

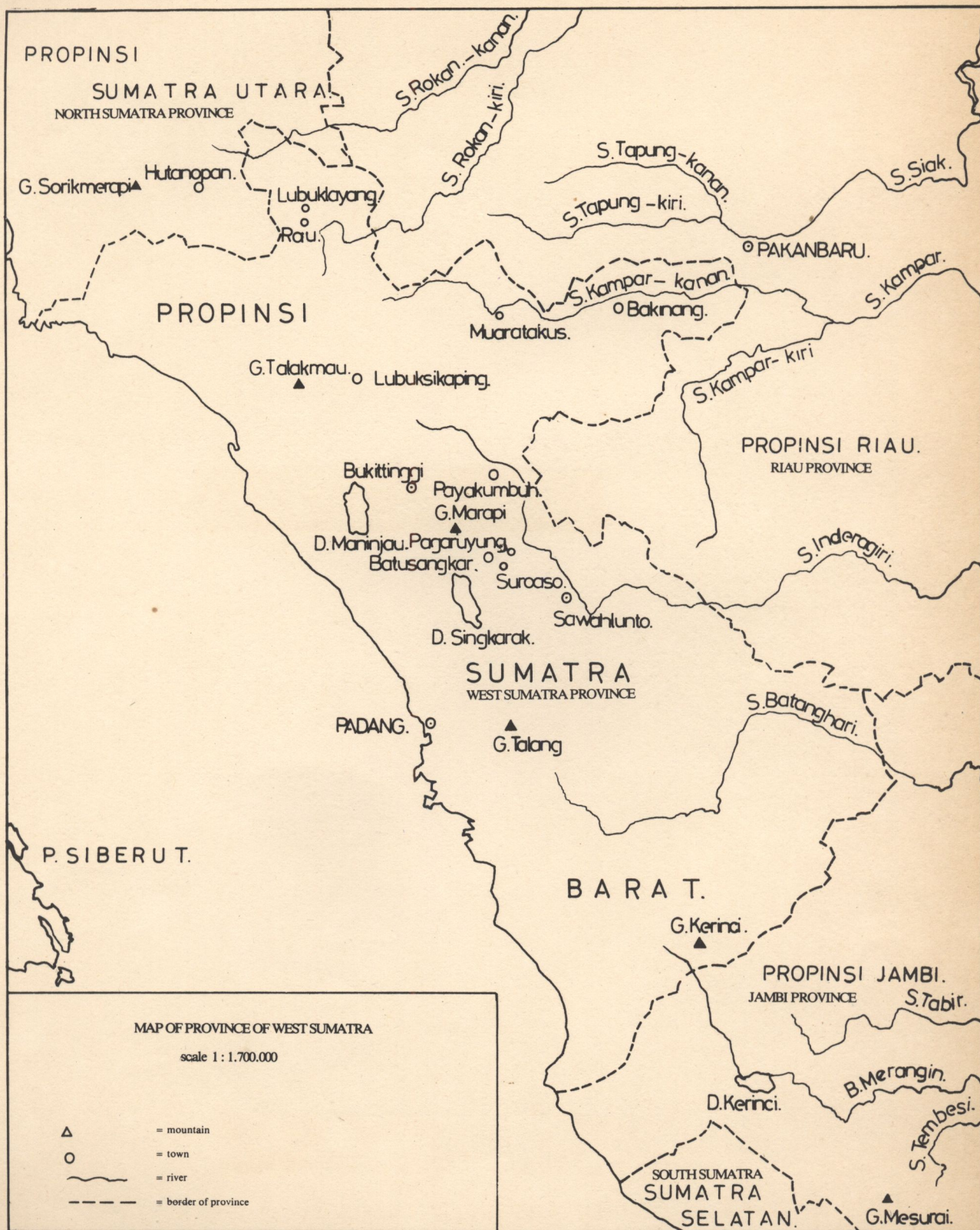
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**THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF
WEST SUMATRA**

SATYAWATI SULEIMAN



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OF WEST SUMATRA**

INTRODUCTION

In a discussion of the history of Sumatra, Selat Jawa is always treated as its most important part. This state has indeed played a prominent role from the 7th to the 14th century A.D. It started to decline at the end of the 13th century. The principalities in Selat Jawa which were under its suzerainty, then liberated themselves one by one from the control of Selat Jawa, which was situated on the east coast of Sumatra. The final blow appeared to have been dealt by Singaperbangsa in East Java whose last king, Kertanegara, died in a expeditionary army near of 1293. This event was called in Old Javanese the "panaharan". The success of the expedition might have been achieved through an alliance with local princes who had for a long time been eager to free themselves from the yoke of Selat Jawa. It is in the period following this interference from Java that a prince, named Adityawarman, a descendant of both the kings of Malayu and Singaperbangsa, occupied the throne for approximately forty years in the territory which is known as the Minangkabau area on the west coast of Sumatra. Though he has often been extolled by scholars of Sumatran history, his political, religious and political relations deserve more attention, at least only if he left any of the inscriptions of Sumatra, but as he appeared to have played an important role in a turbulent period.

We have made an attempt to obtain by the study of archaeological remains, such as ruins of temples, as well as from foreign sources.

Satyawati Suleiman

LAND AND PEOPLE

The Bukit Barisan, which is a mountain range extends the whole length of the west coast of Sumatra. The territory which is now the province of West Sumatra, is covered with rugged mountains, lakes, canyons and valleys. It borders : West : On the Indian Ocean : North on South Tapanuli : East on Riau and Jambi and South on Bengkulu.

The people are the Minangkabau ethnic group who have a matrilineal system which implies that the women own and inherit the landed properties. They are also matrilineal which means that the husband has to live with his wife's family after marriage. The Minangkabau are well-known for the fact that they tend to migrate, not only to other parts of Indonesia but in the Malay Peninsula as well. Negel Sembilan has a population of Minangkabau who took along their customs and social system.

The language spoken is the Minangkabau dialect of the Malay. This dialect is also spoken in the Riau Province, in the territory of the ancient Buddhist Temple of Muara Takis, whereas in the remaining part of Riau the Melayu language is spoken which has become the basis of the national language of the Republic of Indonesia, the Bahasa Indonesia.

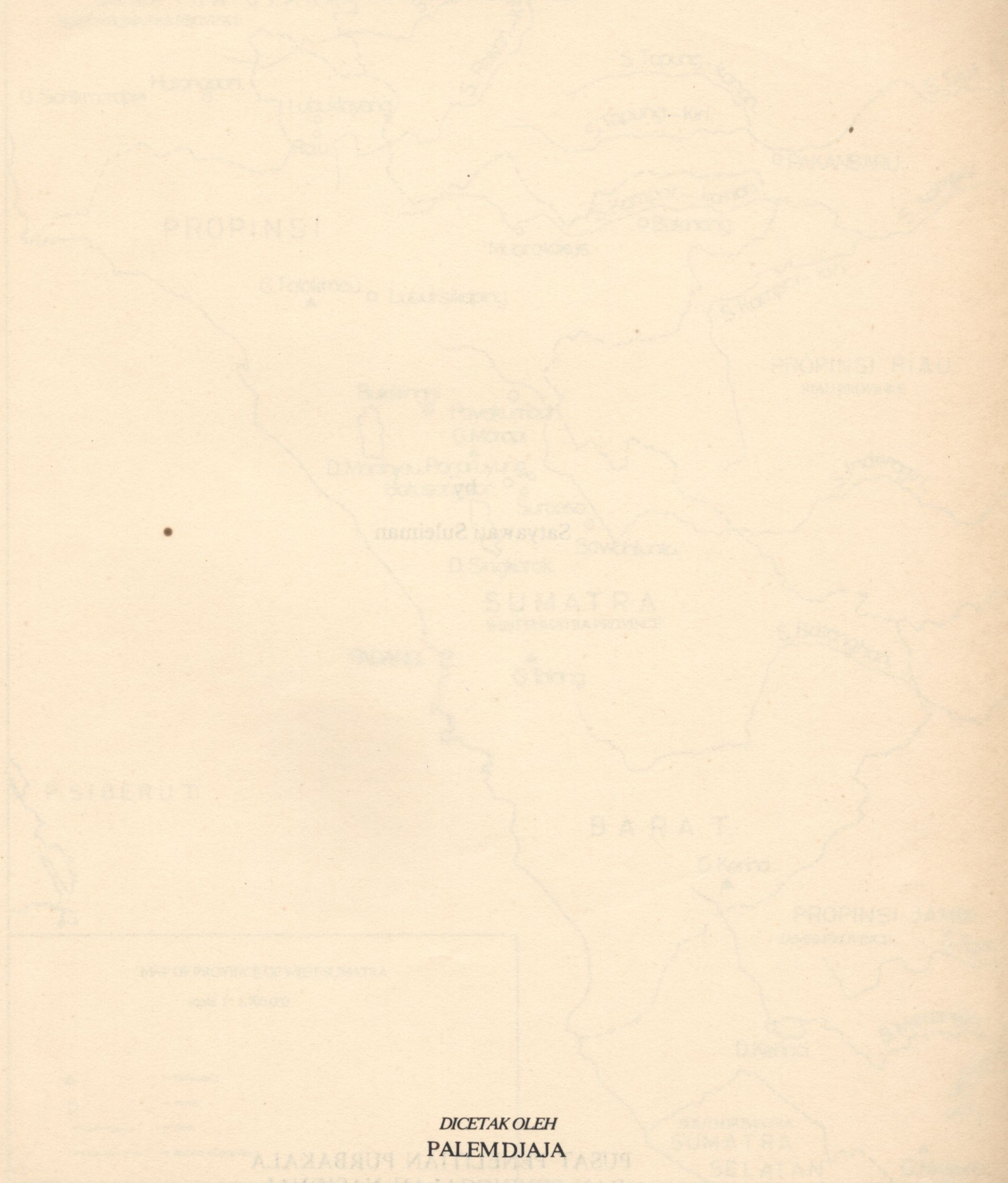
The population make their living from agriculture, fishery and trade. Their handicrafts include gold and silverwork and weaving. There are also modern industries such as cement factories.

