*, 1894) has proved that this myth belongs to Indonesian culture proper, though some features point to British Indian influence. The story is found in a number of places in the Archipelago, and Pleyte at the same time drew the attention to a Melanesian parallel. (See R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians, their anthropology and folklore*, 1891, p. 397).

that the classification on which this myth has been built up, is entirely identic with the classificatory scheme underlying the arrangement of the house.

The chief male character in the myth, Kyai agěng ing-Tarub, is the same being as the god for the worshipping of whom the Javanese head of a family periodically changes the *pěndapa* of his house into a *tarub*. Not only do they bear the same name; also on account of other things it is absolutely certain that they are one and the same person. Kyai agěng Tarub as we have come to know him from the myth, is sufficiently characterized for us by the single fact that with him the original kris Braja Sungkuh comes into the world; his namesake who on festive occasions enters the *pěndapa* of the house, on this account already shows his intimate relation with the wayang and the gamėlan, closely connected with it. Both consequently are Pañji, the prototype of the kris smith, the creator of the shadow play, the male ancestor of the Javanese people.

This identification is of importance to us, as from the myth about this Kyai agěng Tarub we learn different things that, it is true, were not entirely unknown to us about the founder of the Javanese community, but that stand out more distinctly here, and that can now perhaps contribute to the enlightenment of our insight as to the significance of the arrangement of the Javanese house. In the first place we observe that he is a man with an inborn liking for *hunting*, which feature, however, has no very great meaning for us at the present moment; but in addition to this it is shown very clearly in both versions that a classificatory system underlies the story in which also the dualism sky > earth has been included, in this manner, namely, that Kyai agěng Tarub's spouse belongs to the *sky*, whereas he himself is considered to be in close relation with the *earth*. What we are told about his origin could already raise a surmise in this respect, but afterwards we are told so explicitly: the mythical ancestor of the Javanese ruling house does not belong to the sky, but he is a human being, firmly bound to earth. The hero Pañji in this way loses for us more or less his halo of divinity; it is emphatically said of Kyai agěng ing-Tarub here that he is a "mortal inhabitant of the earth". — Let us return now with this knowledge to the problem of the arrangement of the house and let us in particular once more look into the data given above about the sacred personality who is worshipped in the *pěndapa*, then, it appears to me, we meet with the same idea. When a circumcision is about to be performed and in this

connection the *pëndapa* must be changed into a *tarub*, then it is considered necessary that the blessing of the higher power concerned should be invoked over this consecration of the house; and for this purpose they go with the boy that is about to be circumcised to the *grave* of his father or the latter's ancestors. Apparently they seek the dwellingplace of this higher power, who is active in the ritual of the *tarub*, in the *earth*, not in the sky; and at the same time it appears clearly that those sacral powers are considered to reside in beings that at one time lived on *earth* as *human beings*. By accepting this view of a close relation between the *tarub* and the earth, it becomes at once less difficult to discover at least a certain unity in the group of figures¹⁾ which just now appeared so heterogeneous to us, to which, at the ritual repast for the celebration of the completion of the *tarub*, the different dishes are dedicated. On carefully examining the list, we see that, however highly some of them rank in native estimation, they are no sky beings; there is no doubt but that they all move in the *earthly* sphere. Seen in this light, they indeed form to a certain extent a homogeneous group.

When we now turn to the woman who in the myth acts the part of Kyai agěng Tarub's wife, there cannot be any doubt either but that she is the same person as the goddess who ranks first in the cult in the *kobongan*. She is the *widadari* Nawang Wulan, who has descended from the sky, consequently the moon goddess, who through her marriage with Kyai agěng ing-Tarub becomes an inhabitant of the earth. Through her name she identifies herself with Candra Kirana, the wife of Pañji, and because of her capacity as *widadari* we recognize her as one of those beings whose descent, during the *jagongan* of the marriage feast, is expected in the back part of the house to come and bring blessings to the bride. When the Javanese determine more closely this sky woman of the *kobongan*, they sometimes call her, according to Hazeu's report, Dėwi Sri, the goddess of rice and agriculture; in the myth this name does not occur for the sky nymph who becomes Kyai agěng Tarub's wife, but her close connection with the rice is nevertheless brought out quite clearly. The most striking of the miraculous qualities that are mentioned of her there, is her power of procuring an inexhaustible store of *rice*; it is in the *rice barn* that she finds again the sky garment that had been taken away from her; and when she is going to rise into the

¹⁾ See above, p. 542.

air to return to the sky, this happens on the smoke of burning *rice-straw* and black *kětan*; these same things are also the fixed ingredients for the offering by means of which her husband will be able to recall her for a temporary stay on earth. Just as the ancestor of the Javanese people feels himself irresistably attracted by hunting, so the interest of his wife seems particularly to go out to agriculture.

Should any doubt have remained as to the correctness of the opinion, as proposed by me, that in the relation between *kobongan* and *pěndapa* the after-effect is to be seen of an old social dualism, then it should by this time have completely vanished. Identifications and contrasts such as we have found here — the *kobongan* as closely connected as possible with woman, sky and agriculture and imagined as being united in marriage with the *pěndapa*, which is associated with man, earth and hunting — are typical for a system of classification which is based on a primary tribal division. Besides, these data give us already a little information about the relations between the classified phenomena. Evidently the *tarub*, i.e. *man*, associated with earth, represents the inferior phratry, whereas the *kobongan* with the *ancestress* descended from the sky, represents the superior half of the tribe. In this way, the phenomenon observed before, that the front and the back part of the house are entirely identical in essence, but that the *omah buri* is regarded as the “grander” part of the house, acquires for us its full significance. And of even more importance for this question is the fact that in the relation between the divine ancestors, as it is given in the two mythical versions, Kyai agěng ing-Tarub unmistakably shows the character of the “divine trickster”¹⁾. We see perfectly clearly that he wins his wife by means of cunning deceit; and later on it is again owing to stupid curiosity that he loses her. In the play of the cosmic forces that are simultaneously in cooperation and in opposition to each other, resulting in the creation of the Javanese world, Kyai agěng ing-Tarub represents the negative factor; he does not show the faintest notion of the wise management of the superior phratry. We may probably at the same time conclude that in the social dualism on which the myth is based, the kinship system was patrilineal. It is a fact at any rate that marriage is patrilocal: owing to her union with Kyai agěng ing-Tarub Nawang Wulan becomes an inhabitant of the earth; and when after-

¹⁾ See J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, *De oorsprong van den goddelijken bedrieger*, in *Med. Kon. Akademie v. Wetensch.*, afd. Letterk. 68, Serie B, no. 1 (1929).

wards she returns to the sky — according to one version of the myth this is not even possible and she remains tied for good and all to a phratry that is foreign to her — she must leave her child behind with the father.

Meanwhile we have not yet enumerated everything that characterizes the mutual relations between the Javanese pair of ancestors — consequently: between *kobongan* and *pëndapa*. With the contrasts stated up till now: woman > man, sky > earth, agriculture > hunting we have not yet come to the end of the phenomena incorporated in this dualism; it is precisely the most important feature that we have not yet mentioned. I here refer to the circumstance that, according to the myth, the primeval kris Braja Sungkuh and Kyai agëng ing-Tarub appear in the world at the same moment, while Nawang Wulan on her part brings the miraculous garment Onta Kusuma with her from the sky. The story clearly shows that we have not got to do here with a detail of minor importance, which is of little consequence for our view of this dualism; on the contrary, in this connection kris and garment are without any doubt things that must be considered to characterize the nature of the two Javanese ancestors *in the most direct way*. We can say that they are their *complete materializations*. Of the kris we knew this already: Pañji — i.e. Kyai agëng ing-Tarub — is intrinsically one with the kris. Now we see that the relation between Nawang Wulan and her garment is the perfect counterpart of this phenomenon. The entire divine power of the ancestress of the Javanese lies enclosed in the Onta Kusuma-garment. When the fabric is taken away from her, she is no longer what she was before; she is then a humble creature of the earth, will-lessly at the mercy of her not entirely reliable and somewhat silly husband; from the moment when she finds her garment again, she regains her former power and is able to return to the sky.

