Ancient Javanese Women during the Majapahit period (14th – 15th centuries CE): An Iconographic Study based on the Temple Reliefs
Perempuan Jawa Kuno periode Majapahit (Abad ke-14 – 15 Masehi): Suatu tinjauan Ikonografi terhadap Relief Candi

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Abstract

The idea of Javanese women's images in the past is more known through literature. Some stories mention them in beautiful poetic words and could be imagined divergently by different people. At the same time, the images of Javanese women could be seen from the temple reliefs. It may be more concrete as its material. The Majapahit period that lasts from 14th to 15th centuries provides quite complete data such as artifactual and textual resources that sufficiently support to reveal the depiction of ancient Javanese women at that time. The Majapahit temples have lots of reliefs that portray the women in the daily lives. These data are useful in an attempt to interpret the depiction of the women images in the Majapahit period. This study using iconographic analysis such as observation, description, and classification. The analysis results are compared to the terracotta figurines and sculptures from the same period. Last, the results are compared to the ancient literature from the same period as well. The final results show a regular pattern which is concluded as the characteristics of the Majapahit women. Not only the images themselves, but the meaning behind them also show that the women in the Majapahit era are more present than before and the way to visualize them is more reliable.

Gagasan mengenai penggambaran perempuan Jawa kuno lebih banyak diketahui melalui karya sastra yang berasal dari masa lampau. Beberapa kisah menceritakan mengenai figur mereka melalui narasi yang puitis dan dapat dipahami secara berbeda oleh setiap orang. Bersamaan dengan itu, penggambaran perempuan Jawa kuno juga dapat dilihat pada relief-relief candi. Figurnya nampak lebih konkrit karena digambarkan pada objek material. Periode Majapahit yang berlangsung pada abad ke-14 hingga 15 Masehi menyediakan data yang cukup lengkap meliputi artefak dan sumber tertulis yang dapat digunakan untuk mengungkap penggambaran perempuan di masa Jawa kuno. Candi-candi yang dibangun pada periode Majapahit memiliki sejumlah relief yang menggambarkan perempuan di dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Data tersebut sangat bermanfaat sebagai upaya menginterpretasikan penggambaran perempuan pada periode Majapahit. Kajian ini dilakukan melalui analisis ikonografi, yaitu observasi, deskripisi, dan klasifikasi. Hasil analisis dibandingkan dengan data figurin terakota dan arca yang berasal dari periode yang sama. Kemudian, hasilnya

dibandingkan dengan sumber tertulis sezaman. Hasil penelitian memperlihatkan pola yang teratur dan berulang di dalam penggambaran perempuan pada relief candi. Tidak hanya dari segi visualnya saja, namun makna di baliknya juga menunjukkan bahwa perempuan pada periode Majapahit lebih nampak dibandingkan periode sebelumnya, dan cara menggambarkannya lebih bisa diandalkan.

Keywords: Javanese women, temple reliefs, Majapahit, iconography | perempuan Jawa, relief candi, Majapahit, ikonografi

Introduction

Women are used as an inspiration for artistic expression and creation and their form have been shown in visual art, such as paintings, sculptures, figurines, and so on. The depictions represent women during a particular era and region. For example, the images of women who lived in ancient Egypt could be seen from its artifacts and wall paintings – or the images of women who lived in the European renaissance era could be seen from its paintings. Even though the images might not represent all women who lived at that time, it at least depicted some of them. This paper will explore and discuss the depiction of ancient Javanese women during the Majapahit period in Java, Indonesia.

The Majapahit Kingdom, which reigned during the 14th –15th centuries in Eastern Java, left archaeological remains that depict women figures of that time. The depictions are shown on temple reliefs, terracotta figurines, and statues. These iconographic data are a potential raw material to be explored in getting realistic information about the female figure. All this time, the ideation of ancient Javanese women is more known through ancient literary work. The best type of physical appearance of a woman at that time was narrated in some of the ancient stories, such as *Sri Tanjung* and *Panji* stories[1]. The readers could imagine the woman's figure in their mind's eye, but the notion is regarded as abstract, unreal, and defined differently by different people. Through archaeological remains, the depiction of ancient Javanese women could be more concretely constructed.

This study selected the Majapahit period as a research range mainly because Majapahit was one of the biggest kingdoms in Java before the Islamic Period in Indonesia. Then, during the Majapahit era, Indian influences became less dominant, tending to prefer local elements or even local genius that had been developed within their communities. Those local geniuses had been the strong character of the Late Classic Period (13th–15th CE). According to Satyawati Suleiman, the Late Classic Period that had spread into East Java clearly showed a local style of art and architecture. One of these examples was shown by the manner of their sculpting on the temple's relief. The Early Classic Period reliefs in central Java (8th–10th) were closer to the Indian art style, meanwhile the Late Classic Period in East Java evinced more local flair and were closer to the illustration of the puppet (Suleiman 1986: 182). Also, the Early Classic Period often depicts Indian Heroic Stories such as Ramayana and Mahabharata or the journey of Buddha on its temple's relief (as seen on Borobudur and Prambanan Temple), while the Late Classic Period Style begin to depict local heroic

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[1] The story of Sri Tanjung and Panji is very popular in the Majapahit Period, both in literature and visual art (temple reliefs). Sri Tanjung is a story about the loyalty of a woman to her husband although being seduced by the king (Atmodjo 1978: 3-4). The story of Panji is about the journey of a man named Prince Panji finding his fiancée, Princess Candra Kirana (Kieven 2017: 28-30).

stories that featured romantic aspects, as seen on *Sri Tanjung* and *Panji* stories portrayed on several East Java temple's relief (Zoetmulder 1994). Interestingly, the women figure became more central in East Javanese temple reliefs, since they took an important part as the main actor in the stories. This examination focuses on temple reliefs instead of sculptures as data because the reliefs usually depicted women in the daily lives while the female sculpture commonly represented goddesses.

