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ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST

VOL. II.

SUVARNADVIPA

PART I—Political History.

BY

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The Dutch Savants

whose labours have unfolded

a new and glorious chapter

of the

History of Ancient Culture and Civilisation

of India

this volume is dedicated

in token of

the respect, admiration, and gratitude

of the author.

PREFACE

The first volume of *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, dealing with the colony of Champā, was published in 1927. Various causes have delayed the publication of the second volume. One of them is a change in the planning of the different volumes. Originally I had intended to deal with the history of Kāmboja (Cambodia) in the second volume. As the wonderful monuments of this kingdom were to constitute an important part of the volume, I paid a visit to Cambodia in order to obtain a first-hand knowledge of them. There, in my conversation with the Archæological authorities, I came to learn for the first time that many novel theories were being advanced regarding the age and chronological sequence of the monuments of Angkor Thom. I was advised to put off the publication of my book until these had been fully explored. Acting upon this advice I took up the history of Malayasia which was to have formed the third volume. My knowledge of Dutch being very poor at the time, I had to spend a long time in mastering the contents of relevant books and Journals which are mostly written in that language. Hence it has taken me nearly nine years to prepare and bring this volume before the public. The interval between the first and the second volume has further been prolonged by several urgent pre-occupations.

It is needless to dilate on the difficulty of working on the subject in India, without any possible help or advice from any competent authority, and without any adequate library. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the small collection of books on the subject, which I have patiently acquired for Dacca University during the last seven years, is the best in India, but it is still very far from being adequate or satisfactory. The study of the Indian Colonisation in the Far East is still at its very infancy in this country. The Greater India Society and its Journal are notable recent

enterprises, but the establishment of a Central Institute with facilities for the study of the subject is still a great desideratum. At the time when I took up the task of writing a series of studies on Indian Colonisation, the Society had not yet come into existence, and there was no book, big or small, on the subject in English language. As regards Java, the remark still holds good, save for a small pamphlet published by the Society, and a book on Indo-Javanese literature, published by one of my pupils after the first draft of this book was ready. I state these facts, not with the motive of claiming any special credit, but with a view to craving the indulgence of the readers for the many shortcomings which will be found in this pioneer work.

When the book was completed, it proved too bulky for one volume, and hence I thought it advisable to divide it into two parts. The first part, now published, deals with the political history and the system of administration. The second part, now in press, deals with law, society, art, religion, literature, and the economic condition of Suvarṇadvīpa.

I have experienced considerable difficulty in the spelling of proper names. As regards the Javanese names of persons and places, I have followed the Dutch spelling, substituting *j*, *ch*, and *u*, respectively, for *dj*, *tj*, and *oe*. I have also used *y* and *v* respectively for *j* and *w*, except where these occur at the beginning of a word. The modern Javanese personal names are spelt exactly as in Dutch. As regards the Chinese names, I have followed the English, French, and Dutch spellings, according to the source from which I derived my knowledge of them.

Originally I intended to insert in this volume a complete collection of Javanese inscriptions on the lines followed in Volume I. But while this volume was in progress, my pupil Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M. A., a research-scholar working under me, took up this work, and has now practically completed it. I hope his 'Collection of Javanese Inscriptions'

will shortly be published, and hence I do not think it necessary to add a third part dealing with the Javanese inscriptions.

As at present planned, the Second Part of this volume, referred to above, will be published before the end of 1937. The Third Volume, dealing with Kāmboja (Cambodia and Siam), will be published in two separate parts, one containing the history, and the other the collection of inscriptions. I hope these will be out before the end of 1939. Volume IV, forming the sixth book of the series, and containing a general review of Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, will, I hope, be published by 1941.

The task of writing these volumes has been a painful and laborious one, particularly as I have to work, for the most part, in a remote Mofussil town, under heavy pressure of administrative and other duties. I can only crave the indulgence of my generous readers for the many errors which must necessarily have crept into this book. My sole excuse for the choice of this difficult undertaking is the general apathy and ignorance in this country about this important branch of study. If I succeed in removing them even to a small extent, I shall consider my labours amply rewarded.

Ramna, Dacca.
The 7th of December, 1936.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

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INTRODUCTION

I propose to deal in this volume with the Hindu colonisation in Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. For this entire region, now known as Malayasia, I have used the name Suvarṇadvīpa. My authority for the use of this Indian name in this wide sense is set forth in Chapter IV.

In this volume I have followed the same plan as was adopted in the case of the earlier volume on Champā. I have tried to bring together such information as we possess of the political history of the different regions constituting Suvarṇadvīpa, and have also dealt with the various aspects of civilisation of their people, *viz.*, religion, literature, law and administration, social and economic conditions, and art. I have not discussed such general themes as the nature of Indian civilisation, the influence of the Pallavas or of South India on the civilisation of Sumatra and Java, the origin of art and alphabet of these regions, and similar other questions which are pertinent to the subject. These will be discussed in a subsequent volume.

Although Suvarṇadvīpa is a mere geographical expression and a congeries of states, it came to be on two occasions, at least, almost a political entity. First, under the Śailendra kings from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., and, secondly, in the palmy days of the Empire of Majapahit. Even in other periods, there has almost always been a close political relationship, be it friendly or hostile, between its constituent parts, such as we do not meet with between any of them and the outside world. Even now the predominance of the Malay-speaking people all over the area serves as a bond of unity, which is also artificially maintained to a large extent by common subjection to the Dutch. These considerations would be a further justification of the choice of Suvarṇadvīpa as a historical unit.

Our knowledge regarding the Hindu colonies in the various small islands which dot the Pacific is very meagre, and this volume primarily deals with the Indian colonies settled in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Bali, and Borneo. The sources of information on which the accounts are based will be found in detail in the body of the book, but it may be convenient to give a general idea of them at the very outset.

The sources may be broadly divided into two classes, indigenous and foreign. Among indigenous sources, again, the two most important sub-divisions are (1) archæological, and (2) literary.

The archæological evidence consists mainly of inscriptions and monuments, as coins play but little part in unfolding the history of these countries. As regards inscriptions and monuments, Java offers the richest field, and those in the other regions are far inferior both in quality and quantity.

The Sanskrit inscriptions of Java were studied by Kern, and may now be conveniently consulted in his collected works (Kern—V. G.). The Kavi inscriptions have been collected in two works by Cohen Stuart (K. O.) and Dr. Brandes (O. J. O.). Other inscriptions have been noticed or edited in the publications of the Dutch Archæological Department, particularly in O. V.

The monuments of Java are principally described in three series of archæological publications, *viz.*, (1) Rapporten (2) O. V. and (3) Arch. Ond.

The last named series really consists of three monumental works on Caṇḍi Jago, Caṇḍi Singasari, and Barabuḍur. While one volume is devoted to each of the first two, that on Barabuḍur consists of five big volumes. Two of these contain only plates, and of the three volumes of texts, two give the archæological, and one, the architectural description of the great monument. It may be noted that the two volumes on archæological description have been translated into English.

As regards the island of Bali, we have a collection of inscriptions in Epigraphia Balica, Vol. I, by P. V. Stein Callenfells. The results of more recent archæological investigations are given by Stutterheim in 'Oudheden Van Bali'.

The monuments of Sumatra and Borneo, which are in Dutch possession, have been described in O. V. For those of Malay Peninsula we have got a preliminary account by M. Lajonquierre in B. C. A. I., 1909 and 1912.

As regards the literary sources of history, there are two works in Java which may claim the highest rank:

The first is Nāgara-Kṛtāgama, a poem written during the reign of Hayam Wuruk, by Prapañca, who held the high office of the Superintendent of the Buddhist Church in the court of that king. It was composed in 1365 A.D., and, although primarily concerned with the career of the king, gives other historical informations of high value. It has been translated by Kern (V. G., Vols. VII, VIII) and re-published by Krom.

The second is a prose work called Pararaton. It is a sort of historical chronicle beginning with the life of Ken Angrok, and continuing the history of Java down to the end of the Hindu rule. It gives dates for most of the events, but these have not always proved to be correct. The book has no doubt a genuine historical background, but the incidents mentioned in it cannot always be regarded as historical without further corroboration. The book was originally edited and translated by Brandes (Par.), and a revised edition has been published by Krom.

There are other modern historical works in Java and Bali, called Kidung, Babads, and Sajara which have preserved traditions regarding their ancient history. These have been referred to in detail in the chapter on Literature. Similar works exist in Malay Peninsula, *e.g.*, Sajarah Malayu.

Besides historical works, Java and Bali are rich in literature of all kinds to which a detailed reference will be found in the chapter on Literature.

A very large part of this literature still exists in manuscripts alone, but a few important texts have been ably edited, some with a Dutch translation. There are very learned and comprehensive catalogues of Javanese manuscripts by Vreede, Brandes, and Juynboll. Among the published texts may be mentioned, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata (portions only), Bhārata-yuddha, Arjunavivāha, Kuñjarakarṇa, Vṛttasañcaya, Bhoma-kāvya, Calon Arang, Tantri Kāmandaka, Megāntaka, Dreman, Lingga Peta, Nītisāra, and various Kidung works, in addition to several religious texts and one law-book. The former include Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, a Mahāyānist text, and Agastya Parva, Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, and Tantu Panggelaran, all works of the nature of Purāṇa, containing theology, cosmogony and mythology. The law-book is Kuṭāra-mānava, edited with notes and translation by Jonker. A fuller account of these will be found in the chapters on Literature and Religion.

The foreign sources may be subdivided into two classes, the eastern and the western. To the former category belong the Chinese, and to the latter, the Indian, Greek, Latin, and Arabic texts. The Indian, Greek, and Latin sources contain stray references to Malayasia and its constituent parts, and occasionally, as in the case of Ptolemy's Geography and Marco Polo's accounts, some valuable geographical information. The Arab texts, consisting principally of travellers' accounts, are also very valuable for a knowledge of the trade and commercial geography of the whole region. But these western sources do not offer much material for reconstructing the history of Malayasia. For this we have to turn to the Chinese texts which contain very valuable data for the political and cultural history of the entire region.

The Chinese possessed special opportunities for obtaining first-hand informations about the different regions of Malayasia, as these had diplomatic and trade relations with China. The envoys from these lands to the imperial court, and the

accounts of the Chinese ambassadors who visited them, must have furnished excellent materials to the official Chroniclers who incorporated accounts of these foreign lands in the historics of the Imperial dynasties. A number of Chinese travellers also visited these far-off lands and recorded short accounts of the countries visited by them. The traders from these lands also imparted valuable information to Chinese officials. Thus the Chinese annals possess a store of information about Malayasia, which in quality and quantity far exceed, in importance, what we know from other foreign sources. In view of this, and as frequent references have been made to these Chinese sources in the text, we give here a short account of the Chinese texts on which we have principally relied.

First, we have the famous Dynastic Histories. As is wellknown, there are twenty-four official Histories which deal with the history of China from the earliest time up to the end of the Ming dynasty (1643 A.D.). The first book, Che-ki, deals with the history of the country from the earliest time up to 122 B. C. The other books deal separately with the history of every dynasty which has since reigned in China. The history of each dynasty was written after its downfall with the help of the Government archives. It contains accounts of foreign countries "which have always been drawn up from the materials at hand, and may therefore be considered to refer to the time when the dynasty still existed, even if the time of their compilation and publication falls considerably later[1]".

The following is a list of the Dynastic Histories, principally referred to in this book. The date, given within brackets, refers to the period covered by each.

1. History of the First Sung Dynasty (420-478 A. D.)
2. History of the Liang Dynasty (502-556 A. D.)
3. Old History of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906 A. D.)

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. VII.

4. New History of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906 A. D.)
5. History of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A. D.)
6. History of the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty (1206-1367 A.D.)
7. History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643 A. D.)

Among the non-official accounts, those of Fa-hien and I-tsing (Record, Memoire) belong respectively to the fifth and seventh centuries A. D. After a long interval we come across regular accounts from the twelfth century onwards. These are enumerated below with brief notes.

1. Ling-wai-tai-ta, by Chou kü-fei, Assistant Sub-Prefect in Kui-lin, the capital of Kuang-si. It was composed in 1178 A. D.

2. Chu-fan-chï by Chau Ju-kua, Inspector of Foreign Trade in Fu-kien. The date of this work has been discussed on p. 193.

The author had special facilities for obtaining information on the subjects treated by him from the foreign sailors and traders who frequented his port. Though he has relied on Ling-wai-tai-ta for several sections of his work, those dealing with San-fo-tsi and its subordinate states (which alone are mainly used in this book) seem to be based exclusively on the information gathered by him from Chinese and foreign traders[1].

3. Tao-i Chih-lio or "Description of the Barbarians of the Isles" by Wang Ta-yüan with the cognomen of Huan-Chang. He visited, for purposes of trade, a considerable number of foreign localities during the period 1341-1367 and recorded what he had seen in this work. It is a personal and, consequently, trustworthy record.

There are two dates in the work from which we may conclude that the author was already travelling in 1330, and that he probably put the last touches to his work after the summer of 1349.

4-5. Ying-yai Sheng-lan by Ma Huan and Hsing-Cha Sheng-lan by Fei Hsin. Both Ma Huan and Fei Hsin accompanied

1. Chau Ju-kua, pp. 22, 36.

the famous eunuch Cheng Ho in some of his voyages. These voyages were undertaken at the command of the Emperor with a view to exploring foreign lands for commercial purposes and demonstrating to them the might and prestige of the Chinese Empire[1]. Some idea of these voyages may be obtained from the fact that in one of them Cheng Ho is said to have taken forty-eight vessels and 27,000 Imperial troops with him. Cheng Ho made altogether seven voyages between 1405 and 1433 A.D., and visited thirty-six (or thirty-seven) countries, in Malayasia, India, Arabia, and Africa.

Both Ma Huan and Fei Hsin must have gathered materials for their work from the voyages they undertook. Ma Huan was attached to the suite of Cheng Ho as "Interpreter of foreign languages and writing to the mission." Fei Hsin was 'presumably a secretary or clerk'. Both of them had thus splendid opportunities of gaining first-hand knowledge about these foreign lands, and this invests their chronicles with a special importance.

The original text of Ma Huan was revised by Chang Sheng, and Rockhill has made a confusion between the original and the revised text. The whole matter has, however, been clearly set forth by Pelliot.

Rockhill assigned the first publication of Ma Huan's work to a date between 1425 and 1432 A. D. Pelliot is, however, of opinion that the first edition of the work really appeared in 1416, the date given in the preface to the work, soon after Ma Huan's first voyages in 1413-15 A. D.

The work was evidently enlarged after the two subsequent visits in 1421-2 and 1431-3, and completed about 1433. But the book probably appeared in its final form only in 1451 A.D.[2]

It is not necessary to refer in detail to the other Chinese works to which occasional reference has been made in the following pages.

1. For full discussion on this point cf. T'oung Pao. 1934, pp. 303 ff.
2. Cf. T'oung Pao, 1933, pp. 236 ff.

Excepting the Indian texts, it has not been possible for me to consult the other sources in original. Fortunately, reliable translations by able and competent scholars are available for most of them.

The Greek and Latin texts have been translated by Cœdès (Cœdes-Textes), and the Arab Texts by Ferrand (Ferrand-Textes), both into French. For the Chinese sources the following deserve special mention.

I. Translation.

1. Translation of Fa-hien's account by Legge.

2. Translation of I-tsing's works by Takakusu and Chavannes (I-tsing-Record, I-tsing-Memoire).

3. Translation of Chau Ju-kua's work by Hirth and Rockhill (Chau Ju-kua).

II. Translation of Extracts.

4. W. P. Groeneveldt—Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca (Batavia 1877).

[Supplementary Jottings—T'oung Pao, Ser. I, Vol. VII, pp. 113 ff.].

5. W. W. Rockhill—Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coasts of the Indian ocean during the Fourteenth Century. T'oung Pao, Serie II, Vol. XVI (1915), pp. 61 ff., 236 ff., 374 ff., 435 ff., 604 ff.

III. Critical Discussion.

6. P. Pelliot—Deux Itineraires de Chine en Indie à la fin du VIII[e] siècle (B.E.F.E.O., Vol. IV, pp. 132-413)

7. Schlegel—Geographical Notes. T'oung Pao, Ser. I, Vol. IX. (pp. 177 ff, 191 ff, 273 ff, 365 ff) ; Vol. X (pp. 33 ff, 155 ff, 247 ff, 459 ff) ; Ser. II, Vol. II (pp. 107 ff, 167 ff, 329 ff.)

8. J. J. L. Duyvendak—Ma Huan re-examined (Verhand. der. Kon. Ak. van Wetensch., Afd. Letterkunde, N. R., d. XXXII, no 3, Amsterdam, 1933.)

9. P. Pelliot—Les Grands Voyages Maritimes Chinois au Debut du XV^{e} siècle (T'oung Pao, Vol. XXX, 1933, pp. 236-452 ; Vol. XXI, pp. 274 ff.)

[This is by way of review of the preceding book.]

Before leaving this subject we must also mention the works of Ferrand who has collected all the sources of information about Śrī-Vijaya and Malayu-Malakka in two articles in Journal Asiatique (J.A. II, XX ; J.A. II, XI-XII).

Of the modern historical works dealing with the subject, those by Raffles, Fruin-Mees, With, and Veth have all been cast into shade by Krom's 'Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis' which is bound to remain the standard work on the political history of Java for many years to come. Krom's other work, Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst, is equally valuable for the history of Javanese art. It is with pleasure and gratitude that I recall the fact that these two books formed the foundation of my study of Javanese history, and I have freely utilised them in the following pages. The second edition of the first named work reached my hands after the first draft of this book was composed. Although I have utilised the new edition in the revision of my book, references given are mostly to the first edition.

For the religious history of Java the works of Goris and Pigeaud (Tantu), and the numerous articles by various scholars, have been of the greatest assistance to me as they are sure to prove to others.

As regards Literature, the Catalogues of Manuscripts (Cat. I, II, III), and the works by Berg (specially Hoofdlijnen, Mid. Jav. Trad, and Inleiding), Pandji Roman by Rassers, and several articles, notably the one by Berg in B. K. I., Vol. 71 (pp. 556-578), have been most useful to me. Not being acquainted with the Kavi language, I had to derive my

knowledge of Javanese literature mainly from these and the few translations of texts that have been published so far.

Of the secondary sources for the history and civilisation of Malayasia, by far the most important are the learned articles contributed to T. B. G. and B. K. I, the organs of the two famous institutions that have done yeoman's work in rescuing from oblivion the glorious past of Java and the neighbouring islands. These articles touch upon every aspect of the subject and are of inestimable value to anyone who seeks to study the history of Indonesia.

It will be seen from the above that our data regarding the history of the different regions is very unequal. While we possess, in an abundant degree, evidences, both literary and archaeological, for the history and civilisation of Java, these are very meagre when we come, for example, to Borneo. Between these two extremes we may place, in order of adequacy of historical materials, Bali, Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra.

It would be wrong, however, to imagine that the degree of importance, which should be attached to the different regions, is in any way proportionate to the extant evidences regarding them. The absence of evidence available to us may be quite accidental. The archaeological evidence is mostly perishable, save in the case of massive monuments such as we find in Java. As to the Chinese evidence, the Chroniclers could only record events when there was any intercourse with one of these states. A state would come in and go out of their history according as it sent any embassy to China (or *vice versa*) or ceased to do so. The absence of evidence, therefore, should not lead us to infer the political insignificance of a state, far less its non-existence.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. B. I. A.=Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (Published by Kern Institute, Leyden).

Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.=Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Arch. Ond.=Archaeologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura (By the Commission appointed in 1901), 3 volumes dealing respectively with Tjaṇḍi Djago, Tjaṇḍi Singasāri, and Barabuḍur.

Arch. Surv.=Archaeological Survey Report (Provincial).

B. C. A. I.=Bulletin de la commission Archaeologique de l'Indochine.

Beal=Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang by Samuel Beal (London, 1906).

B. E. F. E. O.=Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, (Hanoi).

Berg-Hoofdlijnen=Hoofdlijnen der Javaansche Litteratuur-Geschiedenis by C. C. Berg (1929)

Berg-Inleiding=Inleiding tot de studie van het Oud-Javaansch (1928)

Bib-Jav=Bibliotheca Javanica

B. K. I=Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië

Cat. I.=Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek by Dr. H. H. Juynboll. Leiden, Vol. I (1907), Vol. II (1911),

Cat. II.=Supplement op den Catalogus van de Sundaneesche Handschriften en Catalogus van Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek by Dr. H. H. Juynboll (1912).

Cat. III.=Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek by Dr. H. H. Juynboll (1899).

Cat. IV.=Juynboll-Catalogus van 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum.

Chau Ju-kua=Chu-fan-chï by Chau Ju-kua. Translated by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill. St. Petersburgh (1911).

Coedes-Textes=Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Latins relatifs a l' Extrême-Orient depuis le IV^{e} siècle Av. J. C. jusqu'au XIV siècle. Recueillis et traduits par George Coedès (Paris-Ernest Leroux, 1910).

Cohn-Ind.=Indische Plastik von William Cohn (Berlin, 1923)

Congres I=Handelingen van het eerste Congres voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Java, 1919 (Albrecht & Co-Weltevreden).

Coomaraswamy=Ananda K. Coomaraswamy—History of Indian and Indonesian Art (1927).

Crawfurd-Dictionary=A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries by John Crawfurd, London (1856)

Encycl. Ned. Ind.=Encyclopaedië van Nederlandsch-Indië, Second Edition (1919).

Ep. Carn.=Epigraphia Carnatica.

Ep. Ind.=Epigraphia Indica.

Fa-hien=A record of Buddhistic Kingdoms by Fa-hien. Translated by J. Legge (Oxford, 1886).

Feestbundel=Feestbundel uitgegeven door Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bei gelegenheid van zijn 150-jarig Bestaan 1778-1928 (G. Kolff & Co, 1929).

Ferrand-Textes=Relations de Voyages et Textes Geographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks relatifs a l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles by Gabriel Ferrand, 2 Vols (Paris-Ernest Leroux 1913-14).

Foucher-Etude, I=Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde by A. Foucher (Paris, 1900).

Foucher-Etude, II.=Do-Paris, 1905

Friederich-Bali=An account of the Island of Bali by Dr. R. Friederich (Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago, Second Series, Vol. II, London, 1887).

Fruin-Mees=Geschiedenis van Java by W. Fruin-Mees. Part I (2nd Edition, Weltevreden, 1922).

Gerini-Researches=Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia by Colonel G. E. Gerini, London (1909).

Goris=Bijdrage Tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie by R. Goris. Leiden, 1926.

Groeneveldt-Notes=Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese Sources by W. P. Groeneveldt. V. B. G. Vol. XXXIX, Part I. (Batavia, 1877)

I. A. L.=Indian Art and Letters.

I. C.=Indian Culture (Calcutta).

I. H. Q.=Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).

Ind. Ant.=Indian Antiquary.

Indian Art=The Influences of Indian Art. Published by the India Society 1925.

I-tsing-Memoire=Mémoire composé a l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les Religieux Eminents qui allerent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident par I-tsing. Translated by E. Chavannes (Paris 1894).

I-tsing-Record=A Record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695) by I-tsing. Translated by J. Takakusu (Oxford, 1896).

J. A.=Journal Asiatique.

J. A. S. B.=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1865-1904).

J. A. S. B. N. S.=Do, New Series (1905-1934).

J. A. S. B. L.=Do (Letters, from 1935).

J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. B. O. R. S.=Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

J. F. M. S. M.=Journal of the Federated Malay States Museum.

J. G. I. S.=Journal of the Greater India Society.

J. I. H.=Journal of Indian History.

J. Mal. Br. R. A. S.=Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Jonker—Wetboek=Een Oud-Javaansch Wetboek vergeleken met Indische Rechtsbronnen by J. C. G. Jonker (Leiden, 1885).

J. R. A. S.=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

J. Str. Br. R. A. S.=Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Kempers=The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu Javanese Art by Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers (Leiden) (Originally published as an article in B. K. I. Vol. 90, pp. 1-88).

K. O.=Kawi Oorkonden in Facsimile Met Inleiding en Transcriptie by Dr. A. B. Cohen Stuart (Leiden, 1875).

Krom—Geschiedenis=Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis by Dr. N. J. Krom (Martinus Nijhoff, Hague, 1926). The second Edition (1931) is indicated by Krom-Geschiedenis^2.

Krom-Kunst=Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst by Dr. N. J. Krom (Martinus Nijhoff, Hague, 1923).

Lévi-Texts=Sanskrit Texts from Bāli by Sylvain Lévi (Gaekwad Oriental Series).

Mid. Jav. Trad.=Berg—De Middeljavaansche Historische Traditie (1927).

Nag. Kr.=Nāgara-Kṛtāgama Edited by H. Kern (V. G. Vols. VII-VIII).

N. I. O. N.=Nederlandsch Indië, Oud en Nieuw

Not. Bat. Gen.=Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuursvergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

O. B.=Oudheden van Bali by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim (Singradja, 1929).

O. J. O.=Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden. Nagelaten Transcripties van Wijlen Dr. J. L. A. Brandes. Uitgegeven door Dr. N. J. Krom ; V. B. G. Vol. LX. (Batavia and the Hague, 1913.)

O. V.=Oudheidkundig Verslag (Rapporten van den Oudheidkundig Dienst in Nederlandsch Indië, Series I, 1912-1919 ; Series II. 1920 *etc.*)

Par=Pararaton of Het Boek der Koningen van Tumapel en van Majapahit door Brandes ; Tweede Druk door Dr. N. J. Krom (V. B. G. Deel LXII), 1920.

Poerbatjaraka-Agastya=Agastya in den Archipel by Poerbatjaraka (Lesya) (Leiden, 1926).

Raffles-Java=The History of Java by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, 2nd Edition (London, 1830).

Rapporten=Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madura, 1901 *etc.*

Rum-Serams=De Rum Serams op Nieuw-Guinea of Het Hinduisme in het Oosten van onzen Archipel door Dr. D. W. Horst (Leiden, 1893).

Sarkar-Literature=Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali, Calcutta, 1934.

Sastri-Colas='The Colas' by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras, 1935.

S. I. Ep. Rep.=Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.

S. I. I.=South Indian Inscriptions.

Tantu=De Tantu Panggelaran by Th. Pigeaud (Hague, 1924).

T. B. G.=Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (1853 *etc.*), Batavia.

V. B. G.=Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia.

V. G.=Verspreide Geschriften van Prof. Dr. H. Kern.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 7, l. 5. Mr. Oldham has definitely identified Paloura with the "existing village of Pālūru at the northern extremity of the Ganjām district, about 6 miles N.E. of Ganjām town." (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXII, pp. 1 ff.).

Page 25, f.n. 2. Reference may be made to the following statement: "The Malay Peninsula is the fatherland of the Malays who colonised centuries ago Sumatra....." (T'oung Pao 1898, p. 370.).

Page 27, ll. 8-16. For a recent example in the neighbourhood of Vanasari (Jogyakerta), cf. T. B. G., 1935, pp. 83 ff.

Page 29, f.n. 1. Add at the end: "and 'History of Malaya (1935) Chapter I."

Page 81, l. 5. The scholars are now inclined to refer the seal to about 600 A.D. Cf. J. Mal. Br. R.A.S., Vol. XII (1934), p. 173 ; Vol. XIII (1935), p. 110 ; J.G.I.S., Vol. II, p. 71.

Pages 96-7. Mr. H. B. Sarkar suggests (J.A.S.B., Vol. XXIX, pp. 17-21) that as a result of the conquests of Skandagupta, a large body of Śakas from Gujarat, under a local chieftain, probably Aji Śaka by name, emigrated to Java and introduced the Śaka Era. The arguments in support of this theory do not appear to me to be very convincing.

Page 99. paras 1-2. Dr. J. Przyluski holds that 'the most ancient travellers did not make a clear distinction between the islands of Java and Sumatra, and these two great islands formed the continent of Yava. Probably for Ptolemy and for all the ancient geographers Yava is Java-Sumatra.' (J.G.I.S., Vol. I, p. 93)

Page 106, ll. 9-11. A Shell inscription is engraved at Ci-Arutön below the foot-prints of king Pūrṇavarman. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal reads it as "Śrī Pūrṇṇa-varmaṇaḥ" (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 4), but it is, at best, doubtful.

Mr. F. M. Schnitger draws attention to a reference to Tarumapur in an inscription of Kulottuṅga (S.I.I., Vol. III, Part 2, p. 159). It is about ten miles north of Cape Comorin, the region from which Agastya worship spread to the Archipelago. Schnitger finds in the name Taruma an additional argument for the southern origin of Pūrṇavarman (T.B.G., 1934, p. 187.).

Page 142, ll. 4-5. Cf. also Schlegel's views (T'oung Pao, Ser. II, Vol. II, pp. 109 ff.).

Book I

THE DAWN OF HINDU COLONISATION

SUVARṆADVĪPA

Chapter I.

THE LAND

The Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago constitute together the region known as Malayasia. Although this name is not in general use, we prefer to adopt it as it very nearly coincides with the group of ancient Indian colonies in the Far East with which we propose to deal in this volume.

The Malay Peninsula forms the most southerly part of the mainland of Asia. It is a long narrow strip of land projecting into the China sea and connected with the mainland by the Isthmus of Kra. In spite, however, of this connection with land, the peninsula belongs, geographically, to the Malay Archipelago and not to the Asiatic continent. The Malay Archipelago is also designated Indian Archipelago, East Indies, Indonesia, Asiatic Archipelago or Insulinde. It begins with the large island of Sumatra which lies to the west of the Malay Peninsula and is separated from it by the Straits of Malacca. The narrow Sunda Strait parts Sumatra from the neighbouring island of Java to its south-east. Java is the beginning of a series of islands lying in a long chain in the direction from west to east. These are Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores and a number of small islands which almost stretch upto New-Guinea. A little to the south of this line are the two important islands, Sumba and Timor.

A similar chain of islands lies to the north, along a line drawn through the centre of Sumatra towards the east. It

begins with Borneo, the largest island in the archipelago. Next comes Celebes, and then the large group of islands known as the Moluccas or Spice islands.

Beyond all these islands, numbering more than six thousand, lie the large island of New Guinea to the east and the group of islands known as the Philippines to the north.

The Archipelago is separated from Indo-China in the north by the South China Sea and from Australia in the south by the Timor Sea. To the west there is no large country till we reach the shores of India and Africa, the intervening sea being dotted with hundreds of islands. The most important of these, beginning from the east are Andaman, Nicobar, Ceylon, Maldives, Laccadives and Madagascar.

As Wallace has pointed out, it is seldom realised that the dimensions of the Archipelago are really continental. "If transferred to Europe and the western extremity placed on lands' End, New-Guinea would spread over Turkey." It extends over 50 degrees of longitude (100° to 50°) and nearly 25 degrees of latitude (10°S. to 15°N.)

It is a very singular characteristic of the Archipelago that one part of it, including Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra, Java and Bali is separated by shallow sea from Asia, and the other part, including New Guinea, Flores, and Lombok is similarly separated from Australia. Between these two parts, however, the depth of the sea has been found to be from 1000 to 3,557 fathoms, although in some places, as between Bali and Lombok, the two regions are separated by a strait not more than 15 miles wide. The study of the fauna corroborates the natural difference between these two regions, and we might accordingly divide the Archipelago into an Asiatic and an Australian Zone.

Wallace, who has gone more deeply into this question than any other scholar, postulates from the above premises that Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo formed at one time a part of the continent of Asia. He describes their evolution into separate islands as follows :

"Beginning at the period when the Java Sea, the Gulf of Siam, and the straits of Malacca were dry land, forming with Borneo, Java and Sumatra a vast sothern extension of the Asiatic continent, the first movement was probably the sinking of the Java Sea as the result of volcanic activity, leading to the complete and early separation of Java. Later Borneo, and afterwards Sumatra, became detached—and since then many other elevations and depressions have taken place."

Similar observations are made by Wallace regarding other parts of the Archipelago. As we are mainly concerned with that part of it alone which includes Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo, we need not pursue these interesting investigations any further.

A detailed account of the more important islands will be given separately when we deal with them individually in subsequent chapters. Here we need mention only a few general characteristics of the Archipelago.

The equator passes almost through the centre of the Archipelago, and, excepting the northern half of the Philippines, nearly the whole of the Archipelago lies within ten degrees of latitude on either side. In consequence warm summer prevails throughout the year and the only change of seasons is that from dry to wet. The whole of this region is within the influence of the monsoons but free from hurricanes.

The Archipelago is eminently a mountainous region and a volcanic band passes through it "in a sweeping curve five thousand miles long, marked by scores of active and hundreds of extinct craters. It runs through Sumatra and Java, and thence through the islands of Bali, Lombok, Flores to Timor, curving north through the Moluccas, and again north, from the end of Celebes through the whole line of the Philippines. The zone is narrow; and on either side the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Celebes, and New Guinea have no

known volcanoes, and are apparently not subject to serious disturbances."[1]

The geographical position of Malayasia invested it with a high degree of commercial importance. Situated on the highway of maritime traffic between China on the one hand and western countries like India, Greece, Rome and Arabia on the other, it was bound to develop important centres of trade and commerce. The route to China from the west lay either through the Straits of Malacca or along the western coast of Sumatra and then through the Sunda Strait. Thus Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, and, to a certain extent, Java also profited by this trade. The main volume of this trade must always have passed through the Straits of Malacca, and sometimes, perhaps, the goods were transported by land across the Isthmus of Kra in order to avoid the long voyage along the eastern and western coasts of the Malay Peninsula.

Malayasia has been famous in all ages for its timber and minerals and almost enjoyed the monopoly in spices. This was undoubtedly the main reason why the western nations were attracted to this corner of Asia from very early times. This was particularly true of India and China which were the nearest countries to the Archipelago that possessed a highly developed civilisation from an early period.

There was a regular maritime intercourse between India and the Far East as early at least as the first century A. D. This is definitely proved by the statement in the Periplus that ships from Indian ports regularly sailed to Chryse, and there

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1. The preliminary account of the Archipelago is based on the following works :—

(a) Major C. M. Enriquez—Malaya (Hurst and Blackett, 1927).

(b) John Crawfurd—Dictionary of the Indian Islands and adjacent countries (London, 1856).

(c) A. Cabaton—Java, Sumatra and the other islands of the Dutch East Indies (T. Fisher Unwin, 1911).

was a brisk trade relation between the two.[1] As we shall see later Chryse was a vague name applied to Malayasia.

The further statement in the Periplus, that after Chryse "under the very north, the sea outside ends in a land called This," is of singular importance, inasmuch as 'This' undoubtedly stands for China. As Clifford has pointed out, this tends to prove "that the sea-route to China *via* the Straits of Malacca even though it was not yet in general use, was no longer unknown to the mariners of the east." This is confirmed by the fact that not long afterwards the sailor Alexander sailed to the Malay Peninsula and beyond; for, to quote again from Clifford, "it may safely be concluded that the feasibility of this south-eastern passage had become known to the sea-farers of China long before an adventurer from the west was enabled to test the fact of its existence through the means of an actual voyage."[2]

The author of the Periplus does not seem to have possessed any definite information or accurate knowledge of the Far East. The reason seems to be that there was no direct communication between the Coromandel coast and the Far East, but the voyage was made from the Gangetic region either direct or along the coast of Bay of Bengal. This follows from the fact that whenever Chryse is mentioned in the Periplus it is invariably associated with the Ganges. As this aspect of the question has not been generally recognised I may quote below the relevant passages from Schoff's translation.

1. Referring to the Chola country the author says; "Among the market-towns of these countries, and the harbours where the ships put in from Damirica (Tamil land) and from the north, the most important are, in order as they lie, first Camara, then Poduca, then Sopatma; in which there are ships of the country

1. The Periplus of the Erythraean sea (edited by W. H. Schoff Longmans, 1912) pp. 45-48.

2. Ibid. p. 260.

coasting along the shore as far as Damirica ; and other very large vessels made of single logs bound together called *sangara* ; but those which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges are called *colandia*, and are very large." (p. 46)

2. "After these, the course turns towards the east again, and sailing with the ocean towards the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land towards the east, Chryse." (p. 47)

3. "And just opposite this river (the Ganges) there is an island in the ocean, the last part of the inhabited world toward the east, under the rising sun itself ; it is called Chryse." (p. 48)

Thus there is hardly any doubt that to the author of the Periplus Chryse is closely associated with the Gangetic region. The last sentence in the first passage may be taken to imply a direct voyage to Chryse, but it is at least very doubtful. Besides, it is to be remembered, that the author of the Periplus himself says that the coasting voyage was the order of the day, and he narrates the striking discovery by Hippalus of a direct voyage to the west coast of India from African shore.[1] It is difficult to believe that the author would not have referred to a direct voyage from the Coromandel coast to the Far East, if such a course was known in his time, at least in passage No. 1. quoted above.

This view is confirmed by Ptolemy. He refers to the *apheterium*, immediately to the south of Paloura, where the vessels bound for the Malay Peninsula "ceased to follow the littoral and entered the high seas"[2]. S. Lévi has shown that the city of Paloura, which played such an important part in the eastern ocean trade of India was the same as the famous city of Dantapura, in Kaliṅga, which figures so

1. Ibid. p. 45.

2. Ptolemy. (M'c. Crindle), pp. 66, 69.

prominently in the Buddhist literature. Thus even in Ptolemy's days there was no direct voyage from the Coromandel coast, but in addition to the coastal voyage along the Bay of Bengal from Tāmralipti, a direct voyage to the east was made from Paloura near modern Chicacole.[1] It is difficult, therefore, to accept the view, generally held on the authority of the Periplus, that there was a direct voyage between South India and the Far East in the first century A. D.[2]

It cannot, of course, be maintained that a direct voyage between South Indian ports and Malay Peninsula was an impossible one. All that we learn from Ptolemy is that the usual point of departure for the Far East was near Paloura. It is possible, however, that occasionally ships sailed direct from Coromandel coast to the east, or *via* Ceylon and Andaman Islands to the coast of Sumatra.[3]

The fame of Paloura or Dantapura, in Kaliṅga (the coastal region between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī), was no doubt due, at least to a great extent, to its importance as the point of departure for the Far East. That probably also explains why the Chinese referred to Java and other islands of the Archipelago as Kling, no doubt an abbreviation of Kaliṅga. All these point out to Kaliṅga as the particular region in India which was more intimately connected, through its port Paloura, with the Far East in the early period.

There were important ports on the opposite coast also. In the Malay Peninsula we have reference to Takkola in classical writings, to Kala by Arab writers and to Singapore and Malacca by the Portuguese. In Sumatra the most important

1. J. A. 1925, pp. 46-57. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil held the view that the *apheterium* was situated near the mouth of the Godāvarī (Ancient History of the Deccan pp. 86-88)

2. Cf. e. g. Krom's emphatic opinion in Geschiedenis, p. 53.

3. For the probability of such voyage in pre-historic times cf. Chap. II.

port was Śrī-Vijaya. Others will be referred to in due course. On the whole, therefore, we can easily visualise Malayasia as a fairly extensive region between the continents of Asia and Australia, enjoying peculiar advantages of trade and commerce, both by its geographical position as well as by its native products. From a very early period it had intercourse with China on the north, Australia and the Pacific islands on the south and east, and India and various islands in the Indian ocean on the west. It was more intimately connected with Burma and Indo-China on the north, as their inhabitants were allied to its own.

Chapter II

THE PEOPLE

A detailed discussion of the people or peoples that inhabited Malayasia before the advent of the Hindus belongs to the domain of anthropology. It is beyond the scope of the present work to dwell upon this question at length and I propose, therefore, merely to give in broad outline the salient facts on which there is a general agreement among scholars.

It is usual to divide the population into three main strata : (1) The primitive races (2) the Proto-Malays and (3) the Malays.[1]

(1) The *Semang* and the *Sakai* of the Malay Peninsula may be taken as fair specimens of the wild tribes that inhabited the region in primitive times. The Semang Negritos belong to the earliest stratum of population which has survived in the peninsula. They now occupy "the wooded hills in the north of the peninsula, in Kedah, Perak and northern Pahang : with occasional communities like the Temo in Ulu Bera and Ulu Rompin in south Pahang". "They are dark, with woolly hair, and flat, spreading noses, feeble chins, and lips often everted : and sometimes they are almost pigmies in size. But for a bark loin-cloth, they are naked.....They have no form of agriculture whatever, and live upon jungle produce and by hunting, fishing and trapping. Their distinctive weapon

1. The account of the tribes is taken from Major C. M. Enriquez' excellent book "Malaya—an account of its People, Flora and Fauna" (Hurst and Blackett 1927) Chs. V-VIII. The quotations are also from this book. A detailed account of the manners and customs of the primitive people is given by I. H. N. Evans in "Ethnology and Archæology of the Malay Peninsula" (Cambridge, 1927) and by R. J. Wilkinson in "A History of the Peninsular Malays" 3rd Edition Singapore (1923).

is the bow and poisoned arrow. They live under over-hanging rocks or leaf-shelter and build no houses."

The Sakai occupy the mountains of south-east Perak and north-west Pahang. They resemble the Semang in many respects and the two have interbred to a considerable extent. "In colour the Sakai vary from brown to yellow, and are lighter even than Malays. The hair is long and black, the nose finely cut and tilted, the eyes horizontal and half-closed and the chin sharp and pointed. They tattoo the face in certain districts and sometimes wear a ring or a porcupine's quill through the nose. Their distinctive weapon is the blow-pipe with which they are extremely skilful. As a rule they live in huts sometimes placing them up trees at a height of 30 feet from the ground."

(2) A number of wild tribes to be found all over Malayasia are called Proto-Malays, as their languages are distinctly Malay. The Jakun who occupy the south of the Malay Peninsula may be taken as a fair specimen of this type. "They are coppery in colour, with straight smooth black hair of Mongolian type. The cheek-bone is high, the eyes are slightly oblique. Though inclined to be nomadic, they usually practise some form of agriculture, and live in fairly good houses."

The Proto-Malay type is met with all over Malayasia. The Batak, Achinese, Gayo and Lampongs of Sumatra, the Dayaks, Kayan, Kenyah, Dusun and Murut of Borneo, and the aborigines of Celebes, Ternate and Tidore—all belong to this type. Some of them are cruel and ferocious. The Batak, for example, are said to be cannibals who eat prisoners and aged relatives. The Kayan and Kenyah are noted for their frightful cruelty and their women seem to have a genius for devising tortures for captives, slaves and strangers. Others are more civilised. The Dayaks of Borneo, although head-hunters for ritualistic purposes, are described as 'mild in character, tractable and hospitable when well used, grateful for kindness, industrious, honest and simple; neither treacherous nor cunning, and so

truthful that the word of one of them might be safely taken before the oath of half a dozen Malays.'

(3) The Malays, who now form the predominant element of the population of Malayasia, have been divided by Wallace under four great heads[1] :—(1) The Malays proper who inhabit the Malay Peninsula and the coastal regions of Sumatra and Borneo ; (2) the Javanese of Java, Madura, Bali and parts of Lombok and Sumatra ; (3) the Bugis of Celebes ; and (4) the Tagalas of the Philippines.

Wallace describes the Malay as follows : "In character he is impassive. He exhibits a reserve, diffidence and even bashfulness, which is in some degree attractive, and leads observers to think that the ferocious and blood-thirsty qualities imputed to the race are grossly exaggerated. He is not demonstrative. His feelings, of surprise or fear, are never openly manifested, and are probably not strongly felt. He is slow and deliberate in speech. High-class Malays are exceedingly polite, and have all the quiet ease and dignity of well-bred Europeans. Yet all this is compatible with a reckless cruelty and contempt for human life, which is the dark side of their character."

Having given a short description of the various peoples, we may now proceed to trace their origin and affinities from racial and linguistic points of view. Both these questions are beset with serious difficulties and the views of different scholars are by no means in complete agreement. We must, therefore, content ourselves by merely quoting the view of one eminent authority in each line of study, referring the readers, who seek further information, to special treatises on the subject.

Mr. Roland B. Dixon has summed up as follows the racial history of the Malay Peninsula.[2]

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1. Wallace—Malay Archipelago, Vol. II, p. 439.

2. Roland B. Dixon—The Racial History of Man (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, London, 1923) p. 275.

"The oldest stratum of population was the Negrito Palae-Alpine which survives to-day in comparative purity only among the Andamanese. With this was later blended a taller Negroid people, of mixed Proto-Australoid and Proto-Negroid types, to form the Semang. This Negroid population is still represented among some of the hill-folk in Burma, such as the Chin, is more strongly present in Assam and dominant in the greater part of India. Subsequently to the formation of Semang a strong immigration came into the Peninsula from the north, of the normal Palae-Alpine type, of which perhaps some of the Karen may be regarded as the last survivors. From the fusion of these with the older Semang was derived the Sakai and some, perhaps, of the Jakun ; the later and less modified portions of this wave forming the older Malay groups of to-day. Finally in recent times came the Menangkabau Malays from Sumatra who have overlain the earlier group throughout the south." The statement in the last sentence that the Malays came from Sumatra, is, perhaps, no longer valid, as we shall see later.

As regards language, it has been recognised for a long time that the language of the Malays belongs to the same family as that of Polynesia and the name Malayo-Polynesian was applied to this group. Since then, however, Melanesian, Polynesian, Micronesian and Indonesian (Malay) languages have all been proved to belong to the same family to which the new name Austro-nesian has been applied. The discovery of human skulls and the pre-historic stone implements in Indo-China and Malay Archipelago has demonstrated the racial and cultural affinity between many of the races speaking these languages.[1]

There is hardly any doubt that the primitive wild tribes of Malayasia belonged to the palæolithic age. Discoveries of human skulls and other pre-historic finds establish a sort of racial and

1. For pre-historic finds cf. Tijdschr. Aardr. Gen. Vol. 45 (1928) pp. 551-576; O. V. 1924 (127-133), 1926 (174-193), 1929 (pp. 23 ff).

cultural affinity among large groups of them spreading over Indo-China, Indonesia, Melanesia, and as far as Australia. They were gradually ousted by the peoples speaking Austro-nesian group of languages and belonging to the Neo-lithic period. The time and nature of contact between all these races we have no means to determine. So far as we can judge from the analogy of similar events and the few facts that present themselves to us, the result of the conflict seems to be, that the original inhabitants were partly exterminated, partly incorporated with the new-comers, and partly pushed back to hills and jungles where some of them maintain a precarious existence upto the present day.

Whether the conquering peoples all belonged to one race cannot be definitely determined. This view is at least in accord with the fact that their languages were derived from one stock, and it is also supported by pre-historic finds, as noted before. Be that as it may, there is hardly any doubt that they must have lived together in close bonds of union, before they were scattered over the islands in the Pacific ocean.

We can thus easily postulate a common home for this Austro-nesian group of peoples. Kern made a critical study of the question by considering the fauna and flora of this home-land as revealed by the common elements in the various languages of the group. By this process of study he placed the home-land of the Austro-nesians on the coast of Indo-China.[1] This view is corroborated by the fact that human skulls which are purely Indo-nesian and pre-historic finds which are undoubtedly Proto-Indo-nesian have been found in Indo-China.

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1. Kern—V. G. Vol. VI, pp. 105-120. Kern calls it "Secundaire stamland" (Second home), for he traces their origin further back to India, as will appear later (V. G. Vol. XV, p. 180). R. O. Winstedt has further supported this view by noting the occurrence of identical tales in the Indo-nesian and Mon-Khmer languages (J. Str. Br. R. A. S. No. 76, pp. 119 ff).

Ferrand has traced the early history of these peoples still further back, mainly on the authority of an account preserved by Ibn Saīd (13th cent.). He thinks that they originally lived in upper Asia as neighbours of the Chinese, and being driven by the latter, about 1000 B. C., came down to Indo-China along the valleys of the Irawadi, Salwin, Mekong and Menam rivers. Nearly five hundred years later they migrated again from this region to Malay Peninsula and various islands of the Indian Archipelago.[1] Of late, another theory has been advanced by Van Stein Callenfels. He infers from the remains of their metallic objects that the original home of the Austro-nesians lies in the region of the Altai mountains.[2]

It must be remembered, however, that considering the scanty and uncertain data on which the above conclusions are necessarily based, they can only be regarded as provisional. Nor should it be forgotten that the settlement of the vast region of Malayasia could not possibly have been a simple process of migration of a body of people from the mainland to each of the islands. There must have been currents and cross-currents from different quarters that swelled the tide, and we have to postulate migrations and emigrations, not only many in number but probably also varied in character. It will be outside the scope of this book to pursue the ramification of this fascinating problem any further. But there is another point of view regarding this question which is virtually connected with the subject-matter of this book and must be treated at some length. Recent linguistic researches have established definite connection between the languages of some primitive tribes of India such as Muṇḍā and Khāsi with Mon-Khmer and allied languages including those of Semang and Sakai. The great philologist Schmidt has thus established the existence of a linguistic

1. J. A. II-XII (1918) pp. 120-125 ; 1919, p. 201.

2. T. B. G. Vol. 64 (1924), p. 604.

family, which is now called Austro-Asiatic.[1] Schmidt believes that 'the linguistic unity between these peoples which is now definitely established, points to an ethnic unity among them as well, though positive and satisfactory evidence on this point is lacking yet.'[2]

"Schmidt has extended his studies even further and proposed to connect the Austro-Asiatic family with the Austro-nesian" to which, as stated above, the Malays belonged. Schmidt thus seeks to establish a "larger linguistic unity between Austro-Asiatic and Austro-nesian and calls the family thus constituted 'Austric'." Here, again, Schmidt indicates the possibility of an ethnic unity among the peoples whose linguistic affinity is thus definitely assured.

Schmidt thus regards the peoples of Indo-China and Indo-nesia as belonging to the same stock as the Muṇḍā and allied tribes[3] of Central India and the Khāsis of North-eastern India. He regards India as the original home of all these peoples from which they gradually spread to the east and south-east. The following passage sums up his views in this respect.

'In the same way as I have presented here the results of my investigations on movements of peoples who, starting

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1. Die Mon-Khmer-Volker etc. (1906) pp. 35 ff.

I have used the French translation in B. E. F. E. O. Vol. VII. (pp. 213-263), VIII (pp. 1-35). A good exposition of Schmidt's view, so far as the linguistic aspect is concerned, is given in the introductory chapter in "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India" by Dr. P. C. Bagchi (Calcutta University, 1929) from which I have freely quoted. (The page marks within bracket in the text refer to this book).

2. Schmidt, op. cit. cf. specially, p. 233.

3. The Muṇḍā group of language includes Kol, the more eastern Kherwari with Santali, Muṇḍārị, Bhumij, Birhor, Koḍā, Ho, Turi, Asuri, and Korwa dialects and the western Kūrkū ; Khariā ; Juang ; and the two mixed languages Savara and Gadaba. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi, op. cit. p. VI.)

from India towards the east, at first spread themselves over the whole length of Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and then over all the islands of the Pacific Ocean upto its eastern extremity,—my attention has for long been drawn to another current which, in my opinion, also started from India, but turned more directly towards the south and touching only the western fringe of the Pacific Ocean proceeded, perhaps by way of New Guinea, towards the continent of Australia'[1]

Schmidt's views, like those of Ferrand and others noted above, must be regarded as only provisional.[2] But several other scholars have supported this view on entirely different grounds. Among them may be mentioned the names of S. Lévi, J. Przyluski and J. Bloch. The relevant articles on this subject by these eminent scholars have been published together in English version by Dr. P. C. Bagchi. The following summary is derived almost entirely from this book entitled "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India."

'Prof. Thomson first maintained that Muṇḍā influence can be traced in the formation of Indian vernaculars. Recent studies have tried to establish that this influence can be traced further back. Prof. Przyluski has tried to explain a certain number of words of the Sanskrit vocabulary as fairly ancient loans from the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. Prof. Jules Bloch has proved that the question of the Muṇḍā substratum in Indo-Aryan can not be overlooked (pp. XI-XII)

'But the problem has other aspects too, and it has been further proved that not only linguistic but certain cultural and political facts also of the ancient history of India can be explained by admitting an Austro-Asiatic element. In

1. Schmidt, op. cit, pp. 248-249. A critical summary of Schmidt's view is given by Blagden—"From Central India to Polynesia" (J. Str. Br. R. A. S. No. 53 p. 63).

2. Recently Schmidt's view has been challenged by W. F. de Hevesy who denies the existence of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages (J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XX pp. 251 ff).

1923 Prof. S. Lévi tried to show that some geographical names of ancient India like Kosala-Tosala, Aṅga-Vaṅga, Kaliṅga-Triliṅga, Utkala-Mekala, and Pulinda-Kulinda, ethnic names which go by pairs, can be explained by the morphological system of the Austro-Asiatic languages. In 1926 Przyluski tried to explain the name of an ancient people of the Punjab, the Udumbara, in a similar way and affiliate it to the Austro-Asiatic group. In another article, the same scholar discussed some names of Indian towns in the geography of Ptolemy and tried to explain them by Austro-Asiatic forms (pp. XII-XIII).

'In another series of articles, Prof. Przyluski is trying to prove a certain number of Indian myths by the Austro-Asiatic influence. He studied the Mahābhārata story of Matsyagandhā and some legends of the nāgī, in Indian literature, compared them with similar tales in the Austro-Asiatic domain, and concluded that these stories and legends were conceived in societies living near the sea, societies of which the civilisation and social organisation were different from those of the neighbouring peoples, the Chinese and the Indo-Aryans.' (p. XIII)

The bearing of all these interesting investigations on the question under discussion has thus been admirably expressed by S. Lévi.

"We must know whether the legends, the religion and philosophical thought of India do not owe anything to this past. India has been too exclusively examined from the Indo-European standpoint. It ought to be remembered that India is a great maritime country, open to a vast sea forming so exactly its Mediterranean, a Mediterranean of proportionate dimensions—which for a long time was believed to be closed in the south. The movement which carried the Indian colonisation towards the Far East, probably about the beginning of the Christian Era, was far from inaugurating a new route, as Columbus did in navigating towards the West. Adventurers, traffickers and missionaries profited by the technical progress of navigation,

and followed under the best condition of comfort and efficiency the way traced from time immemorial by the mariners of another race whom the Aryan or Aryanised India despised as savages." (pp. 125-6)

In other words, the cumulative effect of all these researches is to push back the first phase of Indian colonisation in the Far East to a time prior to the Aryan or Dravidian conquest of India. It will not perhaps be rash to imagine that, that colonisation was, at least partly, the result of Dravidian and Aryan settlements in India which dislodged the primitive peoples and forced them to find a new home across the seas.[1]

It may be noted, however, that conclusion of an almost opposite character has been arrived at by certain scholars. Krom, for example, believes that the Indo-nesians had colonised India in primitive times, and the later Aryan colonisation of the Far East was merely the reverse of that process.[2] This is in flagrant contradiction to the views of Schmidt and Lévi, and seems to be based mainly on the theory of Mr. J. Hornell. In his Memoir on "the Origins and Ethnological significance of the Indian Boat Designs" Mr. Hornell "admits a strong Polynesian influence on the Pre-Dravidian population of the southern coast of India. He thinks that a wave of Malayan immigration must have arrived later, after the entrance of the Dravidians on the scene, and it was a Malayan people who brought from the Malay Archipelago the cultivation of the Coco-palm." (p. XVII)

Two other observations by different scholars probably lend colour to this view. In the first place, Prof. Das Gupta "has brought out the striking analogy between some sedentary games of India (specially of the Central Provinces, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Punjab) and those of Sumatra." (p. XVII)

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1. Kern also held similar view; cf. V. G., Vol. XV, p. 180.
He held that they came from India, their ultimate home being Central Asia. This is not in conflict with his original view that the home-land of the Malayo-Polynesians was the eastern coast of Further India.

2. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 38.

Secondly, we have the following remarks made by Dr. J. H. Hutton with reference to some pre-historic monoliths of Dimapur near Manipur. "The method of erection of these monoliths is very important, as it throws some light on the erection of pre-historic monoliths in other parts of the world. Assam and Madagascar are the only remaining parts of the world where the practice of erecting rough stones still continues..... The origin of this cult is uncertain, but it appears that it is to be mainly imputed to the Mon-Khmer intrusion from the east." In his opinion these monoliths take the forms of *liṅgam* and *yoni*, and he thinks that they possibly originated in Indo-nesia. (pp. XVII-XVIII)

In all these cases the similarity that undoubtedly exists may be explained by supposing either that India derived the practices from Indo-nesia or that Indo-nesia derived them from India. The recent discoveries at Mohenjo-daro,[1] however, prove the existence of the cult of Liṅga and Yoni in the Indus Valley at least in the beginning of the third millenium B. C. Thus the migration of the cult towards the east seems most probable. Considering the whole course of Indian history it seems more probable that the migration of the people and ideas was generally from India towards the east, and no tangible evidence has yet been obtained that the process was just the reverse. On the whole, therefore, the views of Schmidt and Sylvain Lévi appear far more reasonable than those of Hornell and Hutton.

In view of a possible pre-historic connection between India and Malayasia, it is necessary to say something on the word Malaya which has given the name to the dominant race and the dominant language in Malayasia. It is a well-known fact that an Indian tribe called Mālava (var. Malava) or Mālaya (var. Malaya) is known from very ancient times. The common form, of course, is Mālava, but the form 'Mālaya' also occurs on their coins. In a discussion of these coins Mr. Douglas maintained that Mālaya is the older form of the

1. Marshall—The Indus Civilisation, pp. 58 ff.

tribal name. His conclusion rests chiefly on the Greek form of the name. "The Greeks" says he "called them the Malloi. Had the name Mālava been in common use at that time, I feel sure that the Greeks would have transliterated the word as the Malluoi. This seems to me to show that the commoner form of the tribal name at the time of the Greek invasions was Mālaya."[1]

Whatever we may think of this view, there is no doubt that both the forms were in common use. The form Malaya occurs in Mudrā-Rākṣasa[2] and Mālaya in an inscription found at Nasik.[3] The interchange of *y* and *v* is also attested by the alternative names of a Sātavāhana king as Pulumāyi and Pulumāvi.[4]

The antiquity of the Mālava—Mālaya tribe is proved by Pāṇini's reference to it as a clan living by the profession of arms (*āyudhajīvin*). There is no doubt also that the Mālavas were widely spread in different parts of India. Alexander met them in the Punjab, but their settlement in Rājputānā is proved by the discovery of thousands of their coins at Nāgar in Jaypur State[5] and the reference in the Nasik inscription mentioned above.

The Indian literature also makes frequent references to the Mālavas. The Mahābhārata knows of various Mālava tribes in the west, north and south.[6] The Rāmāyaṇa and Matsya-purāṇa include the Mālavas among the eastern tribes[7] while various other texts refer to them as a people in one or other parts of India.

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1. J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. XIX (1924). Numismatic supplement No. XXXVII, p. 43.
2. Canto I, verse 20.
3. Rapson—Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras etc, p. LVII.
4. Ibid, fn. 1.
5. V. Smith—Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, pp. 161 ff. 170 ff.
6. cf. Mahābhārata II-32, III-51, VI-9, 87, 106.
7. Rāmāyaṇa IV-40, V-22. Matsyapurāṇa Ch. 114 V. 34.

The wide spread of the Mālavas may also be guessed from Indian dialects or toponyms connected with them. Mr. Grierson has referred to a Malavia dialect extending from Ferozepur to Bhatinda in the Punjab, and we have also the well-known Malayalam language of southern India. The well-known Indian provinces of Mālava in northern India and Malaya-bar or Malabar in southern India still testify to the influence of that tribal name. The Malaya mountain, the source of Sandalwood, is referred to in Purānas and other ancient literature as one of the seven *Kulaparvatas* or boundary mountains in India. Lastly the famous era, beginning in 58 B. C., has been associated with the Mālavas from the earliest times.

The Buddhist literature also refers to Malaya country. The famous Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra is said to have been delivered by the Buddha in the city of Laṅkā on the summit of the Malaya mountain on the border of the sea. The Buddhist reference to Malaya has been regarded by some as purely imaginary but the existence of a Malaya mountain in Ceylon is proved by Ptolemy and Mahāvaṁsa. That of a Malaya country and a Malaya mountain in the south of India also rests on definite grounds. The great Buddhist Vajrabodhi who came to China in A. D. 719 is described as a native of the Malaya country adjoining mount Potalaka, his father being preceptor of the king of Kāñcī. Hiuen Tsang places the country of Malakūta, 3000 li south of Kāñcī, and refers to its mountains Malaya and Potalaka. Alberuni also places Malaya 40 farsakhs (about 160 miles) south of Kāñcī. Thus we have both a Malaya country and a Malaya mountain in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula.[1] There is no doubt that this name is

1. S. Lévi in J. A. CCVI, pp. 65 ff.

Watters—On Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, pp. 229-231.

Ptolemy—(M'c. Crindle), p. 249.

Geiger—Mahāvaṁsa, p. 60. Sachau-Alberuni, Vol. I., p. 200; cf. also B. E. F. E. O. Vol. IV, p. 359.

preserved in modern Malabar which the Arab Geographers call either Malaya-bar or simply Malay.[1]

While the Mālava and Malaya can thus be traced as tribal or geographical names all over India, upto its north-western, eastern and southern extremities, the spread of this name across the sea is no less conspicuous. On the east, the famous Malays of Malayasia, the place names Malay and Malacca in the Peninsula, Malayu in Sumatra,[2] Mālā or Mālava for Laos and perhaps even Molucca islands in the eastern extremity of the archipelago, and on the west Maldives (Māladvīpa), and Malay the ancient name of Madagascar[3] testify to the spread of the name in Indo-China and along the whole range of the southern ocean.

Now Ferrand has drawn our attention to the fact that the Indo-nesian language, mixed with Sanskrit vocabulary, was current in Madagascar. Combining this fact with other traditional evidences he has come to the conclusion that Madagascar was colonised in ancient times by Hinduised Indo-nesians.[4] It is not necessary for the present to discuss the further implications of this theory as enunciated by Ferrand, and I must rest content by pointing out the bearing of the account of Mālava—Mālaya, as given above, on this as well as several other theories.

Now the theories of Schmidt, Lévi, Hornell and Hutton (as modified by the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro) referred to above, all presuppose, or are at least satisfactorily explained by

1. Ferrand—Textes, p. 38 fn. 5, pp. 204, 340.

2. "The name Malayu is very common in Sumatra. There are a mountain and a river of that name; there are five villages called Malayu and a tribe of that name." T'oung Pao, series II, Vol. II, p. 115.

3. Ferrand—Textes, pp. 389, 396.

4. J. A. II-XII (1918) pp. 121 ff.

J. A. II-XIV (1919), pp 62 ff., pp. 201 ff. Krom, however, thinks that the Indo-nesian people colonised Madagascar before they came into contact with the Hindus. He attributes the Indian element in the language of Madagascar to later intercourse (Geschiedenis, pp. 38-9).

a stream of migration of Indian peoples towards the east and south-east, to Assam, Burma, Indo-China and Malay Archipelago, both by land and sea. The migrations of the Mālava tribe, so far as we can judge from the occurrence of geographical names, follow, as we have seen above, exactly this course, as we can trace them from the Punjab to Assam on the one side and to Malabar on the other.

From Malabar we can trace the name in the east through Ceylon (Mālava mountain in Laṅkā) and Sumatra (Malayu) to Malay Peninsula, perhaps even to Moluccos. On the west we can trace it from Malabar to Maldives and Madagascar. It is, no doubt, more reasonable to explain the linguistic facts observed by Ferrand in Madagascar by supposing a common centre in India, from which the streams of colonisation proceeded both towards the east as well as towards the west, than by supposing that Hindu colonists first settled in Malayasia and then turned back to colonise Madagascar. The people of Madagascar have a tradition that their ancestors came from Mangalore.[1] This place is located by Ferrand in the south of Malaya Peninsula, but it should not be forgotten that Mangalore is the name of a well-known place in Malabar Coast and is referred to by Arab writers as one of the most celebrated towns of Malabar.[2]

I do not wish to be dogmatic and do not altogether reject the views of Ferrand. But the known facts about the Mālava-Mālaya tribe in India seem to me to offer quite a satisfactory explanation not only of the problem of colonisation of Madagascar but also of the racial, linguistic and cultural phenomena observed by Schmidt, Hutton and Hornell. It is interesting to note in this connection that various words inscribed on the coins of the Mālavas which have been provisionally explained as names of tribal leaders, are non-Sanskritic. Thus we have Bhapaṁyana, Majupa, Mapojaya,

1. J. A. 11-XIV (1919), p. 64.

2. Ferrand—Textes, p. 204.

Mapaya, Magajaśa, Magaja, Magojava, Gojara, Māśapa, Mapaka, Pacha, Magacha, Gajava, Jāmaka, Jamapaya, Paya. Whatever the language may be, it shows one peculiar Austro-nesian characteristic, which has been traced by Sylvain Lévi in certain geographical nomenclatures of ancient India, viz., the existence of a certain number of words constituting almost identical pairs, differentiated between themselves only by the nature of their initial consonants. Among the terms on the Mālava coins noted above we may easily select two series of this type.

1. Paya, Ma-paya, Ja-ma-paya.
2. Gajava, Magojava.

The tribe Mālava-Mālaya has played great part in the history of India. Its name is associated with an old language, the most ancient era and two important provinces of India. The Mālaya tribe has played an equally dominant part in the Indian seas. It has been the dominant race in the Indian Archipelago and its name and language are spread over a wide region extending almost from Australia to African coast. I have shown above enough grounds for the presumption—and it must not be regarded as anything more than a mere presumption—that the Mālava of India may be looked upon as the parent stock of the Malays who played such a leading part in Malayasia. It may be interesting to note here that Przyluski has shown from linguistic data that Udumbara or Odumbara was the name of an Austro-Asiatic people of the Punjab and also designated their country.[1] The Odumbaras were neighbours of the Mālavas and the coins of the two peoples belong approximately to the same period.[2] Thus, *prima facie* there is nothing inherently objectionable in the assumption that the Mālava-Mālaya may also be the name of an Austro-Asiatic people.

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1. P. C. Bagchi—Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, pp. 149-160.

2. V. A. Smith—op. cit, pp. 160 ff., p. 166.

If the presumption be held a reasonable one, we may refer to Ptolemy's account as an evidence that the Malays had spread to the Far East before his time. Ptolemy refers to mountain Malaia in Ceylon and cape Maleou Kolon in the Golden Khersonesus. Regarding the latter, M'c. Crindle remarks as follows : "Mr. Crawford has noticed the singular circumstance that this name is pure Javanese signifying "Western Malays." Whether the name Malay can be so old is a question : but I observe that in Bastian's Siamese extracts the foundation of Takkhala is ascribed to the Malays." Thus indications are not wanting that various branches of the Malay tribe had settled in Malayasia before the second century A. D. There is a general tradition among the Malays of Minankabau that their parent stock came from India and settled in the western coast of Sumatra.[1]

Thus while it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion in this matter, pre-historic migrations of Austro-nesian tribes from India to Malayasia appear very probable, and if this view be correct, we may regard the Indian Mālaya-Mālava people as one of these tribes.[2]

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1. Cf. Ferrand in J. A. II-XII, p. 77.

2. Although I have arrived at the theory of the Indian origin of the Malays quite independently, it is only fair to note that Gerini made the same suggestion in his 'Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia' (pp. 101 ff). I have not referred to his views as they are mixed up with a great deal of extraneous matters and some amount of fanciful etymological derivations. So far as I can see, his views rest primarily on the resemblances of geographical names.

Gerini explains Maleou-Kolon as referring to two prominent Indian tribal names-Malay and Kola (Cola) of south India, and he traces many other south Indian tribal names in the Malay Peninsula (cf. pp. 102-3). He holds that Malacca was either a modification of Malaykolam or Malayaka (meaning the country of the Malays) or identical with Mālaka, the name of a southern Indian tribe mentioned in the Mahābhārata (p. 105). I have tentatively adopted this view in respect of both Malacca and Moluccos. With the exception of this and the statement that

Chapter III.

PRE-HINDU CIVILISATION IN MALAYASIA

The Austro-nesian races must have occupied Malayasia for a pretty long time before they came into contact with the Hindus and imbibed their civilisation. In order, therefore, to estimate properly the influence of this new element we must have some idea of the civilisation which these indigenous races possessed before the arrival of the Hindus.

Unfortunately the materials for such a study are very scanty. The actual remains left by these races do not differ very much from what is usually termed as 'pre-historic' and met with in various other countries. We may start with a brief account of them, beginning from Java[1], where a more systematic study has been made of these materials than in other places.

Laos is referred to as Mālava (p. 117) I have not borrowed from Gerini any views or statements recorded in this chapter.

I must also state that it is usually held, though without sufficient reason, that the term Malaya as designating the Malay Peninsula came into use only in the seventeenth century A.D. (J. Mal. Br. R. A. S. 1930, p. 85), presumably in consequence of the migration of a large number of Malays from Sumatra, in the fifteenth century A. D. (B. C. A. I., 1909, p. 184). Blagden refers to I-tsing's Malayu and infers that Malaya country *par excellence*, was in Central Sumatra, a fact agreeing very well with native Malay tradition on the subject which derives the origin of many of the Malays of the Peninsula from the old Central Sumatran state of Minangkabau (J. Str. Br. R. A. S. No. 32 pp. 211-213). This view admits the possibility of the name Malaya being applied to the Peninsula at an earlier date. (cf. Crawfurd—Dictionary pp. 250-252).

1. The following sketch of the pre-historic remains of Java is based on (a) Krom—Kunst Vol. 1. pp. 121-26 ; (b) Krom-Geschiedenis, pp. 42-45.

The pre-historic archaeological remains in Java may be classified as follows :—

I. Palæolithic and neolithic implements such as axe-head chisel, pole and various weapons.

II. Megalithic monuments for burying the dead. These are of three kinds.

(a) Rock-cut caves, either rude or well-shaped.

(b) The stone coffins, consisting of a long and deep rectangular chest with a cover curved like an arch on the outer side. Both the chest and the cover have thick walls, which are rough outside (probably due to long exposure) but polished within. The dead body was introduced through a hole at one end which was then closed by a flat stone. The hole was sometimes surrounded by decorative designs. The chest was also sometimes painted with straight and curved lines and primitive pictures of men and animals (tiger, birds etc).

(c) The dolmens which were constructed by placing one big long stone over several other stones set upright in the ground.

Various articles are found in these graves, such as beads, neolithic stone implements, copper rings for arms and legs, iron lance-point or short swords. Bronze articles are not, however, found in these tombs, though sporadic finds of chisels and axe-heads, made of bronze, by their likeness with neolithic implements of the same kind, indicate a knowledge of bronze before the period of later Hindu colonisation.

III. In some places in western Java are found rough scratchings under human figures, engraved on rock. These scratchings have been regarded as pre-Hindu Inscriptions.

IV. In certain places are found rows of pointed stones, occasionally along with very rude and almost monstrous human figures in stone, known as Pajajaran or Polynesian images.

Although all these monuments are properly ascribed to the people or peoples who settled in Java before the Hindu

colonisation, it should not be imagined that they are all to be dated before the introduction of that civilisation. They continued to be built throughout the Hindu period, particularly in those regions where the Hindu influence was comparatively weak. It may not be without interest to note that even to-day the megalithic tombs of the types II (b) and II (c) described above are in use among the people of Sumba. On the whole, therefore, while the monuments described above may justly be regarded as characteristic of the pre-Hindu settlers, they cannot all be described as remains of the pre-Hindu period.

Attempt has been made to classify the pre-Hindu settlers in Java into distinct groups on the basis of the different types of monuments described above. But as sometimes the different classes of monuments are found together in the same locality, such attempts cannot lead to any satisfactory conclusion.

The pre-historic remains of Sumatra mostly belong to the same classes as those of Java and need not be referred to in detail. We meet with megalithic dolmens and menhirs as well as rock-scratchings or inscriptions with human figures. In respect of this last alone Sumarta offers some striking peculiarities as we occasionally come across a unique type of human figures in stone. These are characterised by large eyes, broad jaws and thick lips. They have got a head-dress of the form of a cap, and a bag hanging from the shoulder. Their wrists and legs are covered and they are represented as either riding on elephants or engaged in fighting with them. The rectangular back-pieces of some of these figures show that they were used to support a structure.[1]

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1. Krom-Geschiedenis, p. 44; O. V. 1922, pp. 31-37. It is not possible to prove definitely that these figures are really pre-historic and not influenced by the later Hindu civilisation. From the evidence at our disposal it would, perhaps, be safer to regard these figures as belonging to the megalithic period of culture.

The pre-historic remains of the Malay Peninsula have not yet been studied to the same extent as those of Java and Sumatra. But enough has been discovered to show their general nature.[1] A number of caves containing palæolithic implements, some of them of Sumatran types, have come to light. But the great majority of the stone implements hitherto discovered are neolithic. Most of them are axe or adze heads, and there is a total absence of knives, spear-heads or arrow-heads. Probably bamboo and hardwoods were used for these purposes. Among implements of rare type may be mentioned a hand-axe and quoit-shaped objects figured in plates XXXVI-VII of Evan's book. Rough cord-marked pottery, in imitation of ware made in a basket, and often with diamond-shaped reticulations, has also been found with the stone implements.

Certain tools of bronze or copper have been discovered, but they are distinctly rare, and it is doubtful whether there was any bronze age in the Peninsula. Ancient iron tools are also occasionally discovered, and we have some specimens of graves built of large granite slabs and 'cists' closely resembling the dolmen. On the whole the remains afford us the picture of a very primitive civilisation.

Mention may also be made of what are popularly known as Siamese mines. These are circular pits, sometimes more than hundred feet deep and about two feet apart, and connected with one another by galleries at the base.

Primitive stone implements have been obtained from various islands in the archipelago such as Borneo, Celebes, Timor, and

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1. The account of the pre-historic remains of Malay Peninsula is based mainly on "Papers on the Ethnology and Archæology of the Malay Peninsula" by Ivor H. N. Evans M. A. (Cambridge, 1927). For a detailed account of the neolithic and palæolithic implements, cf. R. O. Winstedt—'Pre-history of Malaya', in J. Mal. Br. R. A. S. 1932 pp. 1 ff,

Moluccas. These afford us the picture of a primitive people such as we meet with in other parts of the world before the dawn of civilisation.

On the whole the actual archæological finds in different parts of Malayasia lead to the conclusion that at the time of the first contact with the Hindus the people of Malayasia were in a primitive state of civilisation, and that in some regions they had not yet emerged from the state of barbarism. But the very fact that they had spread over so many different islands in the Archipelago forces us to admit that some of them had developed a high degree of skill in navigating the open sea, and it is only reasonable to hold that a people who could do this must have passed beyond the elementary stage of civilisation.

Kern has made a serious attempt to form some idea of this civilisation. By a comparative study of the different Indo-nesian languages he has hit upon a number of roots or words common among them all. These may be reasonably regarded as having been in use when the Austro-nesian races lived together in Indo-China. With the help of these words, as well as by a study of those islanders who have been least affected by foreign intrusions, Kern has drawn a picture of the life led by the common ancestors of the peoples of Malayasia. It cannot, of course, be maintained that the civilisation which they had developed in Indo-China remained unaffected after they had moved to the various islands,—for, according to local circumstances, it must have made further progress, or even received a set-back. But the picture of civilisation drawn by Kern may be regarded as a general background of our study. Without going into unnecessary and controversial details, we may give the following sketch of this civilisation on the authority of Kern.

The Austro-nesians cultivated banana, sugarcane, cucumber etc. and were also acquainted with cocoanut and bamboo. Whether the cultivation of rice was known to the whole group is doubtful, but the section which peopled Malayasia was

certainly acquainted with it. Among other articles of food may be mentioned lobster, prawn and turtle, which they got from the sea. They tended buffaloes, pigs, and probably also cows, which were employed for cultivation and supplied them with meat and milk. Hunting and fishing were very popular with them, and they were acquainted with iron weapons. Their clothes were made of barks of trees and they knew the art of weaving. They built houses of bamboo, wood and rattan.

About their intellectual attainments it may be mentioned that they could count upto a thousand and possessed an elementary knowledge of astronomy, indispensable for navigation in open sea. Their religious beliefs, like those of all primitive tribes, may be characterised as Animistic. Everything in nature which excited their curiosity or apprehensions and before which they felt themselves powerless to act,—such as storm, thunder, earthquake, conflagration etc., were conceived as work of spirits who must be satisfied with proper worship. They also regarded trees, rocks, rivers and other natural objects as abodes of spirits. But the most important classes of spirits were those of the ancestors who were regularly worshipped and were supposed to exercise great influence on the lives of their descendants.

The dead bodies were either thrown to the sea, or left in the forests, to be devoured by wild animals, or to undergo a natural decomposition. For it is only when the bones alone were left could the soul of the dead leave the body and go back to its proper realm, there to enjoy an eternal life very much in the same way as on the earth below[1].

It may be noted that the picture drawn above is in full accord with what we know of the primitive tribes in India. It

1. The summary is taken from "Fruin-Mees", pp. 5-6. For the linguistic discussion on which it is based, Cf. V. G., Vol. VI, pp. 107-120. As to navigation and the knowledge of astronomy Cf. V. G., Vol. VI., p. 24. For general account cf. V. G., Vol. XV, pp. 180-81.

may also be reasonably held that the Indo-nesian settlers in Java and other islands, although mainly clinging to the old habits, introduced certain modifications therein. The monuments, described above, undoubtedly show that their method of disposing of the dead bodies had undergone a great change, and that they had made remarkable improvements in the art of stone-cutting.[1] It may also be presumed that the people of Java made further notable progress. It appears that the Javanese had developed various industries and excelled in making various articles of iron, bronze, copper, silver, gold, ivory, tortoise-shell, and horn of rhinoceros. It is to be remembered that tortoise and elephant are not to be found in Java and that gold, too, was found there only in small quantities. The work in ivory, tortoise-shell and gold, therefore, indicates active trade-relations with foreign countries from which they must have been imported. The rich fertility of the soil must also have made Java an emporium of grain. It is perhaps for this very reason that the Hindu traders who probably replenished their store of food from this fertile country on their way to China named the island 'Yava-dvīpa' or 'Island of Barley', a name which completely superseded in later times the indigenous name Nusa Kendeng. Thus we must hold that on the whole the Javanese possessed a high degree of civilization. As to their religious beliefs and practices, the worship of spirits and ancestors seems to have played a dominant part in their every-day life. They built statues of these ancestors either of wood or stone, and also suitable temples to house them. A class of men called Zaman was believed to have been possessed of a peculiar faculty which enabled them to serve as a means of communication with the spirits of the ancestors. By suitable ceremonies in which dance, music, and burning of incense

1. Fruin-Mees believes that some of the graves described above may belong to the primitive races who settled in Java before the immigration of the Indo-nesians (p. 7). This may be true, and in that case the Indo-nesian colonists in Java may be regarded as having learnt the art from these primitive peoples of Java.

formed the chief part, the Zamans became the medium through whose mouth the spirits of the ancestors gave their blessings to, and directed the undertakings of, their descendants. The Zamans also were, therefore, held in great veneration.

The Javanese also made distinct progress in astronomy. They calculated a month of 30 days according to the phases of the moon, and their year consisted of 12 months. The year was again divided into two parts, ten months of work and two of rest. Five days, or rather nights, formed a unit, and two such units formed the week, of which there were thirty in the working period of ten months or 300 days.

While admitting that the people of Java had attained to a much higher grade of civilisation than their neighbours, it is difficult to accept the highly exaggerated picture which is sometimes drawn of it. We may, for example, refer to the views of the great scholar Brandes who held that the pre-Hindu Javanese had the knowledge of the following.[1]

1. The Wajang,—a kind of shadow-play well-known in modern Java.
2. Gamelan,—modern Javanese music accompanying Wajang.
3. Metre.
4. The art of weaving Batik cloth.
5. The metal industry.
6. Monetary system.
7. Sea-voyage.
8. Astronomy.
9. Cultivation by means of artificial irrigation.
10. State-organisation of a high order.

A knowledge of some of these, for example, nos. 5, 7, and 8, may be accepted without discussion and has already been referred to. The others are, however, open to serious objection,

1. T. B. G., Vol. 32 (1889), pp. 122 ff.

and Brandes' views in respect of them have been adversely criticised by eminent scholars.[1]

As regards Wajang, I have discussed the question in some details in an Appendix to Bk. V., Chap. III. It is admitted by all that this has never been known to any other Indo-nesian tribe outside Java (except where it was imported in later times from Java), that we first come across it in Java when the Hindu colonists were established there for centuries, that similar play called *Chāyā-nāṭaka* was undoubtedly known to the Hindus, and that the plot of the earliest type of Wajang in Java is invariably derived from the Hindu epics. Against this it is pointed out that the technical terms in Wajang are Javanese and not Sanskrit, and that Wajang is very closely connected with the ancestor-worship of the Javanese. But it is to be remembered that when a people adopt a foreign custom, or import a foreign article, they not only sometimes give them their own names but also adapt them to their own peculiar needs. Although Wajang is closely associated with ancestor-worship in Java to-day, there is nothing to show that it always has been so. It stands to reason that when it secured wide popularity in Java, it came to form an essential element in the ancestor-worship which played such a dominant part in the life of Javanese people. It may be urged in favour of this view that although ancestor-worship is a characteristic feature of all or most Indo-nesian tribes, Wajang has never been known to form a part of it outside Java.

Gamelan, which is essentially bound up with Wajang may, on similar grounds, be regarded as Javanese adaptation of an Indian original. As to Batik the researches of Rouffaer and Juynboll [2] have established the facts that the industry is not known to any other island outside Java (except where it was directly imported from Java) and that the first reference to

1. The observations that follow are mainly based on Krom—Geschiedenis, pp. 45-52.

2. De Batik-kunst in Ned.-Indië en haar geschiedenis (1914.)

the industry in Java belongs to a very late period, while from a much earlier period India has been a well-known centre for the mass-production and wholesale export of the commodity. Here, again, the only argument for a Javanese origin seems to be that the technical terms are Javanese. As Krom has rightly pointed out, even to-day the Javanese give indigenous names to new articles imported from America and Europe, and hence no weight should be attached to arguments based on indigenous character of the name.

As to Javanese metric and system of coinage, Brandes himself puts forward the claim with a great deal of hesitation, and Krom has pointed out that there is absolutely no evidence in support of it. What Brandes claims as Javanese metre, and Javanese coins proper, make their first appearance after the Indian metre and Indian coins had remained in use for centuries. According to Brandes, these undoubtedly later phenomena are developments of old pre-Hindu state of things. We have, however, as yet had no evidence that there was any metre or coin in the pre-Hindu period. Besides, even if there were any, we are to suppose, that they absolutely went out of use during the many centuries of Hindu influence, only suddenly to come to light after an obscurity of over thousand years. Nothing but the very strongest positive evidence would induce us to believe in such an explanation, and such evidence is lacking for the present.[1]

As regards the last two points, cultivation by means of irrigation, and developed political organisation, Brandes bases his conclusions on the use of indigenous technical terms. As has been shown above, this is by no means a satisfactory evidence. On the other hand, the irrigation system was not unknown to the other Indo-nesian tribes and might well have developed independently in Java even prior to the Hindu

1. Berg points out the close connection between the Javanese metrics and Javanese phonetics, and regards it as an evidence of the high antiquity of Javanese metre (Berg-Inleiding, pp. 67-69).

colonisation. As regards the state-organisation, we may well conceive that there was a certain political system, however rudimentary, though it is difficult to estimate the nature and degree of the organisation, as data for such estimate are lacking.

Thus, of the ten points of Brandes, by which he tried to sum up the civilisation of the Javanese before they came in contact with the Hindus, Wajang, Gamelan and Batik may be dismissed as improbable; two others, metrics and monetary system, are most unlikely; while two others, irrigation and highly developed state-organisation, are, at least, doubtful. The remaining three, *viz.*, metal industry, sea-voyage, and elementary knowledge of astronomy, may alone be accepted as undoubtedly true.

Chapter IV.

SUVARṆADVĪPA

Suvarṇabhūmi (gold-land) and Suvarṇadvīpa (gold-island), as names of over-sea countries, were familiar to the Indians from a very early period. They occur in old popular stories such as have been preserved in the Jātakas, Kathākośa and Bṛhatkathā, as well as in more serious literary works, mainly Buddhist.

Thus, according to a Jātaka story,[1] prince Mahājanaka sailed with some merchants in a ship bound for Suvarṇabhūmi, in order to get great riches there. Another Jātaka story[2] refers to a sea-voyage from Bharukaccha to Suvarṇabhūmi. The same journey is described in great detail in the Suppāraka-Jātaka.[3]

The original Bṛhatkathā is lost, but its stories have been partially preserved in the Kathāsarit-sāgara, Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī and Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṁgraha. The Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṁgraha gives us the story of Sānudāsa, who sails for Suvarṇabhūmi with a gang of adventurers, and undertakes a perilous journey by land after crossing the sea.[4] The Kathāsarit-sāgara contains a few more stories of the same type. First, we have the adventurous story of the great merchant

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1. Jātaka—Vol. VI. p. 22.

2. Jātaka—Vol. III. p. 124.

3. Jātaka—Vol. IV. p. 86.; Jātakamālā—No. XIV. Both give practically the same details of the journey, but the latter adds that the journey was undertaken at the instance of the merchants of Suvaṇṇabhūmi who had come to Bharukaccha. It may be inferred that Suvaṇṇabhūmi was the destination of the voyage.

4. Lacote—Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā (pp. 175 ff.) English translation by Tabard, p. 131. See below, pp. 58 ff.

Samudraśūra, who sailed in a ship for Suvarṇadvīpa, for purposes of trade, and ultimately reached its chief city Kalasapura.[1] Another merchant, Rudra, was shipwrecked on his way back from Suvarṇadvīpa.[2] It also relates the story of Īśvaravarmā who went to Svarṇadvīpa for the purpose of trade.[3] We have also references to trading voyage to Suvarṇadvīpa in the romantic story of Yaśaḥketu.[4] There is, again, the story of a princess of Kaṭāha being shipwrecked near Suvarṇadvīpa, on her way to India.[5]

The Kathākośa relates the story of Nāgadatta. Being anxious to go to a foreign land, in order to acquire wealth, he went on a sea-voyage with five hundred ships. His ships fell into the hollow of the snake-circled mountain and were rescued by the efforts of Sundara, king of Suvarṇadvīpa, who came to know of the danger of Nāgadatta from a letter fastened to the foot of a parrot.[6]

Among the more serious works containing references to Suvarṇabhūmi, we may refer, in the first place, to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Book II, Chap. XI) which refers to Aguru (aloe) of Suvarṇabhūmi. The following passage in Milindapañha makes an interesting reference to a few centres of the over-sea trade of India : "As a ship-owner, who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some sea-port town, will be able to traverse the high seas and go to.....Takkola or Cīna.....or Suvaṇṇabhūmi or any other place where ships do congregate."[7]

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1. Kathāsarit-sāgara (Taraṅga 54, verses 97 ff.) (Bombay edition of 1867, p. 276).

2. Ibid, Taraṅga 54, vv. 86 ff.

3. Ibid, Taraṅga 57, vv. 72 ff. (p. 297).

4. Ibid, Taraṅga 86, vv. 33, 62.

5. Ibid, Taraṅga 123, v. 110.

6. Kathākośa—Tr. by Tawney pp. 28-29.

7. Milindapañha, p. 359, Translated in S.B.E. Vol. XXXVI, p. 269.

The Niddesa, a canonical work, also refers to sea-voyage to Suvarṇabhūmi and various other countries.[1] The Mahākarma-Vibhaṅga illustrates *deśāntara-vipāka* (calamities of foreign travel) by reference to merchants who sailed to Suvarṇabhūmi from Mahākosalī and Tāmralipti.[2]

We may next refer to the Ceylonese Chronicle Mahāvaṁsa which describes the missionary activities of Thera Uttara and Thera Soṇa in Suvarṇabhūmi.[3] The Mahākarma-Vibhaṅga attributes the conversion of Suvarṇabhūmi to Gavāmpati. The voyage of Gavāmpati to Suvarṇabhūmi is also related in the Sāsanavaṁsa.[4] We learn from Tibetan sources that Dharmapāla (7th cent. A. D.) and Dīpankara Atīsa (11th century A. D.) visited Suvarṇadvīpa.[5]

The name and fame of Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa travelled far beyond the boundaries of India, and we find reference to both in Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Chinese writings.

Pomponius Mela was the first to refer to the island of Chryse (gold)—a literal translation of Suvarṇadvīpa—in his 'De Chorographia', written during the reign of the emperor Claudius (41-54 A. D.).[6] The Chryse island is referred to in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (1st century A. D.)[7], and is mentioned by Pliny (c. 77 A. D.)[8], Dionysius Periegetes (2nd. cent. A. D.),[9] Solinus (3rd. cent. A. D.),[10]

1. This passage is discussed below, pp. 56 ff.
2. Mahākarma-Vibhaṅga—Edited by S. Lévi p. 50 ff.
3. Geiger—Mahāvaṁsa, p. 86.
4. Mahākarma-Vibhaṅga p. 62 ; Sāsanavaṁsa, p. 36.
5. Sarat Chandra Das,—Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, p. 50 ; Kern—Manual of Buddhism, p. 130.
6. Coedes—Textes, p. 12.
7. Schoff's Translation, pp, 45-48.
8. Coedes—Textes, p. 15.
9. Coedes,—Textes, p. 71. The date of Dionysius is given as second century A.D. by Coedes. Tozer in his History of Ancient Geography (p. 282) assigns him to the first century A.D.
10. Coedes—Textes, p. 86.

Martianus Capella (5th. cent. A. D.),[1] Isidore of Seville (7th. cent. A. D),[2] the anonymous author of Cosmography (7th cent. A. D.),[3] Theodulf (8th. cent. A. D.),[4] and Nicephorus (13th. cent. A. D.)[5], in addition to several authors who reproduce the information given by Dionysius Periegetes.[6]

Ptolemy (2nd. cent. A. D.) does not refer to the island of Chryse, but mentions, instead, Chryse Chora—a literal translation of Suvarṇabhūmi—and Chryse Chersonesus, or Golden Peninsula.[7] The Chryse Chersonesus was evidently known to Marinos of Tyre[8] (1st. cent. A. D.) and is mentioned by Marcien (5th. cent. A. D.).[9] The only other writers who refer to it are Eustathios (12th. cent. A. D.)[10] and Etienna (6th. cent. A. D.)[11] who quote respectively Ptolemy and Marcien. Flavius Josephus (1st. cent. A. D.) refers to Chryse as a land in India and identifies it with Sophir.[12]

The Indian tradition of Suvarṇadvīpa was also known to the Arabs. Alberuni refers to both Suvarṇadvīpa and Suvarṇabhūmi. "The islands of the Zābaj," says he, "are called by the Hindus Suvarṇadvīpa *i. e.* the gold islands".[13]

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1. Ibid, p. 116. He writes the name as Chrysea.
2. Ibid, pp. 136-137.
3. Ibid, p. 149. He uses the form 'Chrisi'.
4. Ibid, p. 150.
5. Ibid, pp. 160-161.
6. Etienne (6th. cent. A.D.), Eustathios (12th cent. A.D.); cf. Coedes—Textes, pp. 132, 157, 159.
7. Coedes—Textes, pp. 38-43, 53, 56, 60, 66.
8. Ptolemy refers to Marinos' estimate of the distance between Tamala and Chryse Chersonesus (Coedes—Textes, p. 38.)
9. Coedes—Textes, p. 118.
10. Ibid, p. 160
11. Ibid, p. 132.
12. Ibid, pp. 17-18.
13. Sachau's Transl. Vol. I, p. 210. 'Zābaj' is also written as Zābag.

Elsewhere he says : "The islands of the Zābaj are called the Gold Country because you obtain much gold as deposit if you wash only a little of the earth of that country".[1] Although the translator of Alberuni has put, within brackets, Suvarṇadvīpa after the expression, 'Gold Country', the phrase used by Alberuni is undoubtedly equivalent to Suvarṇabhūmi, rather than Suvarṇadvīpa. In another place Alberuni has included Suvarṇabhūmi in the list of countries in the north-east, as given in Bṛhat-Saṁhitā.[2] Many other Arab writers refer to Zābaj as the 'Golden land' or 'land of gold'. Among them may be mentioned Harakī (died 1138 A.D.)[3], Yāḳūt (1179-1229)[4], Sīrāzī (died 1311 A. D.)[5], and Buzurg bin Sahriyār[6]. Nuwayrī (died in 1332 A.D.) calls Fanṣūr (Pansur or Baros on the western side of Sumatra) as the land of gold[7]. It may be noted also that Buzurg bin Sahriyār in one place calls Mankir the capital of the land of gold, though in other places he evidently follows the Arab tradition of identifying it with Zābaj[8].

The name Suvarṇadvīpa was also not unknown to the Chinese. I-tsing twice mentions Kin-tcheu (gold-island) in his famous "Memoir on the pilgrimage of monks who visited the western countries in search of law", and uses it as a synonym of Che-li-fo-che or Śrī-Vijaya.[9]

Having thus rapidly surveyed the wide prevalence of the knowledge of Suvarṇadvīpa and Suvarṇabhūmi in many

1. Ibid, Vol. II., p. 106.
2. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 303.
3. J. A., Vol. CCII, p. 6.
4. Ibid, p. 7.
5. Ibid, pp. 8-9.
6. Ibid, pp. 10-12. The date of this author is uncertain. Van der Lith places him in the 10th century A.D., but Ferrand doubts it (Ferrand —Textes Vol. II. pp. 564-5).
7. J.A., Vol. CCII., p. 9.
8. Ibid, pp. 10-11.
9. I-tsing—Memoire (pp. 181, 187, p. 36, f.n. 3.)

countries, extending over many centuries, we may now proceed to discuss in detail its precise location and antiquity of its colonisation by the Hindus.

It is a striking fact that the contrast between Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa, i.e., the Gold-land and the Gold-island, which we meet with in the Indian sources, is also faithfully reflected in the nomenclatures used by the western authors, some of them calling it an island, and the others, either a land or a peninsula. Ptolemy, as we have seen, refers to both Chryse Chora (golden land) and Chryse Chersonesus (Golden Peninsula). He distinguishes them as two different regions, evidently lying close to each other, as both of them adjoined Besyngeitai. We note a similar distinction even in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. In para 56 of that work Chryse is called an island. In para 63, however, Chryse is referred to both as a 'land' near the Ganges, and 'an island' just opposite that river.

Alberuni, as we have seen above, also uses both Suvarṇadvīpa and Suvarṇabhūmi.

Gerini was perhaps the first to give serious attention to this contrast. As he has drawn very important conclusions from this, we may quote his remarks at some length.[1]

"Marinos of Tyre and Ptolemy are the first to speak of the Malay Peninsula as the Golden Khersonese. The geographers that preceded them, among whom Eratosthenes,[2] Dionysius Periegetes, and Pomponius Mela may be named, all refer to it instead as Khryse or Chryse Insula: the "Golden Isle",—and so does long before them the Rāmāyaṇa, under the name of Suvarṇadvīpa, which conveys the same meaning. No stress has, so far, been laid on this wide difference in representing

1. Gerini—Researches, pp. 77-78.

2. This is misleading. Gerini himself remarks elsewhere: "Doubtless Eratosthenes had heard of them (Chryse and Argyre) although no allusion in that sense is likewise met with in the surviving fragments of his work." (Ibid, p. 670 f.n. 1).

that region on the one part as an island and on the other as a peninsula. I believe, therefore, that I am the first to proclaim, after careful consideration, that both designations are probably true, each in its own respective time; that is, that the Malay Peninsula, or rather its southern portion, has been an island before assuming its present highly pronounced peninsular character. The view I now advance is founded not only on tradition, but also upon geological evidence of no doubtful nature."

Gerini then proceeds with the details of what he calls the geological evidence.