* Paper presented at the 7th Congress of the International Association of Professors of the History of the Republic, August 22-26, 1977.

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PUSAT PENELITIAN PURBAKALA DAN PENINGGALAN NASIONAL

1977



DICETAK OLEH
PALEMDJAJA

THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF WEST SUMATRA *

by : Mrs. Satyawati Suleiman

INTRODUCTION :

In a discussion of the history of Sumatra Sriwijaya is always treated as its most important part. This state has indeed played a prominent role from the 7th to the 14th century A.D. ¹⁾ It started to decline at the end of the 13th century. The principalities in Sumatra which were under its suzerainty, then liberated themselves one by one from the center of power, which was situated on the east coast of Sumatra. The final blow appeared to have been dealt by Singhasari in East Java whose last king, Kertanagara sent an expeditionary army in 1275. This event was called in Old Javanese the "pamalayu". The success of this expedition might have been obtained through an alliance with local princes who had for a long time been eager to free themselves from the yoke of Sriwijaya. It is in the period following this interference from Java that a prince, named Adityawarman, a descendant of both the kings of Malayu and Singhasari occupied the throne for approximately forty years in the territory which is known as the Menangkabau area on the west coast of Sumatra. Though he has often been mentioned by scholars of Sumatran history, his cultural, religious and political relations deserve more attention, as not only did he leave most of the inscriptions of Sumatra, but as he appeared to have played an important role in a turbulent period.

We have made an attempt to obtain more data through the study of archaeological remains, such as ruins of temples, statues, and inscriptions, as well as from foreign sources.

LAND AND PEOPLE

The Bukit Barisan, which is a mountain range extends the whole length of the west coast of Sumatra. The territory which is now the province of West Sumatra, is covered with rugged mountains, lakes, canyons and valleys. It borders : West : on the Indian Ocean : North on South Tapanuli, East on Riau and Jambi and South on Bencoolen.

The people are the Menangkabau ethnic group who have a matrilineal system which implies that the women own and inherit the landed properties. They are also matrilocal which means that the husband has to live with his wife's family after marriage. The Menangkabaus are wellknown for the fact that they tend to migrate, not only to other parts of Indonesia but to the Malay Peninsula as well. Negeri Sembilan has a population of Menangkabaus who took along their customs and social system.

The language spoken is the Menangkabau dialect of the Malay. This dialect is also spoken in the Riau Province, in the territory of the ancient Buddhist Temple of Muara Takus, whereas in the remaining part of Riau the standard Malay is spoken which has become the basis of the national language of the Republic of Indonesia, the Bahasa Indonesia.

The population make their living from agriculture, fishery and trade. Their handicrafts include gold and silverwork and weaving. There are also modern industries such as cement factories.

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A. ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS.

I. NEW FINDS.

In Lubuk Layang in the area of Rao, Kabupaten Pasaman, a headless statue of stone was found near a river (Plate 1). It is very much weather beaten, but the similarity with guardian statues of Padang Lawas, in North Sumatra is obvious.²⁾ One can still see the vague outlines of a club he is holding in his right hand, while the left hand must have been in the Padang Lawas fashion, with a raised index finger, apparently a threatening pose (Plate 2). The statue has a girdle and a kind of doti, the end of which is tucked in on the backside of the girdle. In front are pleats like in the doti of a South Indian dancer. He must have been covered with jewellery like his counterparts of Padang Lawas.

The statue had stood at the foot of a staircase of a temple, like in Padang Lawas. The site of this temple might have been near the same river. The area of Pasaman had in the past several ruins of brick temples, which however disappeared in the course of time.

A few hundred meters from the place where the statue is now standing is a blacksmith. Nearby stands an inscribed stone, which happened to come to light when the large tree in which it was hidden, caught fire in April 1975. The inscription has two faces, A and B. A is more damaged and weather-beaten than B. The characters are Old Sumatran script, which look slightly different from the characters in Adityawarman's inscriptions, yet there are still enough similarities.^{pl. 3} The characters are very much unlike those used by the kings of Sriwijaya and also unlike Javanese characters. They have more similarities with the characters used in Cambodia. (according to Boechari).

In Indrapuro, a small town near the border of Bencoolen a small Bodhisattwa head was excavated.^{pl. 4} Its face shows traces of goldleaf. There are Buddha curls on its head which are however composed as a kind of headdress, as at the back sleek hairs are sticking out from underneath the cap. On his forehead is a kind of ornament. The face is rather long and together with the sharp nose it looks very Indian. It is not known of course where it was made. If not imported it could have been made in that area which until now is still wellknown for its silver and goldwork.

II. OLDER FINDS.

In above mentioned area of Pasaman are still the ruins of a brick Buddhist temple in Tanjung Medan.³⁾ It was reported as far back as 1865 as a high tower in the form of a broken needle with below two rooms, presumably a stupa. There was a shaft below the level of the floor. After excavation, several objects were found, such as the upper part of a flask which had a gold neck and silver rim. Inside were three unpolished rubies and three fragments of gold plate and gold thread. Most interesting was also the find of a plaque of gold leaf of 22.1 by 7 cm, inscribed with Nagari characters with mystical symbols and the names of Dhyani Buddhas. These objects are now at the Jakarta Museum. Some discussions of the gold plaque will follow below (under "religion").

In Buo, a silver statue of a Wajrasattwa was found, now at the Jakarta Museum. It has an Aksobhya in its chignon. It is seated and has the wajra in its right hand in front of the chest and in its left hand is a genta which is held against the hip.⁴⁾

In front of the Residence of the Bupati of Tanah Datar in the town of Batu Sangkar stands

a statue of a woman with pierced breasts, apparently a spout. Nearby stands a headless statue formerly found by Sir Stamford Raffles, which was thought to be a Bodhisattwa.

After some examination, I found indeed the characteristics making it into the Bodhisattwa *Awalokiteswara*. Though it has no head, which in the case of this Bodhisattwa should have an *Amitabha* in its chignon, it has still the vague outline of the tigerskin, wrapped around the hips. It could have been a *Siwa* if it had a snake *upawita*, but the sash worn by *Awalokiteswara* is obvious. It has a long sarong (not a *doti*) like the bronze statues in Central Java, starting from the *Sailendra* period (9th century) and of the post-*Sailendra* period: 10th, perhaps even 11th century.⁵⁾ It is the only statue, but other pieces were found in the Palembang area and in Kerinci (Jambi). The statue is standing on a finely carved lotus cushion.

The Upper Batang Hari districts which form now a part of the Jambi province yielded two famous statues. One of them was an *Amoghapasa* group statue,⁶⁾ the other a Buddhist *Bhairawa*, presumed to be the portrait statue of *Adityawarman*. The *Amoghapasa* stands surrounded by 12 Bodhisattwas and *Taras*. They are the same figures as the stone statues in the Jago temple in East Java, which *Kertanagara* made for his deceased father *Wisnuwardhana*. The difference is that these were loose stone statues, but for the rest they are identical in pose and style as well as in dress.