Research Question and Aims of the Study

Even though there were several kinds of research on Javanese women through iconography, the focus was not on the female figure depiction specifically, but more about role and gender issues. Satyawati Suleiman wrote an article entitled "The Role of Women in the Classical Period as Seen in Ancient Sculptures in Central and East Java". Suleiman discussed the role of women in ancient Javanese society based on the temple reliefs. She founds that ancient Javanese women filled roles in family and society as well, such as being a mother, an entertainer (dancer and musician), or a priest (Suleiman 1985). Another scholar is Titi Surti Nastiti who wrote a dissertation entitled *Javanese Women: Position and its Role in Society, during 8th–15th Centuries*, which was later published as a book in 2016. Nastiti focused on textual data (epigraphy), but iconographical data was also used as supporting data. Nastiti concluded that the equality of women's position and role in ancient Javanese society covered in large measure various aspects of life. Women at that time had become equal partners with men, both in the domestic and public sectors (Nastiti 2016).

The study of ancient Javanese women focusing on physical appearance based on iconographical studies has never been undertaken, even though this issue is interesting since the idea of women's figures in Indonesia's past probably varies by region. Horizontally, the concept of an ideal figure women in area A could be different from area B, or area C, and so on; while vertically, the notion of an ideal woman in area A could change over time. Thus, it is possible that the figure of the ideal woman in the ancient Javanese Period was different from the ancient Malay woman, ancient Bali woman, and so on (Winaya 2018: 7-8). Therefore, there are several questions raised, such as how is the illustration of ancient Javanese women during the Majapahit period based on the depiction of its temple reliefs? Then, did the pictures show some regular pattern? This study works through such iconographical analysis from temple reliefs, supported by other data such as terracotta figurines, statues and ancient literature that was written during the same period to make comparisons.

The study's objective is to comprehend the depiction of ancient Javanese women who lived within Majapahit's daily life (14th – 15th centuries CE). The research is also intended to strengthen and reveal women's existence in a historical context. Women frequently are lost in historical documentation (Sorensen 2006: 78). Since the research that emphasizes the physical appearance of people in daily lives, especially women, in Indonesia's past time are very seldom, therefore this could be a preliminary study on the issue. Hopefully, in the future, there is not only the physical matter that had been researched but also the reason and meaning behind it.

Literature Review

Several scholars have researched written sources regarding ancient Javanese women. Atmodjo gave a brief review of the concept of the beauty of old Javanese women based on *Sri Tañjung* (Atmodjo 1978). As mentioned before, the *Panji* stories also describe the image of women figures. Even though this publication did not specially focus on woman image in *Panji* stories, S.O. Robson is one of the best scholars who did the best translation of the *Panji* story through his critical review titled *Waŋbaŋ Wideya* (Robson 1971). The translation also includes the narration of the woman

figure that is elegant and beautiful. The narration of women illustrations from *Sri Tañjung* and *Panji* will be mentioned below.

Moreover, Edi Sedyawati discusses in her article titled *Images of Old Java*, the picture of ancient Javanese women and its types, as described in the text and relief refers to Indian sources (Sedyawati 1992). Later on Agustijanto Indradjaja discussed the ideal figure of ancient Javanese women through two statues in Java, *Prajnaparamita* and *Durga Mahisasuramardini* that were portrayed differently from the ancient Indian women. The conclusion seems too general (not explicit), mentioned the women's depiction in India and Java are different. One of the examples is the waist. The Indian women tend to be depicted with large waists, whereas Javanese women have a small waist. Large waists are believed as non-virgin women, and not recommend to marry (Indradjaja 2017).

The rapid development of literature in the 11th -16th centuries is a beneficial condition because it can used as a historical resource applied to understanding the archaeological remains of that time. It was a different condition from the Early Classic Period that lasted in the 8th -10th centuries where less literary works was found, and the artifacts record was rich. However, the Majapahit period provides is with a more data consisting of artifactual and textual resources that sufficiently supported the process of analysis and interpretation.

In ancient literature, examples of women can be read in the story of *Sri Tañjung* and *Pañji*. Both were composed in the Majapahit period and were very popular at that time. Those stories have also been sculpted in several Majapahit temples in East Java. *Sri Tañjung* and *Pañji* manuscripts are recognized as *kidung* (middle Javanese language poetry), a kind of literature written in Javanese metrum (the rule of language pattern) that was very popular in the Late Classic Period. It is different from literature in the Early Classic Period such as *kakawin* which were commonly used in the ancient Javanese language in the Indian metrum (Zoetmulder 1994: 29). Javanese language experienced a golden age of growth during the Majapahit period (Poerbatjaraka and Hadidjaja 1957: 56).