Gerini's explanation, however, cannot be seriously considered. In the first place, it is to be noted that the word '*dvīpa*' means primarily 'a land having water on two of its sides'. Thus '*dvīpa*' is not identical with 'island', and includes peninsulas and sometimes Doabs also.[1] As the foreign writers got their information from Indian source, they might have taken '*dvīpa*' in the sense of 'island', whereas it was really a peninsula. Further, it is a well-known fact, that ancient sailors often represent one and the same country as consisting of a number of separate lands or islands; for, as the journey was made from one port to another by open sea, the continuity of the region was always a difficult matter to ascertain. The Arabs, even down to a late period, represented Sumatra as consisting of a number of separate islands. As to Malay Peninsula, the subject of Gerini's discussion, Chavannes has pointed out that the Chinese geographers of the T'ang period regarded it as a series of islands.[2]

The real point of contrast, missed by Gerini, is the reference by one and the same author to two regions called Chryse, one of which is mainland, and the other, an island or peninsula. As we have seen above, this is the case with Ptolemy and the

1. Cunningham's Ancient Geography—Edited by S. N. Majumdar, Appendix I, p. 751.

2. I-tsing—Memoire, (p. 36. f.n. 3).

author of the Periplus. The question, therefore, naturally arises, whether we should take Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa as corresponding exactly to these two regions, both called Chryse by the western authors, one denoting a portion of the mainland (bhūmi), and the other, an island or a peninsula (dvīpa).

However tempting such a solution might appear at first, we must definitely reject it. As we have seen above, Alberuni applies the term Suvarṇabhūmi to the islands of Zābag which he elsewhere designates Suvarṇadvīpa. Besides, the island of Sumatra, which is called Suvarṇadvīpa in Chinese sources and is undoubtedly referred to by this name in later Indian literature, is designated as Suvarṇabhūmi in an inscription found in the island itself.[1]

It is thus quite clear, that the term 'bhūmi' in the compound 'Suvarṇabhūmi' should not be taken in the sense of mainland, as opposed to island or peninsula, but simply in the general sense of land or territory.

This brings us to the question of the exact meaning of the term Suvarṇabhūmi. Pomponius Mela explains the name Chryse (gold) island by referring to an old tradition that the soil of the country is made of gold. He adds that either the name is derived from this legend, or the legend is invented from the name. In any case he took Suvarṇabhūmi to signify 'the country whose soil was gold'. This view was shared by a large number of ancient writers,[2] but Pliny takes a more rational view. Referring to Chryse he says: "I think the country abounds in gold mines, for I am little disposed to believe the report that the soil of it is gold." Pliny's view is upheld by later authors, though some of them refer to the wide-spread tradition of the soil being gold. Dionysius Periegetes seems

1. Een Sumatraansche inscriptie van koning Kṛtanagara—by N. J. Krom (Vers. Med. K. Akad. Weten Letterkunde 5e reeks deel II. 1916. pp. 306-339) reproduced in J. A. 11-XX, pp. 179-80.

2. According to Isidore of Seville the view was held by a majority of authors (Coedes—Textes, p. 137).

to explain the name as due to the strong rays of the sun which makes the soil look like gold.[1]

Among the Arab writers also, Harakī and Yāḳūt take the view that the soil is gold, while Alberuni attributes the name to the fact that the country yields a large quantity of gold.

There is hardly any doubt that the old tradition of the golden soil was derived from India. For the Purāṇas actually refer to a country, outside Bhāratavarṣa, the mountain and soil of which consist of gold[2], and Divyāvadāna describes in detail the difficulties which one has to surmount in order to reach that region of the earth where the soil is gold[3]. There is equally little doubt that the origin of the name Suvarṇabhūmi has to be traced to this belief, though a rational explanation was substituted afterwards. The word *bhūmi* in *Suvarṇabhūmi*, therefore, originally stood for soil or land in general, and there was no idea of contrasting it with *'dvīpa'*, island or peninsula. It may be noted here, that we have also reference to cities called Suvarṇapura. In an illustrated Nepalese manuscript, a picture is entitled "Suvarṇṇapure Śrī-Vijaya-pure Lokanātha" or (the image of) Lokanātha (Avalokiteśvara) in Śrī-Vijaya-pura in Suvarṇṇapura. Śrī-Vijaya is the old name of a capital city in Sumatra. So Suvarṇapura should be located there, and seems to be used as a designation for a region, rather than a town[4]. The Kathāsarit-sāgara also refers to Kāñcanapura, a synonym of Suvarṇapura, where the merchant Īśvaravarman stopped on his way to Suvarṇadvīpa[5]. In Bāṇa's Kādambarī also we get a reference to "Suvarṇapura,[6] not far from the eastern ocean and the abode of the Kirātas.

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1. Coedes—Textes, p. 157. pp. 71-73.
2. Cf. e.g., Matsya Purāṇa. Ch. 113, vv. 12, 42.
3. Mahāntaṁ Sauvarṇabhūmim pṛthivīpradeśaṁ (Divyāvadāna —Cowell, p. 107).
4. J. A. 11-XX, pp. 42-43.
5. Taraṅga 57, v, 76.
6. Kādamvarī-Tr. by Ridding, pp. 90-91.

Thus, in addition to the generic name Suvarṇabhūmi, or gold-land, we have references to gold-island, gold-peninsula, and gold-city. It seems to be quite clear, therefore, that Suvarṇabhūmi was used primarily as a vague general designation of an extensive region, but, in course of time, different parts of it came to be designated by the additional epithets of island, peninsula or city. The original name, however, never went out of use altogether, for we definitely know that, even at a much later period, it used to denote Sumatra and portions of Burma. In order to have a general idea of the extent of the region to which the name Suvarṇabhūmi was applied, it is necessary to make a list of territories which we know on definite grounds to have borne that name in its primary or derivative form.

The Periplus makes it certain that the territories beyond the Ganges were called Chryse. It does not give us any means to define the boundaries more precisely, beyond drawing our attention to the facts, that the region consisted both of a part of mainland as well as an island, to the east of the Ganges, and that it was the last part of the inhabited world. To the north of this region it places This or China. In other words, Chryse, according to this authority, has the same connotation as the Trans-Gangetic India of Ptolemy, and would include Burma, Indo-China, and Malay Archipelago, or rather such portions of this vast region as were then known to the Indians.

Ptolemy's Chryse Chersonesus undoubtedly indicates the Malay Peninsula, and his Chryse Chora must be a region to the north of it.

Now, we have definite evidence that a portion of Burma was known in later ages as Suvarṇabhūmi. According to the Kalyāṇi inscriptions (1476 A.D.), Rāmaññadesa was also called Suvaṇṇabhūmi[1], which would then comprise the maritime region between Cape Negrais and the mouth of the Salwin.

1. Suvaṇṇabhūmi-raṭṭa-saṁkhāta Rāmaññadesa (Ind. Ant. Vol. 22. 1893, p. 151).

According to Po-U-Daung Inscription (1774 A.D.), 'Suvaṇṇāparānta, a designation usually syncopated into Sunaparānta or Sonnaparānta, included the country between the Lower Iravati and Chindwin and the Arakan Yoma. Now, Aparānta means 'western end or extremity', and hence the region denoted as Suvaṇṇāparānta may be taken to denote the western end or extremity of Suvarṇabhūmi. Thus these two place-names would authorise us to apply the name Suvarṇabhūmi to a large portion of Burma, both maritime and inland, and this would also suit the location of Ptolemy's Chryse Chora[1].

There can also be hardly any doubt, in view of the statement of Arab and Chinese writers, and the inscription found in Sumatra itself, that that island was also known as Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa. Ferrand points out that even now Sumatra is designated by the Malays as Pūlaw Emás or the island of gold (Suvarṇadvīpa).

But the Arab writers definitely imply that Suvarṇadvīpa included a number of islands. Alberuni is quite clear on this point. "The islands of the Zābaj", says he, "are called by the Hindus Suvarṇadvīpa, *i.e.*, the gold islands". Ibn Saīd[2] (13th century A. D.) definitely asserts that Zābag is an archipelago consisting of a large number of islands which produce excellent gold, and says that Sribuza (Śrī-Viyaya in Sumatra) is the greatest of the islands of Zābag. The same view is implied by other Arab writers both before and after him. Thus, strictly speaking, the name Suvarṇadvīpa is applied by the Arabs, on the authority of the Hindus, to

1. Gerini—Researches pp. 64 ff. There does not seem to be any adequate reason for excluding the maritime region, as Gerini has done, in locating Chryse Chora. Of course we must always bear in mind that it is a fruitless task to attempt to define the exact location of Ptolemy's place-names beyond a general indication such as we have given above.

2. For the account of this and other Arab writers, cf. Ferrand J. A. 11—XX, pp. 52 ff.

a large group of islands, roughly corresponding to Malay Archipelago of the present day. Even as late as the sixteenth century A.D., Budhagupta, a Buddhist monk, visited two islands called Suvarṇadvīpa in the Eastern Sea.[1]

There are thus definite evidences that Burma, Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra had a common designation of Suvarṇabhūmi, and the name Suvarṇadvīpa was certainly applied to Sumatra and other islands in the Archipelago. This does not, however, take away the possibility of other territories being designated by the one or the other name. Thus, on the whole, we shall not perhaps be far wrong, if we take Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa as general designations of Burma, Malay Peninsula, and Malay Archipelago, as hinted at in the Periplus.[2] But, keeping in view the literal meaning of the word *dvīpa*, we should restrict the use of the name Suvarṇadvīpa to the last two alone.

We shall now proceed to discuss briefly some of the important localities in Suvarṇadvīpa which were definitely known to the Hindus in ancient times.

As we have seen above, there is a reference to the island of Chryse (gold) in the Periplus. This is associated with the island of Argyre (silver) by many other classical authors, such as Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Solin, Martianus Capella, Isidore of Seville, and Theodulf. The origin of the name 'silver island' is explained in the same way as that of the 'gold island'.

This close association naturally induces us to look for the two islands near each other. Now, as the name Suvarṇadvīpa, for the island of Sumatra, is well established, we might look

1. I. H. Q., Vol. VII. (1931), pp. 698, 701.

2. The Chinese used the name 'Kouen louen' to denote Indo-China and Indo-nesia as a whole. Recently S. Lévi has shown that in a Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary this term is rendered by Sanskrit Dvīpantara, which therefore means, not 'another island' as has been generally understood, but the 'Far East'. (B. K. I. Vol. 88, 1931, pp. 621-627).

upon the island of Java as corresponding to Argyre, and there are several facts which speak in favour of this supposition.

It is somewhat singular that Ptolemy does not refer to the large island of Sumatra, at least under any easily cognisable name. The fact seems to be, that, like the later Arab writers, he regarded it as a series of islands, which he called (1) the group of five islands, the Barousai, and (2) the group of three islands, the Sabadeibai.

Next to Sabadeibai Ptolemy places "the island of Iabadios (or Sabadios) which means the island of barley." 'It is said to be of extraordinary fertility and to produce very much gold, and to have its capital called Argyre (Silver-town) in the extreme west of it.' The explanation of the name leaves no doubt that Ptolemy's Iabadios corresponds to Sanskrit Yavadvīpa.[1]

Now, Ptolemy nowhere refers to the islands of Chryse and Argyre which figure so prominently in the writings of other western geographers both before and after him.[2] His Chryse Chersonesus may possibly represent the Chryse island of other writers, but we cannot say anything definitely on this point. The reference to an island with capital called Argyre, which is not far from his Chryse Chersonesus, and situated quite close to Sumatra that undoubtedly bore the name Suvarṇa-dvīpa (equivalent to Chryse island), justifies us, therefore, in identifying Iabadios as the Argyre island of other writers.

Thus the islands of Chryse and Argyre, referred to by classical writers, would correspond to the well-known islands of Sumatra and Java or the Malay Peninsula and Java.

This view is in full accord with what we find in the Periplus. The author thus describes the coastal regions of Bengal. "After these, the course turns towards the east again, and sailing with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land

1. For further discussion see Chaps. VI-VII.

2. See ante. For further discussion see Chap. VI.

towards the east, Chryse. There is a river near it called the Ganges.....And just opposite this river there is an island in the ocean, the last part of the inhabited world towards the east, under the rising sun itself ; it is called Chryse."

Now, although the island of Sumatra or the Malay Peninsula is at a great distance, it is undoubtedly opposite the Ganges, in the sense, that if one sails straight towards the south from the mouth of that river, he would reach the island or the peninsula direct without coming across any other land. That the author meant a somewhat remote region is indicated by the expression, 'under the rising sun itself.' It may be a vague reference to the equatorial region, but, in any case, seems to indicate a sufficiently remote locality. It is also interesting to note that Pliny and other writers locate the islands of Chryse and Argyre as simply 'beyond the mouth of the Indus river.' Thus the expression, "opposite the Ganges", should not be understood in the sense in which we would employ it to-day, but in a general way only, and Malay Peninsula or Sumatra corresponds to the position fairly well.

Apart from the general and somewhat vague use of Suvarṇadvīpa, we may trace in Indian literature references to various localities within that region. The earliest reference of this kind, though equally vague in character, perhaps occurs in the ninefold division of Bhāratavarṣa as given in the Purāṇas. It has been argued with great plausibility that of these nine divisions, one alone corresponds roughly to India proper, and the other eight, therefore, designate other parts of what may be called Greater India. Mr. S. N. Majumdar who propounded this idea definitely identified one of these divisions, Indradvīpa, with Burma, and suggested that another, Kaserumat, might be Malay Peninsula.[1] But the question is not free from difficulties as has been pointed out by Mr. S. B. Chaudhury.[2]

1. Cunningham—Ancient geography of India, Edited by S. N. Majumdar, Appendix I. Sp. cf. pp. 752-754.

2. Ind. Ant. 1930, pp. 204 ff.

But when the later Purāṇas like Garuḍa and Vāmana substitute Kaṭāha and Siṁhala for Saumya and Gandharva of the other Purāṇas[1], we have a definite reference to a region in Malay Peninsula, for Kaṭāha is the well-known name of the locality now represented by Keddah.[2] The name 'Kaṭāha-dvīpa' which was thus raised to the dignified position of one of the great divisions of Bhāratavarṣa or Greater India may be taken as roughly denoting the same region as Suvarṇadvīpa, which name is entirely absent from the Purāṇas.

In course of time, however, both the names came to be applied to particular localities. The Kaṭāha-dvīpa figures prominently in the Kathāsarit-sāgara, as a rich and flourishing country, but is distinguished from Suvarṇadvīpa; for, as already noted above, a story relates how the princess of Kaṭāha-dvīpa was ship-wrecked near Suvarṇadvīpa on her way to India. The same story tells us that the mother of the princess was the sister of the king of Suvarṇadvīpa.[3] This leads to the conclusion that the Kaṭāha-dvīpa and Suvarṇadvīpa were situated close to each other, but we must not count too much upon exact geographical knowledge of a story-writer. We have also the famous story of Devasmitā, in which her husband, the merchant Guhasena, sails from Tāmralipti to Kaṭāha, and she follows him there after a short period.[4] The story of the foolish merchant also leads us to Kaṭāha.[5]

Geographically, the most interesting story in this connection is that of Candrasvāmin who lost his son and younger sister in the wood. They were supposed to have been rescued by a merchant named Kanakavarman. Having learnt that the

1. Ibid. The verse in the two Purāṇas runs as follows:— Nāgadvīpaḥ Kaṭāhaśca Siṁhalo Vāruṇastathā I (Garuḍa Purāṇa Ch. 55-V. 5. Vāmana Purāṇa Ch. 13, V. 10.)

2. See Book II. Chap. II.

3. Taraṅga 123, vv. 105 ff.

4. Taraṅga 13, vv. 70. ff.

5. Taraṅga 61, v. 3.

merchant had sailed for Nārikela-dvīpa, Candrasvāmin embarked in a ship and went across the sea to that island. There he learnt that Kanakavarman had gone to Kaṭāha-dvīpa. Candrasvāmin followed him there, only to learn that Kanakavarman had gone to Karpūra-dvīpa. In this way poor Candrasvāmin visited in turn Nārikela-dvīpa, Kaṭāha-dvīpa, Karpūra-dvīpa, Suvarṇadvīpa and Siṁhala-dvīpa.[1]

The Nārikela-dvīpa is mentioned both by Chinese and Arab writers.[2] According to Hiuen Tsang the people grew no grain but lived only on cocoanuts, which evidently gave the name to the island. He places it 'thousands of li' to the south of Ceylon. It has been identified with Nicobar island.[3]

The Karpūra-dvīpa is also named by Arab writers.[4] It is either Borneo or north (specially the north-west) side of Sumatra, where lies the port Barus from which to this day the Malays name the true camphor, Kapur Barus. Blagden considers this latter identification as more probable.[5]

A similar knowledge of the islands in the Archipelago may be traced even in the Purāṇas. The Vāyu Purāṇa contains a chapter describing the various *dvīpas* to the south of India.[6] Although there is much that is imaginary or mythical, there seems to be a kernel of fact. It describes in particular a group of six islands named Aṅga-dvīpa, Yama-dvīpa, Malaya-dvīpa, Śaṅkha-dvīpa, Kuśa-dvīpa and Varāha-dvīpa.

1. Taraṅga 56, VV. 54 ff.

2. Nārikela-dvīpa is mentioned, among others, by Hiuen Tsang (Beal—Vol. II, p. 252) and Ibn Saīd (13th cent. A. D.). The latter also refers to it as a dependency of Ceylon (Ferrand-Textes Vol. II, p. 339).

3. For the identification and other details, cf. Yule-Marco Polo, Book III, Chap. XII—notes. Beal identifies it with Maldive islands—Beal, Vol. II, p. 252, f.n. 36.

4. Ibrāhīm bin Wāṣif Sāh (c. 1000 A. D.), Ibn Al Wardi (14th cent.), Thousand and One Nights; cf. Ferrand—Textes, pp. 157, 422, 570-573.

5. Cf. N.M. Penzer's note in his edition of Tawney's English Translation of Kathāsarit-sāgara – Ocean of Stories, Vol. IV, p. 224. fn. 1

6. Chapter, 48.

Among these, Malaya-dvīpa may be identified with Malay Peninsula. Malaya-dvīpa is described as producing precious stones, gold, and sandal, and this suits well with Malay Peninsula. Besides, reference is made to the city of Laṅkā, which may be identified with Lenkasuka (see Chap. V). The Śaṅkha-dvīpa may be identified with the island of Sankhay, frequently mentioned by Arab writers. According to them it was three days' voyage from Malaya and was included within the empire of Śrī-Vijaya. It gave the name to the neighbouring sea, and there was also a town called after it.[1] The Aṅga-dvīpa may be identified with the Angadiya of the Arab writers, which is named immediately after a place on the Siamese coast and is located in the Bay of Bengal.[2] In the group of three islands, named Barawa by the Arab writers, we can easily recognise the Varāha-dvīpa of the Vāyu Purāṇa. These islands are placed about 100 farsangs from Fansur, i.e., Baros on the coast of Sumatra.[3] The Yama-dvīpa may be the same as Yamakoṭi, which was regarded as being 90° to the east of Laṅkā.[4] Now, even admitting that these identifications are merely conjectural, the fact that most of these names are mentioned by Arab writers as names of islands in the Archipelago is not without importance. It certainly leads to the presumption that the Purāṇik writers had some real knowledge of the Malay Peninsula and Indian Archipelago, although they embellished their accounts with a great deal of mythology and fiction.

Another indication of the geographical knowledge of the Hindus regarding the Far East is supplied by a passage in the Rāmāyaṇa. M. Sylvain Lévi has pointed out that this passage served as the basis of similar geographical accounts

1. Edrīsī, (194), Ibn Saīd (346), Dimaskī (377, 381) and Nuwayrī (395). The figures within brackets refer to pages of Ferrand—Textes.

2. Sidi al-Celebi (Ferrand—Textes, p. 523).

3. Ferrand—Textes, pp. 583-4.

4. Sachau—Alberuni, Vol. I, p. 303.

in Harivaṁśa and the Buddhist Sūtra called Saddharma-Smṛtyupasthāna. For a critical study of the passage in all its bearings, we must refer the reader to the original article of that scholar[1]. Here we shall content ourselves with only a few points, relevant to our present study, which emerge clearly from his scholarly discussion.

The most important passage runs as follows :

Yatnavanto yavadvīpaṁ sapta-rājyopaśobhitam ।
Suvarṇarupyakadvīpam Suvarṇākaramaṇḍitam. ॥

Unfortunately this passage appears in radically different forms not only in the different texts of Rāmāyaṇa but also in Harivaṁśa, Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī of Kṣemendra and the Saddharma-Smṛtyupasthāna-Sūtra which reproduce it. Thus Yavadvīpa appears only in the Bombay edition; the Bengali edition substitutes *jaladvīpam*, whereas the other parallel passages omit it altogether. Similarly the first and the third words in the first line, given above on the authority of the Bombay version, are replaced respectively by *'ratnavantam'* and *'phalabhojyopaśobhitam'*. The reading 'Yavadvīpam' is undoubtedly to be preferred, but we are less sure about the two others. Thus we cannot be quite certain if 'Yavadvīpa' was adorned with seven kingdoms as the Bombay text informs us.

As to the second line, *'Suvarṇarupyaka'* appears as the name of a separate island in the Bengali version, but Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī and Harivaṁśa substitute *Suvarṇakuḍyaka*. The latter reading is supported by the Smṛtyupasthāna-Sūtra, as both the Chinese and the Tibetan translations of the passage render the name as 'island called 'wall of gold', an exact translation of *Suvarṇakuḍya-dvīpa*.

Now, *Suvarṇakuḍya* is mentioned thrice as the name of a country in Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra[2], and on this ground Lévi has preferred this reading. He takes as equivalent to this

1. J. A. 11-XI., pp. 5-160.
2. Book II, Chap. XI.

name, the Chinese Kin-lin by which they designate a country, 2000 li to the west of Fou-nan (Cambodia), and situated along a bay[1]. This would locate it in the Malay Archipelago.

It is to be noted here that *Suvarṇa-rupyaka-dvīpam* is an exact equivalent of the island of Chryse *(Suvarṇa)* and Argyre (*rupyaka*-silver) of the classical writers. Further, the Smṛtyupasthāna-Sūtra says that the soil of the island which it calls *Suvarṇa-kuḍyaka* is gold. This supports the reading *Suvarṇākaramaṇḍitam* which we get in the Bombay version and Harivaṁśa, but which is replaced by Gaṇadvīpam, a third island, in the Bengali version. If we accept this reading, we may have here the origin of the classical tradition about the Chryse island referred to above. On the whole it seems that we have here a reference to both a gold and a gold-cum-silver island, though the two have been confused.

The next important passage, which is practically identical in both the versions of Rāmāyaṇa, runs as follows :

Āmamīnāśanāścāpi kirātā dvīpavāsinaḥ ।
antarjalacarā ghorā nara-vyāghrā iti smṛtāḥ ॥

The Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī of Kṣemendra substitutes the following ;

"antarjalacarān ghorān samudradvīpasaṁśrayān.

Thus the same two adjectives are applied, in the one case to the Kirātas, and in the other, to the people of Samudra-dvīpa. As the Kirātas have already been described in the preceding passage in Rāmāyaṇa, the reading of Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī is preferable. In any case it presents a new name Samudra-dvīpa. Now, this may mean either 'island of the sea' or the 'island called Samudra.' The first meaning is, of course, pointless, so we may take the second and find in it a reference to Samudra, which, being corrupted to 'Sumutra', has given the name Sumatra to the great island in the Archipelago.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra refers to a country called 'Pāra-samudra', and

1. Études Asiatiques, Vol. II, p. 36.

another, called 'Pāsa.'[1] These may be taken as referring to the two neighbouring states of Samudra and Pase, in the north of Sumatra, to which frequent reference is made by mediæval writers.[2]

Further, the geographical chapter under discussion describes various barbarians in the Eastern Sea more or less in the same way as Ptolemy has done in his account of the islands in the Archipelago.

The Buddhist writers show a more extensive knowledge of the countries in the East. The Milindapañha, as we have seen above, refers to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Takkola and Cīna. The Niddesa, commenting on the word "torment" in the Suttanipāta, describes the various kinds of torments which a sailor experiences, while, overpowered by desire for wealth and enjoyment, he sails in high seas in a boat and goes to (1) Gumba, (2) Takkola, (3) Takkasilā, (4) Kālamukha, (5) Maraṇapāra, (6) Vesuṅga, (7) Verāpatha, (8) Java, (9) Tamali, (10) Vaṅga, (11) Elavaddhana, (12) Suvaṇṇakūṭa, (13) Suvaṇṇabhūmi, (14) Tambapaṇṇi, (15) Suppāra, (16) Bharukaccha, (17) Suraṭṭha, (18) Aṅgaṇeka, (19) Gaṅgana, (20) Paramagaṅgana, (21) Yona, (22) Paramayona, (23) Allasanda, (24) Marukantāra, (25) Jaṇṇupatha, (26) Ajapatha, (27) Meṇḍhapatha, (28) Saṅkupatha, (29) Chattapatha, (30) Vaṁsapatha, (31) Sakuṇapatha, (32) Mūsikapatha, (33) Daripatha, (34) Vettādhāra (or Vettācāra).

This interesting passage has been the subject of a learned dissertation by M. Sylvain Lévi; and the readers are referred to his scholarly article for a detailed discussion of the various points arising out of it.[3] Its chief importance,

1. Book II. Chap. XI.

2. The name Pāra-Samudra is explained as Ceylon in a late commentary to which no importance should be attached. It places Suvarṇakuḍyaka in Assam. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury has supported this identification by equating Pāra-Samudra with Palaesimundu of the Periplus. But the equation Palaesimundu = Pāra-Samudra is not very obvious.

3. Études Asiatiques, Vol. II, pp. 1-55, 431.

for our purpose, is the very comprehensive view it offers of the sea-going trade in ancient India. It describes twenty-four localities (Nos. 1-24) which the merchants visited by way of sea, and ten difficult routes (Nos. 25-34) which they had to follow on land, apparently after reaching the harbour on the sea-coast. Of the twenty-four localities, Nos. 15 to 24 evidently belonged to the western side of India and do not concern us here. Suvaṇṇabhūmi (No. 13), Vesuṅga (6), Verāpatha (7), and Takkola (2) correspond to Ptolemy's Chryse Chora, Besyngeitai, Berabai, and Takkola, the first mart in the Chryse Chersonesus. As such, Suvaṇṇabhūmi may be located in Burma and the same is perhaps true of Suvaṇṇabhūmi, mentioned in the Milindapañha along with Takkola. The Kālamukha (4) is mentioned as the name of a tribe both in Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, and the country is to be placed on the Arakan coast. Java (8) can be easily identified as the well-known island of Java. Tamali (9) is the same as Tāmbraliṅga, referred to in a Sanskrit inscription discovered at Caiya in Malay Peninsula, and has to be placed in that region.[1] Suvaṇṇakūṭa (12) has been equated by Lévi with Suvarṇakuḍyaka which we have already discussed above. Tambapaṇṇi (14) is, of course, Ceylon. Gumba (1), Maraṇapāra (5), and Elavaddhana (11), are not known from any other source and cannot be identified for the present.

There remain now Takkasilā (3) and Vaṅga (10) which are both well-known places, one in the north-west, and the other, in the eastern part of India. But the usual identification of Takkasilā with Taxila would be somewhat incongruous, as the place is named in a list of trans-Gangetic countries to the east. While, therefore, nothing definitely can be said in this matter, Lévi has drawn our attention to the river Tokosanna, mentioned by Ptolemy, near Arakan coast, and the Takkasilā of the text may be located here. The identification of Vaṅga with Bengal seems equally

1. Cf. Book II. Chap. II.

objectionable, particularly when we remember that it is both preceded and followed by other places in Malay Peninsula and the Indian Archipelago. Lévi has pointed out that the Manuscripts also give an alternative reading *vaṅkam*, and this can be easily identified with the island of Banka to the east of Sumatra.

The list of Niddesa thus practically covers a large part of the region which we have named Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa, and of all the Indian texts available to us it shows the most detailed knowledge of the oversea centres of trade in the East. Lévi has drawn attention to the points of agreement between this list and that given by Ptolemy, and has drawn the conclusion that both must belong to approximately the same period. The knowledge of the Far East possessed by Pliny and the author of the Periplus makes it highly improbable that such an extensive and detailed knowledge of the Far East, as is shown by the author of Niddesa, existed in India in the first century A. D. On the other hand, the absence of any reference to Cambodge or Champā makes it equally improbable that the list was drawn up in the third century A. D. when those countries were certainly known to India. Thus the list of Niddesa must have been drawn up between the end of the first and the beginning of the third century A. D.

We shall now say a few words about the ten extraordinary routes mentioned at the end of the passage in Niddesa. The meaning of these has been made clear, partly by the commentary Saddhammappajotikā, and partly by the occurrence of some of them in the story of the merchant Sānudāsa as narrated in Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṁgraha.

The story of Sānudāsa is thus summarised by Lacote[1].

'Sānudāsa joins the gang of the adventurer Ācera, who is preparing an expedition to the land of Gold (Suvaṇṇabhūmi). They cross the sea and land at the foot of a mountain. They climb up to the top by catching hold of creepers (*Vetra*). This is the "creepers' path" (*Vetrapatha*). On the plateau there

1. Translation by Tabard, p. 131.

is a river which changes into stone everything that falls into it. They cross it by holding on to the bamboos which overhang the banks[1]. This is "the bamboos' path" (*Vaṁśpatha*). Further on, they meet a narrow path between two precipices. They light a fire with wet branches; the smoke attracts some Kirātas who come and propose to sell them some goats; the adventurers get on those goats, the only animals sure-footed enough to be able to follow the narrow edge without feeling giddy. This is "the goats' path" (*Ajapatha*). The adventurers do not come to the end of it without some difficulty as another gang is approaching from the opposite direction. A struggle ensues, but Ācera's troops are able to pass through after having thrown their enemies into the ravines. Sānudāsa begins to feel indignant at the fierceness of the gold-seekers. Ācera orders his followers to slay the goats and to put on their skins with the inside out. Huge birds will mistake those men for a heap of raw meat, come and carry them away to their aerie. It is there the gold is! Sānudāsa attempts to save the goat he was riding, but his companions are pitiless. Everything takes place as Ācera had foretold, but the bird which carries off Sānudāsa is attacked by another bird which attempts to steal his prey. The goat's skin bursts open and Sānudāsa falls in a tank which is in the heart of a luxuriant forest. The next day he comes to a river the banks of which are of golden sand; near by, there is a hermitage from which a hermit comes out.'

The story thus explains Ajapatha (26) and Vaṁsapatha (30), and the episode of Sānudāsa being carried aloft by a huge bird evidently explains the Sakuṇapatha (31). Meṇḍhapatha (27) obviously is to be explained in the same way as Ajapatha, substituting ram for a goat. The Vetrapatha is added in the story and may correspond to Vettādhara or Vettācāra (No. 34).

1. The bamboos on the other bank of the river are bent by strong winds, and a man catches hold of the top of one of them as soon as it is within the reach of the bank on which he is standing. Then, when the storm subsides, the bamboo reverts to its old position, and the man holding fast to it is carried along with it to the other bank,

The commentary explains Jaṇṇupatha (25) as the way where one has to crawl on knees. On Saṅkupatha (28) it gives a long explanatory note, describing the means by which a man could ascend a mountain. An iron hook, attached to a rope of skin, is thrown up till the hook is fixed up in the mountain. Having climbed up the rope, the man makes a hole on the hillside with a diamond-tipped iron instrument, and fixes a spear. Having caught hold of this, he detaches the hook, and throws it aloft again, till it is again fixed up in the mountain. Then he ties the rope to the spear, and having caught hold of the rope with one hand, strikes it by a hammer with the other till the spear is detached. Then he climbs up again, again fixes the spear, and repeats the process till he ascends the top of the hill.

Chattapatha (29) is explained in the commentary as the way where one jumps down from a precipice with an open parasol, (chatta=chatra) made of skin, and descends slowly to the ground, on account of the resistance of the air. In other words, it involved the principle of parachute.

The Mūsikapatha (32) and Daripatha (33) are not explained by the commentary and cannot be exactly understood.

References to these extraordinary routes are not confined to the two texts mentioned above. They are met with in the Vimānavatthu, the Jātakas, Milindapañha, Vāyu Purāṇa, Matsya Purāṇa, Kātyāyana's Vārtika and Gaṇapāṭha[1]. None of these, however, mentions a large number of them, and the Purāṇas alone add a new one, Kharapatha, which is evidently to be explained in the same way as Ajapatha, substituting ass (*khara*) for goat (*aja*).

It is to be noted that Kātyāyana associates these ways with merchants, and Milindapañha agrees in a way, substituting

1. cf. Études Asiatiques, Vol. II, pp. 45-50, for details. References are to Vimānavatthu LXXXIV ; Tittirajātaka (Jātaka III, 541), Milindapañha (p. 280) ; Vāyu Purāṇa, Ch. 47, v. 54 ; Matsya Purāṇa Ch. 121, v. 56 ; Patañjali's comment on Pāṇini's Sūtra V, 1,77 ; Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini V. 3. 100.

seekers of wealth for merchants. The Vimānavatthu definitely associates them with oversea countries, agreeing in this respect with Niddesa and Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṁgraha. The Purāṇas also mention them in connection with countries outside India.

We may now sum up the results of the preceding discussion. It is quite clear that from a very remote time the Indians possessed a vague idea of the countries in the Far East across the sea. The relation, no doubt, originated in trade, and the tradition of fabulous wealth earned by that trade gave rise to all sorts of mythical stories about the golden land. The Purāṇik accounts of the *varṣas* and *dvīpas*, which represent this stage, were based on vague sailors' reports, but were also mingled with a great deal of fancy and imagination.

The steady development of this trade is reflected in the Jātakas, Bṛhatkathā, Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra and Milinda-pañha, where we have not only a more definite idea of the region, now called Suvarṇabhūmi, but also a knowledge of important localities within it. This intimate intercourse may be referred to the two or three centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.

During the first two centuries of the Christian era, the mercantile relations led to colonisations on a fairly large scale. This is evidenced both by the popular stories as well as the by Sanskrit names applied to many localities within this region. Ptolemy and Niddesa represent this stage of development which may thus be regarded as an accomplished fact by the second century A. D.

The literary evidence leaves no doubt that trade was the chief stimulus of this intercourse between India and the Far East. Missionary and political activities must have followed in the wake of trade. Indeed, if literature can be regarded as a fair reflex of popular mind, trade and commerce must have been a supreme passion in India in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, perhaps very much in the same way as it is in Europe to-day. The extraordinary routes mentioned above, together with the details of ship-wreck

and perils of the sea preserved in numerous stories, are but a faint echo of that romantic age of adventures and explorations. If the history of that wonderful epoch of new discoveries had been preserved to us, we might possibly present it as a not unworthy parallel of the similar period in modern age. We lay particular stress on this fact, as it is the background of our study of ancient Indian colonisation in the Far East.

Indeed, the evidence of a commercial origin of this intercourse with the Far East meets us at every step. In the first place, almost all the literary references given above deal with stories of merchants or seekers of wealth. Secondly, the geographical names, applied by the Indians, all refer to minerals, metals, or some industrial and agricultural products. We may note, for example, Suvarṇadvīpa (and its variants Hemakūṭa Suvarṇakūṭa, Suvarṇakuḍya), Rupyakadvīpa, Tāmradvīpa, Yavadvīpa, Laṇkādvīpa, Takkola, Śaṅkha-dvīpa, Karpūra-dvīpa, Nārikela-dvīpa, etc.

Thirdly, Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra knows of foreign countries only in connection with their industrial products.

Fourthly, we may refer to a statement of K'ang T'ai, the Chinese ambassador to Fou-Nan about the middle of the third century A. D., which runs as follows :

"Formerly, during the reign of Fan-Chan, a man called Kia-Siang-li came from India to Fou-Nan for purposes of trade. He gave a short account of India to Fan-Chan who then asked him : "What is the distance of India ? How long does it take to go to that country ?" Kia-Siang-li replied : "India is about 30,000 li from here. A journey to India and back would require, three or four years"[1] This passage and another statement of K'ang T'ai[2] shows that the earliest intercourse between India and the Far East was through adventurous merchants, and it was well established as early as the third century A. D.

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1. B. E. F. E. O, Vol. III, pp. 277-8.

2. Études Asiatiques, Vol. II, pp. 249-50.

Some traditions, no doubt, represent Kṣatriya adventurers from India as having conquered territories in the Far East, but they must have followed in the wake of merchants.[1]

It is, of course, true that trade and commercial relations led to the establishment of political and cultural relations as well. But these were secondary results and not primary motives of intercourse. There is no reference in our literature to any deliberate policy of political expansion or religious propaganda across the sea, until we come to the Ceylonese Chronicle Mahāvaṁsa. As is well-known, it refers to the conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya at the time of Buddha, and the despatch of a Buddhist mission to Suvaṇṇabhūmi in the time of Aśoka. Whether the dates of either of these events can be accepted as true is a matter of dispute. But in any case, if true, they would constitute the only exceptions, and even then we should remember that the path had already been paved by the merchants.

On the whole it can be definitely laid down, that trade and commercial activity were the first, and, for a long time, the only incentive to the perilous voyages across the sea. The traders spread Indian culture along with their wares, and as opportunities offered, they might have seized the political power. But it is only at a comparatively later age, that adventurous Kṣatriya princes came to seek their fortune, or individual monk or bands of missionaries came to propagate their religious doctrines. We possess evidence of both, but they all belong to a later period.

The subsequent history of individual colonies will show, that this peaceful penetration of the Indians resulted in the fusion of Indians with their diverse races, and the evolution of a new culture which partook of elements of both. The dominant race imposed its language, religion and social customs, but could not efface all traces of indigenous elements in respect of any of these. As years went on, and the contact with India

1. These have been referred to in my work 'Champā,' pp. XI ff

grew less and less, the native elements again asserted themselves. All these will be illustrated by the detailed history of the Indian colonies in the Malay Peninsula, and the islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and Bali to which we now proceed.

Chapter V.

EARLY HINDU COLONISATION IN MALAY PENINSULA.

The Malay Peninsula or the Peninsula of Malacca is the name given to that long narrow strip of territory which, projecting southwards from Indo-China, divides the Bay of Bengal from the China Sea, and forms the most southerly extremity of the mainland of Asia. It is called by the natives Tanah Malayu, the land of the Malays. It is now generally regarded as beginning at the Isthmus of Kra, in Lat. 10°, but, in the widest sense, the peninsula extends from the parallel of the head of the Gulf of Siam, in Lat. 13°-30′. The peninsula runs at first south, and then in a south-eastern direction, for about 800 miles. The distance from the Isthmus of Kra to Cape Rumenia (east of Singapore), as the crow flies, would be about 750 miles. Cape Rumenia is nearly, though not exactly, the most southerly point in the peninsula, Tanjong Bulus (1°-16½′N.), a little to the west, occupying that position. The peninsula is bounded on the north by Siam, and is surrounded by the sea in all other directions ; by the China Sea and the Gulf of Siam on the east, by the Strait of Singapore on the south, and by the Straits of Malacca and the Bay of Bengal on the west. There are many islands along the shores of the peninsula, the most notable being Langkawi and Penang on the west, and Singapore, Batan and Bintang on the south. The islands on the eastern coast are fewer and smaller.

The most characteristic physical feature of the peninsula is the long range of granite mountains which runs along its

whole length, descending somewhat abruptly into a wider plain on the east, and more gently into a narrower plain on the west. In addition to smaller ranges running parallel to the main chain, there are also isolated spurs and limestone buffs. The highest peak in the main range, Gunong Kerbau, has an altitude of 7,160 ft., but the highest mountain is Gunong Tahan (7, 186 ft.) on the eastern side.

Almost the whole of the peninsula—both alluvial plains and mountain ranges—is covered by evergreen forests, mostly dense jungles, the major part of which is yet untrodden by human foot. The forests yield excellent timber, including eaglewood, camphor tree, and ebony, and also less durable, but more frequently used, materials of Malayan architecture, such as rattans, bamboos, the nibung, and the nipa palms. Guttapercha, rubber, oils, and resins are also obtained from the forests. The chief products of agriculture are rice, sugar-cane, coffee, cotton, sago, pepper, spices, and rubber. There are also some excellent fruit trees such as the mango-steen, durian, pomegranate, jack-fruit, custard-apple, cocoa-nut, areca-nut, sugar-palm, and banana.

The rivers are numerous, but small, and in most cases navigable for large boats only upto a short distance from the mouth. The more notable are the Perak, Bernam and Muar on the west, and Patani, Talukin, Kelantan, Besut, Trengganu, Kuantan, Pahang and Rompin on the east. On account of the impenetrable forests, the rivers have always formed the chief highways of communication, and it is on the banks of the rivers that the main centres of civilisation have grown.

The chief mineral products are tin, iron, gold, and coal. The peninsula, with the islands adjacent to it, contains by far the most extensive tin fields in the world, and supplies nearly one-third of the world's output of that metal. Gold mines exist in Pahang, Kelantan, and Perak, and they are known to have been worked even in very ancient times. Among

other mineral products may be mentioned copper, mercury, lead, silver, zinc, and coal.[1]

Although it is not within the scope of the present work to deal with the existing political condition of the Malay Peninsula, a brief review of its political geography is necessary for the proper understanding of the subject. The northern part of the peninsula, forming a narrow isthmus running nearly due north and south to the length of 140 miles, is inhabited by the Siamese or a cross between them and the Malays, known to the latter by the name of Sansam. This portion, with territories further south, is politically subject to Siam and forms an integral part of that kingdom. The Siamese dominion is confined to the northern part of the peninsula, and comprises the following states, some of which, specially those in the north, forming practically so many Siamese provinces :—on the west coast, beginning from north, are Ranong, Takua Pa, Takuatung, Puket (or Junk Ceylon, a corruption of the Malay name of Ujong Salang), Palian and Satul ; on the east coast, Patavi, Chumpaun, Caiya, the island of Samui, Nakonsitamaraj (Nakhon Sri Tha(dha)mmarat), Patalung, Sengora, Chana Tepa, Nongchik, Tani Jaring, Jala, Sai Ranga, Raman, and Patani. To the south of these lie the states of Perlis and Keddah on the west and Kelantan and Trengganu in the east, over which the kingdom of Siam exercised suzerainty until recent times, but which now form the Non-Federated Malay States, protected and advised

1. In spite of numerous works on the Malay Peninsula, it is not easy to get a simple and accurate description of the physical features of the land. The statements in different authorities also do not always agree, particularly as regards distance, area, and the height of mountains.

The above account is based on the following books :—

a. John Crawfurd—A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries (London 1856) ; (s. v. Malay Peninsula).

b. J. H. Moor—Notices of the Indian Archipelago and Adjacent Countries (Singapore, 1837), pp. 241. ff.

c. Major C. M. Enriquez—Malaya (Hurst and Blackett, 1927).

d. Encyclopaedia Britannica—14th Edition.

by the British. The southern part of the peninsula consists of states which are more directly under the British authority. The regular British territories, forming the Crown Colony of Straits Settlements, are in point of size "mere dots on the map of the Malay Peninsula. One dot is Singapore; a little way up the coast, Malacca is another; still following the coast, the Dindings form a third; Penang and Province Wellesley are two more."

The other states known as Federated Malay States are not, strictly speaking, British possessions, but they are ruled all but in name by the British Resident. These are Perak, Selangor, and the group of nine states, collectively known as Negri Sembilan, on the west, and Pahang on the east coast. To the south of these is the important State of Johore forming the southernmost portion of the Malay Peninsula. Since 1914 it has been included among the Non-Federated States, being protected and advised by the British.[1]

The Malay Peninsula (taking it in its narrower significance, to the south of the Isthmus of Kra) has a population of about three and a half millions. This includes 1,600,000 Malays, 1,200,000 Chinese, 470,000 Indians, and about 33,000 aboriginal or primitive tribes. The racial elements among the original people of Malay Peninsula have already been discussed above. The Chinese and Indian colonists have settled there since the early centuries of the Christian era. During the last four centuries the Europeans and Americans have formed a small colony, numbering at present about 15,000, with 12,000 Eurasians.

It has already been shown above that the Malay Peninsula held a very important position in respect of maritime trade in the Far East from a very early period. Indeed, its geographical

1. The account of the political divisions is based mainly on "The Peoples and Politics of the Far East" by Sir Henry Norman (T. Fisher Unwin, 1907). In some respects it is corrected by 'Malaya' by Enriquez and Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Edition.

position made it the centre of carrying trade between China and the western world.

It must have been known to India from very early times. As has already been mentioned above, the names of both Malaya-dvīpa and Kaṭāha-dvīpa occur in the Purāṇas, and some of the Purāṇas include Kaṭāha-dvīpa among the nine *dvīpas* into which the known world is divided.

The earliest definite reference to this region is made by Ptolemy. He calls it 'Chryse Chersonesus', an equivalent of the Indian name Suvarṇadvīpa, and expressly refers to an active maritime trade between India and this region.

Ptolemy has shown a fair degree of knowledge as regards the geography of Malay Peninsula. He names successively (1) Takkola, a mart; (2) a cape situated after Takkola; (3) mouth of the river Chrysoana; (4) Sabana, a mart; (5) mouth of the river Palandas; (6) cape Maleu Kolon; (7) mouth of the river Attaba; (8) Koli, a town; (9) Perimula; and (10) Bay of Perimula. In a supplementary list he refers to the inland towns, Balongka, Kokkonagara, Tharrha, and Palanda.[1] It is not possible to identify exactly any of these[2], but that does not take away the great importance of Ptolemy's writings. S. Lévi has shown that Ptolemy's account regarding the Far East possesses a striking agreement with that given in Niddesa, a Pāli canonical book.[3] This proves, in his opinion, not only the general accuracy of the Greek account, but also that the Indians had acquired a far greater amount of knowledge of the Far East since the days when neither Pliny nor the author of the Periplus could gain anything but a vague report of Suvarṇabhūmi from his Indian informants. In other words, the century 50-150 A. D. witnessed a remarkable

1. M'Crindle—Ptolemy, pp. 197-8, 226.

2. Gerini's long discourses on the identification of Ptolemy's geographical names seem to be too unscientific to be relied upon. (cf. Researches, pp. 81-115).

3. S. Lévi—Études Asiatiques, Vol. II, pp. 1 ff., specially cf. p. 50.

growth in the trade and maritime activity of the Indians in the Far East. This is further corroborated by the fact, that not only the general name Suvarṇabhūmi, but also local place-names such as Takkola, Java, and Tāmraliṅga, and the name-ending 'nagara' in Kokkonagara, are purely Indian.[1] It may also be noted that by the second century A. D. there was a regular intercourse between India and China, either through the Isthmus of Kra, or the Straits of Malacca.[2]

This period of active intercourse must also be regarded as the *terminus ante quem* for the Indian colonisation in Malay Peninsula. For, Fou-nan (ancient Kāmboja) was colonised by the Hindus in the first century A. D.[3], and Champā, not later than the second century A. D.[4] It, therefore, stands to reason that the Malay Peninsula, which lies on the route to these distant countries, must have been colonised at an earlier date.

This *á priori* reasoning is also supported by traditional accounts. The History of the Liang Dynasty describes a country called Lang-ya-su (or Lang-ga-su) 'which, the people say, was established more than 400 years ago.' Now the king of this country extols the emperor of China by saying, among other things, that the precious Sanskrit was generally known in his land. This leaves no doubt that it was a Hindu colony. As the Chinese history, containing the account, refers to the sixth century A. D., the traditional date of the foundation of the colony would be more than four hundred years before that, or, in other words, the second century A. D. It is generally agreed that Lang-ya-su was situated in Malay Peninsula,

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1. Lévi (op. cit., pp. 5. ff.) was the first to point out that Takkola was a regular Sanskrit word.

2. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. III, p. 291. A passage in Tsien-han-Shu refers to trade between China and Huang-tche during 140-86 B.C. Huang-tche has been identified with Abyssynia, Malay Peninsula and Kāñcī in South India. (T'oung Pao, 1912, p. 457 ; J. A. 11-XIII (1919), p. 451 ; J. A. 11-XIV, p. 45 ; Tijd. Aard. Gen, Vol. 45, p. 589.)

3. Ibid, p. 290. 4. Champā—R. C. Majumdar, p. 21,

though the exact localization of this colony is somewhat difficult. The same place is referred to as Lang-kia-su by I-tsing and Kāma-laṅkā by Hiuen Tsang, and both enumerate it in a list of countries between Śrī-Kṣetra (Prome) and Dvārāvatī (Siam). On this and other grounds, Pelliot held that it must be placed either near the Isthmus of Kra, or in Tenasserim, though he preferred the latter view.[1]

Pelliot further held that this Lang-ya-su is the same as Ling-ya-sseu-kia mentioned by Chau Ju-kua. M. Cœdès has proved that this latter is the same as Leṅkasuka, mentioned in the 'Keddah Annals' and Nāgara-kṛtāgama, and is to be identified with Gunong Jerai near Keddah. Cœdès further showed that the same place is referred to, in the form Ilaṅgāśo-gam, in the Tamil inscriptions of Rājendra Cola, as one of the vassal states of Śrī-Vijaya conquered by him.

Cœdès points out that Pelliot's identification of Lang-ya-su or Lang-kia-su with Ling-ya-sseu-kia or Leṅkasuka cannot be upheld, as the latter is certainly near Keddah, whereas the former is perhaps near Tenasserim, as Pelliot suggests.[2]

Cœdès, however, ignores the fact that Pelliot's identification of Lang-ya-su with Tenasserim was a very hypothetical one, based upon its resemblance with Nankasi, the old name of Tenasserim. His main point was that it should be located in Tenasserim or Malay Peninsula, because it is inserted between Śrī-Kṣetra (Prome) and Dvārāvatī (Siam). As a matter of fact he himself suggested the Isthmus of Kra as a probable location, as, according to I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrims frequently passed through Lang-kia-su on their way from China to India or back. Even, therefore, if Leṅkasuka is located near Keddah, there does not seem to be any insuperable objection in placing Lang-ya-su or Lang-kia-su also in that locality. It must be remembered that the kingdon, according to the History of the

1. B E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, pp. 406-8. The identification with Tenasserim was also proposed by Huber (Ibid, p. 475).

2. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. XVIII. No. 6, pp. 11-13.

Liang Dynasty, 'was 30 days' pacing from east to west and 20 days' pacing from north to south.' It may, therefore, be regarded as having comprised the northern part of the Malay Peninsula extending as far south as Keddah. Rouffaer, however, places both Lang-kia-su and Leṅkasuka in Johore in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula.[1].

On the other hand, Ferrand has traced the name in an Arabic work, in the form Lang-Saka, and has identified it with Marco Polo's Lochac. On the strength of these and fresh Chinese evidences, he has located Lang-kia-su on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, in the Isthmus of Ligor.[2] Indeed the passage which Ferrand has quoted from Chavannes' 'Religieux Eminents' (pp. 78 and 100), seems to leave no doubt on the point. If, therefore, Cœdès' identification of Leṅkasuka with Gunong Jerai be accepted as definitely proved, we must hold that it was different from Lang-kia-su.

Cœdès' view, however, rests almost solely on the Hikayat Maroṅ Mahawaṅsa, a late work of no authentic character. It is also quite possible that the name of an old site was given to a newly founded city. Cœdès has further relied upon the popular traditions about Leṅkasuka or Langkasuka, noted by Blagden, and referred to hereafter. They may, however, be equally explained by the supposition that an old site of that name originally existed in the Isthmus of Ligor.

On the other hand, M. Sylvain Lévi's identification of Mevilimbaṅgam, mentioned in Rājendra Cola's inscription, with Kāma-laṅkā[3] of Hiuen Tsang, differentiates the latter from Leṅkasuka, mentioned separately as Ilaṅgāśogam in the same inscription. This would support Cœdès' view. Thus, while it is difficult to identify definitely Lang-kia-su with Ling-ya-ssŏu-kia, the former may be placed in the Isthmus of Ligor.

In any case we are fully justified in regarding Lang-kia-su as an old Indian colony in Malay Peninsula, dating probably

1. B. K. I., 1921, pp. 89 ff.
2. J. A. 11-XII (1918), pp. 134ff.
3. J. A., Vol. CCIII, p. 44.

from the second century A. D. Some interesting accounts of this colony are preserved in Chinese annals.[1] The manners and customs of its people, as described by the Chinese, show a strong Indian element, modified, as in other colonies, by the indigenous influence.

The Chinese annals give us some information about the political condition of the country during the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. The passage is thus translated by Schlegel :

"The people of this country say that their state was founded more than 400 years ago (A. D. 100), but that it got weaker under its successors (*sic*) ; and as there was among the relations of the king one who was an excellent man, the people turned towards him. When the king heard of this, he put him into prison, but his chains snapped spontaneously. On this the king thought him to be a supernatural being and dared not hurt him any more, but only drove him from his territory, whence he took refuge to India, and was married there to the eldest daughter (of its king). When on a sudden the king of Lang-ga su died, the great officers called back the prince and made him king. He died more than 20 years later, and was succeeded by his son *Bhagadāto*. In A. D. 515 he sent an envoy named Aditya with a letter to the emperor of China.

"These embassies were repeated in A. D. 523 and in 531 and then seem to have been dropped."[2]

Pelliot points out that there was a further embassy to China in A. D. 568.[3]

In course of a highly interesting and instructive philological disquisition, M. Sylvain Lévi[4] has demonstrated that Kāmalaṅkā, the name given to the colony by Hiuen Tsang, also occurs

1. The Chinese accounts have been translated by Groeneveldt (Notes, pp. 10-11), and Schlegel (T'oung Pao, Serie I, Vol. IX., pp. 191-200).

2. Schlegel (op. cit., pp. 192-3).

3. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 405.

4. J. A., Vol. CCIII, pp. 38ff, ; translated by Bagchi in "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India", pp. 104 ff.

in Indian literature as Karmaraṅga. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (p. 332) "names the islands of Karmaraṅga with the island of Cocoanuts (Nāḍīkera) and Vāruṣaka (Baros, Sumatra) and the islands of the Naked (Nicobar), Bali and Java as the regions where the language is indistinct, without clearness, rude, and abunding in the letter *r*." The same text again (p.648) mentions Karmaraṅga with Harikela, Kāmarūpa, and Kalaśa (see below). Bāṇa, in his Harṣacarita, twice mentions the shield of Karmaraṅga, and his commentator Śaṅkara remarks on the excellent skins of the country. On this M. Lévi remarks as follows :

"The reputation of the skins of Karmaraṅga appears to explain Ptolemy's note on the population of the "Brigands" —"Lestai"—which he locates exactly in the surroundings of Karmaraṅga, on the southern shores of the great gulf, *i.e.*, the Gulf of Siam (VII, 2, 6 and 21) : "It is said that the natives of the country of Brigands live like beasts, inhabit the caverns, and that they have skin almost like that of hippopotami impenetrable by arrows." The region had some centres of population and even a port of commerce. "Samara(n)de, Pagrasa, Pithonobaste which is a market, Akadra, Zabai which is the city." It can be supposed that Samara(n)de is an alteration of the name which has finally taken in Sanskrit the alternate forms Carmaraṅga and Karmaraṅga".

M. Lévi further points out that India received from this country the fruit which the Europeans call carambola and which is named in Sanskrit, after the land of its origin, Karmaraṅga (Bengali-Kāmrāṅgā). Now the Malaya name of this fruit is balimbing or belimbing, which has made its way in all parts of South India along with the Sanskrit name. This has supplied to M. Lévi the key to the solution of a geographical problem. Among the countries conquered by Rājendra Cola occurs the name Mevilimbaṅgam which has not been hitherto identified. Referring to the Malay name of the fruit, M. Lévi remarks as follows on the identity of Mevilimbaṅgam : "Mevilimbaṅgam should, therefore, be analysed, in the inscription of Tanjore, like Mā-Damāliṅgam, Mā-Ṇakkavāram, as Me-Vilimbaṅgam ; it

is clear that Vilimbaṅgam is the Indian transcription of Malaya *belimbing* which is the equivalent of Karmaraṅga. The Indian name of the fruit, derived from the name of the country, has become in its turn the indication of the country itself." Thus Sylvain Lévi thinks that Mevilimbaṅgam is but another name of Kāma-laṅkā=Lang-kia-su.

As pointed out above, this view of Lévi would mean that Lang-kia-su was different from Langkasuka or Leṅkasuka. But even if it were so, "the two countries", as Lévi remarks, "are certainly very near each other".

As Blagden has pointed out[1], "Langkasuka still lives in the memory of the local Malays. It has developed into a myth, being evidently the "spirit land" referred to as Lokon Suka by the peasantry of the Patani states".

Lévi has also pointed out[2] that besides Karmaraṅga, the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa twice mentions also the name of Carmaraṅga (p. 206, 233), and he considers it only a variant of the same name. Now the Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, in its catalogue of the peoples of the south-east, combines Vṛṣa-Nālikera-Carmadvīpa. These three names may be compared to Vāruṣaka-Nāḍikera and Karmaraṅga (or Carmaraṅga) of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa referred to above. Vṛṣa is possibly the same as Vāruṣaka (Baros, Sumatra), and Carmadvīpa may be presumed to be the same as Carmaraṅga=Karmaraṅga=Kāma-laṅkā=modern Ligor.

Carmaraṅga is mentioned in Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa with Kalaśavarapura (Kalaśāhvā p. 206 ; Kalaśamukhya, p. 233). Kalaśapura is referred to as a city in Suvarṇadvīpa in the Kathāsarit-sāgara (54, 108). In the collection of Nepalese miniatures studied by M. Foucher, the representation of Bhagavat at Kalaśavarapura immediately follows that of Dīpaṅkara in Yavadvīpa.

The New History of the T'ang Dynasty refers to a kingdom called Ko-lo-chö-fen. Apparently this kingdom is again referred

1. J. R. A. S., 1906, p. 119. 2. Op. cit., p. 106.

to in the same text as Kia-lo-chö-fou and Kia-lo-chö-fo. All the three forms correspond to Kalaśapura. As to the location of the kingdom, the Chinese accounts place it to the north of Tou-ho-lo, which was to the north of P'an-p'an. Now Tou-ho-lo has been identified with Dvārāvatī, in the lower valley of the Menam river. If Kalaśapura is to be placed to the north of Dvārāvatī, it must have been an inland region far away from the sea, whereas, according to the story in the Kathāsarit-sāgara, the ship-wrecked merchant Samudraśūra was cast adrift at Kalaśapura, which was evidently on the sea-coast. Pelliot has shown on good grounds that the directions given in the particular Chinese passage cannot be held to be quite accurate, and he, therefore, proposes to substitute 'west' for 'north', for which there is some independent authority. With this modification of the text, Kalaśapura may be placed to the north-west of Siam, at the mouth of the Sittang river.

On the other hand, P'an-p'an corresponds to Bandon or Ligor in Malay Peninsula, and, therefore, Kalaśapura also may be placed in the northern part of it. It may be noted that Kern amended the name Kalaśapura to Kalapapura, Kalapa being the name for Batavia. This amendment, however, is untenable in view of the forms of the name in the Chinese Text.[1]

To the south-east of P'an-p'an, the Chinese locate a country called Kala or Kora. It is evidently the same as Keddah, which was the centre of trade and commerce between the east and the west and figures so prominently in later Arab accounts. Its ambassadors visited China between 650 and 656 A.D., and the following account[2] preserved in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty is apparently based on their report.

"This country is situated at the south-east of P'an-p'an and is also called Kora Fu-sa-ra. The king's family name is Sri Pora and his personal name is Mi-si Po-ra. The walls of his city are built with stones piled upon each other, whilst the

1. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 360.
2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 121.

watch-towers, the palace and other buildings are thatched with straw. The country is divided into 24 districts.

"The soldiers use bows, arrows, swords, lances, and armour of leather; their banners are adorned with peacock feathers and they fight mounted on elephants; one division of the army consists of a hundred of these, and each elephant is surrounded by a hundred men. On the elephant's back is a cage containing four men, armed with bows, arrows and lances.

"As taxes the people pay a little silver. There are no silkworms, nor hemp or flax, nothing else but cotton. For domestic animals they have numerous cows and a few ponies.

"It is their custom that only functionaries are allowed to tie up their hair and to wrap a handkerchief round their heads."

Another Hindu state in Malay Peninsula, of which we get some notice in the Chinese annals, is Pa-hoang (or Po-houang) which has been identified by Schlegel with Pahang. The following account is contained in the Nan-shi and the History of the First Sung Dynasty.[1].

"In A. D. 449 the king of the state of Pahang, named Sari-Pāla-Varma sent envoys who presented 41 different articles of tribute. By imperial decree Emperor Wen named him "King of the state of Pahang". In A. D. 451 and 456 he again sent his great historian Da Napāti to present a letter and offer products of his country, when H. M. gave to Napāti the title of "Awe-inspiring general.

"In A.D. 459 its king offered red and white parrots. In A.D. 464 and 466 he sent again envoys to offer tribute, when Ming-ti gave to his great historian Da Sūrawan as also to the former grand historian, the Awe-inspiring general Da Napāti, the title of Dragon-horse Generals".

The kingdom of Pahang with its two state historians must be regarded as a state with a high degree of civilisation. The

1. T'oung Pao, Serie I, vol. X (1899), pp. 39ff. Pelliot, however, is doubtful about this identification of Po-houang with Pahang; cf. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 272.

name of its king, ending in Varman, leaves no doubt that he was a Hindu. It is evident from the above account that this Hindu state in the eastern part of Malay Peninsula was in close and intimate contact with the Chinese court during the fifth century A.D.

There is, perhaps, reference to another old Hindu state in Malay Peninsula, but the question is unfortunately not free from doubt and difficulties. The Chinese annals of the Liang and First Sung Dynasty refer to a kingdom called Kan-to-li or Kin-to-li situated on an island in the southern sea[1]. Neither T'ang nor later Sung annals refer to the kingdom, and it is not till we come to the History of the Ming Dynasty that we come across the name again. There it is definitely asserted that Kan-to-li was the old name of San-bo-tsai.

Now, on the basis of the identification of San-bo-tsai with Śrī-Vijaya and Palembang, Groeneveldt, Schlegel, and other scholars took Kan-to-li of the Liang and First Sung annals as equivalent to Palembang. This view has been strongly criticised by Gerini. Referring to the identification of Kan-to-li with San-bo-tsai by the late Ming historians, he remarks: "This late identification looks, I need not say, exceedingly suspicious, especially in view of the fact that we have more than once caught Chinese authors at fault in this sort of game; and last, but not least, because there was and still exists a Khanthuli or Kanturi district on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, which may very well be the old Kan-to-li of First Sung and Liang periods." The criticism of Gerini appears to be a valid one, and neither Pelliot nor Ferrand is willing to put much faith in the identification proposed by later Chinese historians. But the identification proposed by Gerini has not found general

1. For the Chinese references to Kan-to-li and discussions about its identification cf. 1. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 60-62. 2. Ferrand—J. A. 11-XIV (1919), pp. 238-41. 3. Gerini—Researches, pp. 601-604. 4. Pelliot—B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, pp. 401-2. 5. Schlegel—T'oung Pao, Serie II. Vol. II, pp. 122-4.

acceptance. Ferrand quotes a passage from the Ḥāwiya of Ibn Majid (dated A.D. 1462), which shows that Kandari was a general appellation of the island of Sumatra. Ferrand suggests that the Ming historians really conveyed an authentic information, though their wordings are a little inaccurrte ; for, instead of saying that San-bo-tsai was a part of Kan-to-li, they said that San-bo-tsai was Kan-to-li.

Ferrand's view does not seem to be a very probable one, and I have discussed the question in detail in Book II., Chapter I., Appendix. I hold the view that it represents ancient Kaḍāra, a state in the Malay Peninsula.

The History of the Liang Dynasty gives us the following information regarding Kan-to-li[1].

"Its customs and manners are similar to those of Cambodge and Champā. It produces clothes of variegated colour, cotton, and excellent areca-nuts.

In the reign of the emperor Hia-Wu (454-465 A.D.)[2] of the Sung Dynasty, the king of this country, Che-p'o-lo-na-lien-to (Śrīvaranarendra)[3] sent a high official named Tchou-Lieou-to (Rudra, the Indian) to present valuable articles of gold and silver.

In the year 502, the king K'iu-t'an-sieou-pa-to-lo (Gautama Subhadra) sent envoys to the emperor. Sometime after, the king died and his son P'i-ye-pa-mo (Vijaya Varman or Priyavarman?) succeeded him. In 519 the latter sent a high official called Pi-yuan-pa-mo (Vi.....Varman) to the emperor with a letter.

1. The translation that follows is based upon Ferrand's summary (op. cit). Groeneveldt's translation is somewhat defective.

2. The date is given as such by Cordier (La Chine, Vol. I. 335-36). Groeneveldt gives the date as 454-464 (p. 60); Krom gives 452-464 (p. 81); while Ferrand gives 454-454 (p. 238), evidently a misprint for 454-464. According to Pelliot the embassy was sent in A.D. 455 (op. cit., p. 197 f. n. 4).

3. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 197, f. n. 4. Schlegel restored the name as "The Warrior (*bala*) king Narendra of the Śākya clan' (T'oung Pao, II,II, 122. The name may be restored also as Īśvara Narendra.

In 520 he sent again an envoy to present as tribute products of his country."

The History of the Chen dynasty refers to another embassy from the kingdom in 563 A.D.[1].

Now, whatever we may think of the restoration of the proper names, there cannot be any doubt that they were Indians. The Chinese accounts also represent Buddhism as being held in the highest veneration in the country, and, in spite of possible exaggerations, there must have been some basis for this. Thus we can hold that the Indian kingdom of Kan-to-li had been established in Malay Peninsula by the fifth century A.D., and it flourished at least from 455 to 563 A.D.

Actual remains of early Hindu civilisation in the Malay Peninsula, though scanty, are not altogether lacking. Mr. Evans has described the remains of a Hindu temple and a few stone images at Sungai Batu Estate at the foot of Gunong Jerai (Keddah Peak). Mr. Evans observes :

"Let us now consider what some of these specimens indicate. They certainly show that some early inhabitants of Sungai Batu were Hindus, and worshippers of Śiva or related deities, for we have obtained images of Durgā, (?) Gaṇeśa, the Nandi on which he rides and of the Yoni, alwāys associated with the worship of Śiva or with that of deities of Śiva Group."[2]

Unfortunately it is impossible to assign even any approximate date either to the shrine or to the images. But the remains of a brick-built Buddhist shrine, discovered in its neighbourhood, at Keddah, may be dated approximately in the fourth or fifth century A.D. on the strength of a Sanskrit inscription found in it. Similarly remnants of pillars, which once adorned some Buddhist temples, have been found in the northern part of Province Wellesley. These also may be dated in the fourth or fifth century A.D. on the strength of inscriptions

1. Pelliot, op. cit.

2. I. H. N. Evans—'Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula' (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 115-6.

engraved on them. Recently a gold ornament, bearing the figure of Viṣṇu on his Garuḍa, has been unearthed at Selinsing (Perak), and also, in a hole left by the roots of a fallen tree, a Cornelian seal engraved with the name of a Hindu prince Śrī Viṣṇuvarman, in characters of the fifth century A.D.[1]

Ruins of shrines exist in the region round Takua Pa[2], which has been identified by Gerini with Ptolemy's Takkola[3]. At Phra No hill have been discovered the remains of a small shrine, and a fine Viṣṇu image, both probably dating from the sixth or seventh century A.D. Tung Tuk, in the southern part of Ko Khan island, was also an ancient settlement. The potsherds unearthed there belong to varying ages, from the fifth or sixth to eighth or ninth century A.D. There are also remains of a temple which present great similarities to those in Sungai Batu Estate referred to above. At Khau Phra Narai are the remains of a small shrine, and three beautiful images of Brāhmanical gods which may be referred to the seventh or eighth century A.D. A Tamil inscription, probably of the eighth century A.D., has also been found in the same place.

Opposite Takua Pa, on the eastern coast, round the Bay of Bandon, are the remains of early settlements, specially in the three well-known sites Caiya, Nakhon Sri Thammarat, and Vieng Sra. The temples and images of these places may be of somewhat later date, but the inscriptions found at Ligor and Takua Pa, and the Sanskrit inscription on a pillar at Caiya show that these settlements could not be later than the fourth or fifth century A.D.

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1. J. Mal. Br. R. A. S., 1932, p. 5. Cf. J. F. M. S. M., Vol. XV, pt. 3, pp. 89 ff., 110 ff. Dr. Chhabra, in J. A. S. B. L., Vol. 1, pp. 27-28, where the seal is reproduced, refers the characters of the seal to eighth century A. D.; but this is very doubtful. For an account of the early Indian settlement near Kuala Selensing, *cf.* 'A History of Perak' by R. O. Winstedt and R. J. Wilkinson, p. 4.

2. I. A. L., Vol. IX, pp. 8ff. 3. Gerini—Researches, pp. 86ff.

More interesting light is thrown upon the Indian colonisation in Malay Peninsula by an analysis of the large number of inscriptions which have been discovered in different parts of the country. These inscriptions, of which a detailed account is given in an appendix to this chapter, are mostly too fragmentary to yield any complete sense, but they lead to very important conclusions. They are written in Sanskrit and in Indian alphabets of about the fourth or fifth century A.D. Two of them distinctly refer to a Buddhist creed and thus prove the spread of Buddhism in that region. As to the distribution of the inscriptions, seven of them were found at Tokoon in the centre of the Province Wellesley ; four of them, in the northern part of the same province ; one at Keddah ; one at Takua Pa ; five at Ligor ; and two at Caiya. On the whole, therefore, these inscriptions clearly testify to the fact that the Indians had established colonies in the northern, western and the eastern sides of the Malay Peninsula by at least fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The palaeography of these inscriptions shows that the colonists belonged to both northern and southern India.

One of these inscriptions refers to "the captain (*Mahānāvika* lit. great sailor) Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Rakta-mṛttikā". Kern identified Rakta-mṛttikā (red earth) with a kingdom called Chih-tu by the Chinese, as the latter meant 'red earth'. Now this Chih-tu is usually located in Siam or its neighbourhood, although there are grave difficulties in this identification[1]. Apart from this difficulty, Krom has very pertinently asked the question that if Buddhagupta belonged to a locality in Siam or its neighbourhood, why should he come to northern part of Province Wellesley to commemorate his gifts. It is more in the fitness of things, says Krom, that Rakta-mṛttikā should be sought for in India[2]. This view seems to be eminently just. Now, in course of his description of Karṇasuvarṇa, the famous capital of Gauḍa (Bengal) under Śaśāṅka, Hiuen Tsang refers

1. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 231, f.n. 2.
2. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 73.

to a magnificent Buddhist monastery near it. "It is called by him in some texts Lo-to-wei-chih, explained as meaning "Red clay", and Julien restores the original as Raktaviṭi. But the correct reading is Lo-to-mo-chih, that is Raktāmṛta, in Pāli Ratta-mattikā, which means "Red clay"[1]. This site has been identified with a place still called Rāṅgāmāṭi (Red clay) 12 miles south of Murshidabad[2]. Thus Rakta-mṛttikā, the native place of Buddhagupta, may be identified with the place, containing the famous monastery near the old capital of Bengal, which is still called by its old name. The fact that it was near the river Bhāgīrathī, which served as the main channel of ocean trade between Bengal and the Far East, is not altogether without significance in respect of the proposed identification. It may be noted in conclusion that the stone slab containing this inscription has in the centre a representation, in outline, of a *stūpa*, with seven umbrellas[3].

The report published by M. Lajonquiere[4] about the work of the Archæological Mission in Malay Peninsula contains interesting observations regarding Hindu colonisation in this land. His views, based on a study of the actual archæological finds, may be summed up as follows :

'The colonies were large in number and situated in widely remote centres, such as Chumphon, Caiya, the valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor), Yala (near

1. Watters—On Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 192.

2. Cunningham—Ancient Geography—Edited by S. N. Majumdar, p. 733. Attention may be drawn in this connection to a place called Rhadamarkotta by Ptolemy. Saint Martin has identified this with Rangamati, an ancient capital, situated on the western bank of lower Brahmaputra, and now called Udepur. Yule, who agrees with this identification, gives, as the Sanskrit form of the name of the place, Rangamṛtikā. Wilford, however, differs from this view and gives an altogether different version of the text (M'Crindle—Ptolemy, p. 229).

3. J. A. S. B., Vol. IV, Pl. III.

4. B. C. A. I., 1909, pp. 184-5.

Patani), and Selensing (in Pahang) on the eastern coast; and Malacca, Province Wellesley, Takua Pa, and the common delta of the rivers Lanya and Tenasserim, on the western.

'The most important of these was unquestionably that of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor). It established a sort of hegemony over the whole of the centre of the peninsula, to which belonged the colonies of Pathalung, Yala Trang, and the upper valley of the Bandon river. It was an essentially Buddhist colony which probably built the great *stūpa* of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surrounded it. The mass of terra-cotta votive tablets in the caves inhabited by the Buddhists, of which a few specimens still exist, also belonged to this colony. The inscriptions are unfortunately very rare, and only three have been discovered, belonging to the fourth or fifth century A.D. A little to the north was the colony of Caiya, which appears to have been at first Brāhmanical, and then Buddhist.

'These two groups of colonies were mainly agriculturalists. The others which occupied Selensing, Panga, Puket, and Takua Pa, prospered by the exploitation of tin and gold-mines. They have left comparatively fewer traces of their civilisation, but the pits they dug in the mine-fields are still clearly distinguished from later ones by a special technique[1]. It is difficult to assign any date to these colonies, and some of them may be later than the seventh century A.D. But the inscriptions, referred to above, certainly indicate that the beginnings of most of them must be referred to an earlier date, though many of the actual archæological remains undoubtedly belong to a later period.'

Recently Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales has made an intensive study of a few ancient sites, and has arrived at very important and interesting conclusions regarding the routes along which Indian colonists, and with them Indian culture, spread in Malay Peninsula. I summarise below his main conclusions, as far

1. Ibid, p. 234.

as possible in his own words, referring the reader for a more detailed study to the very illuminating article itself.[1]

'The Indian pioneers first settled in the Takua Pa region. Takua Pa harbour then formed one of the finest anchorages on the west coast and was thus an encouragement for traders to call and succeeding waves of Indians to settle. The early settlers were probably attracted by tin which abounds in this part of the peninsula. However it may be with regard to mining, the Indians certainly also formed trading and agricultural communities, and, though they brought their religion with them, were also sponsors of a considerable secular civilization.

'When these colonists wanted to expand beyond the somewhat narrow quarters of the west coast valleys, they followed the two courses open to them. Some braved the waters of the Straits of Malacca, then swarming with Malay pirates, but others, perhaps the majority, followed the comparatively safe route across country peopled by milder natives, to the eastern coast of the peninsula. For it is only at this latitude that two rivers run approximately east and west respectively from the watershed, being separated at their sources by only five miles.

'Once they had reached the eastern side of the watershed, the colonists were in a broad fertile region, watered by the Girirāṣṭra and Luong rivers. The eastern settlements seem to have been situated eccentrically with regard to the Bay of Bandon, the finest harbour on the east coast, which provided an admirable base for further adventuring across the seas. To judge by the extant archaeological remains, the chief Indian colonies on the east coast were at Wieng Sra, Caiya, and Nakhon Sri Thammarat.

'There are other possible routes. The two in the north, the Mergui-Pracuab crossing and the well-known Kra route, were used by Europeans and others in later centuries. But neither of them appears to have been suitable for early

1, I. A. L., Vol. IX, No. I, pp. 1-31.

colonial expansion, because neither offers on the east coast large areas of well-watered territory and fine harbours, and not the slightest sign of Indian remains has been noticed on either route.

'The two southern routes pass from Trang on the west coast respectively to Nakhon Sri Thammarat and Patalung. There are no early remains at Trang, but, in the caves along both these routes, there were formerly large number of votive tablets, stamped with figures of Mahāyānist Bodhisatvas, and Nāgarī Inscriptions, dating from tenth century or possibly earlier. It would appear, therefore, that these two routes were chiefly used in later times during the Śailendra period.

'On the whole the available evidence justifies the assumption that the region around the Bay of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence spreading across the route from Takua Pa. There is a strong persistent local tradition in favour of an early migration of Indians across the route from the west. At the same time persons of an Indian cast of features are common on the west coast near Takua Pa, while colonies of Brāhmans of Indian descent survive at Nakhon Sri Thammarat and Patalung, and trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula. According to Liang-Shu, it was through the country of P'an-p'an, identified with the region round the Bay of Bandon, that the Indianisation of Fu-Nan was completed by the second Kauṇḍinya about the end of the fourth century A.D. The archaeological evidence shows the survival around the Bay of Bandon of a primitive non-specialized type of Indian colonial architecture, having basic features in common with the *earlier* Pre-Khmer, Cham, and Indo-Javanese buildings. Moreover, the early Indian colonial architecture at Caiya and Nakhon Sri Thammarat is supported by the existence in the same latitude of the remains of almost purely Indian edifices from which it could have evolved;

while the sculptures found in this trans-peninsular zone of territory include purely, or almost purely, Indian prototypes, which could well have served as inspiration to the development of local forms in an Indo-nesian environment.'

The above clearly sums up the views of Dr H. G. Q. Wales regarding the rôle played by the region round the Bay of Bandon in spreading Indian culture across the sea to Cambodia, Annam, Sumatra, and Java, not to speak of less important Indian colonies. He is not, however, dogmatic. "But while" says he, "I stress the importance of this region as a cradle of Further Eastern culture, *I do not wish to minimise the part played by other land routes that remain to be investigated, nor the sea route by which Indian influences must have penetrated to the east from very early times.*"

It is needless to add that the hypothesis of Dr H. G. Q. Wales opens up an interesting field of study, and invests the early history and culture of the Hindu colonies in Malay Peninsula with a special degree of importance.

APPENDIX

EARLY INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MALAY PENINSULA (UP TO THE FIFTH CENTURY A.D.)

Nos. 1-7. "A group of seven inscriptions now extant on the rather weather-worn and sloping side of a granite rock at a place named Tokoon, lying near to the centre of the province (Wellesley) or almost directly east of Penang Town."[1]

Mr. Laidlay's reading of these inscriptions need not be seriously considered. But no attempt has since been made to decipher them. It seems to be impossible to give a reading of the whole inscription—assuming that the seven fragments form a continuous inscription—but several letters are quite clear. In No. 1, the first two letters are certainly *sarvva* and the next three may be conjecturally read as *ār(ā)ma*. In No. 2, the first six letters are quite clear and may be read as "prathame vayasi." The two letters that follow I doubtfully read as *śrame*. In the second line the word '*rājena*' may be noted, but the short stroke before '*r*' is difficult to interpret. No. 4 is certainly "jayatu." Nos. 3,5,6, and 7 do dot yield much that can be regarded as useful.

Now, although the inscription does not yield any definite meaning, several important conclusions can be deduced from

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1. The inscriptions Nos. 1-12 were discovered by Lieut. Col. James Low, and a short account of them was published by Mr. J. W. Laidlay in J. A. S. B., 1848, Part II, pp. 62 ff., pl. IV; 1849, Part I, p. 247, pl. X. Lt. Col. Low refers to another inscription on the four sides of a brazen ornamented dish, but no facsimile is published. Mr. Laidlay read it as *Savita* (Samvat ?) 1399. He also notices a brick with two early letters (Jaya ?).

it. In the first place, the language is Sanskrit and not Pāli. This is evident from 'sarvva' in No. 1 and "prathame vayasi" in No. 2. Secondly, the few letters, that may be read with certainty, place the inscription not later than the fourth century A. D. It is to be noted in this connection that the peculiar characteristics of South Indian alphabet are not very conspicuous in this record. The lower end of the vertical in *k* shows a slight bend to the left, but *a*, *r*, and medial *u* do not show any upward bend.

Nos. 8-11. A group of four inscriptions discovered in the northern part of the Province Wellesley, and incised on a piece of stone which Col. Low believes to be the "upper portion of one of those pillars which are set up in the areas of Buddhist temples." These inscriptions have been studied by Prinsep[1], Dr. R. L. Mitra[2], Dr. Kern[3], and lately by Mr. B. Ch. Chhabra.[4]

The first of these, No. 8, may be definitely read as "Mahānāvika-Buddhaguptasya rakta-mṛttika(ā)vās[*tavyasya*] (?)." No. 9 has been read by Kern as "Sarvveṇa prakāreṇa sarvvasmāt sarvvathā sarvva.....siddhayānāsanna." Mr. Chhabra reads the third word as 'sarvvasmin', and the last word as "Siddhayāt(r) ā (ḥ) santu." Mr. Chhabra thinks that No. 9 is a continuation of No. 8, and the passage contains a prayer for the successful voyage of Buddhagupta.

No. 10. may be read as "ajñānāccīyate karmma janmanaḥ karmma kāraṇa...jñānān-na ciyate (?)"

As has been pointed out by Dr. Kern, this formula is also found in the Keddah Ins. (No. 12 below).

No. 11 I read doubtfully as "...śirasā praṇipata".

Here, again, the sense of the inscription as a whole (assuming the four to be parts of one inscription) is obscure; but it seems to record a gift by, and a prayer for the successful voyage

1. J.A.S.B., Vol. IV. 2. J.A.S.B. Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 71.
3. V. G., Vol. III, pp. 255 ff. 4. J. A. S. B. L., Vol. I, pp. 14 ff.

of, the great sailor (captain ?) Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamṛttikā. The language is Sanskrit, and the characters seem to belong to the fifth century A. D. The characteristics of South Indian alphabets are to be noted in the upward bend of the vertical stroke in *k*, *r*, *a* and medial *u*.

No. 12. An inscription of four lines on a slab of stone "lying under the centre of the foundation of a ruin of an ancient brick building in Keddah. It has been deciphered by Mr. Laidlay and Dr. Kern. The latter reads it as follows :

L. 1. Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā teṣā(ṁ) hetu(ṁ) tathāgato (hyavadat)

L. 2. Teṣā(ñ) ca yo nirodha eva(ṁ) vādī mahāśramaṇa(ḥ) ।

L. 3. Ajñānāc=cīyate karma janmanaḥ karma kāraṇaṁ

L. 4. Jñānān=na kriyate karmma karmmābhāvā(n)=na jāyate ॥

As has been noticed already, the second verse (ll. 3-4) of this inscription is repeated in No. 10 above.

The inscription may be referred to the fourth or the fifth century A.D. on palæographic grounds. There are no traces of the peculiar characteristics of South Indian alphabets.

No. 13[1]. Takua Pa Inscription.

This has not been deciphered yet, but the characters are of early Indian type and show no traces of the characteristics of South Indian alphabet[2].

Nos. 14-16. Inscriptions, discovered at Ligor, of not later than the fifth century A.D. These have not been edited yet, but the characters resemble those of Takua Pa (No. 13)

No. 17. An inscription from Caiya engraved on a pillar. It is written in Sanskrit with characters belonging to the fourth or fifth century A.D.

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1. The Inscriptions Nos. 13-17 are published in B.C.A.I., 1910, pp. 147 ff. A few other inscriptions, noted therein, are omitted, as they are either doubtful or too fragmentary.

2. The facsimile of the inscription has been published in B.C.A.I., 1910, pl. XIII ; *cf.* also Gerini, J. R. A. S. 1904 (p. 242).

Chapter VI

EARLY HINDU COLONISATION IN JAVA

The island of Java is one of the largest of what are usually known as the Sunda islands, in the Malay Archipelago. It lies between 105°-12′-40″ and 114°-35′-38″ East Longitude and 5°-52′-34″ and 8°-46′-46″ South Latitude. It is long but narrow, running nearly east and west with a slight inclination to the south. Its length is about 622 miles, while its breadth varies from 55 to 121 miles. The area of Java, including Madura and adjacent islands, is about 51,000 sq. miles. Java is bounded on the north by the shallow Java Sea which separates it from Borneo. On the south is the deep Indian ocean, stretching as far as the Antarctic Pole without a single patch of land. On the east a narrow strait, about two miles broad, separates it from the island of Bali. To the north-west is the Sunda Strait separating Java from Sumatra. The strait, at the narrowest, is only 14 miles wide, its extreme breadth being nearly 50 miles. There are many islands to the north of Java. Madura, the chief among them, is separated by a strait which, in some places, is less than a mile, and is regarded as a part of Java for all practical purposes. Among other islands may be mentioned the Thousand Islands, north of Batavia, and the Karimon Java Archipelago (27 islands) to the north of Semarang. Java has a long coast-line and many bays on the northern and western sides ; but as none of them deeply penetrates into the land, there are no good harbours. The only exception is the excellent harbour of Surabaya, at the mouth of the Brantas river and situated between the mainland and Madura. But there are good anchoring grounds all along the northern coast, and as the sea is generally smooth, and hurricanes practically unknown, a number of ports

developed on the northern coast, and served the purpose of commerce quite well. There are only two harbours—Chilachap and Pachitan—on the southern coast, which is exposed to the open sea, with a heavy and dangerous surge rolling on it.

An uninterrupted range of mountains, volcanic in character, runs along the whole length of the island through its centre. The peaks of this mountain-range vary in height between 4000 and 12000 ft. No less than 46 of them are volcanoes, and about 20 are yet in a more or less active state. The craters of the volcanoes are sometimes of enormous size, the diameter of the largest, at Tenger, being full three miles. Another low range of mountains, nowhere more than 3000 ft. high, runs along the southern shore.

There are innumerable rivers in Java, but, with two exceptions, they are small and not navigable beyond a short distance; besides, they are difficult of entrance on account of the sand or mud-bars at their mouths. The two exceptions are the Solo and Brantas rivers. Both of them rise in the low range of mountains in the south, and, after a long and tortuous course, empty themselves into the narrow strait between Java and Madura. The river Brantas is also known as the Surabaya river from the name of the famous harbour at its mouth. The Solo river is so called from the city of Surakerta (native name Solo) by which it passes. As a rule the rivers in Java are known by the name of the principal city on their banks.

Although the rivers of Java are mostly useless for purposes of navigation and commerce, they are excellently adapted for irrigation. Java is one of the most fertile countries in the whole world. Any one who travels in the country cannot fail to be charmed by its evergreen fields, meadows, and hills, with traces of abundant harvest everywhere around him. "Its villages and even its towns are, in a great measure, concealed from view, by the luxuriant abundance and perpetual verdure of its vegetation". Indeed, a railway journey from

Batavia to Surabaya is apt to give rise to the impression that the traveller is passing through a well-laid garden.

There are five or six extensive plains in Java, such as those of Bandong, Surakerta, Madiun, Kediri, Malang, Bandavasa, and Pugar. These are all girded by high mountains on the east and on the west and irrigated by the streams flowing from them. The valleys in Java are numerous, and some of them, *e.g.*, that of Kedu, are fairly large and very fertile.

Java has a rich flora, and 'hardly any similar area in the world has one of richer variety'. It produces excellent timber, the most important of which is the famous teak-wood. About 40% of the soil in Java is under cultivation, the chief products of agriculture being rice, sugar, cinchona, coffee, tobacco, tea, indigo etc. Java is very poor in mineral products. There is hardly any gold or silver, and only small quantities of coal, sulphur, and manganese. The discovery of petroleum in 1863 has added an important industry. The most well-known industry of Java to-day is the Batik or dyeing of cotton cloth with coloured designs.

Both geographically and historically, Java falls into three main divisions. Of the sixteen Residencies, or modern administrative divisions of Java, those of Bantam, Batavia, Cheribon, and the Preangers constitute Western Java. Central Java comprises the Residencies of Pekalongan, Samarang, Banjumas, Kedu, Jogyakerta, Surakerta, Rembang, and Madiun. The remaining Residencies, *viz.*, Surabaya, Kediri, Pasuruhan and Besuki belong to Eastern Java.

Java is the most thickly populated country in the Archipelago. The population of Java and Madura numbers over thirty millions of people. Leaving aside the comparatively insignificant number of foreigners (293,100 Chinese, 19,148 Arabs, 2,840 Oriental foreigners, and 64,917 Europeans and Eurasians), the rest may be broadly divided into three classes, all of Malayan stock. These are Sundanese on the western, the Madurese in Madura and the eastern part of Java, and

the Javanese proper in the middle. As a matter of fact the western part of the island of Java is known to the natives as Sunda. The Sundanese, numbering about three millions, have their head-quarters in the Residency of the Preangers, but they are also to be found in the Residencies of Batavia and Cheribon. The Madurese, more than three millions in number, are almost the sole inhabitants of the island of Madura and Besuki, the eastern-most district of Java, and occur in large numbers also in the neighbouring district of Pasuruhan. The remaining part of Java, from Cheribon to Surabaya, is inhabited by the Javanese proper. All the three races appear to have a common origin. The Javanese, though less sturdy than their neighbours, are more refined in manners and civilization, and are inspired by the memories of a glorious past, dating back to the period when the Hindu colonists imparted to them the elements of a higher culture and civilization[1].

The Hindu colonization of Java is by far the most outstanding event in the early history of that island. Unfortunately, the first stages of this colonization are hidden from our view, and are only echoed in a number of traditions current among the people in a later age. Sir Stamford Raffles has referred to some of these in his well-known History of Java [2]. Many of these legends associate the original colonists and their leader Aji Saka with the heroes of the Mahābhārata ruling at Astina, *i. e.*, Hastināpura, as their capital [3]. A modified version of these legends takes the descendants of these princes to Gujrat, whence a further wave of emigration to Java took place at a later date [4].

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1. This introductory account of Java is based mainly on the English translation of "Cabaton—Java, Sumatra, and the other islands of the Dutch East Indies" (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1911).

2. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles—'The History of Java'. (2nd Ed., London, 1830), Vol. II, pp. 69 ff.

3. Ibid., p. 71.

4. Ibid., pp. 87 ff.

Another cycle of legends gives the credit for the colonization of Java to the people of Kaliṅga [1]. In one of them we read that "twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling. These people prospered and multiplied. They continued, however, in an uncivilized state till the year 289 (of Javanese era i.e. Śaka era) when the almighty blessed them with a prince, named Kāno." After describing three generations of kings, who ruled for a total period of four hundred years, the story continues: "Another principality, named Astina, sprang up at this time, and was ruled by a prince called Pula Sara, who was succeeded by his son Abiāsa, who was again succeeded by his son Pāṇḍu Deva Nātha; the reigns of the last three princes together amounting to one hundred years. Then succeeded Jaya Baya himself (by whom this account is supposed to be written) who removed the seat of government from Astina to Kediri" [2]

In the last part of the above story, there is no difficulty in recognising the names of epic heroes like Parāśara (Pula Sara), Vyāsa (Abiāsa), and Pāṇḍu. Thus the two different cycles of legends are combined in one, and they are connected with historical period by Jaya Baya, *i.e.*, Jayabhaya, the famous king of Java, who flourished in the twelfth century A.D., and was the patron of the famous poem, Bhārata-yuddha.

The legends naturally give great prominence to Aji Saka, who first civilized and gave the name Yava to the island, which was then called Nusa Kendang, and peopled by a race of Rasaksa (Rākṣasas of Indian legends). Aji Saka is described as the chief minister of a Pāṇḍava king ruling at Astina (Hastināpura), and is said to have landed in Java in the first year of Javan era[3] (i. e. Śaka era). In some accounts, however, "it is stated, that the religion and arts of India were first introduced into Java by a Brahmin named Tritresta, who with numerous followers landed on Java, and established the

1. Ibid., pp. 73 ff., 78 ff.
2. Ibid., pp. 73-4.
3. Ibid., p. 71.

era, in consequence of which he is considered the same with Aji Saka." [1].

"The accounts of the real character of Aji Saka", observes Raffles, "are various. Some represent him as a great and powerful prince, who established an extensive colony on Java, which a pestilence afterwards obliged him to withdraw; whilst others consider him as a saint and deity, and believe that on his voyage to Java he sailed over mountains, islands, and continents. Most, however, agree in attributing to him the first introduction of letters, government, and religion; the only trace of anterior civilization being a tradition, that before his time there existed a judicial code, under the title of sun and moon...This code Aji Saka is represented to have reformed; and an abstract collection of ordinances, said to have been made from his instructions, is believed to have been in use as late as the time of Janggala, and even of Majapahit." [2].

It is not necessary to refer to the different versions of these legends which may be consulted in the pages of Raffles' monumental work. It will appear from what has been said above, that very little importance can be attached to these stories beyond the fact, that they contain a vague reminiscence of what is undoubtedly a historical fact, *viz.*, the colonization of Java by the Indians. It would be risky, without further evidence, even to deduce that Kaliṅga and Gujarat formed the main centres of Indian emigration to Java. But, as we shall see later, the Hindus from Kaliṅga and the Muhammadans from Gujarat may be regarded, on satisfactory grounds, to have taken the leading part in establishing respectively the Hindu and Muhammadan culture in Java. This probably explains the frequent reference to these two places in the legends, while the prominence given to the heroes of the Mahābhārata should undoubtedly be attributed to the popularity of that great epic poem in Java.

1. Ibid., p. 75. 2. Ibid., p. 72.

As to the time when Java emerged from primitive barbarism, we have a tradition preserved in the Chinese work Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan (1436 A. D.) written by Fei Hsin. "From old records preserved in this county (i. e. Java)", says this author, "I learnt that this event took place during the Han dynasty, 1376 years before the present year, the 7th of Hsuan-te of our great Ming Dynasty (i. e. A. D. 1432)". [1]

This would take us to the year 56 A. D. But the History of the Ming Dynasty introduces an element of doubt and confusion. Referring to envoys from Java, it says : "When they brought tribute in the year 1432, they presented a letter stating that their kingdom had been founded 1376 years before, that is in the first year of the period Yüan-k'ang of the emperor Hsüan of the Han dynasty (B. C. 65)." [2]. As Groeneveldt has remarked, there is a discrepancy in the above account which it is difficult to explain ; for, counting back 1376 years before 1432, we arrive at 56 A. D., while the Chinese writer calculates back to 65 B. C. [3] We must, therefore, hold that either one of the two figures 1376 and 1432, or the Chinese calculation, is wrong. But in view of Fei Hsin's statement, the latter seems to be more probable. Thus we may take the Javanese tradition, as handed down by the Chinese, to refer the beginning of the Hindu civilisation to A. D. 56., i. e. only 22 years before the beginning of the Javanese era synchronising with the traditional date of Aji Saka.

It may be noted here that, according to tradition, the two islands of Bali and Madura originally formed a part of Java, and were only separated from it in the year 202. The formation of Madura as a separate island is referred to in Nāgara Kṛtāgama, [4] while a Balinese tradition refers to the separation of Bali, [5] both the events being dated in the self-same year.

1. T'oung Pao, Vol. XVI (1915), pp. 246-7, f. n. 1.
2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 39.
3. Ibid., f. n. 4.
4. Nag. Kr., 15,2.
5. Not. Bat. Gen., Vol, 62 (1923), pp. 297 ff.

These traditions have an indirect bearing on the question at issue. For, if we believe in them, we must hold that, at least in Eastern Java, a civilised community existed before the third century A. D.; for, otherwise, such an event would not have been recorded or remembered with any such definiteness. But it is equally or, perhaps, more likely that the tradition is a late fabrication.

But apart from these legends and traditions, there are more reliable evidences to show that India and Java must have come into contact from a very early period. We have already discussed above the passage in the Rāmāyaṇa which refers to Java. But the earliest reference to the island by an authority of known date is that by Ptolemy. He definitely mentions Java under the name of Iabadiou or Sabadiou. As he explains it as the 'Island of Barley,' the name is obviously a transcription of Sanskrit *Yavadvīpa*. Ptolemy gives the following information about it: "It is said to be of extraordinary fertility and to produce very much gold, and to have its capital called Argyre (Silver-Town) in the extreme west of it" [1].

The obvious identification of Ptolemy's Iabadiou (=Yavadvīpa) with Java has been questioned by some authorities. [2] They point out that the island of Sumatra, or at least a part of it, was also known as *Java*. Starting from this basis they argue as follows: 'Now if we have to make a choice between Java and Sumatra, the latter is undoubtedly to be preferred on general grounds, for it being nearer to India must have been better known to the Indians, who could not have reached Java without passing by this great island, and therefore being first acquainted with it. This view is further strengthened by the consideration that Ptolemy's Iabadiou is said to "produce very much gold". Java, as a matter of fact, has

1. M'Crindle's Ptolemy, p. 239. Poerbatjaraka locates Argyre at Dieng (T. B. G., Vol. 69, p. 169.).

2. Cf. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 55. Ferrand in J. A. 11-XX (1922), pp. 175 ff.

hardly any gold at all, but Sumatra, which even now produces gold, was named Suvarṇadvīpa for that very reason.'