Our expectation that also in this respect the myth will be parallel to the division of the house, is not disappointed; also the data with respect to the arrangement of the house make the identity of the two Javanese ancestors with the kris and cloth respectively stand out in an unmistakable manner. If we return once more to the descriptions of the Javanese building-complex the essential features of which we mentioned above, then we perceive that there exists a mysterious, but very pronounced affinity between the back part of the house and the fabric. Again and again it is evident how impressed the informants are by the profusion of woven cloths, plaitings and embroideries,

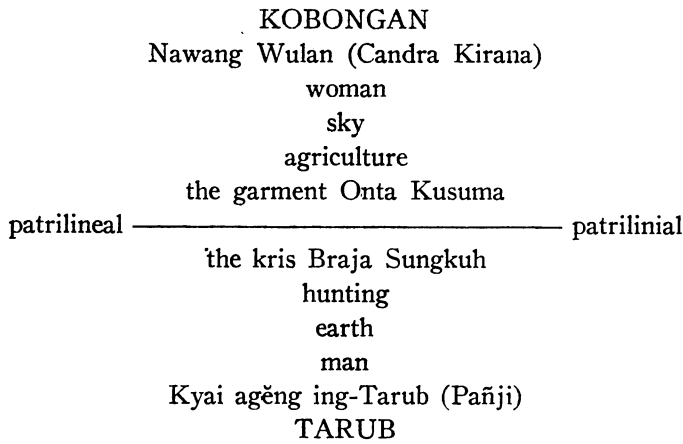
which is found there; constant mention is made of them¹⁾. For that matter, some of the terms that are invariably found to indicate the sacred room of the ancestress (*kobongan*, *pajangan*, i.e. "draped", "covered") speak for themselves in this connection. And, besides, now the custom of keeping especially the spinning-wheel and the weaving-loom in the small room adjacent to the *kobongan*, acquires a deep meaning. — As to the kris on the other hand, the relations are, in some respects, even much clearer in this case. For formerly we could make it already acceptable that there is a genetic connection between this dagger and the *pěndapa* of the house; the smith cannot, as we saw, begin to manufacture this sacred object before he has affixed to the outside of his workshop a small model of a *tarub*, and also in other respects the smithy must entirely present the character of a *tarub*²⁾. There is no doubting the identity of the hero Pañji, who appears in this *pěndapa* at wayang- and topeng-shows, with the Great Lord-of-the-Tarub. I do not here lose sight of the fact that in one respect the actual situation is contrary to our view: the spiritual relationship of kris and *pěndapa* does not show itself in such a manner that this weapon (as *is* the case with that other important attribute of Pañji, the gamėlan) is also kept in the *front part of the house*. The family krisses are kept, on the contrary, in the *kobongan*, where, according to our train of thought, they do not by any means belong. When we drew the attention to this phenomenon above³⁾, I already called it an anomaly and I shall have to return to it later.

When we now give to all these features as they have emerged in a perfectly similar manner from the myth and from the division of the Javanese house, in pairs their rightful place in a classification, based upon a primary tribal division, then we get the following scheme:

¹⁾ See above p. 536-7.

²⁾ See Rassers, *Inleiding*, p. 51 ff.

³⁾ See p. 532.



From this it appears that the marriage of the mythical pair of ancestors of the Javanese people can be characterized in different ways. It is a union of sky and earth, — of the goddess of agriculture with the human prototype of the hunter, — but above all (for we perceived that there is reason to assume that it is in these objects that the nature of both most completely manifests itself) it is the union of the garment Onta Kusuma with the kris Braja Sungkuh, in other words the lance Kyai Plèrèd. Now this last feature is for us of conclusive importance. It will become evident that, entirely in itself, this datum will enable us to consider the problem of the division of the Javanese house and of the original meaning of the different rooms found in it, from a more general standpoint; and as to the kris in particular, this loses for us — when we leave its outward appearance apart and confine ourselves to its social and religious function — its exceptional character in the culture of the Archipelago and takes its place in a large group of well-known, purely Indonesian objects. We can now begin to understand why the kris, in spite of everything that compels us to think, in connection with this object, of adoption or foreign influences, shows itself to us in such an unmistakable manner as an *organic* part of Javanese culture.

The marriage on occasion of which on the part of the woman a woven cloth is offered as a typical gift, while the man brings a weapon as a characteristic equivalent, is a phenomenon well-known to us from various parts of Indonesia, to which attention has been

forcefully attracted through recent investigations. It has become clear, namely, that an exchange of gifts in this manner and on this occasion must be regarded as an indication of the existence of a special form of social structure, viz. an organization with so-called asymmetrical connubium and the exclusive cross-cousin-marriage as obligatory or most desirable union. Everywhere in the Archipelago where this complex of phenomena has now been observed¹⁾ with sufficient certainty — in the Batak territories and in nearly the whole of the southeastern part of Indonesia, especially investigated by van Wouden for this purpose — the community is found to be constructed of a number of either patrilineal or matrilineal clans. The marriage-relation between these groups shows this curious peculiarity that every clan is obliged to give women in marriage to a certain other clan, from which, however, they do not receive women in return; in order to obtain women in marriage, the men of the first group must apply to a third clan, which, likewise, regularly functions in this way. As to marriage relations therefore, every traditionally genealogical group is in constant touch with two other clans, one to which it gives its women, and another one from which it receives women. Considering the community in its entirety, we find as a consequence of this phenomenon, that all the clans are connected with each other as links of a closed chain, in which each group has its fixed place; the men and the women of the whole tribe turn for the obtaining of their wives and husbands in opposite directions. It is a matter of course that in such a "circulating" system every clan forms a more or less closed unit with the two partner groups with which it stands in fixed connubium; from the point of view of the middle-clan such a three-clans-group is a tribe within the tribe, a separate community, within which its marriage demands can be completely satisfied; for the central group of this set of three the other clans of the tribe are of no immediate concern. Another striking (but not so immediately self-evident) feature in the relations between the clans is further the fact that the clan that receives the women is always supposed to be more or less subordinate to the clan that gives its women in marriage. The clan therefore does not occupy

¹⁾ F. D. E. v. Ossenbruggen, *Het economisch-magisch element in Tobasche verwantschapsverhoudingen*, in *Med. Kon. Akademie v. Wetensch.*, afd. Letterk. 80, Serie B, no. 3 (1935); F. A. E. van Wouden, *Sociale structuurtypen in de Groote Oost* (1935); J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, *De Maleische Archipel als ethnologisch studieveld* (1935).

the same position with respect to the two partners with which it is connected by connubium. Every clan shows two aspects: so far as it receives women, it feels itself inferior and has on a very large scale to take the wishes of the superior clan into account, what, meanwhile, does not mean that it should be entirely without rights with respect to the clan in question; in its turn it holds a privileged position and it can assert certain rights with respect to the group to which it gives women in marriage itself. This system of fixed relations between the clans, as well as the dual character of each group stand out especially clearly, since the marriage alliances are not a separate phenomenon in the relations between the clans, but at the same time indicate the nature of the entire intercourse within the community. The connubium determines, all but absolutely, the possibilities also of the economical relations and at the same time it dominates the spirit in which the transactions have to be carried out. For a clan does not only place *women* at the disposal of its inferior partner-clan, it provides it moreover with all such goods as are regarded as "female" in character; the providing of these goods is not entirely regarded as a favour by the last mentioned group; it can claim a certain right to them. The superior group counts on receiving so-called "male" goods in return, the character of which has also been determined for once and all in social agreement. The exchange of goods in this way governs well-nigh the entire barter trade; just as the men and women of each clan have to go in opposite directions to obtain their wives and husbands, so do the "male" and "female" goods circulate in the community, each exclusively in their own direction; any deviation from this is out of the question.

Now when we examine this classification of the economical goods in the different parts of the Archipelago whence sufficient information on this point has reached us, we find a highly remarkable similarity. There may be some slight uncertainty on a few points here and there, on the whole, down to details even, the similarity of the grouping is uncommonly striking. There cannot but be very general feelings on which this classification is based, and we see, indeed, already very soon that the basis for it is furnished by such a division of the social functions over the two sexes as in a certain culture had to appear perfectly reasonable, indeed almost inevitable. Within the enclosed interior of the house, where the daily life of the family is going on, woman takes a place of authority; the house is her domain; on her also rests the duty of preparing the meals and in particular the care

of the vegetable food and in this connection she has to occupy herself with the work in the gardens and with agriculture; finally she practises certain womanly handicrafts. The normal¹⁾ thing therefore is that we find mentioned as "female" goods: the *house* and the *household effects*, the *ornaments* especially worn by women, the *woven fabrics* and the *basket-work*, the produce of *horticulture* and *agriculture*, together with the first thing necessary for these: the *soil*. — The activities of men are bent on very different things. Their share of the economical goods is always considered to consist, besides the *ornaments* exclusively worn by the male sex, in everything that enables them to perform their function as warriors, hunters, cattle-breeders, fishermen, together with the produce of these trades; mention is regularly made of: *weapons*, *boats*, *cattle*, *fish*, *meat*; the *palmwine* also belongs here, for the winning of it is considered to be the work of men.