Based on *Wanita Padmanegara*, Atmojo explained that some ancient Java literature briefly described the ideal women who had been considered as being ideal, denoting them as *Padmanegara*. *Padmanegara* originates from the word *padma*, which mean red lotus, and *negara*, which mean country or state. In this case, *padmanegara* relates to the word *padmini* (lotus woman), which means "the most favorable type of woman" as stated in the *Kama-kalpa*[2] (Atmodjo1978: 3-6). In some literature, the figure of ideal woman is described with sets of words. Both her face and body are physically illustrated with beautiful narrative words followed by praises. Those narratives are certainly an expression of the female figure who is considered as being ideal at that time. From *Sri Tañjung*, readers could imagine the figure of a beautiful woman as follow:

> "She has beautiful eyes like fawn's eyes with reddish color in its angles. Her face is like full moon. Her nose is beautiful and attractive. Three circles surround her navel. Her voice is as good as music. Her skin is soft and smooth like a blooming petals

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[2] *Kama-kalpa* is an ancient Indian text that describes various kinds of sexual life.

soursop. Her face is glowing like champak flower. Her steps like swan. Her liquid smell is like lotus flower, and her favorite color is white" (Atmodjo 1978: 6).

Moreover, in the *Sri Tañjung* manuscript, there were several *pupuh* (songs) that describe the female form. Prijono (1938) wrote in his dissertation some illustrations of them as follows:

Pupuh 174:
1. *Romanta pañjang tan pendah lumut*: Long hair like moss.
2. *Guluntânglung ing gaḍung*: Her neck is like ivory.
3. *Angron ing mimba alise*: Her eyebrow is like a mimba leaf [3].
4. *Liringe sor madu juruh*: Her gaze is sweeter than honey.
5. *Lambe lwir manggis karĕngat*: Her lips are like an opened mangosteen.
6. *Wajanira anridanta*: Her teeth are like the *sridanta* white leaf.

Pupuh 175:
1. *Sor tang nyuh danta santĕne*: Her breasts are bigger than the yellow coconut.
2. *Pupu lwir pol ginombetan*: Her thigh is like a smoothed palm leaf.
3. *Batise caca[ng]k ing kidang*: Her leg is like a deer's.

Pupuh 177:
1. *Kanakanira lwir manik bañu*: Her nails are like pearls.
2. *Lĕmbut ing angga lwir gading*: Her smooth body is like accessories of ivory.
3. *Jatmika ninny alistw-ayu, mung sira lĕwih i <ng> jagat*: Your beauty is unique in this world.

Whereas the illustration about a woman in *Pañji* story was explored by using the *Waŋbaŋ Wideya* manuscript based on the translation written by Robson. Based on that story, there are two *pupuh* describing women who are classified as ideal or beautiful woman. These two *pupuh* are as below (Robson 1971):

Pupuh 95a:
"*Wwahniŋ nyudanta kadi nurojaniŋ dyah keny-eni rosniŋ pĕṭaŋ danta lwir tĕŋah aŋligĕŋ jinĕm rum ketaka kumucup kadi wĕntis kesisan taŋ saŋga-laŋit yaya kesarja muryâwra riŋ tilam sĕkarikaŋ srigadiŋ yaya wajâŋisis sinuŋ sĕpah riŋ pamrĕman*".

"The fruits of the ivory coconut palm were as desirable as a girl's breasts, and the internode of the ivory pĕṭaŋ was like her waist, laid bare in the bed chamber. The pudak flowers in bud were like her calves uncovered, and the saŋga-laŋit creeper was like her hair, loosened and spilling over the pillow, and the white flowers of the srigadiŋ were like her teeth, becoming visible when she is given a betel quid in the bed-chamber".

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[3] *Azadirachta indica* is commonly known as mimba, neem, nim tree, or Indian lilac. It is a tree in the mahogany family *Meliaceae* that is native to the Indian subcontinent. Mimba is typically grown in tropical and semi-tropical regions. It came to Java in 14th century CE.

Part 1, Pupuh 95b:

"*Sarasija měkar kadi netraniŋ dyah lumirik roniŋ imba yaya kĕḍaliŋ alis arĕŋu kumram sĕkarikaŋ jamani kadi pamuluniŋ dyah akuniŋ lumrah taŋ sewalĕŋ talaga lwir sisinom kumyus karahupan amaŋun raginiŋ saŋ kasĕkan turida*".

"The lotuses were open, like the eyes of a girls casting amorous glances, and the leaves of the imba tree were like quivering of her eyebrows in annoyance. The flowers of the jamani were like a girl's golden complexion, and the water-weed was spread on the pond like curls on her forehead swaying when her face is washed, awakening the passion of the one oppressed by desire".

In addition to *Waŋbaŋ Wideya*, the women's ideation also found in another version of the *Pañji* story, namely *Pañji Angreni*. Poertbatjaraka mentions that *Pañji Angreni* has a language close to the ancient text *Pararaton*. It shows that *Pañji Angreni* comes from an old manuscript which is the result of "refinement" of the original Pañji story (Poerbatjaraka 1968: 388). Later on, Saputra discussed the illustration and personality of the *Pañji Angreni's* character in his publication (Saputra 1998). Descriptions of several female characters are as follows. The daughter of Patih Kudanawarsa from the Kingdom of Janggala named Angreni is described as beautiful as Ratih the Goddess.