It is made according to the art of the *Singhasari* period. That it was meant to represent even figures belonging to the *Singhasari* dynasty is indicated by the lotus stalks which rise from a tuber on both sides of the image. Cult statues made for the *Majapahit* princes had on both sides lotus plants rising from a vase. This is a symbolic representation of new life springing from death. Four of the stone Bodhisattwas and *Taras* from the Jago temple are now at the Jakarta Museum while the main figure, headless, stands still at the Candi Jago compound.

On its pedestal which was separated from the *Amoghapasa* statue of *Rambahan* for a long time before the two pieces were reunited, is an inscription.⁷⁾ It mentions the sending of the statue by King *Kertanagara* from *Bhumi Jawa* to *Swarnnabhumi*, accompanied by four dignitaries, as a present from *Sri Wiswarupakumara*, to be erected in *Dhārmāsraya*. All subjects in *Bhumi Malaya* rejoice with *Sri Mahārāja Śrīmat Tribhuwanarāja Mauliwarmmadewa*, the most prominent among the noblemen.

At the back of the statue there was a later inscription carved by order of *Adityawarman*. It contains an announcement of a restoration of a statue in its *Wajraprakara* (diamond wall) of a *Jinalaya*, ordained by *Dharmasekhara*. After the king: *Udāyadityawarman Pratāpapārakrāmarājendrā Maulimāliwarmmadewa* (who is *maharajadhiraja*), the highest praise is given to the *Perpatih* (Prime Minister) *Dewa Tuhan*.

The ceremony was accompanied by a dance by *Adityawarman* and his consort in the dress of *Matanginīsa* and *Matangī*, the former being a demoniacal form of *Amoghapasa* in the particular form which is called *Gaganagañja*. This is the form of *Amoghapasa* where the *Maitreya* part has been replaced by *Aksobhya* (Moens 1924). *Stutterheim* (1936) suggested that at this occasion he erected a *Bhairawa* statue which was his own portrait, to serve as the protector of the cult temple. He even considered the possibility that actually the inscription described the consecration of this statue as the term is *Amoghapasesa* (Lord of *Amoghapasa*) and not *Amoghapasa*. Besides the statue is said to be "as beautiful as the rising sun" which is in accordance with *Adityawarman's* name : *Aditya* — sun while he is even called *Udayāditya* (*warman*) (rising sun).

As regards the style of the statue: it has several *Majapahit* characteristics, like the rich jewellery, the eardecoration and tiara in front of his high headdress. He holds a knife in his

right hand and a skullcup in his left. He has in contrast with the Singhasari and Majapahit statues not a long sarong on, but a short one. This is in accordance with his demoniacal character. For also in Java, personalities with demoniacal characteristics show their legs (on statues as well as relief figures) for example: Bhima,⁸⁾ and Kertolo (from the Panji stories). He stands on a corpse and on a pedestal decorated with skulls.

On the right side of his head is a sun and on its left a moon, like the standing Ganesa of Karangates, East Java.⁹⁾ According to Moens this is an indication of Siwa-Buddha religious syncretism. Another similarity with the Ganesa is his standing on a skull-pedestal, his skull jewellery, and the skull pattern on his sarong, which is carved inside diamond motifs. Thus it was a kind of checked dress, which is regarded as a sacred pattern, used by sacred persons in Jawa and Bali like priests or like Bhima in the wayang Kulit and wayang wong. The other similarity is the protective value of both figures. Bhairawa Adityawarman protects the temple of the realm while the Ganesa stands on the brink of a valley, which might have been the place of the borderline of the two halves of the Kingdom which Mpu Bharada divided for Airlangga (11th century).¹⁰⁾ Perhaps Adityawarman was also the guardian against another threat of partition. But we will discuss this below under "History".

As he is called Mahārājādhirāja we may regard this occasion as his coronation ceremony. Among the heirlooms of the historic kingdom of Pagarruyung, not far from the pavillion where several Adityawarman inscriptions are kept, is a dagger with engraved figures.¹¹⁾ They represent a Bhairawa with high headdress, with in his right hand a knife and in his left hand a skullbowl, and a Bhairawi with her hair loose, entirely naked except a pubic tassel in the form of a sickle. She too holds a knife and a skullbowl and as her male partner she is standing on a double lotus cushion.

Referring to Moens' interpretation of the inscription of 1347 on the back of the Amoghapasa statue where Adityawarman and his consort perform a dance in the demoniacal form of Matanginīsa and Matangī, Bosch (1930) regards these figures on the dagger as the portrait figures of Adityawarman and his wife.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The inscriptions of Adityawarman in the Menangkabau area¹²⁾ are many, about 30. Only a few have so far been read and discussed by Brandes and Kern.

The inscriptions discussed now are: 1). the large inscription of Pagarruyung. 2). Inscription of Kuburrajo. 3). Inscription of Pagarruyung II, now at Batu Sangkar. 4). Suroaso. 5). Bandar Bapahat. and 6). the new inscription of Lubuk Layang.

The inscriptions which according to Kern (1917) were written in "potsierlijk Sanskrit" (funny Sanskrit), and sometimes mixed with Old Malay contain nevertheless enough interesting details. They need all a new research, starting with the making of rubbings, which is followed by transcription and interpretation. For the moment some remarks will be sufficient.

1). Pagarruyung I

Mention is made of the founding of a vihara in suvarnnadvipa by Adityawarmmapratā-paparākramarājendra maulimaniwarmmadewamahārājādhirāja. He is called Dharmmarāja-kulatilaka: ornament of the dynasty of Dharmmarāja. On line 4 is another name for him: Sri Kāmarāja Adhimuktisadāsmṛti with the consecration name sutatagatabajradheya.

The officiating priest is named: Dharmmadvaja. Old Malay words are : tiada maling (there are no thieves); samun (robbers) ; handak barbwina (wants to destroy).

2). Inscription of Kuburajo.

The name of Adityawarman's father is mentioned: Adwayawarman. Adityawarman is compared with a kalpataru, the wish-granting tree. He is called "Kanakamedinindra" (Lord of Gold-Land) and an incarnation of Lokeswara.

Moens (1924) remarked :

"This Bhairawa prince died a few years later and had mentioned in his tombstone inscription that he possessed all Buddhist virtues and that he was an incarnation of the Saviour Lokeswara".

This however is a misinterpretation of the name Kuburajo which Moens spelled as Kubur Raja. Kubur means grave, but kubu is palace, or site. It is probably "Royal Palace". The place where several inscriptions of Adityawarman are now standing collected in an open pavillion, except the inscription we just discussed which stands in an open field, looks like an ancient compound. The surrounding village stands on one side of this compound on a lower level. This compound could have been the site of one of the residences of Adityawarman.

3). Inscription Pagarruyung II (in front of the Bupati's Residence at Batu Sangkar).^{pl. 9)}

Here the crownprins, Ananggawarman is mentioned. The term used is yauwarajya, tanaya (son of) Adityawarman. He is described in flattering terms, and the inscription ends with three words which Brandes read as : "Powajra nityasmrti". When I read the rubbing I could read "hewajra". Powajra makes no sense, but hewajra is in accordance with the kalachakra Buddhism which Adityawarman followed. About this "hewajra" we will have a few notes below.

4). The inscription of Suroaso.^{pl. 10)}

This has been read by Kern (1917) and interpreted by Moens (1924).¹⁴⁾ The term ksetrajña was interpreted as redeemed, as it was a redemption rite on a cremation ground (ksetra). Thus Adityawarman was ordained as a Bhairawa. This was a ritual he underwent as he was preparing for death, liberating himself from earthly bonds.

5) Bandar Bapahat.¹⁵⁾

About one km farther is Bandar Bapahat (harbour with carvings). The small river could have been an irrigation canal constructed by order of Adityawarman. On the left side is an inscription in Adityawarman script containing the words "Surawasawan" Lord of "Surawāsa" and "Grāma Sri Surawāsa" — the village of Surawasa. The name of the present village is still the same.

On the right side is an inscription in South Indian Grantha.

It appears that Adityawarman constructed irrigation works for the fertile ricefields which are lying in a valley on a lower level than the place of the inscription which was perhaps erected on the cremation grounds. In the village I saw nine waterwheels of the type which I have only

seen so far in Siem Reap, Cambodia. The combination of cremation grounds and fertility reminds us of the Old Javanese concept that new life and fertility spring from death.

6). Lubuk Layang (Kubu Sutan) Kabupaten Pasaman.