It is self-evident that such a system of exchange as has been outlined here in a few words, is not profane. Considered in itself, a division of the social functions which underlies the distinction of the entire material wealth into "male" and "female" goods, may appear to us very plausible, it is not sufficient to explain the unfree character of the whole exchange based on it. This absolute want of freedom and the strictly ceremonial character of all transactions are only conceivable in a community where things are not in the first place valued according to their simple economical worth, but where they possess a spiritual significance for their owner which is considered to be much more important. It is unmistakable that the objects are here animated beings, namely: men and women²⁾: their movements through the community are wholly determined by the circumstance that they are connected with the male or the female essence of the group; their value depends on the degree in which this is the case. For the curious thing is that the objects, also as regards this emotional value, are not all put on a level. In either category there is one kind of objects that is taken as typical for all, and which is apparently regarded as being pre-eminently the bearer of the vitality of the

¹⁾ See a.o. J. C. Vergouwen, *Het rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks* (1933), p. 69, 72; H. J. Grijzen, *Mededeelingen omtrent Beloe of Midden-Timor*, in *Verh. v. h. Bat. Gen.* 54, 3rd essay (1904), p. 57-58; P. Drabbe, *Het heidensch huwelijk op Tanimbar*, in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 79 (1923), p. 548 ff.

²⁾ Cf. Mauss, *Essai sur le don, forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* (*Année sociologique, nouvelle série* I, 1925, p. 41-49).

group in one of its sexual aspects. The names of these objects serve, as Vergouwen¹⁾ puts it, as "general collective names", one for the female goods, the other for the male ones. Everywhere now we find as such: the *woven cloth* and the *weapon*. In the Batak territories the term *ulos* (cloth) is the indication for everything that the clan in its superior character sends to its women-receiving partner; conversely the sword (*piso*) is held for the type of goods which, with the men, go in the opposite direction²⁾. The terms *ulos* and *piso* therefore determine for us the nature of the group in its two aspects; a clan is *ulos* in so far as it gives women in marriage, it is *piso* in so far as it receives women. And where this phenomenon repeats itself in the same way in every group, it also holds good for the entire community; this too shows itself in two aspects; it is at the same time "cloth" and "weapon".

Herewith the facts, solely seen from the outside, are very briefly sketched. We owe deeper insight into this circulating system and the phenomena connected with it, to van Wouden, who, in his book³⁾ mentioned more than once already, has in my opinion conclusively demonstrated the untenability of the view that in the communities concerned we should have to do with simply-unilineal, patrilineal or matrilineal, systems. Strictly speaking, they do not really appear as such either. Nearly everywhere in the area investigated by van Wouden, peculiarities in the social organization had also formerly been noticed which seemed to point to a mixture of matrilineal and patrilineal systems, for the explanation of which it was usual to have recourse to (entirely hypothetical) local-historical events, such as migrations and such-like. Now, however, it has been proved that these phenomena need not be ascribed to outside influences, since they can be quite naturally explained from factors in the culture of the community itself. For the social organization as we find it at present in these regions appears to have evolved from an original system reckoning with both patrilineal *and* matrilineal kinship, which existed side by side in perfect equality, but were at the same time regarded as being fundamentally different. In theoretical wholeness we should visualize such a community as composed of a complete

¹⁾ O.c., p. 67.

²⁾ Nowadays weapons are no longer among the gifts on the part of the husband; but all the same these goods are still indicated by the name of *piso*. See Vergouwen, o.c., p. 72.

³⁾ F. A. E. van Wouden, *Sociale structuurtypen in de Groote Oost* (1935). — See for the analysis of the system especially p. 89-99.

system of patrilineal totem-clans, by the side of which functions a similarly complete system of matrilineal totem-groups. The place of every individual in society is determined by the possession of *two* totems: one from the patrilineal system, which a man receives from his father, the other which he owes to his mother. With this "double-unilineal" kinship system, as van Wouden has also succeeded in proving, the phenomenon of the unilineal connubium and the exclusive cross-cousin-marriage is genetically connected. For the schematic representation of this system in its simplest form shows the rectangular crossing of two phratry (moiety)-systems, one patrilineal, the other matrilineal¹); in this way we get a primary division of the community into four parts, the quarters being crosswise in mutual connubium. As soon as we begin to take into account a further subdivision of the phratries (moieties) into clans, a limited number of possibilities present themselves. The marriage classes which then result, (their number is determined by the product of the numbers of the patrilineal and matrilineal clans) may — within the limits drawn by the double phratry-system — enjoy a certain connubial freedom; further they may — with the same restriction — two and two entertain mutual connubial relations; and, lastly, there remains the possibility that the marriage relations between these groups become one-sided, in which case the exclusive cross-cousin-marriage presents itself automatically as the only means of keeping up the system and making it function.

In my opinion van Wouden has entirely succeeded in this part of the task with which he was confronted — the theoretical reconstruction of the form of organization in which the circulating connubium belongs, with the cross-cousin-marriage in its limited form as its regularly attendant phenomenon. In doing so he has cleared up an extremely important problem and opened up interesting perspectives for the study of the cultures, not only with respect to the region which he has treated in particular, but in all probability for the whole Archipelago. Van Wouden has even proceeded further and has taken great trouble to compare his opinions with the facts as they are still to be found on the spot. A great part of his book is devoted to the treatment of the question how far a clearer light has been thrown upon different phenomena in the culture of Eastern Indonesia — the traditional relations between the political areas, the power of the

¹) See van Wouden, o.c., p. 97.

various authorities and functionaries and the terms on which they are with each other, the contents of the myths — owing to this new insight. Practically this investigation comes to an attempt to arrive at a clearer knowledge with respect to the nature of the classification systems which have been formed in the different areas, investigated by him, on the framework of the two phratry systems, crossing each other.

This investigation too was attended with great difficulties. The ethnographical descriptions which had to be used, are on the whole rather defective, which may for a great deal be explained by the very nature of the cultures treated by them. A double unilineal kinship system, such as must be presumed to exist on the ground of the still more or less prevailing marriage system, does not occur any longer anywhere in a perfect state of preservation. In many places the process of decomposition is already far advanced. There is no area where the two kinship principles still have the same importance; everywhere one of the grouping-principles — in by far the greater part of the cases the patrilineal one — has come to the fore, whereas the other one, though it still exercises some influence, has more or less faded away. It need not surprise us therefore that van Wouden has repeatedly not been able to arrive at a quite satisfactory result and that various details are still waiting to be definitely solved. The provisional orientation, however, which was the coveted goal of his investigations, has no doubt been reached and he has attained even more. I consider it among his most important results that he has succeeded in making it acceptable that the method of classification, for which the system of the two crossing sets of phratries furnished the scheme, shows certain regular features. During his investigation it appeared again and again that the patrilineal dualism shows a local-cosmical character and in the first place emphasizes the contrast sky < earth. In this duality the sky is considered the younger, but at the same time the principal figure; it represents the superior half of the tribe; earth is considered the older, but all the same the inferior, the less gifted one. In the phratries of the matrilineal dualism the two natural sexes proved to be put fundamentally in opposition to each other, and here, as is to be expected in this sphere, woman is classed in the superior half of the tribe, man in the inferior phratry¹). — It is with the last mentioned division of the community

¹) In this connection it is now intelligible that of the clans which entertain

according to the sexes, that, in van Wouden's opinion¹⁾, also the distinction of the social functions and the contrast between "male" and "female" goods is bound up with, as we have seen this appear in connection with the circulating connubium in the marriage relations. Consequently with the superior moiety of the matrilineal system it was, in his opinion, that a.o. agriculture, spinning, weaving and plaiting were associated; hunting, fishing and cattle-breeding were classed in the inferior phratry of the men.

It seems to me that this last point of van Wouden's opinion cannot be accepted, however plausible it may appear at first sight; and I am afraid that, at least for the greater part, it is owing to the clinging to this view, that his argument is in many cases not so convincing as it might have been. The distinction of the social functions or — in other words — the division of the entire material wealth into "male" and "female" goods, with the weapon and the cloth as the typical objects for these groups, cannot in my opinion be based on a simple tribe-division into two phratries; it must be connected with the more general and deeper lying contrast of the two aspects — matrilineal and patrilineal — of the *total community as such*. This is not difficult to understand. If we fully realize wherein lies the function of cloth and weapon, then we clearly perceive that these objects do *not* serve to depict the relation between man and woman in their capacity of beings that happen to belong to different sexes, and consequently (also according to van Wouden) not the relation between the phratries of the matrilineal grouping either. It is at the contracting of marriage that we see the distinction of the goods into "male" and "female" objects show itself; cloth and weapon regularly form a part, indeed the most essential, the universally characterizing part of the objects of value that the clans, as far as they *come into contact with each other in connection with marriage*, cede to one another. Weapon and cloth therefore characterize the relation between man and woman, or rather between the clans concerned, *as parties to the marriage contract*. Now in the double-unilineal system a man has not only to restrict himself, when choosing his wife, to the *matrilineal* phratry that is not the one to which he himself belongs, she must also be a member of the *patrilineal* phratry to which he himself does not

direct marriage relations with each other, the women-giving group is regarded as superior to the group to which the bridegroom belongs.