"*...weh suci tumwang lwir ukiran kancana*" (IV: 8, 9).
".. made her clean, radiant, and noble as engraved gold".

"*...yen mesem lwir madu gendhis, yayah kencaring candra, swaranira arum manis karungu, sagung paswestri kasmaran*" (VII: 17, 3-7).
".. when she smiled (sweetly) looked like honey and moonlight, her voice sounds sweet and makes all women fell in love".

Another female character, a daughter of King Kadiri named Sekartaji, is described as the most beautiful woman. The descriptions are as follows.

"*Warnanen rasmining pura, rinengga ing, kancana sinepuh ing warni, yen mesem sor madu juruh, waja yaya mutyara, asor kilang lindrining kang pandulu, miwah pancere wadana, kadi sasangka ingaksi*".
"Her face looked like an angel, like gilded gold. Her smile as bitter as honey, her teeth looked like pearls, her stare was so beautiful, and her face looked like a moon".

"*Liringing netra lwir kilang, rema panjang mangke nyolorot wilis, sarirane ngraras alus, lunyu gading umiyat, arang mangke angaksi ing pembayun, kang wentis pundhak sinumpet, tan patandhingan in warni*".
"Her stare was so lovely, her long hair has a green radiance. Her body is beautiful as smooth as ivory, *arang mangke angaksi ing pembayun*, her calves were like *pudhak sinumpet*, incomparable".

The women figures narrated in ancient Javanese literature seem far away beyond the real condition of Majapahit women in the daily lives. The narration was an ideal concept of Javanese women at

that time. It is such an abstract concept, and this discussion will compare it with the depiction of women found in temple reliefs which is an image that could be seen as a concrete object.

Data Presentation

The data collection is from the temple's reliefs built in the Majapahit Period (14th - 15th centuries CE), i.e., Panataran Temple, Surawana Temple, and Tegawangi Temple. The temple's selection is based on the frequency of the women depicted in its reliefs. Panataran temple is the biggest temple from the Late Classic Period in East Java. The temple is sculpted with various stories which often present women imagery. Surawana is not as big as Panataran, but the temple wall is also decorated with various stories that show women in daily life. The last temple is Tegawangi which only has one story on its relief (containing several panels/scenes), but the women depiction is quite clear, especially with a large depiction of a couple in a daily-outfit at the back of the temple. There are more temples from the Majapahit period, but this study only uses the three temples as data resource since the women's depiction from these temples are considered representative.

The reliefs selection is limited to the panels that depict women. These choices also refer to the publication by Munandar (2004) that explains detailed information about the ancient Javanese literature sculpted in the temple's relief during the 13th -15th centuries CE. The information helps to select and identify the story that presents women in it.

Panataran Temple

Panataran Temple is the biggest temple in East Java. This temple is located in the northern section of Blitar Town, precisely on the southwest side of Kelud Mountain at 450 meters above sea level. The reliefs are at the *Batur Pendopo II* and *Candi Induk* (first and second terrace). N. W. Hoepermans in 1886 reported the date attached to *Batur Pendopo II*, i.e., 1297 *Śaka* (1375 CE). Moreover, the story reliefs are decorating the wall of *Batur Pendopo II*. The well-known stories are *Bubuksah* and *Gagang Aking*, and *Sang Satyawan* (Suleiman 1981: 1-3). Van Stein Callenfels and W. F. Stutterheim said there were *Pañji* reliefs on *Batur Pendopo II*. An indicator is a man who wore a *Pañji's* hat (*těkěs*) and the characters of *Kertala* and *Prasanta*. Suleiman also agrees with that statement but is still unsure about the part of *Pañji's* story on that relief (Suleiman 1981: 26-30).

Galestin added the *Sri Tañjung* story in *Batur Pendopo II* as seen on the Kedaton Temple, Surawana Temple, and Jabung Temple. That statement refers to the relief that illustrates a woman who rides on a fish (Suleiman 1981: 24). *Candi Induk* Panataran (the main temple) dated 1239 *Śaka* (1347 CE) still exists in the base section, which consists of three levels (terraces). The first terrace decorated with *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs, the second with *Kṛeshṇayana* reliefs, then the last is unnamed by narrative reliefs (Bernet-Kempers 1959: 92).

Fig. 1   Panataran temple area viewed from Candi Induk. Source: 2017 photo by Atina Winaya.

The pictorial documentation in this research covers all panels during the data collection, but the verbal descriptions were only given for the female figures depicted on the panels. The number of female depictions on *Batur Pendopo II* is 78 figures, the first terrace of *Candi Induk* is 9 figures, and the second terrace is 43 figures. Therefore, the total number of women depicted at the Panataran Temple is 130 figures.

Figs. 2-3   Several female figures in the Panji story on Batur Pendopo II Panataran Temple reliefs. Source: 2017 photo by Atina Winaya.

Figs. 4-5   Several female figures in the *Kreshṇayana* story on second terrace of Candi Induk Panataran reliefs. Source: 2017 photo by Atina Winaya.