Face A. There is mention of a yauwasuta jayendrawarma.

Face B. the king's name is Bijayawarmma; on line 3 is the word moksam and on line 4 yauwaraja Bijayendrasekhara. It seems to concern a sanctuary for the ancestors: pitamahadara (the last word is not identified) which is on: sri indrakila parwwatapuri. Puri is in Majapahit the temple while pura is the palace. In Bali it is just the other way around. It is possible that the use of this puri was to denote the sanctuary and not a palace, as it is more in accordance with the words pamuja and pitamaha. It thus concerns worship on an ancestor sanctuary on Mount Indrakila. Indrakila is the mountain for Arjuna's asceticism in the Mahabharata. But in East Java there is Indrakila on one of the slopes of Mount Arjuna¹⁶⁾ where several ruins of temples from the Majapahit period are located. Is it possible of temples that the princes of this area were related to those of Majapahit. But this would bring us back to Adityawarman who claimed to be a scion of the family of the Rajapatni, the queen of Majapahit who became a nun, delegating her powers, to her daughter, Tribhuwana.¹⁷⁾ (Krom 1931; Stutterheim 1936) It could have been issued by a local prince, a viceroy of Adityawarman, but still related to him and also of mixed Malayu-Javanese descendancy.

The area where this inscription has been found is near the border with South Tapanuli (province of North Sumatra), the area where we find the temples of Padang Lawas (11th — 14th century) which stood in the center of the ancient kingdom of Pannai. It is possible that also in the 14th century a viceroy of Adityawarman had to guard that frontier against invasions from Pannai.

RELIGION.

We should make also a few remarks on religion in West Sumatra. Moens¹⁸⁾ has pointed out in 1924 that Adityawarman, like Kertanegara was a follower of Kalacakra Buddhism. It appears now, after reading Hewajra instead of pobajra that also Ananggawarman, his son identified himself with Hewajra a demoniacal figure in Tibetan Buddhism.

Hewajra is of the same character as Heruka, a demoniacal figure. A Heruka was found in one of the temples of Padang Lawas,¹⁹⁾ (Bahal II). It is a deity standing on a corpse.

Pott (1946)²⁰⁾ refers to the Hevajrasekaprakriya, in which one finds an extensive description of the Hevajra-rite. This rite which was meant to ordain a cakrawartin was also undergone by Kubilai Khan, contemporary of Kertanegara. Says Pott: "In the last part of the ceremony the stage is reached by the adept where he identifies himself with Hewajra, worshipping himself in that shape."

Thus the inscription in which Ananggawarman is mentioned was actually referring to a Hewajra rite to ordain him as a cakrawartin, successor of Adityawarman.

There is also another proof of Tantric Buddhism in West Sumatra, namely at Tanjung Medan.²¹⁾ (Stein Callenfels 1920; Krom 1931; Schnitger 1937; Bosch 1930). The gold plaque found in the central shaft of the ruin has the engraved figure of a wiswawajra resting on an eight petalled lotus. The inscription in Nagari - script is : hum Aksobhya phat. The petals on which we could expect the names of the Dhyani Buddhas of the west and east are cut off. It has been a mandala with an Aksobhya in its center. The date of this inscription was thought to be not older than the 12th century (Stein Callenfels 1920; Bosch 1930).

As regards this term PHAT it was used during a tantric rite. In "Tibetan Yoga"²²⁾ is written :

"Then, concluding with a loud exclamatory utterance of PHAT, the Guru himself in his illusiory form, as visualized, is to be thought of as being transferred to the Dharma Dhatu State in the Akanishta Heaven and there absorbed in the heart of the Wajra Dhara." Tantric Buddhism was already present in 7th century Sriwijaya as can be concluded from the last lines of the inscription of Kedukan Bukit on A.D. 603.

Atisa the reformer of Tibetan Buddhism stayed 12 years in Sriwijaya in Malayagiri before he left for Tibet.²³⁾

Tantrism in Indonesia is thought to have come from Bengal and the monks from Indonesia also visited Nalanda as can be concluded from the inscription mentioning Balaputra of Suwarnadwipa who built a wihara in the realm of the Pala king. around A.D. 860.

However, there could have been influences of especially Tibetan Buddhism by way of China. After Kubilai Khan had undergone the Hewajra consecration ceremony he immediately afterwards appointed his Guru Phags- pa' with the wordly reign in Tibet²⁴⁾ (Pott 1946).

He was the Dalai Lama Saskya who had to crown the Chinese Emperors. Kubilai Khan built Tibetan monasteries in Tibet and also in Peking.

It is possible that Indonesian monks visiting Peking missions coming along with the trade, came into direct contact with Tibetan monks, or Chinese monks who followed Tibetan Buddhism. Kertanegara who had a conflict with Kubilai Khan and had the face of the ambassador mutilated, might have gotten his Kalacakra Buddhism from Tibetan monks. Adityawarman was twice sent as an ambassador to Peking and could have contacted the Tibetans of the monastery from whom he got more instructions. During an excavation carried out by our Institute (The National Research Center of Archaeology) in Pasai (Northern tip of Sumatra) several sherds of porcelain came to light which turned out to be fragments of Tibetan pottery. They had even a formula in Nagari (or Tibetan?) characters. They were found together with ceramic sherds of the Ming period (14th century). Yet at the time Pasai was already ruled by Moslem Kings. We saw above that a mission from Malayu in 1281 used two Moslem envoys.²⁵⁾ Thus there was religious tolerance in Sumatra. Though several princes followed the Kalacakra Buddhism, they worked together with Moslems and Moslem princes for commercial reasons.

It was therefore possible that in a port as Pasai where the population was already Moslem, ships could anchor with monks on board who were either Tibetans or Indonesian monks who had been to Peking or perhaps even to Tibet (?).

HISTORY

We should see the role of Adityawarman against the background of relations between the kingdoms of Sumatra and Java. Or, between the kings of Sriwijaya and Java. For the rivalry and the animosity, the struggle for monopoly in overseas trade goes as far back as the seventh century. In the inscription of Sriwijaya, of Kota Kapur²⁶⁾ on Bangka island, the inscription is said to have been carved at the moment when the army of Sriwijaya had just left on an expedition against Bhumi Jawa not being obedient to Sriwijaya.

Then there was the problem of trade missions from the Sailendras in Java and Kings of Sumatra. The missions from Sriwijaya to China came only till 742 A.D. Then for more than a century there were no missions from Sriwijaya but only from Cho - p'o and Ho - ling, (both in Java), in the period that the Sailendras ruled there (circa 750 - 850). It is remarkable that their missions never overlap as also pointed out by Wolters.²⁷⁾

The Buddhist Sailendras, who left magnificent temples in Central Java as the Borobudur, Mendut, Pawon, Sari, Sewu, Plaosan, and many other sanctuaries reigned from the middle of the 8th century till the middle of the 9th century. Afterwards there were inscriptions issued by Hindu kings. Boechari who has discussed the inscription in old Malay language of Sodjomerto on the Northern part of Central Java regards the Dapunta Selendra mentioned as the ancestor of the Buddhist Sailendra dynasty though he was a Hindu.²⁸⁾

A dynasty of Hindu princes or a branch of the same family of the Sailendras who stuck to their original belief, had seized power (9th century), at first by intermarrying in the Sailendra dynasty and later on by fighting it out in a full scale war.²⁹⁾ The last Sailendra prince Balaputra was expelled and became (circa A.D. 856) king of Suwarnadwipa.³⁰⁾ It has been assumed that he was king of Sriwijaya though he never mentioned it. But he did mention in an inscription of about 860 issued in Nalanda, India, his grandfather of the Sailendra dynasty in Jawabhumī which seems to have been of great importance in his relations with the King of the Pala dynasty. We therefore have the impression that Balaputra was not yet King of Sriwijaya, a fact which he would certainly have mentioned like in the 11th century, king Sanggramawijayottunggawarman who built a vihara on Cola territory in South India. The last time the name Sriwijaya was mentioned was in the Sanskrit inscription of Ligor (775 AD). Since on one side there is the name Sailendra and on the other side Sriwijaya, it has been for a long time a general assumption that the king of the Sailendra dynasty was king of Sriwijaya, and that automatically Sriwijaya was always ruled by Sailendras. However there are not enough proofs yet. His ascension to the throne of Sriwijaya could have happened after A.D. 860.

Wolters³¹⁾ noticed the strange fact that during the whole of the 9th century there were no missions from Sriwijaya which till 742 was spelled as Shih-lie-fo-shieh, but only from Chan-pei (Jambi). He wonders then whether Balaputra would have settled down in Jambi as king of Suwarnadwipa.