¹⁾ See e.g. o.c., p. 166.

¹⁾ L.c., p. 209.

belong. Bridegroom and bride are in a double sense each other's opposite in the social grouping. This means that the particular character of their union — the element therefore that is demonstrated in the ritual by the giving of a weapon on the one hand, of a garment on the other — lies in the fact that *the two general aspects of the community* get into touch with each other. A certain patrilineal totem allies itself with a certain matrilineal totem. For though both, husband and wife, bring into the marriage their paternal as well as their maternal totem, the significance of these totems for the contract into which they enter and for the offspring that can be expected, is not the same for both sides. In a community with double grouping, every individual is, in a certain respect, *finis familiae suae*; the man hands down only his paternal totem to his children, his maternal totem becomes lost on his death; the eternal in him, his soul, lies exclusively in the patrilineal aspect of his personality, of which the weapon (more actually said, a definite variety of it) is the most striking symbol; it is only through this that he has part in the eternal life of his community. The same holds good for the woman, but then the other way round; no doubt her place in the community and consequently the possibilities for marriage that are hers, likewise, are also determined by her paternal totem, but this does not alter the fact that the latter is as transient as her body; the woman has a lasting existence only as the giver of the cloth, that is as the bearer of the *matrilineal* vital principle.

On now returning, with this insight into the double-unilateral type of social organization and the classification system based on it, to the problems that engaged our attention, it is obvious that these have been placed in a very different light. Various features in the Javanese myth of origin, as well as to a certain extent the arrangement of the complete house and further nearly all the details of the great ceremonies celebrated in it, have now become easily intelligible for us. Those very phenomena that confused us and led to a renewed investigation of the kayon, now prove to be valuable indications for the reconstruction of the type of society in which we must locate the Javanese house, in order to correctly understand its function and the signification of its different parts. That in the dwelling-house of one and the same genealogical group there should be found *two* rooms which, on the occasion of high festivals in social and religious

life, are used by the community as a whole as meeting-places and are also decorated as such, does not surprise us any more. *Tarub* and *kobongan* — the respective temples of the *hunter* Kyai agěng ing-Tarub, whose materialization is the national Javanese *weapon*, and of the sky nymph Nawang Wulan, whose supernatural powers, especially directed towards *agriculture*, are entirely embodied in the sacred *cloth* which she brought with her in the world of humanity — have become for us essentially equivalent; they are, however, not identical, indeed they are on the contrary rather diametrically opposite. The *kayon* decoration retains for us the meaning that it had before, viz. that of an entirely reliable indication of the complete community; however, it has lost its exclusively male character. Not every *kayon* is fundamentally a men's house. And what is of the most immediate importance for us: the proposition of a genetic relation between *kayon* and kris can be maintained unimpaired, — provided we outline it more sharply. The kris is in truth the symbol of the totality; but we perceive now that it is this only in a patrilineal sense.

If we consider how great is the distance which separates the present day Javanese society from the community in which, in our opinion, *tarub* and *kobongan* properly belong, then it is surprising to notice how much in the ritual and also sometimes still in ordinary life the original character of these buildings has been preserved down to the present day. — Seated in front of the *kobongan*, the sacred room in the back premises, in the immediate vicinity therefore of the room where *spinning-wheel* and *weaving-loom* are kept, and surrounded by costly *fabrics* and *basketry* and all kinds of feminine utensils, the bride, in full state, awaits her husband at the marriage. Here, in the ceremonial house of the community in its matrilineal aspect, the bride is "given away". It is perfectly appropriate that it is exactly this room that is used as dwelling-place for the family and is moreover still called the "great" or "grand" house: in ancient Javanese society with its double organization, the family dwelling-place with all that belongs to it, was a "female" (i.e. inherited matrilineally) possession, and the matrilineal aspect of a group must have been considered superior. In this connection the fact also gains its full significance that Nawang Wulan-Candra Kirana is at the same time *Dèwi Sri*, and that it is part of the preparations for the marriage that are made in the *kobongan*, that besides some money, a handful of *rice*, the *product of agriculture* par excellence, is placed on the sacred couch, together

with some *pulse* and *flowers*. We see here as plainly as possible that the women-giving group, together with the bride, still cede all those goods that can be regarded as the natural bearers of the matrilineal character of the community. There is nothing mysterious in the fact that in the back premises the female sex, also in ritual respect, occupies a highly privileged place, and that the guarding of the *kobongan* is always entrusted to a woman: it is solely the women who ensure the survival of the divine principle that is worshipped in this part of the house. But by the side of this it is no less intelligible, that, nevertheless, *both* sexes come and worship the divinity here; the man too, as the child of his mother, has his place in the matrilineal grouping of the community. The *kobongan* has never become the exclusive domain of *one* sex; it has always remained to a certain extent what it was originally: a ceremonial house of the community in the full sense of the word.

The same total community uses for its sacred gatherings also the front part of the house, the *pëndapa*, which on these occasions becomes a *tarub*; but it then pursues different objects and we can also state now that it is differently grouped. Above we saw that there is reason to assume that especially the circumcision festival offers an opportunity to us to examine the character of the group which uses the *tarub* as its ceremonial house. It belongs to the regular preparations for this important ceremony a.o. to invoke the blessing of the ancestors, for which purpose they go with the boy who is about to be initiated to the place where these ancestors lie buried. The meaning of this ritual visit becomes more clear again, however, now that we notice that it is strictly confined to the *patrilineal* ancestors of the boy; Snouck Hurgronje expressly states that the boy is "taken to "the grave of his father, or, if the latter is still alive, of his father's "parents or ancestors, in order to *njuwun pangèstu*, i.e. to invoke "the permission and by doing so at the same time the blessing of the "*wong atuwo* for the important work that is about to be under- "taken"¹⁾. The same phenomenon, though perhaps somewhat less striking, occurs at the religious repast which is always given, when the building of the *tarub* is finished and the preparations for the circumcision have thus been brought to an end. On considering once more for whom the different courses in this ritual are destined²⁾, then it appears in the first place that, wherever we can judge of this,

¹⁾ L.c., p. 209.

²⁾ See above, p. 542.

the attention is exclusively directed towards the *father* of the boy and *his* relations; a special dish is dedicated to the *ancestors of the master of the house*, and likewise to the *brothers and sisters of the master of the house*; the maternal blood relations are not mentioned at all¹). But also in another way there is now some more light let in upon the curious composition of the group of figures whose blessing is implored at this repast; particularly we can now begin to understand that together with these higher beings also the powers are mentioned that rule over sea and forest, and that even the harmful animals have found a place here. In my opinion we are not going too far in assuming that it is the classification of the social functions, based on the double organization, which makes its influence felt here. With the spirits of *sea* and *forest* and the *animals*, mostly *harmful*, living in them, the community in its patrilineal grouping necessarily is in special relation; as *fishermen* and *hunters* the members of the tribe there find the field for those activities for which they are patrilineally destined.

The place that we see taken up, even in present day Javanese life, by the ritual of the circumcision, conclusively proves that the *tarub* is not essentially the sacred meeting-place of the male sex only, but of the complete community. Not only the boys are submitted to the initiation rite which is an introduction to the social and religious community of the *tarub*; we may say that in most cases also the girls are still formally made hunters and warriors. But we do see the patrilineal communal house so far advanced already on the road that is to lead to the exclusive men's house, that the circumcision of the girls no longer takes place in the *tarub*, but elsewhere and is performed more or less in secret, indeed is sometimes entirely neglected. This tendency to see in the members of the male sex not only the privileged bearers, but also the exclusive ones, of the patrilineal

¹) Herewith the reason why, on the occasion of the circumcision, the *kobongan* remains entirely undecorated, is at the same time discovered. — Yet, in my opinion, we also see the matrilineal relations put in a momentary appearance on this occasion, though as perfectly passive witnesses. Let us remember the custom, observed by Snouck Hurgronje with the Sundanese (see above p. 542), that the circumcised, after the operation, must for a moment touch the bared nipple of one of his female relations. There is hardly any doubt for me but that we have to understand by "female relations": "female relations on the mother's side". Then the sense of the gesture originally was that, at the moment that the boy is admitted as a full member into the paternal community, he once more acknowledged emphatically his connection with the matrilineal group of relations.