Surawana Temple

Surawana Temple is in the Kediri region of East Java. It was dedicated to King *Vishṇubhuvanapura* (*Bhre Wĕngkĕr*) who ruled over the *Wĕngkĕr* area that was under Majapahit control. The temple is estimated to have been built in the 1478 CE (1400 *Śaka*), 12 years after the king's death. The temple remains that still exist is the base section that is decorated with narrative reliefs on its wall. The reliefs of the temple can be categorized into two groups, i.e., the short-panel relief and the long-panel one. The long-panel reliefs illustrates the story of *Arjunavivāha*, especially *mintaraga* scene (Arjuna's meditation seduced by two beautiful nymphs), whereas the short-panels illustrates the story *Bubuksah dan Gagang Aking*, *Sri Tañjung*, and the ending of *Arjunavivāha* (Bernet-Kempers 1959: 96). Munandar added that there was a fragmented story about *Pañji* that had been sculpted in Surawana Temple (Munandar 2004: 56).

Fig. 6   Surawana temple. Source: 2017 photo by Atina Winaya.

The relief depicts female figures shown in the *Arjunavivāha* and *Sri Tañjung* (also considered as the *Pañji* story). Relief of *Sri Tañjung* is marked with the illustration of a woman riding a fish and *Arjunavivāha* is marked with the illustration of *mintaragas* scene (Arjuna meditation surrounding by two beautiful nymphs). Meanwhile, the story that is regarded as *Pañji* is marked by an

illustration of a man wearing *tĕkĕs* hat. The total number of women depicted in the Surawana Temple consists of 18 figures.

Figs. 7-8   Female figures in *Sri Tañjung* story on Surawana Temple.
Fig. 9   Female figures in *Arjunavivāha* story on Surawana Temple Source: 2017 photos by Atina Winaya.

Tegawangi Temple

The location of Tegawangi Temple is near Surawana Temple. The temple is built by *Bhre Matahun*, the younger brother-in-law of King *Rajāsanagara* (the most famous king of Majapahit). This building might have been built before 1365 CE and the construction was unfinished. The extant building is the base section that is decorated with *Sudamala* reliefs on its wall (Bernet-Kempers 1959: 95).

Fig. 10   Tegawangi temple. Source: 2017 photo by Atina Winaya.

The most interesting findings were a couple of sculptures of a man and woman on a big pillar located in the center of the eastern wall of the temple. That pillar is also set in the center of the wall, between the south and north sides, but it is plain or without any sculptures. Somehow this work was incomplete, this relief of the couple still begs the question to their identity. Both of them are pictured in a simple style. They do not have either royal or godlike attributes. Their body posture is pictured in a dynamic, non-straight way. Their hairstyle is also simple, with neither crowns nor

accessories. The woman's hair is in a bun and marked by with flower running between her forehead and ear. The jewelry they used was only earrings and bracelets (without necklaces, arm bracelets, *upawita* [caste belt], as gods or kings usually wear). The woman wore a *kemben* and cloth whereas the man wore a cloth (with chest uncovered). The area from the stomach to the leg was unrecognized for it was unfinished. Although it looks like the couple has something in common, the back of their heads features a halo circle (Majapahit shine). The couple must be important, either as a part of the *Sudamala* story or in Majapahit society. The total number of women depicted in Tegawangi Temple is 12 figures.

Fig. 11   A couple figure at Candi Tegawangi. Source: 2017 photo by Atina Winaya.

Figs. 12-13   Several female figures in *Sudamala* story at Candi Tegawangi. Source: 2017 photo by Atina Winaya.

The three temples were built in the Majapahit period, between the 14th to 15th CE, in East Java. All of the temples depict women's illustrations on their relief. The Panataran Temple depicts 130 figures, the Surawana Temple depicts 18 figures, and the Tegawangi Temple depicts 12 figures. Panataran shows the most depiction because the number of the reliefs is more than the rest of the temples. The depictions of women have similarities that will be discussed below.

Result and Discussion

This research follows systematic steps, starting from data collection, analysis, and interpretation as well. The data collected using the method of observation. Observation is the most general method by which eyes get more clear visualization. That method may be slow, but it is the most accurate (Sharor and Ashmore 2003: 203). Another task to do while observing is to describe the data in a verbal and pictorial form.

The verbal descriptions must be detailed and complete to make identification easier. The table was drafted with unit descriptions (attributes) based on the *Descriptions of a Figure Statue* by Edi Sedyawati. It contains all characteristics embodied in a figure statue, and thus functions as a checklist (Sedyawati 1983: 3). The form has been modified as necessary indeed (Table 1). Besides verbal description, pictorial description or photograph documentation is very important to recording objects, so the observation can be redone wherever and whenever it takes place.

Common Description		Common Data	
1. Description Number: 2. Picture: 3. Name of Figures: 4. Current Place:		1. Material: 2. Contour: 3. Plastic Character:	

Detail Character
  1. Common Character:
    Body Attitude:
    Body Posture:
    Body Shape:			

2. Head	**3. Chest**	**4. Arm and Hand**	**5. Hip-leg**
Physical Features - Eye brow: - Eye: - Nose: - Mouth: - Ear: - Neck: - Shoulder: - Hair: *Accessories* - Halo circle/ śirascakra: - Crown: - Forehead accessories/ jamang: - Earring/ sumping:	*Physical Features* - Chest shape: *Accessories* - Necklace: - Caste belt/ *upawita*: - Shawl/ *sampur*: - Chest tie: - Chest cloth/ *kemben*:	*Physical Features* - Arm & hand posture: *Accessories* - Shoulder brace: - Bracelet: - Hand ring: - Objects/ *lakṣaṇa:*	*Physical Features* - Leg posture: - Hip shape: - Navel: *Accessories* - Fabric: - Pleat: - Belt: - Cloth accessories/ *uncal*: - Foot bracelet: - Foot ring:

Table 1 Description form.

