



Concise Ancient History of Indonesia

BY

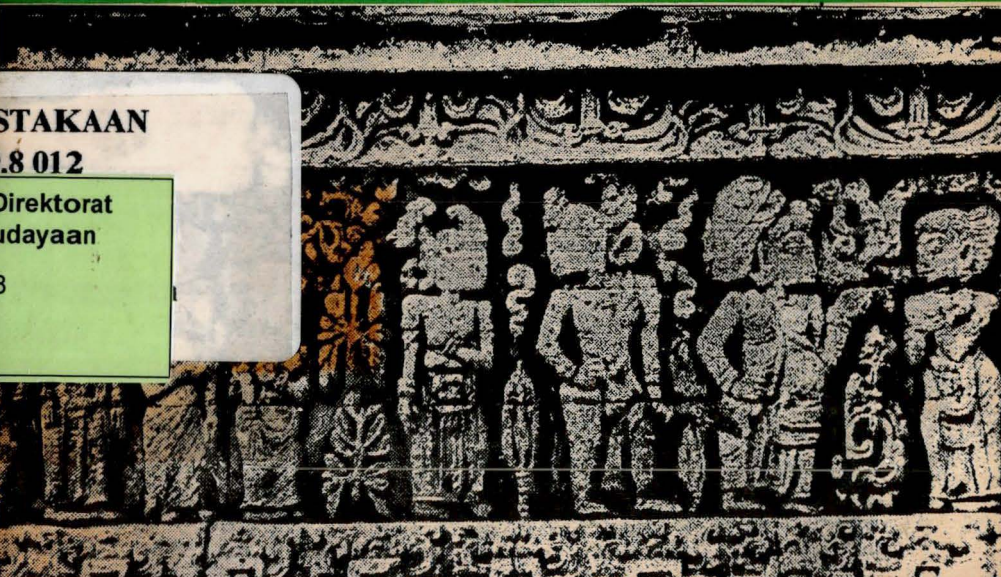
SATYAWATI SULEIMAN

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**CONCISE
ANCIENT HISTORY
OF
INDONESIA**

BY

SATYAWATI SULEIMAN

**PUSAT PENELITIAN PURBAKALA
DAN PENINGGALAN NASIONAL**

Published by
The Archaeological Foundation
for
The National Research Centre
of Archaeology
1979

Printed by
SANDANG MAS

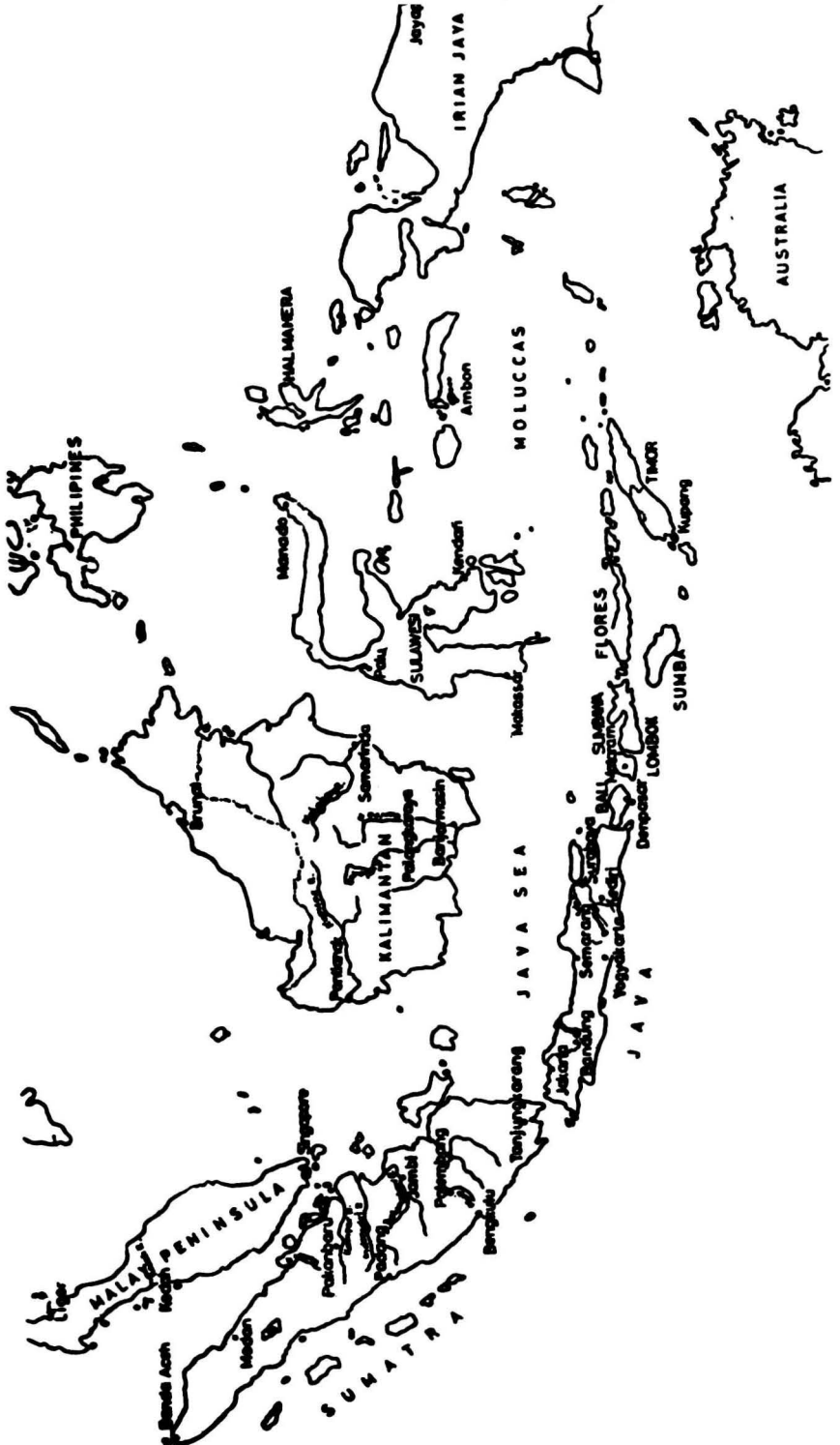
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PERPUSTAKAAN DIREKTORAT JENDERAL BUDAYA DAN KEMAHENDIKAN
Nomor Induk : 72/1976
Tanggal :

913-598
S4L
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(2)

no. 4 : 72/76
L-R, 528
Reg. 02



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P R E F A C E

This book is intended to serve as a framework for the ancient history of Indonesia in a concise form. Published for the first time more than a decade ago as a booklet in a modest cyclostyled shape by the Cultural Department of the Indonesian Embassy in India, it has been revised several times in Jakarta in the same form to keep up to date with new discoveries and current theories. Since it seemed to have filled a need felt by foreigners as well as Indonesians to obtain an elementary knowledge of Indonesia's past, it has been thought wise to publish it now in a printed form with the aim to reach a larger public than before.

The reader will find an outline of the ancient history of Indonesia without any detailed discussion of historical events, people and places. This has been done in order to avoid showing controversial views which might seem confusing. For example the location of Indonesian towns mentioned in Chinese spelling has always been a matter of dispute, for example Che- li- fo- che, San- fo- ts'i (for Srivijaya), Che- P'o (Java) etc.

Though Palembang has been doubted by several scholars to be the site of the ancient seventh century Srivijaya, the view of Coedès, de Casparis and Wolters has been followed, for the reason that most of the seventh century inscriptions have indeed been found in the same area.

For other matters the theories suggested by Krom, Bosch, Stutterheim and Damais have been followed. The reader may find more detailed information on the ancient history of Indonesia in the books and articles mentioned in the bibliography.

I

THE PREHISTORY OF INDONESIA

EARLY MAN

About 1.500.000 years ago Indonesia was already populated by one of the earliest types of man namely by the **PITHECANTHROPUS ERECTUS**. This being has been considered to be in a physical stage between that of a simian and of a man as regards his brain volume and was already walking erect. For this reason he was called: The erect-walking ape-man.

Other kinds of early human beings, perhaps already living before *Pithecanthropus Erectus*, were **MEGANTHROPUS PALAEO JAVANICUS** and the **PITHECANTHROPUS MOJOKERTENSIS**. *Meganthropus Palaeo Javanicus* may be classified in the group of *Australopithecines* which lived mainly in Africa, representing the most primitive kind of man in the world.

Further development in the line of human evolution is also found in Java, of which the *Pithecanthropus* kinds above is one example. More highly developed than the *Pithecanthropus Erectus* was the **PITHECANTHROPUS SOLOENSIS** whose remains have been found in the Solo river valley, like those of the *Pithecanthropus Erectus*. As regards his physical structure the *Pithecanthropus Soloensis* can be compared with the *Homo Neanderthalensis* in Europe.

WAJAKMAN was further on the way of human evolution. He began to resemble *Homo Sapiens*, though he had a bigger brain volume and a thicker skull.

Obviously, he migrated to Australia, for a skull very similar to *Wajakman* was found there in a place by the name of Keilor.

THE FOODGATHERING STAGE OR PALAEO-LITHIC

The question as to whether *Pithecanthropus Erectus* could speak which would have made him a culture-bearer and cultural transmitter has often been a subject of learned dispute. Besides the fact that his bodily remains have never been found together with the earliest stone implements, the so-called palaeoliths, have made many a scholar doubt the presence of a cultural background. However, as these remains belonged to the same layer as that of the oldest palaeoliths of Java, the *Pithecanthropus* must have been the maker of these tools. Besides, his distant relative in China, the "*Homo Pekinensis*" has been regarded as the producer of stone implements found in the same Chou Kou Tien Caves near Peking where the physical remains of the *Pekinensis* have been found. Moreover, the *Pekinensis*, who turns out to have been a cannibal, as he ate his own kind, roasted his victims first before eating them. Thus he knew already the use of fire which is an important culture element, separating apes from human beings, as apes never prepare their food. As the *Pithecanthropus* and the *Pekinensis* were on the same stage of human evolution, *Pithecanthropus* must have been a culture bearer too.

The earliest types of human being as well as the earliest *Homo Sapiens* lived in a period which is usually called the Foodgathering Stage or Palaeolithic. Their implements were stones, the most important among them being the choppers held in the fist to cut wood or meat with. These choppers were slightly worked but never polished. This complex of chopper culture comprises parts of Indonesia (Pacitan, Java, Sumatra, Flores, Kalimantan, Bali) and areas of East Asia. Beside choppers there were also scrapers, knives, etc. Soloensis and Wajakman lived in a later period. The Solo man already made use of flakes (small tools) of stone and bone implements. In the tropics, where there was a lot of bamboo, these types of early man must have made extensive use of this light material.

Man had not yet a permanent abode during the Palaeolithic. We may imagine small aggregates of families who led a life of wandering, though their wanderings were not aimless, as they

were restricted to their own territories. Ethnological investigations of the wandering tribes of our age have shown how these people set up temporary huts, always moving within one territory, which they consider as their own, while trespassing its borders would make them clash with other wandering tribes or families.