A little reflection will, however, show that these arguments are really not as formidable as they appear to be. Sumatra was called *Java*, and never *Yava*, but Ptolemy's 'Barley-island' shows that undoubtedly the latter was meant, and this has all along been the recognised name of the island of Java. Secondly, while it is true that Java does not produce gold, it is equally true that from early times it has enjoyed the reputation of being a gold-producing country. In an inscription[1] of the eighth century A. D. found in Java itself, the country is referred to as Yavadvīpa and praised for its richness in gold-mines. Whether this reputation was well-deserved or not, it certainly explains Ptolemy's reference to the abundance of gold in Java, as his account must have been based on general popular notions rather than any geological examination of the soil of Java. The fact seems to be that, although Java did not produce gold, it imported large quantities of the metal, and worked them into ornaments and articles of luxury. The countries to which these were exported naturally regarded Java as rich in gold. But whether this explanation be correct or not, we have a sufficient explanation of Ptolemy's reference to gold in the inscription referred to above.

We may thus accept the view that Ptolemy knew the island of Java under its Hindu name. His account of Java, as quoted above, together with the Latitude of its chief town given by him, certainly shows that he possessed a somewhat detailed knowledge of the place.

We may thus hold that by the second century A. D. there was a growing and familiar intercourse between India on the one side and Java and neighbouring islands on the other. But neither the Indian literature nor the account of Ptolemy enables us to say positively that the Indians had already

1. Cangal Inscription, verse 7. Kern. V. G., Vol. VII, p. 118.

colonised the island of Java by the second century A. D. The use of a Hindu name for Java is the only ground for such supposition, but it may be easily explained by the very natural assumption that that was the name given by Hindu visitors or traders to Java, and there is nothing to indicate that Java was called by that name by its own people. It is true that Ptolemy used that name, but like other informations about the island, Ptolemy might have also got the name itself from Hindu sources.

Fortunately the Chinese annals[1] throw more light on this question. In Heu-Han-Shu, reference is made to an embassy sent to China in 132 A. D. by Tiao-Pien, king of Ye-Tiao. Pelliot long ago recognised the identity of Ye-Tiao with Yavadvīpa, and Ferrand has explained the name of the king as a Chinese rendering of Sanskrit Devavarman[2]. If the conclusion of these eminent sinologists can be relied upon, both the country and its king had Indian names, and no doubt can then possibly remain about the fact, that by 132 A. D. the Hindus had not only colonised the island of Java, but had also established their political authority there on a firm footing. Further, the Chinese evidence to the effect that the island of Java was known by the name Yavadvīpa in the year 132 A. D., certainly supports the view that 'Iabadiou' of Ptolemy, who wrote shortly afterwards, refers to Java and not to Sumatra.

Now, according to the Chinese authority, king Devavarman sent his ambassador to the Chinese court for offering tributes. The envoy was apparently well received by the emperor, for he sent, as presents to the Javanese king, a golden seal and a violet ribbon. The Chinese historians always represent their sovereign as the suzerain of the world, and any friendly offering, or exchange of produce for commercial purposes, is regarded

1. Cf. Pelliot—B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV. (1904), p. 266. Ferrand—'Ye-Tiao, Sseu-Tiao et Java.' J. A., 11-VIII, pp. 521 ff.

2. Ferrand, op. cit., p. 530, f. n. 2.

as tribute[1]. In the present instance, also, the word tribute need not be taken in any other sense, and it would be a mistake to infer from this passage that the Chinese emperor exercised any sort of sovereignty over the distant island of Java.

Of all the Hindu colonies in the Far East, the Hindu-ized kingdom of Java thus appears to have been the first to enter into diplomatic relations with China, for the first recorded embassies from Champā and Kāmboja are of later date. This intercourse seems to have been continued in the third century A. D. During the first half of this century two Chinese envoys, K'ang T'ai and Tchou Ying, visited Fou-Nan, and published two books on their return. In K'ang T'ai's work named 'Fou nan t'ou sou tchouan,' a country called Tchou-po is mentioned several times. This country is placed to the east of Fou-Nan, in the Tchang-hai, the Chinese name of that part of the Sea of China which lies between Hai-nan and the Straits of Malacca. It is further said, that to the east of Tchou-po is the island of Ma-wou. Pelliot has corrected this name as Ma-li, and has identified Tchou-po (as well as its variant Chö-p'o) and Ma-li with Java and Bali. Another Chinese work of the third century A. D., named 'Wai kouo tchouan', also refers to Tchou-po, and says that its women know how to embroider a cotton cloth with floral patterns[2]. If we accept the identification of Pelliot, it would prove the continuity of the intercourse between China and the Hindu kingdom of Java. On the other hand, Ferrand, although he renders Tchou-po as Jawa, would identify it with Sumatra rather than with Java[3].

Regular diplomatic intercourse between China and Java (Chö-p'o) was resumed in the fifth century A. D.[4] We read in

1. For the real meaning of 'tribute', cf. Hirth, J. R. A. S., 1896, pp. 64-65; and Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 4.

2. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, pp. 269-70.

3. Ferrand in J. A., 11—XX (1922), pp. 175 ff.

4. Java seems to be now referred to as Chö-p'o, although this identification cannot be regarded as certain. On this identification,

the 'History of the First Sung Dynasty', that in 430 A. D., the kingdom of Ho-lo-tan, which ruled over the island of Java (Chö-p'o), sent to the imperial court ambassadors offering diamond rings, red parrots, white Indian rugs and cottons, Javanese cottons, and similar articles. Four or five embassies were sent from Ho-lo-tan between A. D. 434 and 452; one authority places these embassies in 433, 436, 449, and 452 A. D., while another authority refers them to 433, 434, 437, 449, and 452 A.D. In addition to the embassies from Ho-lo-tan, Chinese annals refer to two embassies from Chö-p'o in 433 and 435 A.D. In the latter year, the king of this country, named Che-li-p'o-ta-t'o-a-la-pa-mo sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor to present a letter and some presents. The Chinese name of the king has been rendered as Śrī-pāda-dharā(or dhara)-varman by Schlegel, Bhaṭāra Dwāravarman by Ferrand, and Śrī-pāda Pūrṇavarman by Rouffaer. Schlegel points out that this embassy came from Chö-p'o-p'o-ta and not Chö-p'o, and has nothing to do with Java, but Pelliot believes that the Chinese writers have erroneously combined the names of two countries, Chö-p'o and P'o-ta, into one.[1]

Now Ho-lo-tan is definitely said to be in Chö-p'o, which is identified with Java. Even assuming the correctness of this identification, which, by the way, cannot be regarded as absolutely certain, it is not clear whether Ho-lo-tan denotes a

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which is assumed throughout in the text, cf. Pelliot, B. E. F. E. O,. Vol. IV, p. 271. The accounts of the embassies that follow are based on Pelliot's article (op. cit. pp. 271 ff) and Schlegel's notes, T'oung Pao, Ser. I, Vol. X, (1899), pp. 159 ff. Schlegel, however, identifies Ho-lo-tan with Kelantan in Malay Peninsula, and so regards Chö-p'o island as equivalent to this Peninsula (Ibid. ; also, pp. 247 ff.)

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 9; Schlegel—T'oung Pao, Serie 1, Vol. X, p. 251 ; Pelliot, op. cit. p. 271 ; Ferrand—J. A. 11—VIII. (1916), p. 526. Rouffaer—'Enc. Ned. Ind'., Vol. IV (1905), p. 367. Rouffaer's construction is, no doubt, influenced by the fact that inscriptions testify to the existence of a king called Pūrṇavarman. This identification is, however, least likely.

kingdom comprising the whole of the island of Java, or merely one of the many kingdoms into which that island was divided. The statement in the "History of the First Sung Dynasty", that "the state of Ho-lo-tan ruled over the island of Chö-p'o", would, no doubt, incline us to accept the former view, but certain details, preserved in the same Chinese history, would favour the latter. Thus we read: "In 433 A. D., the king of Ho-lo-tan named *Vāiśa* (or *Vāiśya*)-varman presented a letter. The kingdom was afterwards usurped by the son of Vāiśavarman, of which the old king complained in a letter to the emperor of China, dated in the year 436 A. D." Now, as we have seen above, a king bearing a different name was ruling over Chö-p'o or Chö-p'o-p'o-ta in 435 A. D. We must, therefore, presume that Ho-lo-tan and Chö-p'o (or Chö-p'o-p'o-ta) were two distinct kingdoms, and if the latter were in Java, as some scholars have held, Ho-lo-tan could not mean the whole of Java.

In any case, these notices in Chinese annals do not furnish us with any definite information regarding the political history of Java. We are, however, more fortunate in respect of our knowledge regarding the spread of Hindu culture there.

The first valuable and authentic account of the state of Hindu culture in Java is furnished by Fa-hien. The ship, which that pilgrim took at Ceylon in order to return to his native land, was driven off its course by a storm, and Fa-hien had to stop in Yavadvīpa (Ye-p'o-t'i) for five months, in the year 414-15 A. D. Regarding this country he observes that "various forms of error and Brāhmanism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth mentioning"[1]. It appears clearly from this statement, that various forms of Brāhmanical religion were prevalent among the people of Java in general, but Buddhism had no strong hold over them. Fa-hien's

1. Legge—Fa-hien, p. 113. The scholars are generally agreed that Ye-p'o-t'i of Fa-hien denotes Yavadvīpa (= Java). Ferrand, however, identifies it with Sumatra.

remarks would justify the conclusion that Brāhmanical culture was not confined to a handful of colonists, settled among a vast native population, but that it was the prevailing religion of the country.

But that Buddhism soon made its influence felt in Java, appears clearly from the story of Guṇavarman, preserved in 'Kao seng tchouan' or 'Biography of famous monks', compiled in A. D. 519[1]. Guṇavarman (K'icou-na-pa-mo), grandson of Haribhadra (Ho-li-pa-t'o), and son of Saṅghānanda (Seng-kia-a-nan), belonged to the royal family of Ki-pin (Kashmir or Kapiśā i.e. modern Afghanistan). He was of a religious mood from his very boyhood. When he was thirty years old, the king of Ki-pin died without issue, and the throne was offered to him. But he rejected the offer and went to Celyon. Later he proceeded to Java (Chö-p'o). During the night preceding his arrival, the mother of the king of Java saw in a dream that a monk was coming to Java in a sailing vessel. Guṇavarman arrived in the morning, and the queen-mother was converted to Buddhism. Gradually the king, too, was persuaded by his mother to adopt the same faith. At this time Java was attacked by hostile troops. The king asked Guṇavarman, whether it would be contrary to Buddhist law, if he fought against his enemy. Guṇavarman replied that it was the duty of everybody to punish the robbers. The king then went to fight and obtained a great victory. Gradually the Buddhist religion was spread throughout the kingdom. The king now wished to take to the life of a monk, but was dissuaded from this course by his ministers, on the express condition, that henceforth no living creatures should be killed throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The name and fame of Guṇavarman had now spread in all directions. In A. D. 424 the Chinese monks requested their emperor to invite Guṇavarman to China. Accordingly the Chinese emperor sent messengers to Guṇavarman and

1. Pelliot, op. cit. pp. 274-5.

the king of Java named Po-to-kia. Guṇavarman embarked on a vessel, owned by the Hindu merchant Nandin (Nan-t'i), and reached Nankin in A. D. 431. A few months later he died at the age of sixty-five.

In spite of its obvious exaggerations, this story may be taken as an evidence, that Buddhism made its influence felt in Java, almost immediately after the departure of Fa-hien. It must be remembered, of course, that when a Buddhist book refers to the conversion of the whole country, or states that no animal was killed throughout the length and breadth of a country, it means no more than that Buddhism and Buddhist practices were prevalent to some extent in that country. Fa-hien, for example, says about the Madhyadeśa (Middle kingdom) in India : "Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating liquor nor eat onions or garlic[1]." This statement is demonstrably false, if it is taken to apply to the whole of that vast region in India which is indicated by Madhyadeśa. It may at best be taken to refer to the practices of the Buddhist section of the community. The references to the abstention of the people of Java from the slaughter of animals can only be taken in a modified sense, as in the case of India.

Having now briefly reviewed the notices in Chinese annals, regarding the Hindu kingdom of Java, we may now turn to a study of the indigenous sources. The earliest epigraphic evidence about the kingdom is furnished by four rock-inscriptions[2]. These are all found within the boundaries

1. Legge—Fa-hien, p. 43.

2. These inscriptions have been published and discussed by several scholars. The latest and most authentic account is that by Dr. Vogel in his article "The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java" ('Publicaties Van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indie', Deel I—1925, pp. 15-35.) The accounts of the inscriptions given in the text are based on this article. Two other inscriptions discovered at Pasir Awi and Muara Ci-Anten have not yet been deciphered. Facsimiles of these are given by Vogel in his article.

of the Province or Residency of Batavia, and at no great distance from the capital city of that name. Three of them, those of Ci-arutön, Jambu, and Kebon Kopi lie close to one another in the hilly country round Buitenzorg, the residence of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies. The site of the fourth inscription, that of Tugu, was near the sea-coast to the east of Tanjong Priok, the port of Batavia. It is now preserved in the Batavia Museum'.

The Inscriptions Nos. 1, 2, and 3, refer by name to a king Pūrṇavarman, whose capital was the city of Tārumā (No. 2) or Tārūma (No. 1). He is described as 'lord of the earth', and as having obtained victories against his enemies'. But, beyond these and similar vague praises, very little, by way of definite information, can be gathered from these records. Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2 merely refer to the foot-prints of king Pūrṇavarman, and a pair of foot-prints is actually engraved over the inscription in each case. No. 3 similarly refers to the foot-print of the elephant of the king of Tārumā, and here, again, a pair of elephant's foot-prints is actually engraved above and below the inscription.

The Inscription No. 4 is dated in the twenty-second year of Pūrṇavarman, and describes his grandfather as *rājarṣi* (royal sage), and another ancestor, perhaps his father, as *rājādhirāja*. The latter is said to have dug the Candrabhāgā (a canal or a river), which reached the ocean after passing by the capital city. In his twenty-second regnal year, Pūrṇavarman himself dug a similar canal, called the Gomatī river, 6,122 *dhanus* in length, and paid a *dakṣiṇā* (fee) of a thousand cows to the Brāhmaṇas.

Now, several problems arise out of these inscriptions, and we may discuss them separately before drawing general conclusions from the records.

In the first place, was Pūrṇavarman a really historical person? The doubt was first expressed by Kern, who regarded Pūrṇavarman as "an ancient hero and sage of Indian origin,

whose worship had been introduced in Western Java." This view, which is accepted by others,[1] is difficult to understand. Perhaps the figures of his foot-prints, and those of his elephants, too, inclined Kern to the above view. But the inscription No. 4, which definitely states that a canal was dug by him in the twenty-second year of his reign, with full details about the time when it was commenced and finished, cannot possibly leave any doubt that he was an historical person. The meaning of his foot-print is not quite clear. Normally, it should be regarded as an object of worship, but then the same view will have to be extended to the foot-print of the king's elephant. In other words, we have to presume that both the king and his elephant came to be regarded as divine. There is nothing, however, in the inscriptions themselves to indicate that the foot-prints were objects of worship. On the other hand, we must remember that about the time when Pūrṇavarman lived, the theory of a divine origin of kings had been firmly established in India[2], and no surprise need be felt that it was carried to its logical conclusion in the Hindu-ized Java[3].

The next question is, did Pūrṇavarman belong to a royal line? Dr. Vogel remarks: "Nothing is said regarding the king's lineage. May we infer from the absence of any mention of ancestors...that king Pūrṇavarman could not boast any lofty parentage?" It is difficult to follow Dr. Vogel here.

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1. Cf. Veth—Java (2nd Ed.), Vol. I, p. 27.

2. Cf. Manu-Smṛti, Chap. VII, vv. 4, 8. Allahabad Pillar Inscription, l. 28. (Fleet—Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 8, 15.)

3. For the worship of foot-prints prevalent among different communities, cf. Vogel, op. cit. pp. 16-21. According to this scholar, the foot-prints marked 'certain places hallowed by the presence of Pūrṇavarman'. He also suggests that the Ci-arutŏn rocks marks the spot of the king's cremation, and that "the foot-prints of the deceased monarch were credited with a magical power to protect his followers and to hurt his enemies." (op. cit, p. 20). Stutterheim thinks that the foot-prints were symbols of the king's supremacy over the land (B. K. I., Vol. 89, pp. 288-9).

The inscription No. 4 refers to "*rājādhirāja guru*", and Vogel himself has taken the word '*guru*' to mean the king's father, on the strength of a Javanese inscription in which the deceased king is designated as "*Bhaṭāraguru*". Then the same inscription contains a clear reference to '*pitāmaha*' or grandfather of the king who is also described as 'rājarṣi,' or royal sage. Thus, there can be no doubt, that the family to which Pūrṇavarman belonged could boast of at least three generations of kings.

The third question is, can we regard Pūrṇavarman as Indian in origin? The point at issue has been admirably summed up as follows by Dr. Vogel: "It would, perhaps, be equally risky to conclude from Pūrṇavarman's name, that he was of Indian birth or extraction. He may, no doubt, have been an immigrant from some part of the Indian continent, or a descendant of such an immigrant, but equally well he may have been an indigenous prince of Malay race who had adopted Hindu culture and religion and along with it had assumed an Indo-Aryan name. A Sanskritic name in itself would prove as little with regard to the nationality of the bearer as a name in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek or Latin. That Pūrṇavarman, if not a Hindu, was at any rate Hindu-ized, may be taken for granted". Dr. Vogel's position seems at first sight to be quite unassailable. But if we analyse the facts a little more deeply, his conclusion does not seem to be convincing enough. In the first place, it is to be noted that even the four short records of Pūrṇavarman's time show how thoroughly Java was saturated with Hindu civilisation. An intimate acquaintance with Sanskrit language is evinced by the records themselves, which are written in Sanskrit verse, and, with a few exceptions, in correct Sanskrit style. Reference to Viṣṇu's feet and Airāvata, together with the gift of a thousand cows as *dakṣiṇā* or sacrificial fees to Brāhmaṇas, indicate great familiarity with Hindu religion, mythology, and rituals. Reference to Indian months and *tithis*, and to *dhanus* as standard of measurement, show clearly that in these respects

the Indian systems had superseded the older ones. Above all, the adoption of geographical names, such as Candrabhāgā and Gomatī, not only indicate a familiarity with Indian geography, but clearly testify to the existence of an Indian element in the settled population. Lastly, the king bears a purely Indian name, without any additional Javanese element, such as comes into vogue in later times. We may add to this, that there is absolutely nothing that is non-Indian in all these records. Now, can we explain all these by merely supposing that the original people of Java were converted to Hinduism by bands of missionaries? Obviously not. Something far more powerful was necessary than mere peaceful propaganda by a band of missionaries. It will be difficult to cite an instance, where similar changes were brought about except by the political domination of the people from whom the culture was borrowed. Now, the political domination of India over Western Java could be exercised in two ways. That region might have been conquered by an Indian king and included in his empire, or a band of Indian adventurers might have seized the political power and authority there by some means or other. All that we know of the history of the time tells against the first assumption, and the latter view alone seems to be probable. If, then, we are convinced that nothing but the political domination of Indians over Java can explain all the facts we know about its culture and civilisation, we must presume the royal dynasty of Java, at least at the beginning of the period when the Hindu culture thoroughly established itself there, to be of Indian origin. It is not, of course, intended to maintain that such Hindu dynasty kept itself strictly aloof from the indigenous population. On the other hand, the Hindu chiefs must have freely mixed with the natives, and intermarried with them, with the result that there was a fusion of blood between the two races. But that Pūrṇavarman's family was Indian in origin, seems to be the most reasonable presumption, and nothing but the very strongest evidence would rebut it.

The last problem in connection with Pūrṇavarman is his date. The only key to its solution is furnished by a palaeographic study of his inscriptions. By comparing these with the Kutei inscriptions of Mūlavarman, Dr. Vogel concluded that Pūrṇavarman is to be placed in the middle of the fifth century A. D. But as the date of Mūlavarman (400 A. D., according to Dr. Vogel) is itself a matter of conjecture, this conclusion cannot be regarded as a very satisfactory one. On the other hand, if we compare the alphabets used in the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman with those, respectively, of Bhadravarman and Śambhuvarman, rulers of Champā, it is apparent that they fully agree with the latter in all distinctive characteristics, *viz.*, (1) upward curve of the end of the vertical stroke in *k*, *r*, *a* and medial *u*; (2) looped *t*; (3) advanced form of *ṣ*, in which the central stroke, joining the two verticals, is modified to a loop attached to the base; (4) medial *i* denoted by a circle. All these characteristics are absent in the inscription of Bhadravarman, but make their first appearance in the inscriptions of Śambhuvarman[1]. Pūrṇavarman may, therefore, be regarded as a contemporary of the latter, rather than of the former. Now Bhadravarman ruled about 400 A. D., while Śambhuvarman ruled from about 565 A. D. to 629 A. D.[2] It would be reasonable, therefore, to place Pūrṇavarman in the sixth century A. D.

To sum up. We may reasonably assume that by the sixth century A. D., king Pūrṇavarman was ruling in Western Java with his capital at Tārumā. He belonged to a Hindu, or at any rate a Hindu-ized royal family, which must have been reigning for at least three generations in Java. Pūrṇavarman ruled for at least twenty-two years. If we are to judge from the find-spots of his inscriptions alone, his kingdom was of a

1. The palaeography of the inscriptions of Champā has been discussed by me in B. E. F. E. O., Vol., XXXII, pp. 127ff.

2. The dates of these kings have been discussed in my work, Champā, Chs. III, IV.

moderate size, comprising the valleys of the Ci-liwong and Ci-tarum[1] rivers, together with the hilly country round Buitenzorg, in Western Java. It is likely, however, that his authority extended further to the east, though no epigraphic evidence of it has yet come to light. At the time of Pūrṇavarman, Hindu culture and civilisation was firmly established in Java. Pūrṇavarman was a follower of Brāhmanical religion, and Sanskrit literature was studied in his court.

In addition to the kingdom of Pūrṇavarman, there must have been other kingdoms in Java about this time. This seems to follow indirectly from the Chinese references to the kingdom of Ho-lo-tan in Java, as already discussed before. But the Chinese annals even furnish a more direct evidence of this state of things. Two historical works of the Sui period (A. D. 589-618) give almost identical accounts of a country called Tou-po, which Pelliot has, with good reasons, identified with Java. It is said in these works, that in the country there are more than ten capitals, or at least towns, whose chiefs assume royal titles.[2] Now, this is a clear indication that the island was divided into a number of petty kingdoms. Whether this statement is true of the Sui period, or the authors borrowed it from an earlier source, as Pelliot thinks possible, it may be taken as reflecting very correctly the normal political condition of Java. Even in the history of the T'ang period reference is made to twenty-eight feudatory kings, acknowledging the supremacy of the king of Java.[3] This corroborates the general picture, in so far as it relates to the period of the T'ang dynasty (618-906 A. D.).

Another evidence in the same direction is the use, in Chinese annals, of different names for the kingdoms in Java

1. According to Pleyte, this river has preserved the name of the capital city Tārumā. On the extent of Pūrṇavarman's kingdom, cf. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 77 ; Vogel, op. cit. p. 16.

2. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, pp. 275-6.

3. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 13.

which, for the time being, were in direct intercourse with the imperial court. The name Java, under various forms, occurs throughout as a general appellation for the country, but different specific names are sometimes used, presumably to denote different kingdoms situated in the island. We have already come across one such name, *viz.*, Ho-lo-tan. The annals of the T'ang period (A. D. 618-906) similarly mention Ho-ling as the name of the kingdom of Java, and apparently take the two terms as synonymous, although the form Java again comes into use towards the close of the same period[1]. Here, again, Ho-ling was presumably the name of the most important kingdom in Java with which the Chinese had intercourse during the T'ang period, and hence they applied the name to the whole country, a large part of which was subordinate to that kingdom.

Ho-ling has been generally admitted to be a Chinese transcription of Kaliṅga. It would thus appear that the leading kingdom in Java was named after the well-known province of India, and it may easily lead to the inference that colonists from Kaliṅga dominated in that quarter. It is generally held that the name of Java was changed to Kaliṅga about this time, and that this was due to a fresh stream of immigration from Kaliṅga or the eastern part of India[2]. It is, however, equally likely that the kingdom of Kaliṅga existed in Java from an early period, but it only attained political importance, and came to be the leading state in Java, during the T'ang period.

If we are to judge from the existing antiquarian remains in Java, we may presume that the kingdom of Ho-lo-tan represents the kingdom in Western Java ruled over by Pūrṇavarman. For that is the only kingdom in Java of which

1. Ibid., pp. 13-15.

2. Krom—Geschiedenis, pp. 95-102. The transcription of Hiuen Tsang's Yen-mo-na as Yavadvīpa shows the prevalence of the name in the 7th century A. D. (B. E. F. E. O. iv. p. 278; J. R. A. S., 1920, pp. 447 ff.)

the existence in the fifth century A. D. is established by epigraphic evidence. Arguing in a similar way, it may be held that Ho-ling represents a kingdom in Central Java, which has yielded inscriptions and monuments that may be referred to the seventh century A. D. It should not, however, be forgotten that such a line of argument, based as it is on a sort of negative evidence, cannot be very much relied upon. It is, at best, a working hypothesis, which may be demolished at any moment by the discovery of a single new inscription. Subject to this note of caution, we may regard the two embassies to China sent in 640 (or 648) and 666 A. D., as having proceeded from Central Java[1]. The New History of the T'ang Dynasty has preserved a tradition about a queen of Java which deserves particular notice. It runs as follows [2] :—"In 674-5 A. D. the people of this country took as their ruler a woman of the name Si-ma. Her rule was most excellent. Even things dropped on the road were not taken up. The Prince of the Arabs (Tazi), hearing of this, sent a bag with gold to be laid down within her frontiers : the people who passed that road avoided it in walking, and it remained there for three years. Once the heir-apparent stepped over that gold and Si-ma became so incensed that she wanted to kill him. Her ministers interceded and then Si-ma said : "Your fault lies in your feet, therefore it will be sufficient to cut them off". The ministers interceded again, and she had his toes cut off, in order to give an example to the whole nation. When the prince of Tazi heard this, he became afraid and dared not attack her."

How far this story may be regarded as historical, it is impossible to say. The reference to a particular year, no doubt,

1. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 286.

2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 14. Pelliot's version of the story (B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 297) differs in some unimportant details. The date is given by Groeneveldt as 674, while Pelliot puts it as 674-5 A. D. Cf. Ferrand J. A. 11–XX (1922), p. 37.

invests the story with an appearance of reality. It is interesting to note that the story refers to the choice or selection of the ruler by the people. Whether this may be taken to indicate a regular system of election of the ruler by the people, it is difficult to say. But considering the fact that such a system was known in India, its presence in Java is not difficult to account for. The Tazi in the story no doubt denotes the Arabs. But whether the story-teller had in view the distant Arabia, or a colony of the Arabs nearer home, say, in Sumatra, it is difficult to say[1].

We may now take into consideration the epigraphic evidence that we possess regarding the kingdom in Central Java. The earliest inscription, so far discovered in this region, is that engraved on a large boulder near the famous spring, called Tuk Mas, at the foot of the Merbabu hill, which lies to the north-east of Magelang. The inscription, consisting of one line, is a Sanskrit verse in Upajāti metre. It praises the natural spring, which issues from the rock, and compares it to the river Ganges. No historical information is supplied by the inscription, but its importance lies in the alphabet used, and quite a large number of figures engraved above it. The alphabet shows a developed stage of that used by Pūrṇavarman, and may thus be referred to the seventh century A. D.[2] The figures, about sixteen in number, are symmetrically arranged on two sides of the central one, which looks like a trident fixed upon a raised and terraced platform. To the proper right of it can be seen, a wheel, a conch-shell, a mace, and

1. Groeneveldt is in favour of the latter hypothesis (Notes, p. 14, f. n. 4.), while Pelliot supports the former (B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 297.)

2. The inscription has been edited, together with a facsimile, by H. Kern (V. G., Vol. VII, pp. 201 ff.). Recently Mr. B. C. Chhabra has given a revised reading (J. A. S. B. L., Vol I, pp. 33 ff.). Kern assigned the record to the fifth century A. D., but Krom assigns it to the middle of the seventh century A. D.

some warlike weapons. To the left are four representations of lotus, together with a battle-axe, a lance, and a pitcher.

It is not difficult to recognise in these figures the well-known symbols of the two great gods, Viṣṇu and Śiva ; *viz.*, the trident of the latter, and the conch-shell, wheel, mace, and lotus of the former[1]. There is a round object immediately to the proper right of the central figure of the trident, and this may be construed as the Kamaṇḍalu (water-pot) of Brahmā. The pitcher may be a symbol for Agastya, whom tradition regards as having been born in a pitcher. The battle-axe may refer to Paraśurāma or Yama. The object above the wheel looks like a noose, the weapon of Varuṇa. On the whole, there can be little doubt that the figures were emblems of different gods worshipped in that region.

Thus the inscription of Tuk Mas proves that Central Java was as thoroughly saturated with Brāhmanic religion as West Java. The alphabet of the inscription also appears to belong to the same class as that used in West Java, although it shows some developed forms. There is, therefore, no need to presume that there was a wide gulf separating Western and Eastern Java either from historical or cultural points of view.

1. Krom infers from the symbols that the prevailing religion was the worship of Śiva (Geschiedenis, p. 100). But the four Viṣṇuite symbols are quite clear, and cannot be ignored.

Chapter VII

EARLY HINDU COLONISATION IN SUMATRA

Sumatra is the most westerly, and next to Borneo, the largest island of the Malay Archipelago. It is bounded by the Indian ocean on the west and the China and Java seas on the east. The three Straits of Malacca, Banka, and Sunda separate it from Malay Peninsula in the north-east, and the islands of Banka and Java in the east and south-east. A long chain of islands runs along its coasts, the most notable of them being Simalur, Banjak, Nias, Batu, the Mentawi archipelago (the islands of Mentawi, Sipura, North Paggy and South Paggy), and Engano on the west, and Rupat, Padang, Bengkalis, Rantau, the archipelagos of Riouw and Lengga (including the Pulu Tiyu islands), Banka, and Billiton in the east.

Sumatra is a long narrow country running in the direction north-west to south-east. It is very narrow at its two ends and broad at the centre. The equator passes through it, dividing it almost into two equal halves, as it lies between 5°-39′ North and 5°-57′ South Latitude. Its total length is 1060 miles, and the extreme breadth 248 miles, giving a total area of 167,480 sq. miles.

A series of mountains, known collectively as Bukit Barisan, run along the whole length of the island, parallel, and in close proximity, to its western coast. This range of hills contains about 90 volcanoes, of which 12 are yet active. The strip of territory between the hills and the Indian ocean on the west is extremely narrow, while there is a vast alluvial plain in the east. The rivers on the west are consequently short, torrential, and rarely navigable, while those on the east have a much

longer course, and are, in many cases, navigable to a great length. The most important of these, beginning from the north, are the Asahan, the Panei, the Rokan, the Siak, the Kampar, the Indragiri, the Jambi, and the Musi (Palembang river).

The Jambi river is the largest of all, having a width of 1300 ft. opposite Jambi. It springs from mount Indrapura, and has two tributaries, the Batang Hari and the Tambesi. Next in importance is the Musi river, on which stands Palembang, once an important city, and, perhaps, the capital of a flourishing kingdom, but now an insignificant town, 55 miles inland.

There are several lakes in the midst of the long range of hills, such as Toba, Maninjau, Sengkara, Korinchi, and the Ranau, with a number of small ones round the base of Mt. Indrapura.

Sumatra is rich in mineral resources. Gold, silver, and copper are found in large quantities, while sulphur, naphtha, alum, and saltpetre are found in great abundance near the volcanoes. Among others may be mentioned tin, lead, magnetite, legnite, and coal.

Sumatra has an abundance of forests, full of teak, sandal, ebony, and many varieties of less useful timber. The forests also yield all the gum-producing trees, such as the camphor-tree, benzoin-trees etc. ; cocoanut, sago-palm, areca-palm and several other varieties of palm are found in large number.

The land is very fertile, and a rich yield of food crops and others is easily obtainable. The chief products of agriculture are rice, coffee, tobacco, cloves, nutmeg, pepper, cotton, cocoanut, and sugarcane. In recent times there has been a great expansion of native-grown rubber.

In spite of its rich natural resources Sumatra is but a poor and thinly populated country. Although about four times the size of Java, it has only a population of 6,219,004, or nearly one-fifth of that of the latter.

Even this small population is not homogeneous in character. Quite a large number of tribes, differing in language, physical

aspect, and culture may be easily distinguished. The following may be noted as the more important ones.

1. The Lampongs inhabit the region, called after them, at the southern extremity of Sumatra, on the Straits of Sunda. In spite of their present poverty and insignificance, they possessed at one time a high degree of civilisation under the influence of the Hindus.

2. The Lebongs live in the upper valley of the Ketuan river.

3. The Rejangs live in Rejang, in the upper course of the Musi river. They still use an alphabet of Hindu origin.

4. The Korinchis live in the country surrounding Indrapura.

5. The Malays are divided into two classes, the Malays of sea-board and the Malays of Menangkabau. The former closely resemble the Malays of Malacca and live chiefly in the country of Palembang. The latter ragard themselves as the primitive Malays, and, in old days, atttained to a high degree of civilisation. Until recently, there was a general belief that Menangkabau was the original home of the Malays, who emigrated to the Malay Peninsula. Menangkabau was the name of an inland kingdom, comprising a series of mountain valleys, near mount Merapi and lake Sengkara. It had an area of about 3000 sq. miles and was situated between the equator and one degree south. It was subdued by the Dutch in 1840.

6. The Bataks are of the same stock as the Malays. They inhabit the mountainous region of lake Toba, the Residency of Tapanuli, and a large part of the northern coast of Sumatra.

7. The Gayos live in the western coast of Sumatra.

8. The Achinese claim to be of Hindu origin and inhabit the kingdom of Acheen (also called Atjeh, Acheh, Atcheh, Achin, Achem) in the northern part of Sumatra.

In addition to the above there are various other tribes living in the adjacent islands.

The Dutch Government has divided its dominions in Sumatra in six administrative divisions, *viz.*,

1. The Government of the West Coast of Sumatra consisting of three Residencies, viz.

(a) The Highlands of Padang—capital, Fort De Kock.
(b) The Lowlands of Padang—capital, Padang.
(c) Tapanuli—capital, Padang Sidempuan.

2. The Residency of Benkulan—capital, Benkulan.

3. The Residency of Lampong districts—capital, Telok-Betong.

4. The Residency of the East Coast of Sumatra—capital, Medan.

5. The Residency of Palembang—capital, Palembang.

6. The Government of Acheen—capital, Kota Raja[1].

The geographical position of Sumatra marks it out as preeminently the site of the earliest Hindu settlement in Indonesia. Being situated midway on the route between India and China, important harbours and trading stations must have developed on its eastern coast from an early period. From what has been stated above, it will not be wrong to place the beginning of Hindu colonisation there two or three centuries before the Christian era[2].

As has already been remarked above, in chapter VI, Ferrand takes all the early references to Yavadvīpa to apply to Sumatra rather than to Java. Thus Ptolemy's Iabadiou, Fa-hien's Ye-p'o-t'i, the Yavadvīpa of Rāmāyaṇa, Yavakoṭi of Āryabhaṭiya and Sūryasiddhānta, and Ye-tiao, Tchou-po, Tou-po, and Chö-p'o of the Chinese annals, are all taken by him

1. Sumatra is only partially explored, and the description of its physical geography is necessarily incomplete. The account is based on the works of Cabaton and Crawfurd.

2. Ferrand puts it as some centuries before the Christian era; J. A., 11-xx (1922), p. 204.

to refer to Sumatra[1]. In short almost everything that has been said above regarding the early history of Java, should, according to Ferrand, be relegated to the history of Sumatra. But this view has not yet met with general acceptance[2], and we have therefore provisionally accepted these as references to Java. But if Iabadiou of Ptolemy refers to Java, Barousai and Sabadebai, mentioned by the same author, may be taken to refer respectively to the western and south-eastern coast of Sumatra[3].

The first definite reference to a state in Sumatra occurs in connection with an embassy reported in a Chinese account of 644 (or beginning of 645 A. D.). The name of the kingdom is given as Mo-lo-yeu, which has been easily identified, on the authority of I-tsing's writings, with modern Jambi in Sumatra. The name, which no doubt represents Indian Malayu, may perhaps also be traced, under the form of Mo-lo-che, in a list of kingdoms given in a Chinese text of the seventh century A. D. The same list includes another kingdom To-lang-p'o-houang, which has been identified with Tulangbawang in south-eastern Sumatra[4].

But neither of the two kingdoms, Malayu or Tulangbawang, flourished for a long time. They were both superseded by another powerful kingdom which came into prominence about this time. This kingdom is referred to as Fo-che or Che-li-fo-che by the Chinese, Sribuza by the Arabs, and Śrī-Viṣaya in the Indian records. To M. Cœdès we owe the brilliant hypothesis, now generally accepted by all scholars, that all these names are but different renderings of the name Śrī-Vijaya. Some of Cœdès' arguments, and specially his identification of Śrī-Vijaya with Palembang, may not be accepted as valid;

1. Ferrand, in J. A., 11-xx (1922), pp. 208 ff.
2. Cf. e. g., Krom-Geschiedenis, pp. 55-6.
3. Krom-Geschiedenis, pp. 56-7.
4. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 324-6. Ferrand, J. A., 11-xi (1918), pp. 477 ff.

nor can we accept his contention that Śrī-Vijaya was the original seat of the Śailendras, and thus the nucleus of a mighty empire in the Pacific. But his main thesis that there was a kingdom called Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra has been supported by several inscriptions found in Sumatra itself. The identification of Śrī-Vijaya must remain for the present an open question, but we can safely regard the kingdom as comprising the south-eastern part of Sumatra and some of the neighbouring islands. (vide Appendix to Bk. II).

The earliest reference to Śrī-Vijaya has been traced to the Chinese translation of a Buddhist Sūtra, named *Che eul yeou king*. This translation, made in 392 A. D., contains a description of Jambudvīpa which is quoted in *King liu yi siang* compiled in 516 A. D. We read there that "in the sea there are 2,500 kingdoms.....the first king is called Sseu-li..... the fourth king is Chö-ye." The first name refers no doubt to Ceylon. As to Chö-ye, a commentator of the sixth century A. D. says that it means "victory." From this Ferrand concludes that Chö-ye stands for *jaya* (victory), and he takes this country to be Śrī-Vijaya[1].

But even if Śrī-Vijaya existed as an independent kingdom in the 4th century A. D., it did not attain any great importance till a much later period. It is only towards the close of the seventh century A. D., that Śri-Vijaya comes into prominence. I-tsing, writing between 689 and 692 A. D., says that the Malayu country is now the country of Śrī-Vijaya.[2] In other words, Malayu was then absorbed in the growing kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya. The political greatness of Śrī-Vijaya, thus hinted at by the Chinese pilgrim, is corroborated by independent evidences. The most important of them are five

1. Ferrand, J. A. 11-XX (1922), p. 210. S. Lévi (J. A. 11-XI (1918), pp. 83-4) took Chö-ye as Java, but Ferrand's view seems preferable.

2. Takakusu—I-tsing, p. 10. Takakusu transliterates Che-li-fo-che as Śrī-Bhoja.

inscriptions[1] which form the groundwork for the study of the history of Śrī-Vijaya. Of these one is written in Sanskrit, and the rest in old Malay language. The Sanskrit inscription (No. 5) was found at Ligor, in the Malay Peninsula, to the south of the Bay of Bandon. Of the four Malay inscriptions, three were found in Sumatra,—two (Nos. 1-2) near Palembang, and one (No. 3) in the province of Jambi (ancient Malayu),—while the fourth (No. 4) was found at Kota Kapur, in the island of Banka.

No. 1 is dated in Śaka 605 (683 A. D.), and refers to a king of Śrī-Vijaya having done some good to his country by virtue of magical powers (?) acquired by him.

No. 2 is dated in Śaka 606 (684 A. D.), and refers to some pious deeds and pious hopes of king Śrī Jayanāśa. The name may be a mistake for Jayanāga ; Stutterheim reads it as Jayawaga[2].

Nos. 3 and 4 are nearly identical copies of the same record. It begins with an invocation to the gods who protect the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya. It holds out threats of severe punishment to the inhabitants of countries, subordinate to Śri-Vijaya, if they revolt or even aid, abet, or meditate revolt, against the suzerain authority. Punishment was to be meted out not only to actual rebels, but even to their family and clans. On the other hand, the people who would remain loyal to the

1. These inscriptions have been edited by G. Coedès in B. E. F. E. O., Vol. XVIII. No. 6, and Vol. XXX, Nos. 1-2. Full references to early publications are given by him. For later comments and elucidations, cf.

a. R. A. Kern—B. K. I., Vol. 88 (1931), pp. 508-13.

b. G. Ferrand—J. A., Vol. CCXXI (1932), pp. 271-326.

c. J. W. J. Wellan—Tijd. Aard. Gen., 2nd ser. deel Li (1934), pp. 348-402.

d. B. C. Chhabra—J. A. S. B. L., Vol. 1, pp. 28 ff.

e. G. Coedès-B. E. F. E. O., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1002 ff.

Following Coedès I have taken *Bhūmi Jāva* in Ins. No. 4 as Java ; others take it as part of Sumatra. For different views on this point, see Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 114, f. n. 1, and Coedès, op. cit. pp. 53-4.

For the find-spot of inscription No. 5, cf. B. K. I., Vol. 83 (1927), p. 462.

2. O. B., p. 67.

government of Śrī-Vijaya, together with their clan and family, would be blessed with all sorts of blessings divine.

This is the general sense of the record which, as we learn from a postscript added to No. 4, was engraved in Śaka 608 (686 A. D.), at the moment when the army of Śrī-Vijaya was starting on an expedition against Java which had not yet submitted to Śrī-Vijaya.

These four inscriptions prove incontestably that Śrī-Vijaya was already a powerful kingdom before 683 A. D., and that it had established its political supremacy not only over Malayu (Jambi), but also over the neighbouring island of Banka. The ruler Jayanāśa was a Buddhist, and the two inscriptions found near the capital *viz.*, Nos. 1 and 2, are definitely Buddhist in character. These corroborate, in a way, the statement of I-tsing that the king of Śrī-Vijaya, as well as the rulers of neighbouring states, favoured Buddhism, and that Śrī-Vijaya was a centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the Southern Sea[1].

I-tsing tells us that the king of Śri-Vijaya possessed ships, probably for commerce, sailing between India and Śrī-Vijaya. We also learn from his memoir that the city of Śrī-Vijaya was the chief centre of trade with China, and that there was a regular navigation between it and Kwang-Tung[2].

That Śri-Vijaya was fast growing into an important naval and commercial power appears clearly from the Ligor (formerly called Vieng Sa) or Vat Sema Murong Inscription (No. 5). This inscription, dated in Śaka 697 (775 A. D.), refers to the mighty prowess of the king of Śrī-Vijaya. He is said to be the overlord of all neighbouring states whose kings made obeisance to him. He made three Buddhist *Caityas*, and his chaplain and the latter's disciple built other *Stūpas* and *Caityas*. Now this inscription shows that the Buddhist king of Śrī-Vijaya had extended his political supremacy over the Malay Peninsula, as far at least as the Bay of Bandon, before 775 A. D.

The inscriptions thus give clear indication, in broad outline, of a purely aggressive policy pursued by the kingdom of Śrī-

1. Takakusu—I-tsing, p. XLI. 2. Ibid., pp. XL-XLI.

Vijaya during the century 675-775 A. D. By 686 A. D. it had absorbed the neighbouring kingdom of Malayu, conquered the neighbouring island of Banka, and sent a military expedition to the powerful island kingdom of Java. Before a century was over, we find its power firmly established in the Malay Peninsula, as far at least as the Bay of Bandon.

The Chinese Annals state that several embassies came from Śrī-Vijaya to China during the period between 670 and 741 A. D. The date of the earliest embassy cannot be ascertained, but there is no doubt that it was before 695 A. D. By an imperial edict dated in that year, orders were issued for supplying provisions to the ambassadors of different countries then living in the Chinese court. Thus provisions for six months were to be given to ambassadors from North India, South India, Persia, and Arabia ; provisions for five months were to be given to ambassadors from Śrī-Vijaya, Chen-la (Cambodia), Ho-ling (Java) and other kingdoms ; to envoys from Champā provisions were to be given only for three months".[1] It appears, therefore, that Śrī-Vijaya was already recognised as a leading state, the only one in Sumatra to be individually referred to, before the close of the seventh century A. D.

Two other embassies from Śrī-Vijaya visited China in 702 and 716 A. D. In 724 A. D. the king of Śri-Vijaya named Che-li-t'o-lo-pa-mo (Śrīndravarman) sent an ambassador with presents consisting of two dwarfs, a Negro girl, a party of musicians, and a parrot of five colours. The ambassador is called Kumāra. It might be a personal name, or denote the crown-prince. The emperor conferred on him the title of tchö-tch'ong (general) and presented him 100 pieces of silk. He also conferred an honorary title upon the king.

In 728 the king of Śrī-Vijaya again presented the emperor with parrots of motley colours. In 742 the king sent his son to the Chinese court with customary offerings, and was again rewarded with an honorary title.[2]

1. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 334. 2. Ibid, pp. 334-5.

Chapter VIII

EARLY HINDU COLONISATION IN BORNEO

Borneo is the largest island in the Malay archipelago, but it is little known and thinly populated. Its area is seven or eight times that of Java, but its population is only about three millions. The island is covered with dense forests and crossed by a series of mountain groups from the north-east to south-west. The highest peak, Kinabalu, is about 13,698 ft. The rivers are large and navigable, but often impeded by mud-banks. The principal rivers are the Brunei, the Rejang, and the Kapuas on the west, and the Sampit, the Katingan, the Barito, and the Mahakam or the Kutei on the south and east.

The forests yield excellent timber and trees producing gums and resins. The famous Sago-palm is the characteristic tree of the island. The soil is very fertile and all kinds of crops can be grown easily. The sub-soil is rich in mineral resources such as diamond, gold, silver, lead, copper, antimony, zinc, bismuth, platinum, mercury, arsenic, coal, and petroleum. But neither agriculture nor industry flourishes among the Dyaks, a semi-savage tribe, who forms the chief element of the native population. The river-side Dyaks are hospitable, intelligent, and energetic, but those in the interior are almost savages.

Borneo is now divided between the British and the Dutch. All the north and part of the western part of the island, comprising about a third of the total area, is under the British suzerainty. It includes the territories of the British North Borneo Company, the Sultanate of Brunei, a protectorate, and the principality of Sarawak, founded in 1841 by James Brooke and still ruled by his family. Sarawak is a British Protectorate, though the ruler is independent in matters of internal administration.

The Dutch territories are divided into two Residencies: the western Borneo, with its capital Pontianak, at the mouth of the Kapuas; and the Residency of the south and east, with its capital Banjermassin, at the mouth of the Barito river.

The earliest evidence of the Hindu colonisation in Borneo is furnished by four inscriptions[1]. These were discovered in 1879 in the district of Koti (Kutei), at Muara Kaman, on the Mahakam river, three days' journey above Pelarang. The remains of a Chinese jonk, found in the locality, mark it to be an important sea-port in old days, and that perhaps explains the early Hindu settlements there. Three golden objects, including a Viṣṇu image, were also found at Muara Kaman. The inscriptions are engraved on stone pillars of about a man's height. As the tops of the pillars were rounded, they were originally mistaken for 'Liṅga', but the inscriptions clearly show that they were sacrificial pillars (*yūpa*). The following is a summary of these inscriptions :—

1. King Mūlavarman has done many virtuous acts, to wit, gifts of animals, land, Kalpa-tree (?) and other things. Hence the Brāhmaṇas have set up this pillar[2].

2. King Kuṇḍuṅga had a famous son Aśvavarman, who, like the Sun (Aṁśuman), was the originator of a family. Of the three sons of Aśvavarman, the eldest was king Śrī-Mūlavarman, noted for his asceticism, who performed a sacrifice called Bahu-Suvarṇakam (much-gold). This pillar (yūpa) of that sacrifice has been set up by the Brāhmaṇas.

3. The chief of kings, Mūlavarman, made a gift of 20,000 cows to the Brāhmaṇas in the holy field of Vaprakeśvara.

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1. Kern (V. G., Vol. VII, pp. 55-76.) edited the first three inscriptions. They have all been re-edited by Vogel in B. K. I., Vol. 74 (1918), pp. 167-232; Vol. 76, p. 431; and commented upon by Mr. B. C. Chhabra in J. A. S. B. L., Vol. I, pp. 38 ff.

2. I have followed the usual rendering of the inscriptions. But the terms 'Kalpa-Vṛkṣa, Bhūmi-dāna, and Go-sahasrikā' may be taken as names of specific sacrifices, as they are included in the list of sixteen Mahādānas.

For that pious act this pillar (yūpa) has been set up by the Brāhmaṇas who came here.

4. As from king Sagara is born Bhagīratha..... Mūlavarman...(the rest is illegible).

These inscriptions have been referred on palæographic grounds to about 400 A. D.[1] Thus there is no doubt that by the fourth century A. D. the Hindus had established kingdoms in the eastern part of Borneo. The inscriptions leave no doubt about the thorough-going nature of the Brāhmanical religion in that locality. The Brāhmaṇas evidently formed an important element of the population, and the Brāhmanical rites and ceremonies were in great favour at the court.

Mūlavarman was undoubtedly a historical personage, but the same cannot be asserted with certainty of his two predecessors, Kuṇḍuṅga and Aśvavarman. Krom[2] thinks that as these were not illustrious Sanskrit names of the usual type, they may be regarded as historical personages. But the two names have undoubtedly a striking resemblance with Kauṇḍinya, and Aśvatthamā, names associated with the foundation of Kāmboja (Cambodia). An inscription of Champā[3], dated 657 A. D., thus speaks of the origin of the Hindu kingdom of Kāmboja :

"It was there that Kauṇḍinya, the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, planted the spear which he had obtained from Droṇa's son Aśvatthamā, the best of Brāhmaṇas."

But in spite of the resemblance in the names, it should be remembered, that as the inscription was a contemporary record of Mūlavarman, its writers were not likely to have given two mythical names as those of his father and grand father ; and as such we can accept them as historical personages.

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1 This is the view of Kern (op. cit.) and Vogel. (op. cit).

2. Geschiedenis, p. 69.

3. 'Champā' by R. C. Majumdar, Book III. p. 23.

The second king has a correct Sanskrit name, whereas the name of the first may be either of Indian or native origin. The second king is also referred to as the founder of the family. On these grounds Krom[1] concludes that Kuṇḍuṅga was a native chief, whose son adopted Hindu religion and culture, and thus became the founder of a Hindu-ized royal family. This, however, cannot be readily accepted, as 'Vaṁśakarttā' does not necessarily mean the first king of a long line, but may refer to the most illustrious member of it. This is proved by such terms as Raghuvaṁśa and Sagaravaṁśa, frequently used in Indian literature, although neither Raghu nor Sagara was the first member of the royal family to which they belonged.

In addition to the antiquities at Muara Kaman described above, remains of ancient Hindu culture have also been found in other localities in east Borneo. The most notable among these is the cave of Kombeng[2] which has yielded a large number of interesting articles. Kombeng is situated considerably to the north of Muara Kaman and to the east of the upper course of the Telen river.

The cave consists of two chambers. In the back-chamber were found twelve sandstone images, pieces of carved stone, and a few half-decayed iron-wood beams. All these may be taken as the remains of a temple which were hurriedly secreted in the dark chamber of a cave, apparently for safety. That the images were brought from elsewhere is clearly indicated by the fact that most of them have a pin under the pedestal, evidently for fixing them in a niche. The images were both Buddhist and Brāhmanical. The latter included those of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nandi, Agastya, Nandiśvara, Brahmā, Skanda, and Mahākāla. The preponderance of the images of Śiva and Śivaite gods,—

1. Geschiedenis, p. 69.

2. The antiquities of Kombeng have been described by Witkamp in Tijd. Aard. Gen., Vol. 31 (1914), pp. 595-598, and by Bosch in O. V., 1925, pp. 132-6.

there being two images of Gaṇeśa—seems to indicate that the prevailing religion in that quarter was Śaiva.

One of the most interesting facts about these images is that they do not appear to be the products of Indo-Javanese art which was predominant in Borneo in the later periods, and as such we have to postulate a direct stream of Hindu influence from India to Borneo[1]. The images of Kombeng cave are thereby invested with a great importance, as being the earliest specimens of Hindu art in the eastern colonies. As already remarked above, they evidently belonged to a temple of which the ruins are preserved in the cave. That temple was one of the earliest specimens of Hindu architecture, though unfortunately nothing now remains of it *in situ*. The wooden beam, however, proves that the main structure was built of wood. We may well believe that this was the case with most, if not all, of the early Hindu temples in the colonies, and this explains the almost total absence of early specimens of Hindu temples in that region. It is tempting to connect the Kombeng ruins with those of Muara Kaman, and attribute all of them to one stream of Hindu colonisation in the fourth century A. D. If it were so, we may presume that the transition from wood to stone architecture took place somewhat later than that period, at least in some regions of the eastern colonies.

The antiquities secreted in the Kombeng cave must have been brought there for safety from plains or lower regions more exposed to a hostile attack. The original site of the temple was probably in the valley of the Mahakam river. This river undoubtedly played the chief part in the colonisation of east Borneo by the Hindus. A great river is a necessity in the early stages of colonisation by foreigners. In the first place, its junction with the sea serves as a good sea-port and trading centre, which receives goods from without and distributes them in the interior, and, by the reverse process, collects articles from

1. This point has been discussed later in the chapter on Art, Book V.

inland and ships them for foreign lands. Secondly, the foreign colonists, having secured a firm footing in the port, find in the river an excellent, and in many cases the only safe, means of communication with the interior, as a preliminary stage to the spread of their power and influence along its course.

But the Mahakam river was not the only one in Borneo to play such an important rôle in the early colonisation of the country by the Hindus. Another river, the Kapuas, offered the same facilities for colonisation of western Borneo. At various places on or near the bank of this river, we come across archaeological remains of the Hindu period[1], which, taken together, imply a flourishing period of Hindu colonisation of fairly long duration.

Among these archæological remains we may specially note the following :—

(1) The Mukhaliṅga at Sepauk[2].

(2) A stone in the river-bed near Sanggau, containing two lines of writing in cursive script, which have not yet been deciphered.

(3) Seven inscriptions on a rock at Batu Pahat, near the springs of Sungei Tekarek, on carved figures, each of which depicts a staff with a succession of umbrellas at the top, and is thus possibly a miniature representation of a Stūpa.

Four of these inscriptions repeat the formula "Ajñānāccīyate karma," and three repeat the well-known "Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā," both of which we meet with in Malay Peninsula (Nos. 10 and 12). There is an eighth inscription, but it is mostly illegible[3].

(4) A large number of golden plates, inscribed in old characters, found in a pot at the mouth of the Sampit river[4].

(5) An inscription at Sang belirang[5].

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1. O. V., 1914, pp. 140-147. 2. O. V., 1920, pp. 102-105.
3. These inscriptions have been edited by Mr. B.C. Chhabra, op. cit.
4. Encycl. Ned. Ind., Vol. III, p. 198.
5. Not. Bat. Gen., 1880, p. 98.

Here, again, the Hindu civilization is to be traced direct from India, and not through Java, as the Mukhaliṅga and the figures at Batu Pahat are both un-Javanese. The same conclusion follows from a study of some archæological remains, notably in the south and east, other than those on the river Mahakam and Kapuas.[1] Thus we have to conclude that Hindu colonists, direct from India, settled in different parts of Borneo during the early centuries of the Christian era. The general belief that Borneo was colonised by Indo-Javanese emigrants, cannot be accepted, at least for the early period.

1. See later, the chapter on Art, Book V.

Chapter IX.

EARLY HINDU COLONISATION IN BALI

The island of Bali is situated to the east of Java, separated from it by a narrow strait, about a mile and a half wide. Its dimensions are quite small. Its extreme length is 93, and extreme breadth, about 50 miles. Its area is estimated to be 2,095 square miles, and its population 946, 387.

A chain of volcanic mountains, apparently a continuation of that of Java, runs throughout the island from west to east, leaving fertile valleys and plains on both sides. The highest peaks of the mountain are the Peak of Bali or Gunung Anung (10,499 ft), Tabanan (7,500 ft.), and Batur (7,350 ft.).

The coast-line is difficult of approach and has but one or two harbours. There are numerous rivers, but they are small, and navigable, only for small vessels, upto the reach of the tide. The island abounds in beautiful lakes at high elevation, which supply abundant means of irrigation. The land is fertile, and the whole country has the appearance of a beautiful garden. The chief products of agriculture are rice, maize, pulses, cotton, coffee, tobacco, sugar-cane, and the fruits of Java.

The island of Bali possesses the unique distinction of being the only colony of the ancient Hindus which still retains its old culture and civilisation, at least to a considerable extent. Islam has failed to penetrate into this island, and it still affords a unique opportunity to study Hinduism as it was modified by coming into contact with the aborigines of the archipelago. Its past history, as well as its present condition, are, therefore, of surpassing interest in any study of the ancient Indian colonisation in the Far East.

Unfortunately, its past history is involved in obscurity. Unlike the other colonies, it has not yet yielded any archæo-

logical remains of a very early date, and its extant ruins belong to a comparatively late period. We are, therefore, forced to fall back upon Chinese evidence for the beginning of Balinese history.

Here, again, there is an initial difficulty. The Chinese refer to an island called P'o-li, which etymologically corresponds to Bali, and there are other indications in support of this identification. But some particulars about P'o-li are inapplicable to Bali. Thus there is a great deal of uncertainty about it. Some scholars, notably Schlegel and Groeneveldt, have sought to identify P'o-li with the northern coast of Sumatra, and this view was generally accepted till Pelliot established the identity of P'o-li and Bali, if not beyond all doubts, at least on fairly satisfactory grounds.[1] We also propose to accept this identification, at least as a working hypothesis.

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1. P'o-li was formerly identified with northern coast of Sumatra (cf. e.g. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 84. Schlegel in T'oung Pao, 1898, p. 276). But Pelliot has shown good grounds for rejecting this identification (B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, pp. 279 ff).

The arguments of Groeneveldt are thus summed up by himself. "The country called P'o-li is said by all Chinese geographers to be the northern coast of Sumatra, and its neighbourhood to the Nicobar islands is a sufficient proof that they are right". Pelliot has shown that the Chinese geographers, referred to by Groeneveldt, are writers of the nineteenth century, who have shown most lamentable lack of knowledge of the geography of the outer world. Then, as to the vicinity of the Nicobar islands, the Chinese term is Lo-tch'a, and there is not any reliable evidence to identify it with Nicobar islands which are designated by the Chinese by different names. Further Lo-tch'a is placed to the east of P'o-li, while the Nicobar islands are to the north-west of Sumatra.

A passage in the History of the T'ang Dynasty, repeated in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty, places P'o-li to the east of Ho-ling or Kaling which has been identified with Java. Groeneveldt and Schlegel wrongly translated this passage so as to place P'o-li to the west of Kaling. Thus, instead of supporting the location of P'o-li in Sumatra, the passage in the T'ang Dynasty is a strong evidence in favour of identifying P'o-li with Bali, which is to the east of Java.

The History of the Liang dynasty (502-556 A. D.) contains the earliest account of P'o-li.[1] It gives us the following interesting account of the king of the country :

"The King's family name[2] is Kauṇḍinya and he never before had any intercourse with China. When asked about his ancestors or about their age, he could not state this, but said that the wife of Śuddhodana was a daughter of his country.

"The king uses a texture of flowered silk wrapped round his body ; on his head he wears a golden bonnet of more than a span high, resembling in shape a Chinese helmet, and adorned with various precious stones (*sapta ratna* or seven jewels). He carries a sword inlaid with gold, and sits on a golden throne, with his feet on a silver footstool. His female attendants are adorned with golden flowers and all kinds of jewels, some of them holding *chowries* of white feathers or fans of peacock-

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There are some particulars of P'o-li which do not agree with Bali ; e.g., it is placed to the south-east of Canton. But even in this respect Bali is more acceptable than Sumatra. The only point really inexplicable is the measurement of P'o-li : "From east to west the country is fifty days broad and from north to south it has twenty days." This is, of course, not applicable to the small island of Bali ; but, as Pelliot has remarked, it is precisely in such general statements that the Chinese annalists often commit mistakes. If the measurement be held to be true, P'oli can only be identified with Borneo, as was suggested by Bretschneider. But Borneo is to the north or north-east of Java, while P'o-li is placed to the east of Ho-ling. Again, the New History of the T'ang Dynasty says that P'o-li is also called Ma-li. Now Chau Ju-kua gives Ma-li and Pa-li as names of the island of Bali, and the same information is given in another text of the seventeenth century A. D. On these grounds Pelliot, while admitting the possibility of Bretschneider's hypothesis that P'o li is Borneo, is inclined to identify P'o-li with Bali.

1. The Chinese accounts that follow have been translated by Groeneveldt (Notes, pp. 80-84), Schlegel (T'oung Pao, 1901, pp. 329-337), and partly by Pelliot (B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, pp. 283-85). The translations do not entirely agree. Differences on important points only will be noted. I have mainly followed the translation of Groeneveldt.

2. According to Schlegel, Kauṇḍinya was the name of the king.

feathers. When the king goes out, his carriage, which is made of different kinds of fragrant wood, is drawn by an elephant. On the top of it is a flat canopy of feathers, and it has embroidered curtains on both sides. People blowing conches and beating drums precede and follow him."

The above account leaves no doubt that P'o-li was a rich and civilised kingdom ruled by Hindu colonists who professed Buddhism. The kingdom existed as early as the sixth century A. D. For we are told that in 518 A. D.[1], the king sent an envoy to China with a letter which contained the most servile professions of homage and submission to the Chinese Emperor. The letter should not, of course, be taken at its face value[2]. In the year 523 the king, Pin-ka[3] by name, again sent an envoy with tribute.

The History of the Sui Dynasty (581-617 A. D) gives us some additional information: "The king's family name is Ch'a-ri-ya-ka and his personal name, Hu-lan-na-po." This information is repeated in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906 A. D.), though the second syllable of the king's name is written as 'lu' instead of 'lan'. If the same king is intended, and both the historical accounts are correct in representing him as ruling during the periods of which they respectively treat, his reign must fall in the first quarter of the seventh century A. D. The same conclusion follows from the fact that the only embassy from P'o-li during the Sui period is the one dated 616 A. D. Evidently the name of the king was known from this embassy. As regards the family name Ch'a-ri-ya-ka, Groeneveldt notes that the first two characters are a common transcription of the word

1. The dates of the embassies are given as 517 and 522 by Pelliot, and 518 and 523 by Groeneveldt and Schlegel.

2. Schelegel remarks: "The letter was probably fabricated by the Chinese official who had to introduce the ambassadors of P'o-li at the court of the emperor."

3. Schlegel says "Kalavimka."

Kṣatriya, one of the four Indian castes. Thus the kings of P'oli regarded themselves as belonging to Kṣatriya or royal caste.

The History of the Sui Dynasty contains two other interesting pieces of information. "The people of this country are skilled in throwing a discus-knife of the size of a (Chinese metal) mirror, having in the centre a hole, whilst the edge is indented like a saw. When they throw it from afar at a man, they never fail to hit him". In this we have a reference to the weapon called '*Cakra*', which is frequently mentioned in early Indian literature, particularly in the epics and the Purāṇas. It was the special weapon of the great god Kṛṣṇa. We are further told that "they have a bird called Śāri which can talk"[1]. The Chinese word is an exact transcription of the Indian Śāri.

The History of the Sui Dynasty says: "In the year 616 they sent an envoy to appear at court and bring tribute, but they ceased to do this afterwards". But we have reference to an embassy from P'o-li in 630 A. D.[2], and evidently the accounts in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty, so far as they are new, are based upon the information gathered from it. We may quote a few interesting details given in this History.

"P'o-li is also called Ma-li. There are found many carbuncles, the biggest of them having the size of a hen's egg; they are round and white, and shine to a distance of several feet; when one holds such a pearl at midday over some tinder, the fire immediately springs from it.

"The common people have swarthy bodies and red frizzled hair; they have nails like hawks and beast-like teeth[3].

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1. Schlegel translates "There is also a bird called 'Śāri' which understands human speech".

2. This embassy is referred to only by Pelliot (op. cit. p. 285).

3. Schlegel concludes from this passage that the people in general were barbarous, although there were some immigrants from India. But Pelliot has shown that most likely this passage refers to Lo-tch'a and not to P'o-li; for, whereas, other works omit this in their account of P'o-li, it occurs word for word in the account of Lo-tch'a preserved in many of them.

"They perforate their ears and put rings into them. They wind a piece of cotton (Kupei) around their loins. Ku-pei is a plant, whose flowers are spun to cloth. The coarser sorts are called Pei and the finer sorts T'ieh".

There is no doubt that in Kupei we have a reference to the cotton-plant, Kārpāsa, and evidently there was abundant cultivation of cotton in the country.

After the embassy of 630 A. D. from Bali to China, we have no knowledge of any further relation between the two countries for a long time. There is, however, reference to a country called Dva-pa-tan[1], in the Old History of the T'ang Dynasty. This country is placed to the east of 'Kaling' or Java, and has, therefore, been identified with Bali by some scholars. It is no insuperable objection to this identification, that the island is also known by a different name P'o-li, for the Chinese are in the habit of calling the same island, or different parts of it, by different names. But except its geographical position, which might indicate either eastern Java or Bali, there is no other ground for the identification. The king of this country sent an embassy to China in 647 A.D., and the Chinese history gives some details of its manners and customs.

The next reference to Bali (P'o-li) is in the records of I-tsing, who enumerates it as one of 'the islands of the Southern Sea where the Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya has been almost universally adopted'[2]. We have already seen that the prevalence of Buddhism in Bali is hinted at in the earliest Chinese records dating from the sixth century A. D. It may thus be fairly inferred that Buddhism had a firm footing in the island in the early centuries of Hindu colonisation.

With I-tsing's record the Chinese sources for the early history of Bali come to an end. Although fragmentary, they furnish us interesting details of its history and civilisation during the sixth and seventh centuries A. D., of course, on the assumption, that the Chinese P'o-li denotes that island.

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 58. 2. I-tsing—Records p. 10.

Chapter X

HINDU CIVILISATION IN SUVARṆADVĪPA UP TO THE END OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

It seems almost to be a universal law, that when an inferior civilisation comes into contact with a superior one, it gradually tends to be merged into the latter, the rate and the extent of this process being determined solely by the capacity of the one to assimilate, and of the other to absorb. When the Hindus first appeared in Malayasia, and came into close association with her peoples, this process immediately set in, and produced the inevitable result. The early history of this contact, and the first stages of the evolution of the new culture springing therefrom are, no doubt, hidden from us, but there is no dearth of evidence to show what the ultimate effect was. As details are lacking, we are obliged to take a broad general view of this development. The first colonisation of the Hindus has been referred to the first or second century of the Christian era, and we propose in this chapter to pass in review the state of Hindu civilisation in Malayasia up to the end of the seventh century A.D., so as to cover roughly about five or six hundred years. This period may be regarded as the dawn of Hindu civilisation, for, with the foundation of the empire of the Śailendras, it reached its noonday-height and high-water mark of glory and splendour.

The inscriptions discovered at Borneo, Java, and Malaya Peninsula furnish us with the most valuable evidence in respect of our enquiry. A close study of these records leads inevitably to the conclusion that the language, literature, religion, and political and social institutions of India made a thorough

conquest of these far-off lands, and, to a great extent, eliminated or absorbed the native elements in these respects.

The Kutei inscriptions[1] of Mūlavarman hold out before us a court and a society thoroughly saturated with Brāhmanical culture. They refer to the due performance of Brāhmanical sacrificial ceremonies with the attendant practices of erecting sacrificial pillars and making gifts of land, gold, and cows to the Brāhmaṇas. The predominant position of the Brāhmaṇas is clearly indicated. The ideas of holy places had developed, and reference is made to the sacred land of Vaprakeśvara. A reference to Aṁśumān and Sagara also shows a familiarity with the legends and traditions of the Hindus.

All these inferences are corroborated by the inscriptions discovered in western Java.[2] These, too, present before us a strongly Brāhman-ized society and court. We have reference to Hindu gods like Viṣṇu and Indra, and Airāvata, the elephant of Indra. The sacred nature and worship of footprints, such a characteristic religious practice of India, though by no means a monopoly of that country, seems to be a special feature of the religion. The Indian months and attendant astronomical details, and Indian system of measurement of distance are quite familiar to the soil. Besides, in the river-names Candrabhāgā and Gomatī we have the beginnings of that familiar practice of transplanting Indian geographical names to the new colonies.

The images of various gods and goddesses discovered in Borneo and Malay Peninsula corroborate the evidence of the inscriptions. As already noted above, the images of Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nandi, Skanda, and Mahākāla have been found in Borneo[3], and those of Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Nandi, and Yoni in the Malay Peninsula[4]. Although the age of these images is not known with certainty, they may be referred

1. Kern, V. G., Vol. VII, pp. 55 ff.
2. For references to these inscriptions, cf. Ch. VI.
3. See Chap. VIII.
4. See Chap. V.

approximately to the period under review, and indicate a thorough preponderance of the Purānik form of Hindu religion.

The remains at Tuk Mas[1] in Java, referred to before, lead to the same conclusion. Here we get the usual attributes of Viṣṇu and Śiva, the Śaṅkha (conch-shell), Cakra (wheel), Gadā (mace), and Padma (Lotus) of the former, and the Triśūla (trident) of the latter. Besides, the inscription refers to the sanctity of the Ganges.

The images and inscriptions discovered in Sumatra, Borneo, and different parts of the Malay Peninsula[2] prove that in addition to Brāhmanical religion Buddhism had also made its influence felt in these regions. Although the extant Buddhist remains in Bali may not be as early as the seventh century A. D., there is little doubt that Buddhism was introduced there by this time[3].

Taken collectively, the inscriptions prove that the Sanskrit language and literature were highly cultivated. Most of the records are written in good and almost flawless Sanskrit. Indian scripts were adopted everywhere. Such names as Pūrṇavarman and Mūlavarman, if borne by the aborigines, would show that Sanskrit language made its influence felt even in personal nomenclature. The images show the thorough-going influence of Indian art.

The archæological evidence is corroborated and supplemented by the writings of the Chinese. First of all, we have the express statement of Fa-hien[4] that Brāhmanism was flourishing in Yava-dvīpa, and that there was very little trace of Buddhism. The graphic account which Fa-hien gives of his journey from Ceylon to China *via* Java is interesting in more ways than one. It depicts to us the perilous nature of the sea voyage which was the only means of communication between

1. Kern, V. G., Vol. VII. pp. 201. ff.

2. Cf. the different Chapters dealing with the history and art of these regions.

3. See Chap. IX.

4. Legge, Fa-hien, pp. 111. ff.

India and her colonies in Indonesia. It further tells us that the 200 merchants who boarded the vessel along with Fa-hien were all followers of Brāhmanical religion. This statement may be taken to imply that trade and commerce were still the chief stimulus to Indian colonisation. As the merchants belonged mostly to Brāhmanical religion, we get an explanation of its preponderance over Buddhism in the Archipelago.

The story of Guṇavarman shows how Buddhism was introduced and then gradually took root in Java in the fifth century A. D. As Guṇavarman is known to have translated a text of the Dharmagupta-sect[1] he must have belonged to the Mūlasarvāstivāda school. It is perhaps for this reason that the sect established its predominance in Java and the neighbouring islands, as we know from I-tsing.

The accounts left by I-tsing leave no doubt that towards the close of the seventh century A. D. Buddhism had spread over other regions. The following two paragraphs from his "Record of Buddhist Practices" convey a fair idea of the state of things.

"In the islands of the Southern Sea—consisting of more than ten countries—the Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya has been almost universally adopted (lit. 'there is almost only one'), though occasionally some have devoted themselves to the Sammitinikāya ; and recently a few followers of the other two schools have also been found. Counting from the West there is first of all P'o-lu-shi (Pulushih) island, and then the Mo-lo-yu (Malayu) country which is now the country of Śrībhoja (in Sumatra), Mo-ho-sin (Mahāsin) island, Ho-ling (Kaliṅga) island (in Java), Tan-tan island (Natuna island), Pem-pen island, P'o-li (Bali) island, Ku-lun island (Pulo Condore), Fo-shih-pu-lo (Bhojapura) island, O-shan island, and Mo-chia-man island.

"There are some more small islands which cannot be all mentioned here. Buddhism is embraced in all these countries, and mostly the system of the Hīnayāna (the Smaller Vehicle)

1. J. A., 11—VIII (1916), p. 46.

is adopted except in Malayu (Śrībhoja), where there are a few who belong to the Mahāyāna (the Larger Vehicle")[1].

We have already discussed the identification of some of these islands and may refer to Takakusu's learned discussion for the location of the rest. But whatever we may think of these identifications, there is absolutely no doubt whatsoever that these islands are all to be located in Malayasia, and the statement of I-tsing may be taken as generally true for this region. It may thus be regarded as certain that the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism was fairly prevalent all over Malayasia, though Mahāyānism was not altogether unknown.

In addition to the general statement quoted above, I-tsing has left some details of his own journey which throw interesting light on the culture and civilisation in Malayasia. On his way to India, the pilgrim halted in Śrī-Vijaya for six months, and learnt the Śabdavidyā (Sanskrit Grammar). During his return journey also he stopped at Śrī-Vijaya, and, after a short stay in China, he again returned to the same place. Here he was engaged in copying and translating the voluminous Buddhist texts which he had brought with him from India. Why he chose this place for his work is best explained in his own words :

"Many kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean admire and believe (Buddhism), and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. In the fortified city of Bhoja (i.e., Śrī-Vijaya) Buddhist priests number more than 1,000, whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle Kingdom (Madhya-deśa, India) ; the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original), he had better stay here one or two years and practise the proper rules and then proceed to Central India"[2].

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1. I-tsing—Record, pp. 10-11. 2. Ibid, p. XXXIV,

The position of Śrī-Vijaya as an important centre of Buddhism is also indicated by the biographies of the Chinese pilgrims to India which I-tsing has compiled[1]. Quite a large number of Chinese pilgrims such as Yun-ki, Ta-tsin, Tcheng-kou, Tao-hong, Fa-lang, and others made a prolonged stay in Śrī-Vijaya, learned the local dialect (Kouen-luen, probably a form of Malay) as well as Sanskrit, and engaged themselves in collecting, studying, and translating Buddhist texts. We are also told that the Chinese pilgrim Hui-ning, on his way to India, stopped for three years in Java (Ho-ling), and, in collaboration with a local monk called Jñānabhadra, translated several scriptural texts.

It is thus evident that in the seventh century Buddhism and Buddhist literature had their votaries in Malayasia, and there were in this region important centres of Indian learning and culture which attracted foreigners.

The importance of Śrī-Vijaya in this respect deserves, however, more than a passing notice. Apart from its position as a great centre of Buddhism, it merits distinction as the earliest seat of that Mahāyāna sect which was destined ultimately to play such a leading part in the whole of Malayasia. According to the express statement of I-tsing, quoted above, Hīnayānism was the dominant religion in Malayasia in his time, except in Śrī-Vijaya, which contained a few votaries of Mahāyāna. The same writer also refers to the existence of Yogaśāstra (of Asaṅga) in Śrī-Vijaya. All this is fully corroborated by the inscriptions of the kings of Śrī-Vijaya referred to in Chap. VII. The inscription of Jayanāśa, dated 684 A. D., contains definite references to Mahāyānist doctrine. It mentions *praṇidhāna* and the well-known successive stages of development such as (1) the awakening of the thought of Bodhi; (2) the practice of six *pāramitās*; (3) the acquisition of supernatural power; and (4) mastery over birth, action (karma), and sorrows (kleśa), leading to (5) the final knowledge (anuttarābhisamyak-

1. I-tsing—Memoire, pp. 60, 63, 159, 182, 187.

sambodhi). The inscription of Jayanāśa is the earliest record in Malayasia referring to the Mahāyāna sect. Taking it along with the evidence of I-tsing, we may presume that Mahāyānism was a recent importation into Śrī-Vijaya and had not spread much beyond this centre[1].

The occurrence of the word 'Vajraśarīra' in the inscription of Jayanāśa leaves no doubt that the Mahāyāna in Śrī-Vijaya was of the Tāntric form known as Vajrayāna, Mantrayāna, or Tantrayāna. Its further development in Java and Sumatra will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter. According to the general view of scholars, this cult was developed, mainly in Bengal, towards the middle of the seventh century A.D. It is, therefore, interesting to observe, first, the rapidity with which new ideas travelled from India to the Far East, and secondly, the influence exerted by the Buddhists of Bengal over the development of Buddhism in Sumatra,—an influence, of which more definite and concrete evidence is available for the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

Several eminent Indian Buddhists visited Malayasia and helped to spread there the new developments in Buddhism. For the seventh century A. D. we have a distinguished example in Dharmapāla, an inhabitant of Kāñcī, and a Professor at Nālandā, who visited Suvarṇadvīpa[2]. Early in the eighth century A. D. Vajrabodhi, a South Indian monk, went from Ceylon to China, stopping for five months at Śrī-Vijaya. He and his disciple Amoghavajra, who accompanied him, were teachers of Tāntrik cult, and are credited with its introduction to China[3].

The Chinese accounts and stories like those of Guṇavarman[4], Dharmapāla, and Vajrabodhi clearly indicate that there was a regular intercourse between India and Malayasia. A

1. Cf. Chap. VII.
2. Kern—Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 130.
3. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 336. J. A., Vol. 204 (1924), p. 242.
4. See Chap. VI.

story told in connection with Lang-ga-su[1] shows that there was even social intercourse between the two. A brother of the king, being expelled from the kingdom, betook himself to India and married the eldest daughter of the ruler of that country. Indeed, everything indicates a regular, active, and familiar intercourse between India and her colonies. It is said with reference to Tun-Sun[2], a kingdom in Malayasia which cannot be exactly located, that "different countries beyond the Ganges all come to trade here. To its market people come from east and west, and it is visited daily by more than 10,000 men. All kinds of valuable goods are found here."

The Chinese accounts thus corroborate the conclusions we derived, in chapter IV, from a study of the Indian literature. An active commerce kept up a close and intimate relation between India and Malayasia, and supplied a regular channel through which religion and social ideas, as well as political institutions of India, found their way to those countries. Gradually an increasing number of Indians settled down in these colonies, and formed a nucleus, round which the Hindu institutions grew up and took a deep root in the soil.

For, in addition to religion, which might have been due to outside missionary propaganda, the influence of Hindu civilisation is also clearly marked in the political and social ideas and the system of administration. We may refer in this connection to a state called Tan-Tan, the exact location of which it is difficult to determine. This kingdom sent ambassadors to China in 530, 535, and 666 A.D. We get the following account in the Chinese annals :[3] "The family name of its king was Kchsatriya [Kṣatriya] and his personal name Śilingkia (Śriṅgā). He daily attends to business and has eight great ministers, called the "Eight Seats", all chosen from among the Brāhmaṇas. The king rubs his body with perfumes, wears a very high hat and a

1. See Chap. V. 2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 119.

3. T'oung Pao, Ser. I, Vol. X, pp. 460-61 ; B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, pp. 284-5.

necklace of different kinds of jewels. He is clothed in Muslin and shod with leather slippers. For short distances he rides in a carriage, but for long distances he mounts an elephant. In war they always blow conches and beat drums."

We also possess an equally interesting account of the court-life of Lang-ya-su[1].

"Men and women have the upper part of the body naked, their hair hangs loosely down, and around their lower limbs they only use a sarong of cotton. The king and the nobles moreover have a thin, flowered cloth for covering the upper part of their body; they wear a girdle of gold and golden rings in their ears. Young girls cover themselves with a cloth of cotton and wear an embroidered girdle.

"The city-walls are made of bricks. They have double gates and watch-towers. When the king goes out, he rides on an elephant. He is surrounded with flags of feathers, banners, and drums, and is covered by a white canopy."

The gorgeous description of the court-life of P'o-li, which we have quoted in the last chapter, corroborates and supplements the picture. It is evident that the manners and customs of Indian court were reproduced to a large extent in these Indian colonies. In one respect alone, there is some divergence. It is said that women of Lang-ya-su have the upper part of the body naked. This custom, which still prevails in Bali, is abhorrent to present Indian notion. It is to be remembered, however, that in our ancient sculptures, the upper part of female body is represented as naked, and there are still some tribes in India who observe the custom. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether the custom was borrowed from India, or was only a remnant of the indigenous practices. Speaking of dress, it is interesting to note that cotton was the material commonly used. The use of its Indian name Kārpāsa and the express mention of Indian cotton in connection with the kingdom of Ho-lo-tan, leave no doubt about the origin of the practice.

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 10.

The use of Cakra (discus) as an offensive weapon is mentioned in connection with P'o-li, as we have seen above. This weapon is peculiarly Indian, and the Mahābhārata refers to it, specially in connection with Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu. That the Indian system of warfare was prevalent in the colonies is evident from the Chinese account in respect of Ka-la.[1] The description given there might apply *in toto* to any Indian army.

The following customs of Ka-la, referred to by the Chinese, are also Indian in origin[2]. "When they marry they give no other presents than areca-nuts, sometimes as many as two hundred trays. The wife enters the family of her husband. Their musical instruments are a kind of guitar, a transversal flute, copper cymbals, and iron drums. Their dead are burned, the ashes put into a golden jar and sunk into the sea."

1. See Chap. V., p. 77.
2. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 122.

Book II

THE ŚAILENDRA EMPIRE

BOOK II

Chapter I.

THE ŚAILENDRA EMPIRE

In the eighth century A.D. most of the small states in Malayasia (comprising Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula) formed part of a mighty empire. The rulers of this vast empire, at least for the first four centuries, belonged to the Śailendra dynasty, and we may, therefore, call it the Śailendra empire. The current notions about the character and origin of this empire differ very widely, and form at present a subject of keen controversy among scholars. As it touches the very root of the matter, and we shall have to reconstruct the history of Sumatra, Java, and Malay Peninsula in altogether different ways according as we accept the one view or the other, I have discussed in detail these preliminary points in an appendix to this section[1]. The history of the Śailendra empire, as given below, is based on the views formulated therein.

Our knowledge of the early history of the Śailendras is based solely on four inscriptions. It will be convenient, therefore, to begin with a brief summary of these records.

1. The Ligor Inscription, dated 775 A. D.[2]

A stelae, found at ligor, in the Malay Peninsula, to the south of the Bay of Bandon, contains two inscriptions on its two faces.

The inscription A begins with eulogy of Śrī-Vijayendra-rāja, and then refers to the building of three brick temples for

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1. A French translation of this was published in the B. E. F. E. O., Vol., XXXIII, pp. 121-141.

2. B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XVIII, No. 6, App. I, pp. 29ff. The inscription has been recently re-edited by Mr. B. C. Chhabra (J. A. S. B. L. Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 20ff.) I do not agree with him that the two portions belong to the same record.

Buddhist gods by Śrī-Vijayeśvarabhūpati. Jayanta, the royal priest *(rājasthavira)*, being ordered by the king, built three *stūpas*. After Jayanta's death, his disciple and successor Adhimukti built two brick *caityas* by the side of the three *caityas* (built by the king). In conclusion, it is said, that Śrī-Vijayanṛpati, who resembled Devendra, built the *stūpas* here in Śaka 697.

The inscription B, engraved on the back of the stelae, consists of only one verse and a few letters of the second. It contains the eulogy of an emperor (*rājādhirāja*) having the name Viṣṇu (*viṣṇvākhyo*). The last line is not quite clear.[1] It seems to refer to a lord of the Śailendra dynasty named Śrī-Mahārāja, and though probable, it is not absolutely certain, if this person is the same as *rājādhirāja* having the name Viṣṇu[2].

2. The Kalasan Inscription dated 778 A.D.[3].

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1. M. Coedès reads the second word in the last line as *'Śailendra-Vaṁśaprabhunigadataḥ* which gives no sense. I proposed to read the last word in the compound as *nigaditaḥ*. But M. Coedès has kindly informed me in a letter that there is no trace of *i* on *d*. P. Mus (B.E.F.E.O., XXIX, 448) has suggested *prabha(ba)nigadataḥ*.

2. Mr. B. C. Chhabra has made the same suggestion and naturally claims the credit of the discovery. But I wrote this (vide J. G. I. S., Vol. I, No. 1, p. 12) before I saw his article. I do not agree with his identification of this Viṣṇu with Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak seal. There are not sufficient grounds to justify it.

3. This inscription was originally published by Brandes in 1886, T.B.G., Vol. 31, pp. 240-60. It was re-edited by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in J.Bo.Br.R.A.S., Vol. XVII, part II, pp. 1-10. The last revised edition is by Bosch, T.B.G., Vol. 68 (1928), pp. 57ff According to Vogel, there are two Śailendra kings referred to in this inscription : the Sumatran Śailendrarāja, whose *gurus* played an important part in the foundation of the Tārā temple, and *kariyāna* Paṇaṁkaraṇa, the scion of the Śailendra dynasty ruling in Java (B.K.I., Vol. 75, p. 634). This is, however, denied by Stutterheim who takes the two to be one and the same king of the Śailendra dynasty, with whose sanction the temple was built by his *gurus* (B.K.I., 1930, Vol. 86, pp. 567-571). Vogel has pointed out that *kariyāna* is equivalent to the old Javanese *rakarayān* or *rakryan* used as the title of a dignified officer, next only to the king.

The inscription was discovered at the village of Kalasan in Jogyakerta district of Java. Its contents may be summed up as follows :—

"Adoration to Goddess Ārya-Tārā.

"The preceptors (*Guru*) of the Śailendra king had a temple of Tārā built with the help (or sanction) of Mahārāja Pañcapaṇa Paṇaṁkaraṇa. At the command of the *Gurus* some officers of the king built a temple, an image of Goddess Tārā, and a residence for monks proficient in Vinaya-Mahāyāna.

"In the prosperous kingdom of the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty (*Śailendra-vaṁśa-tilaka*), the temple of Tārā was built by the preceptors of the Śailendra king. In the Śaka year 700, Mahārāja Paṇaṁkaraṇa built a temple of Tārā for the worship of Guru (*gurupūjārtham*), and made a gift of the village of Kalasa to the Saṁgha. This gift should be protected by the kings of the Śailendra dynasty. Śrīmān Kariyāna Paṇaṁkaraṇa makes this request to the future kings".

3. The Kelurak Inscription dated 782 A. D.[1]

The inscription was originally situated at Kelurak, to the north of Loro Jongrang temple at Prambanan in Jogyakerta district. It is illegible in many parts, and the following summary gives us the important points from the historical point of view :—

"Adoration to the three jewels (*ratnatraya*). Praises of Buddhist deities.

"This earth is being protected by the king named Indra, who is an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty (*Śailendra-vaṁśa-tilaka*),

1. Edited by Bosch in T.B.G., Vol. 68 (1928), pp. 1ff. The Kalasan and Kelurak Inscriptions are both written in Indian alphabets of the Nāgarī type. Several other inscriptions, written in the same alphabet, have been found in the same locality, *e.g.*, at Batu-raka, Plaosan, and Sajivan, but they are hardly legible and offer no connected meaning.

who has conquered kings in all directions, and who has crushed the most powerful hero of the enemy (*Vairi-vara-vīra-vimardana*).

"By him, whose body has been purified by the dust of the feet of the preceptor coming from Gauḍa (*Gauḍī-dvīpa-guru*)...

"This image of Mañjuśrī has been set up for the welfare of the world by the royal preceptor (*rāja-guru*).

"In the Śaka year 704, Kumāraghosha [*i.e.*, the preceptor from Gauḍa mentioned above] set up this Mañjughosha.

"This pillar of glory, an excellent landmark of religion (*dharmasetu*), having the shape of an image of Mañjuśrī, is for the protection of all creatures.

"In this enemy of Māra (*smarārāti-nisūdana*) exist Buddha, Dharma, and Saṁgha.

"This wielder of Thunder, sung as Svāmī Mañjuvāk, contains all the gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara.

"I request the future kings to maintain this landmark of religion (*dharmasetu*).

"The preceptor, who has obtained the reverent hospitality (*satkāra*) of king Śrī-Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya....."

4. The Nālandā copper-plate Inscription dated in the 39th year of king Devapāla[1].

This inscription records the grant of five villages by Devapāla at the request of the illustrious Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa. It concludes with a short account of Bālaputradeva which may be summed up as follows :

"There was a great king of *Yavabhūmi* (*Yavabhūmi-pāla*), whose name signified 'tormentor of brave foes' (*Vīra-vairi-mathan-ānugat-ābhidhāna*) and who was an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty (*Śailendra-vaṁśa-tilaka*). He had a valiant

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 310. The inscription was also published separately by Mr. N. G. Majumdar as a Memoir of the Varendra Research Society.

son (called) Samarāgravīra (or who was the foremost warrior in battle). His wife Tārā, daughter of king Śrī-Varmasetu[1] of the lunar race, resembled the goddess Tārā. By this wife he had a son Śrī-Bālaputra, who built a monastery at Nālandā".

The Ligor Inscription B definitely proves the establishment of the Śailendra power in the Malay Peninsula. The inscription on the other face seems to show that the Śailendras must have wrested at least the Ligor region from the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya sometime after 775 A. D.[2] The Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions prove that about the same time the Śailendras established their authority in Java.

Thus during the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. the Hindu kingdoms of Sumatra, Java, and Malay Peninsula had all to succumb to, or, at least, feel the weight of, this new power. The Śailendras ushered in a new epoch in more senses than one. For the first time in its history, Malayasia, or the greater part of it, achieved a political unity as integral parts of an empire, and we shall see later, how this empire rose to a height of glory and splendour unknown before. But the Śailendras did more than this. They introduced a new type of culture. The new vigour of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, and the highly developed art which produced such splendid monuments as Caṇḍi Kalasan and Barabuḍur in Java, may be mainly attributed to their patronage. The introduction of a new kind of alphabet, which has been called the Pre-Nāgarī script, and the adoption of a new name Kaliṅga for Malayasia, at least by the foreigners, may also be traced to the same source.

1. Pandit H. Śāstrī reads this name as *Dharmasetu*, but Mr. N. G. Majumdar's reading *Varmasetu* seems to me beyond doubt.

2. This is the view generally taken, but Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales denies the suzerainty of Śrī-Vijaya in Malay Peninsula. He takes Śrī-Vijaya as the name of a kingdom in Malay Peninsula (I.A.L., Vol. IX, No. 1, p. 4) and refers to the name of 'an ancient site called Caiya (*i.e.* Jaya, a shortened form of Vijaya ; and not far to the south is situated Śrī-Vijaya Hill).'

Yet, strangely enough, we have as yet no definite knowledge of the chief seat of authority of the Śailendras in Malayasia. It is generally held that they were originally rulers of Śrī-Vijaya (Palembang in Sumatra), and extended their authority gradually over Java and Malay Peninsula. I have discussed this question in the Appendix and tried to show how this hypothesis rests on a very weak basis. I hold the view that there are far better grounds for the belief that the original seat of authority of the Śailendras was either in Java or in Malay Peninsula. For the present the question must be left open.

But supposing that either Śrī-Vijaya or Malay Peninsula was the nucleus of the Śailendra empire, the question arises whether Java was an integral part of the empire ruled over by the same king, or whether it formed a separate, though subordinate, kingdom under a member of the same royal dynasty. The first view would in ordinary circumstances appear more reasonable. But two considerations have been urged in support of the latter view. In the first place, as we shall see later, the Śailendra period in the history of Java was the most glorious in respect of the development of art and architecture, which reached its climax in the famous monument of Barabuḍur. Now, neither Sumatra nor Malay Peninsula has left any monument worth comparison, and although the destructive agencies of man and nature may account for much, it is impossible to believe that mighty monuments like Barabuḍur could have entirely vanished without leaving any trace or memory behind. It is difficult to believe, although such a thing may not be altogether impossible, that an outlying dependency of such a kingdom should produce so magnificent structures. In the second place, in the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla, Bālaputradeva is mentioned as the king of Suvarṇadvīpa, but his grandfather is expressly referred to as a king of *Yavabhūmi*, an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty. If *Yavabhūmi* means Java, as is commonly accepted, the reference should be taken to mean

that Java formed a separate state under a member of the same dynasty. Mainly on these two grounds, Krom has laid down the hypothesis, that while Java, no doubt, came under the sphere of influence of Śrī-Vijaya, sooner or later it came to form a separate state under a member of the same dynasty which ruled over Śrī-Vijaya[1].

I am unable to concur in this view. As regards the first argument, it is not so forcible against Malay Peninsula. In addition to the archæological monuments referred to above (pp. 80ff.), Mr. R. J. Wilkinson has noted that here and there in the forests of the Siamese Western States are fallen cities and temples, the relics of a civilisation that built in imperishable stone. He has also referred to other facts which "point to the past existence of powerful states and a high standard of wealth and luxury in the north of the Malay Peninsula[2]". Besides, it may be easily supposed that the seat of central authority was transferred to Java for a period. As to the second argument, I have shown in the Appendix that the expression *Yava-bhūmi-pāla* in the Nālandā copper-plate may lead to a very different inference from that of Krom.

But whatever might have been the original seat of the Śailendras, there is no doubt that from the eighth century A. D. they were the dominant political power in Malayasia. The Śailendra empire is referred to by various Arab writers, who designate it as Zābag, Zābaj, or the empire of Mahārāja, and describe its wealth and grandeur in glowing terms. It is quite clear from these accounts that the authority of the king of Zābag extended over nearly the whole of Malayasia, and possibly also over the two mighty kingdoms in Indo-China, *viz.*, Kāmboja (Cambodia) and Champā (Annam).

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1. Krom-Geschiedenis[2], pp. 142-45. M. Cœdès, in a private letter, objects to the Malay Peninsula on the following, among other grounds: "The Peninsula is as poor in antiquities as Palembang itself."

2. R. G. Wilkinson, 'A History of the Peninsular Malays' (3rd. ed.), Singapore, 1923, p. 15.

As regards Kāmboja, we have a tradition preserved by the merchant Sulaymān, whose account of a voyage in India and China was originally written in 851 and published by Abū Zayd Ḥasan, with additional remarks, about 916 A.D. Sulaymān gives us the following story[1] :

"It is said, in the annals of the country of Zābag, that in years gone by the country of Khmer came into the hands of a young prince of a very hasty temper. One day he was seated with the Vizier when the conversation turned upon the empire of the Mahārāja, of its splendour, the number of its subjects, and of the islands subordinate to it. All at once the king said to the Vizier : "I have taken a fancy into my head which I should much like to gratify.....I should like to see before me the head of the king of Zābag in a dish....." These words passed from mouth to mouth and so spread that they at length reached the ears of the Mahārāja. That king ordered his Vizier to have a thousand vessels of medium size prepared with their engines of war, and to put on board of each vessel as many arms and soldiers as it could carry. When the preparations were ended, and everything was ready, the king went on board his fleet and proceeded with his troops to Khmer.....The king of Khmer knew nothing of the impending danger until the fleet had entered the river which led to his capital, and the troops of the Mahārāja had landed. The Mahārāja thus took the king of Khmer unawares and seized upon his palace. He had the king brought forth and had his head cut off.....The Mahārāja returned immediately to his country and neither he nor any of his men touched anything belonging to the king of Khmer.....Afterwards the Mahārāja had the head washed and embalmed, then putting it in a vase, he sent it to the prince who then occupied the throne of Khmer."

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1. Elliot—History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. 1, p.8. Ferrand in J.A., II—XX (1922), pp. 58ff., 219ff. The story is also repeated by Mas'ūdī (Ferrand-Textes I, p. 93).