The next step is data analysis by putting all the descriptions into a Microsoft Excel application to make the classification process easy. Describing data by using descriptive statistics is a fair data analysis without any intention of drawing general conclusions (Sugiyono 2017: 147). It is using simple statistics through Microsoft Excel tabulation. Tabulation is an effective way to handle 160 data units. The table breaks down the attributes of female figures, so it classifies them based on each character. The statistical results show a general illustration of classes based on women's characteristics. Therefore, class members are likely similar to one another (Doran and Hodson 1975: 159). Attributes are a class determiner. For example, there are four classes/groups according to the 'eyes' attribute (1) closed; (2) semi-closed; (3) opened; (4) unclear (cannot be observed because of its degraded condition). The illustration as seen in figure 11. Too many attributes affect the number of classes yet processing data in detail yields a way to get more accurate results.
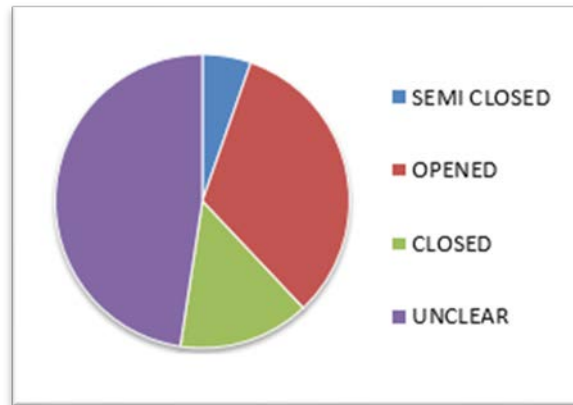
Fig. 13   Eye Diagram. Source: Winaya, 2017.

Iconography studies examine the attributes of the icon. Humans and deities are depicted differently: gods and goddesses usually show elements such as *laksana* (objects/weapon held), *vāhana*[4] (usually an animal companion), and specific *mudras* (hand gestures). For humans, *abharanas* (attire and jewelry) are considered as important attributes. Therefore, the fashion of hair, attire, and jewelry will be the main focus for observation.

The majority of the women were depicted as standing, which is the most common posture and tends to be slightly bent down. The body shapes are in average size - neither fat nor slim -, with flat stomachs. It is a different from Early Javanese depictions which usually shows the women in a fertile and plump body (i. e., prominent breasts and waist). The detailed description of each part body are as follows:

Head

Physical Features
The eyebrow, eyes, nose, and mouth are hard to see because most of the data were worn-out. The rest of the viewable data showing the slightly curved eyebrow (calm expression); the eyes opened; the medium-size noses; and medium-size lips as well. The majority of them have broad ears, very upright shoulders, and high necks (including fat women). Most of them bun their hair (with variant styles), and some of them have long-straight hair or using head turbans (albeit in small numbers).

Accessories
From all the female figures, the only woman who has a *śirascakra* (Majapahit shrine) is found in Tegawangi Temple (the couple on the back wall). The majority of the women were using hair buns, although some of them let their hair dangle. There were several of them who were wearing crowns or turbans (tie head). Forehead accessories (*jamang*) and ear leaf accessories (*sumping*) is hard to observe because it was largely worn-out or broken. From the viewable data, the majority of the

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[4] Vāhana, "a vehicle". Most of the gods are represented as having animals as their vāhanas. Brahma has the Hansa (swan/goose), Vishnu has Garuda (half eagle-half men), Siva has Nandi (bull), Indra has an elephant, Yama has a buffalo, Kartikeya has a peacock, Agni has a ram, Varuna has a fish, Ganesha has a rat, Vayu has an antelope, Durga has a tiger, and so on (Dowson 1957: 330-331).

women were wearing a *jamang*, not a *sumping*. A lot of them were wearing earrings (*subang*) with various designs.

Chest

Physical features
One of the attributes that emphasize the characteristics of a woman are the breasts. Most of them have small breasts, only a few have prominent breasts.

Accessories
The majority of women were wearing a necklace with various designs. Only a few women wear a sacred belt (*upawita*) to show their social status. The majority of them are wearing a shawl in various styles. The most common style was to be carrying a shawl over their left hand. Most of them are wearing a chest cloth called a *kemben*. This kind of attire did not appear before the Majapahit period.

Hands and Arms

Physical Features
Hand and arm postures varied according to their activities, so no further classification was done.

Accessories
The majority of women were wearing sundry bracelets, whereas there were no women who were wearing a shoulder bracelet, hand ring, or holding a *laksana* (identifying them as gods).

Waist and Leg

Physical features
Leg postures featured various styles, so classification was not done. The majority of women were illustrated with a small waist and did not show their navels (as they were covered by *kemben*).

Accessories
The women commonly used a long cloth that reached to their ankles. Clothes in detail were difficult to observe since the sculpture relief was broken. A lot of women were wearing cloth tied with a belt, but only a few of them had *wiru* (cloth pleats) and *uncal* (a shawl with accessories dangling onto the thigh).