In 1017 Airlangga,³²⁾ the prince of Bali came to Java to attend a wedding. During the festivities, the royal palace was attacked by a king from Wurawari who came out from Lwaram. The king Dharmawangsa and many nobles died, but Airlangga could escape to the forest where he hid himself till he could strike back in 1019.

The King of Wurawari might have been a local potentate supported by Sriwijaya. An ambassador from Jawa who came to China said that the two countries were constantly engaged in war.³³⁾ An Ambassador from Sriwijaya could not return to his country in Peking in 980, because Sriwijaya was invaded by the Javanese.

It seems to have been the time of many political turbulences in Indonesia, for example there were the raids of the Cola king on Sriwijaya in 1017 and 1023.

Later on Airlangga might have been on friendly terms with Sriwijaya for either his wife or daughter was named: Sangramawijaya Dharmaprāsādotunggadewī,³⁴⁾ which is similar to the name of the king whose palace was raided by the Chola King in 1023 : Sri Sanggrāmawijayottunggawarman.

In 1275 Kertanagara, King of Singasari sent an expeditionary army to Sumatra."This event was called the Pamalayu in the Pararaton,³⁵⁾ which had been interpreted such that the

expedition was launched against Malayu in Jambi. It could however have been a raid against Sriwijaya with the help of some local Sumatran princes. For Malayu was also used as a collective name like in the Nagakertagama (Krom, 1931).

In 1286 Kertanegara sent the Amoghapasa statue to Suwarnabhumi to be erected at Dharmasraya. This was meant as a friendly deed. Stuttherheim³⁶⁾ suggested the laying of a marriage alliance between the House of Singhasari who sent Wiswarupakumara and the House of Malayu.

In 1293 the troupes came back to Java under their commander Kebo Anyabrang. They came however when Kertanegara had been murdered during a tantric rite when his palace was raided by the King of Kadiri. There were also two princesses from Malayu, Dara Petak and Dara Jingga. Dara Petak married the King of Majapahit and her son became king of Majapahit, named Jayanagara. Dara Jingga married a dewa and became then mother of the king of Malayu, Sri Marmmadewa or Haji Mantrolot, according to the Pararātōn.

Adityawarman was educated at the court of Majapahit, where he reached high positions. In 1325 and 1332 he was sent as an envoy to China. His name is spelled as: seng - kia - li - ye. (Moens 1924)³⁷⁾

In 1343 he founds (or restores) a temple (prasada) to honour his parents and relatives.³⁸⁾ He calls himself: tadbangsajah, born from the family of the Rajapatni. His function is that of Werdhamantri, which seems to be a High Dignitary.

In 1347 he is in Sumatra and has his inscription engraved at the back of the Amoghapasa statue at Dharmasraya,³⁹⁾ and he erects the Bhairawa statue which is a portrait statue of himself as a guardian of the cult temple in which the Amoghapasa from Singhasari is accommodated. We mentioned above that as he calls himself Mahārājādhirāja, we may even regard it as his own coronation ceremony.

His later inscriptions are all found in the Menangkabau area. Moens called his kingdom Menangkabau, but Adityawarman never mentions that name. Nor does he call himself King of Malayu. On the contrary, it is Kanakamedinīndra (Lord of Gold Land) or Suwarnnadwipa, which seems to be the old name for Sumatra. Thus he claims to be the Lord of the whole territory which had been under the suzerainty of Sriwijaya. As regards the Menangkabau area which was chosen as the residential area of these Bhairawa princes, it was not isolation what they were after. On the contrary, in this area they could control the landroutes on which gold, camphor, benzoe and other commodities were transported, to be shipped in harbours on the westcoast, or to be transported by boats on the Kampar and Batang Hari river to harbours on the east coast. Hall⁴⁰⁾ states that the kingdom founded by Adityawarman, had no external interests. On the contrary, he was planted there by Majapahit as its most prominent ally to guard against seizure of power on sea and land by rival princes and by China.

Singhasari as well as Majapahit must have found the Jambi — Menangkabau area, an ideal place to fulfil their imperialistic ambitions for here they could control the landroutes and the searoutes in both the Indian Ocean and Strait Malaka.

Jambi could have been the area of the most ancient Malayu of the 7th century, of whom I-tsing remarked that it had become the territory of Sriwijaya.⁴¹⁾ The stone, found at Karangbrahi on the bank of the Batang Hari in upper Jambi, is an inscription which is identical to the one found in Kota Kapur (A.D. 686) with the exception of the last line where the expedition against Bhumi Jawa is mentioned.⁴²⁾

We saw above that in the 9th century Chan-pei⁴³⁾ was the only country in Sumatra sending ambassadors to China when San-fo-tsi was not even mentioned, and that Wolters suggested

Jambi as the residential area of Balaputra after he was expelled from Java. There were archaeological remains in Solok Sipin: a Buddha and some other Buddhist statues and four gigantic makaras.⁴⁴⁾ which are now at the Jakarta museum, one of them bearing the date corresponding with 1024 A.D. They must have belonged to a temple of large size, an indication that the area was an important Buddhist religious center.

The Arabs thought that Suwarndib was identical with Zabag. On the mouth of the Batang Hari is a place which is called Muara Sabak, which could have been an ancient port⁴⁵⁾ of Jambi.

The Menangkabau area might have been crossroads for the traderoutes of South, West and North Sumatra. At present cars and busses come from Palembang, Pakan Baru (Riau) and Medan. It might have been the same situation in Adityawarman's period. By controlling these landroutes he could control the trade in gold and camphor and benzoe and other forest products.

In fact the westcoast of Sumatra had been visited since centuries by foreign ships. There was Barus, known as Barousai in the *Periplus*⁴⁶⁾ and Lubuk Tua with a Tamil inscription mentioning the merchant corporation of the 1500.⁴⁷⁾

The kingdom of Pannai which was raided after Sriwijaya by the Cola fleet in 1023, must have had its most important ports on the westcoast. For though the river Pannai discharges itself on the eastcoast, the sites of Padang Lawas are nearer to the westcoast. Nowadays the nearest harbour from Padang Lawas is Sibolga, which could have been an ancient port by another name. The Cola fleet could have launched the attack with different units: operating from the westcoast to attack Pannai and hitting Sriwijaya and Malayu on the eastcoast.

Wolters, suggests that Barus only became busy because of the development of the Menangkabau area.⁴⁸⁾

Adityawarman ruled from 1347 till around 1377. In the last years of his life he had to experience rivalry and conflicts with neighbouring Dharmasraya — Jambi which he had held under his suzerainty.

In 1373 the Veritable Record mentions three kings in San-fo-ch'i : the Maharaja of Palembang, Dharmasrayahaji (ta - ma (lai) sha - ma - a - che) and Adityawarman. (Seng - Chia - li (t) Yu - lan)⁴⁹⁾

In 1374; there is a mission from the Maharaja of Palembang to China followed by one in 1375 sent by Adityawarman.

In 1377 the Maharaja of Dharmasraya is succeeded by his son. In the veritable Record is said: "In 1377, Ma - na - che - wu - li, son of the king of San - fo - ch'i sent an envoy to report the death of his father, ta-ma(lai) sha-ma-a-che and asked the donation of the royal seal, which symbolizes the imperial authorization of the enthronement. In the same year the emperor gave an order to send an envoy to San-fo-ch'i together with an imperial edict and a seal to crown the heir, Ma-na-che-wu-li king of San-fo-ch'i.

But when he was on his way, he was captured by Javanese troupes and killed.

There was another interpretation suggested by Ikuta:(1774) that the envoy was lured on his way to San-fo-ch'i by a certain local chief. Ma-na-che-wu-li on hearing about this incident, asked the help of the king of Java, i.e. Majapahit. The King of Majapahit sent a punitive expedition to fight this local chief. The latter however informed the Chinese Emperor that the Chinese envoy was captured by the Javanese expedition. Emperor Hung-wu accused the king of Java in 1380. The kingdom of Java sent back the envoy with courtesy to China.

Ikuta assumed that Ma-na-che-wu-li was Adityawarman. But we think that he was the son of the king of Dharmasraya, who was a contemporary of Adityawarman and appears to have liberated himself from the latter.