Those wandering tribes of the Palaeolithic lived of hunting and on wild vegetables collected by the women. In a tropical nature such as one finds in Indonesia, their staple food must have consisted of edible roots and fruits which were growing in abundance. As these are seasonal, we may imagine the early Indonesians moving from area to area according to those seasons.

THE DEVELOPED STAGE OF FOODGATHERING OR EPI-PALAEOLITHIC

Attempts to settle down more permanently were made during the Epi-Palaeolithic, in particular in areas where man could expect inexhaustible sources of food, such as on seashores and the banks of lakes.

In one area on the east coast of Northern Sumatra, tribes lived along the beach. The people lived off shellmeat which they sucked out of their cases. Those cases were thrown away through the interstices of the floor into the water below. In the course of time this "kitchen refuse" grew into a shellheap. After the same phenomenon in Denmark, these heaps are called "kjökkenmøddinge" which means, literally, "kitchen refuse".

It turned out that among these shells were also the remains of men of "Austra-Melanesoid" race. As their bones have been crushed, obviously to extract the marrow, it appears that the early inhabitants of these beachhouses were cannibals eating their own kind. In addition, they lived of the meat of tapirs, elephants, deer and rhinoceros obtained by the hunting males. The women picked plants and leaves on the beaches, as well as fruits among which were bananas.

The implement used was the so-called "Sumatra-adze" which had been trimmed on one side to obtain a sharp edge, while the other side had already been smoothed by nature. Besides this

they used also a "short adze" (*hache courte*), similar to those found in Hoabinh in present Vietnam. Obviously, this was a centre of culture from which this kind of adze spread to other places in South East Asia.

Remains of human settlements including flake-blade tools and instruments of bone and shell were also found in caves in East Java, in Sulawesi, Bali, Flores, and Timor. On sites round the ancient lake of Bandung in West Java flakeblade implements were made of obsidian, while in other islands hooks, points and small knives were made of chalcedony, jasper, and silicified limestone.

Rock paintings are an important trait of the cave culture. Some of these paintings have been found on cawalls in the interior of South Sulawesi. One drawing in red of a leaping boar decorates a small wall, while a number of hand stencils were discovered on other cave walls. Rock paintings were also found in parts of eastern Indonesia (Kei island and Irian Jaya).

THE FOODPRODUCING STAGE OR NEOLITHIC

Man settled down and domesticated plants and animals. The first agriculturalist in Indonesia must have grown keladi (*Caladium Escalantum*) before the introduction of rice. This edible root is widespread all over Indonesia as well as over Polynesia and Micronesia, usually called by the name of "taro" or "tales" or other slight variations in spelling. Other early fruits and vegetables are bananas, cucumbers, yams, breadfruits, coconuts, and sugarcane, plants owned by all the people of Indonesia and Polynesia.

The animals they domesticated were the dog, goat, buffalo, chicken, and pig. Most of these animals were only ritually eaten after the community had sacrificed them. To supplement their diet of vegetables and roots, the men of the tribe had to go out hunting for wild game, the meat of which was equally distributed among the families.

Chickens were kept for the art of augury, as their entrails examined by a priest or shaman could tell whether a certain date was auspicious enough for a big undertaking like a head-hunting expedition or a marriage.

The Indonesians who lived during the Neolithic Stage were not only agriculturalists but also seafarers like their Polynesian cousins, who quite probably spread from the same point of origin, an area around Tonkin. Prof. H. Kern, an eminent linguist, discovered as early as 1889 that the Indonesian and Polynesian languages, which he called the "Malayo-Polynesian" languages, had many words in common with a little difference in spelling. These common words were, for example, the terms for sail, boat, oar, paddy, coconut, sugarcane, batata, banana, rattan etc. and words for certain animals and fishes. All these words pointed to a centre of origin lying between the tropics and near the sea. Kern thought of Tonkin, however admitting that the ancestors of these seafaring people must have come from the interior of the Asiatic Mainland.

Indeed, the outrigger boat is found among all seafaring Indonesian and Polynesian peoples. This boat is also found in Madagascar off the east coast of Africa, for Indonesians sailed there as early as the Neolithic Period. The language of Madagascar, called: "Malagasi" belongs indeed to the Indonesian family of languages. These early sailors must have had a knowledge of astronomy for they had to rely on the stars to find their way over the vast stretches of sea.

During the Neolithic the specialization of labour resulted in the emergence of craftsmen like the carpenter, wood worker, and the makers of stone implements.

Indonesia has known two kinds of Neolithic implements, namely the quadrangular adze of the western part of the Archipelago and the round axe of the Eastern part. Both adzes came to their areas in Indonesia along different ways. The quadrangular adze obviously came from Yunan in South China and migrated to Upper Laos before spreading over the Archipelago. The round axe came obviously from Japan to Taiwan, the Philippines, North Sulawesi, the Moluccas, Irian Jaya and the Melanesian islands. Von Heine Geldern suggested that the carriers of the quadrangular adze were the same people who spoke the Malayo-Polynesian languages.

In some places of Java and South Sumatra several workshops were found in which quadrangular adzes were produced. The craftsmen made, however, only crude, unpolished adzes. From there they were carried along far distances to their consumers who polished

the adzes themselves. Specialization had progressed in such a way that in some workshops only adzes were made and in other places only arrowheads.

Some of these quadrangular adzes were made of precious stone and were, therefore, never intended for daily use. So they were most probably used for ceremonial purposes and thought to have supernatural powers, carried in the royal suites. They were perhaps the predecessors of the sacred peaks and crises till recently carried in the suite of Indonesian kings.

By the end of the Neolithic, "megaliths" (monuments built of big stones) had come into existence, places of worship or tombs, as for example menhirs, stepped pyramids, meeting places and spirit seats of stone. Ancestor statues also became subjects of worship.

A few neolithic crafts should not be forgotten : namely, pottery, which was hand made with the help of a wooden paddle and a stone anvil tapper, and the making of clothes from fibres or tree-bark. Both crafts were done by women as it was the case with, for instance, the Torajas of Central Sulawesi who practised these crafts until recently.

THE STAGE OF CRAFTSMANSHIP OR THE EARLY METAL STAGE

During the Neolithic the first Indonesians of Mongoloid stock had spread over the thousands of islands of Indonesia often mingling with previous inhabitants. As we have seen above, Austro-Melanesoids were dominant in some places of the Archipelago during the Epi-Palaeolithic. Obviously, these older races were either absorbed or pushed back by the Mongoloids, for though individuals sometimes show traces of these races, Weddoids and Negritoes are never found as groups in Indonesia. We find them as such in Malaysia and the Philippines.

The diffusion of Mongoloids, hailing from the mainland of Asia, continued through the Early Metal Stage. The earlier Mongol-

oid tribes were now pushed back into the interior of the bigger islands where they isolated themselves from the newcomers. The Dayaks of Kalimantan, the Bataks of Sumatra and the Torajas of Sulawesi are the most important of these inland tribes.

The people of the Early Metal Stage made clothing of the bark of the Paper Mulberry tree; they had iron smiths, wood carvers, potters, and worshipped the wooden and stone images of their ancestors.

The tribes who populated the coastal regions must have been seafarers and had, therefore more contacts with other islands than the inland peoples. There was even constant trade with the Asiatic mainland. This is proven by the diffusion of bronze kettledrums and decorative designs all over Indonesia. As the oldest kettledrums and bronzes have been found in Dongson in Vietnam, this culture is usually called the "Dongson Culture".

The kettledrums which were brought to Southeast Asia belonged to a series of four types called: Heger I, II, III and IV, after Heger who made some research on these drums. The Indonesian kettledrum is of type Heger I, being the biggest of the four types. It is also the most interesting type of the four, as this kind of drum is often decorated with figures of men, houses, barges and animals.

The decorations on the bronze objects found in Indonesia travelled far, for they originated in Eastern Europe, travelled through Siberia and China and arrived in Vietnam from where they further spread to Indonesia.

Aside from the decorative motifs, the so-called "socketed celt", used and locally made in Indonesia, was a later development of the European celt. These socketed celts did not appear in Asia Minor or in India. Thus, they must have followed the same route as the decorative motifs, to mention a few, the double spiral, geometric designs, ladder motifs, etc. Bronze socketed celts were found in Sumatra, Java, Bali, Sulawesi, Selayar, Buton, Banda, Flores and even on Irian Jaya's northeast coast. The socketed celt developed in such a way that some grew oversized and dainty making them unfit for daily use. They must have been ceremonial celts, similar to the adzes of precious stone of the Neolithic.

The decorations on the kettledrums are very interesting for they show houses, men, barges and animals. The houses are on

stilts and with their saddle-shaped roofs, remind us of similar houses in Sumatra today. The barges are manned by men wearing feather headdresses. As the same drawings appear on wooden planches used by certain Dayak tribes when they have a ceremony for their dead relatives it is thought that the kettledrum drawings portray similar ceremonies.

As during the Neolithic Period, the people worshipped their ancestors, spirits and gods, building for them stone tables, chairs and terraced pyramids. They buried their dead in stone cists and sometimes in large earthenware urns. Their chiefs erected "menhirs" when they celebrated "feasts of merit", lavishly distributing food among their people, sacrificing buffaloes which were ritually eaten by the whole community.

We should draw the attention of the reader to the sculptures of the Pasemah region in South Sumatra. These sculptures present pictures of men struggling with animals, men carrying kettledrums, and many other scenes in very dynamic poses, the style reminding us of a sculpture made during the Han Dynasty in China, dating from circa 150 A.D. In the same region two paintings on the walls of a rockgrave were discovered which resemble modern abstract work.

Thus, the people of the Early Metal Age already knew the art of bronze casting, for, as we have said, socketed celts and kettledrums were locally made. In Bali, the huge Moon of Pejeng, an oversized kettledrum in the shape of a hour-glass, must also have been locally cast, for a mould of a much smaller drum of the same shape and with the same decorations was found in Central Bali. In Central Sumatra, some figurines of dancers found in a well were also made in that era.

On the other hand two large bronze vessels found in Kerinci (Southwest Sumatra) and Madura Island show affinity to one such vessel found in Phnom Penh (Cambodia).

Besides bronze casting, the people also knew how to build monuments of stone, to sculpt and paint. We should not forget their skill in shipbuilding and housebuilding as well as their excellence in woodcarving. Craftsmen were looked after by the community who considered them as to be endowed with supernatural powers like the chiefs, shamans and priests. The dead were worshipped in

their statues, while on special occasions their souls were called to the earth by these shamans and priests, who invited them to enter their statues.