Data classification may show some common characteristics of women who lived at that time. Those characteristics found in almost every data unit are listed below:
1. The hairstyle is varied, some are in buns, unraveled and long, or covered by a turban.
2. Slightly Eyebrow (calm expression).
3. Eyes are normally open.
4. Nose size is medium or tends to be big.
5. Mouths with medium-sized lips or those that are thick (not thin).
6. Ears with large earlobes.
7. Ears featuring earrings.
8. Long or high neck.
9. Necks donning necklaces.
10. The head accessories are varied: some use *jamang* (forehead accessories), *sumping* (ear accessories), and some do not).
11. The shoulder is very upright.
12. Medium-sized body (not fat, not slim).

13.   The chest is not too prominent.
14.   The waist is not too prominent.
15.   The navel is covered.
16.   Not wearing *upawita* (sacred belt).
17.   Carrying a shawl, usually over the left hand.
18.   Wearing a chest cloth (*kemben*).
19.   Wearing a belt around her waist.
20.   Not wearing a chest belt or tie.
21.   Wearing long clothes from the waist down to the ankle.
22.   Clothes are not always ornamented by pleats (*wiru*).
23.   Clothes not decorated with *uncal*.
24.   Wearing a bracelet on her wrist.
25.   Not wearing a shoulder bracelet (*kelat bahu*).
26.   Not wearing a ring on her finger.
27.   Not wearing an anklet.
28.   Not wearing a foot ring.

Those characteristics highlight the illustrations of women who daily lived in the Majapahit period, in contrast to goddess images. Generally, a goddess statue in the Majapahit period clearly showed their gods' attributes as their key features, such as *śirascakra* (a halo circle), *jaṭāmakuṭa* (a crown made of her hair), and *upawita* (a belt or tie as a symbol of her social status). Then, goddess statues also wearing *jamang* (forehead accessories), *sumping* (ear accessories), shoulder bracelet, with some holding *laksana* (a god or goddess' weapon). Breasts of the goddess are illustrated prominently (with no chest clothes). The cloth that covered her hip into ankle beautifully ornamented with cloth accessories such as pleats, shawl, and *uncal*.

In Hinduism, the creation of a god/goddess statue must be done through yoga techniques. The aim is to focus the attention of the *silpin* (a sculpture artist) in making the object that is worshiped. That object description is called *dhyāna mantrams* or a kind of formula obtained when a yogin is in a trance, or it can also be called *sādhanās*, which is the beginning of the form of the deity to be visualized. An example is the *dhyāna mantrams* of *Bhuwaneśwarī* (a form of the goddess), "she looked like the rising sun, beautiful, resplendent, worth of destruction, a shining crown on her head, three eyes, and wearing earrings dangling from various jewels; as a lotus-lady, she shows a generous and protective body". The *silpin* must go through a process of soul purification and ritual worship to be able to indicate and visualize in the mind the image of a god, and then translate it into stone or metal media (Coomaraswamy 1934: 164-166).

Fig. 14   Statue of a Majapahit queen as Goddess Parvati, from Rimbi Temple. Source: 2021 photo by Atina Winaya.

To enrich the knowledge about the portrayal of the Majapahit women, adding women depictions in terracotta figurines as a data comparison will be necessary. The Majapahit people produced various terracotta items, such as containers in many sizes, figurines (dolls, piggy banks, etc.), and building materials (tiles, roof ornaments, decorated pillars). The museum in Trowulan stores terracotta figurine collections, including women's figurines. The terracotta figurines were used as decorations or dolls. Unfortunately, most of it is incomplete, such as only the head, body, or legs. Only a small number of figurines remain complete from head to toe. The women terracotta figurines relatively small, approximately 15-25 cm. Overall, the women terracotta statue used as research data is 46 figures.

Figs. 15-26   The women terracotta figurines. Source: 2017 photos by Atina Winaya.

The women's terracotta figurine description shows a similar pattern as the temple relief. All the attributes from head to toe look alike. And once again, those characteristics are different from the women in statue figures represents the goddess. What is displayed on the temple relief and terracotta figurines indicates the illustration of women who lived in the Majapahit period. The various hair model whether in a bun, hair down or covered in a turban shows the freedom for women to express their beauty through the hairdos. Even the bun is worn in various ways as well, decorated with any hair accessories. It is getting clearer in the terracotta figurines which have shown several characters such as a musician girl, a girl holding an animal, and many ordinary girls wearing various hairstyles. It means the Majapahit women can be free to be creative in their daily appearance. What makes the difference between ordinary and royal women probably is the type of head accessories (crown) and its material quality.

Moreover, the depiction of the body features such as slightly curved eyebrows (calm expression), open eyes, medium/large-sized nose, mouth with medium/thick lips, chest, and hips are not too prominent shows the physical characteristics of the Javanese women. As the other depiction of the body such as broad ears, high neck, upright shoulders, and a medium-sized body, is a condition of the women figure considered ideal at that time depicted by the artists. Majapahit women were usually wearing a dress such as a long cloth which covered the chest (*kemben*) until the ankle. It seems this kind of dress is familiar as a women's daily outfit. Sometimes they added accessories such as a long shawl that is worn on the left arm. They also love to wear pieces of jewelry such as earrings, necklaces, and hand bracelets in various models. It could be an indication of the Majapahit's social life prosperity.