The story undoubtedly belongs to the domain of folklore, but seems to have been based on a real struggle between Zābag and the Khmer kingdom[1] of Cambodia. This is confirmed by an inscription discovered in Cambodia itself. The Sdok Kak Thom Inscription, written in Sanskrit and Khmer, and dated in 974 Śaka (=1052 A.D.), tells us that king Jayavarman II, who came from Java to reign in the city of Indrapura, performed a religious ceremony in order that Kambujadeśa might not again be dependent on Java[1]. As Jayavarman II ruled from 802 to 869 A. D., it follows that the Khmer kingdom of Cambodia had come under the influence of Java towards the close of the eighth century A. D. Taking Java of the inscription to be identical with Zābag of the Arabian account, it is reasonable to refer the 'old' story of Sulaymān to the same period. This fits in well with other known facts. We have seen that the Śailendras had established their authority over Malay Peninsula and Java by 775 and 778 A. D. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to hold that they had at least a temporary success against the Khmers towards the close of the eighth century A. D.

About the same period the fleet of Java raided the coast of Annam as far as Tonkin in the north. The Chinese annals refer to an invasion of the 'March of Tran-nam in 767 A.D. by the people of Co-lon (Kuen-Luen) and of Daba', which Maspero identifies with Chö-p'o or Java.[2] In the inscriptions of the kingdom of Champā (corresponding to Annam, south of Tonkin), several references are made to naval raids by a foreign people, and in one case the raiders are named 'forces coming by way of sea from Java.' The first reference occurs in Po-Nagar stelae

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1. B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XV, Part II, p. 87.

2. Maspero—Le royaume de Champā, pp. 97-98 and p. 98 f. n. 4. Da-ba may be equivalent to Arabic Djawāg.

inscription of King Satyavarman dated 706 Śaka (=784 A.D.). It runs as follows[1] :—

"In the Śaka year, denoted by *Kośa-nava-ṛtu* (696=774 A.D.), ferocious, pitiless, dark-coloured people of other cities, whose food was more horrible than that of the vampires, and who were vicious and furious like Yama, came in ships, took away the Mukhaliṅga of the God (Śambhu, established at Kauṭhāra by Vicitrasagara), and set fire to the abode of the God, as the armed crowds of Daityas did in heaven."

The same event is referred to in another inscription as follows[2] : "Multitudes of vicious cannibals coming from other countries by means of ships carried away the images."

The next reference occurs in Yang Tikuh stelae inscription of Indravarman 1, dated 721 Śaka (=799 A.D.). Speaking of the temple of Bhadrādhipatīśvara, it says[3] that it was burnt by the army of Java coming by means of ships, and became empty in the Śaka year 709 (=787 A.D.).

Here, again, we find the fleet of Java raiding the distant coast of Champā during the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. Although definite evidence is wanting, there are reasons to believe that the successive naval raids overthrew the royal dynasty of Champā. But even if it were so, the success was a shortlived one. For a new dynasty soon established itself in Champā[4]. On the whole, therefore, while there is nothing to show that the fleet of Java gained any permanent material success in Champā, the circumstances narrated above indicate their power, prestige, and daring nature.

Now the question arises about the identity of Java mentioned in the Cham record. It has usually been taken to stand for Yavadvīpa, or the island of Java, but it may also be taken as equivalent to Arabic Zābag, and thus identical with the Śailendra empire. In the present instance, however, it makes but little

1. R. C. Majumdar—Champā, Book III, p. 43.

2. Ibid., p. 70. 3. Ibid., p. 50. 4. Ibid., Book I, Ch. V,

difference whether we identify it with the one or the other ; for, as we have seen, Java was at that time either included within the empire of the Śailendras, or ruled by a member of the same dynasty, and as such there must have been a close association between the two, so far at least as the foreign policy was concerned. On the whole, therefore, we are justified in regarding the naval raids as ultimately emanating from the empire of the Śailendras.[1]

The emergence of the Śailendras as the leading naval power in Indonesia constituted an international event of outstanding importance. The Arabian merchant Sulaymān concludes his story, quoted above, by saying that "this incident raised the king (of Zābag) in the estimation of the rulers of India and China."

The evidences, collected above, leave no doubt that the empire of the Śailendras reached the high-water mark of its greatness and glory in the eighth century A. D. The following century saw the beginning of the inevitable decline. By the middle of the ninth century A.D., their supremacy was successfully challenged by the two great neighbouring states of Cambodia and Java. We have already seen the determined attempt of Jayavarman II of Cambodia (802-869 A. D.) to throw off the yoke of the Śailendras, and there is no doubt that he was entirely successful in that respect. There is no evidence that the Śailendras had any pretension of supremacy over that kingdom after Jayavarman's time.

About the same time, the Śailendras lost their hold on Java. Unfortunately we know almost nothing of the circum-

1. It is, of course, possible to regard the naval raiders as mere pirates belonging to no country in particular. But the pointed references to the raiders as "*nāvāgatair=Java-vala-saṁghais*" seems to exclude this possibility. The expression implies 'an organised force sent from Java by way of sea,' and should more reasonably be taken as belonging to the ruling authority in Java.

stances under which the Śailendras lost Java. It is also difficult to assign even any approximate date for this event. If king Samarottuṅga, who issued the Kedu inscription in A. D. 847, may be identified with king Samarāgravīra of the Nālandā copper-plate, we may presume that the authority of the Śailendra kings had continued in Java till at least the middle of the ninth century A. D. But this identification cannot be held as certain, the more so because a later king of East Java also bore the title Samarottuṅga. In any case the Śailendras must have lost their authority in Java by 879 A.D., as we find that Central Java was then being ruled over by a king of Java belonging to a different dynasty. The middle of the ninth century A. D. may thus be regarded as the approximate limit of the Śailendra supremacy in Java[1].

But, in spite of the loss of Cambodia and Java, the Śailendra empire retained its position as a great power, and, to the outside world, it was still the greatest political power in the Pacific region.

In addition to the Nālandā copper-plate, which describes the Śailendras as rulers of Suvarṇadvīpa or Malayasia, our knowledge of them about this period is derived from the accounts left by Arab writers, who, as already remarked, refer to their country as Zābag or Zābaj. Ibn Khordādzbeh (844-848 A. D.) says that the king of Zābag is named Mahārāja. His daily revenue amounts to two hundred *maṇs* of gold. He prepares a solid brick of this gold and throws it into water, saying 'there is my treasure.' A part of this revenue, about 50 *maṇs* of gold *per day*, is derived from cock-fight. A leg of the cock which wins belongs by right to him, and the owner of the cock redeems it by paying its value in gold[2].

The Arab merchant Sulaymān (851 A. D.) gives a more detailed account of the empire of Zābag. He says : "Kalah-bar

1. The history of the Śailendras in Java will be further discussed in Bk. III, Ch. I.

2. J.A., Ser. 11. Vol. XX (1922), pp. 52-53.

(*i.e.*, the country round the Isthmus of Kra in the Malay Peninsula) is a part of the empire of Zābag which is situated to the south of India. Kalah-bar and Zābag are governed by the same king[1]."

The same account is repeated by Ibn al-Fakīh (902 A.D.) who adds that there is no country in the south after Zābag, and that its king is very rich[2].

Ibn Rosteh, writing about 903 A. D., remarks : "The great king (of Zābag) is called Mahārāja *i.e.*, king of kings. He is not regarded as the greatest among the kings of India, because he dwells in the islands. No other king is richer or more powerful than he, and none has more revenue[3]."

These Arab writers, as well as several others, such as Isḥak bin Imrān (died about 907 A. D.)[4] and Ibn Serapion[5] (c. 950 A.D.), also refer to merchandises exported from Zābag and tell us marvellous tales of the country.

But the most detailed account of Zābag is furnished by Abū Zayd Ḥasan who published, about A. D. 916, the account originally written by Sulaymān in 851 A. D., with additional remarks of his own. He applies the name Zābag both to the kingdom and its capital city. His remarks may be summed up as follows :—

"The distance between Zābag and China is one month's journey by sea-route. It may be even less if the winds are favourable.

"The king of this town has got the title Mahārāja. The area of the kingdom is about 900 (square) Parsangs. The

1. Ibid., p. 53. The reference to tin mines in Kalah (or Kelah) localises it definitely in the tin-bearing tract of the country extending from southern Tennasserim through the greater part of Malay Peninsula. Its identification with Kedah is at least highly probable. (Blagden in J. Str. Br. R.A.S., No. 81, p. 24).

2. Ibid., pp. 54-55.
3. Ibid., p. 55.
4. Ferrand—Textes, Vol. I, pp. 53, 288.
5. Ibid., p. 112.

king is also overlord of a large number of islands extending over a length of 1000 Parsangs or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribuza (=Śrī-Vijaya) with an area of about 400 (square) Parsangs, and the island called Rāmī with an area of about 800 (square) Parsangs. The maritime country of Kalah, midway between Arabia and China, is also included among the territories of Mahārāja. The area of Kalah is about 80 (square) Parsangs. The town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade in aloe, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices, and various other articles. There was a regular maritime intercourse between this port and Oman.

"The Mahārāja exercises sovereignty over all these islands. The island in which he lives is very thickly populated from one end to the other.

"There is one very extraordinary custom in Zābag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted, and weighed, and these are entered in official records. The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals, and royal slaves according to their rank, and the remnant is distributed among the poor[1]".

Mas'ūdī has given some details about Zābag in his work, "Meadows of gold" (943 A. D.). Some of his relevant remarks are summed up below[2].

1. India is a vast country extending over sea and land and mountains. It borders on the country of Zābag, which is the kingdom of the Mahārāja, the king of the islands.

1. J. A., 11-XX. pp. 56ff. The account concludes with the story of the struggle between the king of Zābag and the king of Khmer which has already been quoted above.

2. Ferrand—Textes, vol. I. Figures within brackets refer to pages of this volume.

Zābag, which separates India from China, is comprised within the former country. (p. 92.)

2. The kingdom of Khmer is on the way to the kingdoms of the Mahārāja, the king of the islands of Zābag, Kalah and Sirandib. (Here follows the story, quoted above, of the expedition of the Mahārāja against the Khmer king and the death of the latter.) (p. 93.)

3. (The story of the throwing of a gold bar every day into the lake near the palace.) (p. 93.)

4. Formerly there was a direct voyage between China and ports like Sīrāf and Omān. Now the port of Kalah serves as the meeting place for the mercantile navies of the two countries. (p. 96.)

5. In the bay of Champā, is the empire of the Mahārāja, the king of the islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of this king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics, and no other sovereign of the world has as much wealth from the soil. (p. 99.)

6. In the empire of the Mahārāja is the island of Sribuza (Śrī-Vijaya) which is situated at about 400 Parsangs from the continent and entirely cultivated. The king possesses also the islands of Zābag, Rāmnī, and many other islands, and the whole of the sea of Champā is included in his domain. (p. 100.)

7. The country, of which Mandurapatan is the capital, is situated opposite Ceylon, as the Khmer country is in relation to the isles of the Mahārāja, such as Zābag and others. (p. 107.)

The next in point of time is the account given by Ibrāhīm bin Wāṣif Sāh (*c.* 1000 A. D.): "Zābag is a large archipelago, thickly populated, and with abundant means of livelihood. It is said that the Chinese, ruined by foreign invasions and

civil wars, came and pillaged all the islands of the Archipelago and all their towns.

"The islands of Zābag are numerous ; one of them, known as Sribuza, has an area of 400 (square) Parsangs[1]".

Alberuni (*c.* 1030 A. D.) says : "The eastern islands in this ocean, which are nearer to China than to India, are the islands of the Zābaj, called by the Hindus *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* i. e., the gold islands. . . . The islands of the Zābaj are called the Gold Country (*Suvarṇa-dvīpa*), because you obtain much gold as deposit if you wash only a little of the earth of that country.'[2]

The accounts of the Arab writers quoted above leave no doubt that a mighty empire, comprising a large part of the Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula, flourished from the middle of the ninth to at least the end of the tenth century A.D. Thus we must hold that even after the loss of Java and Cambodia, the Śailendra empire continued to flourish for more than a century, and Sribuza or Śrī-Vijaya formed an important and integral part of it.

The Chinese annals contain references to a kingdom called San-fo-tsi which undoubtedly stands for the Śailendra empire. We learn from them that several embassies of the Śailendras visited China during the tenth century A.D.

In the year 904 or 905 A.D. the governor of the capital city was sent as an ambassador with tribute. The Chinese emperor honoured him with a title which means "the General who pacifies the distant countries."[3]

In the 9th month of the year 960 A.D., king Si-li hou-ta Hia-li-tan sent an ambassador named Li-tche-ti with tributes, and this was repeated in the summer of 961. A.D. During the winter of 961 A.D. the tribute was sent by a king called

1. J.A., 11-XX (1922), pp. 63-64.
2. Sachau—Alberuni, Vol. I, p. 210, Vol. II, p. 106.
3. J.A., 11-XX (1922), p. 17, f.n.

Che-li Wou-ye. These ambassadors reported that the kingdom of San-fo-tsi was also called Sien-lieou.[1]

In the spring of 962 A.D. the king Che-li Wou-ye sent to China an embassy, composed of three ambassadors, with tribute. They brought back several articles from China.[2]

Four embassies were sent in 971, 972, 974, and 975 A.D.

In 980 and 983 A.D., the king Hia-tche sent ambassadors with tribute. Hia-tche probably stands for the old Malay word 'Haji' which means king.[3]

The trade relation with China was also revived in the tenth century. In 971 A.D. a regular shipping-house was opened at Canton, and two more were later opened at Hangchu and Ming-chu. We are told that foreign merchants from Arabia, Malay Peninsula, San-fo-tsi, Java, Borneo, Philippine, and Champā frequented these places.[4]

In the year 980 A.D., a merchant from San-fo-tsi arrived at Swatow with a cargo which was carried to Canton.[5]

Again, in the year 985 A.D., the master of a ship came and presented products of his country.[6]

The Arabic and Chinese accounts thus both testify to the political and commercial greatness of the Śailendra empire throughout the tenth century A.D. Unfortunately we possess very few details of the political history of the kingdom. The

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1. Ibid., p. 17, notes 2 and 3. It is difficult to trace the original of the proper names given in Chinese. Ferrand suggests the following:—
(a) Si-li hou-ta Hia-li-tan = (Malais) Seri kuda Haridana.
(b) Che-li Wou-ye = Śrī Wuja. Takakusu, however, takes the first name as Śrī-Kūṭa-harit or Śrī-Gupta-hārīta (Records, p. XLII). Ferrand further amends Sien-lieou as Mo-lieou and regards it as equivalent to Malāyu. Needless to say, these suggestions are purely problematical and far from convincing.

2. J.A., 11-XX (1922), p. 17. f.n. 4. According to Ma-Twan-lin this embassy was sent by the king Li-si-lin-nan-mi-je-lai (*i.e.*, Mi-je-lai, son of Li-si-lin).

3. Ibid., p. 18. 4. Rockhill in T'oung Pao, 15 (1914), p. 420.

5. J.A., 11-XX (1922), p. 18; Groeneveldt-Notes, p. 64. 6. Ibid.

only facts of outstanding importance that are known to us, in outline only, are its relations with Java and with the Cola kingdom in South India.

The History of the Sung dynasty gives us the first definite information that we possess regarding the relation between the Śailendras and Java since the latter kingdom freed itself from the control of the former. We learn from this chronicle that in 988 A.D. an ambassador from San-fo-tsi came with tribute to China. He left the imperial capital in 990 A.D., but, on reaching Canton, learnt that his country had been invaded by Chö-p'o (Java). So he rested there for about a year. In the spring of 992 A.D. the ambassador went with his navy to Champā, but as he did not receive any good news there, he came back to China and requested the emperor to issue a decree making San-fo-tsi a protectorate of China[1].

We hardly know anything about the origin and incidents of this hostility, which took a serious turn in the last decade of the tenth century A. D. But it is not difficult to imagine that the relations between the two countries had long been hostile, and perhaps there were intermittent fights ; or it may be that Dharmavaṁśa, the king of Java, felt powerful enough to follow an imperial policy like his neighbour, and this naturally brought about a collision between the two. But whatever that may be, there is no doubt about the result of the struggle. To begin with, the king of Java had splendid success and invaded the enemy's country. But his success was neither decisive nor of a permanent character. In 1003 A.D. San-fo-tsi recovered her strength sufficiently to send an embassy to China without any hindrance from Java[2]. In 1006 A.D. the kingdom of Java was destroyed by a catastrophe, the exact nature of which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter[3]. So the Śailendra empire was freed from any further fear from that quarter.

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1. Ibid, pp. 18-19. 2. Ibid., p. 19. 3. Bk. III, Chap. II.

Chapter II.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ŚAILENDRAS AND THE COLAS

In the eleventh century A.D., the one outstanding fact in the history of the Śailendras, known to us, is a long-drawn struggle with the powerful Cola rulers of South India.

The Cola state was one of the three kingdoms in South India which flourished from a hoary antiquity. It extended along the Coromandel coast, and its traditional boundaries were the Pennar river in the north, the Southern Vellaru river on the south, and up to the borders of Coorg on the west. The rise of the Pallavas within this area kept the Colas in check for a long time. But the Colas re-asserted their supremacy towards the close of the ninth century A. D. With the accession of Parāntaka I in 907 A. D., the Colas entered upon a career of aggressive imperialism. By a succession of great victories Rājarāja the Great (985-1014 A.D.) made himself the lord paramount of Southern India. His still more famous son Rājendra Cola (1014-1044 A.D.)[1] raised the Cola power to its climax, and his conquests extended as far as Bengal in the north.

The Colas were also a great naval power and this naturally brought them into contact with Indonesia.

At first there existed friendly relations between the Cola kings and the Śailendra rulers. This is proved by an inscrip-

1. Rājendra Cola was formally associated with his father, in the administration of the empire, in 1012 A.D., and his regnal years are counted from this date. The dates of Cola kings in this chapter, where they differ from those given by V. A. Smith, are accepted on the authority of Prof. K. A. N. Sastri (Sastri—Colas).

tion, which is engraved on twenty-one plates, and is now preserved in the Leiden Museum along with another of three plates. The two records are known respectively as the Larger Leiden Grant and the Smaller Leiden Grant, as their find-place is not known[1].

The Larger Leiden Grant is written partly in Sanskrit, and partly in Tamil. The Tamil portion tells us that the Cola king Rājarāja, the Great, granted, in the twenty-first year of his reign, the revenues of a village for the upkeep of the shrine of Buddha in the Cūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra which was being constructed by Cūḷāmaṇivarman, king of Kaḍāram[2], at Nāgapaṭṭana. After the completion of the necessary preliminaries the deed of gift was actually drawn up in the twenty-third year of the reign of Rājarāja.

The Sanskrit portion tells us that Rājarāja Rājakeśarivarman (*i.e.* Rājarāja, the Great) gave, in the twenty-first year of his reign, a village to the Buddha residing in the Cūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra which was built at Nāgīpattana by Śrī-Māravijayottuṅgavarman in the name of his father Cūḷāmaṇivarman. It further informs us that Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman was born in the Śailendra family, was the lord of Śrī-viṣaya, had extended the suzerainty of Kaṭāha (*Śrī-viṣay-ādhipatinā Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam-ātanvatā*), and had 'Makara as the emblem of his banner' (*Makaradhvajena*).

We also learn from the Sanskrit portion that after the death of Rājarāja, his son and successor Madhurāntaka, *i.e.*, Rājendra Cola, issued this edict for the grant made by his father.

It is obvious from these statements that king Cūḷāmaṇivarman of Kaṭāha commenced the construction of a Buddhist

1. Cf. B.K.I., Vol. 75, pp. 628 ff. The inscription was originally edited in Arch. Surv. South India, Vol. IV, pp. 206 ff. A revised edition is being published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII.

2. The name is also written as Kiḍāram. The name written as Cūḷāmaṇivarman in Tamil character is equivalent to Cūḍāmaṇivarman.

Vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭana, modern Negapatam, in or shortly before the 21st year of Rājarāja when a village was granted by the Cola king for its upkeep. King Cūḷāmaṇivarman, however, died shortly after, and the Vihāra was completed by his son and successor Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman. Presumably, king Rājarāja also died by that time, and the actual edict for the grant was issued by Rājendra Cola.

The formal grant in the Tamil portion, although not drawn up till the 23rd year of Rājarāja, does not mention Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman, but refers only to Cūḷāmaṇivarman. This fact might be taken to indicate that the latter died after this date. But this is very problematical and no great stress need be laid upon it.

This interesting record naturally recalls the Nālandā copper-plate of the time of Devapāla. In both cases an Indian king grants villages to a Buddhist sanctuary, erected in India by a Śailendra king. Both furnish us with names of Śailendra kings not known from indigenous sources.

Fortunately the present inscription can be precisely dated, for the 21st year of Rājarāja falls in 1005 A.D. We thus come to know that king Cūḍāmaṇivarman was on the throne in 1005 A.D., and was succeeded shortly after by his son Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman. To G. Cœdès belongs the credit of tracing these two names in the Chinese Annals[1]. The History of the Sung dynasty gives us the following details about them[2].

"In the year 1003 the king Se-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fu-ma-tiau-hwa (Śrī Cūḍāmaṇivarmadeva) sent two envoys to bring tribute; they told that in their country a Buddhist temple had been erected in order to pray for the long life of the emperor.

"In the year 1008 the king Se-ri-ma-la-p'i (Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman) sent three envoys to present tribute".

Comparing the Chinese and Indian data we can easily put the death of Cūḍāmaṇivarman and the accession of his son

1. B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XVIII, No. 6, p. 7.
2. Groeneveldt-Notes, p. 65. J.A., 11-XX (1922), p. 19.

Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman some time between 1005 and 1008 A.D. So the relations between the Cola and Śailendra kings were quite friendly at the commencement of the eleventh century A.D.

As noted above, the Sanskrit portion of the Leiden Grant refers to Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman as extending the suzerainty of Kaṭāha, and lord of Śrī-Viṣaya, while the Tamil portion refers to his father only as the king of Kaḍāra or Kiḍāra. In spite of Ferrand's criticism[1] there is much to be said in support of the view of G. Cœdès, that Kaṭāha, Kaḍāra or Kiḍāra are all equivalents of Keddah in the western part of the Malay Peninsula[2]. It would then follow, that while the king Māra-vijayottuṅgavarmadeva ruled over both Śrī-Vijaya and Malay Peninsula, as is also testified to by the Arab writers, the Colas regarded the Śailendras rather as rulers of Malay Peninsula, with suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya.

There were also commercial relations between the two countries. An old Tamil poem refers to ships with merchandise coming from Kāḷagam to Kāvirippūmpaddinam, the great port situated at the mouth of the Kāverī river[3]. Kāḷagam, which a later commentator equates with Kaḍāram, is almost certainly to be identified with Keddah which the Arabs designate as Kala.

The friendly relation between the Cola kings and the Śailendra rulers did not last long. In a few years hostilities broke out, and Rājendra Cola sent a naval expedition against his mighty adversary beyond the sea. The details preserved in the Cola records leave no doubt that the expedition was crowned with brilliant success, and various parts of the empire of the Śailendras were reduced by the mighty Cola emperor. The reason for the outbreak of hostility, and the different factors that contributed to the stupendous success

1. J.A., 11·XX (1922), pp. 50-51. 2. Op. cit., pp. 19 ff.
3. Quoted by Kanaksabhai in Madras Review (August, 1902). Also cf. K. Aiyangar's remarks in J. I. H., Vol. II, p. 347.

of the most arduous undertaking of the Cola emperor, are unknown to us. Fortunately, we have a fair idea of the time when the expedition took place, and we also know the name of the Śailendra king who was humbled by the Indian emperor. These and other details are furnished by the records of the Colas, and a short reference to these is necessary for a proper understanding of the subject.

1. Several inscriptions at Malurpatna, dated in the 23rd year of king Rājarāja, record that he was pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kandalur Salai.....and twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea[1].

The 23rd year of Rājarāja corresponds to A. D. 1007. It is, therefore, reasonable to presume that the Colas possessed a powerful navy, and started on a deliberate policy of making maritime conquests early in the eleventh century A. D.

2. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, dated in the 6th year of Rājendra Cola (1017-8 A. D.), contain the following verse[2] :

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1. Nos 128, 130, 131, 132 of Channapatna Taluq, Ep. Carn., Vol. IX, Transl., pp. 159-161.

2. S. I. I., Vol. III, Part III, pp. 383 ff. The inscription consists of 271 lines in Sanskrit and 524 lines in Tamil. Both the parts are expressly dated in the 6th year of Rājendra Cola. But the Sanskrit portion is usually regarded as being engraved at a later date. When the inscription was first noticed in the Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. (1903-4. pp. 234-5), the following remarks were made : "The Tamil portion of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates is dated in the 6th year of Rājendra Cola's reign (A.D. 1016-17), and the Sanskrit portion also refers to the grant having been made in the same year. But the conquest of Kaṭāha, which, as we know from other inscriptions of the king, took place in the 15th or 16th year of his reign, is mentioned in the Sanskrit portion. It has, therefore, to be concluded that, as in the Leyden Grant, the Sanskrit *Praśasti* of the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates was added subsequently to the Tamil portion which actually contains the king's order (issued in the 6th year of his reign)." This argument has, however, very little force, for, as we now know, there is no reason to place the expedition to Kaṭāha in the 15th or 16th year, and, as we shall see later, the conquest of Kaḍāram is referred to in a record of the 11th year, and an inscription of the 13th year of the king refers to these oversea conquests in detail.

"Having conquered Kaṭāha with (the help of) his valiant forces that had crossed the ocean, (and) having made all kings bow down (before him), this (king) (Rājendra Cola) protected the whole earth for a long time" (v. 123).

3. The preambles of inscriptions dated in the regnal years 11, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 29, 30, and 32 of Rājendra Cola

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Hultzsch, while editing the inscription, expresses the same view in a modified manner. Referring to the conquests recorded in the Sanskrit portion he observes : "These conquests of Rājendra Cola are mostly recorded in the historical introductions to his Tamil inscriptions dated from and after the 13th year of his reign. It may here be noted that the Tamil introduction given in lines 131 to 142 below is naturally the shorter one, since it belongs to the sixth year of the king's reign ; and since it does not include a list of all the conquests mentioned above, it has been suggested that the Sanskrit portion of the grant which includes the conquests of the later years must be a subsequent addition." (*S. I. I.* Vol. III, Part III, p. 389).

It must be observed, however, that none of the records of Rājendra Cola gives any specific date for any of his conquests, and we can only conclude that the conquests must have been made before the date of the inscription which first records them. It is, therefore, too risky to assert that any particular conquest is of a later date.

On the other hand, a comparison of the records shows that they contain stereotyped official list of conquests, repeated in exactly the same words, with additions from time to time in records of later years. This, no doubt, is a strong argument in favour of the belief that the 'additional conquests' took place after the date of the last inscription which does not mention them.

Judging from the above, the conquest of Kaṭāha in the sixth year of Rājendra Cola is doubtful, as it is not included in the list of conquests in inscriptions dated in the 9th and 13th years of his reign. As will be shown below, the conquest of Kaṭāha, with a number of other states beyond the sea, is mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 13th and subsequent years of the reign.

If, however, the Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates were composed after these conquests, it is very difficult to believe that the author, who has devoted 40 verses to the conquests of Rājendra Cola, would have merely referred to these mighty exploits in only one verse.

refer to him as ruling over Gaṅge (or Gaṅgai), the East country, and Kaḍāram.[1]

4. An inscription at the temple of Malur in the Bangalore district, dated in the 13th year of Rājendra Cola (A.D. 1024-5), gives a detailed account of his oversea conquests.[2]

5. These details are also repeated in many other inscriptions dated from the 14th to 27th and 29th to 31st years of Rājendra Coladeva.

6. These details, as given in the Tanjore inscription of Rājendra Cola, dated in his 19th year (A.D. 1030-31), are quoted below :[3]

'And (who) (Rājendra Cola) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Saṅgrāma-vijayottuṅgavarman, the king of Kaḍāram, along with the rutting elephants of his army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated ; (captured) the (arch called) Vidyādhara-toraṇa at the "war-gate" of the extensive city of the enemy ; Śrī-Vijaya with the "Jewel-gate," adorned with great splendour and the "gate of large jewels;" Paṇṇai, watered by the river ; the ancient Malaiyūr (with) a fort situated on a high hill ; Māyiruḍiṅgam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat ; Ilaṅgāśogam undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māppappāḷam, having

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On the whole, therefore, until more specific evidence is available, we accept the clear deduction from the inscription that a naval expedition was sent to Kaṭāha before the sixth year, and presumably the same is referred to in the record of the 11th year. For reasons given below, it has to be distinguished from the more elaborate and successful expeditions of the 13th year, referred to in Malur and Tanjore Inscriptions.

1. For these and other inscriptions of Rājendra Cola referred to below, cf. the list of inscriptions, arranged according to regnal year, in 'Sastri-Colas,' pp. 530ff.

2. No. 84 of Channapatna Taluq (Ep. Carn., IX, pp. 148-50),

3. S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 105 ff. (Some corrections were made later, in Ep., Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 231-2) ; cf. also 'Sastri-Colas' pp. 254-5.

abundant (deep) waters as defence ; Meviḷimbaṅgam, having fine walls as defence ; Vaḷaippandūṛu, possessing (both) cultivated land (?) and jungle ; Talaittakkolam, praised by great men (versed in) the sciences ; Mādamāliṅgam, firm in great and fierce battles ; Ilāmurideśam, whose fierce strength was subdued by a vehement (attack) ; Māṇakkavāram whose flower-gardens (resembled) the girdle (of the nymph) of the southern region ; Kaḍāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the neighbouring sea.'

7. In an inscription at Mandikere, dated 1050 A.D., Rājendra Cola is said to have conquered Gaṅgai in the north, Ilaṅgai in the south, Mahodai on the west, and Kaḍāram on the east[1].

8. The Kanyākumārī inscription (verse 72) of the 7th year of Vīrarājendra contains the following statement about Rājendra Cola.

"With (the help) of his forces which crossed the seas, ...he (Rājendra Cola) burnt Kaṭāha that could not be set fire to by others[2]".

In the light of the above records, the long passage in the Tanjore inscription (No. 6) seems to indicate that Rājendra Cola defeated the king of Kaḍāra, took possession of various parts of his kingdom, and concluded his compaign by taking Kaḍāra itself. In other words, the various countries, mentioned in the passage, were not independent kingdoms, but merely the different subject-states of Saṅgrāma-vijayottuṅgavarman, ruler of Kaḍāra and Śrī-Vijaya[3].

We must, therefore, try to identify these geographical names, with a view to understand correctly the exact nature

1. No. 25 of Nelamaṅgala Taluq (Ep. Carn., p. 33).

2. Travancore Archæological Series, Vol. III, Part I, p. 157. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 45-46, 54.

3. This view, originally propounded by Hultzsch (cf. p. 173, f. n. 3), is accepted by Venkayya (Arch. Surv. Burma. 1909-10, p. 14) and Cœdès (B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XVIII, No. 6, pp. 5-6).

of Rājendra Cola's conquests, and, indirectly, also of the empire of Saṅgrāma-vijayottuṅga.

It is needless now to refer to the various suggestions and theories in this respect, that were made from time to time, till the ingenious researches of Cœdès put the whole matter in a clear light[1]. Although some of the conclusions of Cœdès are not certainly beyond all doubt, his views are a great improvement on his predecessors, and we cannot do better than accept his results, at least as a working hypothesis. We therefore sum up below the views put forward by Cœdès with some modifications necessitated by later researches[2].

PAṆṆAI. This country is probably identical with Pane which Nāgarakṛtāgama includes among the states of Sumatra, subordinate to Majapahit. Gerini places it at modern Pani or Panci on the eastern side of the island of Sumatra[3].

MALAIYŪR. This is, no doubt, the same as the country known as *Malayu*, which is sometimes written with a '*r*' at the end (as in this instance and in some Arab texts), and sometimes without it. The identification of this place has formed a subject of keen and protracted discussion[4]. It has been located both in the eastern as well as in the western coast of Sumatra, and even in the southern part of Malay Peninsula. We learn from I-tsing that it was fifteen days'

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1. B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XVIII, No. 6. For previous theories, cf. S.I.I., Vols. II, p. 106 ; III, pp. 194-5 ; Ann. Rep, Arch. Surv. 1898-99, p. 17 ; 1907-8, p. 233 ; Madras Review, 1902, p. 251 ; Arch. Surv. Burma, 1906-7, p. 19 ; 1909-10, p. 14 ; 1916-17, p. 25.

2. These are indicated by references to later authorities in footnotes. Unless otherwise indicated, the statements in the text are based upon Cœdès' article (op. cit).

3. Gerini—Researches, p. 513.

4. Pelliot, B.E.F.E.O., IV, pp. 326 ff. ; Gerini—Researches, pp. 528 ff, ; Ferrand, J.A., II-XI, (1918), pp. 391 ff., and II-XII, (1918)., pp. 51-154.

Journey by sea from Śrī-Vijaya[1] and was conquered by this state some time between 672 and 705 A.D.

The Dutch scholars, however, agree in identifying it with Jambi[2].

MĀYIRUḌIṄGAM. Taking the first syllable *mā* as equivalent to Sanskrit *mahā*, *Yiruḍiṅgam* has been identified with *Je-le-ting* of Chau Ju-kua. Schlegel identified this place with *Jeluton* in the island of Banka,[3] while Gerini proposed various identifications, viz., with (1) Jelutong at the south-west of Jambi, (2) Jelutong in Johore, and (3) Jelutong in Selangor[4]. Cœdès concludes from a passage of Chau Ju-kua's book that it must be looked for in the centre of the Malay Peninsula, and belongs to the northernmost group of states (in the Malay Peninsula) which were subordinate to the Śailendra empire. Rouffaer, on the other hand, locates it in the extreme south-east of the Peninsula near Cape Rumenia[5].

ILAṄGĀŚOGAM. For the identification of this place, see *ante* pp. 71 ff.

MĀ-PPAPPĀLAM. Venkayya was the first to point out that this country is mentioned in Mahāvaṁsa[6]. There it is referred to as a port in the country of Ramaññadesa. But as the authority of the king of Pagan extended far to the south, the location of this place in the western part of the Isthmus of Kra is not barred out. Rouffaer identifies it with 'Great Pahang'[7].

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1. Cœdès says that according to I-tsing Malāyu was in the immediate neighbourhood (voisinage immédiat) of Che-li-fo-che. This is hardly accurate.

2. Rouffaer, B.K.I., Vol. 77 (1921), pp. 11 ff. See ante, p. 120.

3. T'oung Pao (1901), p. 134. 4. Gerini-Researches, pp. 627, 826.

5. Rouffaer, B.K. I., Vol. 77 (1921), pp. 11 ff.

6. Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv., 1898-9, p. 17 ; Arch. Surv. Burma, 1909-10, p. 14.

7. B.K.I., Vol. 77 (1921), p. 83.

MEVILIMBAṄGAM. M. Sylvain Lévi identifies it with Karmaraṅga, the Kāma-laṅkā of Hiuen Tsang, and places it in the Isthmus of Ligor[1].

VALAIPPANDŪṚU. Rouffaer identifies it with Pandurang or Phanrang[2], but this is very doubtful.

TALAITTAKKOLAM. It is almost certain that the country is identical with Takkola of Milindapañha and Takola of Ptolemy, the word 'Talai' in Tamil signifying 'head' or 'chief'. It must be located in the Isthmus of Kra or a little to the south of it[3].

MĀ-DAMĀLIṄGAM. A short inscription found in Caiya refers to a country called Tāmbraliṅga, which is to be located on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula, between the Bay of Bandon and Nagar Śrī Dharmarāja (Ligor). Damāliṅgam has been identified with Tāmbraliṅgam, *mā* being equivalent to *mahā*. It is evidently the same as Tan-ma-ling which Chau Ju-kua includes among the tributary states of San-fo-tsi.

ILĀMURIDEŚAM. Leaving aside the initial *i* which is often prefixed in Tamil to foreign names, this can be easily identified with Lāmuri of the Arab geographers, and Lambri of Marco Polo, situated in the northern part of Sumatra. This country, under the form Lan-wu-li, is included among the tributary states of San-fo-tsi by Chau Ju-kua.

MĀ-ṆAKKAVĀRAM. Taking the first syllable as equivalent to *mahā*, the place can be easily identified with Nikobar islands. The form Necuveran, used by Marco Polo, closely resembles Nakkavāram.

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1. J.A., Vol. CCIII (1923). See ante, pp. 74-5.

2. B.K.I., Vol. 77 (1921), p. 82.

3. There is a vast literature on 'Takkola'. In addition to the authorities cited by Coedès, I may refer to the views of S. Lévi (Études Asiatiques, Vol. II, pp. 3 ff.).

KAṬĀHA, KAḌĀRAM, KIḌĀRAM. M. Cœdès has shown good grounds to prove that Kaṭāha is the same as Kie-tcha referred to by the Chinese as a port as early as 7th century A.D. The same place is referred to in later times as Kie-t'o and Ki-t'o, which may be equated to Kaḍa and Kiḍo. As the change of a 'lingual' to 'liquid' was very common in those days, the same place may be identified with Kalah or Kilah of Arab geographers, and also with Ko-lo, which Kia Tan places on the northern side of the Straits of Malacca, and Sin t'ang Chou places at the south-east of P'an-p'an. All these different names thus correspond, both phonetically and geographically, to the modern Keddah. In a Tamil poem it is referred to as Kāḷagam.

It has been seen above that Ilaṅgāśogam is also to be placed in Keddah. But as Ilaṅgāśogam or Gunong Jerai is placed too far in the south of Keddah, Keddah is also named separately. It may be mentioned that in Nāgarakṛtāgama both Keddah and Leṅkasuka are named as vassal states of Majapahit[1].

The detailed discussion clearly shows that Rājendra Cola's conquests extended practically over the whole of the eastern coast-region of Sumatra, and the central and southern parts of Malay Peninsula, and included the two capital cities Kaṭāha and Śrī-Vijaya. That the story of this victory is not merely an imagination of the court-poets, but based on facts, is proved, beyond all doubt, by the detailed references to the vassal states. It is interesting to note that many of these states are included in the Śailendra empire (San-fo-tsi) by later Chinese authorities like Chau Ju-kua.[2]

The date of this decisive victory can be ascertained with tolerable certainty. The Ins. No. 4, quoted above, shows that it must have taken place not later than the 13th year of

1. Nāgarakṛtāgama, Ch. 16, vv. 13-14.

2. Chau Ju-kua's account will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Rājendra Cola. Now, the Tirumalai inscription,[1] dated in the same year, gives an account of his inland conquests, but does not contain a word about his oversea conquests. If, for example, one compares the Tanjore Ins. (No. 6 above) with the Tirumalai Ins., it would appear that the former repeats, word for word, the entire passage in the latter, describing the inland conquests of Rājendra Cola, and then adds the passage, quoted above, describing his oversea conquests. It may, therefore, be reasonably presumed, that these oversea conquests had not taken place at the time the Tirumalai inscription was recorded. As the Tirumalai inscription is dated in the 13th year, we may presume that these conquests took place during the short interval between the drafting of this record and that of the Inscription No. 4. In other words, the oversea conquests of Rājendra Cola took place in the 13th year of his reign, i.e., A.D. 1024-5, possibly during its latter part. We may, therefore, provisionally accept A.D. 1025 as the date of the great catastrophe which befell the Śailendra empire.

But, according to the plain interpretation of the Inscription No. 2, quoted above, the hostility broke out much earlier, and as early as 1017-18 A. D., or some time before it, a naval expedition was sent against Kaṭāha. There is nothing surprising in it, for the Inscription No. 1, quoted above, clearly shows that as early as 1007 A.D., the Colas had begun an aggressive imperialistic policy to obtain mastery of the seas.

Although it is impossible now to ascertain exactly the cause of either the outbreak of hostility, or the complete collapse of the Śailendra power, reference may be made to at least some important factors which contributed to the one or the other. According to the Cola records, the conquest of Kaliṅga and the whole eastern coast up to the mouth of the Ganges was completed before the oversea expedition was sent. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar concludes from a study of all

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

the relevant records that the actual starting-point of the oversea expedition was in the coast-region of Kaliṅga.[1] Prof. Aiyangar infers from this fact that the conquest of Kaliṅga was undertaken by Rājendra Cola as it "was particularly necessary in view of the oversea expedition that must have become necessary for some reason or other." He holds further "that the Kaliṅgas were possibly rivals in the oversea empire in connection with which the oversea expedition was actually undertaken."

Now these two statements are somewhat vague and, perhaps, even contradictory. But it is quite clear that the conquest of Kaliṅga and the whole coastal region furnished the Cola emperor with ample resources for his oversea expedition. The mastery over the ports of Kaliṅga and Bengal gave him well-equipped ships and sailors, accustomed to voyage in the very regions which he wanted to conquer. The naval resources of the whole of the eastern coast of India were thus concentrated in the hands of Rājendra Cola, and it was enough to tempt a man to get possession of the territory, which served as the meeting ground of the trade and commerce between India and the western countries on the one hand, and the countries of the Far East on the other. The geographical position of the Śailendra empire enabled it to control almost the whole volume of maritime trade between western and eastern Asia, and the dazzling prospect which its conquest offered to the future commercial supremacy of the Colas seems to be the principal reason of the oversea expedition undertaken by Rājendra Cola. But it is the conquest of the eastern coastal regions of India that alone brought such a scheme within the range of practical politics.

For the time being, the success of the Colas seemed to be complete, but, from the very nature of the case, it could not have possibly continued for long. The task of

1. J. I. H., Vol. II, p. 345.

maintaining hold upon a distant country across the sea was too great to be borne by the successors of Rājendra Cola, and they had too many difficulties at home to think of the empire abroad. Rājādhirāja, the eldest son of Rājendra, succeeded him in A.D. 1044. His whole reign was a period of unceasing struggle with the neighbouring powers, and he himself fell fighting with the Cālukyas at the battlefield of Koppam in A.D. 1054. Vīrarājendra, who ascended the throne in 1063 A.D., no doubt inflicted a severe defeat upon the Cālukyas, but his death in 1070 A. D., followed by a disputed succession and civil war, seriously weakened the prestige and authority of the Colas. To make matters worse, Kaliṅga freed itself from the yoke of the Colas, and this crippled the naval resources of that power. The supremacy of the Colas was revived to a considerable extent by Kulottuṅga Cola (1070-1119), the grandson (daughter's son) of the famous Rājendra Cola. He reconquered Kaliṅga and established peace and prosperity over his extensive dominions during a long reign of 49 years[1].

The relation between the Colas and the Śailendras, and of both to China, during the period of nearly eighty years (1044-1119 A. D.), of which a short historical sketch has been given above, is referred to in Cola inscriptions and Chinese documents. We give below a short summary of them before drawing any general conclusions.

I. *Cola Inscriptions*

(a) The Perumber Ins. of Vīrarājendradeva[2] dated in his 7th year (A. D. 1069-70) states :—

"Having conquered (the country of) Kaḍāram, (he) was pleased to give (it) (back) to (its) king who worshipped (his) feet (which bore) ankle-rings."

1. V. A. Smith, Early History of India (3rd. ed.), pp. 467-8. Some of the dates are given on the authority of Prof. N. Sastri (Sastri-Colas p. 293).

2. S. I. I., Vol. III, Part II, p. 202. Prof. N. Sastri refers to this and another record of the seventh year (175 of 1894). These, according

(b) The Smaller Tamil Leiden Grant[1] dated in the 20th year of Kulottuṅga Cola (1089-90 A. D.) says :—

"At the request of the king of Kiḍāra, communicated by his envoys Rājavidyādhara Sāmanta and Abhimānottuṅga Sāmanta, Kulottuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery called Śailendra-Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra (i. e. the one established by king Cūḷāmaṇivarman as referred to in the Larger Leiden Grant)."

II. *Chinese Documents*

The following account is given by Ma-Twan-Lin in respect of an embassy from Pagan in A. D. 1106[2].

(a) "The Emperor at first issued orders to accord them the same reception and treat them in the same way as was done in the case of the ambassadors of the Colas (Chu-lien). But the President of the Board of Rites observed as follows : "The Cola is a vassal of San-fo-tsi. That is why in the year *hi-ning* (A. D. 1068-1077) it was thought good enough to write to the king of that country on a strong paper with an envelope of plain silk. The king of Pagan, on the other hand, is ruler of a grand kingdom."

The History of the Sung dynasty gives the following accounts of embassies from San-fo-tsi.

(b) "In 1017 the king Ha-ch'i-su-wu-ch'a-p'u-mi sent envoys with a letter in golden characters and tribute.....When

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to him, "mention that Vīrarājendra conquered Kaḍāram on behalf of a king who had come in search of his aid and protection, and handed it over to him." (Sastri—Colas, p. 332). Prof. Sastri does not explain why he differs from Hultzsch. As regards the date of Vīrarājendra, Sastri gives it as A.D. 1063-69 on p. 293, but says, on p. 338, that he died in 1070 A.D. On p. 341, the 7th year of his reign is regarded as equivalent to A.D. 1068-9.

1. Arch. Surv. of South India, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff. A revised edition is being published in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII.

2. D'Hervey de Saint Denys—Meridionaux, p. 586, quoted by Cœdès, B.E.F.E.O., XVIII, No. 6, p. 8, and Gerini-Researches, pp. 624-25.

they went back, an edict was issued addressed to their king, accompanied by various presents.[1]"

(c) "In 1028, the 8th month, the king Si-li-tieh-hwa (Śrī Deva?) sent envoys to carry tribute. The custom was that envoys from distant countries, who brought tribute, got a girdle adorned with gold and silver, but this time girdles entirely of gold were given to them.[2]"

(d) "In 1067 an envoy, who was one of their high chiefs, called Ti-hwa-ka-la, arrived in China. The title of Great General who supports obedience and cherishes Renovation was given to him, and he was favoured with an imperial edict.[3]"

(e) "During the period Yüan-fung (1078-1085) envoys came from the country bringing silver, pearls..... The letter they brought was first forwarded to the court from Canton, where they waited until they were escorted to the capital. The Emperor remembered that they had come very far, he gave them liberal presents and then allowed them to return."

"The next year he gave them 64,000 strings of cash, 15,000 taels of silver and favoured the two envoys who had come with honorary titles.[4]"

(f) "In 1082 three envoys came to have an audience from the emperor and brought golden lotus-flowers etc. They all received honorary titles according to their rank.[5]"

(g) "In 1083 three other envoys came, who all received honorary titles according to their rank.[6]"

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1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 65. Ferrand restores the name of the king as "Haji Sumatrabhūmi"—the king of Sumatra (J. A., 11-XX,1922, p. 19 and f.n. 3.

2. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 65-66. Both Groeneveldt and Ferrand (J. A., 11-XX, 1922, p. 20) restore the name as Śrī Deva.

3. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 66. Both Groeneveldt and Ferrand (op. cit.) restore the name as 'Deva Kala'. Coedès suggests 'Divākara' (B.E.F.E.O., Vol, XXIII, p. 470).

4. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 66. 5. Ibid. 6. Ibid.

(h) "In the period Shau-Sheng (1094-97) they made their appearance once again[1]."

Cola embassies to China

(i) According to Ma-Twan-Lin, an embassy sent by Lo-cha-lo-cha, king of Chu-lien, reached China in A.D. 1015[2]. Gerini restores this name as Rājarāja, (the Great)[3].

(j) According to the Sung-Shih, two kings of Chu-lien sent embassies with tribute to China : Shih-li-lo-cha-yin-to-lo-chu-lo in A.D. 1033, and Ti-wa-kalo in A.D. 1077.[4] Prof. S. K. Aiyangar has restored the first name as Śrī-Rājendra Cola[5].

Now, the fact, that some time before A.D. 1069-70 Vīrarājendra conquered Kaḍāram (I-a), shows that the country had regained independence in the meanwhile.[6] It would thus appear that, for nearly half a century since 1024-5, when Rājendra Cola first conquered the country, the struggle between the two continued with varying degrees of success.

Even the restoration of the king of Kaḍāram, after he had acknowledged the suzerainty of Vīrarājendra, does not seem to have ended the struggle. On the one hand Kulottuṅga Cola, the successor of Vīrarājendra, claims to have destroyed Kaḍāram,[7] on the other hand the Chinese represent the Cola power to be subordinate to Śrī-Vijaya (II-a). This conflicting statement perhaps indicates the continuance of the struggle, with alternate success and reverse of both parties.

The embassy from Kaḍāram to the Cola king in A.D. 1089-90 (I-b) seems to mark the beginning of a new era of good-

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 67.
2. D'Hervey de Saint Denys—Meridionaux, p. 574.
3. Gerini—Researches, p. 609, f.n. 2.
4. J.R.A.S., 1896, p. 490 f.n. 5. J. I. H., Vol. II, p. 353.
6. Prof. Aiyangar informs me, in a letter, that even Rājādhirāja I, the successor of Rājendra Cola, claimed conquest of Kaḍāram.
7. J. I. H., Vol. II., p. 355.

will and friendship between the two states. But if the Chinese statement that "Cola is a vassal of San-fo-tsi" be true of the year 1106 A.D., when it was recorded, it would indicate the renewal of hostile relation between the two.

On the whole, it would be safe to assume that in spite of the arduous nature of the task, the Cola emperors tried to maintain their hold on the distant oversea empire, at least for nearly a century. It would be too much to assume that they could ever hope to exercise a rigid control over the distant land. The utmost they could fairly expect was to have their suzerainty acknowledged by the king of Kaḍāram. The latter must have seized every possible opportunity to shake off even this nominal sovereignty of the Colas. On the other hand, the Cola emperors were unwilling to give up altogether their pretension of suzerainty, and able monarchs like Vīrarājendra and Kulottuṅga would occasionally fit out a naval expedition to re-establish their authority beyond the sea.

In spite of the claims of the Colas to have destroyed Kaḍāram, that kingdom never ceased to function as a separate state. This is proved by the regular despatch of embassies to the court of China throughout the eleventh century A. D. (II. b-h.).

The embassy of 1017 was sent by a king, whose Chinese name has been restored by Ferrand as Haji-Sumatrabhūmi or king of Sumatrabhūmi (II-b). It must be regarded as somewhat unusual that this general term is substituted for the proper name of the king which was used in case of the two immediately preceding embassies.

The next embassy was sent in A. D. 1028 by a king, whose name seems to correspond to Śrī-Deva (II-c). The Cola emperor must have conquered Kaḍāram shortly before this date, and it may be presumed that this Śrī-Deva refers to him or to his viceroy. It is to be noted that the Chinese emperor showed unusual honours to the envoy. This is perhaps due to the mighty fame of Rājendra Cola, who himself sent an envoy to the Chinese court, five years later (II-i).

The envoy, who visited the imperial court in 1067 A. D., is called Ti-hwa-ka-la (II-d), and is described as a high dignitary. It is interesting to note that the Cola king, who sent an embassy to China 10 years later, was also called Ti-wa-ka-lo (II-j). Now, this Cola king is undoubtedly Rājendra-Deva-Kulottuṅga, and the Chinese name was made up of its second and third parts (Deva-Kulo[1]).

It is not impossible that this Kulottuṅga was also the envoy, a high dignitary, who visited the imperial court in 1067 A.D. The history of the early years of Kulottuṅga lends support to this view. He was the daughter's son of Rājendra Cola, and his father was the ruler of Veṅgī. But when his father died in *c.* A.D. 1061-2, he did not, or, perhaps, could not succeed him, and indeed his position about that period is a mystery. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar writes : "One would naturally expect this Rājendra (Kulottuṅga) to succeed his father, when he died in 1061-62 or the next year. In all the transactions about the appointment of Vijayāditya VII as Viceroy of Veṅgī we do not hear of the name of Kulottuṅga[2]".

Then, again, the early inscriptions of Kulottuṅga affirm that he "gently raised, without wearying (her) in the least, the lotus-like goddess of the earth residing in the region of the rising sun." Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, although unaware of the identity of the two names Ti-wa-ka-lo (the Cola king) and Ti-hwa-ka-la, the envoy of San-fo-tsi, remarked as follows on the above inscription : "This land of the rising sun cannot well be the country of Veṅgī, and if the conquest of part of Burmah *(sic)* by Rājendra I is accepted, as it must now be, this would only mean that Rājendra Kulottuṅga distinguished himself as a prince in the eastern exploits of his grandfather, either during

1. This identification was proposed by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar (J. I. H., Vol. II, p. 353).

2. 'Ancient India', p. 129. For further discussion on this point cf. Sastri-Colas, Chap. XII.

Rājendra Cola's reign or under Vīrarājendra when he reconquered Kaḍāram[1]".

For 'Burmah' in the above passage we must now read Kaḍāram. Now, since Kulottuṅga ruled till 1119 A. D., it is impossible to believe that he was old enough in A. D. 1024-5 to accompany his grandfather Rājendra Cola. The reference is therefore possibly to the expedition of Vīrarājendra which took place some time before A. D. 1069-70 (I-a). This fits in with the date of the embassy, *viz.*, A. D. 1067.

If this view be correct, we must hold that Vīrarājendra's conquest was an effective one, and, for some time at least, the Colas definitely occupied the kingdom of Kaḍāram. Kulottuṅga evidently held a very high position in the conquered province, and possibly paid a visit to China as an ambassador from Kaḍāram, with a view to establish a friendly relation with that power. All these, however, must be regarded as pure hypotheses for the present.

Kulottuṅga must have returned to India shortly after, as he ascended the Cola throne in 1070 A. D., and the Perumbar Ins. (I-a) indicates that, before doing so, he reinstalled the king of Kaḍāram, after the latter had paid homage and fealty to the Cola emperor[2].

Once back in his country, Kulottuṅga was faced with a grave political crisis, as noted above. Evidently the king of Kaḍāram took advantage of this to free himself from the yoke of the Colas. Possibly he came out successful in some engagements with the Colas, and pretended to have established

1. Ibid., pp. 130-31. Prof. N. Sastri characterises this view as 'wide of the mark' (op. cit, p. 348 f.n.), but such possibilities should not be altogether discounted at the present state of our knowledge.

2. In addition to what is contained in foot-note 2 on p. 188 about the grandson of Raja Suran (Cola), the stories of the Cola conquest of Malaya occur in other legends (cf. J. Mal. Br. R.A.S., 1926, p. 413; 1932, pp. 1 ff.).

his suzerainty over the latter.[1] The Chinese who got their information from San-fo-tsi were thus misled into the belief that Cola was a vassal of Śrī-Vijaya (II-a). For, it is difficult to believe, in the absence of any positive evidence, that the king of Kaḍāram could have established any sort of political supremacy over the Colas.

The successive embassies in 1078, 1082, 1083, and 1094 (II, e-h) indicate that after the storm of the Cola invasion had blown over, Kaḍāram resumed its normal relationship with the Chinese court.

The political supremacy of the Colas in the Far East, for a period extending over more than half a century, is, perhaps, echoed in the Malayan tradition about the mythical expedition of Raja Suran [Cola ?] down the Malay Peninsula[2]. It is further indicated by some records in Sumatra. A Tamil inscription has been discovered at Lobu Tua near Baros in Sumatra. It is dated in 1088 A. D., and refers to the organisation, activities, and mythological beliefs of the Corporation of Fifteen Hundred[3]. There is no doubt that this was a Tamil corporation of the type of Banañja. Nānādeśi, Valaṅgai,

1. It is also possible that the king of Kaḍāram took possession of some territories in Sumatra or Malay Peninsula which was being ruled over by the Colas.

2. A History of Perak by R. O. Winstedt and R. J. Wilkinson, p. 4. The authors think that the Cola raid is alluded to in the account of the conquest by a Raja Suran of Gangganegara, whose fort still exists inland at the Dindings, a little above Perak. A grandson of Suran is also said to have founded Singapore. The story is given in full in Sejarah Malayu which refers to Deman Lebar Daun, the King of Palembang, as a descendant of Raja Sulaṇ (J. A. 11-XI, p. 483). Tales of friendly correspondence between Malayan and Indian kings may also be attributed to the relations of the Colas with Malayasia. This point was first noted by Blagden (J. Str. Br. R. A. S., No. 81, p. 26).

3. O. V. 1914, p. 113. Not. Bat. Gen., 1892, p. 80. The Inscription has been translated into English by Prof. K. A. N. Sastri in T.B. G., Vol. 72 (1932) pp. 314 ff.

Idaṅgai etc., whose activities as trade-unions are frequently referred to in South Indian records[1]. According to an inscription found at Baligami in the Mysore state, the members of these unions were "brave men, born to wander over many countries ever since the beginning of the Kṛta age, penetrating regions of the six continents by land and water-routes, and dealing in various articles such as horses and elephants, precious stones, perfumes and drugs, either wholesale or in retail[2]." It may be noted here that a Vaiṣṇava Temple was built at Pagan by the Nānādeśis (merchants dealing with various countries).[3]

Another inscription at Porlak Dolok, in Padang Lawas, and dated probably in A. D. 1245, is partly written in Kavi script, and partly in Indian, probably South Indian, alphabet[4]. A third inscription, at Bandar Bapahat, belonging to the Majapahit period, is written in Kavi, and then reproduced in South Indian Grantha character.[5]

In addition to these records, the intimate intercourse between South India and Sumatra is further indicated, partly by common ceremonials, and partly by the identity of some Batak clan-names, such as Coliya, Paṇḍiya, Meliyala, Pelawi, etc. with the Cola, Pāṇḍya, Malayālam, and Pallava. Another name Tekang is probably derived from Tekkanam, the general Tamil term for south i.e. South India[6].

It is, of course, impossible to say when these South Indian names were introduced into Sumatra. In view of the political and trade relations between the two countries in the eleventh

1. Cf. R. C. Majumdar—Corporate Life in Ancient India, 2nd edition, pp. 87-96.

2. Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, p. 118.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 107.

4. O. V. 1914, p. 112 ; 1920, p. 70.

5. O. V., 1912, p. 46. Cf. Bk. IV, Chap. I.

6. T. B. G., Vol. 45. (1902), pp. 541-576. Kern, V. G., Vol. III, pp. 67-72. B. K. I., Vol. 74, pp. 263 ff.

century A.D., the large influx of South Indian people, and the consequent introduction of these tribal names, may be referred to that period. Of course, with the evidence available at present, it is difficult to determine whether the more peaceful trade relations preceded or succeeded the political relations between the two countries. In the modern age we can easily quote examples of either. In many cases, the commercial intercourse has led to political interference, and in many others, political supremacy over a foreign land has led to an intense development of trade of the conquering country. Whether the traders and merchants of South India paved the way for the oversea conquest of the Cola kings, or whether the process was just the reverse, the future historian alone will be able to say.

Chapter III.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ŚAILENDRA EMPIRE

The long-drawn struggle with the Colas, which continued throughout the eleventh century A. D., and at one time threatened utter destruction to the Śailendras, ended in a draw.

After fruitless efforts of a century, the Colas finally abandoned the impossible enterprise of maintaining their suzerainty over Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. The Śailendra kingdom, exhausted and humiliated as it was, slowly recovered its former position.

But, although we can definitely trace the existence of the kingdom for nearly three centuries more, when it was finally destroyed, the Śailendra dynasty passes from our view. After the beginning of the twelfth century A. D., we hear no more of that powerful ruling family that dominated Malayasia since the end of the eighth century A. D. This does not, of course, mean that they vanished, or even ceased to reign, but only that we do not possess any definite information of them. For all we know, they might still continue to rule over the kingdom.

The continuity of the kingdom is, however, clearly attested by the Chinese, and, perhaps also, by the Arab accounts, which still refer to the prowess of San-fo-tsi and Zābag.

The Chinese annals refer to two embassies from San-fo-tsi in the twelfth century A. D.

In the year 1156 king Si-li-ma-ha-la-sha (Śrī Mahārāja) sent envoys to bring tribute. The emperor said : "When distant people feel themselves attracted by our civilising influence, their discernment must be praised. It is therefore

that I rejoice in it, but not because I want to benefit by the products of their country.[1]"

"In the year 1178 they sent again envoys to bring as tribute products of the country. On this occasion the emperor issued an edict ordering that they should not come to court any more, but make an establishment at Ch'üan-chou in the province of Fukien."[2]

According to Ma-Twan-Lin, the ambassadors of 1178 reported that their king had succeeded his father in A. D. 1169. So the emperor invested the new king with all the titles and privileges of his ancestors and made suitable presents.[3]

The Arab writers Edrīsī (1154 A. D.), Kazwīnī (A. D. 1203-1283), Ibn Saīd (1208 or 1214 to 1274 or 1286 A. D.), and Dimaskī (c. 1325 A. D.) all refer to the glory and power of Zābag.[4] But it is difficult to say whether they write from their own personal knowledge, or merely quote from old writers, as many others expressly have done. But in any case the Chinese accounts definitely prove the existence of the kingdom.

Fortunately we possess an interesting account of the extent of this kingdom in the twelfth century A. D. from the Chinese work Chu-fan-chi ("Records of foreign nations"). The author of this work is Chau Ju-kua, Inspector of Foreign Trade in Fukien.[5]

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1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 67. Both Groeneveldt and Ferrand (J.A., 11-XX, p. 22) restore the name as Mahārāja. As the Arabs refer to the Śailendra kings as Mahārāja, we may presume that the king belonged to that dynasty. But, then, we must remember, that the term 'Mahārāja', being the ordinary Indian term for a ruler, might have been confused with the personal name of a ruler, specially as the personal name was usually preceded by the appellation 'Mahārāja'.

2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 67. 3. J. A. 11-XX, p. 22, f. n. 2.

4. Ibid pp. 65-74.

5. Chau Ju-kua—His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi. Translated by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg, (1911).

As to the date of this Chinese author, Hirth and Rockhill conclude from a remark the author makes in the chapter on Baghdad, that the work was composed between 1242 and 1258 A. D.[1] Pelliot has, however, shown that the author wrote the preface to his work in 1225 A. D.[2] We must, therefore, hold that the work was originally written in or about 1225 A. D., although additions and alterations might possibly have been made during the next twenty-five years.

M. Cœdès holds the view that Chau Ju-kua's account of San-fo-tsi is almost entirely based on an earlier work Ling-wai-tai-ta, written in 1178 A. D., and as such the picture which he draws can only be regarded as true of the period anterior to 1178 A. D.[3] There does not appear to be any valid reason for this assumption. Hirth and Rockhill are definitely of opinion that Chau Ju-kua's account of San-fo-tsi is "based exclusively on oral information furnished the author by Chinese and foreign traders."[4]

As we shall see later, some details given by Chau Ju-kua (*e. g.*, the inclusion of Ceylon as a dependency of San-fo-tsi) can only be explained if we assume the date proposed above.

In any case we can take Chau Ju-kua's account as a correct picture of the state of things in the twelfth century A. D. According to this Chinese author, San-fo-tsi was master of the Straits of Malacca and thus controlled the maritime trade between China and the western countries. San-fo-tsi itself was a great centre of trade, and fifteen states were dependent upon it.[5] These were :—

1. Pöng-föng (=Pahang).
2. Töng-ya-nöng (=Trengganau).

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1. Ibid, p. 137. 2. T'oung Pao, Ser, II, Vol. XIII, p. 449.
3. B. K. I., 1927, p. 469. 4. Op. cit., p. 37.
5. Op. cit, pp. 60 ff. The identifications of names given within brackets are on the authority of Ferrand (op. cit. pp. 13-14), and Krom (Geschiedenis, pp. 303-4). On Nos. 3, 6 and 9, see discussions above, pp. 78-79. According to S. Lévi, Nos. 7 and 8 must be looked for in the

3. Ling-ya-ssi-kia (=Lengkasuka).
4. Ki-lan-tan (=Kelantan).
5. Fo-lo-an (=Beranang on the Langat river, west coast of Malay Peninsula). (S. Selangor ?)
6. Ji-lo-t'ing (=Jeloting on the east (?) coast of Malay Peninsula).
7. Ts'ien-mai. (In Semang ?)
8. Pa-t'a. (Batak ?)
9. Tan-ma-ling (=Tāmraliṅga or Ligor in Malay Peninsula).
10. Kia-lo-hi (=Grahi=Jaya or Caiya, south of the Bay of Bandon).
11. Pa-lin-föng (=Palembang).
12. Sin-t'o (=Suṇḍa).
13. Kien-pi (=Kampe or Kampar).
14. Lan-wu-li (=Lamuri=Atjeh.)
15. Si-lan (=Ceylon).

In addition to the general list of countries subject to San-fo-tsi, as given above, Chau Ju-kua has given separate accounts of Ling-ya-ssi-kia, Tan-ma-ling, Fo-lo-an, Sin-to, Kien-pi, Lan-wu-li, and Si-lan.[1] Among these, the first two and the last had their own kings, but they sent tributes to San-fo-tsi. No king is mentioned in connection with Fo-lo-an, but the author remarks: "It sends yearly tribute to San-fo-tsi. Its neighbours Pöng-föng, Töng-ya-nöng and Ki-lan-tan are like it." According to Ling-wai-tai-ta, the chief of Fo-lo-an was appointed from San-fo-tsi.[2] This may be true of all the four states. As regards Sin-to Chau Ju-kua says: 'As, however, there is no regular government in this country, the people are given to brigandage, on which account foreign traders rarely go

Malay Peninsula (Études Asiatiques, Vol. II, pp. 108-9), but Schlegel (T'oung Pao, Ser. II, Vol. II, p. 135) and Gerini (Researches, p. 627), place them in Sumatra. The identification of No. 5 is on the authority of Gerini (Researches, p. 825).

1. Chau Ju-kua, pp. 67-73.
2. Ibid., p. 69, f. n. 1.

there.' About Kien-pi we are told: "Formerly it was a dependency of San-fo-tsi, but, after a fight, it set up a king of its own." Nothing is said about the political status of Lan-wu-li in the brief note which Chau Ju-kua gives more as an introduction to his account of Si-lan, than as an independent account of that kingdom. It would thus appear that Kien-pi had recently shaken off the yoke of San-fo-tsi, but the other fourteen states were tributary to that power. In spite of a few uncertainties, the identification of these vassal states, as given above, would indicate that the empire of San-fo-tsi included territories in Sumatra, Java, and Malay Peninsula.

M. Cœdès has attempted to show that although the empire is called by the old name of San-fo-tsi, the seat of the empire was now transferred from San-fo-tsi to Malayu or Jambi.[1] His principal argument is that Chau Ju-kua included Palembang among the dependencies of San-fo-tsi, and as San-fo-tsi is identical with Palembang, the seat of the empire must be at a place different from Palembang or San-fo-tsi. He rightly points out, that while describing the empire of Java or Cambodge, Chau Ju-kua never includes these names in the list of their vassal states. But Cœdès' argument, as we have indicated above, only discounts the view that San-fo-tsi is identical with Palembang. The absence of Malayu from the list of vassal states merely indicates that Malayu was no longer dependent on San-fo-tsi. But neither the inclusion of Palembang, nor the exclusion of Malayu, gives us any right to maintain, in the face of the express statement of Chau Ju-kua about San-fo-tsi, that that kingdom had yielded its place of preeminence to Malayu.

M. Cœdès seeks to support his view by reference to the Caiya inscription, dated 1183 A. D., which refers to Mahārāja Śrīmat-Trailokyarāja-mauli-bhūṣaṇa-varma-deva and his governor of Grahi, Mahāsenāpati Galanai. Cœdès argues that if in 1183 A. D. the name of a king of Malayu appears in a

1. B. K. I., 1927, pp. 469 ff.

record of Caiya, it simply means that "Malayu had substituted its own authority in place of Śrī-Vijaya (sic) over the petty states of the Malay Peninsula."[1]

But it is a mere gratuitous assumption that Trailokya-rāja-mauli-bhūṣaṇa-varma-deva is a king of Malayu. Cœdès evidently relies on the fact that an inscription, found at Padang Rocho in Batanghari district in Jambi, refers to a king named Mahārāja Śrīmat-Tribhuvanarāja-mauli-varma-deva, as ruling in 1286 A.D.[2] In spite of the resemblance in the names of the two kings, who lived a century apart, it would obviously be absurd to regard the royal name as a monopoly of Malayu, and, in the absence of any other evidence, to take the earlier king also as a ruler of Malayu, although his records have been found in Malay Peninsula alone. We must remember that the Śailendra emperors also bore names like Cūḍāmaṇi-varmadeva.

Further, Edrīsī (1154 A.D.) clearly says that the king of Kalah, Zābag, and the neighbouring islands lived in the city of Kalah which is clearly the Kaṭāha of the Cola records.[3]

There is thus no reason to disregard the evidence of Arab and Chinese writers that the old kingdom of Zābag or San-fo-tsi continued in its old glory and splendour till the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Caiya inscription has perhaps furnished us with the name of the only individual emperor of

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1. Ibid., p. 469. The Caiya inscription was originally edited by M. Coedès (B.E.F.E.O., XVIII, No. 6, pp. 34-5), but the date was wrongly read.

2. J. A., 11-XX, p. 179. Cœdes says with reference to Trailokyarāja-mauli-bhūṣaṇa-varma-deva that "his title is identical to that of the kings of Malayu known by the inscriptions dating from 1286 to 1378 A.D." (B. K. I. 1927, p 468). Evidently he refers to the titles of Ādityavarman (see Bk. IV, Chap. I), who lived nearly hundred years later than Tribhuvanarāja-mauli-varma-deva, but no intermediate king is known to have borne such titles.

3. Cf. my article in B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XXXIII, p. 131., and the appendix to Bk. II.

San-fo-tsi of the 12th century A. D. known to us. For, as Grahi has been identified with Chau Ju-kua's Kia-lo-hi, it was a dependent state of San-fo-tsi towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century A. D. The ruler, whose dominions included Grahi as a Governor's province in 1183 A.D., may not, therefore, unreasonably be regarded as the king of San-fo-tsi. It would thus be more proper to regard the Mahārāja Śrīmat-Trailokyarāja-mauli-bhūṣaṇa-varma-deva as a remote successor of Cūḍāmaṇi-varma-deva, though it is difficult to say whether he belonged to the same family.

Chau Ju-kua's account of the great power of San-fo-tsi is corroborated by an independent evidence. About the time when he wrote his book, we come across the name of a king Candrabhānu in an inscription at Caiya, dated 1230 A.D.[1] Cœdès has established beyond all doubt that this king Candrabhānu is referred to in the Ceylonese Chronicles as having led two expeditions against Ceylon.

The detailed account as given in Cullavaṁsa may be summarised as follows[2]:—

"In the eleventh year of the reign of king Parākramabāhu II, a king of Jāvaka, called Candrabhānu, landed with an army at Kakkhalā, on the pretext that they were Buddhists and therefore came on a peaceful mission. The soldiers of Jāvaka, who used poisoned arrows, treacherously occupied the passages across the rivers, and having defeated all those who opposed them, devastated the whole of Ceylon. But the regent Vīrabāhu defeated them in several battles and forced them to withdraw from the land. A few years later, king Candrabhānu again landed at Mahātīrtha, and his army was, on this occasion,

1. Edited by M. Cœdès (B.E.F.E.O., XVIII, No. 6. p. 32).

2. Cullavaṁsa, i. e., the later continuation of Mahāvaṁsa—Ed. Geiger, Chap. 83, vv. 36-48; Chap. 88, vv. 62-75. The king of Jāvaka mentioned in the passage was taken by Kern to refer to a Javanese king (V.G. III, pp. 27 ff.), but he is now usually taken as a king of Śrī-Vijaya. For a more detailed discussion of the proposed identification, cf. B.E.F.E.O., XXXIII, pp. 133. ff. and the Appendix.

reinforced by a large number of Pāṇḍya, Cola, and other Tamil soldiers. After some initial successes the Jāvaka army was surrounded and completely defeated by the Ceylonese troops under Vijayabāhu and Vīrabāhu. King Candrabhānu somehow fled with his life, leaving behind his family and treasures in the hands of the victorious enemy."

The date of these events has been variously interpreted. But Cœdès has established on good authority that the two invasions of Candrabhānu took place in A.D. 1236 and 1256[1].

Now the inclusion of Ceylon among the vassal states of San-fo-tsi has been justly regarded as the most surprising of all; for, although Masūdī, in his 'Meadow of Gold' (10th century A.D.), refers to the Mahārāja of Zābag as king of Sirandib or Ceylon[2], there is no historical evidence to show that Ceylon was a vassal state of the Śailendras.

But even in this respect, perhaps, on the face of it, the least credible of all, Chau Ju-kua's account is corroborated to a certain extent by the passage of Cullavaṁsa quoted above. For the Ceylonese author admits in a way the triumph of the Jāvaka army sometime in 1236 A. D., before Chau Ju-kua concluded his work.

It is obvious that Candrabhānu's invasion of Ceylon was an act of extreme imprudence, and had the most regrettable consequences. The two expeditions to the distant island must have taxed the strength of the Jāvaka kingdom to the utmost, and the disastrous end of the second expedition weakened its prestige and authority beyond recovery.

In an inscription, dated 1264 A. D[3]., Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya claims to have defeated and killed the Sāvaka king,

1. B.K.I., 1927, pp. 463 ff. Cœdès has shown that the date usually assigned to the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1240-1275) should be pushed back by 15 years. He would thus have ruled from 1225 to 1260 A.D. Cœdès further points out that the account of Cullavaṁsa is corroborated by the Pali work Jinakālamālinī.

2. Ferrand—Textes, p. 93.

3. S. I. Ep. Rep., 1917, Ins. No. 588. pp. 50, 111.

and in another inscription, dated the next year[1], he includes the king of Kaḍāram among the host of rulers conquered by him. Sāvaka is no doubt the same as Jāvaka, and we can easily take the defeat of the kings of Sāvaka and Kaḍāram to refer to the defeat of one and the same king, as in the case of Rājendra Cola.[2] Thus the ill-advised expedition to Ceylon by the king of Kaḍāram was followed at no distant date by his humiliating defeat and death at the hands of the Pāṇḍya king.

The fact that the Pāṇḍya king boasts also of having conquered Ceylon, seems to connect the Ceylonese expedition of Candrabhānu with his defeat and death at the hands of Jaṭāvarman. It may be recalled that during his second expedition against that island, Candrabhānu was helped by troops from Cola and Pāṇḍya countries. Perhaps he made an alliance with these two powers and organised a joint expedition against Ceylon. But as in many other similar allied expeditions, it was dissolved on the failure of the project, and then Vīra Pāṇḍya presumably took advantage of the helpless situation of Candrabhānu and turned against him. It is also quite likely that he betrayed first his two allies and then the king of Ceylon, who was temporarily saved by his first betrayal. This would explain the statement in the inscription of 1264 A.D. that Vīra Pāṇḍya "was pleased to take the Cola country, Ceylon, and the crown and the crowned head of Sāvaka." In other words, he turned against both his allies and defeated them, and ended by conquering Ceylon, which was their common objective. This view seems more reasonable than that a regular naval expedition was sent by the Pāṇḍya king against Kaḍāram or Sāvaka.

Candrabhānu who thus met with a tragic end was the last great ruler of the mighty kingdom founded by the Śailendras. The fact that he is styled the Sāvaka king, and, perhaps also, king of Kaḍāram, and felt powerful enough to send two military expeditions to Ceylon, discounts the view of Cœdès, referred to

1. Ibid., 1912, No. 39, p. 72.
2. For detailed discussion cf. B.K.I., 1927, p. 467.

above, that Malayu had established its supremacy over the petty states of Malay Peninsula, which once acknowledged the suzerainty of San-fo-tsi or Zābag. On the whole, the available evidence would justify us in regarding the last-named kingdom as continuing in power and glory till the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.

In the Caiya inscription, Candrabhānu is said to have been born in the family of lotus. He is also called Lord of Tāmbraliṅga. It is almost certain, therefore, that he did not belong to the family of the Śailendras. Chau Ju-kua describes Tāmbraliṅga as a vassal state of San-fo-tsi having a separate ruler. It would thus appear that Candrabhānu had usurped the authority of his overlord by a successful rebellion. We have seen above that Kien-pi, another vassal state in Sumatra, had also successfully rebelled against San-fo-tsi about the same time. Thus the disruption of the empire of San-fo-tsi, both in Sumatra as well as in Malay Peninsula, set in at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.

The catastrophic end of Candrabhānu completed the disruption and gave a unique opportunity to the Javanese king Kṛtanagara to extend his authority over the dominions of the Śailendras. He conquered Pahang in Malay Peninsula which was a vassal state of San-fo-tsi. He also sent an expedition against Malayu (Jambi) in 1275 A.D., and converted it into a separate state under his own authority. The Padang Rocho inscription of 1286 A.D., referred to above, clearly shows that the new kingdom extended far into the interior, and its king Śrīmat-Tribhuvanarāja-mauli-varma-deva regarded himself as a vassal of Mahārājādhirāja Kṛtanagara. Thus Java planted important outposts in the very heart of the empire of San-fo-tsi, from which it could gradually extend its power and authority in all directions.

For the time being, however, these calculations were upset by the tragic end of Kṛtanagara and the fall of his kingdom. The Javanese army of occupation was withdrawn from Malayu,

and therewith the Javanese authority vanished from the land. But San-fo-tsi, which was not strong enough to resist the Javanese encroachments, was yet too weak to take advantage of this opportunity to re-assert its authority over Malayu. Malayu remained an independent kingdom and soon became a powerful rival of San-fo-tsi.

The fact is that San-fo-tsi had not only to reckon with the growing menace from the side of Java, but also to contend with another great military power, the Thai, who had conquered Siam and were extending their power towards Malay Peninsula. The rise of the Thais of Sukhodaya was an epoch-making event in the history of Indo-China. Towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D. they had conquered the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. We know from the inscription of king Rāma Gaṁheng of Sukhodaya, dated 1292 A.D., that Śrī-Dharmarāja of Ligor, one of the vassal states of San-fo-tsi, had already been conquered by the king of Siam[1]. Thus hemmed in between the rising power of the Thais in the north and the growing kingdom of Malayu in the south, the discomfiture of San-fo-tsi was complete. She lost her position of supremacy and sank into a local power. Henceforth her possessions in the Malay Peninsula formed a bone of contention between Malayu and Siam.

San-fo-tsi continued this inglorious existence for nearly a century. Wang Ta-yuen (1349 A. D.) refers to its king as a local ruler, and says nothing of the great power and splendour of the Mahārāja[2]. The Nāgarakṛtāgama (1365 A. D.) includes Palembang among the list of vassal states of Java, and the Chinese accounts refer to the conquest of San-fo-tsi by Java sometime before 1377 A. D. According to the History of the Ming Dynasty[3], the Chinese emperor sent an envoy

1. Cœdès—Inscriptions de Sukhodaya (1924), pp. 37-48.

2. T'oung Pao, 1915, pp. 61-69.

3. Grœneveldt—Notes, pp. 68 ff.; Ferrand, J.A., 11-XX (1922) pp. 24 ff.

in 1370 A. D. "to command the presence of this country, and in the next year (1371 A. D.) the king, who was called Mahārāja Prabu, sent envoys with tribute and a letter written on a golden leaf".

By the year 1373 A. D., San-fo-tsi was divided into three states, and their rulers, named Tan-ma-sa-na-ho, Ma-na-ha-pau-lin-pang[1], and Seng-ka-liet-yü-lan[2] sent envoys with tribute to the imperial court respectively in 1373, 1374, and 1375 A.D.

In the year 1376 A. D. king Tan-ma-sa-na-ho died and his son Ma-la-cha Wu-li succeeded him. In 1377 A.D. he sent tribute to the emperor and asked permission of the imperial court to ascend the throne. "The Emperor ordered envoys to bring him a seal and a commission as king of San-fo-tsi." The interference of China in the affairs of a vassal state caused the just resentment of the Javanese who had conquered San-fo-tsi. They waylaid and killed the imperial envoys.

Thus there can be no doubt that Java now exercised an effective authority over the kingdom of Sạn-fo-tsi, which was hopelessly divided and sank gradually into insignificance. The Chinese historian pathetically remarks: "After this occurrence San-fo-tsi became gradually poorer and no tribute was brought from this country any more."

During the next twenty-five years the destruction of San-fo-tsi was completed. Its condition in 1397 A. D. is thus described in the History of the Ming Dynasty:

"At that time Java had completely conquered San-fo-tsi and changed its name to Ku-Kang[3]. When San-fo-tsi

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1. Ferrand (op. cit.) restores this name as Mahārāja—Palembang.

2. Ferrand suggests that this king is identical with the minister sent by Java to the Imperial Court in 1325 and 1332 A. D. (op. cit., p. 25, f. n. 2).

3. Ku-Kang is the Chinese name for Palembang up to the present day (Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 71, f.n.1.), but it cannot be taken as

went down, the whole country was disturbed and the Javanese could not keep all the land. For this reason, the local Chinese residents stood up for themselves and elected as their chief a man from Nan-hai in Canton, called Liang Tau-ming, who had lived there a long time and roamed over the sea, and who had the support of several thousand men from Fu-kien and Canton."

In other words, a Chinese pirate set himself up as a king in a part at least of what was once the flourishing kingdom of the Śailendras. This was no doubt due to the weakness of Java. Java was able to destroy the old kingdom, but could not build up a new one in its place. Krom even goes so far as to suggest, that the destruction of San-fo-tsi was a deliberate act on the part of Java. In order to wipe off from the face of the earth a power that had been in the past, and might be in future, a great rival in political and economic spheres, she intentionally and systematically laid waste the country, which afterwards became a stronghold of Chinese adventurers.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century A. D. San-fo-tsi passes from our view. One or more Chinese adventurers established authority in that land from time to time, but their history and intercourse with the imperial court, described in detail in the History of the Ming Dynasty, is outside the scope of this work.

In conclusion we may refer to Kaḍāram. If we are right in identifying it with Keddah, we may refer to Keddah Annals (Hikayat Marong Mahāvaṁsa) for the seven Hindu rulers of the State before the last one adopted Islam in 1474 A. D.[1]

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equivalent to San-fo-tsi. It must have denoted only a part of that kingdom. I have discussed this point in an article in B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XXIII, p. 135, and also in the Appendix.

1. R. O. Winstedt—History of Kedah (J. Str. Br. R. A. S., No. 81, p. 29.).

APPENDIX[1]

§ 1.

The present views about the greatness of the Śailendras have been gradually developed during the last twenty years.

It was Dr. Coedès who first set the ball rolling. In an article, which has now become almost classic, he sought to prove that Śrī-Vijaya is the original form of the name which has been rendered variously as Fo-Che, Che-li-fo-che, Fo-tsi and San-fo-tsi by the Chinese, and Sribuza by the Arabs. As these places could be positively located at Palembang, Śrī-Vijaya also must be identified with that place.[2]

M. Coedès then naturally inferred from the Ligor Inscription that the authority of Śrī-Vijaya had extended to the northern part of Malay Peninsula by the end of the eighth century A. D. He further assumed that the king of the Śailendra dynasty, referred to in face B of the Ligor Ins., was the same as king of Śrī-Vijaya referred to in face A of that inscription.[3]

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1. This Appendix forms the part of an article published in B.E.F.E.O., Vol. xxxiii, pp. 121-141. On the publication of this and another article (corresponding to Chapter I, Bk. II) M. Coedès contributed an article "On the origin of the Śailendras' in J. G. I. S., Vol. I, pp. 61ff. Here he modified some of his old views which will be noted in footnotes.

2. B.E.F.E.O., Vol. xviii, No. 6.

3. M. Coedès States : "Although I had not formulated this hypothesis in a sufficiently precise manner in 1918 (i.e. in article referred to in the preceding footnote) I willingly recognise my part of the responsibility for the identification of the Śailendras with the kings of Śrī-Vijaya" (op. cit., p. 64).

A Śailendra empire, with Palembang as capital,[1] and including Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, was thus the logical conclusion of M. Coedès' studies. He also regarded as probable the views of Chavannes and Gerini, that this empire was identical with the one described by the Arabs as Zābag. Ferrand[2] went a step further, and declared this identity to be beyond all doubt, by equating Zābag with San-fo-tsi. The Śailendra dynasty of Palembang thus came to be regarded as the ruler of a mighty empire in the Pacific, of which glowing descriptions have been preserved by so many Arab writers.

Further light on the greatness of the Śailendras was thrown by Krom[3] and Vogel.[4] These two scholars, writing independently almost at the same time, brought out the important part which the Śailendras must have played in Java. The Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions clearly indicated Śailendra supremacy in Java in 778 and 782 A. D. Starting from this basis, Krom pointed out the great influences which the Buddhist Śailendras must have exerted on the art and religion of Java. In short, he held the view that these Śailendras imported the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism into Java and were instrumental in building

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1. M. Coedès has made the following observation in his recent article (op. cit., p. 63, f.n. 4).

"Everybody (including myself) has had difficulty in losing sight of a note in my first article on Śrī-Vijaya (B.E.F.E.O., XVIII, 6, p. 3, note 5) where I cautiously said, "This expression, 'The kingdom of Palembang' which will frequently occur in course of the present article, is a convenient designation : in employing it, however, I do not wish to affirm that the capital of this State was always at Palembang."

2. G. Ferrand—L'Empire Sumatranais de Śrīvijaya,' J. A., 11-XX, pp. 1-104, 161-244 ; cf. specially pp. 163. ff.

3. Krom—De Soematraansche periode in de Javaansche Geschiedenis, Leiden, 1919. A French summary of this article appeared in B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XIX, No. 5, p. 127.

4. J. P. Vogel—'Het Koninkrijk Śrī-vijaya' B. K. I., 1919, pp. 636 ff.

such famous structures as Barabuḍur, Caṇḍi Mendut and Caṇḍi Kalasan. Thus originated the hypothesis of a Sumatran period in Javanese history, with far-reaching consequences in the political and cultural history of Java.

The table was, however, completely turned by Stutterheim,[1] who amazed the world of scholars by his bold hypothesis, that the Śailendra dynasty belonged to Java, and, later, conquered Śrī-Vijaya. Thus, instead of a Sumatran period in Javanese history, we should, in his opinion, think of a Javanese period in Sumatran history.

§ 2.

In view of this radical difference among the scholars, we propose to review the whole question again from the very beginning, in the clear light of positive data, without any theory or prejudice to obscure our view.

In the first place, let us examine Dr. Coedès' view that the Śailendras were originally kings of Śrī-Vijaya (Palembang). The evidence on which he relies is the Ligor Inscription. In face A, it refers to Śrī-Vijayendrarāja, Śrī-Vijayeśvarabhūpati, and Śrī-Vijayanṛpati. Dr. Coedès takes them all to mean 'king of Śrī-Vijaya,' but Stutterheim proposes the translation "king *over the lords* of Śrī-Vijaya" for the first two expressions. The third expression, of course, can mean only 'king of Śrī-Vijaya.' Stutterheim, in defending his hypothesis about 'overlord,' remarks: "In mentioning his person for the third time, this intentional indication was no longer added, and replaced by the short indication of 'king of Śrī-Vijaya', which, in fact, he was for the people of that country."[2] Now, without ignoring the force of this argument, it must be conceded that the probability lies in favour of Dr. Coedès' view.[3] Although,

1. W. F. Stutterheim—A Javanese period in Sumatran History, Surakarta, 1929. 2. Ibid., p. 14.

3. The correctness of Coedès view was also shown by Mus in B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XXVIII, p. 520.

therefore, we may not regard it as certain, we may hold for the time being that the king of Śrī-Vijaya was intended by those expressions.

But when this king of Śrī-Vijaya is identified with the king of Śailendravaṁśa mentioned in the inscription on face B, we must express a serious doubt. The word '*Svasti*' at the beginning of the second inscription shows that it was an entirely new record, and not a part of the first. A comparison of the alphabets of the two records certainly indicates that they were contemporary or nearly so, but were not incised by the same hand, at one and the same time. Then, in the long eulogy of the king of Śrī-Vijaya in the first inscription, he is nowhere referred to as belonging to the Śailendra dynasty. On the other hand, Śri-Vijaya is not mentioned in the second inscription, which not only refers to a *Rājādhirāja* and *Prabhu* (Lord) of the Śailendra dynasty, but gives us two of his appellations, Viṣṇu and Mahārāja. It is thus legitimate to hold that the two inscriptions must be regarded as emanating from different persons until we find proof to the contrary[1], the face B being obviously later in point of time. Thus the only reasonable conclusions that we can draw from the Ligor inscriptions are that the locality was included in the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya in 775 A. D., and that it acknowledged the suzerainty of a king of the Śailendra dynasty at a subsequent period. There is nothing to prove that the king of Śrī-Vijaya belonged to the Śailendra dynasty.

It has been argued by Dr. Coedès that kings Cūḍāmaṇi-varman and Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman, belonging to the Śailendra dynasty, are referred to in Cola records as rulers of Śrī-Vijaya, and that, therefore, the Śailendra king of Face B of Ligor Ins. may also be regarded as king of Śrī-Vijaya.

On examining the Cola records it appears that the two kings were regarded rather as kings of Kaḍāra (or Kaṭāha=Kedda in Malay Peninsula), also ruling over Śrī-Vijaya, than kings of

1. This is now admitted by Coedès (op. cit, pp. 64-65).

Śrī-Vijaya. In all records, save one, they are referred to simply as rulers of Kaṭāha, Kaḍāra or Kiḍāra. Even in the one exceptional case, *viz.*, the Larger Leiden Grant, the Tamil portion refers to Cūḍāmaṇivarman as king of Kaḍāra, while the Sanskrit portion refers to Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman as lord of Śrī-Vijaya, and extending the suzerainty of Kaṭāha (see ante, p. 168). This last phrase hardly leaves any doubt that the Colas regarded them primarily as rulers of Kaṭāha who had extended their suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya.

While the records of the Śailendra kings have been found in Java and Malay Peninsula, none has yet been found in Sumatra, and there is no evidence whatever to locate the centre of authority of the Śailendra kings in Śrī-Vijaya, at least before the close of the 10th century A. D. It is interesting to note in this connection, that the Śailendra dynasty is not referred to in any of the four inscriptions[1] of Śrī-Vijaya, belonging to the close of the seventh century A. D., when that kingdom had already begun its career of aggrandisement which, according to Krom and others, ultimately led it to establish its mastery over Java.

We have thus definite evidence that the Śailendras were ruling over Malay Peninsula and Java about the end of the eighth century A. D. Now the story of the grand empire of Zābag, consisting of the islands of Indonesia and Malay Peninsula, first appears in Arab writings in the middle of the ninth century A. D.[2]. The earliest Arab writer, Ibn Khordādzbeh (844-848 A. D.), makes the statement that the king of Zābag is named Mahārāja. This immediately recalls to our mind that in the Ligor Inscription, face B, the Śailendra emperor is said to be 'Mahārājanāmā', 'whose name is Mahārāja'. This is interesting, but can not be regarded as a conclusive argument in favour of the view that the empire of

1. These inscriptions have been edited by Coedès (B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XXX, Nos. 1-2). See ante, pp. 122-3.

2. Cf. Bk. II. Ch. I.

Zābag and the Śailendra empire are one and the same. But, on general grounds, it is reasonable to hold, that there was only one such empire, rather than two, in the Pacific in the ninth and subsequent centuries, as is described by the Arab writers. As the Śailendras undoubtedly ruled over an extensive empire in Malayasia during this period, a *prima facie* case is established for the hypothesis that the Śailendra empire is referred to by the Arabs as the empire of the Mahārāja of Zābag. But before this question can be further discussed we have to consider the identity of Zābag.

§ 3.

As stated above, it is now generally accepted that the name Zābag and its variants, used by the Arab writers, denote the same country which the Chinese designate as Che-li-fo-che, Fo-Che, or San-fo-tsi, *i.e.*, Śrī-Vijaya. The question is, however, not certainly free from doubts or difficulties. Ferrand, the latest writer on this subject, has given the following reasons for the identification[1].

1. According to Ligor Inscription, the king of Śrī-Vijaya is called Mahārāja (*Śrī-Mahārāja-nāmā*). The Arab writers all refer to Zābag as the kingdom of Mahārāja.

2. Abūlfidā states, on the authority of previous writers, that "the island of Mahārāja is the island of Sribuza", which means that the two refer to the same island. Sribuza, undoubtedly, stands for Śrī-Vijaya. The island of Mahārāja, according to Dimaskī, is "the mother of the islands belonging to Mahārāja", or, in other words, the capital of the islands forming the domain of Mahārāja. It, therefore, denotes Zābag. We thus get the following equation.

The island of Mahārāja=Zābag=Śrī-Vijaya.

Now the first of these arguments loses its force in view of what has been said before. As to the second, we can easily accept the view that the "island of Mahārāja" is identical

1. Ferrand, op. cit. pp. 163 ff.

with Zābag. It is also proved by the fact that various Arab writers describe some peculiar characteristics of the kingdom which they refer, sometime to Zābag, and sometime to the island of Mahārāja. Thus, Abū Zayd Ḥasan says that Zābag is thickly populated, and there is a continuous line of villages there, so that when the cocks crow in the morning, the cry is taken up by those in the next village, and in this way the sound is taken up for nearly a distance of 100 *parsangs*. The same writer tells the story of the lake in front of the palace, in which the king of Zābag throws a brick of gold everyday. Now Ibrāhīm bin Wāṣif Sāḥ relates the first story about the island of Mahārāja, while Ibn Sa'īd reproduces the second in connection with the island of Mahārāja.

But although the island of Mahārāja is the same as Zābag, its identification with Śrī-Vijaya seems to be impossible. For Abūlfidā, on whose statement Ferrand relies, clearly distinguishes Zābag from Sribuza (Śrī-Vijaya), and gives different longitudes for the two. This view is supported by the testimony of other Arab writers,[1] which Ferrand has altogether ignored. Ibn Sa'īd, for example, definitely distinguishes Sribuza from Zābag. The former he places in 3°-40′ Latitude and 88°-30′ Longitude, while the Latitude and Longitude for the latter are given respectively as 12°-30′ and 151°. This is fully in keeping with his general statement that to the south-east of Sribuza is a large number of islands which constitute the archipelago of Zābag.

Abū Zayd Ḥasan also clearly distinguishes Zābag from Śrī-Vijaya. After describing the kingdom of the Mahārāja, of which Zābag was the capital, he says : "Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the islands called Sribuza and Rāmī." Similarly Mas'ūdī also states that the island of Sribuza is within the empire of Zābag, thus distinguishing the two. Harakī enumerates Zābag and Sribuza as separate islands in the Indian sea. Yāḳūt is still more definite. He not only

1. For the Arab accounts cf. J. A., 11-XX, pp. 52 ff.

mentions the two separately in the list of islands, but further remarks that while Zābag is an island at the border of India and China, Sribuza is an island in India itself.

It is thus quite clear that as against Abūlfidā's statement that the island of Mahārāja is the same as Śrī-Vijaya, there are definite statements by a large number of Arab writers that Zābag and Śrī-Vijaya are two separate islands.

The Arab writers do not enable us to locate Zābag definitely, but they make certain general statements about its position. These may be summed up as follows[1]

(1) India is bounded on the south by the kingdom of Zābag (62,54) which is midway between China and the Balharā kingdom (62). Zābag is at the eastern end of India beyond the sea of Harkand (Bay of Bengal), and to the west of China (66)

(2) Zābag separates China from India (62), and its capital is about a month's journey by sea from China (56)

(3) The Khmer country is situated on the same longitude as Zābag. The distance between the two is ten to twenty days' journey by sea in the direction north to south, or reverse (59). The relative position of Khmer and Zābag is like that of Madura and Ceylon (62).

(4) There is a 'bay of Zābag', and the sea of China forms numerous creeks on the coast of Zābag (62). The islands of Zābag form a large archipelago (63).

(5) The equator commences in the sea to the south of China and passes through the island of Zābag (which contains gold) between the islands of Kalah and Sribuza (65, 73)

(6) The Latitude and Longitude of Zābag, as given by the Arab writers, do not always agree, and as their mode of calculation differs considerably from ours, the utmost that we

1. Numerical figures within brackets in the following passages refer to pages of Ferrand's article (J. A., 11-XX).

can safely deduce from these data is a comparative view of the position of different localities.

Thus Ibn Sa'īd (70) gives us the following data.

	Latitude.	Longitude.
Zābag	12°-30′.	151°.
Sribuza	3°-40′	88°-30′ (Abūlfidā (p. 74) quoting Ibn Sa'īd gives this figure as 108°-30′.
Jāwa	5°	145°.(a)
Lamuri	5°	145.°(a)
Pancūr (Fancūr)	1°-30′	145.°(a)

(a) According to quotation of Abūlfidā (p. 74)

Aṭwāl quoted by Abūlfidā (p. 74)

Zābag		115°

Alberuni quoted by Abūlfidā (p. 74)

Sribuza	1°	140°

The only place in the above list that can be definitely identified is Lamuri or Lambri in Northern Sumatra which evidently is referred to as Jāwa.