There were autonomous villages with village elders to discuss important problems of the community, and there were tribal chiefs. Some areas must have had patrilineal or matrilineal clans. In prosperous societies a noble class developed, owning the rice fields and the buffaloes. The coastal chiefs grew rich by their possession of seaworthy vessels and their power over harbours to which foreign vessels came for trade in Indonesian camphor, spices, tortoise shell, rhinoceros horn, certain woods, gold, and silver. This must have been the situation at the beginning of the Christian Era when Indonesia came under the impact of foreign religions.

II

THE FIRST CONTACTS WITH HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

During the Early Metal Stage foreign ships were already sailing through Indonesian straits, as was proven by the diffusion of kettle-drums, and we should add to this Han ceramics. At the beginning of the Christian Era, however, there was a real revolution in the field of navigation. Bigger seaworthy ships were constructed in the Persian Gulf and in the Sea of China. Consequently more foreign ships visited the Indonesian seaports.

The coastal Indonesian chieftains were certainly not the last to participate in the international trade. Like their Polynesian cousins they had always been interested in the building and improvement of ships. As sailors look down on agriculture, they must have concentrated on business, making their ports staples for Indonesian and foreign goods.

Not only trade but also religion would benefit from the new developments in sea trade. Along these trade routes religion would be spread far over the sea. We must here first think of Buddhism, its missionaries being zealous monks who braved many perils on their way to far lands. Indeed, the Chinese annals mention several times the arrival of Buddhist missionaries in China, many of them touching Indonesian seaports on their way. In these intermediate ports they also spread the Buddhist Dharma among the population. It is, therefore, not surprising that the first traces of Indian culture in Indonesia are Buddhist sculptures, the oldest being a Buddha Dipangkara of the Amarawati school found on a Neolithic site in North Sulawesi. The statue which was made of bronze could have brought there by a commercial ship, which had Buddhist missiona-

ries on board. The Sulawesi sculpture is similar to one found in Jember, Java, and to one from Dong Duon in Vietnam.

The coastal chieftains came thus in contact with the first missionaries who came with the Indian traders. It has often been wrongly supposed that Indian culture was brought to Indonesia by these traders who married the daughters of chiefs while their half breed children were the bearers of a half-breed "Hindu Indonesian" culture.

It could never have been as easy as that. In Indonesian ports all foreigners, including those from other islands, lived in their own settlements (colonies) and seldom intermarried, much less married the daughters of coastal chiefs. For there was socially a great distance between the milieu of a trader and that of a chief supposed to be endowed with supernatural powers.

We would rather think of Buddhist missionaries who could have aroused the population's first interest in Indian cultural goods. For they came with their Jataka stories and the stories of the life of Buddha. They hummed their prayers and showed their books which the people had never seen before. It was particularly the script which must have drawn the attention of the Indonesians, who during the Early Metal Age had already been materially rich and were culturally highly developed, lacking only a script to express themselves and communicate with. As soon as they had learned to read and write, they would have shown more interest in Indian culture and religion.

These contacts with foreign traders took place not only in Indonesian seaports but also on the Asiatic mainland where Indonesian ships owned by coastal chiefs sailed for trade. As Indonesians had even been able to sail as far as Madagascar, it would certainly not be surprising if they sailed also to the Bay of Bengal.

These intensive contacts must have brought about changes from the old Indonesian religions to Buddhism and Hinduism. It is usually said that the pre-Hindu Indonesians were mere "animists" who believed in souls dwelling in every tree or stone or any other visible object. Indonesians must have believed in ghosts too but this did not exclude their believing in gods also. Ethnological investigations have shown that the inland tribes of Indonesia had always had a complete system of gods. There was always a Creator, a rather vague figure in their mythology, but he was never worship-

ped. Other more dynamic gods fulfilled the daily needs of the people; for instance, they took care of the fertility of the soil and the prosperity of the tribe. Many of them were culture heroes who brought fire or foodplants to the earth. Others were divine tricksters who brought death or disease.

Mediators between gods and men were their priests and shamans and let us not forget their chiefs who were all still considered powerful, even after their death. Statues of these scared men, particularly of the chiefs, were made for worship.

The process of "Hinduisation" (but not Indianisation) must have been like this: the people must have regarded the Buddhist monks or Hindu priests with their prayers, chants, and ceremonies identical to their existing institute of priests, shamans, and medicine men. Moreover, their possession of books and their ability to write must have made them superior to their own sacred men in the eyes of the population. The Buddhist monks and Hindu priests must soon have found a great number of followers who wished to learn a new secret cult from them or a new doctrine, as is the case in modern Indonesia where spiritual leaders can still easily form a movement.

The next step was the chief's invitation to the Indian monk or priest to reside at the Court to become the court priest. Soon all the nobles were following the new religions.

There is, however, a difference between Buddhism and Hinduism. Buddhism is international, so one can be converted to Buddhism. As Hinduism is an Indian religion meant for Indians, the priests were not converting people. Besides, Brahmins were not allowed to cross the sea. Therefore, the priests who accompanied the traders to give them religious assistance as well as to act as scribes must have belonged to non-orthodox sects. The Indian traders wishing to win the hearts of the coastal chiefs and kings must have been glad to see their own Brahmins enter the King's household as trusted advisers and Court priests. The presence of these Indian priests at the Indonesian Court must have surely facilitated overseas trade.

As we have said, these Indian priests and monks brought Indian culture in the shape of lore, literature, and inscriptions in Sanskrit, being mostly written in the South Indian Pallawa script. But, Indonesian society was not "Indianised", which would mean that the

people started talking Indian languages, built Indian styled houses and ships, ate Indian food, and followed Indian laws. For proof is plenty, in reliefs as well as in inscriptions that the houses, ships, and other material objects were Indonesian, and that they spoke their own languages and followed their own ancient customary law according to which the woman had a high status.

Further, the Indonesian kings built temples in honour of their deceased fathers and ancestors. Inside the main cellas of those temples portrait statues of the dead were erected as Hindu gods or as Buddhas, standing above a pit in which there was a stone case with nine compartments. Thus, dead kings became the centre of worship in the state represented by their sculpture, in the same way that the dead chiefs in prehistoric times remained the sources of supernatural powers, being worshipped by the tribe as ancestor statues. In this way the Indonesian kings continued Indonesian customs in a new shape and with new prayers.

Briefly, the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism should be regarded not as a one-way traffic but rather as a two-way traffic, considering the dynamic role Indonesians have played since prehistoric times as bold navigators. Moreover, the new cultural traits coming from India were adopted not passively but selectively. For example, Indian words which became integrated into Indonesian languages were from Sanskrit. Sanskrit was used only for inscriptions, poetry, and technical purposes, whereas Prakrit was the term for the language used by sailors and traders. Another example is that Indonesian temples and sculptures often show several styles from different periods in India combined into one harmonious whole.

In Indonesia huge stone monuments as well as sculptures had been made since Neolithic times, besides which there already were sculptures. Now, with the advent of Hinduism and Buddhism, artists and craftsmen suddenly had new inspirations, which stimulated them to create temples and sculptures of surprising beauty.



THE FIRST INSCRIPTIONS

KALIMANTAN

The oldest inscriptions issued by a ruler were found in Kalimantan in an area which is now known as Kutei. We do not know however, what the name of the Kingdom was, for in these seven "yupa" inscriptions, it was never mentioned. The ruler's name was *Mulawarman*, son of Aswawarman, the founder of the dynasty. Both bore Indian names, Mulawarman's grandfather, however, bore the Indonesian name of Kundung (ga). Obviously, the grandfather was an Indonesian tribal chief, who followed his ancient Indonesian religion. Aswawarman had himself consecrated as a Hindu sovereign by Hindu priests, thereby receiving an Indian consecration name. Indeed in one of the inscriptions priests are mentioned, of whom it is said, "who have come hither".

Mulawarman erected his yupas (sacrificial stones) on the occasion of major sacrifices while presenting buffaloes, sesameseeds, lamps, gold, and other objects to the priests.

The inscriptions were written in the South Indian Pallawa script of the fifth century, while the language was Sanskrit.

JAVA

The second ruler in Indonesia whose inscriptions were of the fifth century was Purnawarman, king of Tarumanagara in West Java. Like Mulawarman, he was a Hindu, issuing his inscriptions in Sanskrit and writing them in the Pallawa script. His deeds were a victory over his enemies and the construction of a canal by the name of Gomati during the 22nd year of his rule.

His inscriptions were found in Jakarta and Banten, as well as in Bogor.

A river in West Java by the name of Ci Tarum reminds us of the old kingdom.

One early inscription on a rock wall on the slope of the Merbabu mountain in Central Java mentions a river flowing like the Ganges. Obviously, a Hindu ascetic had lived there in seclusion since the attributes of gods and priests were depicted on the wall. The shape of the Pallawa script points to the fifth century.

The island of Java has been mentioned since the beginning of the Christian Era by Greek authors from Alexandria and in the Ramayana, its name being respectively spelled as Yabadiou and Yawadwipa. The pilgrim Fa-Hien happened to disembark in Ye-po-ti when he was on his way to China after a pilgrimage to India in the 5th century. He recorded that there were many Brahmins and heretics in Ye-po-ti, but the Buddhist Dharma was not worth mentioning.

The Chinese have mentioned a kingdom by the name of Che-P'o since the fifth century. Many scholars agree that the island of Java was meant, a few however, hold that it was Malaysia or at least a part of it, for it was said that Che-P'o included also Ho-lo-tan which they regard as the Chinese spelling of Kelantan on the Malay Peninsula.

Ho-ling was usually interpreted as Kaling or Kalingga. Damais, however, showed that Ho-ling could only stand for Walaing which he located in Java. Missions from Ho-ling arrived in China in the 7th century. The people of Ho-ling elected a Queen Si-mo between 674 - 675.

IV

SUMATRA — THE RISE OF SRIVIJAYA

Ptolomeos, the Greek author from Alexandria, mentioned Barousai in addition to Yabadiou. This is the Greek spelling of Baros, a port on the west coast of North Sumatra from which camphor was exported from the beginning of the Christian Era.

Wolters points out in his book on Srivijaya that resins were the main commodities from Indonesia which were much in demand in West Asia and China. He is of the opinion that the goods of the so-called "Po-ssu" trade (Persian trade) were transported to China by ships from Indonesia, particularly from Sumatra. The first embassies to come to China from Indonesia began in the 6th century, from Malayu, Kendari and Tulang Bawang which could be located in Sumatra.

In the second half of the 7th century a maritime power emerged in South Sumatra, which put all the other kingdoms, in particular Malayu, in the shade. Its name was Srivijaya, spelled by the Chinese as Che-li-fo-che before the ninth century and afterwards as San-fo-ts'i.

By conquering such important seaways as the Strait of Malaka and the Sunda Strait, Srivijaya was able to control the international trade routes. The port of Srivijaya became a meeting place for ships from the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the China Sea, as well as for ships coming from the other islands of the Indonesian Archipelago.

Perfumes, silks, chinaware, mirrors and jewellery came from countries outside Indonesia, while Indonesian products consisted of rhinoceros horn, woods, camphor and resins. In the harbour of Srivijaya there existed a busy market where these goods were sold or bartered.