There might have been a constant struggle between branches of the same family. When Adityawarman had his inscription engraved at the back of the Amoghapasa statue he restored the royal family to power who seemed to have been dethroned in the period following the sending of the Amoghapasa statue by Kertanagara in A.D. 1286. Adityawarman even acts as a guardian, which he indicates by erecting a Bhairawa statue which is his portrait statue. As we remarked above, it might have had the same purpose as the putting up of the Ganesa of Karang Kates in Blitar, East Java, which served as a guardian figure against dangers as well as against partition.

After 1347 Adityawarman reigned from the Menangkabau area, which does not mean that he lived there in isolation. On the contrary, he had the Jambi area (Dharmasraya) under his control. Thirty years later however his relatives in Jambi who in the true (Malayu) tradition carried the name Mauliwarmmadewa⁵⁰⁾ just like Adityawarman, freed themselves, and turned to Emperor Hung-wu for help. Adityawarman who not only held Jambi under his control but probably also the Riau Area had his troupes lure the Chinese envoys on their way to San-fo-ch'i and captured them.

In 1377 Adityawarman was already very old, perhaps over 80. It was in these years that he underwent the redemption ritual in Suroaso. His crownprince was his own son, Ananggawarman. I have read above the word "hewajra" in the last line of the inscription in which the name of Ananggawarman is mentioned. The hewajra ceremony was meant, to prepare him for his role as a king, to succeed his father. It was in 1377 perhaps Adityawarman's last attempt to reunite the parts of his kingdom by preventing the King of Dharmasraya to be crowned as king of Sriwijaya by the Chinese Emperor, to keep the power for his son, Ananggawarman.

For after Java (Singhasari) had dealt Sriwijaya a crushing blow with the assistance of Malayu (Jambi) in 1275 how could Adityawarman who was a soldier — diplomat — king tolerate the attempt of his relative in Dharmasraya to be crowned as king of Sriwijaya by the Chinese emperor? Besides the loss of Jambi would have cut his kingdom off from the east coast of Sumatra, though he had still a way out through Riau. Yet it seems that his attempt was in vain for Adityawarman's kingdom had already been split into two parts, the Menangkabau area (and Riau) and Dharmasraya-Jambi. Moreover this territory, with in addition Palembang was called San-fo-ch'i. After the occurrence with the Chinese envoys who were on their way to San-fo-ch'i at the request of the king of Dharmasraya, Java had occupied this territory: according to the History of the Ming, San-fo-ch'i became gradually poorer and no tribute was brought from this country any more. The Javanese changed its name to Ku-kang (the old estuary).⁵¹⁾

Adityawarman could have been the last mighty potentate in South and West Sumatra, the area which had been for centuries the seat of power of Malayu, and the rival of Sriwijaya.

NOTES ON SUWARNABHUMI, SUWARNADWIPA, MALAYU, SAN-FO-CH'I.

Adityawarman called himself Lord of Goldland with which he meant the whole of Sumatra. Suwarnadwipa or Suwarnabhumi was in Indonesian as well as in foreign sources, Sumatra. Kertanagara sent his Amoghapasa statue from Bhumi Jawa to Suwarnabhumi. Atisa⁵²⁾ the reformer of Tibetan Buddhism studied for 12 years in the 11th century under Dharmakerti in Suwarnadwipa in Malayagiri. This has been assumed to have been in Burma, but as in addition it is said to be in Sriwijayanagara, at Malayagiri, it would be more acceptable to seek it in

Sumatra, i.e. in Jambi. There is a river Malayu in Jambi. As Krom ⁵³⁾ remarked: Burma is also called Suwarnabhumi but never Suwarnadwipa.

A kingdom of Malayu sent already missions to China in the 7th century.

As regards the term "Malayu" ; It seems to have been occupied by Sriwijaya just before I-ching arrived at the capital on his return from India.

The Cola king's fleet attacked Sriwijaya, Pannai and Malayu before it crossed over to the kingdoms on the Malay Peninsula. (11th century). In the Carita Parahyangan ⁵⁴⁾ an Indonesia manuscript from West Java, Sanjaya is said to have conquered: Bali, Bima, Malayu, Kemir (Khmer), Keling with its king Sriwijaya, Barus and China.

A Khmer incscription on a bronze Buddha statue from Chaiya, now at the National Museum at Bangkok, contains the information that by order of H.M. Srimat Trailokyaraja Maulibhusanawarmadewa the Mahasenapati Galanai governor of Grahi has had the statue made. ⁵⁵⁾

As this title reminds one of those used in the inscriptions of Jambi and Menangkabau, the suggestion had been made that this country was not under Khmer suzerainty but perhaps under Malayu.

In de Kot Monthieraban ⁵⁶⁾ of Thailand (14th century or younger) are mentioned: Ujong Tanah, Malaka, Malayu and Worawari. Malayu sends envoys to China in 1281. They seem to be Moslems, as they are named: Sulayman and Chamsuddin. ⁵⁷⁾ There are more missions from Malayu in 1293, 1299 and 1301.

Marco Polo ⁵⁸⁾ who in 1292 visited Ferlec in Aceh mentions also Malayiur which he did not visit himself, but which he calls Java Minor and with 8 kingdoms each having its own king and language. In the Nagarakertagama Prapanca when summing up the overseas colonies uses Bhumi Malayu as a collective name for all the states in Sumatra. ⁵⁹⁾

Thus at the end of the 13th century Malayu was still a separate kingdom as it sent its own missions to China. In 1286, in the Amoghapasa inscription of Rambahan, is spoken of the praja of Bhumi Malayu and in 1347 to the Welfare of Malayapura.

The "Bhumi Malayu" of the Amoghapasa inscription was still the kingdom of Malayu in Suwarnabhumi (Sumatra). In 1347 Adityawarman mentions Malayapura which is still the kingdom of Malayu. There are since that time no more missions from Malayu but from separate kingdoms: Palembang, Dharmasraya and Aditaywarman.

Malayu had ceased to exist and disappeared from all written sources at the end of the 14th century.

List of ILLUSTRATIONS

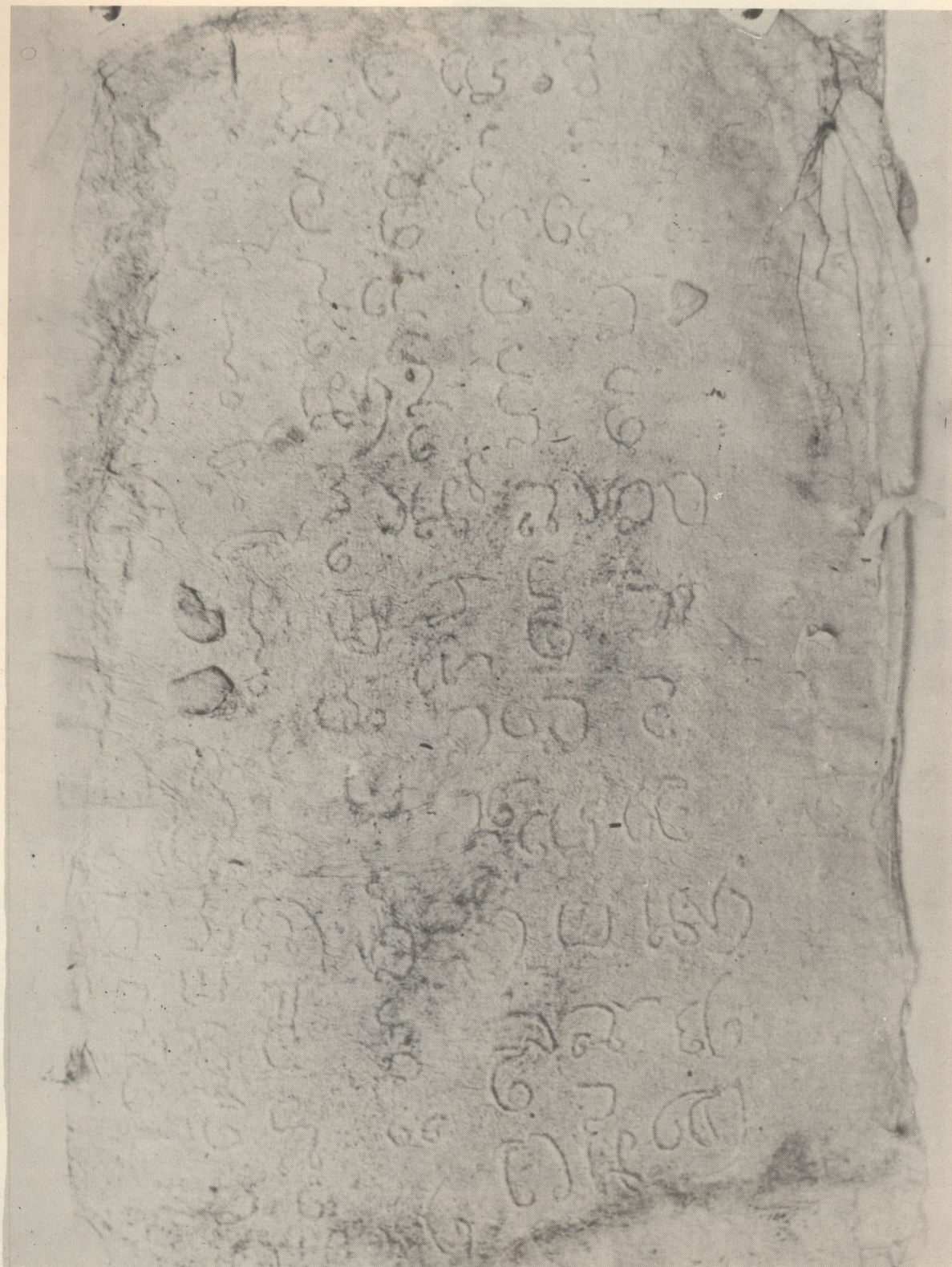
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- Pl. 2 – 2 guardian figures from Padang Lawas, South Tapanuli, North Sumatra.
- Pl. 3 – Fare D – Inscription from Lubuk Layang, Kabupaten Pasaman.
- Pl. 4 – Bronze head from Indropuro, Museum Padang.
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- Pl. 7 – Adityawarman as a Buddhist Bhairawa - stone found at Sungai Langsat. Museum Pusat, Jakarta.
- Pl. 8 – Ganesa – Karang Kates. Kabupaten Blitar, East Java.
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- Pl. 10 – Inscription, mentioning the name of Adityawarman and the term "Ksetrajna" indicating his liberation from earthly bonds through a Bhairawa-rite.