aspect of the community, is perfectly natural; symptoms of the same phenomenon are found everywhere¹). In my opinion the but sporadically found custom of the kris being worn by a woman, must also be seen in this light. It is self-evident that we must now take back the supposition, expressed above, that this should be a symptom of degeneration or a kind of concession to woman²). Every individual has a share in the two aspects of the community, and one might defend the thesis that every woman initiated in the *tarub* should by rights have a kris. But at the same time we are not surprised that the kris is not frequently seen to be worn by a woman (only with the higher ranks that is) and that it is always a small size one. The kris can never have had the same signification for a woman that it has for a man. For the male possessor the kris, which according to Javanese tradition is identical with the lance, is his *alter ego* in the deepest sense of the word; it represents the patrilineal element — i.e. the essential part — of his personality and therefore can take his place in the marriage ritual. Compared to this, the signification of the woman's kris vanishes into nothingness; the *patrēm* belongs to the transient part of woman's nature and it is therefore in the technical sense of the word never an "object of value"³). — The question whether in olden times it was a regularly recurring phenomenon that a woman wore a kris, cannot of course be answered with full certainty. But I certainly consider it probable that it was once regarded as necessary to make for every woman a special kris suitable for her person. This is indicated in my opinion, by the custom, widely practised until a fairly short time ago, according to our records, that the young Javanese does not only receive a kris from his father on reaching the age of manhood, but that moreover on the occasion of

¹) On the occasion of shadow-play performances, in the real wayang area, the *pëndapa* becomes almost completely a sacral men's house in its classical form; the women are practically excluded. That this stage in the evolution has not been completely attained everywhere, in other words that there is some hesitation as to the admittance of women to the performances in several places, has (in a somewhat different way now than I had formerly realized) become intelligible.

²) See p. 527.

³) It is important to observe how the kris Majapahit, which is especially worn by women, has in this connection entirely passed into the "matrilineal" sphere and so properly speaking is not a kris any longer. Its supernatural power appears to have been specialized in a pursuit the aptitude for which is obtained from the mother's side: the kris Majapahit is now chiefly used in agriculture, as a preventive against crop diseases. — See G. A. J. Hazeu, *Iets over koedi en tjoendrik*, in *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 47 (1904), p. 410.

his marriage, his father-in-law presents him with a similar weapon¹). For can we, now that we know the environment proper to the kris, see in this object given to him by his father-in-law anything else but the patrilineal emblem that the bride brings into the marriage as a piece belonging to her and that is handed to her husband together with herself?

The *tarub* is not only indispensable for the ritual of the circumcision but for the contracting of the marriage as well, and it is remarkable to see how intact, also in the conduct of the women-receiving group on the occasion of this ceremony, the essential features have still been preserved. About the most important gesture in this connection — the obligatory offering of the *weapon* as the chief object of value on the part of the man — we need for that matter, after what has just been observed, say no more; we know that during one part of the ceremony the bridegroom if need be can be done without, — the *kris* is *never* allowed to fail. — Wherever the custom has been maintained to give up, on the evening preceding the marriage, together with the so-called marriage-gift, also the bridegroom himself, pro forma, to his future parents-in-law, he is represented as a *santri*, i.e. “herdsman”. This term is of interest for us for two reasons. In the employing of this humble term is in the first place certainly to be seen a symptom of the submission that the women-receiving group ought to show towards its superior partner in the marriage alliance²); but yet it cannot be doubted either that the choice of a term from this particular pursuit is determined by the fact that the care of the *live stock* belongs to those social functions which naturally form a part of the community in its *patrilineal* aspect. Everywhere in the Archipelago the cattle ranks high among the “male” goods; in Java the cattle, as well as the kris, must have been looked upon as characteristic of the community in its patrilineal grouping. We see therefore, in many cases down to the present day, that one or more live *buffalos* are among the goods that the man brings into marriage³). And it is extremely characteristic that the name of the ceremonial gift which, on the occasion of the “bringing together”, the bridegroom gives to the bride, though nowadays it

1) Cf. Raffles, o.c. vol. I, p. 91; Veth, *Java*, vol. IV, p. 364.

2) The two aspects of the community are really *equivalent*, and with this fact is probably connected the usage to weigh the bride and bridegroom during the rite and to pretend balance.

3) See above, p. 544.

consists in quite different things¹), is still *radjakaja*, i.e. "cattle", "property in cattle". In this light it becomes intelligible at the same time why it is a great honour and also a strong means of reinforcement for a Javanese boy to be allowed to sit, on the occasion of his circumcision — i.e. when he is about to be admitted as a full member into the patrilineal group — on the head of a killed *buffalo*. In this way he participates most directly in the eternal life of his community.

I would propose to go somewhat further along this road, even if we have to do so gropingly, and even though, consequently, the connection that I wish to establish, will not appear well founded to everyone. However — since we know at present in what light we have to regard the objects of value that are given as presents by both parties on the occasion of a marriage — it will not appear unreasonable to anybody, if I should expect that among the gifts on the part of the bridegroom, there will, by the side of the *weapon* and the *buffalo*, be found an object which demonstrates the peculiar relationship between the community in its patrilineal aspect and *navigation* and *fishery*. In other words: we should not be surprised if there should appear to exist, just as this is not unusual in other places, a close relation between the *tarub* (i.e. the "male" kayon) and the *boat*²). We might say that — just as Candra Kirana-Dèwi Sri should of rights reside in the *family dwelling-place* — Pañji should feel at home in a *vessel* on the water. In the myths and stories telling of Pañji's adventures, such is indeed the case: it is one of the regular features that the Javanese tribal hero comes sailing from overseas in his boat. But is not it at least probable that also at the ritual exchange of gifts — on which occasion Pañji appears in his kris-form — this same boat should be present? Formerly³) I already recalled the fact that the curiously broadened mouthpiece of the sheath, which is the "house" of the kris, invariably shows the shape of an old-fashioned Javanese boat. I then pointed out that this very striking form could not possibly be explained from purely practical considerations and in

¹) Nowadays it is not only *different*, but even *ritually incorrect* things, such as rice, pulse, flowers etc. Apparently the idea of the meaning of this ceremonial gift has got lost; it is therefore all the more remarkable that the term *radjakaja* has been preserved.

²) Cf. van Wouden, o.c., pp. 39, 144; see also C. Nooteboom, *De boomstamkano in Indonesië* (1932), p. 189, and P. Wirz, *The social meaning of the sept-house and the sept-boat in Dutch and British New-Guinea*, in *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 74 (1934), p. 140-8.

³) *Inleiding*, p. 35.

connection with the fact that the figure of Pañji has undoubtedly for the Javanese a certain astral-mythological value, I suggested that we might have to think here of the "moon-boat". It now appears to me that we need not deny all value to this view even though we entertain the opinion that the real ground of this phenomenon is to be looked for in what might be called the normal preference of the tribal hero for the boat as a dwelling-place. It is not until then that we quite understand that this boat-shaped mouthpiece of the sheath bears in such a striking way the totality mark in the typical decoration with the *kayon* design and the Banaspati head.

After these explanations it will be difficult, I imagine, still to doubt that the present day Javanese kinship system has evolved from a double unilateral system such as we outlined above. It cannot for that matter be said that this conclusion is unexpected for the adept. It was already known that in different parts of Java some cousin marriage is still to a certain extent preferred, while by the side of this brother-sister exchange is forbidden and there also is an objection against the union of persons who have the same great-grandfather¹⁾. And now that our attention has been led in this direction and we can better appreciate the data at our disposal as to their exact purport, it becomes at the same time clearer in my opinion, that also in Java — though in a much slighter degree than in the areas investigated by van Wouden — the social organization itself still shows some peculiarities that can hardly be explained otherwise than as remains of the old double system. In this connection I am thinking of the well-known groups of Kalang, Pinggir, Gajahmati etc. in the Principalities²⁾, which probably within a measurable space of time will

¹⁾ C. T. Bertling discusses these facts, by the side of some others, in an article *Huwverbod op grond van verwantschapsposities in Middel-Java*, in *Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht*, vol. 143 (1936), p. 119 ff. His argument is not absolutely satisfactory; the double system is not mentioned at all; but from the fact that he tries to obtain light by means of comparison with the state of affairs among the Batak and with the kinship system of the Arunta, it is clearly seen what attitude he takes with regard to these phenomena.