The city of Srivijaya was however, famous not only as a naval base and business centre, but also as a centre for Buddhist studies. The Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing, described Srivijaya as a walled city in which more than a thousand Buddhist monks lived researching the sacred texts of Buddhism while their way of life and discipline was exactly like that of the monks in Madhyadesa (India). I-tsing, who stayed for years in Srivijaya to do research and to write a couple of books, recommended a stay in this city for Chinese pilgrims on their way to India, to learn the matters of discipline and Sanskrit before proceeding to the Gulf of Bengal.

Most of the edicts of the rulers of Srivijaya were in the old Malay language and written in Pallawa, a South Indian script, while only a very few were written in Sanskrit. Their religion was Mahayana Buddhism, while an inscription of 684 A.D. shows a terminology pointing even to Tantrism.

Not satisfied with the area around the present city of Palembang, Srivijaya even expanded its power to Malayu in Jambi and across the sea to the island of Bangka. In a Bangka inscription of 686 A.D. in which possible rebels are cursed it is stated that the edict was written at the moment that the army of Srivijaya left on an expedition to Java, disobedient to Srivijaya.

We read in older history books that Srivijaya conquered also the Malay Peninsula and Java while the rulers belonged to the Shailendra dynasty. Recent investigations have, however, shown that the political situation in the Indonesian Archipelago was much more complicated than it seems at first sight. We have seen above, how in 686 A.D. Srivijaya had sent an expedition to Java, which did not include Central and East Java, for it was perhaps only Tarumanagara in West Java which was attacked. The Chinese indeed, recorded, a few centuries later that Sunda (West Java) was in the power of Srivijaya, but the other parts of Java have never been mentioned as being under the rule of Srivijaya. The conception that the Shailendras ruled both Srivijaya and Java together has been caused by interpretations of the "Inscription of Ligor".

Ligor is now Nakon Sithamarath in Thailand. In 775 A.D. it belonged to the territory of the King of Srivijaya who that year ordered the building of Buddhist edifices, according to an inscription in Sanskrit on one side of the stone. No mention is, however, made

of the dynasty to which he belonged. On the backside of the same stone slab was another inscription mentioning King Wishnu of the Shailendra dynasty. Many scholars concluded that this Shailendra king was also the King of Srivijaya. Since in the same period inscriptions issued by Shailendras began to appear in Java, they even concluded that the Shailendra King of Srivijaya was also ruling Java.

There are however other scholars who tend to the view that, the two inscriptions were issued by two different kings to wit the ruler of Srivijaya and the Shailendra king. The latter issued his unfinished inscription on the occasion of a marriage between a member of the dynasty of Srivijaya and a Shailendra, who moreover hailed from Funan in Cambodia. De Casparis, a Dutch scholar, has proposed this theory of the marriage, while Coedès suggested that the Shailendras came to Java from Cambodia. A recently discovered inscription however, which was read by Buchari, showed they hailed from Java. We would like to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that the Shailendras of Java wrote their inscriptions always in Sanskrit and the Nagari script, whereas the 7th century rulers of Srivijaya issued their inscriptions in Old Malay and in Pallawa script. This strengthens our belief that there were, indeed, two different dynasties who either closed a marriage alliance in 775 A.D.; or who worked together in the construction of a Buddhist building, just as did later on the Pala-king and Balaputra.

V

SANJAYAS AND SHAIENDRAS

In Central Java, a ruler by the name of Sanjaya erected a lingga in 732 A.D. It is thought that Sanjaya erected this lingga as a symbol of his kingship. It is said in the inscription that he was the son of Sannaha, a queen who was the sister of Sanjaya's predecessor, Sanna. He could have erected the lingga for the kingship which he thus inherited through his mother's line. This tendency of inheriting a throne through a wife or mother seems to have been very prominent in ancient Java, for after Sanjaya many kings seem to have been succeeded by their daughters, sons-in-law or nephews, rather than by their own sons.

Sanjaya still maintained Indonesian titles : Sang Ratu Sanjaya Rakai Mataram, which means : King Sanjaya Lord of Mataram, this Mataram being his apanage. It is remarkable that all the Sanjayas were called by their apanage names.

The other Sanjayas, however, also carried the Indian title Sri Maharaja, for instance : Sri Maharaja Rakai Panangkaran, perhaps under the influence of their overlords, the Shailendras who called themselves Sri Maharaja.

Not long after Sanjaya erected the lingga, the country came under the power of these Shailendras. That they came from Fu-Nan is a supposition of George Coedès, who pointed out that the Kings of Fu-Nan called themselves in their Old Khmer language : "Kuring Bnam" which means exactly : "Lord of the Mountain" as Shailendra means in Sanskrit.

A recently discovered stone inscription from Pekalongan on the north coast of Central Java read by Buchari, the Indonesian epi-

graphist revealed a prince : Dapunta Selendra, who was, moreover a Shivaite. This means that the origin of this dynasty was in Java or at least in Indonesia.

In East Java a state existed in the second half of the 8th century, for in 760 A.D. a ruler issued an edict on the occasion of the ceremony for the consecration of a new stone Agastya statue in a temple. The name of this dynasty is not mentioned. There are scholars who think that he belonged to a dynasty in Central Java which we shall call the Sanjayas, after the first of that line mentioned in an inscription of 907 A.D. As there is no proof of any relation between these Sanjayas and the East Javanese kings, we will, for the time being, presume that the state in East Java was an independent kingdom.

The Shailendras ruled Java during one century while the Sanjayas had to bow before them, being their apanage holders or vassals who, at their request, had to provide them with grounds and experts when they wished to build a Buddhist temple or stupa. In the meantime, these Sanjayas, who were Hindus, continued building their own temples in remote and mountainous areas such as the Dieng Plateau.

The Buddhism followed by the Shailendras was the Mahayana with tantric tendencies, for the famous stupa of Barabudur shows not the usual system of five but one of six Buddhas.

The temples built by the Shailendras are of a splendour which still arouses the awe of the visitor. Besides their wealth of sculptures and reliefs, they also show beautiful architecture. Some of these temples are actually vast temple complexes where one main temple is surrounded by hundreds of small shrines. The whole state seems to have participated in the building of these large temple complexes, for the names of the donors have been found on several of these temples or shrines, for example on Candi Sewu and Candi Plaosan.

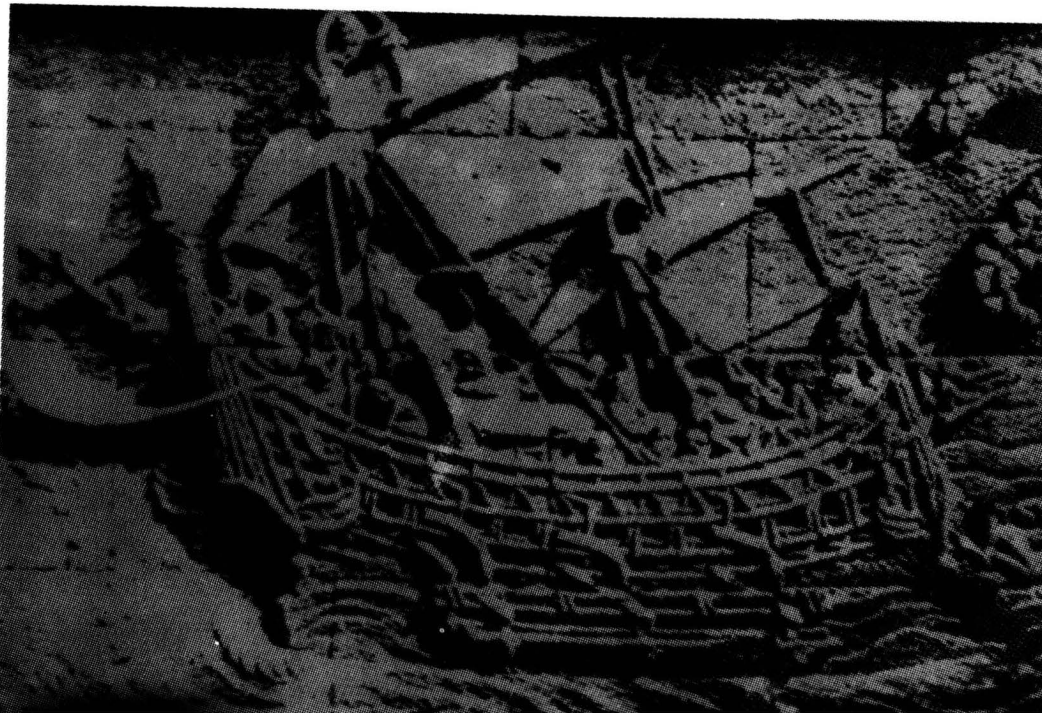
The Shailendra monuments are : Kalasan, Sari, Barabudur, Mendut, Pawon, Ngawen, Sewu, Plaosan, Sajiwan, Bubrah and many other smaller temples.

The decline of power of the Shailendras came round 830 A.D., for some members of the Sanjaya dynasty started issuing edicts without any reference to Shailendra suzerainty. A princess of the Shailendra dynasty, by the name of Pramodhdhwarddhani, married a



Barabudur, Central Java

Outrigger boat (Barabudur)



prince of the Sanjaya dynasty, Rakai Pikatan. By her marriage power was transferred into the hands of the original Javanese dynasty. As we will see happen in other periods of the history of Java in particular, the prince who married a crownprincess could usually lay claim to the throne.

Pramoddhawarddhani was the daughter of the Shailendra king, Samarotungga, and the granddaughter of King Indra who was mentioned in an inscription of 778 A.D. She built a temple in honour of her grandfather and once she was married to Rakai Pikatan she built the Buddhist Candi Plaosan together with her husband. Pramoddhawarddhani had however, a younger brother, Balaputra who, jealous of his sister and brother-in-law, started a rebellion against them. At first he was victorious, but finally he was defeated and ousted from Java circa 856 A.D. We will see him again, as King of Srivijaya.

VI

SHAILENDRAS IN SUMATRA

Soon after Balaputra had become King of Suvarnadwipa, he made friends with a ruler famous throughout the Buddhist world, namely: King Dewapaladewa of the Pala dynasty in Bengal, in whose territory the famous Nalanda University was situated to which pilgrims from all over the Far East and South East Asia came for study and meditation. Balaputra built a monastery for the pilgrims of Suvarnadwipa (Sumatra), whose maintenance was to be carried out by five villages by order of the Pala king. This was recorded in a copper inscription of circa 860 A.D. found in the ruins of the Nalanda University. In the same copper-plate inscription is also mentioned Balaputra's mother, Tara, daughter of King Darmasetu of the Soma dynasty, and his father, Samaragrawira, while his grandfather was

a **Shailendra King** of **Yavabhumi** (most probably **Indra**)

When soon after the **Shailendras** ruled **Srivijaya** on both sides of the **Strait of Malaka**, they could at any time close this trade route to their enemies. Moreover, their ships were powerful in the surrounding sea and could easily prevent foreign ships from sailing farther on to other countries.