It will appear that the island of Zābag is definitely located about 6° to the east and about 7°-30′ to the north of Northern Sumatra which contains Lambri. The Longitudes given for Sribuza differ widely, but all of them place it to the west of Lambri.

All these data would point toward Malay Peninsula which, like Sumatra, was conceived by the Arab writers as consisting of a number of islands. The account of Ibn Sa'īd seems to be very definite on this point. It says that to the south of Zābag is the island of Jāwa. As the towns of Lamuri and Fancūr are placed in Jāwa, it must be identified with the northern part of Sumatra. Thus the island of Mahārāja is to be placed in Malay Peninsula. This is confirmed by the fact, that the author places Kalah in the south-east, either of the island of Mahārāja, or of Jāwa. In any case as Kalah denotes the well-known place Keddah, the island of Mahārāja must be placed to its north. The Longitudes for Jāwa (the western-most point), Zābag, and Kalah are given respectively as 144°,

151°, and 154°. Jāwa is placed between Latitudes 1 and 5 while the island of Mahārāja is placed at the latitude of 12°-30'. Further, Ibn Sa'īd places the islands of Mahārāja not far from Andaman in a south-easterly direction. All these would fit in well with the northern part of Malay Peninsula.

The earliest Arab writer Ibn Khordādzbeh (844-848 A.D.) refers to the island kingdom of Djāba, and although he sometimes uses the form Djāwaga, the following considerations show that the two places were identical[1].

(1) He refers to the island of Kilah (i.e. Kalah) as belonging to the kingdom of Djāba (p. 27), while his contemporary Sulaymān (851 A.D.) and other Arab writers refer to Kalah-bar, the same place as Kilah, as a dependency of Djāwaga.

(2) He refers to the volcano at Djāba (p. 28), which Sulaymān (p. 41) and other Arab writers (p. 60) place close to Djāwaga (p. 41, f.n. 7).

(3) He refers to Djāba, Salahit, and Harladj as lying in close proximity to one another (pp. 27-8), whereas Ibn Rostch (903 A.D.) puts Djāwaga, Salahat, and Harladj as neighbouring islands (pp. 78-9).

Now Edrīsī (1154 A.D.) not only refers to Kilah, Djāba, Salahat, and Haridj (variant of Harladj)[2] as lying in close proximity, about two *parsangs* from one another, but he further states that all these form the territories of one king, who lives in Kilah, and is called Djāba[3]. In other words, the lord of all these states took his title from Djāba, but his headquarters were in Kilah. This statement leaves no doubt that Djāba and also, therefore, Djāwaga, was in Malay Peninsula, and in the 12th century, the overlord of this and the neighbouring islands lived in Kalah. This fits in well with the Cola records which refer to the king as that of Kaṭāha (Kalah).

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1. Cf. Ferrand—Textes (Figures within bracket refer to pages of this book).

2. Ibid., p. 27 f. n. 9.

3. Ibid., pp. 184-5.

We arrive at the same conclusion by a general study of the geographical conception of the Arabs. The early Arab writers refer to a country called Rahma, and, from the details given, there remains no doubt that by that term they meant Pegu, as is indeed admitted by Ferrand[1]. Now Ibn al-Fakīh says: "In India there is a kingdom called Rahma which is situated on the sea-coast. Next to this is the country of Djāwaga whose king is called Mahārāja. There is nobody behind him for he is in the last of the islands[2]."

Now if Rahma denotes Pegu, we have evidently to look for Djāwaga in Malay Peninsula, and to an Arab writer, perhaps ignorant of Borneo, and regarding China, Combodia, and Malaya Peninsula as a series running from north to south, the expression 'there is no country behind (i.e. to the east of) Djāwaga' is not very far from the truth. Of course we must not forget that the name Djāwaga is also used by almost all the Arab writers in the extended sense of Malayasia, and the statements of Ibn al-Fakīh may easily be explained on this supposition. Some other statements may also be similarly explained. Thus Ibn al-Fakīh refers to the volcano *in the neighbourhood of* Zābag[3], and also describes Fancūr as a province or country included in Zābag[4]. As Sumatra, or at least a part of it, was undoubtedly included in the wider designation of Zābag, his statements are not difficult to understand, and do not appear to be inconsistent with the view that Zābag proper denotes Malay Peninsula. As against Fancūr, we may note, for instance, that Ka-Kula which Kia-tan places to the west of Kalah, and which has thus to be located in Malay Peninsula[5], is referred to as a country of Djāwaga.[6]

The Arab statement that Zābag was the borderland between India and China supports its location in the Malay Peninsula. For the port of Kalah is referred to by the Arab writers as the

1. Ibid., pp. 29,36,43 (f.n. 2).
2. Ibid., p. 64.
3. Ibid., p. 59.
4. Ibid., p. 65.
5. B.E.F.E.O., Vol. IV, p. 353.
6. Ferrand—Textes, p. 308.

first Indian country in the neighbourhood of China, and 300 *parsangs* from the latter[1]. If we remember that also Rahma (Pegu) and Khmer[2] are both regarded as parts of India, and that Djāwaga is described as 'separating China from India, or at the eastern end of India, beyond the sea of Harkand, and to the west of China[3]' we should naturally take Djāwaga as denoting the northern part of the Malay Peninsula and the countries adjoining to the north of it.

The Arab statement that Zābag was the borderland between India and China might induce us to include within it Laos and the vaguely defined hilly country on its north which was actually known as Java or Sava.[4] In this vague extended sense, Ḍavāka, used in Samudragupta's inscription, may be regarded as the origin of the forms Jāvaka or Arabian Zābag.[5]

The view that Zābag is to be located in Malay Peninsula is strikingly confirmed by independent evidence. The South Indian literature refers to an oversea kingdom called Śāvaka, Sāvaka, or Jāvaka. We find references to it in the famous epic Maṇimekhalai[6] which mentions its kings Bhūmicandra and Puṇyarāja, and says that the latter was ruling the earth with his capital at Nāgapura. That this country is the same as

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1. Ibid., p. 313. 2. Ibid., p. 64.

3. Ibid., pp. 92, 205. From these two instances we may conclude that although Zābag was in the borderland between India and China, it was technically included in the former. But an earlier writer, Ibn Rosteh (c. 903 A. D.), definitely says that 'behind Multan are many kings as far as Djāwaga. The king of Djāwaga is not included among Indian kings because he lives in the island' (Ibid p. 78.)

4. Gerini—Researches, p. 131.

5. The connection of Zābag with Java, Sava or Ḍavāka, is merely offered as a suggestion which need not be pressed very far in the present state of our knowledge.

6. V.R.R. Dikshitar—Studies in Tamil Literature and History, p. 83 ; S.K. Aiyangar—Maṇimekhalai in its Historical Setting, pp. 147, 149, 165, 180, 182, 199.

Zābag admits of no doubt. As Ferrand has remarked, the two names Jāvaka and Zābag are the only ones in Indonesian geography which can be equated with certainty.[1]

The Ceylonese Chronicle Cullavaṁsa has preserved a detailed account of two invasions of Ceylon by Candrabhānu, king of Jāvaka.[2] Now an inscription of a king Candrabhānu, king of Tāmbraliṅga, has been found at Caiya, near Ligor. Dr. Coedès has shown, by a comparison of the dates, that king Candrabhānu of Ligor, who issued this inscription in 1230 A.D., must be the king referred to in the Ceylonese Chronicle.[3] It is thus definitely established, that by Jāvaka, the Cullavaṁsa meant a part of the Malay Peninsula.

Candrabhānu was helped in his second expedition by the Pāṇḍyas. But, sometime later, the Pāṇḍya king boasts in his inscriptions of having defeated the Jāvaka king as well as Ceylon. Now in an inscription of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, dated A.D. 1264, he claims to have defeated and killed the Śāvaka (king), and in an inscription of the following year we find among the list of defeated kings, king of Kaḍāram (and no king of Śāvaka)[4] The conclusion is almost irresistible, that Śāvaka or Jāvaka and Kaḍāra both refer to the kingdom of Candrabhānu in the Malay Peninsula. Thus the Ceylonese Chronicle agrees with the Arab writers in locating Jāvaka in the Malay Peninsula. Further, the Arab writer Sulaymān, writing in 851 A.D., has remarked that "Kalah-bar and Zābag are ruled over by the same king." Kalah-bar is, no doubt, the same as Keddah, and thus Keddah and Zābag formed a united kingdom.

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1. Op. cit., p. 172.

2. Cullavaṁsa, Ch. 83, vv. 36-48; Ch. 88 vv. 62, 75. See ante, pp. 197 ff.

3. B.K.I., 1927, pp. 463 ff. See ante, p. 198.

4. These inscriptions are reported in S. I. Ep Rep. (No. 588 of 1917, and No. 356 of 1906). Their contents are summarised by Ferrand, J. A., 11-XX, pp. 48-49.

The Arab writers of the tenth century A.D. refer to the extension of the authority of Zābag over the various islands of the Pacific. But Abū Zayd Ḥasan (c. 916 A.D.), our earliest authority in this respect, clearly distinguishes the kingdom of Zābag proper, with its capital city called Zābag, from the island called Sribuza,[1] forming a dependent state of the former. In Sribuza we cannot fail to recognise Śrī-Vijaya. Thus it is quite clear that Zābag was originally a different kingdom, and had extended its authority over Śrī-Vijaya at least as early as the tenth century A.D. It is, no doubt, due to this extension of political authority of Zābag over the various islands, that the Arab writers gave the name of Zābag to the whole of Malayasia. But the island of Zābag proper was always distinguished from the Zābag empire comprising the archipelago. In view of the agreement between the accounts of Arab writers and the Cullavaṁsa, we are justified in locating the kingdom of Zābag proper in the Malay Peninsula, probably in the neighbourhood of Ligor.

The discussion of the identity of Zābag cannot be closed without a reference to the Chinese data. It is now generally accepted that the kingdom referred to as San-fo-tsi in the Chinese documents from tenth to fourteenth century A.D. is the same as Zābaj or Zābag. But there are two implications in this theory which, in my opinion, have been tacitly accepted, without sufficient evidence. These are : (1) that San-fo-tsi, Che-li-fo-che, Zābag, and Sribuza are all equivalent to Śrī-Vijaya ; and (2) that all these are to be identified with modern Palembang.

As regards (1) we have seen above that Zābag is different from Sribuza, and this alone is sufficient to show the weakness of the theory. Che-li-fo-che and Sribuza are both obviously equivalent to Śrī-Vijaya, but the same cannot be said either of San-fo-tsi or of Zābag. M. Aurousseau, no doubt, equates San-fo-tsi with Che-li-fo-che,[2] but Ferrand is of opinion that it

1. Ferrand, op. cit, p. 56. 2. B.E.F.E.O. Vol. XXIII, p. 476.

is impossible to equate San-fo-tsi with Śrī-Vijaya from a philological point of view.[1] Further, the Chinese accounts do not seem to imply that Che-li-fo-che is the same as San-fo-tsi. The history of the Ming Dynasty[2] says that San-fo-tsi was formerly called Kan-da-li (or Kan-to-li). According to Chau Ju-kua[3] San-fo-tsi began to have relations with China during 904-907 A.D. Both these statements are definitely against the proposed identification. It is true that Cūḍāmaṇivarman and Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman are referred to as kings of San-fo-tsi, but that does not prove that San-fo-tsi was Śrī-Vijaya. For, as stated above, we have no right to infer from the Cola records that these two were primarily kings of Śrī-Vijaya. We should rather regard them as kings of Kaḍāram, and Śrī-Vijaya was included in their realm. Thus the fact remains that no satisfactory evidence has yet been brought forward to show that San-fo-tsi is equivalent to Śrī-Vijaya. It is noteworthy that there is no reference to Che-li-fo-che in Chinese records after 742 A.D., while San-fo-tsi makes its appearance early in the tenth century A.D., shortly after the first reference to Zābag by Arab writers. Of course if ultimately San-fo-tsi proves to be the same as Śrī-Vijaya, we have to dissociate the former from Zābag.

The identity of San-fo-tsi and Palembang also does not appear to be beyond question. It evidently rests upon the following statement of Ma Huan (1416 A. D.): "Ku-kang is the same country which was formerly called San-fo-tsi ; it is also called Palembang, and is under the supremacy of Java."[4] The History of the Ming dynasty also informs us that sometime before 1397 A. D., "Java had completely conquered San-fo-tsi and changed its name to Ku-Kang.[5]

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1. Ferrand, op. cit. p. 170.
2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 68. Ferrand, op. cit. p. 24.
3. Edited by Hirth and Rockhill, p. 62. Ferrand, op. cit, p. 14.
4. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 73. I have substituted San-fo-tsi for San-bo-tsai of Groeneveldt.
5. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 71.

These statements appear to be decisive in favour of the identification of San-fo-tsi with Palembang. But when we read the detailed account which follows the statement quoted above from the History of the Ming dynasty, the view is bound to be changed. It tells us in effect that when the Javanese had conquered San-fo-tsi, they could not keep all the land and the whole country was disturbed. It then describes how two Chinese adventurers set up as kings of San-fo-tsi and Ku-Kang. From this Groeneveldt has made the obvious inference that Ku-Kang and San-fo-tsi were different places.[1] It might appear that Ku-Kang was the name given to that part of the extensive kingdom of San-fo-tsi which was under the control of Java, and by a natural process, the name of the former kingdom, San-fo-tsi, came to be applied to the latter, which originally formed merely a part of it. But then we should remember that San-fo-tsi and Ku-kang are treated as two different places in Tao-yi Che-lio (1349-50 A.D.), *i.e.* long before Java finally conquered San-fo-tsi. All these certainly go against the view that San-fo-tsi is equivalent to Ku-kang or Palembang.[2] That San-fo-tsi and Palembang were different places is also proved by the account of Chau Ju-kua who includes Pa-lim-fong or Palembang among the dependencies of San-fo-tsi.[3] Palembang was thus a dependent kingdom of, and therefore different from, San-fo-tsi.

We have thus no satisfactory evidence for the identification of either (1) Śrī-Vijaya with San-fo-tsi, or (2) of San-fo-tsi with Palembang. It is needless to add that the identification of Śrī-Vijaya with Palembang, so far as it is based on these two identifications, cannot be seriously maintained. At the same

1. Ibid., f.n. 4; cf. also p. 76.

2. Ferrand, op. cit. p. 167. The attempts of Rockhill and Pelliot to explain away the difficulty, and maintain the identity of San-fo-tsi and Palembang do not appear to me to be at all successful (cf. T'oung Pao, 1915, pp. 134-5; 1933, p. 376).

3. p. 62.

time it is only fair to add that there is a strong presumption in favour of this identification, as the inscriptions of Śrī-Vijaya have been found in this locality, and one from Palembang itself seems to refer to the foundation of Śrī-Vijaya.[1]

The only safe clue for the identification of San-fo-tsi is to regard it as equivalent to Arabic Zābaj or Zābag. In that case San-fo-tsi should be located in Malay Peninsula, and several circumstances support this view.

The Chinese writers of the Ming period assert that Kan-to-li was the old name of San-fo-tsi. The History of the Liang dynasty refers to several embassies from Kan-to-li to China, one between 454 and 465 A. D. and three others in 502,519 and 520 A. D. The history of the Chen dynasty refers to another embassy from the kingdom in 563 A. D.

Gerini[2] was the first to point out that "there was, and still exists, Khanthuli or Kanturi district on the east coast of Malay Peninsula which may very well be old Kan-to-li of First Sung and Liang periods." But the chief objections against this view were the generally accepted identification of San-fo-tsi with Palembang, and the fact that Kan-to-li is mentioned as a separate state in 820 A. D., whereas Palembang was called by the Chinese as Che-li-fo-che for at least 150 years before that.

Now the view propounded above disposes of both these objections, and I may point out that Kan-to-li (or Kin-to-li), which is regarded by the Chinese as the old name of San-fo-tsi, resembles to a great extent Kaḍāra or Kiḍāra, the Cola name for the kingdom of Cūḍāmaṇivarman and Śrī-Māravijayottuṅgavarman who are referred to in the Chinese records as kings of San-fo-tsi. It is thus legitimate to suggest, as a not improbable hypothesis, that the first Chinese name, Kan-to-li, corresponded to Kaḍāra, while the second Chinese name, San-fo-tsi was equivalent to Arabic Zābaj or Zābag.

1. Cf. B.K.I., 1931, pp. 508 ff. J.G.I.S., Vol. I, p. 63, f.n. 7.

2. Gerini—Researches, pp. 602 ff.

Except for the addition of a nasal sound in both Kan-to-li and San-fo-tsi, these two names seem to correspond quite well with Kaḍāra and Zābaj. Further, it is to be noted that corresponding to the variant forms Kaḍāra and Kiḍāra in the Cola records, we have Kan-to-li and Kin-to-li in the Chinese annals.[1]

The location of Kan-to-li, as suggested by Gerini, is supported by the fact that both the History of the Liang dynasty and Han Yü mention Kan-to-li along with Champā and Kāmboja. Ma-Twan-lin also enumerates in a course with Kan-to-li, P'an-p'an, Lan-ya-hsiu, and Po-li, the first two of which can be definitely located in Malay Peninsula. All these would suit the location of Kan-to-li in Malay Peninsula far better than in Sumatra, as Ferrand does, on the authority of Ibn Majid (A.D. 1462) who mentions Kandari as a general name of Sumatra.

I am indebted to Dr. Coedès for an additional argument, which the Chinese sources supply, in favour of locating San-fo-tsi in the Malay Peninsula.[2] The Chinese Charts of Father Ricci (beginning of the 17th century) place Kieou-Kiang and San-fo-tsi in the middle of the Peninsula.[3] Dr. Coedès, however, observes that the Charts give fantastic localisations for this region ; besides their late date takes away much of the weight of their evidence.[4] But taken in conjuction with the other Chinese evidences quoted above, the Charts constitute, in my opinion, an important evidence.

§ 4.

We must now go back to the Nālandā copper-plate which refers to the Śailendra kings as ruling over Yavabhūmi and

1. Not being a sinologue or a philologist I do not stress these points very much, but merely offer a suggestion to scholars who are competent to deal with them. It may be noted that my main thesis does not rest on these identifications.

2. J.G.I.S., Vol I., p. 63.

3. The Geographical Journal, Vol. LIII, pp. 20-21.

4. Op. cit. f.n. 3.

Suvarṇadvīpa. Paṇḍit H. Śāstrī repeats the generally accepted view when he says: "The Yavabhūmi and the Suvarṇadvīpa are evidently identical with the Yavadvīpa and the Suvarṇadvīpa islands spoken of in Sanskrit works like the Rāmāyaṇa or the Kathāsaritsāgara, and are unquestionably the modern Java and Sumatra."[1]

Unfortunately, none of these identifications is beyond question. Ferrand has challenged the identification of Yavadvīpa of Rāmāyaṇa with Java, and whether one agrees with him or not, it is difficult to ignore altogether the arguments of considerable weight which he has brought forward in support of his thesis that Yavadvīpa denotes Sumatra and not Java.[2] But we shall see presently that Yavabhūmi is perhaps to be taken in a different sense altogether.

As regards Suvarṇadvīpa, the assumption that it unquestionably denotes Sumatra is as unwarranted as the assertion that immediately follows, *viz.*, 'that Suvarṇadvīpa is different from Suvarṇabhūmi.' The question has been fully discussed above in Bk. I., Chap. IV, and it has been shown that the name Suvarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇadvīpa was indifferently used to denote a wide region including Burma, Malay Peninsula, and the islands of the Indian archipelago.

I am inclined to agree with Paṇḍit H. Śāstrī that the author of the Nālandā plate regarded Yavabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa as one and the same. If this view be correct we can easily equate Yavabhūmi with the Arabic Zābag and its variants, and may thus hold Yavabhūmi=Zābag=Suvarṇadvīpa=San-fo-tsi.

§ 5.

As a result of the preceding discussions we can now consider briefly the relations of the Śailendras with Sumatra and Java.

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 312.

2. Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 173 ff. See ante, pp. 98 ff.

It is well-known that, with the exception of Stutterheim, all scholars locate the seat of authority of the Śailendras in Sumatra. It will appear from what has been said above that there is no warrant for such an assumption. In view of the insufficient nature of evidence, it is unwise to be dogmatic one way or the other, but I hope it will be readily conceded, that barring the identification of San-fo-tsi with Palembang, which is at best a very doubtful one, there is no evidence to regard Sumatra as the home of the Śailendras. Only in the Cola Inscriptions of eleventh century A. D. they are referred to as kings of Kaṭāha and Śrī-Vijaya, very much in the same way as the Arab writers from the tenth century onwards regard Sribuza as one of the dependent states of Zābag. The growing commercial importance of Śrī-Vijaya, and perhaps its past historical record, invested it with special importance, and hence it formed an important centre of the growing Śailendra Empire. The evidence at our disposal proves nothing beyond this.

Indeed, the case for Java is much stronger. We find here two records, definitely referring to the Śailendra kings, and belonging to the earliest period of their history known to us. At least one of these kings, Rakai Paṇaṁkaraṇa, appears in the famous Kedu inscriptions among the predecessors of the Javanese kings of Matarām. It is also possible to identify Samaroṭṭuṅga, mentioned in a Kedu record dated 847 A.D., with Samarāgravīra of the Nālandā Inscription.[1] These facts, added to the existence of Barabuḍur and other famous temples, may tempt us to the view that Java was the original home of the Śailendras. The temptation is increased if we remember how easy and natural it would be to derive Zābag from Yava, and how certain statements of Arab writers would admirably suit Java. We may refer, for example, to three characteristics

1. See later, Bk. III, Chap I.

of Djāwaga which are constantly referred to by Arab writers.

(1) There is a volcano in the neighbourhood of Djāwaga.

(2) There is no land behind Djāwaga, and it is the last of the islands.

(3) The whole country is fertile, and the villages succeed one another without interruption, so that the cries of cocks in the morning would be heard continuously for 100 parsangs.

Now all these characteristics would be more applicable to Java than Malay Peninsula. The statement that Djāwaga is situated on the borderland between India and China may not be regarded as a decisive argument against Java, if we remember that the early Arab writers had a somewhat vague notion in this respect. It is clear, however, that some of their positive statements, particularly those about the latitude and longitude of Djāwaga, as compared with those of Sribuza and other well-known places, cannot apply to Java. It is thus legitimate to hold that Djāwaga perhaps originally meant Java, but later, the Arab writers located it in some place in the Malay Peninsula. This confusion can be easily explained by the transference of the seat of authority of the Śailendras from Java to Malay Peninsula in the ninth or tenth century A.D. Perhaps the Arab writers applied the original name of the Śailendra kingdom to its new seat of authority.

The only other alternative view, which can be justified by available evidences, is to locate Djāwaga, and therefore the seat of authority of the Śailendras, in Malay Peninsula from the beginning.

The Malay Peninsula is indeed poor in antiquities as compared with Java, but not poorer in this respect than Sumatra, where Zābag is usually located. Wilkinson goes even further. Referring to the antiquities and some other characteristic features of the northern part of the Peninsula he remarks: "All these facts point to the past existence of powerful states

and high standard of wealth and luxury in the north of the Malay Peninsula."[1]

Quite recently, Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales made an archaeological survey of several ancient sites in the Malay Peninsula, and has emphatically endorsed the hypothesis that the centre of the mighty empire of the Śailendras was in Malay Peninsula. He holds that Caiya or Jaiya was the first capital of this empire, and when this city was overrun by the Khmers in the twelfth century, the capital was transferred further south to Nakhon Sri Thammarat.[2]

Indeed it is in Malay Peninsula alone that we can trace the rule of the Śailendras from beginning to end. The Ligor inscription, the series of South Indian inscriptions referring to friendly or hostile relations of Colas with Śailendras of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāra, the continuity of similar relations between Kaḍāra and Śāvaka king on the one hand and the Pāṇḍya and Ceylonese kings on the other, and the location of Zābag or Śāvaka in Malay Peninsula, all these constitute a strong argument in favour of regarding Malay Peninsula as the home of the Śailendras, and the seat of the great empire over which they ruled.

Such an assumption would further explain the spread of the Malay people and their language all over Indonesia, and the extensive application of the name Yava, Jāwa or its equivalents in Sumatra, Cambodia, Laos, and Annam. In other words, the trace of the old Malay empire of the Śailendras called Jāvaka can still be found in the wide-spread character of the Malay race and language all over Indonesia, and the wide use of the geographical name to its different constituent parts.

§ 6.

In conclusion we must lay stress on the fact that there are some reasons to believe that the Śailendras were new arrivals from India. This would explain the introduction of Nāgarī alphabet in their inscriptions and of a new name, Kaliṅga,

1. R. G. Wilkinson—History of the Peninsular Malays, 3rd Ed. p. 15.
2. I.A.L., Vol. IX, No 1, pp. 1-25. See ante, pp. 80-7.

for Malayasia, as we know from the Chinese records. The portion of the western coast of Bay of Bengal, which was known as Kaliṅga in old days, contained the famous port 'Paloura' which was from very early times the port of embarkation for the Far East. The same region was ruled over in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. by the Gāṅga[1] and Śailodbhava[2] dynasties, and behind them, in the Vindhya region, we find another dynasty called the Śailas. In the preamble of an inscription, this family is said to have descended from Gaṅgā, the daughter of Himālaya (Śailendra), and the first king is referred to as *Śailavaṁśa-tilaka* (ornament of the Śaila family).[3] Thus the Gāṅga, Śailodbhava, and Śaila dynasties may all be the source of a name like Śailendra.

The Gāṅgas were a wide-spread tribe, the most notable being the Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga and Mysore. According to the tradition preserved among the Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga, Kāmārṇava, giving over the paternal kingdom to his uncle, set out with his four brothers to conquer the earth, and took possession of the Kaliṅga country. The accession of Kāmārṇava would fall in the eighth century A. D., according to the regnal years supplied in their records.[4] But, before him also, Gāṅga kings ruled in Kaliṅga, probably from the sixth century A. D.

The title 'Lord of Tri-Kaliṅga' was borne by the Gāṅga kings from the sixth century A. D. till a late period. Now the expression Tri-Kaliṅga is an old one, and is perhaps preserved even now in the Telinga or Talaings of lower Burma. If so, we may find here an evidence of the Gāṅga conquest of lower Burma in the eighth century A. D. From this base in lower Burma they might have rapidly spread to the Far East.

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1. Cf. e.g., Urlam plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 330 ff.
2. Cf. e g., Buguda Plates, Ep. Ind., Vol III, p. 41.
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 41.
4. Cf. Ep. Carn, Vol. IX. Introduction, p. 9 ; Eng. Translation of Inscriptions, pp. 39 ff. ; Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, APP. I, p. 17, and the references given there. J.B.O. R.S., Vol. XVIII, pp. 285 ff.

It is interesting to note that the names of the Gāṅga kings end in Mahārāja or Mahādhirāja, as *e.g.* Viṣṇugopa-Mahādhirāja, and Śrī-puruṣa Pṛthvī-Koṅgani-Mahārāja. In the former of these we get an almost exact form of "Viṣṇvākhyo Mahārājanāmā," *i.e.* having the name of Viṣṇu Mahārāja, which we meet with in the Ligor inscription. It is not, of course, suggested that the two kings were identical, but the agreement in the very unusual fashion of including Mahārāja as part of the name is certainly striking. Reference may also be made to the city named Gangganegara (see p. 188, f. n. 2).

Thus while no definite conclusion is possible at the present state of our knowledge, indications are not altogether wanting that the Śailendras originally came from Kaliṅga, and spread their power in the Far East through Lower Burma and Malay Peninsula.[1]

1. Since the publication of my paper on the Śailendras in B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 121 ff—of which this appendix is the English original—several views have been put forward regarding the origin of the Śailendras. Dr. Coedès suggested that they were kings of Funan, and being evicted therefrom, carved out a kingdom in Java in the 8th century A.D., and claimed back their own possessions in the 9th cent. A.D. (J.G.I.S., Vol, I, pp. 66 ff.). Dr. J. Przyluski opposes this view and holds that Śailendravaṁśa derives its origin from 'Śailendra', originally an Indonesian deity of the Bataks, enthroned upon a high mountain, who has been successively identified with Śiva Giriśa and the supreme Buddha (J.G.I.S., Vol. II, pp. 28 ff.). Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri infers from some expressions in the Cangal Ins. of Saṅjaya that the Pāṇḍyan country was the original home of the Hindu-Javanese immigrants and their rulers, and he thinks it possible that Saṅjaya himself was a member of the Śailendravaṁśa. (T. B. G., 1935, pp. 610-11). The last two views do not appear to me to be even plausible. The view of Coedès is not in conflict with my theory. As regards Prof. Sastri's criticism (op. cit.) of this theory, it is partly based on misunderstanding of my arguments. For the rest, I may point out to him that my view is a tentative one, and is not to be regarded as one that can be definitely proved. Indeed this was quite clearly stated in my paper, and has been properly understood in this spirit by others.

Book III

RISE AND FALL OF THE INDO-JAVANESE EMPIRE

BOOK III

Chapter I.

THE KINGDOM OF MATARĀM

We have seen above that several Hindu kingdoms flourished in Java as early as the fifth or sixth century A. D. But we do not possess any detailed knowledge of the history of the country till we come to the eighth century A. D. About the beginning of this century, a powerful kingdom was founded in central Java by king Sannāha. Some information about him and his successor is furnished by the Cangal inscription.[1] This record is engraved on a stone slab, which was discovered among the ruins of a Śaiva temple at Cangal, on the plateau of the Wukir Hill in Kedu. It contains twelve verses in Sanskrit. It begins by stating that a Śivaliṅga was set up in the Śaka year 654, *i.e.* 732 A. D., by a king named Sañjaya, son of Sannāha. Then, after an invocation of the gods Śiva (vv. 2-4), Brahmā (v. 5), and Viṣṇu (v. 6), it praises the island of Java (v. 7), and refers to its king Sanna or Sannāha who ruled righteously like Manu for a long time. He was succeeded by Sañjaya (vv. 8-12) who was ruling at the time the record was set up. Certain statements of the inscription have led scholars to think that the dynasty had recently emigrated to Java from a locality named Kuñjara-Kuñja in South India. The relationship between Sannāha and Sañjaya, although

1. Edited by Kern, V. G., Vol. VII, pp. 117 ff; and commented on by B. C. Chhabra, J. A. S. B. L. Vol. 1 pp. 34 ff. The latter has pointed out that there is no definite statement in the record in support of the generally accepted interpretation that Sañjaya was the son of Sannāha, and that Sañjaya's sister had some share in the administration.

generally presumed to be that of father and son, cannot be regarded as absolutely certain on account of some lacuna in the record.

King Sañjaya is referred to in this inscription as a "conqueror of the countries of neighbouring kings." Ordinarily such a vague statement really does not mean much, but there is literary evidence to corroborate it in this particular instance. A long list of the countries conquered by king Sañjaya, son of Sena (presumably the same as Sanna), is given in a book called Carita Parahyangan. After mentioning his conquests in Java and Bali it says :

"From there Sañjaya proceeded to the Malayu country; he fought with Kemir (Khmer), the rahyang Gana is defeated. Again he fought with Keling, sang Śrī-Vijaya is defeated. He fought with Barus, ratu Jayadāna is defeated. He fought with China, pati Srikaladarma is defeated. Then rahyang Sañjaya returned from his over-sea expedition to Galuh[1]".

It is difficult to decide how far we can accept, as historical, the detailed account, given above, of the victories gained by Sañjaya. While Dr. Stutterheim is inclined to take the passage at its face value[2], Dr. Krom finds in it nothing more than a possibility that Sañjaya led some expeditions across the sea.[3] Dr. Stutterheim even goes further. He takes Sañjaya to be the founder of the Śailendra dynasty, referred to above in Book II, and regards his conquests, as mentioned in Carita Parahyangan, as mere precursors of the military expeditions, which the Śailendras sent against Champā and Kāmboja in the latter part of the eighth century A.D. (see ante pp. 156 ff.)

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1. T. B. G., 1920, pp. 417 ff. Quoted by Stutterheim in "Javanese period in Sumatran History," p. 18. Carita Parahyangan is written in old Sundanese. A short account of the book, together with the Text, is given by Poerbatjaraka in T. B. G., Vol. 59, pp. 394 ff, 402 ff.

2. Op. cit. Stutterheim would, however, substitute Champā for China.

3. Krom—Geschiedenis[2], p. 126.

This revolutionary theory of Dr. Stutterheim is based upon a Grant, engraved on two copper-plates[1], which are now in Srivedari Museum, Solo, but of which the original find-spot is unknown. The inscription is almost an exact copy of two other inscriptions, one on stone, and the other on a copper-plate, which were previously known. But as some parts of the inscription were missing in both, the identity could not be recognised. Of these two copies the find-spot of the stone inscription is not known, though it was believed by Rouffaer to have come from eastern Java. The copper or rather bronze plate was found at Nagadireja, Kedu.

The copper-plate grant at Solo is dated 907 A.D., but the stone inscription bears a date, which was formerly read as 84x Śaka, and then doubtfully restored as 830 Śaka (928 A.D.). In view of the fact that the Solo inscription gives the date clearly as 907 A.D., Dr. Stutterheim naturally suggests that as the date of the grant, which may hereafter be referred to as the Kedu grant.

The inscription records a grant made by Śrī Mahārāja rakai Watukura dyah Balitung Śrī Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu in A. D. 907. The most interesting part of the inscription, for our present purpose, is the reference to a long line of past kings whose names are invoked as the protectors of the kingdom.

The list of kings is as follows :—

1. Rakai Matarām, sang ratu Sañjaya.
2. Śrī Mahārāja rakai Panangkaran.
3. Śrī Mahārāja rakai Panunggalan.
4. „ „ „ Warak.
5. „ „ „ Garung.
6. „ „ „ Pikatan.
7. „ „ „ Kayuwangi.
8. „ „ „ Watuhumalang.
9. „ „ „ Watukura.

1. T. B. G., Vol. LXVII (1927), pp. 172. ff.

Dr. Stutterheim first of all identified the second king of the list, Śrī Mahārāja rakai Panangkaran, with Kariyāna Paṇaṁkaraṇa, the Śailendra king referred to in the Kalasan inscription. This identity of a king of the Matarām dynasty of Java with a Śailendra king is the starting point of his theory. He then proceeds to identify Sañjaya with the grandfather of Bālaputradeva, called 'Vīra-vairi-mathan-ānugat-ābhidhāna' in the Nālandā copper-plate, mainly on the ground that the name of the former, "All-conqueror," could be quite well a synonym of the latter—"heroic destroyer of enemies." Proceeding still further, he identifies Paṇaṁkaraṇa, who founded the temple of Tārā (Kalasan ins.) with Samarāgravīra who married Tārā (Nālandā charter), on the assumption that the queen Tārā was identified with the goddess. Lastly he identifies Dharmasetu, the name of the father of Tārā, as read by Pandit H. Sastri in the Nālandā charter, with Dharmapāla, the famous emperor of Bengal, on the ground that the name Dharmapāla could, in poetry, be regarded as a synonym of Dharmasetu.[1] Thus, on the whole, Sañjaya and his son, the first two kings of Matarām referred to in the Kedu grant, are regarded by Dr. Stutterheim as the first two Śailendra kings mentioned in the Nālandā charter as grandfather and father of Bālaputra. He then draws the obvious conclusion that while the Śailendras were really the Javanese ruling dynasty of Matarām, a son, perhaps the youngest son of Panangkaran, ruled over Sumatra, which was a part of the Javanese empire under the Śailendras.

It must be admitted at the very outset, that the somewhat elaborate structure, raised by Dr. Stutterheim, rests on a rather weak foundation. The utmost that can be said in favour of his theory is that it is not an improbable one, but the amount of positive evidence which he has yet been able to bring forward is insufficient to command a general assent to his views.

1. "Javanese Period etc.," pp. 6-13.

As regards the identification of Dharmasetu and Dharmapāla, the name of the king, as written in the Nālandā charter, is clearly Varmasetu. Dr. Stutterheim has referred to the use of the word Dharmasetu in the Kelurak inscription. But the word is very commonly used, in the sense of a pious foundation, in the inscriptions of the Pālas and other dynasties[1], and no emphasis, therefore, need be laid upon it.

The identity of Paṇaṁkaraṇa and Samarāgravīra on the basis of the common name, Tārā, can hardly be accepted as satisfactory, and the same may be said of the identification of Sañjaya and Vīra-vairi-mathana.

The only view of Dr. Stutterheim that would readily command assent, is his identification of Panangkaran, the second king in the Kedu list, with the Śailendra king of the same name, mentioned in the Kalasan inscription. Now this one identification would have gone a great way to support the theory of Dr. Stutterheim, if we could readily agree with him that the names of kings mentioned in the Kedu inscription are those of Sañjaya and his descendants. If that were so, the identity of any one of them with a Śailendra king would have certainly justified us in regarding the kings of Matarām as belonging to Śailendra family. Unfortunately, as Dr. Bosch has pointed out,[2] there is nothing in the Kedu inscription to justify the assumption that the kings mentioned in it all belong to the same family. It merely refers to a long series of kings, who protected Matarām before king rakai Watukura, in whose reign it was recorded. Thus while all these kings must be regarded as having reigned in Matarām before rakai Watukura, they cannot, without further evidence, be regarded as his ancestors.

We may, therefore, resume the history of Java, from where we left it, without any further reference to the theory of

1. E. g. in line 47 of the Monghyr copperplate of Devapāla. (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., pp. 254-257). Cf. J. G. I. S., Vol. III, pp. 110-11.

2. T. B G., Vol. 69 (1929), p. 136.

Dr. Stutterheim, which would put an altogether new complexion on the whole situation. We have seen that early in the eighth century A. D. king Sannāha had founded a kingdom in central Java, where his son and successor Sañjaya, a great follower of Śaivism, was ruling in 732 A. D. Tradition of a later age credits this king with extensive conquests, but the amount of truth contained in it we are unable to verify. The very fact, however, that such traditions have gathered round a historical king, would justify us in regarding him as a powerful ruler, who extended his authority far beyond the borders of his own realm[1].

Now as the eighth king in the list, furnished by the Kedu inscription, reigned at the beginning of the tenth century A. D., the first king may be presumed to have flourished about the beginning or middle of the eighth century A. D. It would, therefore, be quite reasonable to identify the first king Sañjaya in that list with king Sañjaya of the Cangal inscription dated, 732 A. D.

This identification at once enables us not only to connect king Sañjaya with Matarām, but also to gather some information regarding the later history of his kingdom. But unfortunately, here, again, the language of the Kedu inscription is not altogether free from ambiguity. Bosch has justly raised a doubt if the expression 'rakai Matarām sang ratu Sañjaya', with which the list of kings begins, really refers to one person, *viz.*, king Sañjaya, rakai Matarām, or to two persons, one called 'rakai Matarām', and the other called 'sang ratu Sañjaya'.[2] In view of the fact, that all the other kings are referred to under their *rakai* title, the probability is that 'rakai Matarām' refers to Sañjaya. So far as the Kedu inscription goes, the title 'rakai Matarām' has no more significance than the other *rakai* titles which follow. But the fact remains that from the

1. Stutterheim finds a reference to king Sañjaya and his burial-temple in the Pojok Ins. (B. K. I. 1933, pp. 282 ff.).

2. T. B. G., Vol. 69 (1929), p. 136, f.n. 4.

beginning of the tenth century A. D., when the Kedu inscription was recorded, the kingdom of rakai Watukura and his successors, who ruled over both central and eastern Java, was officially styled 'the kingdom of Matarām'. Saĩjaya, rakai Matarām, may thus be looked upon as the founder of the kingdom; at least there is no doubt that he was regarded as such in the tenth century A. D.

Now, Matarām was the name of a famous kingdom in Java, ruled over by Muhammadan Sultans since the last years of the sixteenth century A. D. Krom is inclined to regard this also as the seat of the old kingdom of that name. He rightly points out that the adoption of the title 'prince of Matarām' by some members of the royal family of Majapahit shows that the name never went out of use, and it is, therefore, exceedingly likely, though of course by no means certain, that the Muhammadan Sultans merely revived the use of an old name.[1]

On the other hand, Dr. Stutterheim locates the kingdom further north. Now, the charters of the Matarām dynasty make it clear that the Kraton (the royal palace), and therefore also the capital of the kingdom, was at first at Meḍang. Dr. Stutterheim identifies this place with Meṇḍang Kamulan in Grobogan (Semarang) on the basis of a local tradition recorded by Sir Stamford Raffles[2]. But, as Krom points out, the new Kraton, according to the tradition recorded by Raffles, was founded from Prambanan, and so the old Kraton of Matarām kingdom must be placed in or near Prambanan. The proximity of the big temples, Lara-Jongrang, Plaosan, and Sajivan also fully support this view.[3]

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1. Krom—Geschiedenis², p. 169.

2. "Javanese Period etc", p. 19. Cf. also, B. K. I., Vol. 89 (1932), pp. 278-82 where Stutterheim has shown that the burial-temples of the kings were not necessarily in the vicinity of the Kratons (royal palaces).

3. Krom—Geschiedenis², p. 170.

Now, as we have seen above, there are good grounds to identify the second king of the Kedu inscription, Śrī Mahārāja rakai Panangkaran with the Śailendra king of that name mentioned in the Kalasan inscription, dated 778 A. D. It would follow in that case that during the reign of king Sañjaya, or his successor, a part at least of central Java was conquered by the Śailendras.

How did the dynasty of Sañjaya fare in the hands of the Śailendras ? The question is difficult to answer. But one thing seems to be certain. The find-spots of Śailendra inscriptions, as well as the reference to a Śailendra king as one of the protectors of the kingdom of Matarām, leave no doubt that that kingdom, or the Jogyakerta district, passed from the hands of Sañjaya's family. But, as we shall see later, the last three or four kings of the list supplied by the Kedu inscription must have been ruling in the same region. These kings may be presumed to belong to the family of Sañjaya, or at least to claim their rights to the kingdom from him. Thus central Java, or at least the southern part of it, belonged to the kingdom founded by Sañjaya's father, from the beginning of the eighth to the beginning of the tenth century A. D., except for the period of Śailendra supremacy. The question naturally arises, where did the family rule during this interval ?

A passage in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty perhaps enables us to answer this question. It says : "The king lives in the town of Java (Chö-p'o). His ancestor Ki-yen had transferred the capital to P'o-lu-kia-sseu towards the east. On different sides there are twenty-eight small countries, all acknowledging the supremacy of Java".[1]

This account is supplemented by two important details in other Chinese texts. From these we learn that the transfer of the capital took place during the period A. D. 742-755,

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 13, as corrected by Pelliot, B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, pp. 224-25, 413.

and that the new capital was eight days' journey to the east of the then capital, Java.[1]

There are good grounds to believe that the information given in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty is true of the last part of the ninth century A.D.[2] Thus the Chinese account almost inevitably leads to the conclusion that when the dynasty ruling in central Java was ousted therefrom by the Śailendras, about the middle of the eighth century A.D., it was forced to shift its headquarters to another town, about 100 or 150 miles (8 days' journey) to the east; but that before the end of the ninth century A.D. the dynasty had recovered its old capital.

We may thus conclude that the Śailendra supremacy in Java extended from the middle of the eighth to the middle or end of the ninth century A. D., and that during this period, the indigenous dynasty ruling in central Java had to shift its headquarters to the east.

In the present state of our knowledge we cannot be sure of anything except this broad outline of events. The few records of the period from central Java, that are known to us, do not enable us to lift the thick veil of obscurity that surrounds the whole period.

A copper-plate from Pengging in Surakarta contains an order issued by rakarayan i Garung, who is probably the same as rakai Garung, the fifth king of the Kedu list. The date of the record, either Śaka 751 or 761 (A. D. 829 or 839), is also not in conflict with the proposed identification. But then the

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1. Pelliot, ibid. The Chinese name of the new capital of Java has been rendered by Ferrand as Ba-ru-ja-sik=(Kawi) Waruh Gresik. According to Ferrand this place is still well-known under its abridged form Gresik, being the port popularly known as Grisse, within the Residency of Surabaya (J. A. 11-XIII, (1919), pp. 304-6). The name seems to correspond to Sanskrit Bharukaccha.

2. It was evidently later than the embassy that was sent from Java between 860 and 873 A. D. See below ; also Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 160.

title Mahārāja is wanting.[1] Another inscription, found at Bolong in Magelang, and dated Śaka 753, probably belongs to the same king, but no royal name is mentioned in the record[2].

Next in chronological order is the stone inscription of Karangtengah (Kedu) dated 847 A. D. which refers to king Samarottuṅga. It has been already noted above that this king has been identified by some with the Śailendra king Samarāgravīra. But this is by no means certain, as the name is also borne by purely Javanese kings of later date. Besides, Goris interprets the record as belonging to rakai Panunggalan and dated in A. D. 797.[3]

An inscription found at Argapura, and dated A. D. 864, refers to rakai Pikatan, but then without any royal title. This rakai Pikatan appears to be also named pu Mankū. Now one pu Manukū issues the stone inscription of Perot, dated 853, but with the title rakai Patapān. In the same year we come across rakai Pikatan occupying a lower position than rakai Patapān. The identity of these two, and of both, with the sixth king in the Kedu list, is again a matter of extreme uncertainty.[4]

After all these uncertainties we enter into a somewhat clearer atmosphere with Śrī Mahārāja rakai Kayuwangi, the seventh king of the series. He is known from three copper-plate inscriptions, all found at Ngabean, near Magelang. These are dated in the years A. D. 879[5], 880[6], and 882[7]. From the last we know

1. O. V. 1920, p. 136; Ibid, 1928, p. 65.

2. T. B. G., Vol. 70 (1930), pp. 157-170.

3. O. J. O., No. IV. The date is corrected by Goris in T. B. G, 1930, p. 160, f.n. 5.

4. O. J. O., Nos. V, VI, VIII. Krom, op. cit. p. 156, f. n. 6. T. B. G., 1927, pp. 194-5. The Gandasuli (Kedu) inscription issued by one rakryan Patapān was formerly dated 847 A. D. But according to Goris the date is 787 A. D. (T. B. G., 1930, p. 160, f.n. 3.)

5. O. J. O., No. XII. 6. K. O., No. X.

7. K. O., No. XV. Śrī Mahārāja rake Gurunwangi, mentioned in a record of 886 A. D. (O. J. O., No. XVIII), may be a variant of Kayuwangi.

that the official name of the king was Sajjanotsavatungga. He may be identified with Svāmi Kayuwangi, with the proper name Sukri, mentioned in a record dated 861 A. D.[1] Kayuwangi appears as the name of a locality near Dieng in another record dated 866 A. D.[2]

With the exception of the first king Sañjaya, all the predecessors of Sajjanotsavatungga are known to us only by their Indonesian titles, which were evidently derived from place-names[3]. Their Sanskrit names, probably the names adopted at the time of coronation, are unknown to us.

The inscription of Sajjanotsavatungga, dated 880 A. D., refers to the dedication of a silver umbrella to the *Bhaṭāra of Salingsingan*. Expression like this refers to the custom of deifying a king after his death, and then referring to him as the God (Bhaṭāra) of the locality where his body is cremated. This custom was very familiar in Java and other countries in the Far East, and very often a temple was erected on the cremation ground, containing an image of the tutelary deity (Buddha, Śiva etc.) with the features of the king. In many instances Javanese kings are referred in later documents simply as His Majesty (or God) cremated at such and such a place. In the present instance, we must presume that one of Sajjanotsavatungga's predecessors was cremated at Salingsingan, and deified after death. A later record refers to an endowment made in 878 A.D. by the king cremated at Pastika. This implies that a predecessor of Sajjanotsavatungga, perhaps his immediate predecessor, was cremated at Pastika and deified.[4]

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1. O. J. O., No. VII. 2. Not. Bat. Gen., 1889, p. 16.

3. Krom—Geschiedenis pp. 154, 181.. King Airlangga was, e. g., called rakai Halu, because his coronation took place in a locality of that name. The raka title assumed by a king might have been borne by other persons too, but not probably during the life-time of the king himself.

4. Krom—Geschiedenis [2], pp. 179-181.

The eighth king rakai Watuhumalang is known from an inscription dated 886 A.D.[1].

With one or two exceptions all these inscriptions were found in the valleys of Kedu and Prambanan. It would thus appear that the series of kings mentioned in the Kedu inscription had been ruling in some part of this region. But in addition to this series we come across in this region inscriptions of other kings who seemed to have ruled in the same period. A copper-plate charter, dated 892 A.D.[2], was issued by a king named rake Limus Śrī Devendra. Another undated copper-plate, most probably originating from Dieng region, refers to His Majesty Gwas Śrī Jayakīrtivardhana.[3] Another undated inscription belonging to this period refers to the king cremated at Kwak (in the neighbourhood of Ngabean)[4]. Whether these kings really belong to the same series of kings, assuming different raka titles at different times, or whether they were independent rulers in different localities, we do not know. In any case it would be hazardous to draw any definite conclusions from these records, beyond the obvious fact that central Java continued to be the chief seat of culture and political authority throughout the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

With the ninth and last king of the series we definitely pass to eastern Java. As we possess several inscriptions of this king, with variations of names, and as the find-spots of these records have formed the basis of important conclusions,

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1. K. O., No IX ; also O. V., 1925, p. 42.

2. Rapp. Oudh. Comm., 1911, pp. 6-9. Stutterheim thinks that Devendra was really an official and not a king, the royal title being applied to him through mistake in the copy of the original inscription which alone we possess. (B. K. I., Vol. 90, pp. 269-70.)

3. O. J. O., No. CIV.

4. O. J, O., No. CVI.

we shall begin with a list of these records, arranged in chronological order.

Serial No.	Date	Find-spot.	Name of the king.
1.[1]	898 A.D.	Penampihan (Kediri)	Śrī haji Balitung Ut(t)-ungadeva.
2.[2]	901 A.D.	Panaraga (Madiun)	Śrī Mahārāja rake Watu-kura dyah Balitung.
3.[3]	902 A.D.	Unknown. (probably E. Java)	Mahārāja rake Watukura dyah Balitung Śrī Īśvarakeśavotsavatun-ga.
4-5.[4]	903 A.D.	Vanagiri	Śrī Mahārāja rakai Watu-kura dyah Balitung Śrī Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu.
6.[5]	907 A.D.	Blitar.	*As in No. 3.*
7-9.[6]	907 (908) A.D.	Three copies of the Kedu Inscription.	*As in No. 4.*
10.[7]	907 A.D.	(at present in Amsterdam)	Do.
11.		Do	Watu Kura
12.[8]	910 A.D.	Surabaya	Śrī Mahārāja Kegalu (rake Galu or rake Halu) dyah Garuḍa-muka Śrī Dharmo-daya Mahasama (Ma-hāśambhu).

1. O. J. O., No. XXI.
2. O. J. O., No. XXIII.
3. O. J. O., No. XXIV.
4. T.B.G., 1934, p. 269.
5. O. J. O., No. XXVI.
6. These have been discussed above in connection with the grant edited by Dr. Stutterheim. For the other two copies, cf. O. J. O., Nos. XXVII and CVIII.
7. Nos. 8 and 9 (fragmentary) are edited by F. H. Van Naerssen (Aanwinsten van het Koloniaal Instituut over 1934. pp. 135 ff.)
8. O. J. O., No., XXVIII.

The full form of the royal name thus consists of a special raka-title, an Indonesian proper name (Balitung) and the Sanskrit coronation name. The most striking thing is the different coronation names assumed by the king, *viz.*, Uttungadeva, Īśvara-Keśavotsavatunga, Īśvarakeśava-samarottunga and Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu. Even the personal names and rake titles are changed, for we have both dyah Balitung and dyah Garuḍamuka and rake Watukura and rake Galu (or Halu).[1]

These records show that the king reigned at least from A.D. 898 to 910, and that his dominions certainly included both eastern and central Java. This is further corroborated by the fact that an officer named rakryan i Watutihang Śrī Saṅgrāmadhurandhara, serving king Balitung in the east in 901 A.D.,[2] is also referred to in a record of the self-same year at Baratengah in Bagelen, *i.e.*, to the west of Matarām.[3], and in two other records in central Java, dated 902 and 906 A.D.[4]

Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu was succeeded by Dakṣottama in or before A.D. 915. He is referred to as rakryan ri Hino Śrī Bāhubajrapratipakṣakṣaya in the Panaraga inscription of 901 A.D.[5], as Mapatih i Hino in another record dated 906 A.D. [6], as Mahāmantri Śrī Dakṣottama Bajrabāhu (or Bāhubajra) Pratipakṣakṣaya in two records dated 907 A.D.[7] and rakryan mahāmantri i Hino Bāhubajrāprapakṣakṣaya in the Surabaya inscription dated 910 A.D.[8] These records clearly indicate that he occupied a very high position during the reign of his predecessor, and it may be presumed that he belonged to the royal family.

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1. For an explanation of the official titles that occur in these and following passages, cf. Book IV, Chapter VI.

2. O. J. O., No. XXIII. 3. O. J. O., No. XXII.

4. O. V., 1925, pp. 41-9 ; O. J. O., No. XXV.

5. O. J. O., No. XXIII. 6. O. V., 1917, p. 88.

7. O. J. O., No. XXI. Krom-Geschiedenis ² p. 186, f. n. 5.

8. O. J. O., No. XXVIII.

Of Dakṣottama, as king, we possess four inscriptions. The Singasari inscription, dated 915 A.D., supplies us the earliest definite date for his rule.[1] There are, besides, two copper-plate grants of this king.[2] As his records have been found both at Singasari and Prambanan, it is certain that, like Balitung, he also ruled over both eastern and central Java.

The stone inscription of Dakṣottama, found at Gata[3] (Geṭak) near Prambanan, is dated in the Sañjaya era. It is difficult to determine the epoch of this era, which is at present known only from this and another record, found at Taji[4], in the same locality. The dates in these two records were read as 693 and 694, and Dakṣottama is known to have reigned between A.D. 910 (the last date of his predecessor) and A.D. 919 (the earliest date of his successor). It is, therefore, obvious, that the era must have been started sometime between A.D. 217 and 226. But no era, either in Java or in India, is known to have originated about this time.

Recently Dr. Goris has offered a solution of this difficulty[5]. He reads the dates of Gata and Taji inscriptions respectively as 176 and 172 (or 174), and there remains, therefore, no difficulty in ascribing the foundation of the era to the well-known king Sañjaya. Goris believes that the era was started by Sañjaya to commemorate the foundation of his Liṅga temple in A.D. 732, referred to in the Cangal inscription. The date 176 of the Gata inscription of Dakṣottama would then correspond to A.D. 908. This is in conflict with the fact, recorded above, that we possess a record of king Balitung dated 910 A.D. Goris, however, points out that this date is obtained only in a very suspicious copy of an old inscription, and, barring this doubtful record, the latest known date of Balitung is 907 A.D. Thus, on the basis of his new theory,

1. O. J. O., No. XXX. 2. K. O., Nos. XVII, XX.
3. O. J. O., No. XXXV. 4. O. J. O., No. XXXVI.
5. Feestb. Bat. Gen., Vol. I. (1929), pp. 202 ff.

he regards Dakṣottama as having ascended the throne in 908 A.D. The Taji record, dated in year 172 (or 174) of the Sañjaya era, and corresponding to A.D. 904 (or 906), would then fall in Balitung's reign. It must be added, however, that the new readings of dates by Goris have not yet met with general acceptance.

Goris proceeds further, and infers from an analysis of the find-spots of inscriptions, that Balitung was originally a king of Kediri in eastern Java, and only gradually extended his authority towards the west, till he became master of Prambanan some time after 904 or 906 A.D. Goris thinks that Balitung probably married in the Matarām dynasty, and thus became a member thereof. In Balitung and his successor Dakṣottama, Goris finds the authors of an east-Javanese restoration of the Matarām house of central Java, who made an attempt to link up the past with the present by putting Sañjaya's name as the founder of the family, and using an era associated with his name.

Stutterheim, while editing the Kedu inscription, suggested that the change of the king's name to Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu in 907 A.D. might be due to the marriage of the king which is referred to in the record.[1] But this view, as well as the theory of Dr. Goris, that Balitung gradually extended his authority towards the west, is in conflict with Ins. Nos. 4 and 5, noted above, and also with the two records, dated 901 A. D.,[2] of Saṅgrāmadhurandhara, a high official of Balitung, found respectively in eastern and central Java, showing that by that year both these territories were in possession of king Balitung.[3] It is, however, just possible that Balitung was originally a ruler of eastern Java, his marriage in c. 901 A. D. made him the legitimate ruler of Matarām, and he took this opportunity to assume a new coronation name.

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1. T. B. G., Vol. 67 (1927), p. 179. 2. See p. 242, footnotes 2—3.
3. Krom—Geschiedenis ², p. 187. Cf. also T.B.G., 1934, p. 275.

Thus although Dr. Goris' view offers a simple and novel interpretation of the history of the period, it is difficult to give an unqualified support to it.[1]

Still less can we follow Dr. Goris in his conjecture, that the famous temple of Lara-Jongrang, at Prambanan, was the burial-temple of Balitung, constructed by his minister and successor Dakṣottama. This theory is based upon, and may be regarded as a further development of, Rouffaer's conjecture, that the Lara-Jongrang temple was a foundation of Dakṣottama.[2] Perhaps the only basis of this conjecture is the east-Javanese style which distinguishes Lara-Jongrang from other buildings in central Java. But this point will be more fully discussed in connection with the history of Javanese art.

We must yet refer to another theory about Balitung before we close this episode. Dr. Stutterheim took the name of the king, Dyah Balitung, as equivalent to 'Prince of the island of Biliton,' and while developing his views about the greatness of the Matarām dynasty, he regarded the name as "the remainder of an old apanage name from the time of Matarām's hegemony over the Rhio-Linga archipelago."[3]

The very fact, that so many theories have been evolved round the names of king Balitung and his successor Dakṣottama, shows that their importance in Javanese history is being gradually realised. For, whatever we might think of these theories, the fact remains that these two kings had, for the first time, brought about a hegemony of central and eastern Java, so far, at least, as available materials enable us to judge.

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1. Dr. Stutterheim fully endorsed the view of Goris (B. K. I., Vol. 90, pp. 268 ff), but has since modified it in T.B.G. 1934, pp. 277-8.

2. B. K. I., Vol. 74, (1918), pp. 151-163. Rouffaer has made other suggestions about Dakṣa, but they must be regarded as merely of a tentative character.

3. Stutterheim—"Javanese Period etc." pp. 18-19.

Dakṣottama was succeeded by Tuloḍong in or before 919 A.D. Although we have no definite epigraphic record of this king in central Java, there is hardly any doubt that he ruled over both central and eastern Java. This plainly appears from the fact that during his rule the self-same officers are known to have held office in central and eastern Java.[1] Besides, his inscription refers to places in central Java, apparently under his authority.[2]

Two inscriptions, a copper-plate dated in 919 A.D.[3] and a stone inscription at Sukabhumi dated in 921 A.D.[4], refer to this king by name, while two others may be doubtfully attributed to him.[5] The full name of the king is rake Layang dyah Tuloḍong Śrī Sajjanasanmatānurāga-(ut)tunggadeva.

Tuloḍong was succeeded by Wawa. In a recently discovered copper-plate he is said to be the son of rakryan Ladheyan who was buried in the forest.[6] It has been suggested by Krom

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1. Krom—Geschiedenis², pp. 189-90, 194. Mr. H. B. Sarkar has shown good grounds for the view that the copper-plates of this king, dated 841, were granted in central Java (Dacca University Studies No. 1, pp. 102 ff).

2. A Copper-plate (K. O., No. XX) confirms the grant of the king, cremated at Pastika, referred to above, by rakryan mapati i Hino Ketudhara in Kārtika, 919, A. D. The grant, which was confirmed before by Dakṣottama, evidently related to certain places in central Java. But as Tuloḍong was already a king in the month of Śrāvaṇa, 919 A. D., the confirmation in the month of Kārtika, 919, should be referred to the reign of Tuloḍong, although Ketudhara may be the same person, who served under Dakṣottama with the name Ketuvijaya (K. O., No. XVII). This supports the view that Tuloḍong ruled over both central and eastern Java. This view is also confirmed by the absence of invocation to Hindu gods in the imprecatory formula of his record,—a custom followed invariably in eastern Java.

3. K. O., No. I.

4. O. V., 1924, p. 110.

5. Krom – Geschiedenis, p. 188, f. n. 1. O. V., 1919, p. 67. O. J. O., No. XXXIV.

6. O. V., 1928, pp. 66-69.

that he is identical with the high dignitary rakryan mapatih i Hino, Mahāmantri Śrī Ketudhara who figures in the record of A.D. 919., and served under both Dakṣa and Tuloḍong[1].

Four other records of Wawa are known. The colossal stone inscription, now known as Minto-stone[2], probably belonged originally to Ngendat to the north-west of Malang. It is dated in 924 A. D., and gives the full title of the king as rakai Pangkaja dyah Wawa Śrī Vijayalokanāmottunga. The opening verses of the inscription are identical with those of the inscription of Dakṣottama dated 915 A. D. and thus establish a close relationship between the two. It refers to an endowment of a village and gives various details of it.

The second inscription[3] of Wawa comes from Berbek, near Kediri, and is dated in 927 A. D. A third inscription[4] on stone (now in the Museum at Majakerta) is dated probably in 926 A. D. All these inscriptions refer to the highest official of the kingdom, rakryan mapatih i Hino dyah Siṇḍok Śrī Īśānavikrama, who succeeded Wawa.

The fourth record of Wawa's reign is only partially known from one only of the six copper-plates of which it originally consisted[5]. It was found in the slope of the Kavi hills, and records the foundation of a temple which probably stood near by. The record gives the name of the king as Śrī Mahārāja rake Sumba dyah Wawa. This different raka title is also met with in the Berbek inscription.

Thus all the records of Wawa's reign come from east Java, and there is no positive evidence to connect him with central Java. There is, however, an indirect evidence which shows that Wawa was the last ruler of Matarām. This is

1. See f. n. 2 on p. 246. Krom Geschiedenis ², p. 199.
2. O. J. O., No. XXXI. B. K. I, Vol. 73 (1917), p. 30.
3. O. J. O., No. XXXII.
4. A portion of this record is published in O. J. O., No. XXXIII; cf. Not. Bat. Gen., 1888, p. 84.
5. Kern—V. G., Vol. VII, pp. 179 ff.

furnished by a comparison of the benedictory formulas used in official records. Up to the time of Wawa, the formula used is : "May gods protect the Kraton (palace) of His Majesty at Meḍang in Matarām". In the time of his successor Siṇḍok the formula is changed into "May gods protect the Kraton of the divine spirits of Meḍang." These divine spirits no doubt refer to the deified ancestors of the king. It is thus clear that after Wawa's time Matarām had ceased to be the land of living kings who no doubt shifted to the east. As the old formula is used in a record of 927 A. D., and the new one of Siṇḍok makes its first appearance in a record dated 929 A. D., the year 928 A. D. may be regarded as the date of the great change which meant the end of Matarām as the seat of the royal power[1].

We have thus traced the history of the kingdom of Matarām in central Java, from the time of its founder Sañjaya (732 A. D.) up to the end of the reign of Wawa (927 A. D.), who may be regarded as the last king who ruled from a capital in central Java.[2] Henceforth central Java gradually loses its importance, and its place is taken by eastern Java as the seat of political authority and the centre of culture and civilisation.

The kingdom of Matarām occupied the most prominent place in Java during these two eventful centuries (732-927 A. D.), and it is quite in the fitness of things that its history should form our chief subject of study. But other smaller states also flourished in Java during the same period, and we must now proceed to give some account of them.

Reference may be made in the first place to the stone inscription discovered at Dinaya[3] to the north of Malang.

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1. Poerbatjaraka—Agastya, p. 65, f. n. 1. Krom—Geschiedenis (pp. 189-90). 2. Cf. p. 254 f.n. 1.

3. The inscription was originally edited by Bosch in T. B. G., Vol. 57, pp. 410-44. Some additions and corrections were made in O. V., 1923, pp. 29-35. Shortly after this the two missing fragments of the stone were discovered, and Bosch wrote a further article on the subject in T. B. G., Vol. 64 (1924), pp. 227-291.

This inscription refers to king Devasiṁha and his son Gajayāna, also called Limwa. Gajayāna's daughter Uttejanā was married to Pradaputra. The son of Uttejanā was the king who issued this inscription in order to record the construction of a temple of Agastya[1] . This king, whose name is unfortunately not legible, also built a fine stone image of Agastya, in order to replace a decayed one made of sandalwood, which was built by his predecessors. This image was consecrated in A. D. 760 with elaborate rituals performed by priests versed in Vedic lore, and the king endowed the temple with cows, slaves, and other necessaries for performing the *caru* and other sacrificial ceremonies of the god.

The Agastya-worship, recorded in this inscription, has induced some scholars to connect it with the Cangal inscription of Sañjaya. It is urged by them that as the dynasty of Sañjaya originally belonged to South India, it must have brought with it the cult of Agastya, which was so very prevalent in that region, and that, therefore, the author of the Dinaya inscription probably also belongs to the same dynasty. As this inscription belongs to the eastern part of Java, it is presumed that the dynasty shifted there from central Java, as the Chinese annals have clearly recorded. Poerbatjaraka has even gone so far as to identify Gajayāna of Dinaya inscription with king Ki-yen who removed the capital.

This view, of which a clear and detailed exposition is given by Krom and Poerbatjaraka[2], was, in any case, at best, a working hypothesis, particularly as there is no direct

1. This is the view of Poerbatjaraka (Agastya, p. 53). Dr. Bosch, who edited the inscription, interprets the inscription differently. He holds that Uttejanā, the daughter of Gajayāna, was married to king Jananīya, son of Prada, and that this Jananīya was the author of the inscription. (op. cit.).

2. Poerbatjaraka—Agastya, pp. 109-110. Krom—Geschiédenis, pp. 141-42.

reference to the Agastya-worship in the Cangal inscription. This view was so long upheld, mainly because of the absence of any definite information regarding the successors of Sañjaya, but it has lost its force with the discovery of the Kedu inscription. It is not, of course, impossible that the kings mentioned in the Dinaya inscription belonged to the family of Sañjaya, but until more definite evidence is available, it is better to regard them as belonging to a local dynasty of eastern Java. There is nothing to indicate that Sañjaya's rule extended to the whole of eastern Java, and even if it did, it is likely that the decline in the power of the dynasty, as a result of the conflict with the Śailendras, gave opportunities to a subordinate chief to establish an independent kingdom. On the whole, therefore, we must hold that although the successors of Sañjaya shifted their capital to the east, it is just possible that there was another, perhaps even more than one, kingdom in eastern Java, until the time of Dharmodaya, who is definitely known to have ruled over the whole of eastern Java.

If we now remember that there are several kings, referred to above, who cannot be definitely associated with any known ruling dynasty, we must, at least provisionally, assume the simultaneous existence of three or more ruling families in Java, including the Śailendra and Sañjaya dynasties, and the ruling family of Dinaya inscription, during the century commencing from the middle of the eighth century A.D. The Chinese annals refer to several embassies from Java during this period, and it is difficult to ascertain from which of these kingdoms they were sent. We have already stated above (Book I. Chap. VI.) that the Chinese annals of the T'ang dynasty refer to Java as Ho-ling. But from A.D. 820 onwards they use the term Chö-p'o. Whether this change in name reflects any political change in Java, it is difficult to say, though, as has been pointed out above, the period probably coincides with the end of the Śailendra power, and the revival of Matarām dynasty.

At least six embassies were sent from Ho-ling to China during the T'ang period. The dates of these six embassies, according to Pelliot, are A.D. 640 (or 648), 666, 767, 768, 813 (or 815), and 818 A.D. Two embassies were sent from Chö-p'o in A.D. 820 and 831.[1] Two more embassies are referred to in the History of the T'ang Dynasty, one between 827 and 835 A.D., and the other between 860 and 873 A.D.[2] It is evidently from these embassies that the Chinese gathered the detailed account of Java which we find in the two histories of the T'ang Dynasty.

The Old History of the T'ang Dynasty gives us interesting information regarding the general condition in Java.[3]

"Ho-ling (Kaling) is situated on an island in the southern ocean.....

"The walls of the city are made of palisadoes ; there is also a large building of two stories, covered with the bark of the gomuti palm ; in this the king lives and he sits on a couch of ivory.

"When they eat, they use no spoons or chopsticks, but put the food into their mouth with their fingers.

"They have letters and know a little of astronomy.

"Wine is made out of the flowers of the cocoa-nut tree ; the flowers of this tree are more than three feet long and as large as a man's arm ; these are cut and the juice is collected and made into wine, which is sweet and intoxicating."

The New History of the T'ang Dynasty gives a somewhat more detailed account of Java.[4]

"Kaling is also called Java ; it is situated in the southern ocean.

"The people make fortifications of wood and even the largest houses are covered with palm-leaves. They have couches of ivory and mats of the outer skin of bamboo.

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1. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, pp. 286-7.
2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 15.
3. Ibid, pp. 12-13.
4. Ibid, pp. 13-15.

"The land produces tortoise-shell, gold and silver, rhinoceros-horns and ivory. The country is very rich; there is a cavern from which salt water bubbles up spontaneously. They make wine of the hanging flowers of the cocoapalm; when they drink of it, they become rapidly drunk. They have letters and are acquainted with astronomy. In eating they do not use spoons or chopsticks.

"In this country there are poisonous girls; when one has intercourse with them, he gets painful ulcers and dies, but his body does not decay.

"The king lives in the town of Java. His ancestors Ki-yen had transferred the capital to Po-lou-kia-sseu towards the east[1]. On different sides there are twenty-eight small countries, all acknowledging the supremacy of Java. There are thirty-two high ministers and the Da-tso-kan-hiung is the first of them.

"On the mountains is the district Lang-pi-ya where the king frequently goes to look at the sea.

"When at the summer-solstice a gnomon is erected of eight feet high, the shadow at noon falls on the south side and is 2 feet 4 inches long.

... ...

"In the year 813 they presented four slaves, parrots of different colours, pinka birds and other things. The Emperor honoured the envoy with the title of Left Defensor of the Office of the Four Inner Gates; the envoy wanted to waive this title in favour of his younger brother, for which the Emperor praised him and bestowed a title on both."

The account given in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty probably reflects the condition in Java towards the close of the ninth century A. D., as it refers to an embassy during

1. Groeneveldt's translation of this paragraph, as already noted above, is amended in the light of Pelliot's criticism in B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 225, f. n. 2.

A. D. 860 and 873. It would appear, then, that there was at that time a powerful consolidated kingdom in Java, with at least 28 small subordinate states under its suzerainty. This is in full conformity with the sketch of political history we have drawn above.

The account definitely locates the capital in the town of Java; at least that is the literal meaning of the passage. Pelliot, however, thinks that although that is the literal meaning, the spirit of the passage seems to be that the capital had been transferred from Java to the east, and there it remained at the time the account was drawn up.[1] This translation would, no doubt, be more in keeping with the information derived from Javanese inscriptions, which undoubtedly portray a gradual transfer of political authority towards the eastern regions. It is to be noted, however, that even in the subsequent period, *e.g.* in the History of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Java is still regarded by the Chinese as the capital of Java.[2] Whether this view is right or wrong, it appears that the Chinese were, even at a later date, under the impression that the capital was at Java, and this possibly would not have been the case, if the New History of the T'ang Dynasty definitely recorded a permanent transfer of the capital from Java to the east. We may thus hold that Java was the capital of the kingdom throughout the T'ang Period, except for a brief period of interval when it was transferred to the east, some time between 742-755 A. D.

The position of the capital city of Java cannot be definitely determined. The History of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) gives the following particulars regarding its location: "Going from the capital to the east, one comes to the sea in a month. On the west, the sea is at a distance of forty-five days. On the south it is three days to the sea. On the north the distance from the capital to the sea is five days".[3] Now this descrip-

1. B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV p. 225, f. n. 2.

2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 15.

3. Ibid.

tion would locate the capital city somewhere near modern Surakarta, and it is to be noted that many inscriptions of the dynasty have been found in this region. It is not very far from the district known as Matarām in later days, and thus we may provisionally fix the region round Surakarta as the centre of the kingdom of Matarām. There is also hardly any doubt that the Chinese accounts, at least of the ninth century A. D., refer to this kingdom, and the picture of the powerful kingdom of Java, with twenty-eight small subordinate states under it, refers to a period when the hegemony of eastern and central Java had been accomplished by Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu, or his immediate predecessors.[1]

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1. I have not taken into consideration, in the above account, of some theories of Dr. Stutterheim based on very recent discoveries. He thinks, e. g., that Kayuwangi was a descendant of Pu Apus mentioned in an inscription found at Krapjak (T. B. G. 1934, p. 89). He has also advanced a hypothesis about the relationship of the last three kings of Matarām which will be noted in connection with Siṇḍok's reign (T. B. G. 1935, pp. 459 ff.).

The copper-plate grant of a king named Śrī Mahārāja Wagiśvara found near Gorang gareng (Madiun) raises interesting problems. The date of the record has been read by some as 829 and others as 849. Stutterheim, accepting the latter view, suggests that this king Wagiśvara is either identical with Wawa or ruled after him and before Siṇḍok. Stutterheim identifies this king with Śrī Mahārāja Wagiśvara sang lumah ri kayu ramya mentioned in another record (K. O., No. XVIII), the date of which was hitherto read as 746, but which Stutterheim proposes to read as 846 Śaka. This would mean that Wawa succeeded Wagiśvara, was succeeded by him, and again followed him on the throne: In other words, they were identical, or rival kings. (T. B. G., 1935, pp. 420 ff.; J. G. I. S., Vol. III, pp. 111-2).

Chapter II.

RISE OF EASTERN JAVA

With the accession of Sindok, some time between 927 and 929 A.D., the centre of political authority, as we have seen above, definitely changed to eastern Java. At the same time we notice a complete collapse of culture and civilisation in central Java. The reason for these twofold changes, and the circumstances that brought them about, are alike unknown to us, and various theories have been offered as a solution of the problem.

According to one view[1], the governor of the eastern regions successfully revolted against his master, and the struggle between the two powers, accompanied by massacre and ravage on an unusually large scale, brought about the downfall, not only of the kingdom but also of the culture of central Java. As against this it may be pointed out that the monuments of central Java bear no signs of wilful destruction, and while the successful revolt of a governor may bring about the political change, it cannot account for the sudden end of a flourishing culture and civilisation. As we shall see later, even when the political authority passed from Kediri to Singhasari, the former continued for many years to be the seat of culture and civilisation. Besides, the facts that the new king of eastern Java still invoked the aid of the gods of Matarām, and continued to employ the high officials who formerly served in central Java, are weighty arguments against a struggle between central and eastern Java.

1. Cf., e. g., Veth—Java, Vol. I (1896), p. 45. Brandes—Enc. Van. Ned. Ind. (First Edition), Vol. III, p. 112.

Another view, originally propounded by Ijzerman,[1] attributes the change to a popular superstition. He thinks that some such natural phenomena, as the eruption of a volcano, might give rise to the notion that it was divine manifestation to the effect that central Java should no longer be inhabited. The account of a severe epidemic in east-Javanese tradition has been traced by some to a vague recollection of an actual outbreak of an epidemic in central Java. In either case, the eruption or the epidemic would be interpreted by the priests as a token of divine wrath against the territory in question, and this would exactly fit in with the views of the people who would naturally be anxious to seek their own safety by a timely flight.

This theory no doubt furnishes a good explanation for the total abandonment of central Java. But then we should expect a sudden and wholesale migration of a people struck by an overwhelming panic or disaster. According to Krom, however, this does not appear to be the case, for several records indicate the continuity of a social and cultural life in central Java in the early years of the east Javanese period. It must be remembered, however, that the dates, relied upon by Krom, are rather uncertain, inasmuch as the records might refer to the ninth or tenth century A.D. As a matter of fact, there is not a single inscription from central Java which we can definitely ascribe to a period after Sindok's accession in 929 A.D.[2] A third view, suggested by Krom,[3] attributes the change to a deliberate policy on the part of the kings of Java. The kings were not unmindful of the possible danger to which they were exposed from the side of the Śailendra kings. They had exercised authority in central Java for nearly a century and possibly a section of

1. "Beschrijving der oudheden nabij de grens der residentie's Soerakarta en Djogdjakerta" (1891), pp. 5 ff.

2. Krom—Geschiedenis, pp. 201, 191. O. V, 1928., p. 64.

3. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 201.

the people had still sympathy for them. They undoubtedly cherished the ambition of reconquering the lost territories. It was easy for their fleet to transport an army to central Java within a comparatively short time. All these would induce the kings of Java not only to shift their seat of authority to the east, but deliberately to leave central Java to its fate, so that it would soon be reduced to a no-man's land and act as a protection against the possible invasion of the Śailendra kings from that side.

This view satisfactorily explains the removal of the seat of authority to the east, but it would be too much to believe that the kings of Java would deliberately sacrifice a flourishing region merely at the possibility of a foreign invasion. Nor is it necessary to resort to such a hypothesis in view of the new facts discovered. As we have seen above, the kingdom of Matarām continued to exist from the middle of the eighth century. During the period of Śailendra supremacy it shifted its seat of authority towards the east. Although it recovered central Java by the middle of the ninth century A.D., and probably the official capital was once more formally restored, the epigraphic evidences cited above leave no doubt that the political centre of gravity, if we might use the expression, still remained in the east. This might be partly an effect of the first change, and partly the result of a deliberate policy, as suggested by Krom, but the fact admits of no doubt. The culture and civilisation of central Java continued for nearly a century after this, but gradually the shifting of political authority produced its natural effect. Slowly but steadily the flow of Javanese life and culture followed the political change, and central Java lost political importance as well as cultural pre-eminence. Some unknown reasons, such as a volcanic eruption, outbreak of an epidemic, or the ravages by the fleet of the Śailendras might have hastened the progress of decay, but the decay itself had become inevitable on account of the transfer of the seat of authority towards the east.

But whatever may be the reasons, the broad fact remains that from the middle of the tenth century A. D. the Hindu culture and civilisation began to lose its hold in central Java, as was the case in western Java about five hundred years before. Henceforth the political centre shifted to eastern Java, which remained, for another period of five hundred years, the only stronghold of Hindu culture and civilisation.

Sindok, the first ruler in eastern Java, seems to have left an impression upon posterity which was not shared by any of his immediate predecessors or successors. A century later Airlangga claims relationship with this king, although the genealogy had to be traced twice through the female line[1]. In the twelfth century, the author of Smaradahana-kāvya says, with regard to the reigning king Kāmeśvara, that he owed his life to Śrī Īśānadharma *i.e.* Sindok[2]. Yet Sindok can hardly be regarded as the founder of a new dynasty, and seems to have gained the throne by ordinary rules of succession. In the reign of Tulodong we find him mentioned as rakai Halu Śrī Sindok, occupying the position of the second high official[3]. When Tulodong was succeeded by Wawa, Sindok occupied the highest rank in the kingdom, next only to the king, and is referred to as rakryan mapatih i Hino dyah Sindok Śrī Iśānavikrama[4]. According to all precedents he was thus designated as the future king, and there is no reason to suppose that his accession marked any new departure in any respect. There must, therefore, have been some special reason why his name was singled out by posterity, and he was regarded as the remote ancestor of a long line of Javanese kings which came to an end with the rise of Singhasari. For the time being we can only suggest that probably he was not the son of his predecessor, but belonged to a different family, and was hence regarded as the founder of a long line of Javanese kings.

1. Calcutta Stone Inscription ; Kern—V.G., VII, pp. 85. ff.
2. 38 : 15. Cf. T.B.G., Vol. 58 (1919), p. 472.
3. K. O., No. I ; O. J. O., No. XXXIV.
4. O. J. O., Nos. XXXI, XXXIII.

In this connection we may refer to two recent hypotheses about Siṇḍoka. Poerbatjaraka held that he had married the daughter of king Wawa and thus inherited the throne[1]. This view was opposed by Stutterheim who held instead that one rakryan Bawang was the father-in-law of Siṇḍok. Later, Stutterheim advanced the view that the daughter of this rakryan Bawang, named rakryan binihaji Śrī Parameśvarī dyah Kebi, was not the wife, but the grandmother of king Siṇḍok, and the queen of Dakṣa. Stutterheim thus regards Siṇḍok as the grandson of Dakṣa. He further suggests that Tuloḍong and Wawa were sons of the above queen (?) who succeeded, one after the other, before Siṇḍok[2]. It is needless to add that all these can at present be regarded as only possible hypotheses, and nothing more.

The ceremonial name which Siṇḍok assumed at the time of coronation was Śrī Īśāna-Vikrama Dharmottungadeva. In three inscriptions[3], known to us only from later copies, his coronation name is given as Vikramottungadeva, Vikramadharmotsāha, and Vijayadharmottunga. As regards his raka title, an inscription of the month of Vaiśākha in his first year calls him rake Halu[4], but from the month of Śrāvaṇa of that very year it is changed to rake Hino[5]. A stone inscription of Tengaran[6] dated 857 or 855 Śaka (935 or 933 A. D.) is said to be issued by rakryān Śrī Mahāmantrī pu Siṇḍok sang Śrīśānottungadevavijaya together with rakryān Śrī Parameśvarī Śrī Varddhanī Kevi. It gives no royal title to Siṇḍok, although the name of the queen (parameśvarī) is added after his. This

1. T.B G., 1930, pp 182-3.
2. T.B.G , 1932, pp. 618-625 ; 1933, pp. 159 ff.; 1935, pp. 456 ff.
3. O. J. O., Nos. XLII, L. ; K.O., No. XXII.
4. O. J. O., No. XXXVIII. 5. O. J O., No. XXXVII.
6. O. J. O., No. XLV. The date is given as 857 Śaka. Krom says: 'The date in the published edition is 835 but in our opinion it should be 833." (Geschiedenis p. 206 ; 2nd Ed., p. 213). Evidently 835 and 833 are slips for 935 and 933.

can hardly be interpreted as indicating a loss of rank on the part of Siṇḍok. The whole thing is an anomaly and is probably due to the mistake of the writer.

Siṇḍok ascended the throne in *c.* 929 A. D. and ruled for nearly twenty years, his last-known date being 947 A.D.[1] A large number of inscriptions (nearly twenty) belonging to this period are known to us, but they supply very little historical information regarding his reign. If we are to judge from the findspots of his inscriptions, his kingdom comprised only the valley of the Brantas river, *viz.* the southern part of Surabaya, the northern part of Kediri, and the whole of the Malang district; in other words, the territory between mounts Wilis and Semeru.

It is indeed a small part of Java, and possibly his jurisdiction extended far beyond this area. But we have no means to ascertain either the extent or degree of his royal authority beyond the narrow region indicated above, which must in any case have formed the nucleus of his kingdom[2].

The copper-plates attribute many pious foundations to Siṇḍok, and these are mostly Śaiva in character. If we are to judge from the monuments and records, Śaivism was the dominant religion with a little of Vaiṣṇavism in the background. No reference to Buddhism is found in the records, but the composition, or rather a new edition, of the Buddhist tract Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan about this time indicates the prevalence of Tāntrik Buddhism in Java. The edition is ascribed to Śrī Sambharasūryāvaraṇa, who, in an Introduction, preserved in only one copy, is associated with king Siṇḍok and is said to have edited the Subhūti-tantra, which was one of the most favourite texts studied by king Kṛtanagara.

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1. But cf. f.n. 2, p. 261 below.

2. Rouffaer's hypothesis, that Siṇḍok exercised supremacy over the southern part of Malay Peninsula (B.K.I., Vol. 77, p. 114), is based on very insufficient grounds.

Siṇḍok was succeeded by his daughter, who ruled as queen Śrī Īśānatunggavijayā. The Calcutta *praśasti* of Airlangga[1], which is our only source of information about the successors of Siṇḍok, compares her to a swan and uses epithets applicable to both. One of these epithets is 'Sugata-pakṣa-sahā.' The meaning is obvious in the case of the swan, but in the case of the queen it can only refer to her association with the sect of Buddha (Sugata). The daughter of Siṇḍok, thus appears to be a follower of Buddhism.

According to the Calcutta *praśasti* of Airlangga, Īśānatunggavijayā was married to king Śrī Lokapāla, and the issue of this marriage was king Śrī Makuṭavaṁśavardhana. He is described as belonging to the family of Īśāna, *i.e.* Siṇḍok, to whom he owed the throne, and not to the family of his father Lokapāla, who might, according to a custom prevalent in Bali, have been adopted in his wife's family. As to Lokapāla, we possess three records issued by a king or kings of this name, but it is difficult to identify any of them with the son-in-law of Siṇḍok.[2]

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1. The stone bearing this inscription, written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kavi, probably stood originally at Surabaya, and is now in the Calcutta Museum. It was edited by Kern (V. G., Vol. VII, p. 85); for the Kavi portion cf. also O. J. O., No. LXII.

2. An inscription of a king Lokapāla is preserved in a copy of the Majapahit period. It is dated in 782 Śaka, but Krom argues from internal evidence that the date is too early (Geschiedenis, p. 215). He suggests the date 872 Śaka (950 A.D) and attributes the inscription to king Lokapāla, son-in-law of Siṇḍok. In that case Siṇḍok must have ceased to rule before 950 A.D. On the other hand we possess an inscription of rake Hino Śrī Iśāna Vikrama i.e. Siṇḍok dated 971 A.D. (O. J. O. LVI). But its genuineness may be doubted as it contains awful mistakes even in the king's name.

Recently Stutterheim has deciphered the first portion of a record of king Lokapāla, the rest of which was edited a few years ago. This portion contains a date, which is read by Stutterheim as 802 or, possibly, 812 (=880 or 890 A.D.), and the palaeography of the

King Makuṭavaṁśavardhana had a daughter Mahendradattā, also known as Guṇapriyadharmapatnī. She was married to Udayana, who is not referred to as king, but is said to have belonged to a renowned royal family. Udayana and Mahendradattā, none of whom apparently enjoyed the royal power, had a son named Airlangga. Airlangga was married to the daughter of Dharmavaṁśa, king of east Java (pūrvayavādhipati).

This short account preserved in the *praśasti* of Airlangga raises certain difficulties. The question that immediately arises is : who was this Dharmavaṁśa ? His title, king of east Java, may indicate that he was one of several kings in that island. But the Sanskrit expression might also mean an old (*pūrva*) king of Java, or, as has been suggested by Krom, east Java might have been used by way of contrast to the expansion of the kingdom under Airlangga. In any case, as we have seen above, Siṇḍok was undoubtedly the ruler of east Java, and at the present state of our knowledge, it is best to take Dharmavaṁśa as belonging to the same royal line. Possibly he was the successor of Makuṭavaṁśavardhana. His name, which literally means, 'family of Dharma', may indicate that he belonged to a different family[1], but, as Krom suggests, he possibly married a daughter of Makuṭavaṁśavardhana, perhaps the elder sister of Mahendradattā.

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inscription, according to him, is fully in keeping with this date. Stutterheim also refers to another inscription of Lokapāla, dated 778 Ś (=856 A.D.), found in Ratu Baka, and suggests that these two as well as the Majapahit record refer to one and the same king Lokapāla, who would thus have ruled from A.D. 856 to 880 (or 890). (O.V. 1925, pp. 171-3; 1926, p. 60. T.B.G. 1935, pp. 437 ff.). This would raise the problem of the relation of this king with the kings of Matarām, noted in the last chapter, and it would be impossible, in this case, to identify king Lokapāla with Siṇḍok's son-in-law.

1. This is denied by Poerbatjaraka, who gives a different explanation of the name (T. B. G., Vol. 70, pp. 171-183). According to him, Dharmavaṁśa means relationship with a royal family by marriage, something like prince-consort.

As regards Mahendradattā, alias Guṇapriyadharmapatnī, we learn from the *praśasti* of Airlangga that her name was popular outside Java. Now a few inscriptions, discovered at Bali, are issued by a married couple in which the name of Guṇapriyadharmapatnī is followed by that of her husband Dharmodāyanavarmadeva. It is not difficult to recognise in the latter the full name of Udayana, the father of Airlangga. Thus the parents of this monarch were ruling in the island of Bali, although they bore no royal title. The fact that the name of Guṇapriyadharmapatnī is placed before that of her husband shows that she was ruling in Bali in her own right as the king's daughter, and Udayana, perhaps a native of the island of Bali, was merely like prince-consort. It would, therefore, follow that Bali was under the political authority of Java, and Udayana and Mahendradattā were ruling the island on behalf of the Javanese king Dharmavaṁśa.

The Balinese records of Dharmodāyana and Mahendradattā fall between 989 and 1001 A.D., while the name of the former alone appears in records dated 1011 and 1022 A.D. It would thus appear that Mahendradattā died some time between 1001 and 1011 A.D., and Udayana alone ruled from that time.[1]

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1. The tomb at Jalatuṇḍa, in the western corner of Penanggunggan, contains the name Udayana and the date 899. It was generally regarded as indicating that Udayana was cremated there in A.D. 977. This view cannot be upheld, as we have seen that Udayana was alive up to the year 1022 A.D. Recently at the time of repair, the old-Javanese word '*gempeng*'' has been found at the end of the date ; and it has further come to light that the name Udayana stands beneath a series of figures in relief, along with another name Mṛgayāvatī. Now the meaning of the word '*gempeng*' is not definitely known, and Mṛgayāvatī was not the name of Udayana's queen. Stutterheim takes *gempeng* as equivalent to *gempung* meaning *vināśa* (destruction) and holds that Udayana of Jalatuṇḍa should be regarded as a different person who died in A D. 977. Krom, however, thinks that the two

King Dharmavaṁśa, whose name appears in the Calcutta *praśasti* of Airlangga, as his father-in-law, ruled in Java towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. His name is associated with two important books in old-Javanese language, *viz.*, the law-book called Śiva-śāsana and the old-Javanese translation of Mahābhārata. From these we learn that his full name was Śrī Dharmavaṁśa teguh Anantavikramottunggadeva.

As inscription, dated A.D. 991, found at Seṇḍang Kamal (near Magetan) in the Residency Mediun,[1] mentions Śiva-śāsana and may thus be referred to the period of king Dharmavaṁśa. The very next year an embassy was sent from Java to China, and the following account of it is preserved the history of the Sung dynasty.[2]

"In the 12th month of the year 992, their king Maraja sent an embassy consisting of a first, a second and an assistant envoy, to go to court and bring tribute. The first envoy said: "Now that China has a rightful master again, our country comes to perform the duty of bringing tribute."

"The envoys were dressed in a similar way as those of Persia who had brought tribute before. With the assistance of an interpreter the envoy told that a Chinese from Kien-khi, who was owner of many vessels and a great merchant,

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Udayanas may be identical, and explains the discrepancy of date by supposing that Udayana prepared his tomb long before his death. (Geschiedenis[2] pp. 234-5). Stutterheim regards Udayana, husband of Guṇapriyadharmapatnī, as an inhabitant of Bali (For Stutterheim's views cf. B. K. I., Vol. 85, 1929, pp. 479-483 ; Oudheden Van Bali, Vol. I, p. 16, f.n. I). As regards the identity of Guṇapriyadharmapatnī and Sang Ājñā-devī whose name appears in a record at Sembiran, dated 1016 A.D., the question will be discussed later in connection with the history of Bali.

For the Balinese records cf. Ep. Balica I (1926) pp. 27-30.

1. O. J. O., No. LVII. This record is the oldest positive evidence for the inclusion of Mediun in East Javanese kingdom

2. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 17-18.

had come many times to his country and that he now availed himself of his guidance to come to court and bring tribute. He also told that his king was called Aji Ma-ra-ya (Mahārāja).

"The envoy was treated well, and remained for some time in China. When he left, he was presented with large quantities of gold and silk and also with good horses and military arms, according to what he had asked."

This description clearly shows that Java was not in touch with China for a long period. The embassy to China may, therefore, be taken to indicate a new epoch in the foreign policy of Java, when after a long life of isolation, she was again renewing her intercourse with her neighbours. The imposition of political supremacy over Bali, referred to above, shows that she had begun to pursue a policy of aggressive imperialism. After the conquest of Bali she evidently turned her attention to her neighbours, the Śailendras. The Javanese envoy, sent to China in 992 A.D., related "that his country was in enmity with San-fo-tsi and that they were always fighting together". This shows that the struggle with the Śailendras had probably begun a long time before 992 A.D. But, as we have seen in a preceding chapter, the struggle assumed a serious turn about this time, and about 990 A.D. the kingdom of San-fo-tsi itself was invaded by Java. Indeed that kingdom was reduced to such straits that its envoy even sought the aid of the Chinese emperor against Java. Possibly the Javanese embassy of 992 A.D. was sent to counteract the activity of the enemy in that direction. In any case there can be hardly any doubt that Java took the offensive and gained great success at about 990 A.D. Thus under king Dharmavaṁśa the international glory and prestige of Java were revived towards the close of the tenth century A.D.

But the success of the king was shortlived. By 1003 A.D. the Śailendra king had evidently hurled back the invasion of

Java and was able to send an embassy to China without any hindrance from the latter.

Within four years of this a great catastrophe involved Dharmavaṁśa and his kingdom in a common ruin. The exact nature of this catastrophe is not known to us, but we learn from the Calcutta *praśasti* of Airlangga that in 1006 A.D. Java was destroyed by a great catastrophe (*pralaya*) which overwhelmed it like a sea. 'Then the flourishing capital city, which was hitherto a seat of joy and merriment, was reduced to ashes, and the great king met his end in 1007 A. D.'

It has been suggested that the reference is to a natural calamity like a volcanic eruption[1]. But the subsequent story of Airlangga's flight, his concealment in a monastery, his long and arduous fight with various enemies by means of which he achieved the crowning glory of his life, *viz.*, the restoration of Java, certainly indicates that the catastrophe was caused by the invasion of a hostile king[2].

Who this king was, it is difficult to say. The only passage in Airlangga's *praśasti* which seems to throw a direct light on this question reads as follows: "Haji Vuravari an vijil sangke Lvarām" *i.e.* "the king (of) Vuravari when he came out of Lvarām." Now this might mean that the king of Vuravari was the invader. But, then, we hardly know anything of Vuravari, not even if it was in or outside Java. The whole question then resolves itself into an attempt to identify Vuravari, Lvarām and two other place-names where Airlangga had to carry on fights for the restoration of his kingdom. Unfortunately, none of them has been satisfactorily identified. Rouffaer has proposed to locate these places in the Malay Peninsula[3], but his arguments are far from convincing. There is nothing to show that the places were not in Java.

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1. Van Hinloopen Labberton in Djawa, Vol. I. (1921), pp. 191-195

2. This view is put forward by Krom (Geschiedenis, pp. 234-5).

3. According to Rouffaer Vuravari, which means clear water, is an exact synonym of Ganggāy, which, according to Sajarah Malayu (c.

But whoever the invader may be, the complete success which he attained in his object of destroying Java may indicate that he was backed by the mighty power of the Śailendras. This is the definite view of Krom who thinks that though the Śailendras did not take any direct part in the struggle, they set up a third power to destroy their powerful enemy. Apart from the general state of hostility between the two, described above, this conclusion gains some strength from the fact that the restoration of Java was made possible only when the Śailendra power was shattered by the invasion of the Colas. Further, as Krom points out, it was a question of life and death for a maritime and commercial power like the Śailendras to keep down their powerful rival state which had lately evinced a desire to become a sea-power, so that it might not again endanger not only the sea-routes as it had lately done, but also the Straits of Malacca which was the only means of communication between Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, the two essential parts of the dominions of the Śailendras.