²⁾ See about these groups a.o.: S. Suhari, *De Gajahmati te Solo*, in *Djawa* II (1923), p. 15-21; Do. *Pinggir*, in *Djawa* IX (1929), p. 160-168; Th. Pigeaud, *Javaanse Volksvertoningen* (1938), p. 377 ff. — Important for our understanding of the old social structure of Java is also: R. Prawata, *Huwelijksgebruiken en met het huwelijk verwante verhoudingen in oud Oost-Banjoemas*, in *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 71 (1931), p. 133-145.

have been absorbed by the great masses of the population, but which at the present moment still stand apart in the community and have their own special character. After what has become known about this of late, it seems hardly doubtful to me that, with these groups, with their pronounced functional character and their distinct unilateral tendencies, we have to do with relics of an old clan system¹⁾; and with regard to the arguments proposed above it is in this connection not without interest that the kinship system has not been the same with all these population groups. While everything indicates that the Kalang were patrilineally organized²⁾, we know that until a short time ago the Pinggir and the Gajahmati were conspicuous because of their curious "mother-right customs".

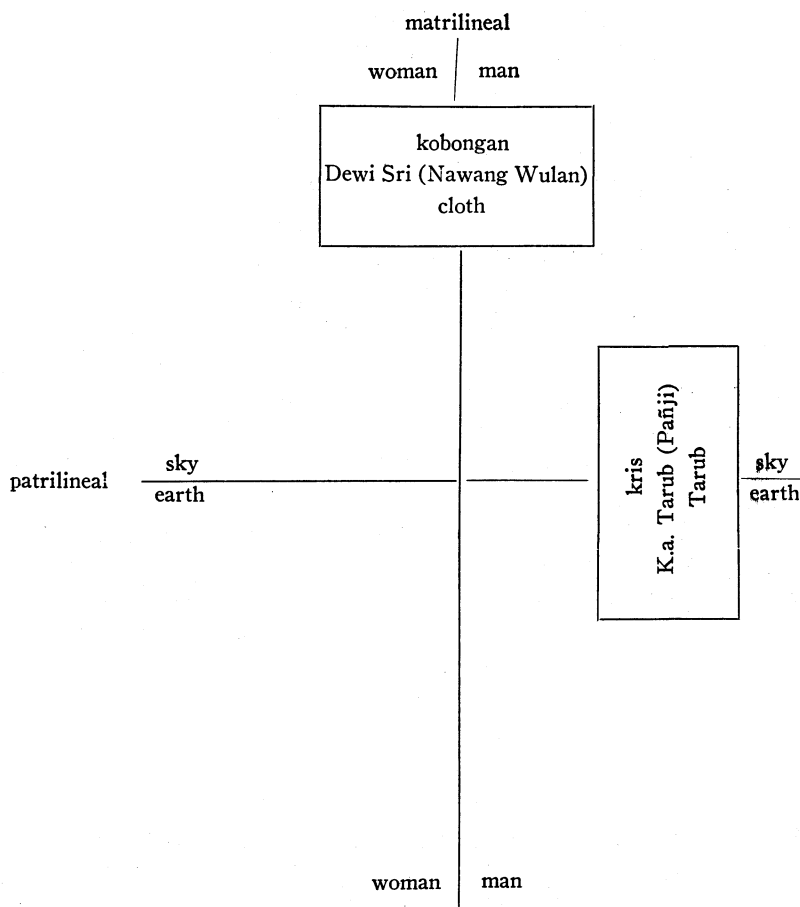
As I already remarked above, our conclusion according to which the national-Javanese weapon, for a correct understanding of its original function, must be regarded in connection with a double organization of the community, leads by no means to the rejecting of the essential oneness of kris and kayon. On the contrary, the kris remains for us a symbol of the total community and we must therefore assume that also the demonstration given in the preceding chapter on the meaning of the classifications of the kris dependent on small differences in the outward appearance, must have retained its value. Yet we shall have to refer to this again later on. Now that we have learned to regard, also in Java, weapon and cloth as the materializations of two aspects of the community, which, though radically different, penetrate each other and form one indissoluble whole — the two principles are combined in every individual — it is self-evident that, in certain respects, a proper study of the kris is impossible without extending it to include the Javanese cloth. We need not consider it out of the question that we, by paying attention to this

¹⁾ Pigeaud, (*Javaanse Volksvertoningen*, p. 351-378) has pointed out in connection with his views on the oldest Javanese masque types, that in native records Kalang is the name of one of the followers of Pañji, and occurs in a primitive classification series, so that, in his opinion, there is reason to think that with this there is at the same time indicated a special group in an old classificatory arrangement of the community. He moreover draws the attention to some facts (a.o. the relation with the dog), which make it probable that this old group is identical with the population group which we still know to-day in the Principalities as Kalang. — For the Gajahmati I refer to what I observed above (p. 520) with regard to the fact that they distinguish themselves by a particular form of kris grip.

²⁾ Also the function that is theirs by right is "male": they are woodcutters and woodworkers and are said to have lived in the woods in olden times.

very close connection, shall obtain some further knowledge about the manner in which the different classifications of the kris that we discussed before, are connected and that the meaning of the "decoration motifs" that are used as criteria for those groupings, will become even a little clearer. In a sequel to this essay I hope to make an attempt in this direction and I intend to try and find out then at the same time, how far the view stated above on the original function of the national-Javanese weapon can throw some light on the much thrashed problem of the *place of origin* of the kris.

I am not at liberty, however, to consider the investigation of the problems introduced here closed, before I have drawn the attention to a few facts which as obvious objections might be adduced against our view. — The first difficulty consists in the phenomenon already mentioned a few times before, that the sacred krisses of a genealogical group are not, as we should expect (and as *is* the case e.g. with the instruments of the gamēlan) kept in the *pēṇḍapa* or at least in a building in the front yard, but in the sanctuary of the *back part of the house*, which is the very place where, according to our argument, they ought not to be. The other objection is mentioned for the first time here and it is of more general interest. Our investigation of the Javanese origin myth and parallel with this of the plan of the Javanese house at once led to the conclusion that the same social classification underlies both and on closer inspection we were able to state that it was only possible to think of a community with double organization here. The two house temples and especially the ceremonies celebrated in them even appeared to have preserved the features of the double unilateral system remarkably well. We should therefore expect to find the character of this double system also in the scheme of the building more or less unimpaired. But this is not the case. The plan of the house with the classification which was expressed in the function of the two principal parts, has been in diagram shown on p. 558; this diagram shows a simple patrilineal dualism, in which *kobongan* and *tarub* confront each other like phratries (sky > earth, woman > man, cloth > kris). With the double unilateral system, however, the situation is as we know very different. We then have to do with *two* systems, either of which is complete in itself and possesses its own classification while, in rectangular crossing, they cover each other completely. If for the settlement of a Javanese genealogical group this system had been accepted as a basis, then the diagram of this would have to look as follows:



Concerning the last mentioned deviation, I would point out that there is at least one category among the Javanese houses, whose arrangement in my opinion still very nearly approaches a state of affairs such as is required by the diagram shown above. These are the princely palaces. Our knowledge of these palace complexes, with regard to their present day state as well as with regard to their history, is not so great as might be desired. It is only about the kratons of the Susuhunan of Surakarta and the Sultan of Yogya¹⁾ that we

¹⁾ J. Groneman, *De garëbëg's te Ngajogyakarta* (1895); V. Zimmermann, *De kraton van Soerakarta in het jaar 1915*, in *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 58 (1919); P. A. Soerjadiningrat, *Toelichting bij den plattegrond van de kraton te Jogjakarta in Djawa V* (1925); Th. Pigeaud, *Kleine gids ten dienste van de bezoekers* (van den kraton van Z.H. den Soesoehoenan van Soerakarta), in *Djawa*

have been suitably informed; neither of these is very old and moreover there are reasons for assuming that we do not now see them in their original state any longer; the buildings are said to have been greatly altered in course of time. For my intended discussion, however, these obstacles are not so great as they appear to be. For it is as good as certain that, in what is for us the principal thing — the distribution of the buildings and open yards over the grounds of the princely residence — the kratons have remained unchanged since the foundation; and we may also assume that precisely in this an ancient native custom¹⁾ is living on here. Pigeaud²⁾ has pointed out that the modern plan of the princely residence (which is exactly the same for Sōlo and Yogya) is very probably an imitation of older Javanese princely dwellings; he adds the remark, important for us, that this plan “is not without interest, when we consider it in connection with old “Javanese ideas about the organization of the world”.

What the main division of the kraton-site looks like, is known to us. It is the result of the crossing at right angles of two straight lines, one of which runs almost due North-South, the other West-East; and on close examination, we soon discover that we have not to do here with a measure aiming at the gaining of some practical useful effect, but with something that is much more important. For the two lines appear to strictly determine the nature and the purpose of the abutting buildings and open yards; the two rows differ from each other through either having a distinct sphere of its own. In my opinion the conclusion forces itself upon us that we have here before us the old scheme of the Javanese community, the line North-South effecting the patrilineal dualism, which is crossed in the West-Eastern direction by the matrilineal dualism.