Obviously, **Srivijaya** managed to prevent **Javanese** ships from sailing to **China**, for between 873 till 992 A.D. no **Javanese** diplomatic missions visited the **Imperial court** of **China**. We have to point out here that while **Srivijaya** sent no such missions from 742 to 904 A.D., **Java** filled the gap by sending envoys from 768 to 873 A.D. We have the impression that there was always a struggle for hegemony on the seas of **Indonesia** between **Srivijaya** and **Java**, resulting in temporary victories for either of the two rivals.

Towards the end of the 10th century, **Java**, envious of **Srivijaya's** power over the seas, seems to have reinforced her fleet in order to attack **Srivijaya** in its very heart. In 990 A.D. **Javanese** troops occupied **Srivijaya**, staying there until 992 A.D. An envoy from **Srivijaya**, who at the time of the **Javanese** attack happened to be in **China**, was not able to return to his country during these two years.

Srivijaya, however, revenged itself by attacking, with the help of a local prince, in 1016/1017 A.D. the palace of the **Javanese** king, **Teguh Dharmawangsa**, just when a splendid wedding was being celebrated. The royal palace was burnt to ashes. On that day the king and all his nobles perished.

There was also another foreign power with whom **Srivijaya** maintained diplomatic relations: to wit, the **Cola** kingdom in **South India**. At the beginning of the 11th century this relationship was very good, for when the **King of Kataha** and **Srivijaya** built a **wihara** in **Negapatam** in the territory of the **Cola** king, the latter donated a village which was ordered to maintain the pilgrims from **Indonesia**. The year of this event was 1006 A.D.

Ten years later the relations between **Srivijaya** and the **Colas** were strained, perhaps caused by **Srivijaya's** efforts to prevent the **Cola** ships from sailing freely through the **Indonesian** straits. For in 1017 A.D. the **Cola** king attacked **Srivijaya** with his fleet which, however, proved to be an abortive attempt. In 1023/1024 A.D. the **Cola** king launched a big naval campaign against **Srivijaya** in which

he was so successful as to arrest even the ruler, afterwards attacking all states under the influence of Srivijaya in Sumatra as well as on the Malay Peninsula.

In spite of this big campaign, Srivijaya was two years later able to send a mission to China, proving its independent status. Perhaps the Cola campaign only temporarily paralysed Srivijaya and was not followed by an occupation which would have lasted for years.

There are some indications that Srivijaya started to follow another policy with regard to Java after the prince, Airlangga, ascended to Java's throne in 1019 A.D., resulting in a peaceful relationship between the two countries and a balance of power in the Archipelago. Srivijaya's sphere of influence was the western part of the Archipelago while Java's sphere, its eastern part. The reason for this policy of peace could have been that Srivijaya realized the threat of a Cola attack.

Another clash between the Colas and Srivijaya occurred in 1068 A.D. when again a Cola king attacked Srivijaya. The name of this Cola king was Wirarajendra. He occupied Kadaram (Kedah), Srivijaya's most important territory on the Malay Peninsula, returning it only to the King of Srivijaya after the latter had bowed himself before him.

In 1089/1090 A.D. the Colas were again on friendly terms with Srivijaya, for the Cola king Kulottunga, freed the village which had been presented in 1006 to the King of Kataha and Srivijaya of taxes, at the request of two envoys sent by the Shailendra King of Kidara (Kataha, Kedah).

In 1106 A.D. however, it was recorded that the envoys sent by the Cola king to the Court of the Chinese Emperor were treated with less protocol than those from Pagan for the reason that the Cola kingdom was at that time subject to Srivijaya.

Srivijaya was from the 7th to the 13th century a famous country, being a centre of trade and of Buddhist studies and feared because of its aggressive fleet. But the decline of Srivijaya's power began in the 13th century, as some states started to free themselves from the centre, becoming independent such as, for example, Kampe and Malayu in Sumatra. Malayu freed itself with the help of Javanese expedition troops which were sent by King Kertanagara of Singhasari in 1275 A.D. From this time on Malayu was a stepping stone

to the Strait of Malaka, where the Javanese managed to obtain the hegemony after the fall of Srivijaya.

According to the Ming Annals, the King of Srivijaya lived in 1377 A.D. in Tchan-pei (Jambi), while his capital had the name of Kieu-kiang (old harbour). One century later the Chinese author, Ma Huang, who visited Indonesia, stated that Kieu-Kiang, formerly called Srivijaya or Palembang was ruled by Java. After Majapahit had lost its power over the other islands, Kieu-Kiang became a nest of pirates ruled by a Chinese who was obedient to the Chinese Emperor.

This then was the end of the maritime kingdom of Srivijaya.

VII

JAVA FROM 860 A. D. TO THE 12TH CENTURY

We have seen how Pramoddhawarddhani, the Shailendra princess, married Rakai Pikatan, a prince of the Sanjaya dynasty, which meant the end of Shailendra rule over Java. We have also seen how Balaputra, her younger brother, not satisfied with the situation, revolted against his sister and brother-in-law and how he was at last ousted from Java. To commemorate his victory, Rakai Pikatan built circa 856 A.D. the splendid Prambanan temple which we may consider as a counterpart of the Barabudur, for both the Prambanan and the Barabudur are ancestor sanctuaries built on terraces, as had been Indonesian custom since prehistoric times.

The Prambanan was a Hindu temple whereas the Barabudur was a Buddhist stupa. During Shailendra rule the Sanjayas had had to assist the Shailendras in the building of Buddhist sanctuaries whereas they had to satisfy themselves with modest temples in remote parts of the country. Now that the power of the Sanjayas was restored, Rakai Pikatan hastened to build a temple in the heart of his kingdom. The whole court and perhaps the whole state had to participate in its construction by donating material, food and workers.

The Sanjayas carried always the Indonesian title of "Rakai" in addition to the Indian one of "Sri Mahârâja". Their kingdom was called Mataram after the apanage of Sanjaya Rakai Mataram.

After a succession of kings had ruled in Central Java, the capital was suddenly transferred to East Java for some strange reason or other. Some scholars think that there was an epidemic or volcanic eruption which made the population flee to East Java. One scholar is of the opinion that the population had grown so exhausted because

of their heavy duty of temple building for the kings that they preferred to leave their villages for a better life in East Java.

Sambisari, a small temple recently excavated in an area near Yogyakarta, obviously built after the Prambanan temple, proved to be buried under 3 meters of volcanic ashes. There seems, indeed, to have been a huge volcanic eruption which could have destroyed the capital.

We are inclined to believe that there were also political reasons which made the rulers shift their capital from the fertile plains of Central Java to East Java. The Javanese kings must have felt an intense fear of the Shailendras of Srivijaya, the descendants of Balaputra who had been ousted by a Sanjaya. Therefore, East Java was much safer for them, as attacks from the Shailendras were not to be feared there.

The Javanese rulers must have envied Srivijaya for its power over the seaways, in particular over the Strait of Malacca, because as long as Srivijaya had the hegemony over that strait, Java was not able to carry on her trade with China, as Javanese ships sailing to China were easily attacked by ships from Srivijaya (a few centuries later, Majapahit proved to be able to intercept foreign ships in open sea, as its vessels could operate from key positions on various islands). Therefore, it was not surprising that sometimes Java would attack Srivijaya in its very heart; this had happened in 990 A.D.; while the Javanese troops occupied Srivijaya till 992 A.D.

We have seen how in 1016/1017 A.D. Srivijaya revenged itself by attacking Dharmawangsa's palace with the help of a local king. When the capital was like a sea of destruction, the young prince, Airlangga, escaped to the woods accompanied by a handful of faithful followers, among whom was a man by the name of Narottama.

Airlangga was a descendant of the Javanese king, Sindok, through his mother who had married the Balinese prince, Udayana, ruling

Bali as queen and fellow king. Thus, Airlangga succeeded his uncle, Dharmawangsa, to the throne of Java.

After a forced exile in the woods, Airlangga managed to ascend the throne of Java in 1019 A.D. It took him years, however, before he could reunite his kingdom by conquering the provinces which had torn themselves apart from the centre in 1016/1017 A.D. In 1035 A.D. he defeated his last enemy, the king of Wengker. Airlangga reigned until 1049 A.D., the year of his death.

Shortly before his death, Airlangga became an ascetic, without however abdicating, for a few of his inscriptions mentioned him as an ascetic by the name of Jatiningrat. Probably the monastery which Airlangga consecrated in 1041 A.D. according to the "Calcutta Stone" of the same year, was intended for himself. According to Javanese tradition his daughter Kili Suci also became a ascetic.

Airlangga had his kingdom divided into two parts a few years before his death, to satisfy the ambitions of his two sons. He had the partition made by a holy man, Mpu Bharada, who, according to an inscription, flying through the air, poured water out of a jar to mark the border between the two parts which were given the names of Janggala and Kadiri, or Koripan and Daha.

Kadiri or Daha became the most famous and the most powerful of the two. Most works of literature have been left behind by Kadiri, written by Court poets who wrote many adaptations of Indian Epics in poetic form, called "Kekawin" in the Old Javanese language. The most famous among these are the "Smaradahana" and the "Bharatayuddha".

VIII

SINGHASARI

In 1222 an usurper, Ken Arok, seized power and founded the state of Singhasari. He was an adventurer who managed to marry the beautiful Ken Dedes after murdering her husband, the regent of Tumapel. Tumapel was just another name for Janggala, and as her husband was "akuwu" or regent, we suppose that Janggala was at that time only a vassal state of Kadiri and no longer an independent kingdom. We have to point out here again how the wife holds claim to the throne, for Ken Arok could only ascend to the throne after having murdered Ken Dedes' husband and taking her as wife.

His last step was his revolt against the ruler of Kadiri with the full support of the clergy who had fled the King in dismay when he demanded that he be worshipped as a god by his own priests. In 1222 A.D. Arok by defeating his enemy, put an end to a long rule. As of this year, however, the rulers of Kadiri were vassals of the new state which was given the name of Singhasari.

After Ken Arok, a succession of kings was recorded in a chronicle narrating the history of the Kings of Singhasari and Majapahit which for this reason was named "Pararaton", or the "Book of Kings".

The last king of Singhasari was Kertanagara, a remarkable personality who was a scholar as well as a statesman. He belonged to a Buddhist Tantric sect, the Bhairawa sect, in which he was consecrated as a Buddha in 1289-A.D.. His statue as an Aksobhya is accompanied by an inscription in which this event is recorded.

In 1275 A.D. Kertanegara sent an expedition to Malayu in Sumatra. Many a scholar is of the opinion that he conquered Malayu. We are, however, inclined to believe that the expedition was not directed against Malayu but against Srivijaya in support of Malayu. In this way Singhasari was the ally of Malayu thus acquiring a key

position in Sumatra as a reward, which facilitated naval operations in the Strait of Malaka.