These arguments, no doubt, have great weight, but it is difficult to explain why, under these circumstances, the Śailendras should remain in the background. The two countries had lately been engaged in open hostilities, and there was nothing to prevent the Śailendras from openly joining the fight against Java, or from taking advantage of the situation when Java had gone down before her enemy. And yet the Śailendras are not referred to in Airlangga's *praśasti* as playing any part either during the invasion of Java by king of Vuravari or during the long period of trouble that elapsed before Airlangga restored his kingdom, unless, of course, we locate Vuravari

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1612 A. D.), was in Malay Peninsula. Similarly Lvaram, meaning sweet water, is the capital of the kingdom which was known as Langka, later Lengkasuka, i.e. old Johor. Among the places where Airlangga fought battles, Galu (jewel) is identified by him with Johor (Jauhar) and Hasin with I-tsing's Mahasin i.e. Singapore. (B. K. I. Vol. 77, 1921, pp. 43, 73, 90-92, 112-125, 133). But many of these names occur in Java (cf. Krom-Geschiedenis[2] pp. 241-2.)

and the other places in Malay Peninsula, and regard them as vassal states of the Śailendras. The fact that the restoration of Java took place at a time when the kingdom of the Śailendras was itself in the grip of a foreign enemy may be a pure coincidence. On the whole, it is difficult to maintain with any degree of certainty that the Śailendras had anything to do with the catastrophe which overwhelmed the kingdom of Java.

But whoever the ememy may be, his efforts were eminently successful, and the disruption of Java was complete. King Dharmavaṁśa died, and his palace and kingdom perished with him. His young son-in-law, Airlangga,[1] then only sixteen years old, took shelter in the forest, accompanied by only a few faithful followers. Being evidently pursued by the enemy they shut themselves up in a small monastery, clothed themselves in bark of trees, and lived on food supplied by monks and hermits. Three years passed in this way. Evidently the partisans of Dharmavaṁsa came to know his whereabouts. In 1010 some people, including eminent Brāhmaṇas, met him with a request to assume the royal authority. Evidently he was then merely acclaimed as the legitimate king by the partisans of Dharmavaṁśa, and it does not appear that he had gained any real power and authority. In that portion of his *praśasti* which is written in Kavi language, it is said that the

1. The name is also spelt as Er-langga. Of late, there has been some discussion about the meaning of the name Er-langga. Rouffaer explained it as water-sipper, a symbolic name meaning that the prince had sipped (enemy) waters *i. e.*, became lords of the sea (B. K. I. Vol. 77, 1921, p. 73). Stutterheim takes Er-langga as the name of a place, in Kediri, which was given as dowry by Dharmavaṁśa to his son-in-law in order to defray his expenses in Java. So he takes Er-langga not as a proper personal name, but a title like Dyah Balitung (Prince of Balitung) (Feestbundel, Vol. II, pp. 393-5). According to Poerbatjaraka Er-langga means. 'He who crosses the water' ('Er = water ; langg = Sanskrit Langh = 'to cross.') As we know for certain that Er-langga came from Bali, this meaning is very appropriate (Djawa, Vol. 10, 1930, p. 163).

ceremony of his consecration by the reverend priests of Buddhist, Śaiva, and Brahmanic faith was held in 1019 A. D. As it took place at Halu, he assumed the royal name of "rake Halu Śrī Lokeśvara Dharmavaṁśa Airlangga Ananta-Vikramottungadeva". After his consecration the king offered worship to his great-great-grandfather who was buried at Īśānabajra, *viz.*, king Siṇḍok to whom, in the Sanskrit portion of the inscription, Airlangga carried back his genealogy. We learn from Nāgrakṛtāgama that Īśānabajra was situated a little to the south of Pasuruhan. This identification makes it certain that by 1019 A. D. Airlangga made himself master of the territory in the neighbourhood of Pasuruhan. The earliest record of Airlangga,[1] dated 1023 A. D., refers to places on the Surabaya river, and thus his kingdom at this time may be regarded as having extended on the sea-coast from Surabaya to Pasuruhan with a belt of inland region corresponding to it. It could not have been a very large kingdom. Indeed it appears from the subsequent story of Airlangga's expeditions that Java was at that time divided into a large number of small independent states. Whether this was the natural consequence of the destruction of the central authority, or whether it was due to deliberate policy of Java's foreign enemy in order to keep that land hopelessly weak, it is difficult to say. It may be mentioned, however, that Airlangga seems to have kept his hold on Bali all along (See Bk. IV, Chap. V).

By 1028 A. D. Airlangga felt powerful enough to make a bold bid for the lost kingdom. He had to fight with a number of petty kings during the first four years. Some of them submitted to his authority and those that refused to do so were either killed or expelled. In 1029 a king Bhīṣmaprabhāva was defeated at Vuratan. During the two following years a somewhat severe contest ensued with the king Adhamāpanuda. Airlangga achieved a complete victory and

1. K. O., No. V.

burnt his enemy's capital city. In 1032 Airlangga defeated a powerful queen of the south and returned with a large booty. The same year he had to finally reckon with the king of Vuravari, who was the cause of Java's calamity. As already remarked, Vuravari was most probably a place in Java itself; in any case it is safe to presume that the fight took place on the soil of Java. For, with powerful enemies like king of Vengker still unsubdued, Airlangga could hardly think of military expedition outside Java.[1] The inscriptions tell us that the king of Vuravari perished. If he was really a foreigner it may also mean that he was forced to leave Java.

The king of Vengker, a small state in the modern district of Madiun, with its capital at Setana, now remained the only powerful foe of Airlangga. Already in 1030 A. D. Airlangga had inflicted a defeat upon this enemy. Although it was not of a decisive character, it forced Vijaya, king of Vengker, to remain on the defensive and left Airlangga free to reckon with his other powerful enemies. In 1035[2] in the month of Bhādra Airlangga led an expedition against Vengker on a large scale, and gained a great victory. Two months later Vijaya was imprisoned by his own troops and killed, thanks to the diplomatic move of Airlangga, learnt from the book of Viṣṇugupta. With the fall of Vengker, the war of restoration came to an end, and Airlangga became the undisputed master of Java.

With the expansion and solidarity of his dominions Airlangga also changed his royal residence. An inscription,

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1. We should presume on the same ground that Hasin, whose king was defeated by Airlangga, was also in Java and not in Malay Peninsula, as suggested by Rouffaer (B. K. I., Vol. 77 (1921), pp. 73-75.)

2. The portion of the inscription, written in Kavi language, gives the date as 1037. Possibly it is a mistake for 1035. Kern, however, thinks that 1035, the date given in the Sanskrit portion, is a mistake for 1037.

dated 1031 A. D.,[1] places it at Vuatan Mas, but from another record, dated six years later[2], we learn that it was removed to Kahuripan. None of these two places has been identified yet. The seal of the king was Garuḍamukha, an indication that he regarded himself as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

During Airlangga's reign Java came into contact with foreign lands. An inscription at Truneng[3] contains a passage which has been taken to mean that he had overthrown his enemies in foreign lands (paradvīpa paramaṇḍala). But the text of this inscription has too many lacunae to be properly understood, and perhaps the passage merely contains a reference to his peaceful relation with foreign lands. In any case there is no definite evidence that Airlangga ever undertook any military expedition outside Java. Even his relation with the Śailendras seems to be quite a friendly one. On the other hand his records[4] contain a long list of foreign peoples who used to come to Java for purposes of trade or other peaceful pursuits of life. The list includes Kling, Singhala, Draviḍa, Karṇāṭaka, Champā, and Kmir which may be easily identified as Kaliṅga, Ceylon, Cola country, and Kanara in south India, Annam, and Cambodge. Three other countries *viz.* Aryya, Paṇḍikira, and Remen are more difficult to identify satisfactorily. The first possibly means North India as opposed to Draviḍa country in the South, and Paṇḍikira may be a combination of Pāṇḍya and Kerala. Remen, which has been identified by Krom with Pegu, may be the same as 'Ramin' or Ramni of Arabic writers and thus a part of Sumatra.[5]

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1. O. J. O., No. LVIII—The date is given here as 1021, but Krom reads it as 1031 (Geschiedenis, p. 258); Cf. T. B. G., Vol. 59 (1921), p. 423.
2. O. J. O., No. LXI.
3. O. J. O., No. LXIV.
4. O. J. O., Nos. LVIII, LIX, LXIV.
5. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 260, Ferrand—Textes, Vol. I., p. 97; p. 25. f. n. 2.

The Kelagen inscription informs us that the Brantas river burst its banks at Varingin Sapta (modern Vringin pitu) and caused great havoc when Airlangga built a dam to stop it.[1] It is interesting to note that even irrigation works undertaken in the nineteenth century have profited by this dam built by Airlangga. The same inscription informs us that the work of Airlangga caused great joy to the foreign merchants and captains of ships who thronged the port of Hujung Galuh. Now it is evident from the context that Hujung Galuh was at the mouth of the Brantas river and was therefore either Surabaya itself, or a former port in its immediate neighbourhood which played the same rôle as Surabaya does now. From another inscription[2], which, though undated, may be referred to the same period, we come to know of another sea-port Kambang-putih at or near modern Tuban. All these indicate that maritime trade and commerce flourished in Java during the reign of Airlangga.

In the early records of Airlangga we come across the name of a lady as the most important official next to the king. Her full name is "rakryan mahāmantri i Hino Śrī Sangrāmavijaya Dharmaprasādottungadevī." She was evidently not the queen, for the queen at this period usually assumed the title 'Śrī Parameśvarī'. She has been regarded as the daughter of Airlangga. She evidently held the high position up to A. D. 1037. For while her name occurs with full titles in an inscription dated A. D. 1037, we find another person in the same position in the Pandangkrayan inscription[3] dated A. D. 1037, the Calcutta stone inscription dated 1041 A. D., and the Pamotan inscription dated A. D. 1042.[4] The full name of the latter has, unfortunately, not been preserved. But its first part is Śrī Samaravijaya and it ended with

1. O. J. O., No. LXI.
2. O. J. O., No. CXVIII.
3. O. V., 1915, p. 70; 1925, p. 20.
4. Unpublished, cf. Inv. No. 1827.

'Uttungadeva', and so the person probably belonged to the royal family. It may be mentioned here that Narottama, who accompanied Airlangga in his flight in 1007 A. D., remained his trusted official to the end, and his full title was rakryan kanuruhan pu Dharmamūrtti Narottama Dānaśūra.[1]

According to the Calcutta inscription Airlangga established, in 1041 A. D., a monastery at Pucangan, modern Penanggungan, the place where he found a shelter in his dark days. According to a Javanese tradition, Kili Suci, a nun belonging to the royal family of Kahuripan, practised asceticism at this place. Rouffaer concludes from this that this royal nun is no other than the daughter of Airlangga, and the monastery was founded for her sake[2].

According to a later Javanese tradition, Airlangga himself retired from the world in his old age and lived the life of an ascetic (named ṛṣi Geṇṭayu). An edict[3] dated A. D. 1042, is issued by Aji pāduka mpungku sang pinakacatra ning bhuvana who lived in the temple of Gandhakuṭi. This singular combination of secular and spiritual titles perhaps points to a monarch who adopted a religious life but still continued to exercise the royal authority. The date of the record and the tradition that king Airlangga took to an ascetic life seems to indicate that the author of the record is no other than king Airlangga himself. In that case Airlangga must have left the world some time between the month of Mārgaśīrśa, 1042 A. D., the date of the Pamotan inscription, and the month of Māgha of the same year when the edict referred to above was issued.

An inscription[4] of a later king refers to a canal originally dug by pāduka mpungku bhaṭāra Guru sang lumāḥ ri Tīrtha,

1. O. J. O., No. LXI. The reading 'Narottamajānanaśūra', in II 2-3, given here, is evidently a mistake for 'Narottama-Dānaśūra', which, according to Krom, can be clearly read on the stone.

2. Krom-Geschiedenis, p. 264.

3. O. J. O., No. LXIII. The inscription is preserved in a later copy.

4. Groeneveldt, Catalogus Batavia (1887), p. 376.

and another later record[1] confirms a boon originally granted in 1039 A. D. by Bhaṭāra Guru with the seal of Garuḍamukha. Now Garuḍamukha was the well-known seal of Airlangga and thus the reference is apparently to the same king who, after his ascetic life, was thus cremated at Tīrtha. Now we come across Tīrtha as the name of a monastery near Pāvitra, in an inscription of Siṇḍok.[2] The findspot of this inscription, the names of places contained in it, and the detailed account of the journey of king Hayam Wuruk as given in Nāgarakṛtāgama all indicate this place to be situated in the eastern slope of Penanggungan. Now near this place are found the remains of an old site, the bathing-place of Belahan, which contains among other things a fine statue of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. Rouffaer long ago made the suggestion that Belahan was the burial place of Airlangga and that the king himself is figured as Viṣṇu. The identification of Tīrtha with Belahan, on independent grounds, lends a strong support to this view.[3] The figure of Viṣṇu is a beautiful piece of sculpture, and according to Rouffaer's theory, we can see in it the actual portrait of the famous king who passed such an eventful life. We may also infer from it that the art of sculpture flourished during the reign of Airlangga. That the king was a patron of literature, too, appears clearly from the fact that the famous old-Javanese kāvya, Arjunavivāha,[4] the first book of its kind, was written under his patronage by poet Kaṇva. This poet says at the end of his poem that he wished to follow the king in his military expeditions. The book was thus apparently written before 1035 A. D. when Airlangga set out on his last military expedition.

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1. O. J. O, No. LXX.

2. O. J. O., No. XLI.

3. T. B. G., Vol. 55 (1913), pp. 596 ff; Vol. 56, pp. 442-44; Vol. 65, pp. 222-5. Stutterheim, in the last named article, explains Tīrtha as a burial place, and not a proper name.

4. Published by Friederich in Verh. Bat. Gen., Vol. 23 (1850), and by Poerbatjaraka in B. K. I., Vol. 82 (1926).

With the adoption of an ascetic life, king Airlangga passes from our view, and we do not know anything about the last days of his life. There is no doubt that his career was one of the most interesting in the history of Java. The various phases of life through which he passed ever since he was married, at the age of 16, mark him out as a striking personality. He was indeed a hero, in the arts of war as well as in those of peace.

Chapter III.

THE KINGDOM OF KAḌIRI

Before his death Airlangga had divided his kingdom into two parts and bestowed them upon his two sons. This partition of the kingdom gave rise to two states in Eastern Java which continued to divide the country for a pretty long time. It is, no doubt, a matter of surprise, and of regret, that Airlangga, who had experienced more than anybody else the evils of a divided kingdom, and the aim and crowning success of whose life was to undo the evils thereof by a reunion of the country, should have himself sacrificed his life-work by such a fatal measure. There must have been very strong reasons for inducing him to this decision. According to Nāgara-kṛtāgama[1] it was out of pure affection that Airlangga crowned both his sons as kings. An older document, an inscription dated 1211 śaka (=1289 A.D.), throws a new light on this question.[2] A learned Paṇḍit named Bharāḍa is said to have divided Java into two parts, named Janggala and Pañjalu on account of quarrel between two princes eager to fight. Bharāḍa is also referred to in Nāgarakṛtāgama as the person to whom the work of division was entrusted, and in both cases Bharāḍa is said to have accomplished his task by means of Tāntrik or magical process of which he was a past master. There is no doubt, therefore, that the inscription refers to the division of Java by Airlangga. Now the reference to quarrel between two princes, eager to fight, as the reason of the division, seems to be significant. It is clear that two sons of Airlangga

1. Nag. Kr. 68 : 1.

2. The Sanskrit Inscription on the Image of Mahākṣobhya at Simpang (Surabaya); Kern, V. G., Vol., VII, pp. 189 ff; cf. also B. K. I., Vol. 78 (1922), pp. 426-462.

claimed succession to the throne, and both felt powerful enough to contest it by force. It seems that the aged father, unable to reconcile them, and in order to avoid the inevitable civil war, was compelled to take the only step which offered some reasonable chance of a peaceful succession after his death. It was not then a pure sentiment, but a stroke of dipolmacy which dictated the action of the old monarch.

We have seen in the last chapter that a daughter of Airlangga held the highest position in the state till 1037 A.D. She was evidently the crown-princess, and legitimate heir to the throne through her mother, the daughter of king Dharmavaṁśa. But she took to an ascetic life, and it disturbed the regular order of succession. This was undoubtedly the main cause of the dispute between the two sons of Airlangga by junior queens. For, while the right of the eldest child by the chief queen to succeed to the throne was not questioned by any, positive rules and precedents were lacking for selection from among the junior princes. Perhaps each of them was backed by a powerful party in the court, and when the prospects of a dreadful civil war loomed large before the eyes of the aged king, he cut the Gordian knot by dividing the kingdom among the two claimants.

Thus arose the two kingdoms of Pañjalu and Janggala. The boundary between these two kingdoms cannot be clearly ascertained. According to Nāgarakṛtāgama, and the inscription of the thirteenth century referred to above, the sage Bharāḍa fixed the boundary by means of magical water (Kumbhavajrodaka). These statements, together with other traditions of a later date, convey the idea that from the northern coast the sage flew in the air while water was flowing from his pot all along the way, indicating thus the boundary between the two kingdoms. Unfortunately, he could not complete his aerial journey up to the southern coast, as he was stopped by a tamarind tree at Palungān. There he stopped, and dug his water pot beneath the ground. Evidently the boundary between this spot and the southern coast was marked by other means.

Various opinions have been expressed on the nature and meaning of this popular tradition, and attempts have been made to form an idea of the boundary line on the basis of this popular story[1]. It is not necessary for our present purpose to enter into a detailed discussion on the subject. On the whole it seems to be generally agreed, that Pañjalu comprised the western half of the kingdom, including the modern districts of Blitar, Kediri, and Madiun, while Janggala comprised the eastern half including Malang, Pasuruhan, Rembang, and Surabaya, excepting the south-western part of the last which belonged to the former. How far to the west the authority of Pañjalu extended, it is difficult to say, and it might well have included at least a portion of central Java. The whole of the eastern extremity of Java belonged no doubt to Janggala.

Pañjalu, the official name of the western kingdom, was soon changed to Kaḍiri, and towards the close of the thirteenth century it was called Gelanggelang. The capital of the kingdom was, throughout, the city of Kaḍiri also called Daha. There is no doubt that this place is now represented by the town of Kediri[2] which has thus preserved the old name.

Nothing is known as to the name or position of the capital of Janggala. It has been tentatively located at Bakong[3] on the Porong river, at Sidukari[4], or at Jedong[5] on the northern slope of the Penanggungan hill. The probability, however, is that Kahuripan, the capital of Airlangga, still continued to be

1. E. g. Bosch—T. B. G., Vol. 58 (1919)., pp. 429 ff.; Stein Callenfells—O. V., 1916, p. 106.; Rassers ('De Pandji roman,' pp. 135 ff., 229 ff, 299 ff); Krom-Geschiedenis, pp. 269 ff.; Stutterheim (B.K.I., Vol. 89 (1932), pp. 101-105) regards Bayalangu as the boundary between the two.

2. Formerly Daha used to be located at Madiun, but Chinese annals and inscriptions have satisfactorily established the identity of Daha and Kediri.

3. Not. Bat. Gen., 1864, p. 230.

4. Hageman-Indisch. Archief., I, 1. pp. 616 ff.

5. De Kopiist, I, p. 389.

the capital of the eastern kingdom.[1] For it seems quite reasonable to hold, that when the kingdom was partitioned into two, the old capital with the territory in its neighbourhood should form one of them. This seems to get some corroboration from the fact that in Nāgarakṛtāgama, two daughters of the founder of the kingdom of Majapahit are referred to as queen of Kahuripan and queen of Daha.

We possess very little information regarding the kingdom of Janggala. The earliest inscription is a copperplate, dated 1053 A.D., issued by a king named Mapañji Alañjung Ahyes. But this record is only known from a very corrupt copy of the Majapahit period, and its authenticity may be doubted.[2]

Next comes the Surabaya stone inscription of a king whose full title is 'rake Halu pu Jurau (?) Śrī Samarotsāha Karṇṇakeśana Dharmavaṁśa Kīrttisingha Jayāntakatunggadeva.[3] The rake-title of the king is the same as that of Airlangga, and the seal-mark of the latter, *viz.* Garuḍamukha is also adopted by the king. Further he uses the family name of Dharmavaṁśa, which the kings of Kaḍiri never did. The contents of the inscription relate to the use of some water-works.

The inscription contains a date but the figure for hundreds is badly damaged. The other two figures are 8 and 2. Now the remnants of the first figure indicate that it cannot be 8, and our choice lies therefore between 782 and 982. But the first is out of the question, if we consider the title of the king and the form of the alphabet. We may thus reasonably construe the date as 982 (=1060 A.D.).

With the exception of these two records, no other certain document of the kingdom of Janggala has come down to us. Indeed, it may be doubted if the kingdom of Janggala

1. This is the view of Krom. (Geschiedenis, p. 275.).

2. The record is not yet published (Krom—Geschiedenis,[2] p. 282). It is now in the Surakarta Museum. cf. O. V., 1928, pp. 64,70.

3. Groeneveldt, Catalogus Batavia, (1887), p. 376.

continued to exist for a long time. It is true that a queen of Kaḍiri, of the twelfth century A. D. (see below, under Kāmeśvara I), is said to have come from Janggala, but there is no mention of any king or kingdom. On the whole, the available evidence leads to the conclusion that the kingdom of Janggala did not last long, and while a portion of it was annexed to Kaḍiri, the remainder was probably ruled by independent or semi-independent chiefs. About the end of the twelfth century a new kingdom was established at Tumapel near Malang, and although it pretended to represent the old Janggala kingdom, the claim was probably based on no more solid ground than the fact that Tumapel once formed a part of the defunct Janggala kingdom. We find a large number of records belonging to the twelfth century A.D., and all of them, with hardly any exception, originate from the present district of Kediri. It may, therefore, be safely presumed, that in the twelfth century A.D. Kaḍiri was the principal kingdom in Java and the centre of its culture and civilisation, and that to the outside world it represented the kingdom of Java proper.

The Javanese embassy to China in 1109 A.D., the honour shown by the Chinese emperor to the king of Java in 1129 and 1132 A. D.[1], and the reference in Annamese records[2] to merchant vessels of Java plying to Annamite ports in the middle of the twelfth century A.D.,—all these probably refer to Kaḍiri, though it is not impossible that reference is to the kingdom of Janggala.

The first king of Kaḍiri whose name is known to us is Śrī Jayavarṣa Digjaya with the titles Śāstraprabhu and Jayaprabhu. His stone inscription, dated A.D. 1104, has been found at Sirahketing in Madiun[3]. Probably this Jayavarṣa is the same as Varṣajaya under whose royal patronage the poet Triguṇa wrote the famous old-Javanese poem, Kṛṣṇāyana[4]

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 15-19.
2. Maspero—Le Royaume du Champā (1928) p. 197.
3. O. J. O., No. LXVI.
4. T. B. G., Vol. 57 (1916), pp. 221, 515 ff.

which later supplied the subject-matter of sculptures in the temple of Panataran. One Varṣajaya is also referred to in the concluding stanza of Sumanasāntaka by Monaguṇa[1], but as he is not mentioned as a king, it is doubtful if we have to take this name also as that of king Jayavarṣa of Kaḍiri.

From 1116 onwards, we come across a series of records[2] referring to kings bearing exactly the same titles, but with the first part written variously as Bāmeśvara, Parameśvara and Kāmeśvara. Poerbatjaraka has suggested that the name is really Kāmeśvara, and the two other forms are due to wrong reading of inscriptions[3]. On the other hand Krom says that the two forms Bāmesvara and Kāmeśvara are clearly legible on records. In view, however, of the identity of titles, Krom agrees with Poerbatjaraka in referring these records to one and the same king, whose name was probably Kāmeśvara[4]. As a stone inscription of Brumbung[5], dated 1115 A.D., gives all the titles, Kāmeśvara must have ascended the throne in or before that year.

The latest record of Kāmeśvara I bears a date which is usually interpreted as A.D. 1140 A.D.[6] This gives rise to a difficulty inasmuch as there are two records of king Jayabhaya, dated respectively in A.D. 1135 and 1136. Poerbatjaraka has inferred from this that the two were contemporary kings ruling in different parts of the kingdom[7]. This is, however, not very likely, as their records are found in the same part of the country. Krom has shown good grounds for the belief that the date, which has so far been read as 1140, is really to be construed as A.D. 1130[8].

1. Brandes, Beschrijving der Handsch, Van der Tuuk Vol. 3 (1915), p. 140.
2. For these records, cf. T. B. G., Vol. 56 (1914) pp. 242-252.
3. T. B. G., Vol. 58 (1919), pp. 479-483.
4. Krom—Geschiedenis, pp. 285-6.
5. O. V., 1915, pp. 68 ff.
6. O. J. O., No. LXIX. 7. T. B. G., Vol. 58 (1919), p. 488.
8. T. B. G., Vol. 59 (1921), pp. 419-424.

King Kāmeśvara, whose reign thus covers the period 1115 to 1130 A. D. had a grandiloquent title—"Śrī Mahārāja rake Sirikan Śrī Kāmeśvara Sakalabhuvaṇatuṣṭikāraṇa Sarvvānivāryyavīryya Parākrama Digjayottunggadeva. His seal-mark is 'death's head' called Candrakapāla. His inscriptions record gifts of land, but supply very little historical information. It is curious to note that the name of one of his officials, rakryān Kanuruhan, the highest minister of state in Kaḍiri, is given as Vaprakeśvara. The name of another official "Sang Juru Pangjalu" reminds us of the official name of the kingdom which occurs but twice in the records of the Kaḍiri period.

The old-Javanese Kāvya Smaradahana[1] by Dharmaya refers to a king Kāmeśvara, who may be identified with the king under discussion, if not with the later king of the same name. He calls the country 'Yava-Madhyadeśa' surrounded by ocean. While there is no doubt, therefore, that the whole of Java is meant, it is not clear whether Madhyadeśa indicates the position of Java in the middle of the Archipelago or the location of the kingdom of Kāmeśvara in the middle of the island with two other kingdoms on its east and west. It is interesting to note that the poet has in this connection referred to a tradition that the book of Kumāra (Skanda or Kārttikeya) in Kashmir, was, by a curse of Śiva, transformed into the island of Java. While it no doubt refers to the prevalence of Śaivism, the shape of Java like an old Indian manuscript may also be referred to, for immediately after this the poet compares the island to an weapon called 'Lipung' which is pointed at both the ends and thin in the middle, which serves as the handle.

The poet describes the king as the incarnation of the god Kāma (Cupid), and his abode, the wonder of the world, is called Dahana. Śrī Īśānadharma is referred to as the founder of

1. Poerbatjaraka—Agastya, p. 35. T. B. G., Vol. 58, (1919), pp. 461 ff.

the family. Thus, like Airlangga himself, his descendants, the kings of Kaḍiri, traced their ancestry to Siṇḍok-Īśāna. Kāmeśvara's queen is referred to as Śrī Kiraṇa, the daughter of Vajadrava and the best of women in Janggala. As no royal title is bestowed on Kiraṇa's father, it may be presumed that while the geographical name Janggala was still in use, it did not form any separate kingdom but was part of Kaḍiri. According to Poerbatjaraka, King Kāmeśvara and queen Kiraṇa are the historical personages round whom the whole cycle of Pañji-legends have been evolved (cf. Bk. V, Ch. IV.).

Kāmeśvara was succeeded by his son Jayabhaya, one of the few royal names that have lived in popular tradition in Java. In the case of Jayabhaya, the explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that he was the patron of the famous poem Bhāratayuddha. Two of his records are dated in 1135[1] and 1136[2] A. D., while a third record[3] has also been doubtfully ascribed to him. These records give him the title Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Dharmmeśvara Madhusūdanāvatārā-nindita Suhṛtsingha Parākrama Digjayottungadeva. The personal name of the king is given, in one case, as Sang Mapañji Jayabhaya at the beginning, and in another case, as Jayabhayalañcana, at the end. The royal seal-mark is Narasiṁha.

The poem Bhāratayuddha, which was composed by Seḍah in 1157, eulogises king Jayabhaya in most flattering terms. He is regarded as incarnation of Viṣṇu, the undisputed master of the whole of Java, against whom no other king can dare to raise his arms. All the king's enemies bow down before him, even the king of the golden land (*Hemabhūpati*). The golden land may be taken to refer to Suvarṇabhūmi

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1. O. J. O., No. LXVII.

2. O. J. O., No. LXX. The date, read here as 1146, should be corrected to 1136; cf. T. B. G., Vol. 56 (1914), p. 243; Vol. 59 (1921), p. 420. Inv., No. 2098.

3. O. V., 1916, p. 87, and Inv., No. 2097.

(Malayasia) in a general sense, or to Sumatra, which is also called Suvarṇabhūmi. But although a struggle with Sumatra is not improbable, it would be risky to base any historical conclusion on the extravagant eulogy of the court-poet.

The poet Seḍah could not complete his poem Bhāratayuddha, and the task was accomplished by Panuluh presumably in the reign of Jayabhaya. For Panuluh also wrote a poem, Harivaṁśa, in which he refers to king Jayabhaya as Śrī Dharmeśvara Digjaya which, as we have seen above, formed parts of his titles. A third work of the poet Panuluh, *viz.*, Ghaṭotkacāśraya refers to king Śrī Jayākṛta. He may thus be regarded as the successor of Jayabhaya, but this does not tally with the tradition that the son of king Jayabhaya was called Jayakatvang.[1] Nothing more is known about the latter, but he is perhaps identical with Jayanagara Katvang ing jagat to whom a poem is dedicated.[2] But as this invokes at the beginning Śrī Kāmeśvara, Jayanagara was most probably the son of king Kāmeśvara II. This is not, however, necessarily the case, as Kāma is often invoked elsewhere, without any reference to king Kāmeśvara.

The difficulty is increased by the fact, that an inscription of Kajunan, south-east of Kediri, dated 1160 A.D.[3] *i. e.* only three years later than Bhāratayuddha, gives the name of a king which is neither Jayākṛta nor Jayakatvang, but His Majesty rake Sirikan Śrī Sarvveśvara Janarddhanāvatāra Vijayāgraja Samasinghanādānivaryyavīryya Parākrama Digjayottunggadeva. A homonymous royal name occurs in another inscription found at Pikatan[4] whose date is lost. The seal-mark is a flying figure.

We know hardly anything more than the name of the next king, His Majesty rake hino Śrī Aryyeśvara Madhusudanāvatārārijaya Muka...ryya Parākramottunggadeva, referred to in an inscription of Jemekan, north of Pikatan, dated 1171

1. Van der Tuuk, Kawi-Bal. Nederl. Woordenb. II. (1899) p. 179.
2. Cat. I, p. 180.
3. T. B. G., Vol. 56 (1914), pp. 245 ff.
4. Ibid. p. 246.

A. D.,[1] with the figure of a Gaṇeśa as its seal. An inscription at Waleri,[2] near Blitar, whose date is illegible, gives the same seal and the same royal name, with slight changes, and may thus be referred to the same king.

A stone inscription, dated 1181 A. D.[3] found at Jaring, near Blitar, furnishes the name of the king His Majesty Śrī Kroñcāryyadipa Haṇḍabhuvanapālaka Parākramānindita Digjayottunggadeva Śrī Gandra. The inscription refers to a royal officer 'Senapati sarbajala' which evidently means an admiral. The existence of this officer naturally leads to the inference that the kingdom of Kaḍiri possessed a fleet. This was evidently necessary for maintaining the hold of the Javanese kingdom over neighbouring islands. As we shall see, in less than half a century Java established her authority over eastern archipelago, and so there is nothing surprising in the fact that the kingdom of Kaḍiri should possess a strong navy.

The next king Kāmeśvara II is known from an inscription dated 1185 A. D.[4] His full title is His Majesty Śrī Kāmeśvara Trivikramāvatāra Anivaryyavīryya Parākrama Digjayottunggadeva. The record, found at Ceker, to the south of Kediri, refers to the kingdom of Kaḍiri. It is only partially legible and does not supply any valuable historical information. It should be remembered, however, that king Kāmeśvara, referred to in the epic Smaradahana, may also be identified with this king rather than with Kāmeśvara I, and in that case all that has been said above regarding Kāmeśvara I, on the basis of this work, should refer really to Kāmeśvara II.[5]

1. Ibid. The inscription is now at Kediri ; cf. Inv., No. 1873.

2. O. V., 1917, p. 62.

3. O. J. O., No. LXXI. The reading Haṇḍabhuvanamālaka is corrected to Haṇḍabhuvanapālaka by Krom (Geschiedenis, p. 293).

4. O. J. O., No. LXXII.

5. This is the view of Krom. He thinks that the arguments brought forward by Poerbatjaraka in favour of Kāmeśvara I are not

After Kāmeśvara II we come across the name of king Śṛngga whose dated records extend from 1194 to 1200 A. D.[1] The full name of the king is 'His Majesty Śrī Sarvveśvara Trivikramāvatārānindita Śṛnggalañcana Digvijayottungadeva. According to one of his records, dated A. D. 1194,[2] he firmly established his power over the kingdom of Kaḍiri by driving out somebody from the kraton of Katangkatang. Another record of the king[3], found at Panataran and dated 1197 A.D., refers to the temple of Palah, and we know from the detailed account of journey of king Hayam Wuruk that it refers to the group of temples at Panataran. The building, whose remains we see there to-day, may be of a later date, but there is no doubt that it was a sacred place containing shrines even so early as the end of the twelfth century A.D. It is not, however, absolutely certain that king Śṛngga was the immediate successor of Kāmeśvara II. A stone inscription,[4] found at Sapu Angin, and dated in 1190 A.D., contains the name of Kṛtajaya above the seal in the middle of the record. The text of the record also refers to Kṛtajaya, but does not give him any royal

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convincing (cf. T. B. G., Vol., 58 (1919), pp. 478 ff ; Bosch, ibid, pp. 491 ff). Krom's arguments may be summed up as follows : The tradition which closely associates the two poets Dharmaya and Tanakung rather indicates the king to be Kāmeśvara II. In Tanakung's Lubdhaka, the mention of Girīndravaṁśa seems to refer to the dynasty of Singhasāri, while his other work Vṛttasañcaya, according to its foreword, was written shortly before the fall of Kaḍiri. It may thus be reasonably inferred that Vṛttasañcaya was written shortly before 1222 A. D., the date of the fall of Kaḍiri, and Lubdhaka was composed some time after that. Smaradahana, the work of an elder contemporary of Tanakung, should, therefore be referred to the period of Kāmeśvara II (cf. Krom—Geschiedenis,[2] pp. 298-9 and foot-notes).

1. Five of his records are known. For the first three, which are not of any historical importance, cf. (1) Not. Bat. Gen., 1883. (2) O. V. 1916, p. 87; (3) O. J. O., No. LXXVI. For the other two see the next two foot-notes.

2. O. J. O., No. LXXIII.

3. O. J. O., No. LXXIV.

4. O. V., 1929. pp. 271 ff.

title. This Kṛtajaya may be identical with the last king of the dynasty, and we must then presume that he issued the inscription of 1190 A.D. while he was yet a crown-prince. Otherwise we have to assume that he was a king in 1190 A.D. and thus preceded king Śṛngga.

It must further be noted in this connection that in addition to the kings mentioned above we have references, in literary works, to two others whose position in the Kaḍiri royal family we are unable to determine. Reference has already been made to Jayanagara whose full name 'Śrī Garbheśvararāja pāduka bhaṭāra Jayanagara katvang ing jagat' occurs in a poetical work which invokes at the beginning king Kāmeśvara.[1] A close relationship of this king to Kāmeśvara, probably the second king of that name, may thus be presumed, but cannot be definitely proved. A manuscript of a poetical work Pṛtuvijaya, based on Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa, has been found in Bali[2]. It was composed by the poet Aṣṭaguṇa at the request of the old king Prakṛtivīryā. The language of the poem indicates that it was written during the Kaḍiri-period. But then we have no further information about the king Prakṛtivīryā.

The last king of the Kaḍiri dynasty was Kṛtajaya. The stone inscription of Wates-Kulen,[3] which is usually ascribed to king Śṛngga really belongs to this king. It shows all the characteristics of Kaḍiri grant and refers to the usual list of administrative officials. A stone inscription dated 1216 A.D.[4] contains the name of the king in Nāgari letters and his seal Garuḍamukha.

A short account of this king is found both in Nag. Kr. (40 : 304) and Pararaton (p. 62). The former describes him as a hero of irreproachable character and versed in philosophy and scriptures. According to Pararaton, which refers to the king as Ḍangḍang Geṇḍis, he demanded that the clergy should

1. Cat. I., p. 180.
2. O. V. 1921, p. 70.
3. O. J. O., No. LXXVII.
4. O. V. 1929, p. 279.

make obeisance to him, and when they refused, showed them some miracles to overawe them. But far from submitting to the royal command, the clergy left him in a body and sought refuge with the chief of Tumapel. The latter attacked Kaḍiri, and Kṛtajaya, being defeated, took to flight (1222 A.D.) and sought refuge in a monastery. The details of the rise of Tumapel will be described in the next chapter. It will suffice here to say that with the defeat of Kṛtajaya perished the kingdom of Kaḍiri. The author of Nag. Kr. (40 : 4) has paid a well-deserved tribute to the king. "When the king of Kaḍiri fell", says he, "a cry of anguish burst forth from the whole land of Java".

Before, however, we leave the history of the Kaḍiri dynasty, we must take note of the very interesting accounts of Java which the Chinese accounts furnish us. These accounts are mainly derived from two sources, *viz.*, the History of the Sung dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) and the Chu-fan-chi of Chau Ju-kua. The agreement of the two accounts leaves hardly any doubt that they both refer more or less to the same period, and from what has been said above regarding the date of Chau Ju-kua[1], we may easily assume the state of things described by him to be true of the period 1175-1225 A.D., *i.e.*, the half-century preceding the fall of Kaḍiri.

The general political condition of Java, as described by Chau Ju-kua[2] may only be followed in broad outlines. It appears there were three political powers exercising authority over the different parts of the island. The most powerful kingdom, comprising the greater part of the island, is named Sho-po whose dependencies, both in and outside Java, numbered fifteen. The western part of the island named Sin-to (=Suṇḍa) (70) was a dependency of San-fo-tsi (162) as stated before. The third kingdom is named Su-ki-tan (82).

1. See above, p. 193.

2. Chau Ju-kua, pp. 75-85, 62, 70. The figures within bracket in the following paragraphs refer to pages of this work.

It is said to be "a branch of the Sho-po country," but there is no doubt from the detailed account that it formed a separate state under its own king, and its currency, products, and manners and customs differed to a certain extent from Sho-po.

The exact location of Su-ki-tan has not been an easy matter, and various conjectures have been made[1]. Chau Ju-kua says that "to the west it borders on Sin-to, to the east it adjoins Ta-pan". Later on, he adds : "The country of Ta-pan connects to the east with Great Sho-po, it is (also) called Jung-ya-lu".

Jung-ya-lu has been taken as the Chinese equivalent of Janggala, though Krom suggests the possibility of its identification with the port Hujung Galuh. But although Chau Ju-kua implies in the passage quoted above that Ta-pan is the same as Jung-ya-lu, he contradicts himself when he names both these states separately as dependencies of Sho-po.

Leaving out this identification, the natural and obvious course is to identify Ta-pan with Tuban. Su-ki-tan may then be located in central Java, along the northern coast, between Pekalongan and Samarang, while Ta-pan would correspond to the region between Rembang and Surabaya.

It is no doubt tempting to see in the two kingdoms of the Chinese author the famous kingdoms of Kaḍiri and Janggala, the handiwork of Airlangga, and indeed Rouffaer has worked out this hypothesis in some detail. But, then, as Su-ki-tan was decidedly to the west of Sho-po, we have rather to identify the latter with Janggala, and the former with Kaḍiri. But from all that has been said above, Kaḍiri appears to have been the most powerful kingdom in Java, and Sho-po has perhaps been rightly identified by all scholars with this kingdom. An attempt may be made to reconcile these two views by supposing that Janggala comprised both the eastern and northern coast of Java, and the latter alone is referred to by the Chinese authors, under the name Su-ki-tan.

1. Rouffaer—B. K. I., Vol. 77 (1921), pp. 136 ff. Schrieke—T. B. G., Vol. 65 (1925), p. 126. Krom—Geschiedenis[2], pp. 308ff.

Rouffaer has also pointed out in support of this view that Sukitan is used in old-Javanese as equivalent to Janggala[1].

Be that as it may, we may proceed with the assumption that Sho-po, equivalent to Kaḍiri, denoted the most powerful kingdom in Java, with nearly the whole of the island, except Su-ki-tan and Sin-to, subordinate to it. It is difficult to identify the states which the Chinese author mentions to as its dependencies. We may only refer to the tentative suggestions of Rouffaer[2] 1. Pai-hua-yüan (=Pacitan); 2. Ma-tung (=Medang); 3. Ta-pan (=Tumapel) (but as said above it is most likely Tuban); 4. Hi-ning (=Dieng), 5. Jung ya-lu (=Janggala).

The most interesting part of the Chinese account is that which refers to the oversea dominions of Sho-po (83-84). Among its fifteen dependencies, eight are said to be situated on islands. According to Chau Ju-kua "each of them has its own chief and they have vessels plying between them" (84). The Chinese author describes the inhabitants of these islands as barbarous. "The natives (of these countries) are strong fellows, but savage and of a dark bronze colour. They wrap (a cloth round) their limbs and tattoo their bodies. They cut their hair and go barefooted. They use no vessels in eating or drinking; in their stead they bind leaves together which are thrown away when the meal is finished.

"As a standard of exchange the people used only pecks and pints of Sago. They do not know either how to write or how to count....." (84).

Although it is difficult to identify the islands individually it is almost certain that they refer to the eastern isles of the Archipelago. Rouffaer has tentatively suggested the following identifications.[3]

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1. B. K. I., Vol. 77 (1921), p. 136.

2. B. K. I., Vol. 77 (1921), pp. 137-8.

3. Ibid. Rouffaer takes Ping-ya-i, and Wu-nu-ku as two states instead of Ping-ya, I-wu, and Nu-ku as done by Hirth and

6. Tung-ki (=New Guinea); 7. Ta-kang (=Sumbawa or Flores); 8. Huang-ma-chu (=South-west New Guinea); 9. Niu-lun (=Gorong); 10. Ti-wu (=Timor); 11. Ping-ya-i (=Banggai, south-east of Celebes); 12. Wu-nu-ku (=Ternate) 13. Ma-li (=Bali); 14. Tan-jung-wu-lo (=S.W. Borneo). It is only fair to add that excepting the last two, the identifications are purely conjectural. About these two, Bali and Borneo, Chau Ju-kua adds that they "are rather more extensive than the others; they raise large numbers of horses for military service and they have a slight knowledge of writing and counting." It is thus quite clear that Java had begun to exercise political domination over Bali, Borneo, and the savage and semi-savage people of numerous other islands of the east. Kaḍiri had thus already laid the foundation upon which ultimately Majapahit built the imperial structure of vast dimensions.

Chau Ju-kua has also supplied much interesting information regarding the manners and customs of the people and the system of public administration. As we have had occasion to note above, the Kaḍiri period witnessed a high degree of development both in art and literature. All these will be discussed in detail in later chapters. On the whole the Kaḍiri period is one of the most remarkable in the whole history of Java. It saw the beginnings of the Javanese empire, and witnessed a remarkable outburst of intellectual activity. It is a prominent landmark in the history of Javanese culture.

Rockhill. For the identification of the Chinese names cf, in addition to the article cited above, "De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar' Oost-Indie (1925) by Rouffaer and Ijzerman, Vol. II, p. 410.

Chapter IV

THE DYNASTY OF SINGHASĀRI

Like many other founders of royal families, the life of Angrok, who established a new kingdom in Singhasāri, has been the subject of many popular legends. These have been focussed in the famous work Pararaton which gives a long and romantic account of Angrok from the time of his birth. Bereft of supernatural elements, which make him an offspring or incarnation of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, Angrok is represented in these legends as the son of a peasant at Pangkur, who spent his early life in highway robbery till he was taken in the service of Tunggul Ametung, the governor of Tumapel. Angrok assassinated his master, married his widow, Queen Ḍeḍes, and made himself ruler of the territory to the east of Mount Kavi.

The establishment of this new power soon brought Angrok into conflict with Kṛtajaya, king of Kaḍiri, whose name is given in Pararaton as Ḍangḍang Geṇḍis, evidently the personal name as opposed to the coronation name. Fortune again smiled on Angrok. As we have seen above, king Kṛtajaya was involved in a quarrel with the clergy and Angrok took advantage of this to declare himself openly as king. He took the name 'Rājasa' and probably also 'Amūrvvabhūmi'[1].

The Nāgarakṛtāgama also refers to Śrī Ranggaḥ Rājasa, son of Girīndra, who ruled over the great populous and fertile kingdom lying to the east of Kavi with Kuṭarāja (later called Singhasāri) as capital. This poem also mentions a date, the year 1182 A.D. But in view of the great interval between this and 1222 A.D., the date of the fall of Kaḍiri,

1. Par., p. 62. Krom—Geschiedenis, pp. 307-311.

1182 A.D. should rather be taken as the date of Angrok's birth than that of his coronation.[1]

A fight between the kingdoms of Kaḍiri and Tumapel (Singhasāri) became inevitable. Rājasa, evidently still helped by the clergy of Kaḍiri, declared war against his enemy. A decisive battle took place at Ganter in 1222 A.D. After a long and bloody encounter Kṛtajaya's brother and commander-in-chief Mahiṣa Walungan died in the battlefield, and the army, bereft of its leader, took to flight. The rest of Kṛtajaya's army was again defeated near Kaḍiri. Kṛtajaya fled from the battlefield of Ganter with a few followers and was heard no more. Kaḍiri was henceforth included within the kingdom of Rājasa and probably placed in charge of a member of the late royal family. Jayasabha was the name of the first governor. He was followed in 1258 by Śāstrajaya.[2]

Rājasa thus united the whole of Eastern Java under his authority. The new kingdom was at first called Tumapel. This name occurs in an official record of 1294 A. D. Gradually the kingdom was called after its capital Singhasāri, a name which replaced the old one Kuṭarāja. According to the official version Rājasa re-united the two kingdoms of Janggala and Kaḍiri. Whatever we may think of this, there is no doubt that with the foundation of Singhasāri, we enter on a new phase of Javanese history. The downfall of the dynasty that traced its descent from the royal house of Matarām finally snapped the connecting link with the old traditions and the history of central Java. Therewith the old Hindu culture and civilisation rapidly recedes into the background and more and more a purely Javanese element takes its place.

Rājasa restored peace in the country, but of the authentic events in his reign we know practically nothing. The Pararaton gives only a somewhat detailed account of his death. We are told that prince Anengah, alias Anūṣapati, the son of queen Ḍeḍes by her first husband, noticed the difference

1. Nag, Kr., 40 : 1-3. 2. Par., p. 63. Nag. Kr., 40 : 3, 44 : 2,

in the king's attitude towards him and his other brothers and sisters. On enquiry he learnt from his mother that he was really the son of the former king who was killed by Rājasa. He, therefore, employed a Pangalasan (probably a high official) to murder the king, and as soon as the deed was done, he himself killed the assassin, as if to revenge the death of the king.

The year of Rājasa's death is given as A.D. 1227 in Nāgarakṛtāgama, and as 1247 in Pararaton. The earlier date is to be preferred, in view of the greater authenticity of the source, and in view of some details given in Pararaton[1]. Rājasa had four children by queen Ḍeḍes, the eldest of whom was Mahīṣa Wong Ateleng. By a second wife he had four more children the eldest of whom was Pañji Tohjaya. The king was buried in a Śaiva and a Buddhist Temple at Kagenengan. The place was visited by Hayam Wuruk and the temples are described in Nāgarakṛtāgama (37). The place was to the south of Singhasāri, but its exact location cannot be determined. The Śaiva temple in which the king was represented as Śiva is praised for its beauty, but the Buddhist temple was in ruins. Both have now disappeared. The queen Ḍeḍes was perhaps more fortunate. The famous figure of Prajñāpāramitā, found at Singhasāri and now preserved at Leyden, is locally known as 'putri Ḍeḍes'. Krom suggests on this ground that it might be a representation of the famous queen Ḍeḍes.

Anūṣapati (Anūṣanātha, according to Nag. Kr.) who is officially regarded simply as the eldest son of Rājasa, succeeded the latter. He maintained his hold on the whole kingdom and died in 1248[2]. According to Pararaton he was killed by his half-brother Tohjaya while watching a cock-fight and thus atoned for the foul crime by which he came to the throne. The king was cremated in the famous Caṇḍi Kidal to the

1. O. V. 1920, pp. 107-110. Krom—Geschiedenis, pp. 314-5.
2. Pararaton gives the date wrongly as 1249.

south-east of Malang, which once contained the Śiva figure portraying the king's feature[1].

King Tohjaya ruled only for a few months before he met the tragic end which had over taken hispredecessors. Here, again, Pararaton gives us a long and romantic story of his death. The king had two nephews, Rangga Wuni, the son of Anūṣanātha, and Mahīṣa Campaka, the son of Mahīṣa Wong Ateleng, referred to above. At first the king liked them very much, but his minister warned him of the danger of keeping them alive. The king, thereupon, sent for a man called Lembu Ampal, and ordered him to kill the two young princes. The royal priest who overheard the king, warned the princes who immediately took to flight and concealed themselves in the house of one Pañji Patipati. The king, foiled of his victims, accused Lembu Ampal of treachery, and the latter, seeing his life in danger, took to flight. By chance, he took shelter in the house of Patipati, and having met the princes there, he made a common cause with them by a solemn oath. From his place of concealment Lembu Ampal succeeded, by various manœuvres, to create discontent and disaffection against the king and to incite in particular Rājasa and Sinelir, two bodies of royal guards[2] against their master.

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1. F. M. Schnitger has identified this figure with a Śiva image in the Colonial Museum at Amsterdam (B. K. I., Vol. 89 (1932), pp. 123-128). Poerbatjaraka identified it with a Śiva image in Caṇḍi Kidal cf. 'Agastya' p. 88.

2. Rājasa and Sinelier are the two groups who evidently played the principal part in the revolution. Who they were cannot be exactly determined. Krom's idea that they were body-guards of the king, seems to be the most acceptable (Krom-Geschiedenis pp. 319-20, where other views are discussed). The trick by which Lembu Ampal succeeded in raising the guards against the king is ingenious. He secretly murdered at night a member of one group, and then a few days later a member of another group. This led to a free fight between the two who accused each other of the foul crime. The king intervened, but when he failed to pacify the two groups, he

When the preliminaries were ready, he organised one evening a mass attack against the palace. The king took to flight, but was attacked on all sides by the enemy and died after he had reached Katang Lumbang[1]. He was cremated at this place, which according to Nag. Kr., was in Pasuruhan.

Tohjaya was succeeded by Rangga Wuni, who ascended the throne in 1248 A.D.[2] under the name Śrī Jaya Viṣṇuvardhana. He also bore the titles 'Sakalakalanakula madhumārddhana kamalekṣaṇa', and 'mapañji Sminingrāt'. The copperplate of the king bears the expression "Svapitāmahāstavanābhinnāśrantalokapālaka". This refers to the grandfather of the king, *viz.* Rājasa, and not to Viṣṇuvardhana himself, as having united the kingdom of Java, as has wrongly been suggested by the wrong interpretation of a passage in another inscription[3].

Mahiṣa Campaka, the cousin of the king, and his companion in the dark days of sorrow and misery, shared the kingdom with the latter. He took the title 'ratu angabhaya' and the coronation name 'Narasinghamūrtti'. The title is explained in other records as a 'subordinate king', and thus shows that although the bearer had royal title, he was not the first person in the kingdom. Perhaps like the two kings in Siam, one only,—in this case, of course, Viṣṇuvardhana—exercised real

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ordered their leaders to be killed. Thus both the groups were angry with the king and Lembu Ampal cleverly utilised the situation by bringing them both over to the side of the princes.

1. The account of Tohjaya's death is given on the authority of Stutterheim and based on a new copy of Pararaton. (B. K. I. Vol. 89, pp. 283-287). It differs from that given by Krom (Geschiedenis,[2] p. 322.)

2. This date occurs in an inscription (O. V. 1918, p. 169). It proves that the dates given in Pararaton *viz.* 1249 A. D. for the death of Anūṣapati, and 1249-50 for the reign of Tohjaya, are all wrong.

3. Versl. Med. Kon. Akad. V. Wet. Afd. Lett. 5 : 2 (1917), pp. 315-7. Poerbatjaraka restored the true meaning in B. K. I., Vol. 78 (1922), pp. 440 ff.

authority while the other enjoyed the honour and dignity of a king.

The only political event of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana known to us is the destruction of a rebel chief Linggapati and his stronghold, Mahibit, near modern Terung, on the northern bank of the Brantas, not far from the later city of Majapahit[1]. The king made a strong fortification in Canggu, a strategic point on the Brantas river, near modern Pelabuhan. This place came to be of great importance after the foundation of Majapahit, about 20 miles to its south. It may be that the foundation of Canggu led to the determination of the site of Majapahit.

Viṣṇuvardhana died at Mandaragiri in 1268 A.D.,[2] the first and the only king of Singhasāri to die a natural death. He was represented as Śiva at Waleri and as Buddha at Jajaghu. At Waleri (modern Meleri near Blitar) only a few decorated stones remain of the building. The other monument, at Jajaghu, is now known as Caṇḍi Jago, a famous monument, in a fair state of preservation, to the east of Malang.

Kṛtanagara, the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, had already been anointed king by his father in 1254 A.D.[3] and he issued a copperplate under the auspices of his father, in 1266 A.D.[4] In another partly legible record dated 1256 A.D. only the titles of Kṛtanagara, not those of Viṣṇuvardhana can be traced.[5] Since 1268 A.D. Kṛtanagara ruled alone. He assumed pompous titles which vary in his different records. In his record of 1266 A.D. he is called "Śrī Lokavijaya Praśāstajagadīśvarānindita parākramānivāryyaviryyālaṅgha-

1. Nag. Kr., 41 : 2 ; Par., p. 77. The location of Mahibit is known from Kidung Sunda (B. K. I., Vol 83. pp. 135ff.)

2. The date is given in Nag. Kr., (41-4), Par. gives the date as 1272, but as a record, dated 1269 A. D. gives the name of Kṛtanagara alone as the reigning king, the earlier date is accepted.

3. Nag. Kr., 41 : 3.

4. Rapp. Oudh. Comm , 1911, pp. 117-123.

5. O. V., 1916, pp. 86 ff.

niya'. The titles in the record of 1269 A.D.[1] are "Śrī Sakala-jagatnatheśa Narasinghamūrttyaninditaparākrama aśeṣarājānya-cūḍāmaṇi.....ārpitacaraṇāravinda śokasantapitasujanahṛdayām-bujāvarodhana-svabhāva." The title Narasinghamūrtti, assumed by the king after the death of his uncle and father's co-sovereign Mahīṣa Campaka[2], shows that that post of ratu angabhaya no longer existed and was merged in the king.

The reign of Kṛtanagara was an eventful one both at home and in foreign politics. After a long interval Java entered into political relations with the neighbouring lands. A military expedition was sent to Bali in 1284 A.D. to re-establish the supremacy of Java over that island, and the king of Bali was brought a prisoner before Kṛtanagara. The success over Bali was evidently a short-lived one—for it soon became independent and had to be subdued again in the Majapahit period.

The expedition against Bali was evidently the result of a deliberate imperial policy of expansion. The Nag. Kr. tells us that the authority of the king was established over Pahang, Malayu, Gurun, Bakulapura, Suṇḍa, and Madhura.

Malayu in this list undoubtedly denotes the kingdom of that name in Sumatra, now called Jambi. We have already seen that it formed an independent kingdom till it was conquered by Śrīvijaya, and formed a part of it since seventh century A.D. At the time when Nag. Kr. was composed Malayu denoted the whole of Sumatra. But in Kṛtanagara's time it evidently meant only the kingdom of Jambi. Pararaton refers to a military expedition against Malayu, but totally ignores its good results and only attributes to this unwise step the downfall of Kṛtanagara. But we have reasons to believe that the expedition which left Tuban on ships in 1275 A.D. established the political authority of Java in the very heart of Sumatra, and thus paved

1. O. J. O., No. LXXIX.

2. Mahīṣa Campaka died soon after his royal cousin (Nag. Kr. 41 : 4) and was buried at Kumitir (Kumeper) (Par., p. 77.).

the way for the final conquest of that land. An inscription[1] on the pedestal of an image, found at Padang Roco near Sungai Lansat in the Batanghari district in Jambi, tells us that in the year 1286 an image of Amoghapāśa with his thirty followers was brought from Java (bhūmi Jāva) to Suvarṇabhūmi and set up at Dharmāśraya by four high officials at the command of His Majesty Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kṛtanagara Vikrama Dharmottunggadeva. The image was worshipped by all the subjects in Malayu—Brāhmaṇa Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra —and above all by His Majesty the king Śrīmat Tribhuvanarāja Maulivarmadeva. The assumption of the superior title by Kṛtanagara as against the simple royal title of Maulivarmadeva, and reference to the people of Malayu as subjects, leave no doubt that in 1286 A.D. the kingdom of Malayu, which, according to the findspot of this inscription, extended far into the interior of Sumatra, formed a vassal state of Java. It was a great achievement and may be regarded as the crowning glory of Kṛtanagara. He established a Javanese military outpost in Sumatra, from which the authority of his land ultimately penetrated into the farthest corners of that country.

Among the other conquests of Kṛtanagara mentioned in Nag. Kr., Pahang, which in Majapahit period was used as the collective name for the Javanese possessions in Malay Peninsula, probably stands only for the district of that name in the Peninsula. Similarly Bakulapura, which ultimately denoted the whole of Borneo, is probably used here for the south-western corner of that island. Gurun, probably Gorong or Goram, means the eastern regions. Thus even according to a restricted interpretation of Ng. Kr. we may credit Kṛtanagara with having established his political authority in Jambi in Sumatra, parts of Borneo and Malay Peninsula, Bali, Suṇḍa, and Madura. Thus under Kṛtanagara Java rose to be the leading power in the Archipelago. The very fact that the Śailendras (or their

1. Versl. Med. Kon. Akad. V. Wet. Afd. Lett. 5: 2 (1917), pp. 306-339.

successors) could neither prevent Java from obtaining a secure footing in the heart of Sumatra, nor remove her from the position so obtained, shows that the sun of their glory had set and a new power was gradually taking their place.

It is perhaps not altogether unconnected with the imperial policy of Java that we find about this time a princess of that island, named Tapasī, married to Jayasiṁhavarman IV, king of Champā (1287-1308 A.D.)[1] At that time Champā had after an arduous struggle delivered herself from the yoke of Kublai Khan, the dreaded Mongol ruler of China. Possibly the alliance between Java and Champā was the result of a common enmity to the Mongol emperor. For the latter had, as usual, invited the king of Java to come in person to the imperial court and pay homage to the Mongol emperor (1281 A.D.). Kṛtanagara avoided the task on one pretext or another till the crisis came in 1289. Unable to bear any longer with the importunate and pressing invitation to humiliate himself in the imperial court, Kṛtanagara sent back the Chinese ambassador after mutilating his face. It was a defiant challenge and Kublai did not fail to take it up. He organised an expedition against Java, but before it could reach that island an internal revolution had removed Kṛtanagara from this world.

For, inspite of the brilliant success of his foreign and imperial policy, Kṛtanagara failed miserably in his internal administration. Pararaton draws a very unfavourable picture of the king and represents him as always busy with eating and drinking, without any care for administrative business. This is undoubtedly too exaggerated a picture to be regarded seriously. But that the internal condition of Java was far from satisfactory appears from reference to frequent revolutions. In 1270 A.D, the king had to put down the rebellion of one Cayarāja (or Bhayarāja) who was evidently powerful enough to assume the royal title. Ten years later he had to suppress another rebellion, headed by one Mahīṣa Rangkah.

1. R. C. Majumdar—Champā, Part II, p. 220.

But the final blow was given by the governor of Kaḍiri. The details supplied by Pararaton attribute the debacle mainly to the wrong choice of his officers by the king. His first minister Mpu Raganātha served him well and exerted himself for the welfare of the state. But the king not having paid any heed to his advice, he threw up his office in disgust and took up a humbler job, the post of adhyakṣa at Tumapel (Singhasāri). The king now appointed Kebo Tengah Apañji Arāgani[1] as his minister. The new minister's only care was to serve the king with good dishes and wine. Another capricious act of the king was to raise a very low man Bañak Wiḍe to a high position in court under the name Ārya Vīrarāja. What is worse still, when this man proved to be untrustworthy, the king appointed him to be governor of Sungeneb in east Madura!

According to Pararaton, Vīrarāja and Arāgani were the evil geniuses of the king. Arāgani was instrumental in sending the expedition to Malayu, thus denuding Java of most of its troops. Vīrarāja saw the opportunity and entered into a treasonable correspondence with his friend Jayakatvang, the governor of Kaḍiri since 1271, who longed for an opportunity to secure the throne by any means. At the instigation of Vīrarāja, Jayakatvang undertook the perilous venture. He sent a small part of his army towards Singhasāri by the northern route and it advanced with music and banners. King Kṛtanagara, who all this while was doing nothing but drinking wine, would not at first believe of the revolt of Jayakatvang, whom he regarded as favourably disposed towards him. But when at last the sight of the wounded men convinced him of the reality of the situation, he sent all the available troops against Jayakatvang's army in the north. The royal army was commanded by two sons-in-law of the king. One was prince Narāryya Sanggrāmavijaya, better known as prince Vijaya, the son of Lembu Tal and the grandson of ratu Angabhaya Narasingha (*i.e.* Mahīṣa

1. Kebo Tengah and Apañji Arāgani may be taken also as two different persons as stated in Pañji Vijayakrama. (Mid. Jav. Trad, p. 48)

Campaka). The other was Arddharāja, the son of Jayakatvang himself. The royal army obtained a victory and drove back the rebel troops in the north. In the meantime, however, another larger and better equipped army from Kaḍiri advanced stealthily along the southern route and reached Singhasāri without any opposition. They stormed the palace and, according to Pararaton, found the king and his minister drinking wine. Kebo Tengah tried to save the situation, but the king and the minister both fell by the sword of the Kaḍirian troops. This took place in the year 1292 A.D. in the month of Jyeṣṭa (Jyaiṣṭha).

The detailed accounts of Pararaton, depicting the king in the blackest colour, is in striking contrast to the other accounts that we possess about him. The Singhasāri inscription of 1351 A.D. records the erection of a monument in memory of the priests and the great mantrī who died for the king. This obviously gives a very different idea from a debauched king meeting with his end while drinking wine. Again, while Pararaton represents the king as a worthless debauchee, the Nag. Kr. gives him the highest praise, and expressly states that "none of the predecessors of the king was so famous as he." While both are obvious exaggerations, it is difficult to strike a just balance between the two extreme views. The imperial policy of the king, as we have seen above, was eminently successful and brought credit and distinction upon the kingdom of Java. The learning and scholarship of the king and his zeal for Buddhism may also be regarded as worthy of the highest praise. According to Nag. Kr. the king was "well-versed in the six-fold royal policy, expert in all branches of knowledge, quite at home in (Buddhist) scriptures, and eminently righteous in life and conduct". This may appear to be an obvious exaggeration, but similar praise for scholarship and spiritual excellence of the king, the lord of the four continents (dvīpa), is also found in the Jaka-Dolok Inscription[1]. The book

1. Kern—V. G. Vol. VII, pp. 189 ff. cf. Verses 10-12,

Rājapatiguṇḍala is traditionally ascribed to the king, and this view is possibly correct in spite of additions and alterations at a later date. This work commences with an assurance from the king that the members of Maṇḍala (religious circle) need not be afraid of any trouble from the royal officials. Indeed, the king's passionate love for Buddhism has become proverbial. He scrupulously followed in his life all the rules, regulations, and injunctions of the religion. He was deeply versed in Buddhist writings, particularly the Tarka and Vyākaraṇa-śāstra (logic and grammar) and that which concerns the inner self of man. He thoroughly mastered the Subhūti-tantra, a work ascribed to Subhūti, a disciple of Buddha.[1] The king practised *yoga* and *samādhi*, and made many pious foundations. But his crowning achievement was the setting up of an image of Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya, which depicted his own features and thereby established his identity with Buddha.[2] After his consecration as Buddha the king assumed the epithet Jñānaśivabajra.[3] The image of the king representing him as Akṣobhya was originally set up in 1289 A.D. at Wurare and then removed to Majapahit. It now stands at Surabaya and is held in special veneration by the people who strongly believe in its miraculous powers.[4]

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1. Krom thinks that this work is the same as 'Sanghyang tantra bajradhātu Subhūti' composed in the time of Siṇḍok. See ante, Chap II.

2. This is described in the Jaka-Dolok inscription engraved on the pedestal of the image. The inscription, written in Sanskrit, has been edited by Kern (V. G., Vol. VII, pp. 189. ff.).

3. This is the name given in Jaka-Dolok Inscription (verse 12). The Nag. Kr. gives the variant Jñānabajreśvara and the Singhasāri Inscription of 1351 A. D. (Brandes' Monograph—1909 p. 38), has Jñāneśvarabajra. On the bronze replica of Amoghapāśa in Caṇḍi Jago the king's name is given as "Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kṛtanagara Vikrama-Jñāna-Vajrottunggadeva," a combination of secular and spiritual names.

4. Another image of Akṣobhya, now at Malang, is believed by Bosch to be a figure of king Kṛtanagara, on the ground of its resemblance with the image at Surabaya.

The curious contrast between the two opposing views of the life and character of Kṛtanagara may perhaps be understood if we accept the theory about the character of the king's religious faith so elaborately propounded by Moens in a very learned article.[1] Moens has shown that the particular form of Buddhism to which the king was devoted may be taken as the Tantrayāna or Vajrayāna. This degraded form of Buddhism was accompanied by objectionable and even revolting practices such as the *pañcamakāra* (or five enjoyments) and the *sādhanacakra* or secret sittings of devotees of both sexes. To a true devotee of this mysterious cult the practices would no doubt appear as worthy of the highest commendation, but to an uninitiated they would appear obnoxious and horrid. The *pañcamakāra*, for example, includes the free use of wine, and when Pararaton refers to the drinking debout of Kṛtanagara he was evidently telling the truth, though he viewed it in a different light from Prapañca who remarked in an approving manner that the king scrupulously followed the prescriptions of religion. Thus there is perhaps no contradiction between Pararaton and Nag. Kr. regarding the salient facts in the king's career, but there was a world of difference in the two view-points.

Whatever we may think of Moens' reconstruction of the entire religious career of the king, for the details of which we refer to his learned article, we may regard it as almost certain that the king was passionately devoted to the Tāntrik form of Buddhism. While, therefore, it is not difficult to divine the cause of, or even to justify to some extent, the high praises that the Nag. Kr. bestows upon the king, they should not blind us to the fact that the king showed but little skill in administration of his kingdom. While we may not be prepared to accept the picture of the king, as given in Pararaton, drinking wine even while the enemy was within the palace, we may take, as historical, the general outline of the story as given above. Engrossed by his imperial policy abroad, and religious practices

1. T. B. G. Vol. LXIV (1924), pp. 521-558.

at home, the king was indifferent to the internal dangers that threatened him and did not evidently take sufficient precautions against them. According to Pararaton, the Kaḍirian rebellion took place at a time when most of the Javanese troops were absent on an expedition against Malayu. Krom disbelieves this on the ground that the date of the Malayu expedition is 1275 whereas the rebellion took place only in 1292 A.D.[1] It is not difficult to believe, however, that although the expedition of 1275 was the first, it was by no means the last. To keep control over a newly acquired territory in a distant land across the sea might necessitate several expeditions, and the Pararaton may after all be right in its assertion that Jayakatvang took advantage of such an expedition. Even apart from this we must recognise the fact that the imperial policy of Kṛtanagara was sure to weaken the resources of Java in men and money, and the troops stationed in the various newly conquered territories to maintain the authority of the king, very likely denuded Java of the best part of its troops when the serious rebellion broke out. Another trait of the royal character, alleged in Pararaton, *viz.* the king's childlike faith in the goodness of others *e.g.* Jayakatwang and Vīrarāja, even when they deserved it least, may not be absolutely unfounded. A religious enthusiasm which almost bordered on fanaticism is hardly compatible with a true discernment of men and things. We can well believe that the king, engrossed in his books and keenly busy with his religious practices, had hardly any time or capacity to look around and keep a vigilant eye on the possible disturbing factors of the kingdom. His implicit trust in others gave him a false idea of security. Heedless of the impending dangers that threatened him on all sides, he wildly pursued his imperial and religious activities and rushed headlong towards destruction. Thus it was that his ruin was brought about by precisely those traits in his life and career which rendered him so high and noble in the estimation of some. It was this paradox

1. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 340.

and contradictory element in his life that is mainly responsible for such radically different pictures of king Kṛtanagara as have been preserved to us by our two chief authorities, Pararaton and Nāgara-Kṛtāgama.

According to Nag. Kr. king Kṛtanagara was cremated in a temple of Śiva-Buddha and was represented by a beautiful image of Śiva-Buddha (or images of Śiva and Buddha). Perhaps it is due to this fact that the king himself is often referred to as Śiva-Buddha. According to the same authority his ashes were also buried at Sagala, where he and his chief queen Bajradevī were represented by Buddhist figures of Vairocana and Locanā[1]. According to Pararaton the king's remains were buried in the temple called Purvapatapan at Singhasāri. Moens thinks that the king was represented by a Bhairava image which was originally at Singhasāri and now at Leyden.

The Nag. Kr. does not tell us where the temple of Śiva-Buddha was situated. But we know that the Caṇḍi Javi (modern Jajava) near Prigen, was a Śiva-Buddha temple founded by Kṛtanagara. The identification of this temple is rendered possible by the detailed account of the journey of Hayam Wuruk. Prapañca gives an account of it in Nag. Kr. It contained an image of Śiva and, hidden in the roof above,

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1. The verses of Nag. Kr. are open to different interpretations. For detailed discussion, cf. Krom-Geschiedenis [2], pp. 344-5; Moens, op. cit; also T. B. G. 1933, pp. 123 ff.; Stutterheim, T. B. G., 1932, pp. 715-26. Stutterheim and Krom take the image to represent Kṛtanagara-Vairocana as united with Bajradevī-Locanā, and the former identifies it with an Ardhanārī image in the Berlin Museum. Moens thinks that the image, referred to in Nag. Kr., must be an Amoghapāśa-Ardhanārī with an Akṣobhya image in the head-dress.

According to Moens there were three images of deified Kṛtanagara *viz.*, (1) Liṅga in the Singhasāri temple; (2) Amoghapāśa-Ardhanārī in the capital city; and (3) Yamāri at Jajavi.

Moens rejects Stutterheim's identification of the Berlin image.

an image of Akṣobhya. It was struck by lightning in 1331, and at present only the foundations of the temple remain.

It is, however, by no means certain that the Śiva-Buddha temple mentioned in Nag. Kr. is the same as Caṇḍi Javi. Krom thinks that it was situated at Singhasāri where the king died and is the same as the temple of Purvapatapan referred to in Pararaton. Brandes[1] and Moens[2] identify it with the main temple now existing at Singhasāri. But Krom rejects this view[3] and holds that no trace remains either of this temple or of the temple of Sagala, the second burial place of the king's remains according to Nag. Kr.

In concluding the account of king Kṛtanagara we may refer to the very brief but interesting account of his kingdom contained in the writings of Marco Polo (1292 A.D.)[4]. The Venetian traveller describes Java as a prosperous kingdom, under a great king. It was very rich and noted for its trade and commerce.

1. Brandes—Tjaṇḍi Singhasāri, 1909, pp. 36-38.
2. Moens—l. c. pp. 547 ff.
3. Krom—Inleidung, Vol. II, pp. 84-6.
4. Yule—Marco Polo, Vol. II, pp. 272-5.

Chapter V.

THE FOUNDATION OF MAJAPAHIT

With the death of Kṛtanagara, the kingdom of Singhasāri fell to pieces, and Jayakatvang established the supremacy of Kaḍiri. The success of Jayakatvang may be viewed in different lights. To the family of Kṛtanagara he, no doubt, appeared as a usurper and traitor. But it is also possible to regard him as having restored the supremacy of Kaḍiri, which had been lost nearly seventy years ago, after a glorious existence of about two centuries. Whatever that may be, his success was too short-lived for these considerations to be weighed seriously. The danger which overwhelmed him and his kingdom at no distant date arose from two sources, *viz.*, prince Vijaya, who commanded the northern forces of Singhasāri at the time of the catastrophe; and secondly, the dreaded Mongol chief Kublai Khan, who was provoked beyond measure by the cruel offence of Kṛtanagara as mentioned above.

It has been already mentioned that when the forces of Kaḍiri invaded the kingdom of Singhasāri from the north, king Kṛtanagara sent all his available troops against them under his two sons-in-law, princes Vijaya and Arddharāja. The details of the progress of this army and the ultimate fate of Vijaya are known from a record of Vijaya himself, composed two years after the incident.[1] As it gives us the most circumstantial account of the northern campaign, we may proceed to narrate the story at some length, on the basis of this contemporary record.

The army of Kaḍiri had reached Jasun Wungkal (probably to the northern end of Penanggungan hill) when Vijaya and

1 Singhasāri Ins., dated 1294. Pararaton, pp. 95. ff.

Arddharāja started from Singhasāri. The first encounter took place at Keḍung Pluk. As this place lies considerably to the east of the direct route from Singhasāri to Jasun Wungkal, it is probable that the Kaḍirian army was taking a circuitous route in order to decoy the troops of Vijaya as far as possible from the capital city. The Kaḍirian army was defeated at Keḍung Pluk, and fled leaving a large number of dead on the field. Vijaya pursued the enemy and again defeated it, with great loss, near Kapulungan at the foot of the Penanggungan. Proceeding further north, he inflicted a third defeat on the enemy near Rabut Carat, which evidently lay to the north-east of the Penanggungan hills.

After these three brilliant victories Vijaya naturally thought that the enemy was totally routed. Then followed a strange reverse. Suddenly a new Kaḍirian army appeared to the east of Hañiru, and Arddharāja, the colleague of Vijaya, deserted the royal cause and retired to Kapulungan. The army of Vijaya suffered a serious reverse and he fell back on Rabut Carat. Although the record of Singhasāri does not mention it, there is no doubt that this crisis was the result of the fall of Singhasāri and death of king Kṛtanagara. The southern Kaḍirian army which accomplished this task must have now been released to assist the northern troops, and Arddharāja, the son of Jayakatvang, naturally deserted the cause of his dead father-in-law, and joined his successful and victorious father.

The position of Vijaya was now rendered hopeless. With about six hundred men that now remained with him he proceeded northwards across the river Brantas to Pamvatan apajeg (modern Pamotan). There the enemy pursued him. Although he was successful in driving away the hostile attack, his small army was dwindled still further, partly by loss in battle, but still more by desertion. Then Vijaya took counsel with his followers and decided to fall back upon Trung to the north-west as the ruler of this place was attached to the late king. But on his way he fell in with the enemy,

large in number, and was forced to fly northwards to Kembang Śrī (Bangsri). But as the enemy pursued him there, Vijaya and his followers swam across the river (the Surabaya river). Many perished in the river, some were killed by the enemy, and with only twelve men Vijaya reached the village Kudadu[1]. The headman of the village received him cordially and gave him shelter till he found means to go to Rembang and then cross over to Madhura (Madura). Two years later, when Vijaya became king, he granted, in token of gratitude, certain gifts and privileges to this man who saved his life, and in the royal charter which was issued on the occasion the king narrated at length the circumstances, mentioned above, which forced him to take shelter in the house of the headman of Kudadu.

This narrative, as described in the official record, presumably on the authority of Vijaya himself, does not tally with the account given in Pararaton which appears to be an abridged but slightly different version of the detailed and romantic story preserved in Pañji Vijayakrama[2]. According to the latter, after Vijaya had defeated the northern Kaḍirian army, he heard of the death of Kṛtanagara, and came back to Singhasāri to recover the capital. He was, however, defeated by Kebo Mundarang, the leader of the southern Kaḍirian army. Being pursued, he fled towards the north, but as soon as the pursuit was given up, he returned to Singhasāri and rescued, during night, one of the two daughters of Kṛtanagara who had fled from the enemy's camp. On the approach of Kaḍirian army Vijaya again took to flight, and leaving one of his wounded companions in charge of the head of the village Pāṇḍakan, sailed with the rest from Datar to Madura. The story particularly dwells upon the heroic feats of Vijaya and his companions, Sora, Rangga Lawe, and Nambi (the son of Vīrarāja).

1. For the location of Kudadu cf. Feestbundel, Vol. II. p. 375. It was most probably to the east of modern Wanakuli and Bugangin.

2. Berg—Rangga Lawe, I, 36-114. Djawa, Vol. 10. pp. 139-149.

It is evident that while only the general outline of the story (viz. the flight of Vijaya towards the north and ultimately to Madura, but not his return to Singhasāri) is correct, the details are all wrong. Unfortunately, for the history of Vijaya after he reached Madura, we are almost entirely dependent on the story preserved in Pararaton, which agrees with that of Pañji Vijayakrama. We shall, therefore, summarise this story for what it is worth, and may accept the general outline as historical, at least as a working hypothesis.

Vijaya went to Madura, as he hoped to find an ally in its governor Vīrarāja, who owed everything to the late king Kṛtanagara. He was, of course, ignorant of the treasonable correspondence between Vīrarāja and Jayakatvang. Vīrarāja, astounded at first by the sight of Vijaya, soon collected himself and received Vijaya with all outward signs of honour. Vijaya made a passionate appeal to him: "Vīrarāja, my father", said he, "my obligations to you indeed are very great. If I ever succeed in attaining my object, I shall divide Java into two parts; one part will be yours and one part will be mine." This bait was too much for Vīrarāja. This arch-conspirator now betrayed Jayakatvang and entered into a conspiracy with Vijaya.

Vīrarāja's plan was in short as follows: Vijaya should submit to Jayakatvang and ingratiate himself into the favour of the latter. As soon as he had sufficient influence with the king he should ask for a piece of waste land near Trik where the people from Madura would establish a settlement. As soon as Vijaya could gather sufficient information about the men and things in Kaḍiri, he would ask leave to settle in the new region and gather there his own trusty followers from Singhasāri and all the discontented elements from Kaḍiri.

The plan was admirably carried out. A new settlement sprang up, and as one of the settlers tasted a Maja (Vilva) fruit and threw it away as bitter (pahit) it came to be called Majapahit or its Sanskrit equivalent 'Vilva-tikta, Tikta-vilva, Śrīphala-tikta, Tikta-śrīphala, Tikta-mātūra etc., (bitter Maja or

Vilva fruit). From his new home at Majapahit Vijaya sent word to Vīrarāja that everything was ready. But that cunning fellow would not risk such an enterprise without securing further help. So he intrigued again, this time with the great Tatar king (*i.e.* Kublai Khan). He allured him with the false hope of giving in marriage to him both the daughters of Kṛtanagara, and for this reward Kublai promised him military support. Being thus assured, Vīrarāja proceeded with his men to Majapahit, and as soon as the troops of the Tatar king arrived, marched against Kaḍiri.

This is the narrative of Pararaton. The story of the second treason of Vīrarāja may be accepted as true, particularly in view of the high position he later occupied in the court of Vijaya. Vijaya's pretended submission to Jayakatvang and settlement at Majapahit may also be regarded as true, and we may thus discount the popular notion about the existence of that town from a much earlier period.[1] But

1. The general belief that Majapahit was founded many centuries ago rests upon (1) an inscription dated 840 A. D. ending with the words "written at Majapahit" and (2) reference to a town Mazafāwid in Zābag, in an Arabic text of tenth century A D. But Brandes has conclusively proved (Par. pp.112-116) that the inscription really belongs to a period later than the 13th century A. D., while Ferrand has shown that the name of the town in the Arabic text is to be transcribed as Marakāwand (Ferrand-Textes, II. pp. 585ff. J. A. II—XIII (1919) p. 303). There is thus no evidence of the existence of Majapahit earlier than 1292, when (or at the beginning of 1293) the town was founded by Vijaya according to Pararaton. Brandes has further shown that this story of Pararaton is supported by the later traditions preserved in Javanese Babads.

The town of Majapahit was founded in a locality which was a populous centre, though its actual site might have been a waste ground. It must have come into existence during the interval between the death of Kṛtanagara, early in 1292, and the Chinese invasion at the beginning of 1293. The town must have been considerably extended in later times, its centre lying in modern Travulan south-west of modern Majakerta. For its topography, ruins, and extent ascertained by modern archaeological research cf. O. V. 1924 (36-75, 157—199); 1926 (100-129); 1929 (145-155); B. K. I. Vol. 89 (1932, pp. 105-110).

the story of the inducement offered to Kublai Khan is silly in the extreme, and fortunately the Chinese sources give us a more reliable account of the motive and details of the expedition, which undoubtedly brought the kingdom of Kaḍiri to an end. It is, therefore, unnecessary to reproduce the brief account preserved in Nag. Kr. (44 : 1-4), and the more detailed but romantic and unreliable accounts of the expedition that we find in Pararaton (pp. 90ff) and Pañji Vijayakrama.[1]

The History of the Yuan Dynasty gives a general account of the expedition to Java and this is supplemented by the biography of the three leaders of that expedition.[2] By combining these four accounts it is possible to get a definite idea of the nature and result of that expedition.

It has already been mentioned how Kṛtanagara had provoked the wrath of the great Kublai Khan by mutilating the face of his envoy. In order to avenge this insult the emperor organised an expedition against Java. "In the second month of the year 1292 the emperor issued an order to the governor of Fukien, directing him to send Che-pi, Yi-k'o-mu-su[3] and Kau Hsing in command of an army to subdue Java ; to collect soldiers...to the number of 20,000 ;...to send out a thousand ships and to equip them with provisions for a year and with forty thousand bars of silver.

"When the three generals had their last audience, the emperor said to them : 'When you arrive at Java you must clearly proclaim to the army and the people of that country that the imperial government has formerly had intercourse with Java by envoys from both sides and has been in good

1. VII, 7-17 ; Mid. Jav. Trad. pp. 58-60 ; Djawa, Vol. 10, pp. 146 ff.

2. These accounts have been translated by Groeneveldt (Notes, pp. 20-30). The passages within inverted comma are quotations from these accounts.

3. The names are transcribed thus by Pelliot (B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, pp. 326ff). Groeneveldt writes Shih-pi and Ike-Mese.

harmony with it, but that they have lately cut the face of the imperial envoy Meng-chi and that you have come to punish them for that."

The emperor further gave them the following instructions: 'When you have arrived in Java, you must send a messenger to inform me of it. If you occupy that country, the other smaller states will submit of themselves, you will have only to send envoys to receive their allegiance. When those countries are reduced to submission your work will be finished."

In the 12th month of 1292 A.D. the expedition sailed from Ch'üan-chou and reached the port of Tuban on the northern coast of E. Java. There the Chinese army was divided into two parts. Half the army marched overland. With the other half, Che-pi went by sea to the mouth of the river Sugalu (Solo river) and from there to the river Pa-tsieh-kan.[1] (Surabaya river).

Some Chinese officers who were sent in advance to the interior now came back and reported the internal affairs of that country which are described as follows :

"At that time Java carried on an old feud with the neighbouring country Kalang (Kaḍiri) and the king of Java Hadji Ka-ta-na-ka-la- (Kṛtanagara) had already been killed by the prince of Kalang, called Hadji Katang (Jayakatvang). The son-in-law of the former, Tuhan Pidjaya (Vijaya) had attacked Hadji Katang but could not overcome him ; he had, therefore, retired to Madjopait (Majapahit) and when he heard that

1. The name of the last river is given as "the small river Pa-tsieh", the syllable 'kan' being taken as a separate word meaning 'small'. But Krom takes Pa-tsieh-kan as the Chinese equivalent of Pacekan, and identifies this and the Sugalu river (Ferrand transcribes it as Su-ya-lu) respectively with the Surabaya and Solo rivers. But on the basis of the interpretation 'small river Pa-tsieh', it is possible to identify the two rivers respectively with the Prom and Surabaya rivers. Krom—Geschiedenis², p. 358 and foot-notes.

Che-pi-with his army had arrived, he sent envoys offering submission and asking for assistance."

This summary of the political situation in Java enables us to correct the account of Pararaton in one important respect. It shows that at the beginning of 1293 A. D. Vijaya had already established himself at Majapahit, not under a pretence of submission to Jayakatvang, but as his avowed enemy. The probability is that shortly after his flight to Madura (1292 A.D.) he returned to Java and obtained sufficient means to make a bold stand against Jayakatvang. He had as yet failed to secure a victory against his foe, and so he thought of utilising the Chinese expedition to his advantage. He immediately offered his submission and sent his Prime-minister with fourteen other officials to meet the Chinese army.

Jayakatvang, on the other hand, made preparations to defend his country. He sent his Prime-minister Hi-ning-kuan with a flotilla of boats to guard the mouth of the Surabaya river, and himself advanced against Majapahit.

The Chinese army reached the Surabaya river (Pa-tsieh-kan) on the first day of the third month. Here, for the first time, they came across the hostile fleet, guarding the mouth of the river. The Chinese annals continue: "It (the mouth of the river) is the entrance to Java and a place for which they were determined to fight. Accordingly the first minister of the Javanese, Hi-ning kuan, remained in a boat to see how the chances of the fight went; he was summoned repeatedly, but would not surrender. The commander of the imperial army made a camp in the form of a crescent on the bank of the river and left the ferry in charge of a commander of Ten Thousand; the fleet in the river and the cavalry and infantry on shore then advanced together and Hi-ning-kuan, seeing this, left his boat and fled overnight, whereupon more than a hundred large ships, with devil-heads on the stem, were captured." This took place on the first day of the third month.

After this naval victory the Chinese leaders advanced to Majapahit to assist Vijaya against Jayakatvang.

'On the seventh day the soldiers of Kalang (Kaḍiri) arrived from three sides to attack Tuhan Pidjaya (Vijaya). On the morning of the eighth day, Kau Hsing fought with the enemy on the south-east and killed several hundreds of them, whilst the remainder fled to the mountains. Towards the middle of the day the enemy arrived also from the south-west. Kau Hsing met them again, and towards evening they were defeated.' We hear of no encounter with the third Division of Kaḍirian troops. Probably they retreated on hearing the fate of the other two.

Majapahit was saved, but the main army of the king of Kaḍiri was still at large. So, 'on the 15th, the army was divided into three bodies, in order to attack Kalang (Kaḍiri). A part of the troops ascended the river (Brantas) under Che-pi[1]. Yi-k'o-mu-su proceeded by the eastern road and Kau Hsing took the western, whilst Tuhan Pidjaya (Vijaya) with his army brought up the rear.

'On the 19th they (*i.e.* the different divisions of the army) arrived at Taha (Daha, the capital of Kaḍiri) where the prince of Kalang defended himself with more than a hundred thousand soldiers. The battle lasted from 6 A.M. till 2 P.M., and three times the attack was renewed, when the (Kaḍirian) army was defeated and fled; several thousand thronged into the river and perished there, whilst more than 5,000 were slain. The king retired into the inner city which was immediately surrounded by Chinese army, and the king summoned to surrender. In the evening the king whose name was Haji Katang (Jayakatvang) came out of the fortress and offered his submission. His wife, his children and officers were taken by the victors who then went back[2].'

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1. It is not expressly stated that Che-pi was the leader of this group. It is said, however, in the account of Che-pi that he divided the army into three parts, himself, Kau Hsing, and Yi-ko'-mu-su each leading a Division.

2. The last sentence is taken from the account of Che-pi. The main account simply says: "On this the orders of the emperor were

Jayakatvang's son[1] had fled to the mountains, but Kau Hsing went into the interior with a thousand men and brought him back a prisoner.

While Kau Hsing was away on this expedition, a new act in the tragic drama began. Vijaya asked for permission to return to his country in order to prepare a new letter of submission to the Emperor and to take the precious articles in his possession for sending them to court. Che-pi and Yi-k'o-mu-su consented to this. On the 2nd day of the 4th month Vijaya left the Chinese camp. The Chinese generals sent two officers with 200 men to accompany him. As soon as Kau Hsing learnt this on his return, he disapproved of the act, and his apprehensions only proved too true.

Vijaya, having got rid of Jayakatvang, had no more need of his Chinese allies and wanted to get rid of them. He killed his Chinese escort on the 19th, and having collected a large force, attacked the imperial army on its way back from Kaḍiri. 'Kau Hsing and others fought bravely with him and threw him back. Che-pi was behind and was cut off from the rest of the army. He was obliged to fight his way for 300 li before he arrived at the ships. Of his soldiers more than 3,000 had died'.

'The generals now thought of carrying on the war (evidently against Vijaya), but Yi-k'o-mu-su wished to do as the emperor had ordered them and first send a messenger to court. The two others could not agree to this, therefore the troops were withdrawn and on the 24th day of the 4th month they returned with their prisoners and with the envoys of the different smaller states which had submitted'.

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delivered to him and he was told to go back.' The account of the fall of Kaḍiri, given in Pararaton and Pañji Vijayakrama, differs considerably from the Chinese accounts, and cannot be regarded as historical.

1. The name is written in Chinese as Sih-lah-pat-ti Sih-lah-tan-puh-hah.

Haji Katang (Jayakatvang) and his son were killed by the Chinese before they left Java[1].

It is interesting to note that 'by an imperial decree Che-pi and Yi-k'o-mu-su who had allowed the prince of Java to go away were punished[2], but as Kau Hsing had taken no part in this decision, and, moreover, greatly distinguished himself, the emperor rewarded him with 50 taels of gold'.

Thus ended the strange episode of the Chinese invasion of Java. They came to punish Kṛtanagara, but really helped the restoration of his family by killing his enemy Jayakatvang. The net result of the expedition was to make Vijaya the undisputed master of Java with Majapahit as its capital. He soon re-established the friendly relations with the Chinese emperor. For we find embassies from Java at the imperial court in 1297, 1298, 1300 and 1308 A.D.[3].

With the death of Jayakatvang the short-lived kingdom of Kaḍiri came to an end, and, as Nag. Kr. puts it, the world breathed freely once more (45 : 1).

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1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 28. According to Pararaton, however, Jayakatvang lived long enough after this to compose a poem called Wukir Polaman. Probably he died after a short term of imprisonment. Cf. B. K. I., Vol. 88 (1931), pp. 38, 48.

2. One-third of the property of each was confiscated, and Che-pi got, in addition, seventeen lashes. Some time later, both were forgiven. Their property was restored and they were raised to high ranks.

3. T'oung Pao, Ser. II, Vol. XV. (1914), p. 446.

Chapter VI

THE JAVANESE EMPIRE

Vijaya assumed the name of Kṛtarājasa Jayavarddhana after his accession to the throne. Majapahit, which played such an important rôle in the recent happenings, became the capital of the new king, who rightly proclaimed himself, in the record of 1294 A.D., as the master of the whole of Java (Samastayavadvīpeśvara). Although the capital was changed, the new kingdom may justly be regarded as the continuation of the kingdom of Singhasāri, with a short break of two years, due to the assumption of royal authority by Jayakatvang. For Kṛtarājasa combined in himself various claims to be regarded as the rightful heir to the throne of Singhasāri. In the Singhasāri record of 1294 A.D. he makes a pointed reference to these claims. He was not only descended from Narasinghanagaradharmmaviśeṣa (probably the same as Mahīṣa Wong Ateleng, son of Rājasa) and grandson of Narasinghamūrtti (the coronation name of Mahīṣa Campaka, son of Mahīṣa Wong Ateleng), but he had also married the daughters of the late king Kṛtanagara who had no male issue. This latter aspect is indeed too much emphasised in Nag. Kr. (45 : 2-47). It refers by name to four daughters of Kṛtanagara as the four queens of Kṛtarājasa and expressly adds how their sight gladdened the hearts of all. It expatiates at length on the affectionate relation between the king and the four queens, so much so, that the command of one, thanks to this complete harmony among them, was really the command of all. The special stress laid on the position of the daughters may indicate that although Kṛtarājasa ruled by his own right, the daughters of Kṛtanagara also exercised some royal authority derived from their father. This would explain why the royal power was assumed, a few years after Kṛtarājasa's

death, by the youngest of his queens, who ruled not as dowager-queen or queen-mother, but on her own right as daughter of Kṛtanagara. The name of this queen was Gāyatrī, though she is usually referred to as Rājapatnī, the queen *par excellence*. By her the king had two daughters, but the three other queens had no issue.

Kṛtarājasa had a fifth queen, a princess of Malayu. This kingdom in Sumatra had been already conquered by Kṛtanagara, and it may be recalled that the despatch of a military expedition to it is put forward in Pararaton as the cause of the downfall of that king. As soon as the Javanese army of occupation at Malayu heard of the catastrophic end of their king they must have naturally made preparations to return. We learn from Pañji Vijayakrama that they brought rich tributes paid by the vanquished princes and their leader got the title Mahīṣa Anabrang.[1] According to Pararaton, they reached Java ten days after Vijaya had finally triumphed over the Chinese army and brought with them two princesses of Malayu. The younger, Dara-Peṭak, also known as Indreśvarī was married by Kṛtarājasa. The elder princess, Dara Jingga, was married to a 'Deva' and became the mother of the king of Malayu, Tuhan Janaka, called also Śrī Marmadeva and Haji Mantrolot. In view of the growing importance of Malayu, which evidently became an independent state after the withdrawal of Javanese troops, the marriage relation between the royal houses of Java and Malayu was undoubtedly a fact of great political importance. It was specially so, because Dara Peṭak bore a son to Kṛtarājasa, and the boy was heir-presumptive to the throne. In 1295 Kṛtarājasa anointed the son, named Jayanagara and Kala Gemet, as the prince of Kaḍiri.

We do not know of any event in the reign of Kṛtarājasa. We indeed meet with Vīrarāja as the highest dignitary in the court, enjoying large grants of land in the eastern corner of Java, but this was a poor compensation for half the kingdom of

1. VII, 147-150. Mid. Jav. Trad., p. 61.

Java which the king had promised him in his dark days of exile and penury. On the whole Kṛtarājasa ruled in peace and prosperity and died in 1309.[1] He had two memorial temples, a Buddhist sanctuary within his palace at Majapahit, and the Śaiva temple of Simping, the present Caṇḍi Sumberjati to the south of Blitar[2]. Nothing remains of the latter except the foundations, but it has furnished a beautiful portrait of the king, as Harihara, which is now preserved in the Museum at Batavia. A figure of Pārvatī, in the temple of Rimbi, south-west of Majakerta, offers so striking a similarity in style to the Harihara image, that it has been regarded as portraying the figure of one of the queens, probably the seniormost one, named Tribhuvanā.

Kṛtarājasa was succeeded by his son Jayanagara. His two half-sisters received the titles of the princess of Kahuripan (or in Sanskrit Jīvana) and princess of Daha or Kaḍiri. These two titles were evidently derived from the two kingdoms into which Java was once divided.

The reign of Jayanagara was full of troubles. If we are to believe in Pararaton, the troubles are due to the dissatisfaction of the companions of Kṛtarājasa who stood by him in weal and woe but did not think themselves sufficiently rewarded by the king. So long as the strong hands of Kṛtarājasa were there, they remained quiet, but as soon as a young inexperienced king came to the throne they rose against him. In this connection prominence is given to one Mahāpati, who stood by king Jayanagara in all his troubles. It has been suggested that the discontent was mainly directed against Mahāpati rather than the king, but it is not quite clear whether the former's haughty conduct was responsible for the outbreak of troubles, or whether the rebels were furious at him because he stood between them and the young king whom they wanted to bring to grief.

1. T. B. G., Vol. 56 (1914), p. 147.
2. O. V., 1916, pp. 51-55.

The dates of succeeding events, as given in Pararaton, are hopelessly wrong, but relying upon the sequence of events and interval between them, Poerbatjaraka has suggested a scheme of chronology which is generally accepted.[1] It appears that the first rebellion broke out in 1309 A.D. The leader of this, Rangga Lawe, aspired to the office of Prime-minister, but having failed in his object, organised a rebellion at Tuban. He was joined by a number of persons. It is suggested in Par. that Mahāpati roused the suspicion of the king against him by quoting some of his utterances, and hence he was not selected as the minister. A different, but more detailed, account is given in Kidung Rangga Lawe. Here no reference is made to Mahāpati, but Rangga Lawe is goaded to rebellion as Nambi, and not he, was appointed Prime-minister. Further, Rangga Lawe, and not Nambi, was the son of Vīrarāja who had fortified himself at Tuban instead of going back to Madura. On the whole it is a different version and equally untrustworthy.[2] All that we can safely conclude is that Rangga Lawe organised a rebellion in 1309 with Tuban as centre, but the rebellion was soon subdued, and Rangga Lawe perished with most of his followers.