On going from the North *alun-alun*³⁾ past *Sitinggil* and *Srimanganti*, alongside the *Sasanasewaka* and across the *pĕlataran Magangan* to the South front yard, one remains entirely outside the intimate residence of the princely family and only passes buildings and yards used for public life and everything connected with it. The *male* Regent (“Rijksbestuurder”) has this part of the princely

X (1930); R. Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo, *De garĕbĕg's in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta* (1931).

¹⁾ Or at any rate a manner of acting that did not clash with the old native ideas.

²⁾ L.c., p. 49.

³⁾ See the plans of the kraton sites in the above mentioned writings.

residence under his direct control. Here — and especially in the *Sitinggil* and the *Pagĕlaran* situated in front of it — the ruler shows himself to his people; and we may certainly think it significant that the *pĕndapa* situated at the North entrance of the *Sitinggil*, is called in Yogya the “Great Tarub”¹). Above all, however, does the character of this part of the palace complex appear, when we have ascertained what kind of objects it is that are kept and set up here. For it is here that we exclusively meet with the “male” goods, with which we have become familiar, and further the accessories of the ceremonies of which we now know that they concern the community in its patrilineal aspect. On the edge of the *Sitinggil* — I follow here the report on the palace of Solo — there lie a great number of *cannons* of antiquated pattern, and in the *pĕndapa* proper of this square (the *Bangsai Witana*) is kept as one of the principal sacred objects known in the Javanese community the holy cannon Njai Sĕtomi. Further an outhouse, likewise situated in the *Sitinggil*, the *Bangsai Angun-angun*, serves for the storing of the three distinguished kraton *gamĕlans*, which are only played at great ceremonies²). On proceeding in the same line to the South, we reach the *pĕlataran Magangan*, in the centre of which square stands another *pĕndapa*; in this *Bangsai Magangan* are kept a.o. the *Made-rĕngga*, the pavillion which is used for circumcisions in the princely family, and further a number of old *cannons*. Round this same square are found storerooms for the *guns* and other articles of equipment of the *soldiery* of the kraton³).

We would find a very different atmosphere if we were given an opportunity to enter the large complex of buildings and yards situated on a line which rectangularly crosses the former axis somewhere in the middle. Here is found, on the West side, the strictly closed part of the kraton, with the *prabasuyasa* as its principal part, the centre of the true dwelling of the prince and his family. Beside it is the *pĕtanen*, the room with the sacral bed of state. In this room (which may be called the *kobongan* of the princely *omah buri*) and in some annexes *pusaka* of different kinds are kept, and it is characteristic that among these are found, besides *standards*, also *kitchen utensils* and different *agricultural tools*⁴). Much more than in the ordinary

¹) J. Groneman, o.c., p. 20; P. A. Soerjadiningrat, l.c., p. 13; R. Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo, o.c., p. 57 note 2.

²) Zimmermann, l.c., p. 311; Pigeaud, l.c., p. 50.

³) Pigeaud, l.c., p. 51.

⁴) Zimmermann, l.c., p. 319.

Javanese house has the *omah buri* of the kraton become a domain only accessible to the women, and therefore it is a matter of course that the management of this part of the palace is entrusted to a woman; beside the *male* Regent for the direction of public affairs, the prince has, at the head of the closed part of his residence, a *female* official who likewise bears the title of *adipati*. She is the Raden Aju Adipati Sêdahmirah¹), and the importance of this figure is brought out sufficiently clearly in the first place by the fact that she is distinguished from all the other members of her sex through the pattern of the decoration of the fabric that serves her as a garment, and in the second place by her being charged with the care and the "feeding" of the most distinguished *pusaka*.

This insight into the principles governing the building of the palace, is of importance to us especially for this reason, that we may conclude from it that in Java the complete frame-work of the double organization as foundation of the arrangement of the building-site. has not been unknown²). There is no need for us to regard the division of the Javanese dwelling, such as we always find it nowadays, as some-

¹) Zimmermann, l.c., p. 325.

²) It is a matter of course that in such an old-fashioned milieu as the kraton appears to be, the two aspects of the total community are still sharply distinguished in the ritual; and in particular it becomes now intelligible that of the princely "food mountains" that are used with the *garêbbêg* there are a "male" and a "female" type. We need now doubt no longer that the *gunungan lanang* is a replica of the *tarub* in which the smith makes the kris, where the theatrical shows are performed and where the gamelan instruments are kept; the female *gunungan* represents the *kobongan*, where the community gives the women in marriage and where spinning-wheel and weaving-loom belong. For a closer study of the nature of the Javanese total ceremonies it is an important datum that with some *garêbbêg* the presence of both kinds of *gunungan* is required, whereas with others the *gunungan lanang* are exclusively used. It is clear that, where both types appear, a kind of super-totality is attained, an indication of the community in its most perfect completeness. It is also in the prince, the highest representative of the community, that the two aspects can meet; hence that on certain occasion he is adorned with the *two* emblems: with one of the sacred krisses as well as with the divine garment Onta Kusuma (see Groneman, *De garêbbêg's te Ngajogyakarta*, p. 23).

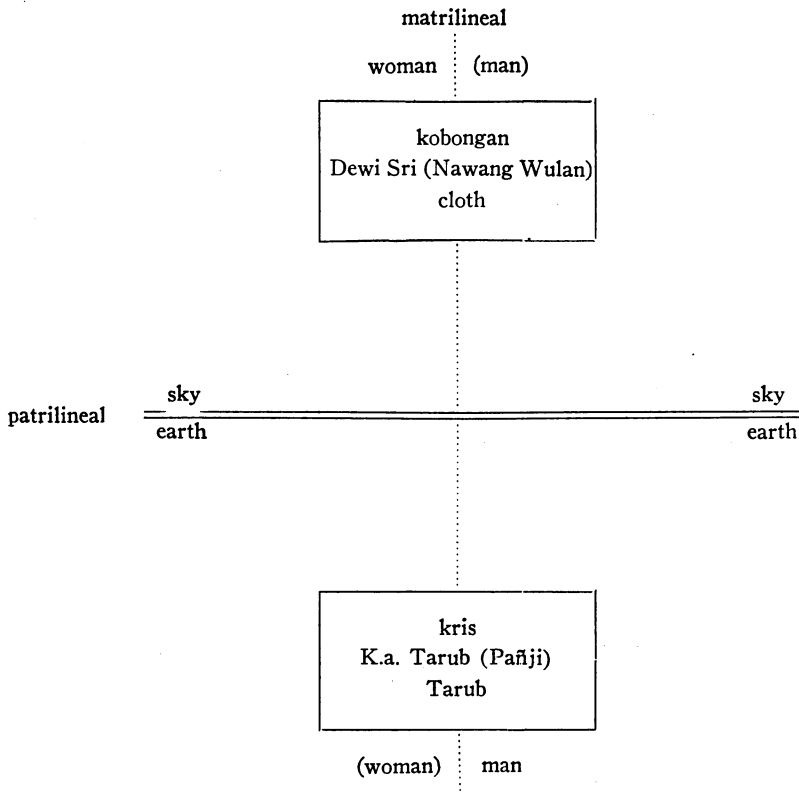
The question how far the double organization has been a *general* phenomenon, lies of course outside the scope of this study. I cannot omit, however, pointing out, with regard to our own culture, the names, well known from our feudal times, of "zwaardmagen", "sword side", and "spilmagen", "spindle side", — "zwaardleen", *lit.* "sword fief" in opposition to "spilleleen", *lit.* "spindle fief". Of even greater importance may be the fact that everywhere in the world we know the *flag* as highest symbol of the community. What else, after all, is the flag but the combination of the *weapon* (the lance) and the *cloth*?

thing truly original, but we may see in it an evolved phenomenon; and then it becomes the question what are the social factors that have brought about the change and have determined the present form of the house. Here again, in my opinion, van Wouden has shown us the way by means of his observation that nowhere in the part of the Archipelago investigated by him, the double unilateral system occurs to-day in a wholly intact form; it was always only possible through careful study to discover the half vanished phenomena of a dual character. Of course the process of degeneration did not always follow the same way, but still he could often ascertain that owing to the preponderance of one of the principles of grouping, the two conceptions that crossed each other had combined into a single dualism¹⁾).

If we allow ourselves to be led by this view, we get a chance in my opinion, to form an idea, at least to a certain extent, of the development of the present day Javanese house type and at the same time of the classification bound up with it. We need only assume one thing, viz. that it was the patrilineal aspect of the community that came to the fore in Java, whereas the matrilineal aspect lost in significance in the same measure. From this it follows that a social organization had to develop that is hardly to be distinguished from a single patrilineal dualism, with sky and earth as the two phratries. Sky and earth became the fundamental categories for an organization, into which, two and two in opposition to each other, all the different phenomena were incorporated. Also the two ceremonial houses had to receive their place in it so that a classification came into existence as indicated by the subjoined sketch (see diagram p. 581), which, as will be noticed, is not essentially different from the diagram in p. 558.