In 1286 A.D. Kertanagara sent a portrait of his father, Wisnuwarddhana as an Amoghapasa with his followers to Malayu to be erected and worshipped in a temple. It is very likely that the sending of a statue coincided with a marriage between the House of Singhasari and that of Malayu.

The statue was a copy of the portrait-image of Wisnuwarddhana as an Amoghapasa with his followers in the Jago temple in Java, built by Kertanagara as a memorial temple for his father.

Kertanagara's famous contemporary was KUBHILAI KHAN the Emperor of China who was so ambitious as to attempt to conquer all the lands of the "Southern Seas" either by diplomacy or by force. He managed to get a few countries in his power, but he had no success with Kertanagara. He sent envoys to the court of Singhasari demanding Kertanagara's acknowledgement of China's suzerainty. The second time Kertanagara grew so enraged with these demands that he had the Ambassador's face mutilated before sending him home to his master.

Angered by this deed, Kubhilai Khan took revenge by sending an expeditionary fleet to Java, which left China in 1292 A.D. arriving in Java in 1293. But when the Chinese set foot on Javanese soil, Kertanagara had already been murdered by Jayakatwang, King of Kadiri who had started an open revolt against his overlord of Singhasari.

The Mongols, called Tatars by the Javanese author of the "Pararaton" met the prince, Wijaya, who was Kertanegara's son-in-law. Wijaya was so clever as to obtain the assistance of these "Tatars" in his effort to defeat Jayakatwang in which he fully succeeded. He had promised to give the foreigners two Javanese princesses as a reward, but when the time came to fetch them, Wijaya had his troops attack him. The "Tatars" had to run for their lives at last seeking refuge in their own ships, yet they were still able to take along a few Javanese and some precious goods. The expedition thus ended in failure to the disappointment of Kubhilai Khan who threw the commanders of the fleet in jail.

Wijaya had, before defeating the King of Kadiri, become his favourite courtier. Jayakatwang even presented him with the waste

lands of Trik on which Wijaya built a stronghold, the future city of Majapahit, capital of his kingdom. The city was named after the bitter (pahit) Maja fruit, the trees of which grew in abundance in that area.

IX

MAJAPAHIT

Wijaya became the first king of Majapahit (1294 – 1309 A.D.). His marriage to the four daughters of Kertanagara gave him apparently more rights to the throne than if he had married a princess outside the royal family. Of the four wives, the fourth one, Gayatri, who carried the title of Rajapatni, was his favourite, perhaps because she was the only one who bore him children, namely two daughters.

Wijaya had also a son, Jayanagara. Some scholars think that he was the son of a princess of Malayu in Sumatra who together with another princess from that kingdom came to Java with the Javanese expedition troops. At that moment Kertanagara had already died and when Wijaya ascended the throne he took one of the princesses from Malayu as a wife, while the other princess married a Javanese nobleman. According to one inscription, however, Jayanagara was mentioned as the son of Wijaya and his first wife.

But there is, indeed, something peculiar about Jayanagara. It is said in the "Pararaton" that Jayanagara the king of Majapahit was jealous of every nobleman coming to his court, for he feared that they might marry his two sisters, so he murdered all who came for them. Only after he died, did the noblemen of Majapahit dare appear again. We may think here of the possibility that Jayanagara was, indeed, the son of a princess of Malayu, but adopted as the son of his father's first wife, which gave him immediately more rights to the throne than either of his two sisters, the daughters of Wijaya's fourth wife. His fear that one might marry a nobleman could be explained by the fact that, after all, his sisters were still strong in their claims to the throne, being true Javanese princesses, while their marriage to any nobleman of Majapahit would find them possible followers who would plot against him.

Jayanagara had to suppress many rebellions against himself by his father's former comrades-in-arms, who had been promised many favours by Wijaya and were now disappointed to find their wishes unfulfilled.

It is possible that Wijaya, who ruled from 1292 A.D. to 1309 A.D., had been so indifferent as to neglect his former friends who had helped him when as a young prince he attempted to seize the power from Jayakatwang of Kadiri. It was difficult for Jayanagara, for these former comrades-in-arms thought, perhaps, that the young king would be easier to handle.

Jayanagara was in 1328 A.D. murdered by his surgeon. He was succeeded by his stepmother, the Rajapatni, who however, retired from the Court to become a nun in a Buddhist monastery. She appointed her daughter, Tribhuwana, as Queen of Majapahit, who ruled under her auspices. We may say that the Rajapatni ruled *de jure* and Tribhuwana *de facto*.

Tribhuwana ruled, indeed, until the death of her mother in 1350 A.D. when her son Hayam Wuruk ascended to the throne. The Patih (Prime Minister), Gajah Mada, assisted her in her reign just as he had served Jayanagara and would afterwards serve Hayam Wuruk.

During Tribhuwana's reign Majapahit became great and famous on all the seas of the Archipelago and abroad. With the help of Gajah Mada the fleet of Majapahit succeeded in obtaining key positions on several islands visited by foreign vessels which came for trade.

Under Tribhuwana's rule Majapahit entered into a period in which full attention was paid to the arts such as, for instance, architecture, sculpture, painting, and literature.

Majapahit's power, however, reached its summit under the rule of Hayam Wuruk who succeeded his grandmother in 1350 A.D. Gajah Mada was again Prime Minister, which he remained until his death in 1365 A.D.

The Court Poet, Prapanca, whose official function was that of Superintendent of the Buddhist Sanctuaries, wrote the "Nagarakertagama" in praise of Hayam Wuruk, in which he recorded all kinds of interesting details about the Court and the royal family. He also

pointed out Majapahit's power over the Archipelago, which he called the "Nusantara" — "the other islands".

After Hayam Wuruk's death in 1389 A.D., the country was split up by fraternal conflicts. Hayam Wuruk had been succeeded by his daughter, Kusumawarddhani, who had married a relative, Prince Wikramawarddhana. They had a son who died young, much to the disappointment of his parents who had regarded him as the future king of Majapahit. Hayam Wuruk had also a son by a previous marriage, the Prince of Wirabhumi, who, jealous of his sister and his brother-in-law, also claimed rights to the throne, not only because he was an adopted son of the Queen of Daha, Havam Wuruk's aunt.

To avoid conflict Hayam Wuruk had his kingdom divided into a western part for his daughter and an eastern part for his son. The tense relations between the two parties remained a smoldering fire during some decades, growing however into a big blaze at the beginning of the 15th century, a fraternal war called the "Paregreg" which lasted from 1403 to 1406 A.D. A Chinese diplomatic mission which just landed on Javanese soil happened to be in the market when fighting broke loose between troops of Wikramawarddhana and troops of Wirabhumi. One hundred and seventy Chinese of that mission were killed by accident. Wikramawarddhana apologized to the Chinese Emperor who scolded him, demanding compensation in the shape of gold. After 1/6th of the total amount had been paid, this compensation was cancelled as the Javanese king had shown his goodwill.

At last Wikramawarddhana won the war while Wirabhumi, fleeing at night, was caught and decapitated. Though the country was reunited by Wikramawarddhana, who ruled to 1429 A.D., Majapahit's days seem to have been numbered. Its power on the seas of the Archipelago was decreasing; its key positions on the Strait of Malaka were lost, while many states under the influence of Majapahit became fully independent.

Majapahit grew internally weaker and weaker until it was finally conquered by a Javanese Hindu King of Daha (Kadiri) of the Girindrawarddhana dynasty. But even this Hindu state did not last long, for gradually the coastal principalities who had already embraced Islam freed themselves from the Hindu centre. Islam had come along the trade route, starting in North Sumatra (Aceh), to

the Malay Peninsula and from there to Java, and finally, to the eastern part of Indonesia, the spice islands. The coastal principalities had grown rich by the foreign trade, as the princes were not only controlling the important harbours which brought them riches in the shape of taxes, but because they were also the owners of ships, as had always been the case with Indonesian harbour kings like those of Srivijaya.

According to Javanese tradition, Majapahit fell on account of an attack by a coalition of Moslem princes in 1478 A.D. We saw, however, how Majapahit was conquered by a prince of Daha of the Girindrawardhana dynasty, also a Hindu. Indeed, de Barros recorded, in 1498 A.D. that most of the islands were still heathen, except Malaka, some Javanese coastal provinces and a part of Sumatra and the Moluccas which had already embraced Islam. In 1511 A.D. a diplomatic mission came from Java to Malaka with presents for d'Albuquerque. It was then recorded that the Javanese king who had sent them was still an idolator while his state was situated in the interior of the island.

The first trace of Islam in East Java was a tomb-stone at Leran of 1082 A.D. Ma Huan, the Chinese author, recorded in 1415 A.D. that Moslems were the only people who had come from the west when he visited Java. The tomb of Malik Ibrahim in Grisee, East Java, is from 1419 A.D., according to tradition, he was one of the first religious teachers to spread Islam in Java. In Trowulan is the grave of a person who is said to have been a princess of Campa married to a prince of Majapahit, while she herself was already a Moslem, the date of her death being recorded as 1448 A.D.

Compared with Aceh in North Sumatra, Islam came rather late to Java, for when Marco Polo visited Ferlec in Aceh in 1292 A.D. he reported that the people of the city were already Moslem whereas the rural population were still heathen. The first Sultan, Malik Al Saleh, died there in 1297, which means that Majapahit had just been founded at the time.

In West Java the Kingdom of Sunda was still a Hindu state when the Portugese came to the harbour of Sunda Kalapa in 1522 A.D., but when they came once more in 1527, this port had already been conquered by Faletehan from Banten.

At last the whole of the country which had been Majapahit had

adopted the Islamic Religion. The last stronghold of Hinduism was Bali which has a population of Hindus even today.

In Java the last Hindu state was Blambangan which stayed independent as a Hindu Kingdom till the end of the 18th century. Along with the decline of Hinduism and Buddhism came the decline of temple architecture and sculpture, for these arts had been fully alive because of the royal cult and now faced gradual extinction. The last traces of Hinduism were found in remote spots in mountainous regions where Islam had not yet penetrated.

X

THE NUSANTARA : THE OTHER ISLANDS

Prapanca, the author of the Nagarakertagama mentioned several times the Nusantara (the other islands), which he claimed to have been subjected by Majapahit.

As we have already explained, Majapahit could hold the other islands in its power as it was in the possession of a strong fleet and important key positions near the seaways, frequented by Indonesian and foreign ships. It did not mean, however, that the other islands had lost all their independence, for internally they were free : they had only at set times to bring tribute to Majapahit in the shape of the country's products. High officials, mostly Buddhist and Saiwaite priests, were regularly sent out to the other islands to remind the kings of their duty towards Majapahit.