Next came the turn of Sora. He, too, rebelled, and perished in 1311 A. D. Some details of this episode are given in the recently discovered book Sorāndaka,[3] but they can hardly be regarded as authentic.

The old Vīrarāja also thought the moment ripe for striking a blow for himself. He followed the policy which he had suggested to Vijaya. He ingratiated himself into the favour of the king and then asked leave to set up in Lamayang. There

1. T. B. G., Vol. 56 (1914), pp. 147ff. The date of the first rebellion, 1309 A. D, is given on the authority of Krom-Geschiedenis[2] p. 372. It might have taken place even during the reign of Kṛtarājasa (cf. Mid. Jav. Trad. p. 75).

2. Mid. Jav. Trad. pp. 66-75.

3. Feest. Bat. Gen., Vol. I. (1929), pp. 22-34.

he firmly established himself and never came back to Majapahit, not even at the time of the official Durbar of the eighth month. The king put up with it and there was no open rebellion. Next came the turn of Nambi, the son of Vīrarāja, and one of the few companions of Vijaya during his flight. He was a high functionary at court, but Mahāpati succeeded in rousing the suspicion of the king against him. Nambi was, however, too clever and moved very cautiously. He took leave to see his father who was ill. He then established himself at Lembah, built a fort there, and collected an army. About this time died Vīrarāja, the old arch-conspirator, before he could complete his treachery. Nambi, however, proceeded to carry out his father's plan. In 1316 the royal army proceeded against him. According to Nag. Kr., which mentions only this incident in Jayanagara's reign, it was the king who first took the field against Nambi. This is, perhaps, true, for although Nambi had not openly rebelled, he was silently preparing for the coming conflict, and the king naturally thought it prudent to attack him before his preparations were completed. After a short campaign, the strongholds of Nambi were captured and he perished with his followers.

Several minor rebellions occurred both before and after that of Nambi. Passing by them, we come to the rebellion of Kuṭi, in 1319. Kuṭi was one of the seven Dharmaputras who occupied a high position in the kingdom. Pararaton has given us a long and romantic account of this rebellion. It is said that in course of this rebellion the king left his capital city and fled during night to Baḍaṇder with only a body-guard of fifteen men under the command of Gajah Mada who was destined to become famous at no distant date. Gajah Mada returned to the capital and reported that the king was killed by Kuṭi's men. This caused a great sorrow in the capital. Gajah Mada concluded from this that the people were yet attached to the king and did not like Kuṭi. Thereupon he divulged the secret to the ministers who killed Kuṭi, and the king was restored to the throne. The account of this episode, as

given in Par., is puzzling in the extreme. It represents Kuṭi in a favourable light and accuses Mahāpati of bringing a false charge against him in consequence of which the great minister was arrested and put to death by the king. It further says that the king undertook the journey to Baḍaṇḍer of his own accord. But there can be hardly any doubt that Kuṭi actually rebelled and that the king had to take to flight as Kuṭi had become master of the city and the palace. Mahāpati evidently lost his life in course of the troubles caused by Kuṭi.

Gajah Mada was suitably rewarded for his services. According to Par. he first became governor (patih) of Kahuripan, and, after two years, that of Daha, and he remained in this post from 1321 onward till he became Prime-minister in 1331. The specific dates are proved to be wrong by an inscription [1] which shows that in 1323 somebody else was governor of Daha. But there is no doubt that Gajah Mada served for some time as governor of Daha and was occupying that post in 1330 A. D.

The rebellion of Kuṭi in 1319 was the last organised attempt against the central authority. The inscription of 1323, referred to above, no doubt raises some suspicion about the continued peace or stability of the kingdom. In this inscription the name of the king is written as "Śrī-Sundara Pāṇḍyadevādhīśvara-nāma-rājābhiṣeka Vikramottuṅggadeva" preceded by a number of Sanskrit epithets. This peculiarly south-Indian Pāṇḍya name is apt to give rise to a suspicion whether the king referred to in the record is Jayanagara or some other person. But the fact that this name appears also in 1314, and that a number of officers mentioned in the record also served under the successors of Jayanagara, lead to the conclusion that we have to take Sundara Pāṇḍya Vikramottunggadeva as the consecration or official name of Jayanagara. The seal-mark of the king was 'Mīnadvaya' or 'two fishes', again a Pāṇḍya

1. O. J. O., No. LXXXIII.

custom. There was evidently a close association between Java and South-India during this period.[1]

We have a short reference to Java about this time in the writings of Odoric Van Pordenon[2] who visited the archipelago in 1321. He says that the king of Java exercises suzerainty over seven other kings, the land is very populous and produces spices, and that the palace is decorated with gold, silver and precious stones.

The political greatness of Java is also referred to in the inscription of 1323 A.D. It refers to the kingdom as comprising the whole of Java and includes among its foreign possessions Madura, Tañjungpura, *i. e.* Borneo etc. Thus although Java might have lost its influence in the west, its political supremacy in the east was yet unimpaired. Java also maintained good relations with China and sent regular embassies in 1322, 1325, 1326, and 1327. In 1328, when the last-named mission returned, they brought from the Chinese emperor official robes and bows and arrows for the Javanese king Cha-ya-na-ko-nai, which corresponds well to Jayanagara.[3]

According to the story of Par. the closing years of Jayanagara were again full of troubles. First, the king fell out with the nobles of his court. He wanted to marry one of his step-sisters, but some of the nobles tried to do the same, or, at least, was suspected by the king to make attempts in that direction. In was not perhaps a mere romantic sentiment which influenced the king's decision. His half-sister was a descendant of the legitimate king Kṛtanagara, and her husband could establish a claim to the throne, superior to his own. A powerful noble wedded to his sister would thus prove a

1. Cf. Acta orientalia Vol. XII, Pars II (pp. 133ff) for further instances of such a close association.

2. Yule-Cordier—Cathay and the Way Thither, Vol. 2. (1913), pp. 146-155.

3. T'oung Pao, Ser. II. Vol. XV (1914), p. 446. I find no authority for the Javanese mission to China in 1328 referred to by Krom-Goschiedenis[2], p. 380.

formidable rival, and the king wanted to prevent this complication by marrying the sister himself.

But before this question could be finally decided the king met with a tragic end in a quite unexpected way. The king had outraged the modesty of the wife of Tañca, another Dharmaputra of the type of Kuṭi, and the latter naturally bore a grudge against the king. Now the king was suffering from a boil, and Tañca, who was evidently also the court-physician, was asked to treat the king. While operating upon the king, Tañca killed him by the surgical instruments and was himself killed by Gajah Mada. Thus died Jayanagara in 1328 A.D.[1]

According to Par. the king was cremated at Kapopongan, also called Śṛngapura. The site has not yet been identified. According to Nag. Kr. two figures of the king as Viṣṇu were set up at Śilā Peṭak and Bubat and one as Amoghasiddhi at Sukalīla. All these places were probably in the neighbourhood of Majapahit. It may be noted that some temples were erected near Panataran during the reign of Jayanagara.

As Jayanagara left no male heir, the nearest female heiress was 'Rājapatnī', mentioned above, viz. the daughter of Kṛtanagara, and the widow of Kṛtarājasa. As she had adopted the life of a Buddhist nun, her eldest daughter Tribhuvanottunggadevī Jayaviṣṇuvardhanī[2] acted as regent for her mother. She was known to posterity as the princess of Jīvana or Kahuripan (Bhre Kahuripan), a title which she bore probably before, and certainly after her period of regency. During the regentship she was called the queen of Majapahit while her son, the heir-presumptive to the throne, bore the title, 'prince of Jīvana.' Her personal name appears to be Gītārjjā.[3]

1. According to traditions preserved in Bali, the king outraged the modesty of Gajah Mada's wife, and the latter plotted his assassination (O. V. 1924, pp. 146ff.; Mid. Jav. Trad., p. 76).

2. In an inscription of 1330 A.D. the name is given as 'Tribhuvanottunggarāja Anantavikramottunggadevī', and she is referred to as incarnation of Lakṣmī (Krom-Geschiedenis[2] p. 387. fn. 1).

3. O. V. 1917, p. 48, and 1918, p. 108.

The regent had married, shortly after her brother's death, a Kṣatriya, named Cakradhara or Cakreśvara.[1] After his marriage, he received the ceremonial name Kṛtavarddhana, and the title 'Prince of Singhasāri'. The younger sister of the regent, princess Daha or Kaḍiri (Bhre Daha), took the ceremonial name Vijayadevī or Rājadevī Mahārājasā. She married Kudāmṛta whose ceremonial name was Vijayarājasa, and the title, 'Prince of Vengker'. He was also known as Parameśvara or Parameśvara Pamotan.

In 1331 Saḍeng and Keṭa revolted against the regent. These places were in the neighbourhood of Besuki. The revolts were put down by the royal troops. During the same year Gajah Mada, the governor of Daha already mentioned above, became the chief minister (Pati of Majapahit). His appointment might have something to do with the revolts, though the part he played in it is not quite clear. The long-drawn story in Par. regarding this episode is obscure in the extreme.

From this time Gajah Mada plays a prominent part in the government. Par. credits him with the conquest of a number of islands in the archipelago such as Gurun, Seran, Tañjungpura, Haru, Pahang, Dompo, Bali, Suṇḍa, Palembang, and Tumasik. Among these Gurun (Gorong), Tañjungpura (in Borneo), and Pahang (in Malay Peninsula) already belonged to the empire of Kṛtanagara as we have seen above. As to the rest, whether they were all conquered during the period of regency cannot be ascertained. It is likely that some later conquests have been wrongly ascribed to this period. Malayu again figures as a vassal state. The relations with China continued friendly and we hear of a very large mission (consisting of no less than 83 persons) from Java presenting a golden letter to the emperor in 1332 A.D.[2].

The Nag. Kr. refers to an expedition against the island of Bali in 1343 A.D. It appears that the authority of Java was

1. The marriage took place before 1330 A. D., as the husband is named in the inscription referred to in footnote No. 2, p, 326.

2. T'oung Pao, Ser. II. Vol. XV. (1914), p. 447.

established over part of that island as early as 1338 A.D., as in that year the regent founded there a Buddhist sanctuary. The expedition of 1343 may be a continuation of that of 1338 or a new one to make a thorough conquest of the island. In any case the results of the expedition were quite satisfactory and the island of Bali was thoroughly subdued.

In 1350 died queen Rājapatnī. She was buried at Viśeṣapura at Bhayālango in Kaḍiri and figured there as a Prajñāpāramitā[1]. Prince Hayam Wuruk, the son of the regent Tribhuvanottunggadevī, came to the throne in 1350, on the death of his grandmother Rājapatnī. He was then only sixteen years old. His coronation name was Rājasanagara, though he is generally referred to by his old name Hayam Wuruk. Henceforth his mother occupied the second place in the kingdom, and is referred to as princess of Jīvana or Kahuripan (Bhre Kahuripan).

According to Par. the king had several other names, such as, (1) Bhaṭāra Prabhu, (2) Raden Tetep, (3) Śivaiet mpu Janeśvara and (4) Sanghyang Wekas ing Sukha, in addition to three more derived from the king's participation in the Wajang. Of these the name Bhaṭāra Prabhu may be traced in the forms Sri-Pah-ta-la-po and Pa-ta-na pa-na-wu preserved in Chinese annals in connection with Javanese embassies sent in 1370, 1377, 1379 and 1380[2]. The name Śivaiet perhaps refers to the king's special leaning towards Śaivism. The fourth name also occurs in literature, *e.g.* Arjunavijaya. The poem Sutasoma calls the king Rājasarājya, presumably a variant of Rājasanagara.

The first notable incident in the reign of the king was his marriage with a Suṇḍa princess in 1357 A. D. After the preliminary negotiations about the match were settled the

1. Krom-Inleidung Vol. II. pp. 206-8. Crucq regards a figure in Batavia Museum (No. 288) as that of Rājapatnī (O. V. 1930, pp. 219-221, pl. 54a).

2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 35.

king of Suṇḍa, called Mahārāja, came to Bubat near Majapahit with his daughter. A difference, however, soon arose. The Suṇḍanese king desired that her daughter should be treated on an equal footing, and the marriage ceremony should be as between equals. The Majapahit court, on the other hand, regarded the Suṇḍanese king as subordinate, and wanted to celebrate the marriage as between a suzerain king and his feudatory. The Suṇḍanese would not tolerate this indignity and refused to give up the princess. Thereupon the Majapahit troops surrounded the whole party. The nobles of Suṇḍa preferred death to dishonour, and after brave fight, perished to a man. Amidst this ghastly tragedy the princess was married to the king. According to Kidung Sunda[1], however, the bride also perished in the general massacre that followed the fight. But in any case, the Suṇḍanese princess died shortly. After her death the king married Parameśvarī (Suṣumnadevī, according to Nag. Kr.), the daughter of prince of Vengker. As already remarked above, the latter had married the king's maternal aunt, but Parameśvarī was his daughter by a previous marriage. King Rājasanagara had a daughter by this queen, some time before 1365 A. D.

The aggressive policy towards Suṇḍa in 1357 was merely an indication of the strong imperialism which was to distinguish the period of Rājasanagara. During the same year a military expedition was sent against the island of Dompo, which was crowned with complete success. Although details of further conquest are lacking, there is scarcely any doubt that during the reign of this king the kingdom of Java rose to be the supreme political power in the Archipelago, and established its suzerainty in almost all the principal islands and a large portion of the Malay Peninsula. It is not to be supposed, however, that all these foreign possessions were directly administered by, and formed part and parcel of the Javanese kingdom. But the king of Majapahit was regarded as the

1. Berg—B. K. I., Vol. 83. (1927), pp. 117-118.

suzerain power by all of them, and his mighty fleet maintained his hold upon their rulers, excluding effectually the active exercise of any authority by other powers. The rulers of these subordinate states owned allegiance to him and paid tributes or other dues as agreed upon, although they were left free and independent in matters of internal administration of their states.

A detailed list of such subordinate states is given in the Nag. Kr., which was composed in 1365 A. D., during the reign of this king. It divides the states into several groups, and we give their names below with such identifications of old names as are generally agreed upon[1] (with approximate Degrees of Latitudes and Longitudes indicated by the figures within bracket. Where only the Latitudes and Longitudes are given, it is to be understood that the name is also in use in modern times. The letters S and N denote Southern and Northern Latitudes).

Group I.—Malayu (Sumatra)

(1) Jāmbi (2S.×104). (2) Palembang (3S.×103). (3) Karitang (South of Indragiri) (1S.×102). (4) Teba (upper Jambi) (2S.×102). (5) Dharmāśraya (upper Batanghari) (2S.×102). (6) Kaṇḍis (Kandi, to the north of Buo on the right bank of the Sinamar river. (1S.×102). (7) Kahwas (Kawaj near Kandi) (1S.×101). (8) Manangkabwa (2S.×101)=Minangkabau. (9) Rekān (1N.×101). (10) Siyak (1N.×102). (11) Kāmpar (0×103). (12) Pane (Panai, at the mouth of the Panai Barumun river (3N.×100). (13) Kāmpe (Kompai) (4N.×98). (14) Haru (Krom places it at about 4N.×98. But Ferrand locates it at the mouth of the river Rokan.) (15) Maṇḍahiling (1N.×101). (16) Tamihang (4N.×98). (17) Parllāk (5N.×98). (18) Barat (Daya or west coast of

1. The identifications are given on the authority of Krom (Geschiedenis², pp. 416-418), Brandes (T. B. G., Vol. 58, 1919, p. 558), Ferrand (J. A., 1918, 1919, 1922), and Blagden (J. R. A. S. 1928, p. 915).

Atjeh) (5N.×95). (19) Lavas (Padang Lavas or Gaju Luas) (4.5×98). (20) Samudra (The islamic kingdom of this name was founded by Malik-al-saleh in the northern part of Sumatra some time before 1286 A. D.) (5N.×97°5). (21) Lamuri (in Great Ajteh) (5 N.×96). (22) Batan (Island to the south of Singapore ? or in Sumatra). (23) Lāmpung (5S.×105). (24) Barus (2N.×98·5).

Group II. Tanjungnagara (Borneo).

(1) Kapuhas (O×112). (2) Katingān (Mendavi river) (3 S.×114). (3) Sāmpit (3 S.×113). (4) Kuṭa Lingga (Linga on the Batang Lupar) (1·5. N.×111) (5) Kuṭa Varingin (3 S.×112). (6) Sambas (1·5 N.×109· 5). (7) Lavai (Muara Lavai on the Mendavak or Melavi) (·5 S.×112). (8) Kaḍangḍangan (Kendavangan) (3 S.×116). (9) Laṇḍa (Landak) (·5 N.×110). (10) Sameḍang (Semandang in Simpang ?) (11) Tirem (Peniraman on the Kapuas Kechil or Tidung) (4 N.×116). (12) Seḍu (Sadong in Saravak, Sedua in Langgou or Siduh in Matan) (1·5N×111). (13) Buruneng (Brunei) (5 N.×115). (14) Kalka (Kaluka near (?) Saribas (2 N.×111). (15) Saluḍung (Maludu-bay) (6 N.×117). (16) Solot (Solok or Sulu island) (5 N.×120). (17) Pasir (2S.×116). (18) Baritu. (3·5. S.×115). (19) Savakū (Sevaku island) (3·5S.×116·5). (20) Tabalung (Tabalong in Amuntai) (2·5 S.×116). (21) Tuñjung Kute (Kutei) (O×117). (22) Malano (Malanau in N. W. Borneo, Balinean in Serawak, or Milanau). (23) Tañjungpurī (the capital city.) (Tanjungpura on the south Pavan) (2 S.×110).

Group III Pahang (Malay Peninsula)

(Only Latitudes (N.) are given)

(1) Hujung-mediní, the capital city (Johor) (3·5). (2) Lengkasuka (see pp. 71ff.) (3) Sai (Saiburi near Patani) (10). (4) Kalanten (5·5). (5) Tringgano (Trengganau) (5). (6) Naśor (Pahang or Patani). (7) Paka (on the east coast south of Dungun) (2·5).

(8) Muvar (N. W. of Johor). (9) Dungun (South Trengganau) (4). (10) Tumasik (Singapore). (11) Sanghyang Hujung (Cape Rashado) (7). (12) Kelang (3·5). (13) Keḍa (6). (14) Jere (Jering near Patani, or Keda peak or Jelei river) (6). (15) Kañjap (Singkep ?) (16) Nirān (Karimun ?).

Group IV. Eastern Island.

(1) Bali with chief towns Bedahulu (Bedulu in Gianjar) and Lvāgajah (Goa Gaja near Petanu). (2) Gurun (Nusa Penida) with chief town Sukun.

(3) Talivang.
(4) Dompo.
(5) Sapi.
(6) Bhīma

} In Sumbawa.

(7) Sanghyang Api (Sangeang, Gunung Api). (8) Śeran (Ceram). (9) Hutan (N. E. of Sumbawa). (10) Kaḍali (Kanari—island, or 9 and 10 together may denote the group of islands Buru, Sula etc.) (11) Gurun (Gorong, probably the name of a large group of islands in the east.) (12) Lombok Mirah (West Lombok ?) (13) Sākṣak (East Lombok). (14) Bāntayan (Bonthain) with capital of that name. (15) Luvuk (Luvuk on south Peleng or Luvu on the gulf of Boni). (16) Uḍamakatraya (Talaud—islands). (17) Makasar. and (18) Butun. (Two well-known islands of these names). (19) Banggavī (Banggai). (20) Kunir (Kunjit). (21) Galiyao (Kangean). (22) Salaya (Saleier). (23) Sumba (well-known). (24) Solot (Solor). (25) Muar (Kei or Honimoa, Saparua). (26) Waṇḍan (Banda). (27) Ambwan (Amboyne Island). (28) Maloko (Molukkas *i. e.* Ternate). (29) Wwanin (Onin, north-west of New Guinea). (30) Seran (Koviai, south of New Guinea). (31) Timur (well-known).

These islands are all situated within that part of the Pacific Ocean which is bounded by Borneo on the west, Philippines on the north, New Guinea in the east, and Australia on the south. They lie between Long. 115° and 135°, and Lat. 2°N. and 10°S.

The long list given in Nag. Kr. shows the hegemony of nearly the whole of Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago under the kingdom of Majapahit in Java, the only notable exception being the Philippines. Roughly speaking, the empire comprised the present Dutch possessions in the Archipelago, with the addition of Malay Peninsula, but excluding, perhaps, northern Celebes.

The question naturally arises, how far we can place reliance on the statement in Nag. Kr. On the one hand it is a contemporary authority giving full details of the external possessions instead of indulging in mere vague general phrases which is so often the case. On the other hand, we cannot forget that the author, being associated with the court of Majapahit, had a great natural inducement to exaggerate the state of things in favour of his patron and country.

We must, therefore, try to supplement the account of Nag. Kr. by such other data as we possess. In the first place we have a Malay book called Hikāyat Rājarāja Pasay[1] which gives a long list of foreign territories under the supremacy of Majapahit at the time of its conquest by the Muhammadans. This list also refers to vassal states in Sumatra, Malay Peninsula, Borneo, and the various islands in the Archipelago such as Tambelan, Anamba, Natuna, Tiyuma, Karimata, Biliton, Banka, Riouw, Lingga, Bintan, Banda, Cera, Sumbawa, Lombok, Bali, and southern part of Celebes. As the two lists emanate from two entirely different authorities living in different countries, and the periods contemplated are separated by a century, we cannot expect a complete agreement of names in them. But the general resemblance between the two is sufficient to establish the historical character of Nag. Kr.

Further, in respect of some of the conquered countries in the above lists we possess independent evidence regarding the suzerainty of Java.

1. An extract from this book is given by Dulaurier in J. A. IV-VII, 1846, p. 544. The list of countries is given by Ferrand (Textes, pp. 666-669).

1. Bali.—The inscription of Batur, dated 1348 A.D., and a second record dated 1386 A.D. were issued by Śrī Vijaya-rājasa, *i.e.* the Prince of Vengker, the maternal uncle of king Rājasanagara. Another record, dated 1398 A.D., refers to this prince as Śrī Parameśvara who died at Viṣṇubhavana.[1] There can be no doubt that the Prince of Vengker who held an important position in the Javanese court ruled the island of Bali as a representative of the Javanese king.

2. West Borneo.—The Chinese history tells us that in 1368 Pu-ni (the western coast of Borneo) was attacked by the people of Su-lu, a neighbouring country. They made a large booty and only retired when Java came with soldiers to assist this country.[2] Now it can be easily presumed that Java sent assistance as the suzerain authority bound to protect a vassal state. The further accounts of the Chinese[3] make it absolutely clear. We are told that in 1370 the Chinese emperor asked the king of Pu-ni to send tributes. Then the Chinese authority adds: "Now this country had hitherto belonged to Java and the people of the latter country tried to prevent him". In other words, it is clearly admitted that Java exercised supremacy over western Borneo in the year 1370 A.D. Although it is related that the king of Pu-ni sent envoys with tribute to the imperial court, it does not mean that Java ceased to be regarded as the supreme authority. For the despatch of envoy with tribute to China, as described in Chinese history, is a mere conventional term which does not always mean any real political relationship. For example, Java herself is represented to be in a similar position with regard to China during the same period.

3. San-fo-tsi.—The relation of Java and San-fo-tsi has already been discussed. According to the Chinese history the king of San-fo-tsi, or rather one of the three kings who divided the kingdom among themselves, died in 1376 A.D.,

1. O. V. 1924, p. 29 ; O. B., Vol. I, p. 191 ; Epigraphia Balica I, p. 13. 2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 103. 3. Ibid., pp. 110-111.

and was succeeded by his son. Next year the latter sent envoys with tributes to the imperial court. "The envoys said that the son dared not ascend the throne on his own authority, and therefore asked the permission of the imperial court. The emperor praised his sense of duty and ordered envoys to bring him a seal and a commission as king of San-fo-tsi. At that time, however, San-fo-tsi had already been conquered by Java, and the king of this country, hearing that the emperor had appointed a king over San-fo-tsi, became very angry and sent men who waylaid and killed the imperial envoys. The emperor did not think it right to punish him on this account. After this occurrence San-fo-tsi became gradually poorer and no tribute was brought from this country any more".[1]

This very frank statement of the Chinese historian is a singular proof of the political greatness of Java. It not only admits the supremacy of Java over San-fo-tsi, but also proves its will and ability to exclude other powers, including China, from interfering in the political affairs of what she rightly considered as her own sphere of influence. Further Chinese testimony of the complete conquest of San-fo-tsi by Java has been given before, in connection with the history of that kingdom.

In addition to these positive testimonies furnished by the Chinese historians, we may refer to indirect evidences, furnished by two inscriptions. The rock-inscription of Palama[2] in Sumbawa island is written in later Kavi alphabet, and its language contains all sorts of old-Javanese forms. An inscription at Singapore[3] also similarly exhibits the Javanese alphabet and language. While no positive inference can be made from these factors, they may be presumed to indicate the political supremacy of Java over these two islands.

1. Ibid., p. 69. Ferrand—J. A., 11 : XX (1922), pp. 25-26.
2. Not. Bat. Gen., 1910, pp. 110-113.
3. B. K. I, Vol. 77 (1921), pp. 35-67 ; O. V. 1924, p. 111.

From all these indications it may be safely laid down that by the year 1365 A.D., when the Nāgara Kṛtāgama was composed, Java reached the height of her political greatness and established her unquestioned supremacy over Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago. She also occupied a position of international importance. The Nāg. Kr. refers to the intimate and friendly intercourse of Majapahit with the neighbouring states such as Siam, with Ayodhyāpura (Ayuthiya) and Dharmanagari (Ligor), Martaban, Rājapura, Singhanagari, Champā (Southern Anuam), Kāmboja (Cambodia), and Yavana (N. Annam).[1]

It also refers to a number of countries, including some of those just mentioned, which had trade relations with Majapahit, and from which Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas visited the Javanese capital. Thus we read: "There came unceasingly, in large numbers, people from all lands such as Jambudvīpa, Kāmboja, Cīna, Yavana, Campā, Karṇāṭaka,...Gauḍa, and Siam. They came in ships with merchandise. Monks and distinguished Brāhmaṇas also came from these lands and were entertained".[2] Jambudvīpa, of course, refers to India, while Karṇāṭaka and Gauḍa are specifically mentioned, probably to indicate a closer intimacy with Bengal and Kanarese districts. The Javanese had indeed a high regard for India, for in one verse (83 : 2) Nag. Kr. says that Jambudvīpa and Java are the good lands *par excellence*. The intimate relation between the two countries is also indicated by the fact that laudatory poems in honour of the Javanese king were written by the monk Budhāditya of Kāñcī (Conjeeveram) and the Brāhmaṇa, named Mutali Sahṛdaya, probably a Tamil Brāhmaṇa.[3] The intercourse with China, referred to by Nag. Kr., is also proved by Chinese sources. The History of the Ming Dynasty[4] refers to

1. Nag. Kr., 15 : 1. The identifications are made by Kern (V. G., VII. 279). Rājapura and Singhanagari cannot be definitely located.
2. Nag. Kr., 83 : 4. (V. G., VIII, p. 96).
3. Nag. Kr., 93 : 1. (V. G., VIII, pp. 114-115).
4. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 34ff.

embassies from Java in 1369, 1370, 1372, 1375, 1377, 1379, 1380, 1381, and 1382. We have already seen above, how Java gave a serious provocation to the Chinese emperor in 1379 or 1380 by the murder of Chinese envoys. The event is thus referred to in the history of the Ming Dynasty in connection with the Javanese embassy of 1380 : "Some time before, imperial envoys had been sent to carry a seal to the king of San-fo-tsi, and those of Java deluded and killed them ; the emperor was highly incensed and detained their envoys more than a month, with the intention to punish them, but ultimately they were sent back with a letter to their king in which he was reproved for what he had done." Evidently the matter was amicably settled, for we hear of envoys being sent from Java in the two following years.

It thus appears from all accounts that the reign of Rājasanagara witnessed the high-water mark of the power and glory of Java. In view of the increase in power and responsibility of the empire we find a thorough organisation of the administrative machinery to cope with the new and heavy task. There is hardly any doubt that the credit for this to a large extent belongs to Gajah Mada. He had risen from an humble position to be the chief minister of the empire and brought to his task an unusual degree of devotion and skill. Next to him we should mention the father and the maternal uncle of the king, both of whom took an active and important part in the administration. When Gajah Mada died in 1364 no other chief minister was appointed as his successor. The king, his father, mother, uncle, aunt, and his two sisters (Bhaṭāra Sapta Prabhu) with their husbands formed a sort of inner royal council which kept the chief direction of affairs in its hands. This was an indirect tribute to the great qualities of Gajah Mada in whichever way we look at it, whether it was difficult to get a worthy successor of Gajah Mada, or whether it was thought too risky to leave so large powers in the hands of one officer. Accordingly his work was entrusted to four (or six) different persons. Gajah Mada's name is also associated with a book on polity

(Kuṭāramānava) which, in spite of later additions and alterations, may be rightly ascribed to that great minister.

In 1371, however, we find a new Prime Minister appointed. This was Gajah Enggon, who served for the remaining eighteen years of Rājasanagara's reign, and continued in the post under the next king till his death in 1398.

Chapter VII.

DOWNFALL OF THE EMPIRE

King Rājasanagara had a long and prosperous reign, and under him, as stated above, Majapahit became the seat of a vast empire. But he took an unwise step in his old age which was mainly instrumental in pulling down the vast imperial fabric reared up with so much care. In order to understand this fully we must have an idea of the royal family. The king had by his chief queen Parameśvarī only a daughter named Kusumavarddhanī. The queen's sister, Īśvarī, called princess of Pajang, had one daughter, called Nāgaravarddhanī princess of Vīrabhūmi, and a son called Vikramavarddhana, prince of Matarām. Vikramavarddhana was married to the crown-princess Kusumavarddhanī, and was thus the next heir to the throne. But king Rājasanagara had also a son by a junior wife. In order to settle him well in life, the king had him married to Nāgaravarddhanī. He thus became prince of Vīrabhūmi and was adopted by the princess of Daha. In order to strengthen his position still further the king made him governor of the eastern part of Java. Although nominally under the authority of Majapahit, the prince of Vīrabhūmi really exercised almost independent powers, so much so that the Chinese annals refer to two kings in Java even during the lifetime of king Rājasanagara, and both of them sent envoys to the imperial court[1]. Thus were sown the seeds of a future civil war which was destined to pave the way for the final overthrow, not only of the kingdom of Majapahit, but also of the Hindu kingdom and Hindu culture of Java.

King Rājasanagara died in 1389 A.D. and Vikramavarddhana, also known as Hyang Viśeṣa, succeeded him at Majapahit.

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 35.

The latter had a son by the crown-princess who was called, after his royal grandfather, Hyang Wekas ing Sukha. Being a direct descendant of Rājasanagara the crown-prince held a position of great importance. He appointed a new Prime Minister Gajah Manguri in 1398. But next year the crown-prince died at Indrabhavana and was cremated at the temple of Parama Sukhapura at Tajung.[1] Due to this shock or for some other reason the king took to a religious life in 1400 A.D.

The actual expression used in the record is that king Vikramavarddhana became a "Bhagavan." Brandes translated this word as 'monk' and held that the 'king withdrew from worldly life and government.' But the example of Airlangga shows that a king can continue to exercise temporal authority even though he adopts a religious life. There is no doubt, however, that both according to Pararaton and Chinese accounts, Vikramavarddhana exercised royal powers at a subsequent date. Brandes tried to explain away this circumstance by supposing that under pressure of circumstances the king subsequently returned to the worldly life. But of this change there is no evidence whatsoever.

Pararaton next (Chap. XII) refers to one "Bhaṭāra istri Prabhu" *i.e.*, a female sovereign. A few lines before this (Chap. X) the chronicle refers to Devī Suhitā, the daughter of king Vikramavarddhana, as 'Prabhu istri.' Then, a few lines later (Chap. XII), it refers to the death of king Vikramavarddhana. This is immediately followed by the statement that Prabhu istri died in 1429 (Chap. XII). Nothing is said about the succession to the throne, but Bhre Daha is said to be ruler (ratu) in 1437 A.D. (Chap. XIII). Lastly it is noted that 'Prabhu istri' died in 1447 and was cremated at Singhajaya (Chap. XIII).

This somewhat confusing account has led to differences among scholars regarding the reconstruction of the history

1. Krom thinks that king Rājasanagara was also cremated there, but of this we have no evidence.

of the period. Brandes held the view that after the abdication of Vikramavarddhana Suhitā ruled from 1400 to 1429 A.D., probably jointly with his father for a part of this period. After the death of both in 1429 A.D., there was an interregnum from 1429 to 1437, and thereafter a queen, Bhre Daha, ruled from 1437 to 1447 A.D. Krom has pointed out several defects in this interpretation. In the first place, there is no reference to any interregnum, and secondly, the title 'prabhu' is applied to the ruler of Majapahit whereas Bhre Daha is called only a 'ratu.' Krom himself has given a new interpretation. He begins by pointing out that Singhajaya, the cremation place of 'Prabhu istri' in 1447, is also, according to Par., the cremation place of Suhitā's husband who died a year before (Chap. XII). From this fact he concludes that this 'Prabhu istri' who died in 1447 is no other than Suhitā herself.

Starting from this basis Krom offers a simple explanation. He assumes that Vikramavarddhana continued to rule till 1429, when, after his death, his daughter Suhitā ascended the throne and ruled till her death in 1447 A.D. Bhre Daha is regarded by Krom as merely a ruler of Daha having no connection with Majapahit.[1]

Krom's reconstruction is open to serious objection, as it ignores two clear statements in Chap. XII of the Pararaton, *viz.*, (1) Bhaṭāra istri became ruler in 1400 A.D., and (2) Prabhu istri died in 1429 A.D.

Fortunately, we have got two statements by the Chinese authorities which enable us to check the accounts of Pararaton, and, perhaps, to understand it aright. The History of the Ming Dynasty says that in 1415 A.D. the king of Java gave up his old name and adopted the new name Yang Wi-si-sa, and from another Chinese source we come to know that this king was ruling in Java in 1436 A. D.[2] There is no doubt that

1. For a full discussion on this point, cf. Krom—Geschiedenis[2], pp. 428ff.

2. Groeneveldt.—Notes, p. 37. T'oung Pao, 1934, pp. 301-2,

the Chinese name corresponds to Hyang Viśeṣa, the second name of king Vikramavarddhana.

We should, therefore, dismiss from our mind the idea that king Vikramavarddhana died in 1429 A.D. As a matter of fact this is nowhere stated in Pararaton. The relevant passages of Pararaton are cited below (marked A, B, etc.) with a view to arrive at a definite idea of the whole situation.

Chap. XI.	A.	Bhra Hyang Viśeṣa became *bhagavan i.e.* withdrew from state-affairs in Śaka 1322.
Chap. XII.	B.	Bhaṭāra istri became ruler (prabhu).
	C.	Bhra Hyang Viśeṣa died...
	D.	Prabhu istri died in 1351.
Chap. XIII.	E.	Bhre Daha became ruler (ratu) in Śaka 1359.
	F.	Bhre Prabhu istri died in Śaka 1369.
Chap. XIV.	G.	Thereupon Bhre Tumapel became king in her place.

Now from the statements A and B we are bound to conclude that Bhre Hyang Viśeṣa abdicated the throne in favour of Prabhu istri. Now this title was obviously applied to two persons who died respectively in 1351 (D) and 1369 (F), and probably they were the queen and daughter of king Hyang Viśeṣa. The abdication was, therefore, in favour of one of these two, probably the former. It was, however, only for a short period. The Chinese accounts show that the king was ruling in 1415 A.D., and the Pararaton also records his activities in connection with the civil war in 1404 A.D. An inscription, issued by His Majesty Bhaṭāra Hyang Viśeṣa, also supports the same conclusion, as the record was obviously later than 1415 A.D. when he assumed this name.[1] The assumption of a new name in 1415 might indicate that, though actively looking to the affairs of the state all along, he formally resumed his sovereignty only in that year; but this is not certain. In any case Hyang Viśeṣa resumed the sovereignty in or before 1415 A.D., and ruled till 1436 A.D., as the Chinese authorities

1. O. V. 1918, p. 171.

inform us. This is in a way corroborated by the statement in Pararaton that Bhre Daha became ruler in 1437 A.D. (E) Evidently that was the year when Hyang Viśeṣa died. Bhre Daha probably ruled from 1437 to 1447 when on her death Bhre Tumapel became king.

The sentence G immediately follows F, and consequently the expression 'thereupon' should be taken to indicate that the accession of Tumapel was contingent upon the death of Bhre Prabhu istri, or, in other words, the former succeeded the latter. On the other hand, the only person whose accession is referred to after 1436 A. D. is Bhre Daha, and not Bhre Prabhu istri. Thus the three sentences E. F. G., read together, might lead us to believe that Bhre Daha and Prabhu istri probably referred to the same person, *viz.*, Suhitā, the daughter of Hyang Viśeṣa, but of this we are not certain. It is equally possible to hold with Krom, that Bhre Daha was a local ruler, and in that case Suhitā ascended the throne after her father's death in 1436 A. D., though neither this incident nor the date thereof is mentioned in Pararaton. Bhre Daha might also be a rebel or a rival to Suhitā, and there is nothing surprising in it, as the reign of Vikramavarddhana is marked by the great Civil War which led to the disruption of the empire and ultimately to the downfall of the kingdom of Majapahit.

It has already been mentioned that prince Vīrabhūmi was ruling like an independent prince in Eastern Java even during the lifetime of Rājasanagara. The following passage appears in the History of the Ming Dynasty between the accounts of the embassies in the years 1377 and 1379 A. D. "In this country there is a western and an eastern king, the latter is called Bogindo Bongkit, and the former Bu-la-po-bu (Bhaṭāra Prabhu). Both of them sent envoys with tribute"[1]

This account refers apparently to about 1378 A. D., when Rājasanagara was still living. It may be easily presumed

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 35. Cf. also Ferrand's notes, Par. p.164.

that the relation between the two states did not improve after the death of that king. The Chinese history tells us that in 1403 both the kings sent tribute and obtained royal seals from the Chinese emperor; and thenceforward both the kings regularly sent tribute[1] . This shows that both of them tried to get recognition from the Chinese emperor. The Chinese history informs us that in 1406 the eastern king was defeated and his kingdom destroyed.[2] We get a more detailed account of the struggle in Pararaton (Chap. XII). It appears that as early as 1401 A. D. king Vikramavarddhana was involved in a fight with prince Vīrabhūmi, but the result was indecisive. War broke out again in 1404 or shortly before that. At first the fortune of war turned against Vikramavarddhana, and he decided to retire. But then the two powerful chiefs of Java, Bhre Tumapel, and Bhra Parameśvara, son and son-in-law respectively of the king, came to his aid, though they had at first stood aloof. This proved decisive. Prince Vīrabhūmi was defeated and fled during night in a ship. He was, however, caught and put to death, and his head was brought to Majapahit in 1406 A. D.

A side-issue of this episode brought the conquering Javanese king into troubles with the Chinese Court. The incident is thus described in the History of the Ming Dynasty.[3]

"In the year 1405 the eunuch Cheng Ho was sent as a messenger to this country, and in the next year the two kings made war upon each other; the eastern king was defeated and his kingdom destroyed. At that time the imperial envoys were just in the country of the eastern king, and when the soldiers of the western king entered the market place, 170 of their followers were killed by these; on this the western king became afraid and sent envoys to ask pardon. The Emperor gave them an edict reproving him severely and ordered him to pay sixty thousand taels of gold as a fine. In the year 1408 Cheng Ho was sent again to this country and the western

1. Ibid, p. 36. 2. Ibid, p. 36. 3. Ibid, pp. 36-37.

king presented ten thousand thails of gold ; the officers of the Board of Rites observed that the amount was not complete and wanted to imprison the envoys who brought it, but the Emperor said : "What I want from those people who live far away, is that they acknowledge their guilt, but I do not want to enrich myself with their gold," and on this he remitted the whole fine. From this time they brought tribute continually, sometimes once in two years and sometimes more than once a year, and the eunuchs Wu-pin and Cheng Ho visited their country repeatedly."

The defeat and death of the Prince of Vīrabhūmi once more restored the unity of Java. But the internal dissensions for nearly a quarter of a century, ending in a disastrous civil war, must have taxed to the utmost the military and financial resources of the country and left her weak and exhausted. Its first fruits were seen in the loss of that political supremacy which Java had secured in the Archipelago and Malay Peninsula. Her position as suzerain power now passed over to China, and gradually new kingdoms and commercial centres arose which were destined to overwhelm Java herself at no distant date.

With the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. we can clearly perceive the decline of Java, as an international power. This can be best understood by reviewing the position of a few kingdoms which had acknowledged the supremacy of Java in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.

1. West Borneo (Pu-ni).

We have already described the relations of this country with Java. In 1370 the king of Pu-ni at first did not dare to send even an envoy to China for fear of Java. But we read in the history of the Ming Dynasty[1] that in 1405 he not only got investiture as king from the hands of the Chinese emperor,

1. Ibid, pp. 111-3.

but even went with his whole family to China to pay respects to the emperor. The next king reported to the emperor that 'his country had to give Java forty caties camphor baros every year and begged an imperial order to Java that this annual tribute should be stopped in order that it might be sent instead to the imperial court'. The emperor accordingly "gave an order to Java telling them not to ask any more the annual tribute of this country". We further read that the late king of Pu-ni represented to the emperor in 1405 A.D., that his country was now altogether subject to the imperial government. Henceforth the kings of Pu-ni sent regular tributes to the imperial court, and some time even personally attended the court with their family. (See infra Bk. IV., Chap. IV).

2. San-fo-tsi

The same Chinese history tells us[1] that although Java had completely conquered San-fo-tsi he could not keep all the lands. Two states were established there with two Chinese adventurers at their head. Although they nominally admitted the suzerainty of Java, they sent regular tributes and envoys to the imperial court. Then they ceased to care either for Java or for China. It is interesting to note that in 1397 the Chinese emperor dared not send envoys direct to Java for fear that they will be waylaid by San-fo-tsi, and hence he approached Siam as an intermediary to carry his message to Java so that she might warn San-fo-tsi. Thus China recognised at least the nominal suzerainty of Java over San-fo-tsi. In 1405 and succeeding years, however, there were regular changes of embassies between China and San-fo-tsi, without any reference to Java. In 1424 a king of San-fo-tsi even asked permission of the emperor to succeed his father. It is evident that from the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. Java exercised but little real authority in that country.

1. Ibid, p. 71.

3. Sumatra

Samudra, one of the vassal states of Java, became a strong Islamic power, and a powerful centre of trade and commerce. Its Sultan sent envoys and tribute to the imperial court in 1405 and was named by the emperor 'king of Samudra.'[1] In 1412 the Muhammadan king of Lambri, another vassal state of Java, sent envoys with tribute to China. "The envoys were presented with court dresses, and the king got a seal, a commission and silks, whilst Cheng Ho was sent to carry the instructions of the emperor to that country. Till 1424, they sent tribute every year."[2]

4. Malay Peninsula

Various states in Malay Peninsula such as Pahang and Kelantan now sent tributes to China (infra, Bk. IV. Chap. II). But the most important of them was the Muhammadan king dom of Malacca. This powerful state sought the protection of China against Siam, and in 1405 its king received investiture from the Chinese emperor.[3] Gradually this state grew to be a great rival of Java as would appear from the following passage in the History of the Ming Dynasty.

"At that time Palembang was under the domination of Java and the king of Malacca falsely pretended that he had an order from the emperor to claim this possession. When the emperor heard this, he gave an edict saying : "When lately the eunuch Wu-pin came back he reported that you (king of Java) had treated the imperial envoys in the most respectful way ; now I have heard lately that the king of Malacca has claimed the country Palembang from you and that you have been very much astonished, hearing that this was my will : but I treat people in the most upright way and if I had allowed him to do so, I certainly would have sent an open order, therefore you have no reason to be afraid and if bad men make use of false pretences, you must not lightly believe them".[4]

1. Ibid, p. 89. 2. Ibid, p. 99. 3. Ibid, p. 129. 4. Ibid, p. 37.

This passage shows in a remarkable manner the change in the position of Java as an international power. The new state of Malacca openly hurls defiance at Java and feels powerful enough to wrest Palembang from her. The Chinese emperor appears on the stage as patron and saviour of Java. The very fact that the king of Malacca pretended to have an order from the Chinese emperor shows the position of China in the affairs of the Archipelago. Everything indicates that China is now by common consent the recognised suzerain, and although the emperor wants to assert his authority over Java he does not like another power like Malacca to occupy the position which Java lately did.

Java silently acquiesced in the new rôle of China and accommodated herself to the changed state of things. The episode of 1406 has been related above. In 1415 king Vikramavarddhana sent envoys to thank the emperor for his kindness (evidently shown by thwarting the designs of Malacca) and to bring as tribute products of the land.[1] In this connection the Chinese historian tells us that the king (Vikramavarddhana) adopted the name Yang Wi-si-sa, the Chinese form of the name Hyang Viśeṣa which we meet with in Javanese records.

The cordial relations between Java and the imperial court continued after 1415, as we can easily conclude from the following passage of the History of the Ming Dynasty[2].

"About that time (1415 A.D.) some followers of the Imperial envoys had been driven by a storm to the country Pantsur, and a Javanese, hearing this, paid a ransom for them and brought them to the place where the king lived. In the year 1418 the king sent envoys with tribute to the court and sent these men back at the same time; the emperor praised the king in an edict and sent also presents to the Javanese who had rescued them....The Javanese embassy again brought tribute in the year 1432 and presented a letter stating that their state was founded 1376 years ago....

1. Ibid, p. 37. 2. Ibid, p. 37.

"In the year 1436 the imperial envoy Ma Yung-lang presented a memorial to the emperor, saying that the former Javanese envoy Pa-ti, on coming to court, had got a silver girdle, and as the present envoy, A-liet,[1] was a man of the fourth rank, he requested a golden girdle for him; his request was granted.

"In the intercalary sixth month of the same year the envoys of Calicut, Northern Sumatra, Cochin, Arabia, Cail, Aden, Hormus, Dsahffar, Comari, and Cambodja were sent back together with the envoys of Java and the emperor gave a letter to the king of this country[2] of the following contents.

"You, oh king! have never been remiss in performing the duty of sending tribute in the time of my ancestors and now that I have come to the throne, you have again sent envoys to court; I am fully convinced of your sincerity. Now, in the reign of my predecessor (1426-35) Calicut and ten other countries have come to bring tribute, and as your envoys are going home, I have ordered those other envoys to go with them. I expect you will treat them kindly and send them back to their respective countries, in order to carry out my benevolent intentions towards those who live far away.

"In the year 1440 envoys who were going home, were shipwrecked by a storm, fifty-six men were drowned and eighty-three saved. They came back to Canton and the emperor gave orders to the authorities to provide for them, until there should be a ship in which they could go home.

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1. Pelliot corrects this as 'Ya-lie' and regards it as the shortened form of 'Ya-lie-ya-chŏ', the name of the Javanese ambassador to China in 1436 (T'oung Pao, 1934, p. 299). Pelliot further points out that two more embassies were sent from Java to China in 1436, and that Ma Yung-lang was probably a Javanese ambassador, and not an imperial envoy, as Groeneveldt supposes (Ibid).

2. The name of this king is "Yang-wei-si-cha" *i.e.* Hyang Viśeṣa, according to a Chinese authority quoted by Pelliot (T'oung Pao, 1934, p. 301). Pelliot further points out that Groeneveldt has, through inadvertence, omitted the name of Ceylon in the list of countries (Ibid, p. 302).

"In the year 1443 the Governor of Canton presented a memorial pointing out that the continual tribute of Java caused great expenses and trouble, and that it was no good plan to injure China in order to benefit those distant people. The Emperor adopted his views and when the envoys of that country went back, he gave them a letter saying: "The different countries over the sea shall all bring tribute once in three years; you, oh king, must also have compassion with your people and observe this arrangement."

"In the year 1446 they brought again tribute, but afterwards it became gradually more rare".

The reign of Vikramavarddhana or Hyang Viśeṣa was thus inglorious both at home and abroad. In addition to the disastrous civil war, Java suffered terribly from a volcanic eruption in 1411 and a great famine in 1426. A new Prime Minister, Kanaka, carried on the government from 1413 to 1430. Like Gajah Mada, his name is associated with a law-book, the Ādigama. The king died in or shortly before 1429 A.D. and found his last resting place at Paramaviśeṣapura at Lalangon, probably the same as Viśeṣapura at Bhayālango, the cremation place of his great-grandmother Rājapatnī.

After the death of Vikramavarddhana probably his daughter Suhitā ascended the throne, as noted above. She thus superseded her two brothers, both called Bhre Tumapel. This was presumably due to her high rank on the mother's side, and as we know that Vikramavarddhana married the daughter of Prince Vīrabhūmi and Nāgaravardhanī, we may easily presume this lady to be the mother of Suhitā. Her accession to the throne was probably the result, to a certain extent, of the triumph of the party of that unfortunate prince. A significant indication of that is to be found in the express statement in Pararaton (Ch. XIII) that Raden Gajah was dismissed in 1433 A.D. because he had killed prince Vīrabhūmi.

We know of no important events during the reign of Suhiṭā. She died childless in 1447 A.D. and was cremated

at Singhajaya, where her husband found his last resting place the year before.

She was succeeded by Bhre Tumapel, probably the younger of her two brothers of that name. The king was called Śrī Kṛtavijaya, and died after an uneventful reign of four years (1451 A.D.). He was cremated at Kṛtavijayapura. There were two volcanic eruptions during his reign.

The events immediately following the death of the king are not quite clearly intelligible from the account of Pararaton. We read that one Bhre Pamotan succeeded at Keling Kahuripan, under the name Śrī Rājasavardhana. This is followed by the statement that Sinagara died in 1453, and there was no ruler for the next three years. It would thus appear that Rājasavardhana was the same as Sinagara. But then the mention of Keling, perhaps in north-western part of Kediri, is obscure. Does it mean that the king did not rule in Majapahit? The relationship of the king with his predecessor is also not known. According to the Chinese History the "King Prabu (of Java) sent envoys to court with tribute in 1452".[1] Perhaps this king Prabu is to be identified with Rājasavardhana.

After the interregnum of three years, Bhre Vengker ascended the throne in 1456 A.D., under the name Bhra Hyang Pūrva-Viśeṣa. During his reign the Chinese history refers to two embassies from Java to the imperial court, one in 1460, and the other in 1465. In connection with the first the name of the king of Java is given as Tu-ma-pan.[2] The king died in 1466 A.D. and was cremated at Puri.

The next king, according to Pararaton, was Bhre Paṇḍan Salas, who ruled for two years at Tumapel (1466-68 A.D.) and then left the capital. Pararaton concludes his account of kings by referring to four sons of Sinagara (*i.e.* king Rājasavardhana), the youngest of whom Bhra Kṛtabhūmi is

1. Ibid, p. 39.
2. Ibid, p. 39. Tum-ma-pan may stand for Tumapel or Eastern Java.

said to be "the uncle of the king who was cremated in the palace in 1478."

The preceding account of Pararaton about the closing period of the history of Majapahit can hardly be accepted as accurate. Its unreliable character is easily demonstrated by a copperplate found at Seṇḍang Sedati, south of Bajanegara.[1] The record was issued in 1473 A.D. by His Majesty Bhaṭāra Prabhu, whose personal name was Suraprabhāva, and the coronation name, Singhavikramavardhana. We can easily identify him with the person, bearing both these names, whom we meet with in Trabulan inscription[2], not as the ruling king, but as prince of Tumapel, the youngest son of His Majesty, and husband of Rājasavardhanadevī, princess of Singhapura. Now, according to Par., Bhre Paṇḍan Salas ascended the throne at Tumapel in 1466, and the same chronicle also refers (Chap. X) to a person of the same name as the husband of Bhre Singhapura. Dr. M. A. Muusses, therefore, suggests that king 'Singhavikramavardhana of the inscription is the same as Bhre Paṇḍan Salas of Pararaton.[3] But the Pararaton definitely puts the end of Salas' reign at Tumapel in 1468, whereas the Seṇḍang Sedati inscription is dated in 1473. We may explain this discrepancy by supposing either that the dates given in Par. are wrong, or that the king issued the record after leaving Tumapel.

Krom, however, offers a new view. He takes the concluding passage of Pararaton, quoted above, to mean that Bhra Kṛtabhūmi, the youngest of the four sons of Sinagara, was the king who ascended the throne in 1468, and died in 1478. He then identifies Singhavikramavardhana, referred to in the Trabulan inscription as "the youngest son of His

1. O. V. 1922, pp. 22-27.

2. O. V. 1918, p. 170. The record has been referred to the time of Vikramavarddhana, (Ibid, 1919, pp. 22-30, 153-155), but more likely belongs to the period between 1447 and 1466 (Ibid, 1923, p. 109).

3. Feest. Bat. Gen., Vol. II (1929), pp. 207-214.

Majesty", with this Kṛtabhūmi[1] Whatever we may think of these different views, it is interesting to note that in the copper-plate of 1473 A.D. king Singhavikramavardhana is referred to as the sole ruler of Yavabūmi, comprising the two kingdoms of Janggala and Kaḍiri. How far this claim was justified, there is no means to determine. The probability, however, is that the kingdom of Majapahit had lost its position of supremacy, even in Java, and already showed alarming symptoms of final dissolution which was not long in coming.

The year 1478 A. D., the last year for which any political event is recorded in Pararaton, was an eventful one according to the Javanese tradition, for it was in that year that the Muhammadans conquered Majapahit and destroyed the Hindu kingdom in Java[2]. That this tradition is not quite correct appears from the fact that several inscriptions, dated 1486 A. D., refer to a Hindu king, and Portuguese accounts of a later date also refer to Hindu kings in Java. But the inscriptions themselves indicate clearly that the king who issued them fought against Majapahit. The tradition may thus be correct to the extent that the fall of Majapahit took place in 1478 (or 1481 A.D. according to another version of the tradition), but then it was brought about, not by the Muhammadan conquerors, who came much later, but by a rival Hindu dynasty. Thus the overthrow of Majapahit in 1478 A.D. by a Hindu king and the establishment of Muslim authority at a later date have been confused together in the local tradition. It is, of course, quite conceivable that the Muhammadans had conquered Majapahit even as early as 1478 (or 1481), but then it was not followed by any serious result, and a new Hindu dynasty soon took the place of the old.

The stone inscriptions of 1486 all belong to the same group[3], and were found in Ḍukuhan Ḍukuh (in Surabaya) and Jiju near

1. Krom—Geschiedenis[2], p. 449.

2. According to some versions of the tradition, the date is A. D. 1481 ; cf. B.K.I., 1899, p. 117.

3. O.J.O., Nos. XCI-XCV. For a general account of the inscriptions cf. Introductory remarks to No. XCI.

Majasari. They were issued by a king whose proper name was Raṇavijaya, but who had the titles Bhaṭāra Prabhu Girīndravardhana and fought against Majapahit. One of the inscriptions refers to the gift made to the priest after the completion of the twelve-year Śrāddha of His Majesty the prince of Dahanapura who died at Indrabhavana. This shows that the king belonged to the dynasty of Daha and his father (at least predecessor) died twelve years ago *i.e.* in 1474 A.D. Now Pararaton tells us, as already stated above, that Bhre Daha became king (ratu) in 1437 A. D, and died in 1464 A. D. If we consider this last date a mistake for 1474 A. D., we can identify this ratu Daha with the predecessor of Raṇavijaya. Dr. Muusses, however, offers an altogether new solution. As already noted above, he identifies Singhavikramavardhana with Bhre Paṇḍan Salas, and then provisionally reconstructs the following history : "Sinagara made himself master in 1451. After his death in 1453 anarchy for three years followed. After Hyang Pūrvaviśeṣa's death Bhre Paṇḍan Salas became Prabhu, but he was forced to leave the Kraton two years later (1468). He betook himself to Kaḍiri where he issued the record of Seṇḍang Sedati (1473). One year after its publication he died (1474) and then there was a struggle among his sons for the throne. Ultimately Raṇavijaya came out successful in 1478. In 1486 he felt his position secure enough to offer a sacrifice in honour of his father who died twelve years ago"[1].

Whatever we may think of this, there is no doubt that Raṇavijaya, king of Daha, overthrew Majapahit and made himself king of Java. He is referred to in the inscriptions as king of Śrī Vilvatikta, Daha, Janggala and Kaḍiri. This wording is somewhat curious, as Kaḍiri and Daha denote the same kingdom. The explanation of the singular phrase perhaps lies in the fact that Janggala and Kaḍiri were the conventional official names of the two parts of the kingdom of Java to which the king added the names of Vilvatikta (Majapahit) and Daha, the two real component parts of his newly established kingdom.

1. Feest. Bat. Gen., Vol. II, pp. 207-214.

The inscriptions also refer to another member of the royal family, called Girīndravardhana, with personal name Vijayakusuma, and the royal name Singhavardhana. But as he is called, not Prabhu, but only Bhaṭāra of Kling, he occupied probably only a lower position. The inscriptions mention that the priest Brahmarāja Ganggadhara, who performed the twelve-year Śrāddha, was well versed in the four Vedas. They also refer to the consecration of the images of Rāma and Ṛṣi Bharadvāja and also to worship of Rāma, Viṣṇu, Yama, and Durgā, thus leaving no doubt that the royal dynasty was purely Hindu.

Girīndravardhana Raṇavijaya is the last Hindu king of Eastern Java about whom we possess any authentic details. But the Hindu kingdom continued there for 30 or 40 years more before it was finally conquered by the Muhammadans, as we shall see in a later chapter. The last Javanese embassy to China was sent in 1499 A. D.[1].

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 39.

Chapter VIII

SUṆḌA

Before we proceed to discuss the Muhammadan conquest of Java, we must go back to the history of the Hindu kingdom in the western part of the island, *viz.*, Suṇḍa. We have seen above (Bk I. Chap. VI) that the Hindu culture and political authority in Java had its beginning in this region. But, since the days of Pūrṇavarman, our knowledge of the history of this region is very meagre. The existence, however, of Hindu culture and Hindu society in this region, in the tenth century A.D., is proved by an inscription found at Kebon Kopi[1]. A more definite information is given by an inscription dated 1030 A.D., engraved on four stones found near Cibadak, above Leuvi Kalabang[2]. It refers to the pious foundation of some holy footprints by a king of Suṇḍa called Śrī Jayabhūpati Jayamanahen Viṣṇumūrtti Samaravijaya Śakalabhuvāṇamaṇḍale-svaranindita Haro Govārdhana Vikramottunggadeva. The record lays down regulations forbidding the capture of fish or any other living being from the river within a defined area in the neighbourhood. The imprecatory formula at the end refers to Hāra ʿAgaṣti, evidently a corruption of Haricandana and Agastya of old Javanese inscriptions. The language and script of the record are both old-Javanese. As the king is expressly said to be the ruler of Suṇḍa, there cannot be any

1. O.V. 1923, p. 18, No. 6888. The date was doubtfully read as 932 A. D., but even if this reading be not accepted, the palaeography of the inscription refers it to the tenth century A. D. The contents of the inscription cannot be fully made out.

2. T. B. G., Vol. 57 (1916), pp. 201-218. Pleyte's inference, from the name and titles of the king, that he fought with Eastern Java and was a predecessor of Airlangga, rests on too slender a basis (cf. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 259).

doubt that it formed a separate kingdom independent of Eastern Java, but it is equally clear that its culture and civilisation was entirely Javanese in character. It may be mentioned here that the inscription referred to above is the earliest document containing the name of Suṇḍa. Pleyte had discovered a pair of footprints on a block of stone lying on the top of Perbakti, north-west of Cicurug. It is locally known as Batu Tapak. As Sanghyang Tapak is the name given in the inscription for the pious foundation, the footprints referred to therein may be those discovered by Pleyte.

It appears from the accounts of Chau Ju-kua that in the 13th century A.D. Suṇḍa was a dependency of San-fo-tsi. There was a good harbour in the land. The people were also given to agriculture and produced the best quality of pepper. But as there was no regular system of government, and the people were given to brigandage, foreign traders rarely went there.[1]

The Nag. Kr. includes Suṇḍa among the vassal states of Kṛtanagara. There is no independent evidence corroborating this, and so we cannot be quite sure if Suṇḍa really became a dependency of the Eastern Javanese kingdom[2]. Such a transfer of allegiance on the part of Suṇḍa could only be due to the decline of the power of San-fo-tsi and the gradual ascendancy of Java as a great international power.

Similarly Pararaton includes Suṇḍa among the conquests of Gajah Mada during the regency of Tribhuvanottungadevī. Here, again, the statement cannot be corroborated by any other source.

Next in point of time is the tragic episode of A.D. 1357, regarding the marriage of Rājasanagara with a Suṇḍanese princess which has been related above. The attitude of the Suṇḍanese king and nobles, as explained in the Pararaton, negatives the idea that the king of Suṇḍa regarded himself as a vassal of Majapahit. The references in Nag. Kr. and

1. Chau Ju-kua, pp. 62, 70, 122.
2. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 335; Fruin-Mees, p. 116.

Par. to the conquest of Suṇḍa, respectively by Kṛtanagara and Gajah Mada, also show that none of these conquests, even if it be regarded as true, really led to any decisive result. Taking all these things into consideration one is forced to the conclusion that Suṇḍa remained a separate kingdom during the century 1260-1360 A.D., and although its relations with Majapahit were never friendly, it had not been a part of that empire, at least for any length of time.

A stone inscription at Batu-Tulis[1], to the south-east of Buitenzorg, gives us some interesting information regarding three generations of kings. The king, who issued the record, was ruler of Pakwan Pajajaran. He had several names, Ratu Purāṇa, Prabhu Guru Devatasrana, and Śrī Baduga Mahārāja. He is said to be Ratu Devata who ruled in Pakwan. He was the son of Rahyang Devaniskala, who died at Guṇatiga, and grandson of Rahyang Niskalavastu Kañcana, who died at Nusa Larang. The inscription records a number of pious works of the king, and concludes with a date which is most probably A.D. 1333.

The inscription thus testifies to the existence of the kingdom of Pakwan Pajajaran as early as fourteenth century A.D. This kingdom in West Java continued down to the time of the advent of the Europeans, and is referred to in their reports. The ruins of Pakwan in the neighbourhood of Batu-Tulis, have been explored and described by Pleyte.[2] He has traced the ruins of the walls surrounding the Kraton (palace) on three sides. To its north lay the town proper extending as far as Buitenzorg to the north.

1. This inscription, and the inferences to be derived from it, have formed subject of discussion by various scholars ; cf. Friederich, in T.B.G., Vol. 1 (1853), pp. 442 ff. ; Holle, in Vol. 17 (1869), pp. 483 ff. ; Pleyte, in Vol. 53 (1911), pp. 155 ff. Poerbatjaraka has discussed the whole question at length in Vol. 59 (1921), pp. 381 ff., and his views have been generally accepted. Cf. also Husein Jayadiningrat—Sajarah Banten, pp. 141 ff.

2. Pleyte, op. cit., pp. 166 ff.

Three copperplates found at Kebantenan,[1] to the east of Batavia, also refer to the same line of kings. One of them refers to all the three kings, Rahyang Niskalavastu Kañcana, Rahyang Ningrat Kañcana, and Śrī Baduga Maharaja ratu haji di Pakwan Śrī Sang ratu Devata, who held his court at Pajajaran. It will be seen that the first and the third names are identical, while the second is different from the list given above. The two other records refer only to the last king.

A stone inscription at Kavali[2] in south Chirebon, in Galuh district, refers to a king Prabhu raja Vastu, who ruled in the town of Kabali, embellished the capital city Suravisesa (Śūraviśeṣa), and adopted (evidently in his old age) the life of a hermit. It has been suggested that this king who was called Prabhu raja Vastu in his lifetime was called Rahyang Niskalavastu after his death. If this identification be accepted we must hold that the family originally ruled at Galuh and then transferred its seat of authority to Pajajaran Pakwan which was founded[3] by the third king, as mentioned in the Batu-Tulis inscription, referred to above.

The Batu-Tulis inscription is dated, but unfortunately scholars differ regarding the interpretation of the hundredth figure, and so the date has been read in various ways ranging from A.D. 1133 to 1533. Poerbatjaraka contends that the

1. Pleyte, op. cit, pp. 169-171 ; Poerbatjaraka, op. cit., pp. 389-392.

2. Pleyte, op. cit., pp. 167 ff.

3 The Batu-Tulis Ins. merely says that the third king ruled over Pajajaran—Pakwan, but if we are right in the inference that the family originally ruled at Galuh, he may be regarded as having founded the new capital city, particularly as his father is referred to as crown prince of Galuh in Carita Parahyangan, as will be shown below. Fruin-Mees (p. 117) has, however, referred to a tradition according to which the kingdom was founded at an earlier date by prince Kuda Lalean of Eastern Java, and Ratu Purana was called to the throne of Pajajaran by its king Sang Susuk Tunggal who had no legitimate heir.

date should be interpreted as 1333, and assuming this to be true, we can refer the reign of the family at Galuh to have commenced not later than the beginning of the 14th century A.D.

Some traditions of this family are contained in a book called 'Carita Parahyangan'. The passage runs as follows[1] :—

"He who died at Kikis reigned for 22 years. He who died at Keding reigned for 7 years; he begot Aji Kolot. He reigned for 10 years and had a son Prebu Maharaja. When the latter had reigned for 7 years he fell victim to a trap on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter, crown princess Tohaan. Many people went to Java as the Javanese did not wish to celebrate the marriage in Suṇḍa. There was a fight at Majapahit.

"There was a son of Prebu Wangi named Prebu Niskalavastu Kañcana who died on the island of Larang, on the hill Vanakusuma.

* * * * *

"The crown prince of Galuh who died at Gunungtiga reigned for 7 years. Then he committed an offence by carrying on illegitimate amorous intrigues. He was succeeded by Nalendra Puja Premana, Ratu Jaya Devata, whose death was brought about by treachery. He reigned for 39 years."

Now, there can be no doubt that the king who lost his life at Majapahit on the occasion of his daughter's marriage must be identified with the Suṇḍanese king, who met with a tragic end in 1357 A.D., as has been recorded above on the authority of Pararaton. There can also be hardly any doubt that Niskalavastu Kañcana who died on the island of Larang, and the 'crown prince of Galuh who died at Gunungtiga', are identical with Rahyang Niskalavastu Kañcana, who died at Nusa Larang, and his son Rahyang Devaniskala who died at Guṇatiga, according to the Batu-Tulis inscription. It would then follow that the last king mentioned in the

1. Poerbatjaraka, op, cit, pp. 395 ff.

above passage *viz.* Nalendra Puja Premana Ratu Jaya Devata has to be identified with Ratu Purāṇa of the Batu-Tulis inscription.

Now if we accept the date A.D. 1333 for the last named king, we must hold that Prebu Mahārāja, who lost his life at Majapahit, has been wrongly placed in the above passage. It has been suggested that, through mistake, his story has been divided into two parts, one portion being narrated before his grandfather Niskalavastu Kañcana, and another portion in its right place after that of his father, in both cases reference being made to his death by treachery. According to this view Niskalavastu Kañcana is the grandfather, and Deva Niskala is the father of Prebu Mahārāja, or Ratu Devata, or Śrī Vaduga Mahārāja, who founded Pajajaran, some time before 1333, the date of his Batu-Tulis Ins., and died at Bubat (Majapahit) in 1357 A.D. on the occasion of his daughter's marriage.[1]

The inscriptions tell us that king Niskalavastu died at Nusa Larang and his son at Guṇatiga. Both these places can

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1. The difficulty of accepting this interpretation is obvious. For example, we have to assume that the same text, Carita Parahyangan, gives different regnal years to the same person (*viz.*, 7 years to Prebu Mahārāja and 39 years to Ratu Jaya Devata who is to be identified with him). It is, however, possible to accept the text of Carita Parahyangan as it is, by interpreting the date of Batu-Tulis Ins. as 1433. In that case Prebu Mahārāja, who died in 1357 A. D., would be the predecessor of Niskalavastu. If we assign to the latter a reign of about 35 years, his grandson would be reigning about 1433 A. D., the assumed date of the Batu-Tulis Ins., as will be seen from the following table.

Prabhu Mahārāja, 1350-1357 A D.
Niskalavastu Kañcana, 1357-1392 A. D.
Crown prince of Galuh, 1392-1399.
Ratu Jaya Devata, 1399-1438 A. D.

The ancestor of this royal family who died at Kikis would then have reigned from 1311-1333 A. D. and his two successors respectively from 1333 to 1340 and 1340 to 1350 A. D. The royal family was thus established at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

be easily located. In the lake Penjalu, not far from Kavali, lies Nusa Gede, popularly named Nusa Larang, which people still associate with king Hariang Keñcana. To the north of the lake a branch of the Candana river is still called Gunung Tilu. Nusa Larang may also be identified with Nusa Kembangan which belonged to Galuh even at the beginning of the 19th century A.D.[1]

The history of Suṇḍa for the next century is again obscure in the extreme. The defeat and death of the Suṇḍanese king possibly extended the supremacy of Java over Suṇḍa for some time. But the kingdom of Pajajaran must have regained full independence at the beginning of the 15th century when Majapahit was torn by internal dissensions. Since that time the two Hindu kingdoms of Java and Suṇḍa, *i.e.* of Majapahit and Pajajaran, flourished side by side till both passed into the hands of the Muhammadan rulers in the sixteenth century A.D.

1. T. B. G., Vol. 61 (1922), pp. 425 ff. De Haan, Priangan III, p. 70. Pleyte, op. cit., p. 165. T. B. G., Vol. 69 (1929), pp. 227 ff.

Book IV

DOWNFALL OF HINDU KINGDOMS IN SUVARṆADVĪPA

BOOK IV

Chapter I.

END OF HINDU RULE IN SUMATRA

1. Rise of Malayu

The disintegration of the Śailendra empire loosened the bonds which united politically the petty states of Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. But there shortly arose a new power in Sumatra, which sought to rival the exploits of the decaying empire, and revive it on a new basis. This was Malayu, which is usually identified with Jambi in the eastern coast of Sumatra. The existence of this kingdom in the seventh century A.D., and its ultimate absorption by the neighbouring kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya, have already been noted above. Since then Malayu disappears as a separate political unit until the eleventh century A.D., when it sends two embassies to China in 1079 and 1088 A.D.[1] But in the thirteenth century it was conquered by the Javanese king Kṛtanagara. We have seen above how the tragic end of Kṛtanagara enabled Malayu to throw off the yoke of Java, and it soon felt powerful enough to enter into a contest with Siam for the possession of the petty states in the southern part of Malay Peninsula.

This rivalry is reflected in the Chinese annals. Malayu had sent envoys to China in 1281 A.D.[2] and when in 1293

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1. J.A., 11—XII, p. 65, f.n. (1). In B.E.F.E.O., Vol. IV, p. 346. Pelliot gives the date of the first embassy as 1179, evidently a misprint for 1079.

2. Pelliot, B.E.F.E.O., Vol. IV, p. 326. Ferrand thinks that 'Malayu', from the 13th century onward, refers to Malacca and not to Malayu or Jambi in Sumatra. (See chapter on Malacca).

Yi-k'o-mu-su, one of the leaders of the Chinese expedition against Java, sent envoys to king of Malayu, he sent his son (or younger brother) in token of his allegiance.[1] During the same period Siam had also sent several envoys to China to pay allegiance.[2] The Chinese annals say that Malayu and Siam had been fighting with each other for some time and so in 1295 the emperor sent an order to Siam to 'desist from further hostilities, and to hold to its promise'.[3] This remarkable evidence confirms the view, held above, that there was a rivalry between the two states over the possessions of San-fo-tsi in Malay Peninsula. In 1297 we hear of Malayu sending a mission to China.[4] It may be noted that in 1299 envoys from Siam and Malayu met at the imperial court.[5] A further embassy was sent from Malayu in 1301.[6]

Thus the end of the thirteenth century A.D. saw the decline of the Śailendras and the rise of the new kingdom of Malayu which sought to occupy the position so long held by the former. As we have seen above, the new kingdom owed its existence to Java, and for a long time there was a close attachment between the two states. When the Javanese army retired from Malayu after the death of Kṛtanagara, two princesses of Malayu accompanied it to Java. One of them Dara Peṭak was married to the Javanese king. The elder daughter, Dara Jingga, married one 'Deva' and had by him a son named Tuhan Janaka who afterwards became king of Malayu. He was also known as Śrī Marmadeva and Haji Mantrolot. Thus Marmadeva may be regarded as the successor

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 30., Pelliot, op. cit., p. 327. Perhaps another embassy was sent from Malayu in 1294. See below.

2. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 242.

3. Ibid. This evidently shows that some time, anterior to 1295 A.D., Malayu had sought the protection of China, and the latter forced Siam to promise that it would abstain from further hostilities against Malayu.

4. Rockhill, T'oung Pao, Ser. II, Vol. XV (1914), p. 443. fn.

5. Pelliot, op. cit., p. 328. 6. Ibid.

of Maulivarmadeva who was ruling in 1286 A.D. as a vassal of Kṛtanagara. The account of Marco Polo shows that in 1292 A.D. Malayu (Malaiur) was a flourishing kingdom and a prosperous centre of trade and commerce.

The next king of Malayu known to us is Ādityavarmadeva. A beautiful image of Mañjuśrī, which once stood in the temple of Caṇḍi Jago, contains two Sanskrit inscriptions.[1] The one on the front says that the image was set up in A.D. 1343 in a Buddhist temple by Āryyavangśādhirāja. The inscription on the back informs us that in the kingdom of Rājapatnī, the minister Ādityavarman, belonging to her family, built a beautiful temple at Jinālayapura in Java, in the year 1343 A.D., for securing the highest religious merit to his parents and relations.

The interpretation, specially the relation of the two inscriptions on the two sides of the image, has given rise to some difficulty. Kern held that Āryyavangśādhirāja and Ādityavarman both refer to one and the same person, and identified him as the king of Malayu, known from other records. Kern held that the king of Malayu calls himself Adhirāja (suzerain) of the Ārya clan in respect of Malayu, and assumes the lower title of Mantrī in respect of Java. On the other hand, Bosch has shown that Āryyavangśādhirāja was the title of a high official in the court of Majapahit, and he holds that the two inscriptions really belong to two different officials of the court. He traces the name of Vṛddhamantri Ārya Devarāja Śrī Āditya in another record of the period and identifies him with Ādityavarman of the inscription, who subsequently became a king in Sumatra.

Whatever that may be, Ādityavarman of the inscription is generally recognised to be the same as the king of Malayu of that name, and the identification of Bosch would prove that he was holding some high offices in Java before he occupied the throne in Malayu. Krom holds that he successively filled the

1. For a full discussion, cf. Rouffaer, B.K.I., Vol. 77 (1921), pp. 194-201.

posts of Āryavangśādhirāja and Vṛddhamantri Ārya Devarāja and thus refers both the inscriptions to him[1].

A difficulty, no doubt, arises from the fact that Ādityavarman claims to be descended from the family of Rājapatnī (tadbangśajaḥ). We have no evidence in support of this. It is true that one of the Malayu princesses was mother of the Javanese king Jayanagara, and Ādityavarman, for all we know, might have been the son of the other princess. But even this does not give him any claim to be descended from the family of Rājapatnī. We may, therefore, take the expression to mean no more than that he was a member of the Javanese royal family, unless, of course, there was some relationship by marriage which is not yet known to us.[2]

We now turn to the inscriptions of Ādityavarman in Sumatra itself. In 1347 A.D. he engraved an inscription on the back of the image of Amoghapāśa, which was set up at Dharmāśraya by the Javanese king Kṛtanagara in 1286 A.D. (see ante, p. 299). The pedestal of the image, which contained the inscription of Kṛtanagara, was left where it was, but the image itself was removed by Ādityavarman and re-consecrated in a new temple with a new inscription. The image now stands at Rambahan near Lubuk Bulan in the Batanghari district, and possibly the temple of Ādityavarman was also erected there. The inscription[3], written in corrupt Sanskrit, refers to the king as Śrīmat Śrī Udayādityavarman (*var.* Ādityavarmmodaya) Pratāpaparākramarājendra Maulimālivarmmadeva Mahārājādhirāja who set up the image of Amoghapāśa for the welfare of Malayapura[4]. The title Mahārājādhirāja indicates the rank of the king to be higher than that of Maulivarman in 1286 A.D.

An inscribed stone, originally found at Kapala Bukit Gombak and now lying at Pagarrujung, near Fort V. D.

1. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 389. 2. Cf. B.K.I. (1931), pp. 32-35.
3. V.G., Vol. VII (1917), pp. 163-175.
4. 'Malayapura' is the reading of Kern, but Krom thinks it is Malayu° (Geschiedenis, p. 390 f.n. 3.).

Capellen, in upper Padang, gives the date 1347[1]. Several inscriptions of Ādityavarman have been found in the neighbourhood. All these prove this locality, the heart of the later kingdom of Menangkabau, to have been the centre of Ādityavarman's kingdom. One of these inscriptions, the large inscription of Pagarrujung[2] (originally of Bukit Gambak) dated in the year 1356, refers to the erection of a Vihāra by Mahārājādhirāja Ādityavarman Pratāpaparākrama Rājendramaulimaṇivarmmadeva. In another inscription at Kubu Raja[3] the king is styled Kanakamedinīndra *i.e.* lord of Kanakamedinī (Golden land), a synonym of Suvarṇabhūmi. His father's name is given as Advayavarman and his family is said to be descended from Indra (Kulīśadhara) while he is regarded as an incarnation of Lokeśvara. In the Pagarrujung inscription he is said to be Dharmarāja-kula-tilaka *i.e.* the ornament of Dharmarāja's family.

Another inscription found at Suroasa[4] is dated in the year 1375 A.D. Ādityavarman is here styled Surāvāśa-vān *i.e.* lord of Surāvāśa, and there is hardly any doubt that the name of the place has been preserved in modern Suroasa.

The name Śrī Suravāsa occurs in another inscription[5] of Ādityavarman near Bandar Bapahat. This record is written in two scripts. On the left we find the usual script of the king's records, *viz.*, the Kavi script with some local variations, while on the right the same thing was repeated in South Indian Grantha alphabet. This shows that South Indians formed a fairly large element of the local population.

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1. Kern, V.G., Vol. VI (1917), pp. 249-257 ; O.V., 1912, pp. 34. ff.
2. Kern, V.G., Vol. VI (1917), pp. 261-275 ; O. V. 1912, pp. 51. ff
3. Kern, V.G., Vol. VII (1917), pp. 215-221. The name of the place is Kuburaja and not Kubur raja as Kern thought (O.V, 1930, p. 150).
4. Kern, V.G. Vol. VI (1917), pp. 252-261 ; O.V., 1912, p. 52.
5. O.V., 1912, p. 46. Only a portion of the record, written in South Indian Grantha alphabet, was read by Mr. Krishna Sastri. But this agrees with the other portion.

Among other inscriptions[1] of Ādityavarman, one refers to the crown prince (Yuvarāja) Anangavarman, [2], one to a high official called tumanggung[3], and two others refer to his Mahāsenapati Pamanan. Another inscription, with a date read tentatively as 1371 A.D., is perhaps to be ascribed to his reign.[4]

We may conclude from all these inscriptions that king Ādityavarman was a Tāntrik Buddhist, and that he ruled for at least 28 years (1347-1375 A.D.) over a fairly extensive kingdom, which comprised the central portion of Sumatra, and extended from the eastern to the western coast. According to the Javanese chronicle, Nāgara-Kṛtāgama, this kingdom of Malayu acknowledged the supremacy of the Javanese king. If that were so, it would really mean a sort of nominal allegiance. It is interesting to note that Nag. Kr. refers to Sumatra by the general name of Malayu, and thus gives an indirect evidence of the supreme position of that kingdom in Sumatra[5].

2. Rise of Islam.

The downfall of the Śailendras led to many other important consequences besides the rise of Malayu as a great power. Sumatra was now divided into a number of petty states which paid a nominal allegiance, some time to Java and some time to China, as suited their convenience, but all the while indulged in internecine wars and jealousies. This paved the way for the gradual establishment of Islam as a political power which was destined in the long run to overwhelm nearly the whole of Malayasia.

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1. Inventaris—O.V., 1912, Nos. 20, 24, 29, 30, 41, 42,
2. Versl. Med. Kon. Ak. V. Wet. Afd. Lett., 5 : 2 (1917), p. 338.
3. O.V., 1912, No. 28. 4. Par., p. 122 ; O.V., 1914, p. 108.
5. A comprehensive historical account of Sumatra, based upon both traditions and historical facts, is given by L.C. Westenenk in Congres I, pp. 1-39.

The first definite information of this changed political condition is obtained from the account of Marco Polo[1]. Marco Polo calls the island "Java the less", and says that it had eight kingdoms and eight kings. Of these he gives detailed account of six kingdoms "that lie at this side of the land" and were visited by him. These kingdoms were Ferlec, Basma, Samara, Dagroian, Lambri and Fansur. Marco Polo says nothing of the two other kingdoms "at the other side of the island" as he never visited them.

Of the six kingdoms, Ferlec is undoubtedly Perlak on the north-east, and Lambri the same as Lamuri or Great Atjeh (Acheh), on the north-west. The three kingdoms named between these two were apparently situated in the intervening region. Thus Basma may be identified with Pase, and Samara with Samudra. Dagroian cannot be identified with certainty. Fansur, the sixth kingdom, is undoubtedly Barus. Most of the details given by Marco Polo are concerned with peculiar manners and customs of the people, but he throws valuable hints on the political and religious condition of the kingdoms he describes.

The kingdoms had their own kings, but all, except Ferlec, called themselves subjects of the Great Khan *i.e.* the Chinese emperor Kublai Khan. The subjection, however, was more nominal than real, as would appear from the following statement of Marco Polo: "They call themselves subjects of the Great Khan but they pay him no tribute; indeed they are so far away that his men could not go thither. Still all these islanders declare themselves to be his subjects and sometimes they send curiosities as presents." Marco Polo's statement is corroborated by the facts that an envoy of the kingdom of Samudra visited China in 1286 A. D,[2] and that embassies were sent by the generals of Kublai Khan, after reaching Java, to some

1. "The Book of Ser Marco Polo",—Translated by Yule, Vol. II. pp. 284. ff.

2. Rockhill, T'oung Pao Ser. II, Vol. 15 (1914), pp. 440-1.

of the Sumatran states including Lambri and Sumatra, *i.e.* Lamuri and Samudra,[1] in 1292 A.D.

The people of all the kingdoms except Ferlec were idolators, and evidently belonged to a very primitive state of civilisation. Many of them were cannibals and great believers in sorcery and magic.

About Ferlec Marco Polo observes as follows : "This kingdom is so much frequented by the Saracen merchants that they have converted the natives to the Law of Mahomet—I mean the townspeople only, for the hill-people live for all the world like beasts, and eat human flesh, as well as all other kinds of flesh, clean or unclean. And they worship this, that and the other thing, for in fact the first thing that they see on rising in the morning, that they do worship for the rest of the day".

This picture of the primitive people of Sumatra shows us what they were when they came into contact with the Hindu civilisation, which evidently had not made its influence felt in the northern parts of the country, even so late as the 13th century A.D. Evidently Islam was slowly spread among these people by the Muhammadan merchants, before any Muhammadan kingdom was established.

Thus Perlak was the only Muhammadan state in Sumatra in 1292 A.D. when Marco Polo visited the island. Tradition places its foundation at an earlier date than that of the Muhammadan state of Samudra. Now Sultan Malik al-Saleh, who founded this state, died in 1297 A.D. The foundation of the Muhammadan kingdom of Samudra must thus be placed between 1292 and 1297 A.D.[2]

Sumudra, Lamuri, Perlak and some other less known kingdoms are also referred to by Rasid-ad-Dīn (1310 A.D.),

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 30. Rockhill, op. cit., p. 442. Pelliot, B.E.F.E.O., Vol. IV (327). Pelliot amends Ki-mo-la-mao, name of one of these states, into Malayu.

2. The date of the Sultan's death is known from his tomb-stone inscription. For this, as well as the tradition concerning Perlak, cf. Moquette in Rapp. Oudh. Dienst., 1913, pp. 1-12.

but he does not give any detailed account beyond stating that Lamuri was a large state under an independent king.[1] Other Arab writers also refer to some towns or states, in Sumatra, but do not in any way indicate that they possessed either political or commercial importance.

About 1345-6 A. D. Ibn Baṭuṭa[2] visited the kingdom of Samudra, which he calls Sumutra, in the island of Jāva, which here undoubtedly means Sumatra. He was welcomed by the Muhammadan ruler of the place, Sultan Malik az-Zāhir[3]. Ibn Baṭuṭa describes him as one of the most illustrious and generous kings, but says nothing definite about the extent of his kingdom. But that there were Hindu kingdoms on all sides is quite clear from his statement that the Sultan frequently fought with and defeated the infidels who lived in the neighbourhood, and they paid him tribute for living in peace.

One of these Hindu kingdoms called 'Mūl Jāva' was visited by Ibn Baṭuṭa. After leaving Samudra, he sailed along the coast for 21 days, and reached the capital of this kingdom. Ibu Baṭuṭa here relates a story which throws some interesting light on the political condition of Sumatra. It runs as follows :

'The Sultan of Samudra had a nephew (brother's son) who married his daughter and was appointed governor of a province. This nephew was desirous of marrying the daughter of an Amir, but the Sultan chose the girl for himself. The disappointed lover waited for his opportunity. Once the Sultan had gone to

1. Ferrand—Textes, Vol. II, p. 361.

2. For Ibn Baṭuṭa's account, cf. Ferrand—Textes, Vol. II, pp. 438 ff. Ferrand is inclined to reject the whole account of Ibn Baṭuṭa as pure fabrication on the ground that his itinerary is an impossible one.

3. Malik az-Zāhir was a title borne by nearly all the Sultans of Samudra. Sultan Muhammad Malik az-Zāhir died in 1326. He was followed by Ahmad and Zain-al-Abidin, both of whom carried the same title. Ibn Baṭuṭa must have met one of these, probably the former.

fight the infidels, who lived at a distance of about a month's journey. The nephew entered the city of Samudra, which had no walls, declared himself the Sultan, and was accepted as such by one section of the people. As soon as the Sultan heard of this revolt he marched towards the capital. His nephew, however, took as much money and other valuables as he could lay hands on, and the girl of his choice, and then took shelter with the infidel king of Mūl Jāva. The Sultan now built walls round the capital city to guard against future revolts of this kind.'

The location of Mūl Jāva has not been determined with certainty. Ibn Baṭuṭa says that its length was two months' journey, and it produced excellent perfumes, named after Kākūla and Kamāra, two of its districts. Van der Lith identified Kākūla with Angkola[1], but Ferrand rejects it on philological grounds[2]. Pelliot identifies the same place with Ko-ku-lo, which is mentioned by the Chinese traveller Kian-tan (c. 800 A. D.), and is to be located to the west of Kedah[3]. Rouffaer places it in Sumatra itself, in Menangkabau[4]. In view of these wide differences of opinion it is difficult to suggest any identification, but the fact that the rebels from Samudra took shelter in it seems to refer to some place in Sumatra itself. Malayu-Jambi would perhaps not be an unacceptable theory, in view of the great power and prestige of that Hindu kingdom. If it were to be located outside Sumatra I would suggest Java itself. Mūl Jāva would mean, in Sanskrit, the original Java, as distinguished from Java, the less, named after it[5]. Wassāf-i-Hadrat, writing towards the close of the 13th century A.D.[6],

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1. Merveilles (1883-86), p. 240. 2. Textes, p. 431.

3. T'oung Pao, Ser. II. Vol. 13 (1912), p. 455. Ferrand opposes this view in J.A., Vol. 11—XX (1922), p. 24.

4. B.K.I., Vol. 77 (1921), p. 78. note.

5. Schlegel, though interpreting it in the same way, identifies it with Sumatra (=Prathama Yavabhu) T'oug Pao, Ser. I. Vol. IX., p. 368.

6. Ferrand—Textes, p. 359.

refers to Mul Śāva (=Mūl Jāva) as one of the islands conquered by Kublai Khan in 1292 A.D. He also refers to aloe and Girofle as products of the locality, as does Ibn Baṭuṭa in respect of Mūla-Jāva. Now Java was conquered by Kublai Khan in the year 1292-1293 A.D., and so this would be a point in support of the proposed identification. But the details in respect of the conquest of Mul-Śāva as given by Wassāf do not agree with those given in official Chinese history as recorded above.

On the whole, Ibn Baṭuṭa's account shows the gradual spread of Islam as a political factor in northern Sumatra. There is no doubt that India, and not Arabia, served as the base from which the stream of colonisation carried the influence of Islam towards the Far East[1]. An examination of the tombstones of the Sultans of Samudra-Pasc reveals a close resemblance to those found in Gujarat, and there is hardly any doubt that they were imported from the latter place[2]. We may thus presume a brisk trade activity between Gujarat and Sumatra. and this indirectly led to the furtherance of Islam in the Far East.

The Chinese book Tao-i-chc-lio, written by Wang Ta-yuen in 1349 A.D., refers to some of the states in northern Sumatra such as Pañcur, Tamiang, Batakland, Lambri, and Samudra, but says nothing of the political condition or of the spread of Islam. It also refers to San-fo-tsi and Kieu-kiang (Palembang) as two separate states under two kings[3].

But the Nāgara-Kṛtāgama, composed in A.D. 1365, gives us a very comprehensive list of the petty states in Sumatra which all acknowledged the supremacy of Java. As we have seen above (see p. 330) the list includes Samudra,

1. Snouck Hurgronje—'Arabië en oost Indië' (pp. 15-17).

2. Moquette in T.B.G., Vol. 54 (1912), pp. 536. ff. The Sejarah Malayu (chap. VII) furnishes confirmatory evidence of the custom of bringing tomb-stones from India to Malayan countries (J. Str. Br. R.A.S., No. 77, p. 171).

3. Rockhill—T'oung Pao, Ser. II. Vol. XVI (1915), pp. 134-35.

Lambri, and Perlak, *i.e.* the northernmost states, referred to above. The statement of Nāgara-Kṛtāgama may be true, and perhaps all these states now recognised the king of Java as their suzerain in more or less the same way that they acknowledged Kublai Khan in 1292 A.D. as noticed by Marco Polo.

But with the decline of the Majapahit empire in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. the states of Northern Sumatra again returned to their allegiance to China, and at the same time a further progress of Islam is noticeable in this region. We get a fair idea of both these changes from the Chinese annals, specially the History of the Ming Dynasty and the writings of Ma Huan (1425-1432)[1].

According to Ma Huan the state of Sumatra, or Samudra, was the most powerful in northern Sumatra. It was bounded by the sea on the north and the mountains on the south. To the east was a small state Aru, and towards the north, two other smaller states, Na-ku-erh and Li-tai. According to Schlegel the name of this great state is preserved in that of a miserable village of the present day, called Samudra.[2]

According to the History of the Ming Dynasty[3] the Chinese emperor sent envoys to this country in 1403 and 1404. The latter also sent tributes to China before a third imperial envoy, Cheng Ho, came in 1405. About this time the neighbouring king of Na-ku-erh defeated and killed the king of Sumutra. The widowed queen, having no grown-up son to avenge the foul crime, offered to marry any one who could do so. Thus an old fisherman who defeated and killed the king of Na-ku-erh became king of Sumutra. The emperor issued an edict appoint-

1. For the Chinese account that follows, cf. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 85-92. Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 146 ff. Schlegel—T'oung Pao, Ser. II, Vol. II. pp. 329 ff.

2. T'oung Pao, Ser. II, Vol. II, p. 338.

3. For the account that follows, cf. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 85–93. For various corrections and suggestions, cf. Pelliot, T'oung Pao, 1933 (pp. 275, fn. 2, 290-294). The discovery of a new Chinese source makes the whole story of the fisherman extremely doubtful (T'oung Pao, 1934, p. 313).

ing this fisherman, named Tsai-nu-li-a-pi-ting-ki[1] king of Sumutra, and gave him a seal, a commission, and a court-dress of coloured silk. In 1409 this fisherman king came and offered tribute at the imperial court. But before 1412 he was murdered by the son of the late king, and his son Su-kan-la (Sekander) fled into the mountains. But the Chinese supported the cause of the old king's son and defeated Su-kan-la. According to Hsing Cha Sheng Lan, Su-kan-la usurped the throne in 1413, but was defeated by the Chinese troops. The new king of Sumutra was grateful for the imperial favour and came to the imperial court in 1415 to offer tribute. He regularly sent tributes to China till 1434, when he sent a younger brother to the court.[2] The brother represented that the king was already old and could not manage the affairs any more, and now asked permission to cede the throne to his son, called A-pu-sai,[3] who was accordingly appointed king of the country. From this time the envoys from Samudra became gradually more rare. The last embassy was sent in 1486. The Chinese accounts seem to show that Samudra had become the most important centre of trade and it was also politically the most important. Ma Huan says that the neighbouring state of Li-tai was a dependency of Sumutra. Schlegel identifies Li-tai with the state named Lide by Barros and situated between Pedir and Pirada, which lay west of Pacem.[4]

Another important state, Lambri, had in 1412 sent envoys, with those of Samudra, to China to carry tribute. The envoys

1. Pelliot points out that the name is really 'Tsai-nu-li-a-pi-ting' which corresponds to Zaynu-l-Abidin,' well-known in the history of Acheh (T'oung Pao, 1933, pp. 275-6, fn. 1).

2. According to the History of the Ming dynasty this brother died in China, and some time later the king of Sumutra sent another younger brother. As Pelliot suggests, perhaps the reference to two brothers is due to some confusion (T'oung Pao, 1934, p. 294, fn. 1)

3. Pelliot reads the name as A-pu-sai-yi-ti and restores it as Abu Said. (Ibid).

4. T'oung Pao, Ser II, Vol. II, p. 347.

were presented with court dresses and the king got a seal, a commission, and silks. It sent tribute every year till 1424. Ma Huan writing in 1416 A.D. notes that the king of the country and its people are all Muhammadans.[1] The king who sent tribute in 1412 is called Maharasa.[2]

To the east of Samudra was another kingdom, Aru, which similarly sent envoys to China in 1411, 1419, 1421 and 1423. Here also the king and the people were all Muhammadans by 1416 A.D.[3] The memory of this state is preserved in the name of the Aru Islands.

Another kingdom, Nakur, situated to the west of Samudra, consisted of only one mountain village and about a thousand families. The people tattooed their faces with three pointed green figures, and for this reason the king was called the king of tattooed faces. Their language, manners, and customs were like those of Sumutra.[4]

Thus by the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. the northern states of Sumatra passed from the sphere of influence of Java to that of China, and gradually adopted the Islamic religion. The importance of Sumatra as a centre of Islam was no doubt due to the fact that Pasai (Sumatra) had succeeded Kedah as the chief centre of trade. In the fifteenth century Malacca succeeded Pasai and played the rôle of the leading Muslim state, as we shall see in the next chapter. After the fall of Malacca at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Acheen in northern Sumatra became the chief centre of trade and of Islam. "From Acheen Islamic faith spread to Ulakan, from Ulakan into Menangkabau. In the seventeenth century the people along the coast of the Lampong district began to be

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 98-100.

2. Schlegel reads it as Mahama Shah (T'oung Pao Ser. II, Vol. II, p. 357). Pelliot restores it as Muhammad Shah ; T'oung Pao, 1933, p. 296.

3. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 94-6.

4. Ibid, p. 96.

converted, and in the eighteenth Islam spread to the up-country. In the middle of the sixteenth century a missionary went from Palembang to Borneo and made converts at Sukadana and Madan. In 1606 A.D. a Menangkabau trader converted the Raja of Pallo in Celebes."[1]

1. J. St. Br. R.A.S., No 77, pp. 171 ff. to which the reader may refer for a detailed account of the introduction of Muhammadan faith in Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago. Cf. also 'Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indie' *s.v.* Mohammedanisme ; and B.J.O. Schrieke —'Het Boek van Bonang.'