PL. 1 — guardian figure from Lubuk Layang, Kabupaten Pasaman.



pl. 2 — 2 guardian figures from Padang Lawas, South tapanuli, North Sumatra.



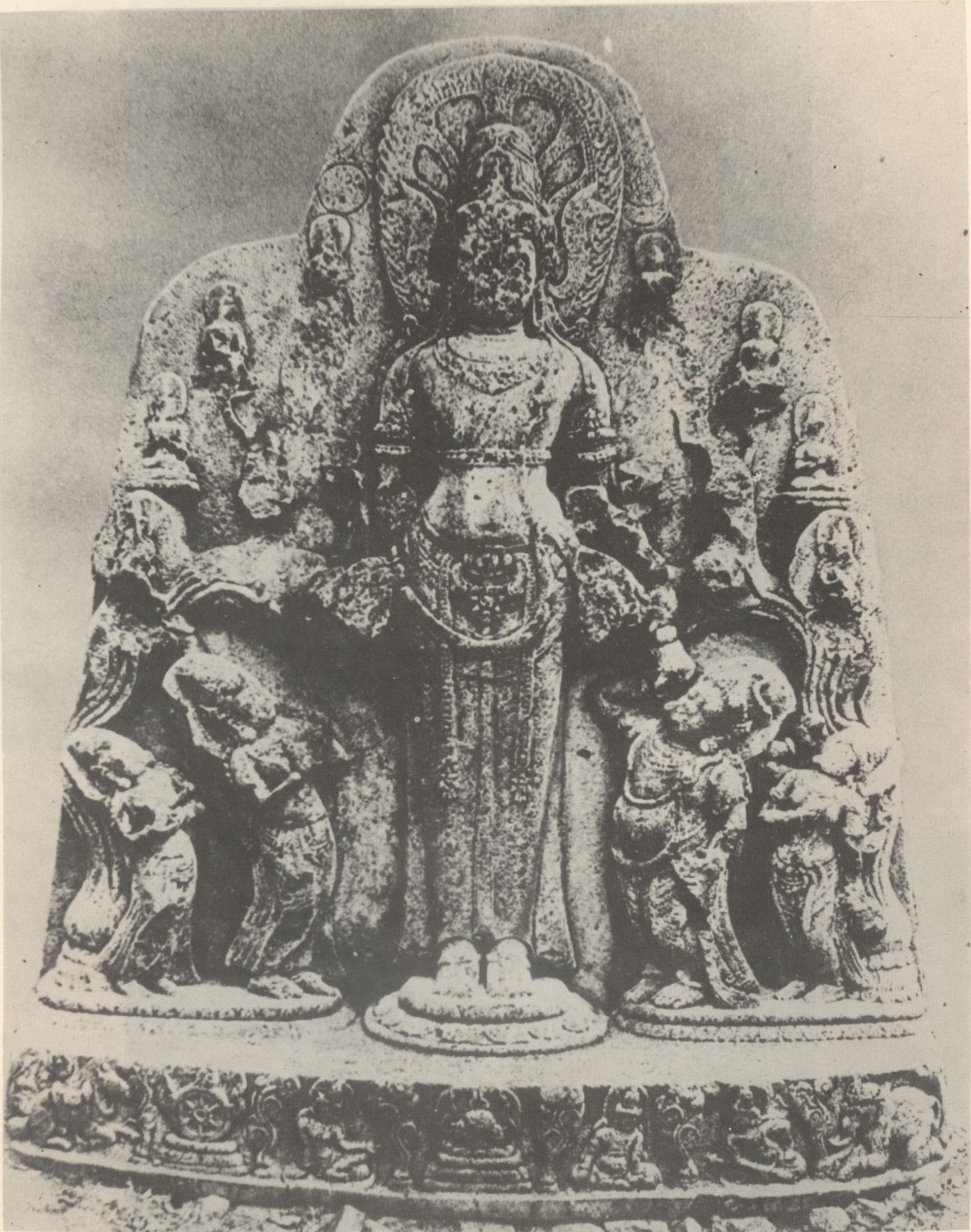
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pl. 4 — *Bronze head from Indropuro, Museum Padang.*



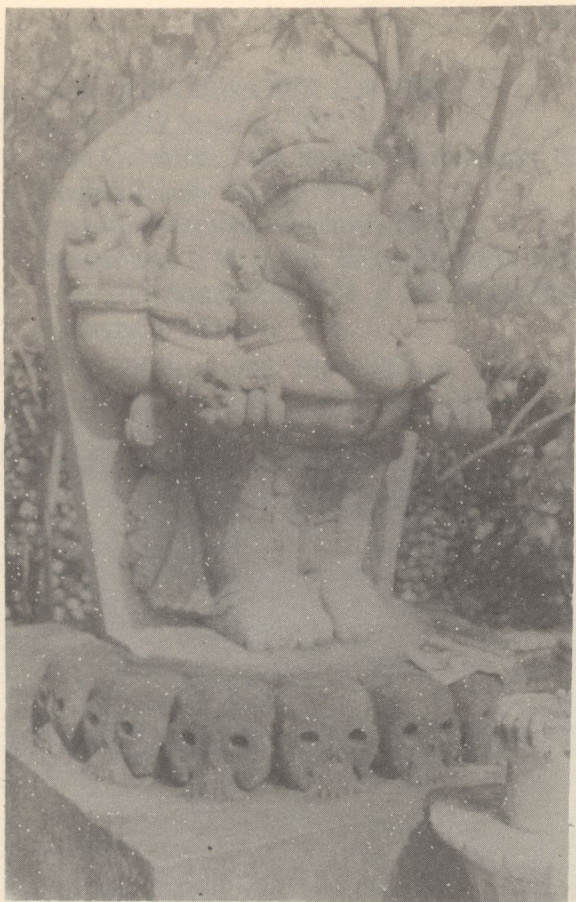
pl. 5 *Awalokiteswara - Stone. Batu Sangkar, Kabupaten Tanah Datar*
Bronze