Finally, the data results will compare to the ancient literature that was presumed to be written in the 15th century CE, such as *Sri Tañjung* and *Pañji* stories (Munandar 2014: 7). The image of a woman tended to use figurative language that has some symbolic meaning. The detailed description refers to a body part's shape, but sometimes in general. Some figurative expressions might seem redundant or weird when trying to understand them in today's context. By the analysis of the literature, the illustration of the ancient Javanese women are as follows:

No.	Literatures	Relief	Statue	Figurines
1.	Long hair as though a moss/vine plants *saŋga-laŋit*/shining in green color	Dangling long-straight hair; or puts up in a bun; or wearing turban.	Long hair and puts up in a bun (ornamented by crown and accessories)	Long hair and puts up in a bun
2.	Eyebrows as though a *mimba* leaf (calm expression)	Slightly curved eyebrows (calm expression)	Slightly curved eyebrows (calm expression)	Slightly curved eyebrows (calm expression)
3.	Eyes as though a blossom lotus flower	Opened up	Half-opened	Opened up
4.	Lip as though an opened mangosteen	Medium-size/thick lip	Medium-size lip	Medium-size/thick lip
5.	Teeth as though a white leaf of *sridanta* flower/white flower *srigadiŋ*/pearls	-	-	-
6.	Neck as though a stem of ivory	high neck	Not too high, yet clearly visible	high neck
7.	Nails as though pearls	-	-	-
8.	Smooth skin as though ivory jewelry	-	-	-
9.	Golden skin as though *jamani* flower	-	-	-

10.	The skin is clear as though gold crafted	-	-	-
11.	Breasts as though ivory coconut	Small breast	Prominent breast	Small breast
12.	Hip as though joint of *pĕṭaŋ gading*	Small waist and hip	Prominent waist and hip	Small waist and hip
13.	Bottom as though pyramid shape	-	-	-
14.	Thighs as though smooth palm leaf	Covered by cloth	Covered by cloth	Covered by cloth
15.	Calves as though beautiful *pudhak* flower	Covered by cloth	Covered by cloth	Covered by cloth
16.	Legs as though deer legs	Covered by cloth	Covered by cloth	Covered by cloth
17.	Feet as though ivory	-	-	-

Table 2. Literature and iconography data comparison

The concept of image based on the literature seems too impeccable and impossible to have by common women. It looks like the image was referring to the ideal type of women (*padmini*) written in the *Kama-kalpa*. The *padmini* type or "lotus woman" is a character of the goddess in Hindu myths. For example, as seen in *dhyāna mantrams* about Goddess *Bhuwaneśwarī* as a lotus woman. Therefore, the women's illustration in the literature did not portray the real condition of the women who lived at that time but depict the description of goddess characteristics. However, some figurative illustrations in the literature still match with the iconographic data based on the same body's part, such as the long hair, slightly curved eyebrows (calm expression), opened eyes, and high neck (for the temple reliefs and terracotta figurine); and also prominent breast-waist-hip (for the sculptures). Not every part of the body is compared to one another since most of the features are difficult to depict in visual art.

The data analysis shows some differences in the women's illustration between the iconographic data (reliefs and terracotta figurines) and the literary data. The temple reliefs and terracotta figurines more likely indicate the real situation of the Majapahit women. Meanwhile, the literature data and the sculpture (statue) indicate an ideal woman in religious concepts, which is desirable but not realistic.

Conclusion

The depiction of ancient Javanese women during the Majapahit period (14th -15th centuries CE) possess a series of characteristics that also functioned as a mark of the period style. The conclusion is proved by the women depicted in the temple reliefs repeatedly in a regular pattern. Those characteristics are representative figures of the women who lived at that time. The general illustration also concludes the notion of a woman figure in a Majapahit's society that unique and specific.

In iconographic studies, the ancient literary sources support the interpretation process. The presence of *kidung* in the Majapahit period is equivalent to the characteristics of the story depicted in the temple reliefs. The depiction of a woman as a central figure in the story starts to be present in the temple reliefs as well. It was a different situation from the previous period. The women's appearance in the temple reliefs and ancient literature are a symbol of respect for the equality of women against men at that time. Their presence as a central figure indicates the importance of women's roles with all their characteristics. The narration usually tells that the women are tough, integrate, and loyal. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact there is more than one queen who ruled the Majapahit kingdom.

What displays on the temple reliefs indicates the common illustration of the Majapahit women. The various hair models whether in a bun, hair down or covered in a turban shows the freedom for women to express their beauty through the hairdos. Even the bun is worn in various ways as well, decorated with any hair accessories. It means the Majapahit women can be free to be creative in their daily appearance. The Majapahit women were usually wearing a dress such as a long cloth covering chest (*kemben*) until ankle. Sometimes they added accessories such as a stylish long shawl that is worn on the left arm. They also love to wear pieces of jewelry such as earrings, necklaces, and hand bracelets in various models. It seems this kind of dress is familiar as a women's daily outfit. The fashion might indicate such social status or social phenomenon. It could be an interesting discussion in the future. Therefore, the women's depiction in the temple reliefs and also terracotta figurines seem to visualize the woman figure in more realistic ways. It is different from the statues that demanded adherence to iconographic rules written in the scriptures. Not only are their portrayals more authentic, but the meaning behind it also show that the women in the Majapahit period were more present than before and the way to visualize them is more reliable.

Acknowledgments

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