WEST JAVA :

The Kingdom of Tarumanagara of the 5th century had fallen into oblivion. It was centuries before there were other signs of life from West Java; the first being an inscription issued in 932 A.D. It referred to the return of the King of Sunda. We may accept the theory that this king was returning to the throne of Sunda after the country had been subjected by Srivijaya for a long time. For it seems that Sunda had to bow before Srivijaya several times, for even Chau Ju Kua, the Chinese author of the 12th century, reckoned Sunda among the states falling under Srivijaya's suzerainty. When in 686 A.D. an inscription was issued in Bangka in which was mentioned an expedition, just sent out to Bhumi Java which was not obedient

to Srivijaya, we may assume that an expedition against Tarumanagara in West Java was meant.

In 1030 A.D. King Jayabhupati of Sunda issued an inscription mentioning the foundation of a sanctuary near the present town of Cibadak.

In the 14th century the kingdom bore another name : Pajajaran, the first inscription of which was issued in 1333 A.D. Its capital was near the present city of Bogor ; actually, there had been a shift of power from Kawali, the capital of the kingdom of Galuh in the eastern part of West Java, to Bogor. The Kings of Pajajaran were descendants of those of Galuh.

When Majapahit claimed to have subdued almost the whole of the Indonesian Archipelago, Sunda was still one of the independent states, for Gajah Mada, then the Prime Minister of Majapahit, swore to take no "palapa" (either leave or enjoyment of the fruits of his apanage) before he had conquered, among others, Sunda.

That Gajah Mada tried by all means, fair or unfair to subdue Sunda, can be concluded from an event happening in 1357 A.D. which has been eternalised in a poem, the "Kidung Sunda" (the song of Sunda). According to this poem, the young king of Majapahit, Hayam Wuruk, was still without a queen. Though many beautiful girls of the country and of other countries had been suggested to him as a bride, he had so far refused to take any of them into consideration.

Then his father and uncle told him about the beauty of the Princess of Sunda. The King became curious and sent a portrait painter to Sunda with the commission to paint the famous princess. When he, on his arrival back at the court to Majapahit showed the portrait, the king was enchanted by the beauty of the princess, falling immediately in love with her. A high official was sent to Sunda to ask for her hand. Her father, the king, consented and he himself, the queen, the princess, named Citrarasmi, and several high dignitaries sailed to Majapahit. Temporary buildings especially erected for their accommodation awaited them on the field of Bubad, north of the Royal Palace. Inside the palace, preparations were made for the wedding.

One man, the Prime Minister Gajah Mada, did not participate in the festivities. He did not agree with King Hayam Wuruk's rela-

tives who wished to receive the Sundanese princess as the King's official Queen. This man demanded that she should be regarded as a gift of homage. The King of Sunda discovered that they were waiting in the field for a long time without being received at the court. When they entered Gajah Mada's palace to ask for some explanation, they were informed that they must present the princess as a gift of homage.

The King of Sunda and his nobles were furious, for such presentation of the princess was equal to surrender of independence. Therefore, they preferred death to dishonour. A bloody battle followed, "the battle of Bubat" in which the King of Sunda and all his noblemen died to the last man. The queen, the princess and the other ladies of the Court committed suicide by stabbing themselves with their kris (daggers).

In the Nagarakertagama, the panygeric, written in 1365 A.D., it is said that Sunda was one of the countries under Majapahit's suzerainty. It is probable that Majapahit desired Sunda so strongly because it was rich in and famous for its export of pepper.

It was also for pepper that the Portuguese came in 1522 A.D. to the harbour of Sunda-Kalapa, present-day Jakarta. De Brito, the Portuguese Governor of Malaka, wrote in 1524 A.D. that there were two Hindu kings, that of Sunda and that of Java, whereas the other kings were already embracing Islam. The Portuguese who came to Sunda-Kalapa in 1522 A.D. had to deal with the harbour prince who was still a Hindu. They asked him permission to trade and to build a fortification. Permission was given, the agreement was carved in a "Padrao", an inscription stone which has been found in Jakarta.

When in 1527 A.D. the Portuguese returned to Sunda-Kalapa for the implementation of their agreement, they discovered that they had come too late, for the harbour had been taken over by Moslems from Banten who had renamed it Jayakarta (City of Victory).

These Moslems had originally come from Demak, led by Syarif Hidayatullah a merchant from Aceh who had managed to marry into the royal family of Demak in Central Java. He is considered to be the ancestor of the dynasties of Banten and Cirebon.

After the fall of Sunda-Kalapa the rest of Sunda still embraced the Hindu faith, but 60 years later the capital, Pakuwan Pajajaran,

near Bogor, was attacked by a Moslem army from Banten and all the nobles were murdered. This, then, was the end of the Hindu Kingdom of Sunda.

BALI :

In the 5th century Chinese authors mentioned a country the name of which they spelled as P'o-li. Several scholars have located this country in different places. Some of them think it to be Bali, others think that it was located in Kalimantan, again others that it was actually (Dalam) Puri in Aceh, the famous Lamuri or Lambri mentioned by the Arabs. As it is still not certain whether P'o-li was Bali or Puri, we will only look at the records produced by the island of Bali itself.

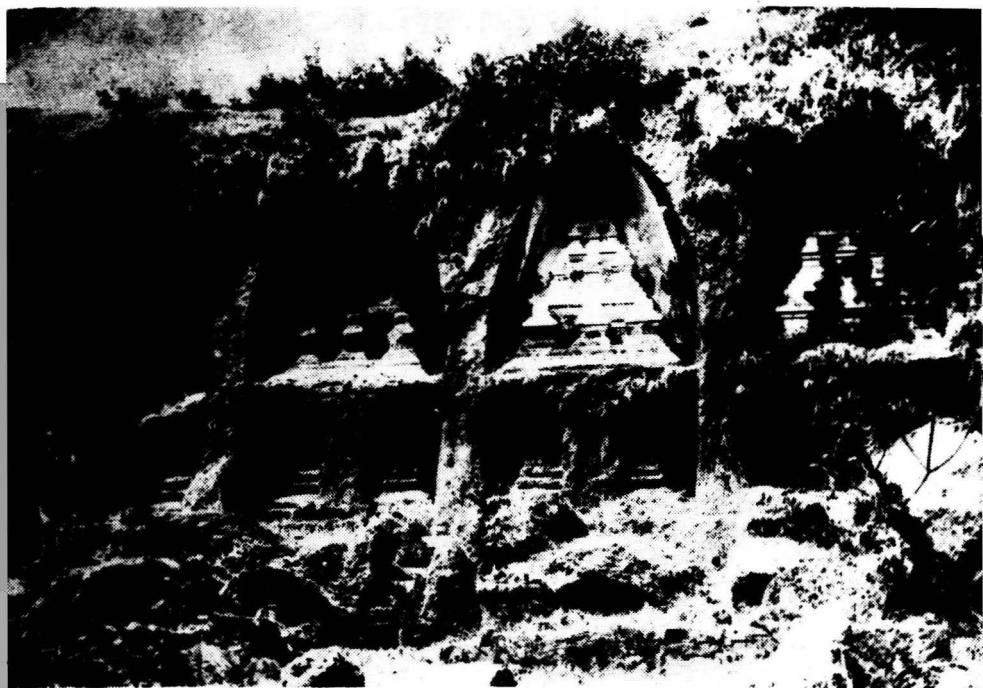
The oldest written evidence, dating back to the 8th century, consists of clay seals on which were engraved sentences in Sanskrit language and pre-Nagari script. Several of these short inscriptions were Buddhist in character, a few of them even Tantric. Clay seals with later Nagari script have also been found. Fragments of an inscription in Pallawa script resembling the kind in use in the 9th century in Java point to Hinduism.

The oldest copper inscriptions were not issued until after the end of the 9th century, from 882 A.D. on, but more regularly after 911 A.D.

The first time the name of a king, Ugrasena, appears is in an inscription of 915 A.D. He reigned to 942 A.D. over the kingdom of Singhamandana.

A pillar found in Sanur shows the peculiarity of being written in two languages : Sanskrit and Old Balinese and in two scripts : Dewa Nagari and Old Balinese. Remarkable is the fact that the inscription in Old Balinese was written in Nagari script, whereas the inscription in Sanskrit was written in Old Balinese script. The king mentioned in this inscription bore the name Kesariwarman ; he ruled over Sinhaladdwala and had defeated his enemies of Gurun and Siwal. Though the inscription is undated, Kesariwarman is supposed to have ruled earlier than Ugrasena.

An inscription of 896 A.D. does not mention the name of any ruler. Then after 914 A.D. there ruled a dynasty of rulers whose



GUNUNG KAWI

Tampak Siring. Bali.

Latter half of 11th Century

names all end in "warman"; there are six of them and one among them is a queen.

Commencing 989 A.D., inscriptions were issued by a royal couple : Queen Sri Gunapriyadharmmapatni and her husband and fellow ruler, Sri Dharmmodayanawarmmadewa.

She was a Javanese princess who, after she married Udayana, a member of the Balinese dynasty, became the reigning queen, which points to the fact that Java has also exerted power over Bali. Joint inscriptions of the royal couple appear up to 1001 A.D., then after

1001 A.D., Udayana seems to have reigned alone, for the name of the queen disappears from the royal edicts, till his death in 1022 A.D.

According to the Balinese legend : "Chatonarang", the queen, who had been discovered as to be indulging in black magic, was banned from the Court whereupon she became a witch. The fact that a statue of the queen in Kutri shows her as a Durga in a demonic shape seems to confirm this tradition. In certain Old Javanese and Balinese stories Durga, having been cursed by Siwa lives as a witch in a graveyard.

An inscription dated 1016 A.D. was found in Sanur, mentioning that another queen, Ajnadevi, was reigning, who, however, seems to have had no connection at all with Udayana.

In 1022 A.D. Udayana died and was succeeded by a ruler who bears a very long official name : Sri Dharmmawangawarddhana Marakatapangkajasthanottunggadewa. It has been suggested that a member of the Dharmmawangsa dynasty of Java, from whence Queen Gunapriyadharmmapatni sprung, succeeded Udayana. There is, however, another suggestion which we think more acceptable, that it was Airlangga, a son of the royal couple in Bali, who went to Java where he succeeded his uncle, Dharmmawangsa Teguh Anantawikramottunggadewa. The king, whose name appears in inscriptions from 1022 A.D. on, is succeeded by another, called Anakwungsu (the youngest child, namely of Gunapriya and Udayana), in 1049 A.D. the year that Airlangga died in Java. So, it is not unlikely that Airlangga was King of Java and of Bali, too, from 1022 A.D. till 1049 A.D. According to Heyting, Anakwungsu was his Governor in Bali from 1022 to 1049 A.D.

We should point out here that Javanese influence at the Balinese court must have been great since Airlangga's mother became

queen. The inscriptions issued before the royal couple ascended the throne were written in Old Balinese mixed with Old Javanese ; since 1022 the language of the edict was purely Javanese until the death of Anakwungsu in 1075.