Chapter II

END OF HINDU RULE IN MALAY PENINSULA

1. Malay Peninsula after the disruption of the Śailendra Empire.

The Mediaeval history of Malay Peninsula forms really an essential part of the history of the Śailendra empire which we have related above. The peculiar geographical position of the Malay Peninsula invested it with a special commercial importance, as it controlled the trade-route to East Indies. By the conquest of Sumatra and the Peninsula, the Śailendras obtained that commercial supremacy to which the Arab writers bear eloquent testimony. Henceforth the greater part of the Peninsula formed an important part of the empire, referred to by the Arabs as Zābag, and its fortunes rose and fell with Zābag. The Arabs refer to Kalāh as the principal port, and it has been identified with Keddah or Krah.[1]

As soon as Java rose to political importance, her eyes were naturally turned to the Malay Peninsula, as its possession was the key to the commercial supremacy over eastern waters. The details of the early stages of the attempt, on the part of Java, to obtain a footing in the Peninsula are somewhat vague and obscure. Rouffaer has advanced some arguments to show that king Sinḍok of Java sent a naval expedition against the Malay Peninsula in the second quarter of the tenth century. Although Rouffaer's arguments are far from convincing, yet the hypothesis is not an improbable one.[2]

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1. J. A., 11-XIV (1919), pp. 214ff.
2. B. K. I., Vol. 77 (1921), p. 114.

There are references to some Hindu states in Malay Peninsula during the period of Śailendra supremacy. In the first place, we may mention that Schlegel locates Ho-ling or Kaling of the Chinese writers in Malay Peninsula, and not in Java.[1] If we accept his view we find an important state in the Peninsula, whose history we have included in that of Java.

Schlegel further identifies Ts'ien'-chi-fuh, also called Pean-chi-poah (=Pañca-pur, *pur* meaning island), near Kaling, with the five islands *viz.* P. Rupat, P. Bancalis, P. Padang, P. Pandjore and P. Rantau, lying opposite Malacca.[2] He also quotes a passage from the New History of the T'ang Dynasty which "distinctly says that the "Five Islands" in the Straits of Malacca were originally tributary states (or colonies) of Southern India". On this Schlegel observes : "There is no doubt that all these islands, as also Kaling on the main, were founded by Kalinga or Kling colonies who gave the name of their own country to the new settlements.[3] This, in a way, corroborates the view put forward above on p. 227, *viz.* that the Śailendras came from Kaliṅga coast and conquered the Malay Peninsula.

We do not, however, know any particulars about the history of these "Five Islands", and, as noted above, the identifications, proposed by Schlegel, are extremely doubtful.

In 983 A.D. we get a definite reference to another kingdom in Malay Peninsula. The Chinese pilgrim Fah-yu, leaving for India in or shortly after 983 A.D., received from the emperor letters of introduction to the kings whose territories he intended to visit. Among these are mentioned the king of San-fo-tsi and Sseu-ma-ki-mang, king of Ko-ku-la. Ko-ku-la has been unanimously located on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula. The fact that the king of San-fo-tsi and king of Ko-ku-la are mentioned separately in the same sentence does

1. T'oung Pao, Serie I, Vol. IX, pp. 273ff.
2. Ibid, p. 279, fn. 25.
3. Ibid, p. 287.

not necessarily prove that the latter was an independent king,[1] though it is not unlikely.

Indeed, according to the theory of Rouffaer, there were about this time several powerful states in Malay Peninsula which figure so prominently in connection with the overthrow of the Javanese kingdom of Dharmavaṁśa in 1007 A. D., and against which Airlangga had to carry on a bitter and prolonged fight. But we have already discussed this point (Bk. III, chap. II) and need not refer to it again.

It is in connection with the invasion of Rājendra Cola, early in the eleventh century A. D., that we for the first time obtain a list of states in the Malay Peninsula which formed a part of the empire of the Śailendras. Chau Ju-kua also gives us a similar list of states at the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. The names and identification of these states have already been discussed above (pp. 175 ff, pp. 193 ff.).

By a combination of these two lists we may form a general idea of the petty states that flourished in the Malay Peninsula.

The kingdoms of Grahi, Mā-ppappālam, Talaittakkolam, Tāmraliṅga, Māyiruḍiṅgam, Pa-t'a, and Ts'ien-Mai formed the northern group. The northernmost state was Grahi, which separated Kambujadeśa from the Peninsular dominion of San-fo-tsi. The southern group was composed of Beranang, Pahang, Trengganau and Kelantan. Between these two groups lay Kaṭāha or Kaḍāram and Lengkasuka which probably occupied both the eastern and the western coasts of the Peninsula.

These principalities did not enjoy equal power or importance. Kaṭāha or Kaḍāra was no doubt the chief of these,

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1. The information is given in the History of the Second Han Dynasty. The relevant passage, translated by E. Chavannes (Revue de l' histoire des religions, t. XXXIV, 1896, p. 52), has been reproduced in Ferrand's atricle in J. A., 11-XX (1922), p. 22. Krom, quoting the same passage, gives the date as 963 A. D. (Geschiedenis[2]—p. 227). For the name of the king, cf. discussions by Pelliot (B. E. F. E. O., Vol. IV, p. 311).

as testified to by the Cola records which generally refer to the Śailendra emperor as king of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāra. Rājendra Cola does not refer to any state of the southern group, and even omits the last two of the northern. Chau Ju-kua, too, gives a detailed notice only of Tāmraliṅga, Kaḍāram, Lengkasuka, and Beranang.

Although a vassal state of the Śailendras, Tāmraliṅga sent an embassy to China in 1001 A. D.[1].

The decline of the empire of San-fo-tsi during the latter half of the thirteenth century A. D. brought about a great change in the political condition of the Malay Peninsula. Java, the successful rival, now regarded the empire of his enemy as her legitimate prey. Thus Kṛtanagara conquered Pahang, one of the vassal states of San-fo-tsi. The tragic end of Kṛtanagara did not allow him to carry on this direct process of conquest any further. But Malayu, the vassal state of Java, which was planted by Kṛtanagara as the out-post of Javanese authority in the heart of Sumatra, continued the task and conquered many of the vassal states in Malay Peninsula. About the same time the king of Siam entered the stage and by 1292 A. D. had established his authority as far as Ligor. The lost Peninsular empire of San-fo-tsi thus proved a bone of contention between Siam and Malayu, as we have already noticed above (Bk. IV, ch. I). According to the 'Koṭ. Moṇthīerabān (Kaṭa Maṇḍira-pāla) or Palatine Law of Siam, enacted in A. D. 1360, Ujong Tānah (Johor), Malaka, Malayu, and Worawārī were vassal states of Siam.[2]

But with the growth of the empire of Majapahit Java pursued again the policy of re-conquering the Malay Peninsula. By 1365 A. D. nearly the whole of it was included within the empire of Java, as would appear from the detailed list of states given in the Nāgara-Kṛtāgama. (Bk. III, ch. VI).

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1. Études Asiatique, Vol. II, pp. 108-110.
2. Gerini—Researches, pp. 531-2.

With the downfall of the Majapahit empire at the beginning of the fifteenth century A. D., Siam must have again tried to consolidate its authority in Malay Peninsula. But now the Malay states tried to shake off the yoke of both Java and Siam. We have already seen above, in connection with the history of Java, that China took advantage of the downfall of the Majapahit empire to pose as the protector of its vassal states, and thereby play an imperial rôle in the affairs of the Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago. The Peninsular states thus naturally turned towards China, specially as the authority of China was more nominal than that of either Java or Siam. This is clearly indicated by the fact that various states like Pahang, Kelantan, and Malacca now send tributes to China.

The History of the Ming Dynasty gives us the following information about Pahang, the old court-name for which was Indrapura, evidently the name given by the old Indian settlers.[1]

'Pahang is situated to the west of Siam. In the year 1378 the king Maharaja Tadjau sent envoys with a letter, written on a golden leaf, and bringing as tribute six foreign slaves and products of the country. They were received according to the established rules.

'In the year 1411 the king Pa-la-mi-so-la-ta-lo-si-ni (Parameśvara Darśana ?) sent envoys carrying tribute. In 1412 Cheng Ho went as an envoy to their country, and in the year 1414 they sent tribute again. (The name of the envoy sent in 1411 is rendered by Schlegel as Somaka Mantri).

'In the year 1416 they sent tribute and Cheng Ho was again ordered to go there.'[2]

Later, Pahang became a vassal of Siam, and its ruler Maharaja Deva Sura was defeated and captured by Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca, and thus ended the Hindu royal line of Pahang.[3]

1. J. Str. Br. R. A. S., No. 81, p. 30.

2. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 137. Schlegel-T'oung Pao, Ser. I, Vol. X, pp. 41ff. 3. Winstedt-History of Malaya, p. 47.

As regards Kelantan we read in the same Chinese History: "In the year 1411 the king Maharaja K'u-ma-r sent envoys to bring tribute, and in 1412 Cheng Ho got orders to bring him an imperial letter praising his conduct and to present him with different kinds of silk."[1]

2. Rise and fall of Malacca.

Of the independent states in Malay Peninsula that rise into prominence about the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D., the most important was undoubtedly that of Malacca, which rapidly grew to be the leading commercial centre in that region. The early history of this kingdom is involved in obscurity,[2] as we have to depend mainly upon indigenous traditions, either recorded in native chronicles or handed down by Portuguese writers. Ferrand has collected together all these traditions which seek to trace the history of the kingdom since its foundation[3]. It is needless for our present purpose to examine all these in detail. Leaving aside the incredible accounts of Gaspar Correa who places the foundation of Malacca in the eighth century A. D., the remaining authorities date the event in the thirteenth, fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. As to the details, those given in 'Commentaires d'Albuquerque' are supported in a general way, and particularly as to the names of kings, by Jean de

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 139.

2. This is, of course, on the assumption that Malaiyur or Malayu is the same as the old state of that name in Sumatra, *viz.* Jambi. The contrary view is maintained by Ferrand (J. A. 11-XI, pp. 391ff. XII, pp. 51ff) who holds that from 13th century onward Malayu denotes Malacca, and who, therefore, ascribes to Malacca what has been said in the last chapter regarding Malayu from 1281 A. D. Ferrand's view has been challenged by Rouffaer (B. K. I, Vol. 77, pp. 1ff, 359ff; Vol. 86, pp. 139ff., 193ff.). I have followed Rouffaer's view which is generally held.

3. Ferrand—J. A., 11-XI (1918), pp. 407-467. For a critical interpretation of indigenous sources, cf. Blagden—Notes on Malay History (J. Str. Br. R. A. S., No. 53, pp. 139ff.).

Barros and Godinho de Eredia. They are also confirmed to a certain extent by the Chinese Annals.[1] We may, therefore, begin with the version of Albuquerque[2] regarding the history of the kingdom of Malacca.

'There reigned a king Bataratamurel (Bhaṭāra Tumapel) in Java, and a king Parimiśura (Parameśvara) in Palembang. As there were frequent fights between the two they came to an agreement. Parimiśura married the daughter of the king of Java, called Parimiśuri (Parameśvarī), and agreed to pay tribute to his father-in-law. He, however, soon repented of his decision, and refused to pay either homage or tribute to the king of Java. The king of Java thereupon invaded Palembang, and Parimiśura, being defeated, fled with the wife, children and some escorts to Singapura (Singapore). It was then a large and wealthy city under Siam and its governor hospitably received the royal fugitive. Parimiśura, however, killed his host and made himself master of the city. On hearing this news his former subjects of Palembang, numbering 3000, came to Singapore. Parimiśura welcomed them and lived there for five years, pillaging, with his fleet, the ships that passed through the Strait of Singapore.[3]

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1. J. A. 11-XI (1918), pp. 393-405. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 123-134. 2. Ferrand, op. cit., p. 411.

3. There has been much speculation about the early history of Singapore. Scholars have sought to identify it with Mo-ho-sin of I-tsing, Salahat of Ibn Khordadzbeh, Malayur of Marco Polo, and Ma-li-yu-eul of the History of the Yuan Dynasty ; but these are all very problematical. The account given in Malay Annals is a curious jumble of myths and traditions. The identity of Tumasik and Singapore is universally accepted, and as such we find a reference to it in Tao-i Chih lio of Wang Ta-yüan. Reference has already been made above to the conquest of Tumasik by the Javanese about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Reference may be made in this connection to the famous 'inscription at the mouth of the Singapore river' which was destroyed by the Public Works Department about a century ago.

For a brief account of the old history of Singapore, cf. Winstedt—A History of Malaya (1935), pp. 31-36.

'Then Parimiśura was attacked by the chief of Patani, brother of the governor of Singapore whom he had so foully murdered. Being defeated, Parimiśura fled with his people to the mouth of the Muar river inhabited only by a few fishermen. About this time 20 or 30 fishermen invited him to settle in their village, which was very fertile and yielded all necessaries of life. Parimiśura, being satisfied by an examination of the locality, removed there with his family. The pirates in the sea touched at this port to take water, and being aided and encouraged by Parimiśura they came there to sell their stolen goods. Thus it grew to be a commercial centre, and in two years the population rose to 2000. Parimiśura named the settlement Malacca. Gradually merchants from Pase (in Sumatra) and Bengal came to trade there, and its importance rapidly increased. Parimiśura died seven years after his settlement at Malacca, leaving a son called Xaquendarxa (Sekandar Shah). Although the prince was a Hindu, he had married the daughter of the king of Pase who had adopted the Muhammadan religion a short while ago. Either at the request of his wife, or at the instance of his father-in-law, it was not long before he himself became a convert to Islam. After he had several children, the king, named Sekandar Shah, paid a visit to the Chinese emperor. He became the vassal of China, brought home a seal as a token of his vassalage, and obtained permission to coin tin money. He died shortly after his return and was succeeded by Modafaixa (Muzafar Shah). He conquered Kampar (in E. Sumatra), Pam (Pahang), Dandargiri (Indragiri), and other countries, and converted their kings by force to Islam. He raised Malacca to a great power, and under his son Sultan Masrusa (Mansur Shah) and grandson Alaoadim (Alau d din) the kingdom became one of the richest and most famous.

'Alau d din's successor Sultan Mahamet (Muhammad) repudiated allegiance to Siam and Java, and declared himself a vassal to China. Thereupon, the king of Siam sent a fleet

against him, but it was completely defeated. This took place 22 years before the conquest of Malacca by Albuquerque (*i.e.* in 1489 A.D.)

'A period of 90 years intervened between the time when Malacca became inhabited and its conquest by Albuquerque. At that time Malacca and its suburbs had about a hundred thousand inhabitants.'

The account of De Barros varies a little from the above. He describes Paramisara as a fugitive noble from Java, instead of the deposed king of Palembang, and it was the invasion of the king of Siam, and not of the chief of Patani, that forced him to leave Singhapura. With this exception, the two accounts generally agree, except that De Barros places the foundation of the city 253 years before the arrival of the Portuguese in India. He also refers to hostilities between Siam and Malacca, and the acceptance of Siamese suzerainty by Sekandar Shah. This evidently explains the passage in Commentaires d' Albuquerque that Sultan Muhammad repudiated allegiance to Siam.

The Chinese accounts corroborate the above version, at least in its general outline. Thus, Ma Huan, writing in 1416, observes that the king and people of Malacca are Muhammadans[1], and as we shall see later, this refers to the reign of Sekandar Shah.

The most comprehensive account is given in the History of the Ming Dynasty from which we quote the following extracts.[2]

'In 1403 the emperor sent the eunuch Yin Ch'ing as envoy to this country with presents. There was no king in the country, and it was not called a kingdom, but it belonged to Siam, to which it paid an annual tribute of forty taels

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p 123. T'oung Pao (1915), p. 115.

2. Groeneveldt—Notes., pp. 129ff. The account is supplemented by other sources, to which references will be made in the footnotes.

of gold. The chief, called Pai-li-mi-su-ra[1], sent envoys to the imperial court along with Yin Ch'ing.

'In 1405 these envoys arrived at the imperial court. The Emperor praised their master and appointed him king of the country of Malacca. The envoys said that their king wished his country to be a district of the empire, bringing tribute every year. The emperor gave his assent.

'The king of Malacca sent envoys with tribute in 1407 and 1408. In 1411 he came to the court with his wife, his son and his ministers.[2] His nephew visited the imperial court in 1412.

'In 1414, the king's son Mu-kan-sa-u-ti-r-sha came to court and said that his father had died. He was appointed to

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1. The name is transcribed as Pai-li-su-ra by Groeneveldt, but it has been corrected as Pai-li-mi-su-la by Pelliot (T'oung Pao, Vol. XXX, 1933, p. 389).

2. Rockhill has referred to slightly differing Chinese accounts of this event. He notes that Hsing Cha Sheng Lan places the voyage in 1415, but this is evidently an error according to Pelliot (T'oung Pao, 1933, p. 398).

"Tung hsi yang Kao says that in 1405, the ruler of Malacca, Si-li-pa-erh-su-la, sent a petition to the Ming Court asking to become a feudatory. It was in response to this request that Cheng Ho was sent in 1409. The king, his successor, who went to China in 1411, was called, the same work says, Pa-li-tieh-su-la".

In this connection Ma Huan gives the following account :

"In A. D. 1409 the eunuch Cheng-Ho notified the imperial command that Malacca was raised to the rank of a (Feudatory) kingdom and presented, in the name of the Emperor, to its head chief a silver seal, a cap and official robes and declared him king ; on this it ceased to be a dependency of Siam. The king, taking with him his wife and son, proceeded to the capital (of China) to express his thanks for being allowed to offer tribute. The emperor granted him a ship to return to his country". (Rockhill—T'oung Pao, Serie II, Vol. XVI, p. 114 and fn. 1)

Pelliot places the mission of Cheng Ho in 1408 A. D. (T'oung Pao, 1933, pp. 277ff.).

succeed him and presented with gold and silks. After this time they brought tribute every year or every two years.

'In 1419 the king came to court with his wife, his son and his ministers. He reported that Siam seemed inclined to attack his country and the emperor accordingly sent an order to Siam which that country obeyed.

'In 1424 Sri ma-ha-la succeeded after the death of his father, and came to court with his wife, his son and his ministers.

'In the year 1431 three envoys arrived, who said that Siam was planning an attack on their country. The emperor sent a decree to the king of Siam, ordering him to live in good harmony with his neighbours, and not to act against the orders of the court.

'In 1433 the king came to court with his wife, his son and his ministers. In 1435 he sent his younger brother to court with tributes.

'In 1445 envoys arrived who asked that the king Sri Pa-mi-si-wa-r-tiu-pa-sha might obtain a commission for ruling the country.

'In 1456 Sulthan Wu-ta-fu-na-sha sent tribute and asked to be invested as king.

'In 1459 this king's son Su-tan Wang-su-sha sent envoys to bring tribute.

'In 1481 envoys reported to the emperor that the Annamese who had occupied Champa meditated the conquest of Malacca.

'Some time afterwards the emperor sent two officers with a commission to invest the son of the late king Ma-ha-mu-sa as king of the country.

'In 1508 an envoy came to present tribute.

'Afterwards the Franks (Portuguese) came with soldiers and conquered the country. The king Sultan Mamat ran away and sent envoys to inform the imperial government of this disaster. The Emperor issued a decree upbraiding the Franks, told them to go back to their own country and ordered the kings of Siam and other countries to assist their neighbour

in this need; none of these obeyed, however, and so the kingdom of Malacca was destroyed.'

If we now compare the Chinese account with the native tradition handed down by the Portuguese, a great deal of general agreement is easily perceived. First, as to the names of kings which we place below side by side.

Portuguese Account.	Chinese Account.
1. Parimiśura (Parameśvara)	1. Pai-li-mi-su-ra (1403-1414).
2. Sekandar Shah.	2. Mu-kan-sa-u-tir-sha (1414-1424).
	3. Sri Ma-ha-la (1424-*c.*1445).
	4. Sri Pa-mi-si-wa-r-tiu-pa-sha. (1445).
3. Muzafar Shah.	5. Sulthan Wu-ta-fu-na-sha (1456).
4. Mansur Shah. (*d.* 1477),	6. Su-tan Wang-su-sha (1459)
5. Alau d din	
6. Mahmud (1489)	7. Ma-ha-mu-sa or Sultan Mamat[1] (1508).

Now, the name of the second king in the Chinese list has been corrected by Blagden as Mou-Kan-sa-kan-ti-eul-cha or Muhammad Sekandar Shah[2]. In the name of the first we

1. As noticed above, the name of this king is written in Chinese annals as Ma-ha-mu-sa and Sultan Mamat. Both are here taken as Chinese renderings of the name Sultan Muhammad Shah. Blagden, however, takes the first name as Muhammad, and the second as Sultan Ahmad, his successor (Actes du XIe congres International des orientalistes—2e section, pp. 239-253.).

The dates of the kings put within bracket are those obtained from Chinese sources. The grave-stone of Mansur Shah gives the date 1477 as the date of his death. The date 1489 is given in the Commentaries of Albuquerque as that of the defeat of Siamese army by Muhammad. Sultan Alau d din's reign is to be placed between 1477 and 1489 A.D.

2. Op. cit., pp. 245 ff. Cf. Pelliot—T'oung Pao, Vol. XXX (1933), p. 397, fn. 2.

can easily discern Parameśvara. The third and fourth Chinese names are Śrī Mahārāja and Śrī Parameśvaradeva Sāha. The fifth and sixth names can be equated without difficulty to Muzafar Shah and Mansur Shah. The seventh king is obviously Mahmud Shah.

Thus the Chinese account adds two Hindu names after the second king, and omits the name of Alau d din. The explanation is not far to seek. Now we have seen above, that Sekandar Shah was the first ruler of Malacca to be converted to Islam by marrying a Muhammadan wife. It is apparent that he was succeeded by two Hindu kings, either his brothers, or sons by a Hindu wife, before his Muhammadan son Muzafar Shah ascended the throne. Their names were obviously omitted in the later Muhammadan tradition because they were Hindus.[1]

The explanation of the omission of the name of Alau d din is also furnished by the Chinese account. After the embassy sent by Su-tan Wang-su-sha (Sultan Mansur Shah) in 1459 A.D., there is a long gap before the next embassy was sent in 1481. The name of the king who sent this embassy is not mentioned, and there is no necessity to assume that he was Su-tan Wang-su-shah. The next king Ma-ha-mu-sa, is also simply referred to as the son of the late king. This explains the absence of the name of king Alau d din in the Chinese annals.

We may thus draw up the following list of kings of Malacca :—

1.	Parameśvara	(1403-1414 A.D.)
2.	Sekandar Shah	(1414-1424 A.D.)
3.	Sri Ma-ha-la	(1424-c. 1445)

1. Blagden (op. cit.) thinks that the two Hindu names were those of Muzafar Shah ; but the Chinese annals say that in 1445 king Sri Pa-mi-si-wa-r-tiu-pa-sha asked for a commission to rule the country, while eleven years later, Sulthan Wu-ta-fu-na-sha asked to be invested as king. It is, therefore, difficult to identify these two kings. The native chronicles, consulted by Yalentyn, also put some Hindu kings between the reigns of Sekandar Shah and Muzafar Shah (Ferrand, op. cit., p. 462).

4.	Sri Pa-mi-si-wa-r-tiu-pa-sha	(c. 1445-c. 1456)
5.	Sultan Muzafar Shah	(acc. c. 1456 A.D.)
6.	Sultan Mansur Shah	(c. 1459 to 1477 A.D.)
7.	Sultan Alau d din.	
8.	Sultan Mahmud	(was reigning in 1489 A. D., and ruled till 1511 A. D.)

Having thus established a general agreement between the Chinese and native sources (handed down by Albuquerque) regarding the succession of kings, we may next proceed to discuss the date of the foundation of the kingdom of Malacca. The History of the Ming Dynasty makes it quite clear that Pai-li-mi-su-ra founded the town towards the beginning of the fifteenth or end of the fourteenth century A.D. It is expressly stated that in 1403 A.D. Pai-li-mi-su-ra had not yet obtained the rank of king, and he was a mere tributary chief under Siam. This is confirmed by two other Chinese accounts, Ying Yai Sheng Lan of Ma Huan (1425-1432 A. D.) and Hsing Cha Sheng Lan (1436) which state that Malacca was raised to the rank of a kingdom in 1409 A.D.[1] by imperial command.

The date given in 'Commentaires d'Albuquerque' is in entire agreement with this. It says that the country formerly belonged to Siam, and Malacca became a kingdom about 90 years before the arrival of Alfonso d'Albuquerque. As this latter event took place in 1511 A.D., the foundation of the kingdom goes back to about 1421 A.D. As 90 years are put as merely a round number with an express qualification 'more or less', the agreement between the two sources may be regarded as complete.

Now both the sources also agree in stating that previous to this the region belonged to Siam. This is confirmed by the fact, noted above, that the Palatine Law of Siam, enacted in 1360 A.D., included Malacca among the dependencies of the

1. T'oung Pao, Ser. II. Vol. XVI (1915), pp. 114, 118.

country. If we believe in this, we have to dismiss the native legends concerning the origin of the name Malacca, as have been handed down by the Portuguese authorities. Thus we read in the Commentaries of Albuquerque :

"This Parimiśura gave the name of Malacca to the new colony because, in the language of Jaoa (Java), when a man of Palimbao flees away, they call him *Malayo* ; and since he had come to that place fleeing from the kingdom of Palimbao, of which indeed he once was king, he gave the place the name of *Malacca*. Others say that it was called Malacca because of the numbers of people who came there from one part and the other in so short a space of time, for the word *Malacca* also signifies 'to meet', and therefore they gave it the name of city (of Malacca) in contradiction (to the other meaning of 'fugitive'). Of these two opinions let each one accept that which he thinks to be the best, for this is the truth of the matter."

Nobody need take seriously this kind of popular explanation of the origin of the name of a city which afterwards became so distinguished[1]. We must also take due note of the mass psychology which seeks to ascribe the foundation of a city to the ruler under whom or whose family it came to achieve greatness or distinction. The case of Lengkasuka furnishes an exact analogy in both these respects. Here, again, the native Malay tradition, recorded in the Hikayat Maroh Mahāvaṁśa, ascribes to him the foundation of the city, and gives a popular etymology of the name. As Cœdès has pointed out, the inscription of Rājendra Cola and the discovery of the old ruins in the neighbourhood, reaching back to the fifth century A.D., completely falsify the popular legends[2].

1. Valentyn, who dereved his information from native chronicles, states that Malacca was named after a tree (Mirobolan) (Ferrand, op. cit., p. 461).

2. B.E.F.E.O., Vol. XVIII, No. 6, pp. 12-13.

In respect of Malacca, too, while we may assign the growth of an important kingdom on that site to early fifteenth century A.D., we need not date the foundation of a city under that name also to the same period. According to the popular version, there was only a village of twenty or thirty fishermen at the time when Parameśvara laid on it the foundations of the city of Malacca, and he survived it only for seven years. His death took place, according to the reliable Chinese version, some time between 1412 and 1414 A.D. Thus the future Malacca must have been, according to popular legends, merely a fishing village at least as late as 1405 A.D. Yet, in 1403 A.D., the Chinese emperor regarded Malacca as a port or a capital of sufficient importance to send his envoy there with presents. On the other hand, Ma Huan expressly says that the name Malacca came into use after 1409 A.D., though it was formerly called 'five islands' and was a tributary state under Siam[1]. According to a Chinese map of the time of Cheng Ho, probably prepared by his companion Fei Hsin, one of these five islands, called Yiu-men, was a flourishing centre of trade before the rise of Malacca[2].

The popular version about the origin of the city of Malacca cannot thus be accepted in minor details, and there is no reason to discredit the Siamese source according to which Malacca existed in 1360 A.D. It may be noted that Jean De Barros places the foundation of the city about 1250 A.D., and Valentyn, following Malay traditions, refers it to about the same period[3].

While, therefore, we are unable to state when exactly the city of Malacca came into existence, there is no reason to reject the broad facts whose authenticity is proved by a general agreement of Chinese history and native traditions. We may thus accept the view, that Malacca was raised to an important kingdom early in the fifteenth century A.D. by a

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 123.

2. Journ. China Br. R.A.S., Vol. 21 (1887), p. 38. Rouffaer, op. cit., p. 164.

3. Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 432, 461.

chief called Parameśvara. That he was a Javanese Hindu, belonging either to Java itself or its colony Palembang, may also be provisionally accepted. The story of emigration, on a large scale, which followed the flight of king Parameśvara, from Palembang to Singapore, and Singapore to Malacca, may or may not be true, but the rise and fall of the Majapahit empire during 1360 to 1410 A.D., involving important changes in the political condition both of Palembang and Malay Peninsula, may easily account for, and may even be held as conducive to similar migrations of people. According to some native traditions Singapore was cruelly sacked by the king of Majapahit, and that caused the flight of Parameśvara to Malacca[1].

With Parameśvara began a glorious period in the history of Malacca. For nearly a century it enjoyed three-fold distinctions as a great political power, an important commercial centre, and the stronghold of Islam in the Far East. We shall separately review these three aspects of the kingdom of Malacca.

According to the Commentaries of Albuquerque the kingdom of Malacca was bounded by the kingdom of Keddah on one side and Pahang on the other. It extended into the interior as far as the central chain of hills which divided it from Siam. All these territories formerly belonged to the kingdom of Siam.[2]

Malacca shook off the yoke of Siam as early as 1403 or 1409. Though the Chinese authorities represent it almost as a vassal state of China, paying tribute to and seeking investiture from the emperor, it does not denote anything more than a nominal allegiance or even ordinary diplomatic compliments paid by the ruler of Malacca to the Chinese emperor.

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1. Malacca Sultanate—by R. J. Wilkinson in J. Str. Br. R.A.S., No. 61, p. 67; also cf. No. 53, p. 62.

2. Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 411-12.

The second king, Sekandar Shah, laid the foundations of the greatness of Malacca. He first of all tried to divert the trade centre from Singapore to Malacca. With this object he guarded the Straits of Malacca and neighbouring sea with a strong flotilla, and compelled the ships passing through it to take to Malacca instead of to Singapore. As it threatened complete ruin to the trade of Singapore, the king of Siam made preparations to fight. Sekandar, however, entered into an agreement with him. He acknowledged the suzerainty of Siam, and agreed to pay as tribute a sum equivalent to the revenues derived from Singapore. In return, all the islands from Singapore to Pulau Sembilan and the corresponding coastal region were ceded to Malacca.[1] By this master-stroke of policy Sekandar shah laid the foundations of the greatness of Malacca on the ruins of Singapore.

Jean De Barros, to whom we owe this detailed information, no doubt derived his facts from indigenous sources, and it is impossible not to trace in them the hand of Siamese officials who wanted to hide their discomfiture by an alleged acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Siam on the part of Malacca. The History of the Ming Dynasty clearly refers to hostilities between Siam and Malacca in 1419 A.D. in the reign of Sekandar Shah, and also, after his death, in 1431 A.D. From the general nature of the case also it would appear more likely that hostilities continued between the two countries, rather than that Malacca accepted the suzerainty of Siam. In any case the suzerainty of Siam must have been more nominal than real, and even that was repudiated, as Barros himself affirms,[2] by the successors of Sekandar.

An idea of the political importance of Malacca may be formed from a passage in the History of the Ming Dynasty concerning Java, which has been quoted above. It says that shortly before 1415 A.D. the king of Malacca claimed

1. De Barros ; Ferrand, op. cit. p. 437.
2. Ibid., p. 438.

possession of Palembang, which was then under Java, falsely pretending that he had an order to this effect from the Chinese emperor. The emperor informed the king of Java that he had issued no such orders.[1] This shows that Malacca was now aspiring to occupy the position of supremacy which Java lately held in the Archipelago.

That the apprehensions of China and Java were not unfounded is clearly proved by the conquest of Pahang, in the Peninsula, and of Kampar and Indragiri in Eastern Sumatra by Muzafar Shah. When kings of Pahang and Indragiri revolted in the next reign, they were defeated and their tribute was doubled.[2]

According to Sajara Malayu[3] Muzafar defeated the Siamese who attacked Malacca both by land and sea. He was the first ruler of Malacca who was designated as Sultan by the Chinese and the Portuguese. The next king Mansur extended the power of Malacca still further, both in the Peninsula and in Central Sumatra. In 1489 the fleet of Siam was again completely defeated by Sultan Mahmud.[4]

Sultan Mahmud who thus gave promise of a vigorous and prosperous reign was destined to bring his kingdom to utter ruin. This was mainly due to his personal character, which was marked by vanity and cruelty. He killed his own son and uncle, and no less than seventeen nobles who were all related to him. He then plundered their wealth and took their women to his own harem.

The Sultan was addicted to opium and left the cares of government to his 'Bendahara' and maternal uncle Śrī

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 37.

2. Albuquerque. Ferrand, op. cit. pp. 421-2.

3. Quoted by Rouffaer, B.K.I., Vol. 77. (1921), p. 588.

4. Albuquerque. Ferrand, op. cit. p. 423. I do not know on what authority Krom gives the date as about 1500 A.D. (Geschiedenis —p. 454.)

Mahārāja Tun Mutahir. The term Bendahara, perhaps derived from Sanskrit Bhaṇḍāgārika, was the designation of a minister who had by this time practically usurped the royal power in Malacca.

The rapid growth of the power of Malacca naturally brought it into conflict with Java. In 1509 Malacca was expecting an invasion from Java. But before that could materialise, Malacca met with a tragic end in an unexpected manner.

In 1509 a few Portuguese ships arrived at Malacca. At first they were well received, but subsequently the Bendahara imprisoned twenty Portuguese and refused to set them at liberty. After the departure of the Portuguese ships, the king quarrelled with the Bendahara and killed him. When the country was thus passing through a period of turmoil and confusion, Albuquerque reached Malacca with a strong fleet (July 1511) to avenge the wrongs done to his countrymen. The Sultan conceded most of the demands of Albuquerque. He set the Portuguese prisoners at liberty and even granted permission to Albuquerque to build a fort. But the latter soon came to know of the internal condition of Malacca, and was joined by Timutarāja or Utimutarāja, the chief of the Javanese settlers in Malacca. Throwing aside all ideas of compromise Albuquerque invaded the city which surrendered in August. The unfortunate Sultan fled, at first to Pahang and then to Bintan. A few years later, he made an attempt to recover Malacca, but his efforts proved unsuccessful.[1]

Thus perished a great and flourishing kingdom after a glorious career for about a century. As we have said above, Malacca was not only the seat of a great political power, but

1. For a detailed account of the capture of Malacca by Albuquerque, cf. J. Str. Br. R.A.S., No. 61, p. 71. A detailed account of Malacca and other Malay states under the Muslim Sultans and of the commercial importance of Malacca is beyond the scope of the present work. For this, readers may consult R.O. Winstedt—A History of Malaya, chaps. III—IV.

also a big centre of trade and commerce. Its commercial importance is described in glowing terms by the Portuguese writers who saw it in its days of glory. Duarte Barbosa, writing in the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., gives the following graphic account of its trade and commerce.[1] "Many Moorish (Muhammadan) merchants reside in it and also Gentiles (Hindu), particularly Chetis who are natives of Cholmendel (Coromandel coast): and they are all very rich and have many large ships, which they call jungos (junks). They deal in all sorts of goods in different parts, and many other Moorish and Gentile merchants flock thither from other countries to trade; some in ships of two masts from China and other places, and they bring thither (here follow a long list of articles of merchandise). There also come thither many ships from Java which have four masts...From this place many ships sail to the Molucca islands...They also navigate to Tanasery (Tennasserim), Peygu, (Pegu), Bengala (Bengal), Palecate (Pulicat), Cholmendel (Coromandel), Malabar, Cambay and Aden with all kinds of goods, so that this city of Malacca is the richest trading port and possesses the most valuable merchandise, and most numerous shipping and extensive traffic, that is known in all the world. And it has got such a quantity of gold that the great merchants do not estimate their property, nor reckon otherwise than by *bahars* of gold, which are four *quintals* each *bahar*. There are merchants among them who will take up three or four ships laden with very valuable goods, and will supply them with cargo from their own property..... The king of Malacca has got much treasure, and a large revenue from the duties which he collects."

In the Commentaries of Albuquerque we find a similar description of the commercial importance of Malacca as a trading centre between the east and the west, where the ships, coming from the Eastern countries such as China, Java, Formosa, and other islands of Archipelago, exchange cargo with

1. Hakluyt Society Publications, Vol. XXXV; Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 407 ff.

that coming from Northern Sumatra and different ports in India and Arabia on the west. This city contained 100,000 souls and extended over a great length along the sea-coast.[1]

There are many other evidences to testify to the commercial greatness of Malacca and its untold wealth. But we need not pause to refer to them at length. We may next pass on to describe the part played by this rich and powerful city as a stronghold of Islam, and a centre of propaganda of that faith in the Far East. An inscription from Trengganau, dated in 1326-7 (or 1386-7) A.D., proves that Islam had already obtained a footing in that state.[2] But evidently it did not make any substantial progress in Malay Peninsula until the kings of Malacca took up the cause in right earnest. We have already seen how the second king married a Muhammadan lady and himself adopted the new faith. Although it is likely, as we have seen above, that he was followed by two Hindu kings, under his son Muzafar Shah the new faith was rapidly extended, partly by force, and partly by persuasion. When he defeated the kings of Pahang, Kampar, and Indragiri, he converted them to Islam by force and married them to three daughters of his brother. A number of Muhammadan merchants from Gujarat and Persia settled in Malacca, and, with the patronage of the king, these became powerful instruments of conversion. Duarte Barbosa says that 'the Moors of the town and foreign Moors established their trade in the city, in which they increased so much in wealth, that they revolted with the country and caused the neighbouring inhabitants to turn Moors and they set up a Moorish king over them'.[3] The last statement may refer to the setting up of Muzafar Shah, in preference to other Hindu claimants, or it may be a general view, held in later days, to explain the conversion of the kings of Malacca

1. Ferrand, op. cit., pp. 425. ff.
2. J. Mal. Br. R.A.S. (1924), pp. 252-263.
3. Ferrand, op. cit., p. 407.

to the Muhammadan faith. The following passage in the account of Jean de Barros clearly indicates that Malacca was a strong proselytising centre of the new faith. "At the instigation of the Moors of Persia and Gujarat who had settled at Malacca for purposes of trade, the people were converted to the sect of Muhammad. The conversion rapidly spread among different nations, and this infernal pest of Islam began to be propagated, not only in the neighbourhood of Malacca, but also at Sumatra, Java, and in all the islands situated round these countries."

In other passages also De Barros gives expression to the same idea. The merchants from Singapore and Malacca had spread Islam to Molucca islands about 80 years before the arrival of the Portuguese *i. e.* about 1430 A. D. "The pest of Islam, following by way of commerce," had also reached the ports of Java and the island of Banda.

There is thus no doubt that the wealth and the commercial importance of Malacca gave a great impetus to the cause of Islam in Malayasia, and must be regarded as the deciding factor in the almost complete triumph of that faith in Malaya Peninsula.

The last Malay ruler of Malacca became the first ruler of Johor. By him and his descendants Islam was introduced into Johor, Riau, and Lengga. It is to be noted that almost all the present Sultans of Malaya (outside Selangor) claim descent from Parameśvara, and they are all followers of Islam.

Even as late as 1537 A. D. vestiges of Hindu culture still remained at Malacca ; for Hai-yu tells us that 'the people write with Indian letters.'[2] As Wilkinson observes, "to this day, when the casual visitor walks from the landing steps to the Stadt-house, he can see on the slopes of the hill a weird image of a Makara, the sole surviving relic of the time when the ruler of Malacca was still a Hindu."[3]

1. Ferrand, op. cit., p. 438.
2. Ibid , p. 428.
3. Wilkinson, J. Str. Br. R.A.S., No. 61, p. 68.

Chapter III.

END OF HINDU RULE IN JAVA.

We have seen above how Islam had obtained a footing in the northern coast of Sumatra and the kingdom of Malacca, and how from these centres it gradually spread all over Malayasia. The new faith also penetrated into Java, following mainly the line of trade and commerce. The accounts of the Chinese traveller Ma Huan (1416 A. D.) clearly indicate that while the Muhammadans formed an important colony in Java, mainly composed of foreign traders, permanently settled there, they had not as yet acquired any political power in the country.[1]

The spread of Islam in Java is also indicated by a few inscriptions on grave-stones. The earliest one at Leran, dated A. D. 1102 or 1082[2], is that of a daughter of Meimūn. It has been suggested that the inscribed stone was brought from outside to Java at a later date. Even if that were not the case, this isolated instance does not enable us to form any general conclusion, as it merely refers to a private individual, perhaps a relation of a Muhammadan merchant trading in Java. The grave-stone of Malik Ibrahim at Gresik is dated in 1419 A. D.[3] The popular tradition regards him as a preacher of Islam, and this may well be the case. The grave-stone of Majapahit, traditionally ascribed to Putri Champa, a Cham princess and a queen of Majapahit, is dated in 1448.[4] As we shall see later, she plays an important part in the traditional account of the

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, P. 49; Rockhill, Toung Pao, Serie II., Vol. XVI (1915), p. 242.

2. Moquette in Congres I, pp. 391-399. T.B.G. Vol. 65 (1925), pp. 668 ff.

3. Schrieke—Het Boek Van Bonang, p. 28.

4. Rapporten, 1907, pp. 42 ff.

downfall of Majapahit, though her date is given therein as 1398. But there is no certainty that the grave is really that of the queen.

It appears, however, from the Portuguese accounts[1] that towards the close of the fifteenth century some of the harbours of Java were in the hands of Muhammadans, most probably Javanese converts. But they still recognised the authority of the Hindu king, and there is no reason to suppose that the latter had suffered much in power or prestige. In 1509 the great Sultan of Malacca was afraid of an invasion by the king of Java, a fact which testifies to the latter's power and command over the sea[2]. Apart from the political rivalry referred to before, the immediate cause of the dispute between Malacca and Java is not known from the Portuguese accounts. There was an intimate intercourse by way of trade between the two countries, and a large number of Javanese lived in Malacca. It was the head of the Javanese colony in Malacca that treacherously helped Albuquerque in conquering that kingdom from Sultan Mahmud. When Albuquerque was returning from Malacca (1512 A.D.), the king of Java sent an envoy with presents, and promised him assistance in his wars against the Sultan on the ground that the latter subjected the Javanese subjects in Malacca to heavy extortion. The Javanese king always acted in a friendly manner towards the Portuguese and sought to establish an alliance with them. In this connection Castanheda has made the following remarks about the king of Java: "The king of Java is a heathen (*i.e.* neither Christian nor a Moor; in other words, a Hindu). He lives inland, is a great king, master of large territory and people. On the sea-coast are Moorish (Muhammadan) kings, subject to the

1. The accounts of the Portuguese and other European writers have been taken from the summary given by Krom (Geschiedenis, pp. 449 ff.); cf. also Tiele in B.K.I, 1878, pp. 321-420. Rouffaer in B.K.I., 1899, pp. 119 ff.

2. Journ. Str. Br. R.A.S., Vol. 17 (1886), p. 130. T.B.G., Vol. 58 (1919), p. 426.

authority of the king. They some time rebel against the king, but are again subdued by him."

The Portuguese have preserved some detailed accounts of one of these Javanese sea-lords on the coast. After the departure of Albuquerque, the Portuguese Admiral Perez d'Andrade had driven Pati Katir, a Javanese sea-lord, from the neighbourhood of Malacca, and forced him to proceed to Java. Pati Unus, chief of Japara, in Java, was an ally of Pati Katir, and, unaware of the defeat of the latter, he proceeded against Malacca with hundred ships mostly manned by Javanese from Palembang. Perez d'Andrade defeated this Javanese fleet after a heavy fight, but Pati Unus broke through the Portuguese line and safely reached his own country. He placed his ships on the sea-beach as a memorial to that fight. His brave deeds were talked about for long and he later became king of Demak.

A few months later, a Portuguese ship, returning from Moluccas islands, was stranded on the Javanese coast near Tuban. A ship was sent out from Malacca to bring the goods, and its captain Joao Lopez Alvim was received in a friendly manner by Pati Unus at Sidayu. Probably Pati Unus dared not act in a hostile manner as the Javanese king was a friend to the Portuguese. After the return of this ship, Ruy de Brito, the Portuguese governor of Malacca, wrote as follows to king Manuel in January, 1514 : "Java is a great island. It has two Kafir kings ; one, the king of Sunda, the other the king of Java. The sea-coast belongs to Moors, who are very powerful. Great merchants and nobles call themselves governors of these places. They are very rich and possess many ships. They always carry on trade with Malacca. Some of them are our friends, others very hostile." This is the last definite mention of a Hindu king in Java.

In 1515 the new Portuguese Governor of Malacca planned a punitive expedition against the Muhammadan chiefs of Javanese coast, *viz.* Pati Katir, Pati Unus, and Pati Rodien, but nothing is mentioned in this connection about the Hindu king in Java.

But Barbosa, who wrote between 1516 and 1518 A.D., refers to the great Hindu king of Java, named Pate Udra, who was yet recognised as suzerain by the Muhammadan chiefs on the sea-coast. Barbosa expressly states that when any of these chiefs revolts, the king forcibly subdues him. It must be noted, however, that of late, great doubts have arisen regarding the authenticity of Barbosa's account, and it is doubted whether his account is not merely borrowed from older books.

The next account of Java we get from the writings of Pigafetta, an Italian sailor, who accompanied the Spanish captain Fernao de Magalhoes in his famous voyage of exploration in 1519 A.D. Pigafetta's ship lay before the port of Timor from the end of January to the beginning of February, 1522, and we find the following entry in his journal: "The greatest cities in Java are these: Majapahit, whose king, when he lived, was the greatest of all these islands and was called Raja Pati Unus, Sunda,—in this grows much pepper—, Daha, Demak, Gajahmada, Mentaraman, Japara, Sidayu, Tuban, Gresik, Surabaya, and Bali."

Rouffaer concludes from the above account that Majapahit was till the last the centre of Hindu power in Java, and was conquered by the Muslim chief, Pati Unus, some time before 1522 A.D. There is, however, one difficulty. Barros says, in connection with the invasion of Malacca by Pati Unus, that this chief later became king of Sunḍa. Now, Henrique Leme found a Hindu chief in Sunḍa in 1522. It is, therefore, exceedingly improbable that Pati Unus, who died in the beginning of 1522, should have brought both Majapahit and Sunḍa under his control before his death. Rouffaer thinks that Barros wrongly wrote Sunḍa instead of Majapahit, and he therefore takes Pigafetta's account as true.

Krom, on the other hand, thinks that there is no reason to conclude that the mistake was necessarily on the part of Barros, and not of Pigafetta. He rather thinks that Barros, to whom historical documents were available, is more

reliable than Pigafetta, who wrote his diary in a sea-port town, mainly from the oral evidence. All that we can definitely infer from Pigafetta's statement is that there was no longer a king in Majapahit, but the existence of a Hindu king at some other place is not incompatible with Pigafetta's statement.

The *terminus ante quem* for the downfall of the Hindu kingdom of Java has been fixed by Krom at A.D. 1528, as in that year one Hindu chief Panarukan sent an agent on his own account to Malacca to establish friendly relations with that state. Krom thinks that this fact is incompatible with the existence of a central Hindu ruling authority in Java. Thus the fall of Majapahit, or rather of the Hindu authority in Java, may be dated between 1513, or 1515 (if we may believe in Barbosa's account), and 1528 A.D.

The Portuguese and other European accounts mentioned above thus give us a general outline of the course of events leading to the downfall of Majapahit. It appears that Islam at first made converts of the coastal chiefs, and these ultimately overthrew the central authority at Majapahit. If Rouffaer's theory is provisionally accepted, as it appears to us very reasonable, we may conclude that this overthrow took place before 1522 A.D., and was mainly the work of Pati Unus, chief of Japara, evidently a Javanese coastal chief converted to Islam, who had already distinguished himself in daring naval fights against the Portuguese.

From Java itself we possess no trustworthy records for the history of this period. There are only some native traditions which profess to give a detailed account of the Muslim conquest of Majapahit. While there is no doubt that they possess a kernel of historical truth, they are so full of improbable legends and fancies of supernatural character, that it is absolutely impossible to rely upon them as historical sources, except in a very general way. We give below a summary of these accounts,

1. Babad Tanah Javi.[1]

'Bravijaya, the last king of Majapahit, married a princess of Cempa. A sister of the queen was married to a Muslim and had two sons, Rahmat and Santri. Now this Muslim converted the queen to Islamic faith and sent his two sons to her. Rahmat married the daughter of a chief (Tumenggung) of Vilvatikta, while his brother Santri married the daughter of Arya Teja, the chief of Tuban. The two brothers settled respectively at Ngampel (Surabaya) and Gresik. Rahmat became afterwards celebrated as the first apostle of Islam in Java, made many proselytes, and constructed the first mosque ever built in Java.[2]

'King Bravijaya had a second queen, a rākṣasī (monster), by whom he had a son Arya Damar. Arya Damar was sent by his father to govern Palembang and was accompanied there by the third queen, a Chinese. This Chinese queen bore a son, Raden Patah, to king Bravijaya, and another, Raden Usen, to Arya Damar. Raden Patah and Raden Usen went to Java. Patah married the granddaughter of Rahmat and settled at Bintara (Demak). Raden Usen went to the king of Majapahit, who made him the chief of Terung, and appointed him as commander of his forces. The king also sent for his son Raden Patah and made him governor of Bintara.

'In the meanwhile came a certain Seh Walilanang to Surabaya, and a princess of Balambangan bore him a son, known later as Sunan Giri. Sunan Giri became a pupil of Rahmat and married his daughter.

'By the patronage of these and other chiefs, related to them, the new faith spread rapidly. Now king Bravijaya sent his minister (pati) Gajah Mada against Sunan Giri. The latter

1. A summary is given by Brandes (Par., pp. 211 ff.)

2. Crawfurd—History of the Indian Archipelago, Vol. II, p. 309.

frightened away his enemy by a show of miraculous power. After the death of Giri royal forces came again and dug up his tomb. But a swarm of bees arising therefrom drove back the royal force. Raden Patah, instead of joining his father, now formed a coalition with the other Muhammadan chiefs, and proceeded against Majapahit. King Bravijaya died, and the suzerainty of Majapahit passed over to Demak after a rule of forty days by Giri. Thus Raden Patah became the first Sultan of Demak.'

II. Serat Kanda.[1]

'It names Angkavijaya as the last king of Majapahit, and refers to his family relations, as in Babad Tanah Javi, with some modifications. Rahmat came to Java with a son, married a Javanese lady at Kudus, and had by her a son named Undung, later known as Sunan Kudus. Stories are told of a large number of Arabs who settled and married in Java, and thus propagated the Muslim faith. Angkavijaya's queen, the princess of Cempa, named Daravati, died in 1398, and was buried in Citravulan according to Muslim rites. Raden Patah was installed as chief of Demak in 1405. Sunan Kudus organised a Muslim coalition against Majapahit, and tried to make converts and secure allies all over the kingdom. Gajah Mada defeated the rebels at Tuban. A new expedition against Majapahit was organised by Sunan Kudus, and he was joined by sons of other Sunans. The result was at first indecisive, but ultimately the royal force led by the Muhammadan chief of Terung, *i.e.* Raden Usen, brother of Raden Patah, defeated Sunan Kudus. The king sent reinforcements under Kalungkung, his son by a Balinese princess, but his other sons, including the chief of Demak, who had become Muslims, now joined the enemy. The son of Sunan Kudus now became the head of the Muhammadan coalition. Aided by all sorts of supernatural means, the Muhammadan army captured and destroyed Majapahit, in 1476

1. Brandes—Par., pp. 223 ff.

A. D. The king took shelter in Sengguruh in 1477 A. D. Kalungkung made a last stand there, but was defeated. The king fled to Bali, followed by Kalungkung and Gajah Mada, and Sengguruh was destroyed in 1478 A.D. Patah, who took the title of Panembahan, returned to Demak and became the chief of Java, and the faith of Islam was established everywhere.'

While there is no doubt that the details given in the above traditions, specially the dates[1], are untrustworthy, we may nevertheless trace some historical basis, so far as the general picture is concerned. Properly analysed, and divested of all unnecessary details, the two stories lead to the presumption that Islam was spreading, at first in the coastland, by way of commerce, and gradually in the interior, by marriage relations and other peaceful means. Thus we find that the dethroned Muslim chief of Pase, Zain-ul-Abedin, took refuge with the king of Java who was related to him. The royal family apparently also contained some converts to the new faith, and the story of the Cem queen may be a fact. By these means Islam got a firm hold on a number of chiefs, as well as members of royal family and high officials at court. When they felt themselves powerful enough, the members of the new faith naturally tried to oust the king as he steadily refused to give up his own religion. It seems to be almost certain, that the Hindu kingdom fell as a result of internal disruption brought on by the clash of religious beliefs, and not by any organised Muslim invasion from outside. The traditions even connect the new Muslim ruling dynasty with the old (for Raden Patah was the son of the king of Majapahit), but this may or may not be true. The episode of Girīndravardhana also makes it extremely doubtful if Majapahit was still the chief seat of Hindu authority. Even if it were so, it is by no means certain

1. The dates of Putri Campa and the downfall of Majapahit are palpably wrong ; see ante.

that the fall of Majapahit meant the downfall of the Hindu authority in Java. The Sengguruh episode seems to show that even after the Hindu king had lost Majapahit, he held out for some time in the eastern part of Java, and only a second defeat compelled him to leave Java and seek shelter in Bali. The story of the destruction of Majapahit is also not borne out by facts. A copperplate, dated 1541 A. D., is expressly said to be written at Vilvatikta.[1] There is no valid reason to suppose that it refers to any place other than the famous city of that name, which, therefore, existed till at least the middle of the sixteenth century A. D. Of course, there is no doubt that having lost its political and commercial supremacy it gradually dwindled in importance.

The Muhammadan conquest of Majapahit was followed shortly by that of Suṇḍa. It is clear from the Portuguese accounts that by Sunda they meant the kingdom of Pajajaran. As would appear from the Portuguese accounts, quoted above, the cause and process of Islamic conquest were nearly the same in both Majapahit and Suṇḍa (Pajajaran). In the case of Suṇḍa, however, we can more definitely ascertain the date of the overthrow of the Hindu kingdom.

As noted before, in A. D. 1522 Henrique Leme visited the Hindu king of Suṇḍa, called Samian (*i.e.* Sanghyang), who was friendly to the Portuguese merchants coming to his harbours. As a result of this visit, the Portuguese obtained the right of building a fort at Kalapa (near modern Batavia). The Portuguese could not carry this project into execution for four years, and when at last in 1526 they came back to Suṇḍa, they found it under a Muhammad an ruler, named Falatehan, who had come from Pase in Sumatra, and conquered the kingdom with the help of the king of Japara. The Portuguese had to return without accomplishing anything. Thus Suṇḍa must have passed into the hands of Muhammadan rulers some time between 1522 and 1526 A. D. Whether Pati Unus,

1. T.B.G., Vol. 55. (1913), pp. 257 ff.

chief of Japara, was its conqueror, as Barros states, has been, as noted above, doubted by Rouffaer. But even according to the later Portuguese accounts, the chief of Japara *i. e.* Pati Unus, who died in 1522, or his son, had some hand in the conquest. There is nothing improbable in the assumption that Pati Unus, aided by other Muslim chiefs, overthrew Suṇḍa and Majapahit about the same time, and in that case Falatehan, one of the confederate chiefs, might have been ruling in Suṇḍa, while Pati Unus was ruling in Majapahit. In any case it is certain that the Hindu kingdom of Suṇḍa was overthrown by the coastal Muhammadan chiefs between 1522 and 1526 A.D.

The overthrow of Majapahit and Suṇḍa dealt a death-blow to the Hindu culture and civilisation which had flourished in Java for well-nigh fifteen hundred years.

Hindu civilisation, and even Hindu rule, however, did not vanish altogether, but maintained a desperate struggle for existence in the outlying regions, in the east as well as in the west. The archæological remains on mounts Willis, Lavu, and Merbabu indicate clearly that Hinduism found a last refuge in these highlands, but were gradually being transformed by the growing indigenous influence. A detailed study of the ruined structures and images of these hilly regions to the west of Majapahit unfolds the steadily declining stages of Hindu art and religion, leading to the supreme but inevitable tragedy of their ultimate annihilation by the rising forces of primitive barbarism[1].

In the east, the regions around and beyond mount Smeroe (Sumeru) offered the Hindus a safe retreating place. According to a Portuguese account, the Muhammadan besiegers of Pasuruhan were forced to retreat in the middle of the sixteenth century. Even as late as 1600 A.D. Balambangan was an independent Hindu State, and remained as such for nearly two hundred years more.

But although these petty states kept alive the traditions of Hindu rule in Java, the main currents of that culture now

1. This point has been further discussed in connection with Art.

shifted to the east, and flowed freely only in the island of Bali, where the royal family and the aristocracy fled with a considerable element of the well-to-do people in Java. That island now possesses the unique distinction of preserving the old Hindu culture and civilisation, while in Java the old monuments alone remain to tell the tale of its past glory and grandeur.

The Islamic conquest of Java was followed by the introduction of that faith in Madura. The king of Arosbaya, named Panembahan Siti Luhur, and other members of the nobility voluntarily accepted the new faith, and thus the conversion of the whole people took place in a comparatively short time. This also explains the almost complete destruction of Hindu temples in that island[1].

1, Congres I, pp. 264-5.

Chapter IV

END OF HINDU RULE IN BORNEO

We have already seen how Borneo formed one of the earliest seats of Hindu civilisation. Unfortunately we do not possess anything like a continuous history of the Hindu colonisation in Borneo. After the archæological remains described above in Book I, Chapter VIII, there is a pretty long gap of many centuries for which we possess no internal evidence regarding the Hindu colonists. Only the Chinese annals throw some light on the obscure period, and we can do no more than summarise these accounts and draw such scanty conclusions from them as we reasonably may.

1. Speaking of Po-lo, the History of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906 A.D.) says that in the year 669 the king of this country sent an envoy who came to court together with the envoy of Huan-wang (Siam).

Groeneveldt, who has translated this passage, supplements the information by the following remarks[1] : "There is of course not the slightest internal evidence that this passage relates to Borneo, but all Chinese geographers agree in assigning it to this island, which is designated by it to the present day. We have further no means of ascertaining which part of the island was meant, and here again the Chinese say it was the northern coast, from which they have derived their name for the whole island, just as we have taken Bruni or Brunei for the same purpose".

Another Chinese history 'Tung Hsi Yang K'au[2] (1618 A.D.) refers to the embassy of 669 A.D., but adds that the intercourse with the land then ceased for a long time. As a matter of fact the next embassy it mentions is that of 1406 A.D. The king

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 101. 2. Ibid, pp. 101-2.

at that period was originally an inhabitant of Fu-Kien, and thus evidently a Chinese.

2. The History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643 A.D.) gives a short account of Bandjermasin, on the south coast of Borneo. It chiefly describes some of the peculiar manners and customs of the place.

3. The earliest definite reference to Borneo in the Chinese annals is contained in Man-Shu, composed in the second half of the ninth century A.D., which refers to Po-ni having trade intercourse with Indo-China[1]. The History of the Sung Dynasty gives a more detailed account of Pu-ni[2] which undoubtedly refers to the west coast of Borneo. The fact that their king bore the title Mahārāja proves the Indian origin of their civilisation. Some of their customs strikingly resemble those of India, *e.g.* they used cotton cloth, and for their marriage presents they first sent the cocoa-tree wine, then areca nuts, next a finger ring, and lastly cotton cloth or some gold and silver.

This kingdom came into contact with China for the first time in 977 A.D., when its king Hiang-ta sent three envoys to the imperial court. The occasion of this embassy is thus explained by the king himself in a letter which he sent with the envoys to the emperor.

"I knew before that there was an emperor, but I had no means of communication. Recently there was a merchant, called P'u Lu-hsieh, whose ship arrived at the mouth of my river. I sent a man to invite him to my place and then he told me that he came from China. The people of my country were much delighted at this, and preparing a ship, asked this stranger to guide them to the court".

The king added in the letter that he intended to send tribute every year. But the next reference that we come

1. Pelliot, B.E.F.E.O., Vol. IV, p. 287, f.n. 2.
2. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 108-110.

across is about hundred years later. In the year 1082 their king Sri Ma-dja (Śrī Mahārāja) sent again an envoy to bring as tribute products of the country.

It is evident, however, that the first embassy of 977 A.D. led to the opening up of a regular trade between Pu-ni and China. For the History of the Sung Dynasty includes it among the list of countries whose ships frequented the ports of China.[1]

We next hear of Pu-ni in the thirteenth century A.D. from the accounts of Chau Ju-kua[2]. He describes in greater detail the manners and customs of the people, which show an undoubted Hindu element. Chau Ju-kua expressly states that the people worshipped Buddha. According to Chau Ju-kua it was an independent kingdom.

More than hundred years later, Wang Ta-Yuen[3] (1349 A.D.,) writes about Pu-ni, that its people worship Buddha images and possess unusual skill in arithmetic and book-keeping. This is an unmistakable evidence that at least a part of the people of Borneo possessed some amount of culture and civilisation, and that of Hindu origin.

But Pu-ni could not long maintain its independence, and was conquered by Java some time before 1370 A.D. We learn from Chau Ju-kua, that Tañjungpura in south-west Borneo, was already a dependency of Java. The same place occurs in the list of territories conquered by Kṛtanagara and Gajah Mada, as we have seen above. It was evidently from this base that Java extended her influence over the rest of the island, till by 1365 A. D. a considerable portion of Borneo was included in the empire of Majapahit (see Bk. III, ch. VI). But in A.D. 1371 the king of Pu-ni, Ma-Mo-sha, sent a high official to the court of the emperor with a memorial and presents.[4] The facts supplied by the History of the Ming

1. T'oung Pao, Ser. II. Vol. XV (1914), p. 420.
2. Chau Ju-kua, pp. 155-157.
3. T'oung Pao, Ser. II. Vol. XVI. (1915), p. 265. 4. Ibid.

Dynasty regarding the allegiance of Pu-ni, at first to Java, and then, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, to China, have already been referred to above (Bk. III, ch. VI). We shall now quote from the History of the Ming Dynasty further details regarding the intimate intercourse between Pu-ni and China during the fifteenth century A.D.[1]

"In the winter of the year 1405 the king Maradja (Mahārāja) Ka-la sent envoys to bring tribute and the Emperor sent functionaries to invest him as king of the country and gave him a seal, a commission, and silks of various colours. The king was greatly delighted, and embarking with his wife, his younger brothers and sisters, his sons, daughters and functionaries went to court".

The king was received with great honour, and feasted at every place through which he passed, till he reached the capital in the eighth month in A.D. 1408. During his audience with the emperor he knelt down and pronounced a most flattering address to the suzerain. The king was received with usual ceremonies and he and his attendants got suitable presents.

In the 10th month the king died in the Chinese capital. The emperor was very much grieved, closed his court for three days, and sent an officer to perform sacrifices and to give the silk required for the funeral. A temple was erected at the side of the grave, where every spring and autumn an officer sacrificed a goat.

'The emperor issued an edict to console his son Hia-wang who was ordered to succeed his father and appointed king of the country. Hia-wang and his uncle reported that their country had to give Java a quantity of camphor every year and begged for an imperial order to Java that this annual tribute should be stopped, in order that it might be sent instead to the imperial court. They further said that as they were going home now, they asked for the Emperor's orders and for permission to remain at home a year in order to satisfy the wishes of the

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 110-115.

people ; at last they requested that the time for bringing tribute and the number of persons who were to accompany it, might be fixed.'

"The emperor acceded to all these wishes. He ordered that tribute should be sent once in three years, and that the number of persons coming with it should depend upon the king's pleasure. He also gave an order to Java telling them not to ask any more the annual tribute of this country."

'At the time of taking leave the king and his party got very valuable presents from the emperor. The eunuch Chang Ch'ien and the messenger Chau Hang were sent to escort him. In 1410 the king sent envoys to carry tribute and present thanks for the imperial favour. The next year Chang Ch'ien was sent again with rich presents for the king. In 1412 Hia-wang came to court with his mother. They were entertained with great honour and received valuable presents. From the year 1415 to the year 1425 they brought tribute four times, but after that time their tribute-bearers became more rare.'

'During the period Wan-li (1573-1619) the king of Pu-ni died without any male issue. His relatives fought for the throne, and there was a great war in the country ; at last all competitors were killed, and then a daughter of the late king was put on the throne. Since this time, though they did not bring any more tribute, the intercourse by traders was uninterrupted.'

This extensive summary of the Chinese history gives us a very interesting account of the friendly intercourse between Borneo and China, but it adds but little to our knowledge of its history and civilisation. There is no doubt that the Chinese official writer has spared no pains to exaggerate the power and prestige of the emperor, and to paint him in a too dazzling light. But all the same he has left the impression that Pu-ni was a fairly civilised country, and enjoyed some amount of political authority and prestige.

We may now conclude our account of Borneo with a few general remarks. It is clear that the Indians had colonised

different parts of the island during the early centuries of the Christian era. By 400 A. D. several Hindu states had been established there, and Hindu religion and culture made their influence felt. But the history of the progress and development of the Hindu states and Hindu culture cannot be traced any further in the absence of positive information on the point. It is certain that Hindu culture survived to some extent for more than a thousand years. It seems to be, however, equally certain, that the stream of Hindu colonisation was not fed here for a long time from the parent source, and hence it decayed and was ultimately almost dried up. In other words, Hinduism in Borneo did not possess sufficient vitality to subdue the native elements for a pretty long time, and so ultimately the indigenous element prevailed upon the superimposed layer of Hindu culture.

It is not absolutely certain that the later Hindu civilisation in Borneo, as depicted in the Chinese history, was an uninterrupted continuation of the early Hindu culture which is indicated by the archæological remains. But this seems to be a more reasonable view than to suppose that there were fresh streams of Hindu migration at a later period.

An alternative supposition would be to trace the later Hindu civilisation in Borneo to Java. That Java exercised political authority in some parts of Borneo as early as the thirteenth century A.D. is definitely known, and it is easy to conjecture that Indo-Javanese culture and civilisation should find its way to Borneo, and influence it to a certain extent. This influence is quite apparent in the art of later Borneo, and nobody can possibly mistake it. But it is equally impossible to deny that some elements even of later civilisation in Borneo are not Indo-Javanese, and must be traced ultimately to India. Nor is it necessary to assume, with Krom, that Javanese political authority extended to Borneo even earlier than the thirteenth century A. D., in order to explain the traces of Hinduism noticed in Pu-ni in the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D.[1]

1. Krom—Geschiedenis, p. 229.

Before closing the account of Borneo we may briefly refer to another country named Sulu which was situated in or near Borneo. Shortly after the year 1368 the people of Sulu attacked Pu-ni, where they made a large booty and only retired when Java came with soldiers to assist this country.

In the year 1417 the eastern king of this country Paduka Pa-ha-la, the western king Ma-ha-la-ch'ih (Mahārāja), and the king of the mountain of Ka-la-ba-ting, called Paduka Prabu (Prabhu), all went with their families to China to pay homage and tribute. They presented a letter of gold, with the characters engraved upon it, and offered pearls, precious stones, tortoise-shell and other articles.

Embassies were again sent, in 1420 by the western king, and in 1421 and 1424, by the eastern king.[1]

1. The above account is based on the History of the Ming Dynasty ; cf. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 103-5.

Groeneveldt identifies Ka-la-ba-ting with the mountain Klaiba-tangan on the north-eastern coast of Borneo. In that case Sulu or a part of it must be located in the island of Borneo itself.

Chapter V.

THE BALI ISLAND.

We have already discussed the few data regarding the early history of Bali that can be gathered from the Chinese sources.[1] This brings us down to the end of the seventh century A. D. For the next century we possess no definite historical information regarding the island. According to a somewhat vague tradition preserved in Carita Parahyangan, the island was conquered by the Javanese king Sañjaya.[2] This may possibly be true. Recent investigations[3] in Bali have yielded quite a large number of inscriptions on stone and copperplates, and other antiquities, some of them reaching as far back as eighth century A. D. Apart from their great importance from the point of view of political and cultural history, to which we shall refer below, the inscriptions clearly prove, both by their language and subject matter, that Bali was a Hindu colony with distinct characteristics of its own, derived directly from India, and it was in no way a product of or influenced by the Indo-Javanese colony or civilisation. The fact that the language of these inscriptions is old-Balinese and not old-Javanese is enough to discredit the generally accepted view that Bali derived its Hindu culture through Java, and we must regard the Hindu colony in that island as developing independently, and side by side, with that of Java and other islands in the archipelago. The most reasonable conclusion, therefore, would be to regard the Hindu culture and society in Bali, which we find reflected in these records from the eighth to the tenth

1. Book I. Chap. IX. 2. Book III. Chap. I.

3. Stutterheim—Oudheden Van Bali (1929). Epigraphia Balica Vol. I (1926). O.V. 1924, pp. 28-35. Unless otherwise stated, the inscriptions mentioned below are to be looked for in these authorities.

century A.D., as a direct development of the old Hindu colony and civilisation referred to in the Chinese annals.

The inscriptions, particularly the series of copperplate Grants, have yielded very interesting information regarding the political history of Bali. The oldest of them, dated 896 A.D., and found at Bebetin, does not refer to the name of any king. But two inscriptions discovered at Babahan and Sembiran, and dated respectively in 915 and 933 A.D., were issued in the reign of king Ugrasena, who may thus be regarded as the first historical king of Bali, definitely known to us. Then follow king Tabanendravarmadeva and Candrabhayasinghavarmmadeva with dates 955 and 962 A.D. respectively.

We next hear of king Janasādhuvarmadeva, ruling in A.D. 975, and queen Śrī-Vijayamahādevī ruling in 983. No particulars are known about any of these. An inscription recently discovered near Sanoor[1] refers to Śrī Keśarivarmā, lord over all neighbouring princes, who overcame Gurun and other localities. He probably ruled in the tenth century A.D.

Not long after this, the island of Bali was conquered by the Javanese king Dharmavaṁśa, and was ruled on his behalf by his predecessor's daughter Mahendradattā *alias* Guṇapriyadharmapatnī, along with her husband Dharmodāyanavarmadeva (or in its shorter form, Udayana), the parents of the famous king Airlangga.[2]

Stutterheim[3] holds the view that Dharmodāyanavarmadeva was a Balinese, who afterwards became a member of the royal family of Java by his marriage with the daughter of Makuṭavaṁśavardhana, and ruled over Bali as Prince-consort of

1. The inscription has been edited by Dr. Stutterheim in Acta Orientalia, Vol. XII, Pars II (1934), pp. 126-132.

The inscription, incised on the upper part of a round monolith pillar, consists of six lines written in an eastern variety of north-Indian alphabet of about the tenth century A. D., and of thirteen lines in Kavi alphabet. According to Dr. Stutterheim the latter belongs probably to ninth or tenth century A.D.

2. See above, Bk. III, Ch. II. 3. B.K.I., Vol. 85 (1929), p. 483.

Guṇapriyadharmapatnī. This view mainly rests upon the fact that the last three (now four) Balinese kings, mentioned above, had all of them names ending in Varmadeva. It has been argued on the other hand, that he was a Javanese chief, who, on being appointed to rule over Bali, assumed a name in conformity with the Balinese royal custom.[1]

Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that the rule of Udayana and Mahendradattā introduces a new epoch in the cultural history of Bali. Henceforth Indo-Javanese culture makes a deep impress upon that of Bali, so much so that the culture and civilisation of Bali after 1022 has been regarded as old-Javanese in character.

The Balinese records from 989 to 1001 A. D. refer to both Guṇapriyadharmapatnī and her husband Dharmodāyanavarman, but the name of the latter alone appears in two records, dated 1011 and 1022 A. D. The natural presumption, therefore, is that the queen died some time between 1001 and 1011 A.D., and since then her husband alone ruled in Bali.[2] But a Sembiran copperplate, dated 1016 A.D., refers to a queen (ratu) Sang Ājñādevī. It has been suggested that Ājñādevī was but another name of Guṇapriyadharmapatnī.[3] But, then, it is difficult to explain why she alone is mentioned, under a different name and with a lower title 'ratu.' An alternative suggestion would be to regard Sang Ājñādevī as a vassal chief, or one ruling independently in some parts of the island.[4] In any case Udayana must have regained his authority before 1022 A.D. He evidently died in that year, some time between the months of Caitra, when he issued the edict, and Pauṣa, when a record was issued by Śrī Dharmavaṁśavardhana

1. Krom—Geschiedenis², p. 232, fn. 4.

2. Cf. Bk. III, Ch. II. p. 263 above.

3. O.V. 1920, p. 132. Stutterheim reads the name as Sang Ājñādevī, while Krom gives it as Sangājñādevī (Geschiedenis² pp. 233, 245) on the authority of O.V.

4. Korn—Het Adat-recht Van Bali (1924), p. 547.

Marakatapangkaja-Sthānottunggadeva. This king ruled at least till 1025 A.D. His name indicates that he belonged to the family of Dharmavaṁśa and was thus a member of the Javanese royal family. It is, of course, equally possible to hold that Dharmavaṁśa was originally a ruler of Bali and then obtained the throne of Java, possibly by marrying the daughter of king Makuṭavaṁśavardhana. The relationship between Udayana and his successor Marakatapangkaja-Sthānottunggadeva is not known, nor is it possible to decide if the latter ruled as an independent king, or acknowledged the suzerainty of Airlangga, the Javanese king.[1] The absence of any royal title lends support to the latter view, and in that case we may hold that in spite of the catastrophe which overwhelmed the kingdom of Java about this time, she still maintained her hold over the island of Bali. In any case, Airlangga ultimately asserted his full suzerainty over Bali ; so much so, that once he even planned to divide his kingdom among his two sons by giving Java to one and Bali to another. This, however, did not take place, and instead Java itself was divided into two kingdoms, Janggala and Kaḍiri, as we have seen above.

Bali, as usual, had its own ruler, but how far it acknowledged the authority of Janggala, it is difficult to say. Ten copperplate records, bearing dates between 1049 and 1077 A.D., refer to a king who was "the youngest child of the goddess, who is cremated at Burvan, and of the god who is cremated at Bañuveka". The phrase most probably alludes to Udayana and his wife Guṇapriyadharmapatnī. If this view be correct, the ruler of Bali between 1049 and 1077 A. D. was a younger brother of Airlangga. He evidently ruled over the whole island, as his records are found both in north and south Bali, from Sangsit to Klungkung.

1. In a recent article Dr. Stutterheim has suggested that Śrī Dharmavaṁśavardhana, who succeeded Udayana in Bali, is no other than Airlangga himself, who died in 1049 A.D., and was succeeded in Bali by his younger brother (B.K.I., Vol. 92, pp. 196 ff.)

The next ruler of Bali, known from a record of 1098 A.D., is named Śrī Śakalendaki ring Eśāna Guṇadharma-lakṣmīdhara Vijayottunggadevī. In this name we have a reminiscence of that of Guṇapriyadharmapatnī, the mother of Airlangga, and of Īśāna, the reputed founder of the royal family to which Airlangga belonged. If it were safe to presume anything from these factors, this ruler of Bali may be regarded as belonging to that royal house. The same, however, cannot be said of the two rulers who followed, *viz.*, Śrī Śūrādhipa, with dates 1115 and 1119 A.D., and Śrī Jayaśakti, with dates 1133 and 1150 A.D. It is possible that Bali was now altogether independent of Java.

A king Paduka Śrī Mahārāja Haji Jaya Pangus is known from thirteen records. One of these is dated in the year 1177 A.D., while the remaining were issued on one and the same day in the year 1181. In these he appears as the suzerain king, ruling over a circle of seven states in Bali (Balidvīpamaṇḍala). But the genuineness of these records has been justly doubted, and so no sure conclusion can be based upon them. Next we hear of two other kings, Śakaleṇḍu with a date 1201 A. D., and Bhaṭāra Parameśvara and Bhaṭāra Guru Śrī Adhikunti (ja)ketanā of 1204 A.D. Shortly after this Bali must have been conquered by Java. Chau Ju-kua, describing the state of things in the first part of the thirteenth century A.D., includes Bali among the fifteen vassal states of Java, though he expressly adds that Bali and Tañjungpura (South-West Borneo) were the most important among them.

The internal conflict in Java which ultimately led to the fall of Kaḍiri in 1222, and the palace intrigues and revolutions in the newly established kingdom of Singhasāri, gave a good opportunity to Bali to free itself from the yoke of Java. Of this period only one king is known to us, Parameśvara Śrī Hyang ning hyang Adilañcana, ruling in 1250 A.D. But during the reign of Kṛtanagara Java again found means to subdue the neighbouring island. A military expedition was sent to Bali

1. O.V. 1929, pp. 73-78.

in 1284 A.D., and its king was brought a prisoner before Kṛtanagara.

Kṛtanagara's success was, however, a short-lived one. In 1292 he met with a tragic end, and his kingdom was overthrown by the chief of Kaḍiri. Bali must have profited by this respite, and an indication of this is furnished by the fact that when the Chinese army returned from its expedition against Java in 1293 A.D., they brought to the emperor, among other things, a letter in golden characters from the kingdom of Bali, with rich presents.[1] As we have seen above, it was a deliberate policy of the Chinese emperor on that occasion to detach the smaller states from Java and make them transfer their allegiance to China. With this view envoys were sent to these smaller states, and there is no doubt that Bali took advantage of it to substitute a nominal allegiance to China in place of a real control exercised by Java.

For nearly half a century Bali remained an independent state. The earliest document for this period, a record of 1304 A.D., is issued by one Bhaṭāra Guru together with his grandchild Śrī Mahāguru. The latter alone issues a charter in 1324. The next charter was issued by Śrī Valajayakṛtaningrat with his mother Pāduka (Bha)ṭārā Śrī Mahāguru in 1328 A.D. This lady is evidently the same person who is referred to simply as Śrī Mahāguru in 1304 and 1324 A.D. Lastly, we find the record of Aṣṭāsuraratnabumibanten dated 1337 A.D.

With the growth of the empire of Majapahit attempt was made to re-establish the supremacy of Java over Bali. According to a tradition preserved in Pamañcangah, the struggle had begun in Jayanagara's reign. The first fruits of this struggle are to be seen in 1338 A.D., when the Regent Tribhuvanottunggadevī founded a Buddhist sanctuary in that island. But the battle was indecisive for a long time. The king of Bali strove hard to maintain his independence. At last a powerful military expedition was sent against him in 1343 A.D. According to

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, p. 27.

Nāgara-Kṛtāgama, Gajah Mada distinguished himself in this expedition. Several historical traditions refer to the details of the severely fought battle.[1] Ultimately the king of Bali was totally routed, and his kingdom was added to the growing empire of Majapahit.

Henceforth Bali formed an integral part of the empire. Two records of Bali, dated 1384 and 1386 A.D., are issued by Śrī Vijayarājasa, prince of Vengker, and the maternal uncle of the Javanese king. A third, dated 1398 A.D., refers to him as Śrī Parameśvara who died at Viṣṇubhavana. It is likely, therefore, that Vijayarājasa represented the Javanese authority in Bali as a governor or viceroy. The residence of the viceroy was fixed first at Samprangan and thereafter at Gelgel. The Majapahit conquest of Bali carried still further the process of Javanisation of that island which had already begun in the 11th century A.D. Henceforth the two islands are very closely associated both in politics and culture. This state of things is clearly reflected in Nag. Kr. Berg has shown how Bali formed a centre of Javanese literary life, which grew in importance in the same proportion in which it declined in Java itself. Bali carried on and developed the traditions of Java, first as a dependency of Majapahit, and then as an independent Javanese kingdom.

For, as we have seen above, the king of Majapahit, unable to withstand the onrush of Islam, took refuge in Bali with

1. In addition to Pamañcangah (edited by Berg, 1929) the details of the expedition are referred to in Usana Jawa (pp. 159-162) and Kidung Sunda. Cf. Berg—Mid. Jav. Trad., pp. 103-121 ; Inleidung, pp. 157-9.

According to Pamañcangah the Javanese first conquered Bedahulu, and installed there a chief named Kapakisan. But it taxed all his strength to bring the rest of the island under his control. The Usana Jawa refers to simultaneous fighting in North and South Bali, the latter under the personal supervision of Gajah Mada. According to Kidung Sunda the fall of Bali became inevitable only when the auxiliary forces from Suṇḍa and Madura conquered respectively the western and eastern forts.

his followers. His example was followed by a large number of Javanese who found in migration to Bali the only means to save their religion and culture. Bali thus received a strong influx of Javanese element, and became the last stronghold of Indo-Javanese culture and civilisation, a position which it still happily maintains. It has not only contributed to the further development of Indo-Javanese culture, but has also preserved from oblivion much of it which Java herself lost as a result of the Muhammadan domination.

The subsequent history of Bali may thus be regarded as merely a continuation of Majapahit. Indeed, the popular notion in this respect is so strong, that most of the inhabitants of Bali style themselves, with pride, as Wong Majapahit or men of Majapahit. Only a few primitive tribes, scattered in hilly regions, are called by way of contrast 'Bali aga' or indigenous people of Bali.[1]

The later history of the island may be briefly told.[2] A prince of the royal family of Majapahit made himself overlord of the island. He assumed the title Deva-agung Ketut, and restored peace and order in the country. He chose Gelgel as his capital, and there his successors ruled till the end of the seventeenth century A. D., when the town was destroyed by the people of Karangasem, and the capital was removed to Klungkung.

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1. These people live in the neighbourhood of Sangsit, in Krobokan and Sembiran, in the villages of Chempaga, Sidatopa, Padava, and Tigavasa, to the west of Buleleng, and at Tenangan in Karangasem. Their religion, though old-Polynesian in character, is strongly marked by a veneer of Hinduism.

2. For the later history of Bali, cf. Encycl. Ned. Ind. *s.v.* Bali and the nine states that arose in the eighteenth century. The literary traditions about the history of Bali, since the Javanese conquest of 1343, have been discussed by Berg (Mid. Jav. Trad., pp. 121-175.) How far these traditions can be relied upon as historical facts is very doubtful. Some kings like Batu-Renggong undoubtedly played a prominent part.

Among the kings of Gelgel, Batu-Renggong occupies a prominent place. He ruled in the third quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. In addition to the whole of Bali, he ruled over Sasak and Sambawa, and a considerable part of Balambangan. He also proved a formidable enemy of the kings of Pasuruhan and Matarām, and maintained peace in his kingdom. He was considered by later generations as the incarnation of Viṣṇu. He was a patron of letters, and it was during his reign that the great Javanese scholar Nirartha was settled in Bali, and there was a great outburst of literary activity among the Javanese settlers in that island.

The death of Batu-Renggong was followed by a period of unrest and revolutions in course of which Bali lost all her foreign possessions. Balambangan proved the bone of contention between Bali and Matarām, and in 1639 the king of Matarām invaded Bali. The invasion proved unsuccessful, and Bali retained its hold upon Balambangan until it passed into the hands of the Dutch towards the close of the eighteenth century.

From the very beginning of this period the kingdom of Bali was divided into several districts, each being placed under a governor. These governors gradually assumed an independent position, so that in the eighteenth century Bali was practically divided into nine autonomous states, *viz.*, Klungkung, Karangasem, Mengui, Badong, Bangli, Tabanan, Gianjar, Buleleng, and Jembrana.

The history of Bali during the two following centuries is merely one of interminable wars among these states. Jembrana soon ceased to be a separate state, being conquered successively by Buleleng and Badong. The remaining eight states continued their inglorious existence till the Dutch conquered them all and established their supremacy over the whole island. This conquest of Bali did not, however, prove to be an easy task. The Dutch suzerainty was first acknowledged by the Balinese in 1839, but many expeditions were necessary before the Dutch could finally curb the independent spirit of the ruling chiefs.

In 1908, the Deva-agung of Klungkung, the last heir of the Emperors of Majapahit, made a final effort to free himself from the foreign yoke. Even when his palace was besieged by the Dutch, and there was no hope of success, he refused with scorn the offer of his enemy to save his life and family by an unconditional surrender. Remembering the proud examples of his Kṣatriya forefathers, he seized the sacred sword, and boldly rushed out with his nobles, wives, and children to meet with an end worthy of his race. Klungkung fell, and the remaining warlike elements of the place were interned at Lombok. In 1911 Klungkung was formally incorporated in the Dutch empire, and with that the Hindu rule in Bali came to an end.

Chapter VI.

POLITICAL THEORY AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN JAVA.

The Javanese Law-books do not contain anything about administrative law such as we have in Chapter VII of Manu-Saṁhitā. Consequently the system of administration in Java is but little known. There are three old-Javanese prose texts on the political theory and public administration, but their value as a practical guide to this subject is difficult to determine. We may begin with a brief reference to them.

1. Kāmandaka[1]. An old-Javanese text, in which Bhagavān Kāmandaka explains to his pupils the duties of the king. The book was also known as Rājanīti. The characters from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are cited as illustrations of the political principles. Yudhiṣṭhira, for example, is held up as an ideal.

2. Indraloka[2]. In this book Bhagavān Indraloka gives lessons on politics to his pupil Kumārayajña.

3. Nitipraya[3]. This book describes the duties of a king towards his enemy. It was communicated by Viṣṇu to Vyāsa. But there is an introductory episode which runs as follows :

'King Suparkadeva of Ayodhyā was attacked by Aji Wangbang, whereupon Bhagavān Ratnabhūmi gave him the Nitipraya. In consequence of this Wangbang was defeated, and his daughter Yajñavatī was taken prisoner. Ratnabhūmi's son Rāveya went to heaven, where, through mistake, he threw a Nagasari flower at Indra, and was changed to a

1. Cat I., Vol. II, pp. 240-43.
2. Ibid., pp. 238-40.
3. Ibid., pp. 243-246.

parrot. In this shape he gave many lessons to Suparka-deva.'

The language of the book is now and then very modern. According to Raffles, this book is held in very high esteem, and constantly referred to by the Javanese. Raffles has quoted a few passages from this work, some of which are given below[1].

"A good prince must protect his subjects against all unjust persecutions and oppressions, and should be the light of his subjects, even as the Sun is the light of the world.

"It is above all the duty of a prince to take notice of every thing going on in his country and among his subjects.

"It is a disgrace to a prime-minister for any hostile attack to be made on the country entrusted to his charge without his knowledge.

"But a good prime-minister is he who is upright in his heart, moderate in his fear of the prince, faithfully obedient to all his orders, kind-hearted, not oppressive to the people, and always exerting himself to the utmost for the happiness of the people and the welfare of the country.

"And a prime-minister is good beyond measure, who knows everything that is going on in the country and takes proper measures accordingly; who always exerts himself to avert whatever is likely to be injurious; who heeds not his own life in effecting what is right; who considers neither friends, family, nor enemies, but does justice alike to all; who consults much with his brother officers with whom he ought always to advise on affairs of business.

"A prince, a prime-minister and the chief officers of the court should direct the administration of the country with such propriety that the people may attach themselves to them; they must see that the guilty are punished, that the

1. Raffles—Java, Vol. I, pp. 305-8.

innocent be not persecuted, and that all persons falsely accused be immediately released, and remunerated for the sufferings they have endured."

While these texts certainly hold up a high and noble political ideal they do not throw much light on the actual system of administration. For this we have to rely upon the data furnished by the inscriptions, and the following sketch embodies the result of a study of the available records.

The absolute power of the king formed the basis of a state. No form of government other than an absolute monarchy is ever referred to, and there was never any idea, far less an attempt, to put any check upon the unrestrained power of the king. Indeed the king was often conceived as the incarnation of God,[1] and thus the theory of divine right, which we find in a fully developed form in Manu-Saṁhitā,[2] had a complete sway in Java. This is further exemplified by the deification of kings after death. This is accomplished by making divine images on the model of the king's person, and always referring to the dead king as god (Bhaṭāra) of such and such a place, meaning thereby the place of his cremation.

The framework of administration followed the Indian model to a certain extent. The king was at the head of a state, but all large kingdoms were divided into smaller units, each under a governor appointed by the king, and the smallest unit was formed by a village which had some form of local self-government under a headman.

The king was surrounded by a large group of officials whose names occur in inscriptions, specially land-grants, as

1. King Kṛtanagara is described as a part of divinity and an incarnation of dharma (Penampihan grant, J.G.I.S., Vol. II. pp. 55 ff). King Jayanagara is referred to as an incarnation of Viṣṇu (Sidoteka Grant, J.G.I.S., Vol. II, p. 145).

2. According to Carita Parahyangan, king Niskalavastu Kañcana scrupulously followed the laws of Manu.

is the case with similar records from ancient India. But in both cases it is difficult to determine the exact nature and duties of these various officers.[1]

The leading part in the bureacracy was played by certain high officials, whose number and designation varied at different periods.

The inscriptions of Central Java refer to two classes of high officials charged respectively with religious and secular matters. In Kalasan inscription the former are called Ādeśaśastrins, also known by three Javanese designations, *viz.*, Pangkur, Tavan, and Tirip. In other inscriptions we hear of Pitāmahas, who obviously occupied similar positions.

The civil officials are designated with the title raka (rakryān), usually in the form raka i (or rake) followed by a local name.[2] The exact connection of the official with the place so named is not clear ; perhaps it denotes in most, if not in all, cases, his administrative jurisdiction.

The dignity and honour of the title clearly appears from the fact that even the king and a number of members of the royal family bore the same title at one and the same time.

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1. Readers, unacquainted with Javanese or Dutch, may consult the English translation of the following inscriptions edited by Mr. H. B. Sarkar.

(i) An old-Javanese Inscription from Ngabean of the Śaka year 801. (J.G.I.S., Vol. I, p. 38).

(ii) An old-Javanese Inscription of the Śaka year 841 (Dacca University studies, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 102 ff.).

(iii) An old-Javanese Prasaśti from Surabaya of the Śaka year 956 (I.H.Q. Vol. XI, pp. 487 ff.).

(iiii) Ten old-Javanese Copper-plates from Sidoteka of the Śaka year 1245 (J.G.I.S. Vol. II, pp 131 ff.).

(iv) The Inscription of Trawulan (Ś 1280) (I.C., Vol. II. pp. 523 ff). Reference will be made to these in the following pages.

2. Stutterheim held that the term 'rake' is derived from raka+i, but Poerbatjaraka thinks that rake is derived from rakai, and the latter from rakryān (T. B. G., 1933, pp. 162-6).

In Java it has always been the practice to entrust members of the royal family, specially the heir-apparent, with high and important civil functions.

The relation of the king to the place-name following his rake title is difficult to define. Certain it is that the same place-name is not added to any other rake-title during the life-time of the king, though after his death it again forms part of the rake-title of an ordinary official. In the case of Airlangga we are definitely told that as he was formally consecrated at Halu he got the title rake Halu, and this may serve as an explanation of the raka-title of many kings of an earlier date also.

The records of Eastern Java refer to a large number of officials. The names are mostly Javanese, but we have, besides Mantrī, also two other Indian designations, Senāpati (commander-in-chief) and Senāpati Sarva-Jala *i.e.* admiral. These records also introduce a stereotyped form of government which continued, with slight changes and occasional modifications, throughout the Hindu period. Next to the king were three great Mantrīs, called Mantrī Hino, Mantrī Sirikan, and Mantrī Halu ; and after them three chief executive officers, Rakryan Mapatih, Rakryan Demung, and Rakryan Kanuruhan. Sometimes the titles of these two groups were combined in one person, as for example in Rakryan Mapatih Hino, Mahāmantrī Śrī Ketudhara. Later on, however, the two groups became distinct, and the former gradually became ornamental figures, while the chief powers passed to the three Rakryans. During the Majapahit period two more were added, *viz.*, Rakryan Rangga and Rakryan Tumenggung, thus increasing the total number of chief executive officers to five, known as 'Pañcari Vilvatikta' (the five of Majapahit). But the record of Kṛtarājasa, dated 1294 A.D., refers to seven chief executive officers with Rakryan Mantrī as the highest among them. The successive titles of Gajah Mada as Patih of Kahuripan, Daha, and Majapahit indicate a new class of functionary of high dignity and great power. Indeed the

position of Gajah Mada as the chief minister of the empire almost overshadowed the authority of the king. But the danger was averted by the abolition of the post after his death. A new experiment was then tried, *viz.*, the formation of an inner cabinet consisting of the members of the royal family (see p. 337 above), which kept the chief direction of affairs in their own hands.

Besides these high executive officials there were two other classes of important functionaries, *viz.*, Dharmādhikaraṇas and Dharmādhyakṣas.

The Dharmādhikaraṇas, as in India, denoted judicial officers. The Sidoteka copper-plate grant of the Śaka year 1245 explains the term as "the distinguisher between righteous and evil processes," and the Travulan inscription calls them 'dharmapravaktā' and 'vyavahāravicchedaka,' *i.e.* propounders of law and judges. The inscriptions refer to the following seven classes of them :

1.	Pamget (or Samget) i Tirvan	
2.	Do	Kaṇḍamuhi
3.	Do	Manghuri
4.	Do	Pamvatan
5.	Do	Jāmbi
6.	Do	Kaṇḍangan atuha
7.	Do	Kaṇḍangan rare

Dr. F. H. Van Naerssen[1] concluded, after a careful study of all relevant documents, that these seven officials formed the Sapt-opapatti of Nāgara-Kṛtāgama, the first five being Śaivite, and the last two, Buddhist. As regards the hierarchy of these officials, so far as we can judge from their respective position in the list, he observes as follows : 'The Pamget i Tirvan always heads the list. The two Pamgets, Pamvatan and Jāmbi, always come under the other two, Kaṇḍamuhi and Manghuri, though within each group the position of the two officers is sometimes

1. B. K. I., Vol. 90, pp. 239 ff.

interchanged. The two Buddhist Upapattis (Nos. 6 and 7) stood apart from the others.'

According to the Travulan inscription, the holder of each of these posts had the title *ācārya* and was versed in a special branch of knowledge, such as logic, grammar, or Sāṁkhya philosophy; while all of them were 'proficient in Kūṭāramānava (*i.e.* the law-book) and other sacred writings with the aim of deepening their knowledge regarding the justice or otherwise of both the litigant parties.'

The two Dharmādhyakṣas were the Superintendent of the Śaiva institutions and the Superintendent of the Buddhist institutions. According to the Travulan inscription they were charged with the work of supervision for the protection of the great Brāhmaṇas and the learned. In the Pūrvādhigama they are also said to have exercised judicial functions, very much in the same way as the seven Upapattis, and are named before them. Dr. Naerssen concludes from this that these two classes had to perform judicial duties of a similar nature, though each had other additional functions. He also holds that Dharmādhyakṣas were probably higher in rank than the Dharmādhikaraṇas or seven Upapattis.

On the whole, we must conclude that there was a highly organised and efficient system of bureaucratic administration in Java under an absolute monarch. The following extract from the History of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A. D.) gives a general picture of the form of government, as it struck a foreign observer: "Three sons of the king are viceroys and there are four functionaries, called Lo-ki-lien (Rakryan), who manage together the affairs of the state, just as the ministers in China; these have no fixed pay, but they get from time to time products of the soil and other things of this kind. Next there are more than three hundred civil employees, who are considered equal to siu-tsai (graduates of the lowest degree) in China; they keep the books in which the revenue is put down. They have also about a thousand functionaries of lower rank, who attend to the walls and the moat of the town, the

treasury, the granaries and to the soldiers. The general of the army gets every half year ten taels (Chinese ounces) of gold (between six and seven hundred guilders); there are thirty thousand soldiers who, every half year, are paid according to their rank[1]."

According to Nāgara-Kṛtāgama, the relations of the king took a prominent part in the administration. The country was regularly surveyed, and the titles of lands correctly determined with reference to documents. Proper care was taken of the temples, roads, and waterways, and there was proper arrangement for regular inspection.

Finally, a word may be said regarding the administration of the empire. It appears that nowhere except in Bali was there any idea of direct administration from the capital city of Java. The dependent states were left free in respect of their own internal administration so long as they acknowledged the suzerainty of Majapahit and paid their taxes and other dues. The Bhujanggas and Mantrīs from Majapahit visited these states to collect these dues, and the former possibly took advantage of this opportunity to make a supervision of religious endowments.

1. Groeneveldt—Notes, pp. 16-17.

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