Perhaps it will cause a momentary surprise that — in a community which expressly granted precedence to the *patrilineal* principle — the *kobongan* was classed in the superior sky-phratry, so that the old temple of the *matrilineal* grouping became the principal sacred place of the whole house, whereas the *tarub* had to be contented with the inferior place. This apparent anomaly can become intelligible, however, when we take into consideration that we are not here in a consolidated unilateral grouping, but in a social transition form which also attaches a certain, though decreased value to the matrilineal principle, and in which consequently the women-giving group is still

¹⁾ O.c., p. 176.



regarded as the superior one. The opinion that it is here that we must look for the explanation of the phenomenon, gains in probability since we now, starting from the same point of view, can also in other respects begin to understand the character and the mutual relationship of the two principal parts of the Javanese house, with all the uncertainties and contradictions which we noticed in it in the course of our investigation. Old and new features appear to be mixed up. Unmistakably the two "houses" stand as phratries, male < female, in opposition to each other; but they have remained *kayons* all the same, and they have preserved their original totality character: also the men appear in the *kobongan* to worship the divinity and we even saw woman still take her place — naturally a humble one — in the ritual of the *tarub*. The matrilineal ancestor of the Javanese people grew, in the strict sense of the word, into a *celestial* character, but she has not lost the old associations: she is still at the same time the goddess of *agriculture*, in the moon she is busy *spinning* and the *cloth*

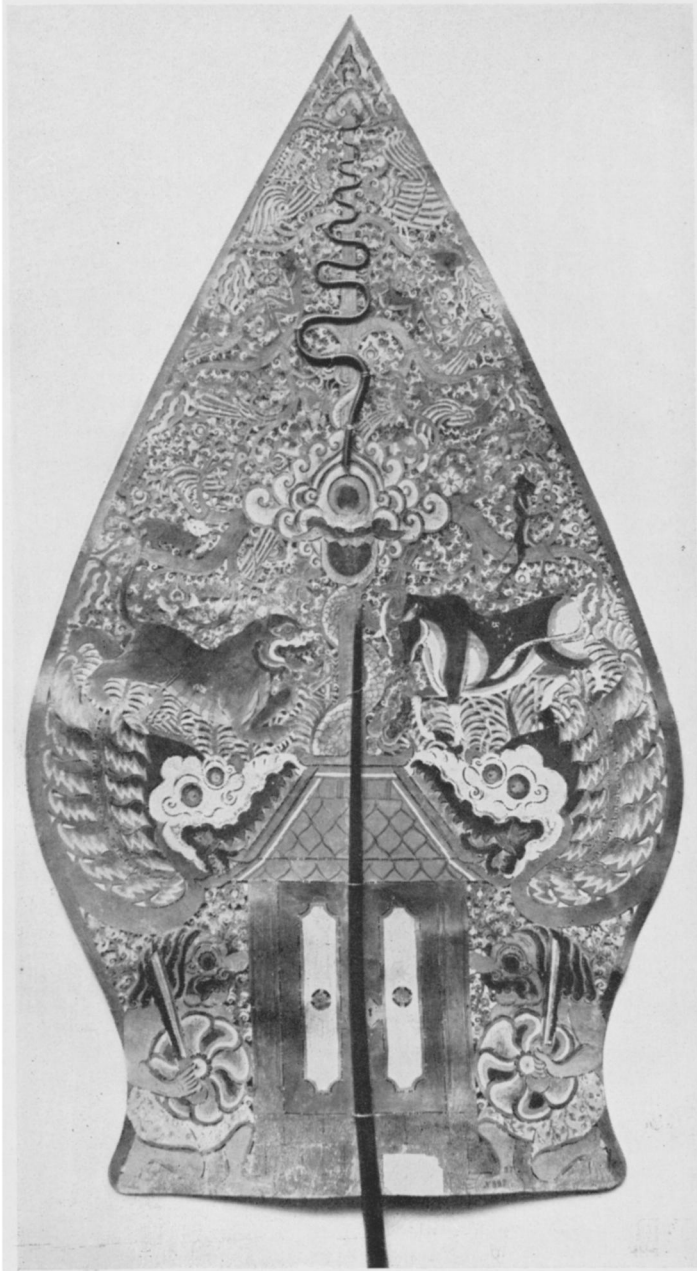
remained her emblem. To the hero Pañji, however, the Great Lord-of-the-Tarub, who once embraced sky and earth, fate was unfavourable; he had to suffer degradation; the *earthly* part in his nature became more stressed. We saw that sometimes this goes so far that he seems nothing but a mortal human being, to whom nothing human is foreign. But upon closer scrutiny we see that in his human form he is god all the same, — the bringer of precious cultural goods, the divine mediator on earth. The patrilineal token of the community remained his materialization; on the stage he preserved the character of the initiator whose voice is heard in the humming sound of the gamēlan¹).

In proportion as the social organization developed in the direction of a purely unilateral system and the patrilineal grouping began to dominate the relations more strongly, the high position of the old matrilineal community house had to be felt more and more as an actual absurdity. A radical alteration concerning the character of the *kobongan* was bound to come. I cannot but see a symptom of this in the circumstance that, by the side of Nawang Wulan-Dèwi Sri, there also appears a *male celestial god*, the above mentioned Hyang Maha-Suci or Maha Agung²); and I attach even much more importance in this respect to the fact that we have seen the kris invading the *kobongan*. It seems that no distinction is made any more between the sacral objects of value; the sacred cloths and the sacred weapons are kept in the same hallowed room; a stronger indication of the total confusion of the former double system is hardly imaginable. Yet several old well-preserved features presented themselves during our investigation of the *kobongan* ritual; and I may just remind the reader of the fact that also in its new surroundings the kris has not entirely lost its original specific character. When, once a year, the hereditary weapons are brought out of the storerooms in which they are kept in the *kobongan* in order to be cleaned and worshipped, then as we know *only men* are present. Then, consequently, we witness the remarkable spectacle that the sacred weapons drive woman out of her own temple and temporarily change it into a sacral *men's house*.

¹) The efforts that have been made to bring the wayang and all that is connected with it into close connection with earth and underworld (see a.o. K. A. H. Hidding, *De beteekenis van de kékajon*, in *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 71 (1931), p. 623 ff.) are easily intelligible in this light; the original meaning of this ritual, however, is not approximated in this way.

²) See above p. 540.

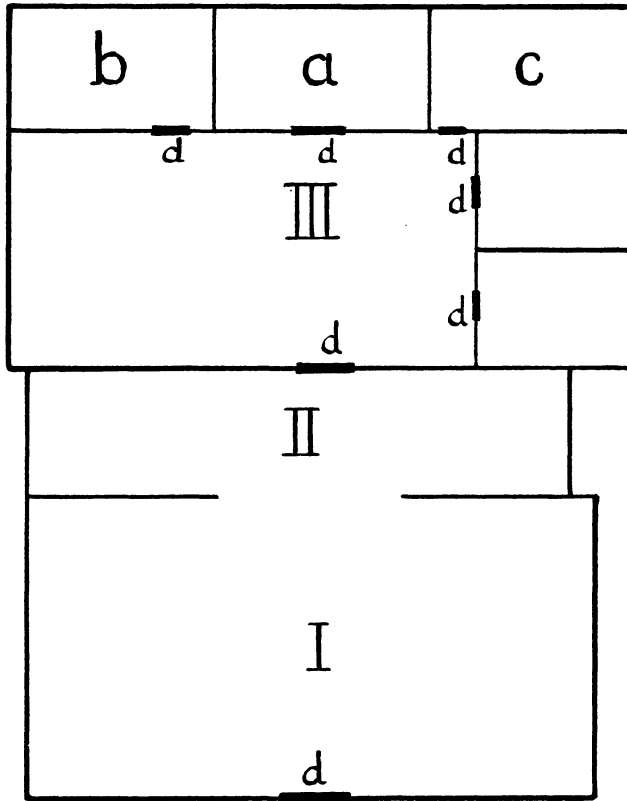
I.



Javanese kayon (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde).

II.

Plan of a Javanese house (after Joensen, Javaansche woningen en erven)



- I omah ngarĕp { pĕndapa, salu, tarub }
 II kampung { paringgitan, jagasatru }
 III omah buri { jĕrambah }
 a. kobongan { Sĕntong tĕngah, amben tĕngah,
 boma, pajangan, pasarean agĕng }
 b. sarong { sĕntong kiwa }
 c. sĕntong { sĕntong tĕngĕn }