A succession of kings ruled over Bali up to the beginning of the 13th century. Then in 1284 A.D. Kertanagara of Singhasari attacked Bali, evidently with success for according to Prapanca, the author of the "Nagarakertagama", the King of Bali was brought as a prisoner before Kertanagara. However, Bali seems to have regained its independence soon after, or when Gajah Mada was Prime Minister, he deemed it necessary to send an expedition to conquer Bali.

A series of inscriptions shows that the rulers were still independent of Java. A queen, bearing the name of Sri Mahaguru, issued charters in 1324 A.D. and 1327 A.D. In 1337 A.D. there was still another ruler mentioned in an edict. Then follows the expedition of 1343 A.D. sent by Majapahit against Bali, the Balinese king and all his relatives perished during the battle.

In 1338 A.D. the Javanese Queen of Majapahit, Tribhuwana, founded a Buddhist sanctuary in Bali. This does not necessarily mean that Bali was already a dependency of Java, as the Javanese queen could have done this on foreign territory as well, with the full cooperation of the Balinese ruler.

After the expedition to Bali there were, indeed, vassals of Majapahit ruling the island. Edicts issued by the Prince of Wengker, Hayam Wuruk's uncle, were issued in 1384 A.D. and 1386 A.D., the contents of which were confirmed in 1398 A.D.

Bali must have had extensive cultural contacts with Java. According to the Nagarakertagama, Bali was alike in habits and customs with Java-land. Yet, the Balinese have always managed to put their own stamp on their architecture, sculpture and painting. Javanese cultural influence came mainly from the Courts, the first under Majapahit's suzerainty, being at Samprangan and later on in Gelgel.

When Islam came to Java and many other islands, Bali remained faithful to Hinduism and Buddhism. At present, it is the only place where those ancient religions are still followed, with the result that there are temples and temple dances to be admired, as well as

religious paintings, sculptures and songs. Recital of ancient poems as well as copying of ancient manuscripts is still performed.

SUMATRA :

In 1275 A.D. King Kertanagara sent an expedition to Malayu, according to many scholars, with the purpose of conquering Malayu. But another more acceptable opinion is that an alliance had been formed between Singhasari and Malayu. And we ourselves are inclined to think that this alliance was directed against Srivijaya which thereby lost an important harbour from where ships from Malayu and Singhasari could operate, intercepting foreign and Indonesian vessels on their way to Srivijaya. Indeed, Srivijaya's days were numbered, for one century later there was no longer a king entitled to

call himself "Maharaja of Srivijaya". That Malayu regained her independence can also be concluded from the fact that Malayu, for the first time in nine centuries, sent embassies to China in 1295 A.D.

In 1286 A.D. Kertanagara sent a statue to Malayu to be worshipped by the people of Malayu. It is very likely that this was done to symbolize the alliance with Malayu which coincided with a marriage alliance between the two dynasties. The statue was a portrait of Kertanagara's father in the shape of the Buddhist deity, Amoghapasa, accompanied by his followers, a copy of the statues of Candi Jago. Such statues were paid homage to by the descendants of the rulers portrayed. It is clear that the Amoghapasa had been sent to Malayu with the same purpose.

According to a Javanese chronicle, the expeditionary troops of Singhasari came back to Java in 1294 A.D. King Kertanagara had been dead for two years. A new kingdom had just been founded by Prince Wijaya, Kertanagara's son-in-law. The expeditionary troops returned with two princesses from Malayu: Dara Petak and Dara Jingga. The former was taken by the King as his queen, the latter married a Javanese nobleman. Both these princesses became mothers of kings, Dara Petak of King Jayanagara of Majapahit and Dara Jingga of King Adityawarman of Malayu.

Prince Adityawarman received his education at the Court of Majapahit. Twice, in 1325 A.D. and 1332 A.D. he was sent as Majapahit's Ambassador to China. At Court he also had the function of *Wrddha Mantri* (Senior minister) which means that he was the official head of the royal relatives, with the title of *Aryawangsadhiraja*. It becomes clear why he was such an important official at the court, for when in 1343 A.D. he erected a *Manjusri* statue in the Jago temple compound, he is said to have sprung from the dynasty of the *Rajapatni* (the queen who had become a Buddhist nun, delegating her power to her daughter, Queen *Tribhuwana*).

Moreover Candi Jago was the sanctuary of *Wisnuwarddhana* whose statue in the main temple was copied, and sent to Malayu in 1286 A.D. by King Kertanagara. That Adityawarman placed his *Manjusri* statue in the Candi Jago temple compound is certainly not just a coincidence, particularly as he said in his inscription that he was erecting the *Manjusri* statue to honour his male and female ancestors. One scholar has even proposed the theory that Aditya-

warman was undertaking restoration of the Jago temple, which was, indeed, not unlikely as even the Candi Jawi, temple of Kertanagara was already in a dilapidated state, according to the Nagarakertagama.

In 1347 A.D. Adityawarman undertook another restoration in Jambi, Sumatra, where he had become King of Malayu. He has restored himself and his family to power in Malayu after the country had been ruled by the older branch of the dynasty of Malayu. The Amoghapasa statue of 1286 A.D. was then symbolically re-erected by him in a Buddhist sanctuary. Obviously, the statue being a dynastic symbol had been taken away by his predecessors. Adityawarman thus performed the symbolic act of restoration of power by re-erecting the statue. An inscription issued by him was carved on the backslab of the statue, whereas Kertanagara's inscription of 1286 A.D. was carved on the pedestal. He had himself portrayed as an enormous Buddhist Bhairawa, this sculpture resembling in details a small Bhairawa of Candi Jago which he had probably erected when restoring the temple. He called himself Maharajadhiraja

We have suggested above that Kertanagara's expedition to Malayu was intended to assist Malayu against Srivijaya. By this deed he seems to have thrust a wedge into Srivijaya's territory which resulted in its rapid decline, to the profit of Singhasari and later of Majapahit, namely the possession of key harbours in Sumatra and on the Malay Peninsula.

The Chinese Ming annals mention the embassies of three rulers; the King of Palembang (1374 A.D.), the King of Dharmmasraya (1374 A.D.) and King Adityawarman (1375). Palembang was the oldest site of Srivijaya in the 7th century, while Dharmmasraya was the site of Malayu where the Amoghapasa statue was erected in 1286 A.D. So, it is clear that Adityawarman was no longer occupying Dharmmasraya. He transferred his capital to the West coast of Sumatra where indeed, all his later inscriptions have been found.

The King of Dharmmasraya asked the Chinese Emperor for recognition of his title as King of Srivijaya. Permission was given but when the Chinese envoys were on their way to Srivijaya, to bring the investiture of the Emperor, they were attacked in the middle of the sea by Majapahit naval forces. According to the Ming annals, Dharmmasraya was already occupied by Java. It is



Adityawarman as a Buddhist Bhairava, Sumatra.
Late 14th Century.

clear that Majapahit did not wish the title "King of Srivijaya" borne by any ruler particularly when it was given by the Chinese Emperor, along with protection against Java.

Adityawarman reached an old age, as one of his inscriptions is dated 1371 A.D. He had himself consecrated to a Bhairawa just, as Kertanagara of Singhasari had done in 1289 A.D. according to the tantric rites of the Bhairawa sect.

Besides the states in Sumatra already mentioned above, there were yet others. the most important frequently appearing in the reports of Arabs and Chinese. The names of these important states were : Barus on the west coast of Sumatra already mentioned by the Greek authors of the 2nd century. Lamuri in Aceh, Pane in Batak territory, Kampe which tore itself loose from Srivijaya in the 13th century. Marco Polo mentioned Ferlec (Perlak), Samudra, Lamuri and Pase which have all been located in Aceh, Fancur in Barus where he mentioned the camphor export, and Dagroian where there were cannibals. Ferlec was at the time already a Moslem state according to Marco Polo. We may add to this that Samudra also had a Moslem ruler, as the first of a line of Moslem kings : Malik al Saleh who died in 1297 A.D.

As to antiquities found in Sumatra, most of them are Buddhist in character, the temples being called "Biaro". Palembang, which was the site of Ancient Srivijaya, has yielded only sculptures and a few bricks and stone ruins. More important are the finds at Muara Takus, where there is a vast temple complex with Buddhist stupas resembling in style those of the Shailendra-era in Java in the 9th century.

Jambi, the site of ancient Malayu, has yielded sculptures and brick ruins.

Pane in North Sumatra, mentioned by the Cola king in the 12th century and later on by Prapanca, the author of the Nagarakertagama, was situated near a river of the same name. A profusion of Buddhist temples were built at Padanglawas during many centuries. Some sculptures as well as an engraved stone show that the Buddhism followed by the rulers of Pane was very tantric-demonic in character, as it had been in Malayu and Java.

KALIMANTAN :

The earliest inscriptions of Indonesia were issued by Mulawarman who in the 5th century ruled a state in the upper Mahakam region of Kalimantan, as we have seen above. So far, no other inscriptions of later times have been found. Other evidence of the Hindu and Buddhist religions consists of Hindu statues found in a cave and one bronze Buddha statue from Muara Kaman, belonging to the Post-Gupta style of sculpture.

The Chinese have mentioned throughout the centuries several states with which they traded, the oldest being Po-lo and Pu-ni, which have been interpreted as Brunai and Pontianak, respectively.

Chau Ju Kua mentioned in the 2th century that Tanjungpura was a dependency of Java. Prapanca mentioned in the Nagarakertagama the areas belonging to the Kalimantan group, which was called Tanjungnagara.

Kapuhas, Katingan, Sampit, Kuta Singha, Kuta Waringin, Sambas, Sawai, Kadangdangan, Landa, Samedang, Tirem, Sedu, Buruneng (Brunai), Kalka, Saludung, Solot (Sulu) Pasir, Baritu, Sawaku, Tabalung, Tunjung Kute, Malano, Tanjung Puri.

That the Majapahit fleet acted as a police force on the seas is proven by the fact that once, when Brunai was attacked by people from Sulu (south Philippines), Majapahit's ships intercepted them, according to a Chinese report.

In the 15th century Pu-ni tore itself loose from Majapahit by refusing to pay the yearly tribute. As at that time the fleet of Majapahit had no longer the power of the previous century, nothing could prevent Pu-ni from doing so.

From that time on Pu-ni grew closer to China. Visits of members of the royal family to Peking were recorded in the Ming annals. The King of Pu-ni visited China in 1408 A.D. where he died. His son, who was ordered by the Chinese Emperor to succeed his father, asked for permission to offer him the "tributes" in camphor, which were usually brought to Java. Thereupon the Chinese Emperor wrote to Java to levy no more tribute from Pu-ni. Till 1485 A.D. Pu-ni sent regular embassies to China and afterwards with greater intervals.

Other states of Kalimantan establishing relations with China were Brunai and Sulu. From Sulu three princes came to China at a time, but no more embassies after 1425 A.D. are reported.

Javanese power in Kalimantan existed in some other parts of the islands, as in Lawa, which was not wrested from the Javanese until 1521 A.D., by Brunai, according to the Portuguese.

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