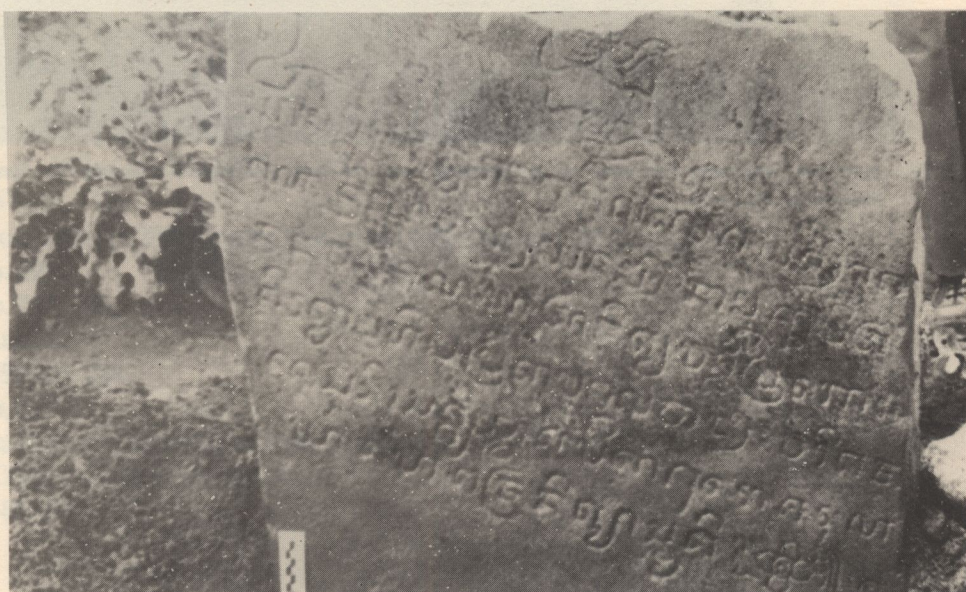
pl. 6 — *Amogapasa with surrounding Bodhisattvas and Taras, stone - found at Rambahan - Museum Pusat, Jakarta.*



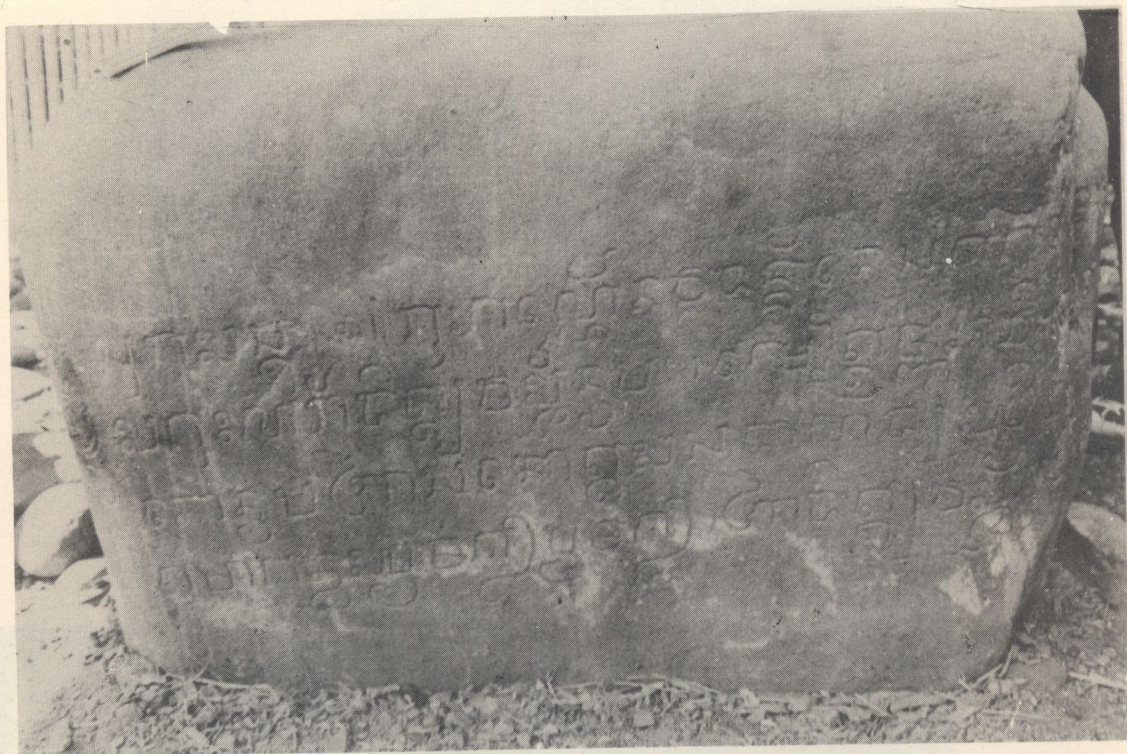
pl. 7 — Adityawarman as a Buddhist Bhairawa - stone found at Sungai Langsat. Museum Pusat Jakarta.



pl 8 — *Ganesa - Karang Kates. Kabupaten Blitar, East Java*



pl 9 — *Inscription from Pagarruyung now in garden of Bupati's residence at Batu Sangkar, Kabupaten Tanah Datar.*



pl. 10— Inscription mentioning the name of Adityawarman and the term "Ksetrajna" indicating his liberation from earthly bonds through a Bhairawa-rite.

NOTES

- 1) Krom 1931; Coedes 1968; Hall 1970.
- 2) Bosch 1930; Schnitger 1937.
- 3) Stein Callenfels, 1920; Bosch 1930; Schnitger 1937.
- 4) Oudheidkundig Verslag 1912.
- 5) Fontein, Soekmono, Suleiman, 1971;
- 6) Stutterheim, 1936. p. 291; Bernet Kempers, 1958, pl. 259; and 260
- 7) Kern 1917; Stutterheim 1936; p. 295; Krom 1931 p. 132.
- 8) Stutterheim 1956, p. 105.
- 9) Krom 1923, p. 505; Pott 1969, p. 123 — 131;
- 10) Krom 1931, p. 273 — 278, 295, 393.
- 11) Bosch, 1930, p. 211.
- 12) Moens 1924, p. 579; Kern, Brandes.
- 13) Brandes, 1913.
- 14) Moens 1924, p. 576.
- 15) Krom, 1931, p. 414.
- 16) Krom 1923, p. 352 — 354.
- 17) Krom 1931, p. 383 — 384.
- 18) Moens 1924, p. 579.
- 19) Schnitger 1937 pl. XXXIV; Bernet Kempers 1959, pl. 228.
- 20) Pott 1946, p. 75.
- 21) Oudheidkundig Verslag 1912, 1920, 1930.
- 22) Evans — Wentz, 1975. p. 272.
- 23) Coedes, 1968, p. 323 (p.137 n.61). As Dharmakirti's work was translated by Atisa, it was written in the reign of Sri Chudamanivarmadeva of Srivijayanagara in Malayagiri, in Suvarnadvipa, we may assume that Atisa stayed for twelve years in Jambi — Malayu.
- 24) Pott, 1946, p. 57.
- 25) Krom 1931, p. 336; Coedes 1968, p. 202.
- 26) Krom 1931, p. 16; Coedes, 1968, p. 82.
- 27) Wolters, 1967, p. 214.
- 28) Boechari, 1966.
- 29; De Casparis, 1956. p. 293 — 297.
- 30) Krom, 1923, p. 142; Coedes 1968, p. 92.
- 31) Wolters, 1967, p. 310
- 32) Kern 1917; Krom 1931; p. 238; Coedes 1968, p. 44 - 46; Damais (1952), p. 64, n.2
- 33) Krom, 1931, p. 229.
- 34) Krom, 1931, p. 245, 246.
- 35) Brandes; Pararaton.
- 36) Stutterheim, 1936, p. 288.
- 37) Moens 1937, p. 485.
- 38) Krom,; Coedes 1968, p. Stutterheim, 1936, p. 282.
- 39) Krom, 1931; Coedes, 1968; Moens 1924.
- 40) Hall, 1970, p. 88 - 89.

- 41) Krom 1931, p. 115; Coedes 1968, p. 41
- 42) Krom 1931, p. 485; Coedes 1968, p. 82.
- 43) Wolter 1967, p. 310
- 44) Bernet Kempers, 1958.
- 45) Amerta III
- 46) Krom, 1931 p. 57, 59, 61.
- 47) Krom 1931, p. 304; Coedes 1968, p. 107.
- 48) Wolters, 1968, p. 182.
- 49) Moens, 1937; Ikuta (IAHA 1974) and Wolters (1970) both identify ta-ma-(lai)-sha-ma-a-che with Adityawarman.
- 50) Krom, 1931, p. 336, 364, 394.
- 51) Krom 1931, p. 392, Coedes 1968, p. 243.
- 52) Krom 1931, p. 248.
- 53) Krom 1931, p. 248.
- 54) Krom, 1931, p. 306.
- 55) Krom 1931, p. 306; Coedes 1968 p. 197.
- 56) Krom, 1931, p. 242, 437.
- 57) Krom, 1931, p. 336.
- 58) Coedes, p. 203.
- 59) Krom, 1931; Pigeaud 1960 I, p. 11.

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