

Capita Selecta

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL RESEARCH CENTRE OF ARCHAEOLOGY OF INDONESIA



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PREFACE

This is a series on *Capita Selecta* Bulletin of Archaeological Service of the Republic of Indonesia representing a compilation of a wider range of articles by various authorities in the field of archaeology and these lie scattered in a number of Journals which are not easily accessible to the public and research scholars.

The purpose of the present venture is to bring under one cover all this material in an appropriate sequence so as to portary a cogent picture of the different facets of Indonesian Archaeology - particularly the historical, regional, educational and comparative aspects.

The articles in this book are arranged in a sequential order dealing with various aspects of Indonesian archaeology. Owing to limitations of space, it has not been possible to make the compilation as exhaustive as one might have wished, in this volume. However we have spared as wide a spectrum of the different subjects as possible covering all important aspect.

It goes without saying that the present compilation would not have been possible without the co-operation of the authors of the various articles as well as the Editors of the Journals in which they have appeared. We gratefully acknowkledge the kindness of them in permitting us to reprint the articles appearing in this book.

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ON PREHISTORIC BURIAL METHODS IN INDONESIA

by
R.P. Soejono

This paper is submitted at the VIIth Congres International des Sciences Anthropologique et Ethnologique in Tokyo: August 27 - September 10, 1968, with the aid of the JDR 3rd Fund.

INTRODUCTORY

Archaeological researches brought forth evidences of burials which dated far back into prehistoric periods. The first formal report on a find of a prehistoric grave in the eastern part of Java was submitted by J.B. Hubenet, an official of the State Railways, to the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* (Batavian Society) early this century (Hubenet, 1903). The grave was disclosed during the construction of a railroad. But it was known since long, that destructions of ancient graves have been executed by local inhabitants immediately after accidental discoveries have been done without the knowledge of the local authorities. Contents of graves except of broken or pulverized skeletons fell into the hands of villagers who maintain the most curious objects or otherwise grave goods came to hand of collectors to become finally a part of museum or private collections.

Since systematic prehistoric research was attempted about 1920, much attention has been drawn to burials which were found in the course of intensive investigations. Results either of systematic excavations or of illegal diggings gave proofs of funeral methods followed by groups of peoples during successive stages of prehistoric period. The material composed for this paper is based on informations reported to the Archaeological Institute and on results of previous investigations published in various scientific journals as well as results of the author's own researches which are partly in a preparatory stage of publication.

The multiplicity of prehistoric material, but on the other hand the shortage of undertakers and means in the field of prehistoric research caused incompleteness in analytical approach and contemplation, even of important topics or problems. Concerning the study of burials significant elements have been insufficiently attested, one is the physical determination of skeletons and the other is the traditional basis of burial custom groups. The study of pre-historic skeletal remains done by Teuku Jacob (1967) during the last few years, provides important additional data on racial questions and gives sound base in the reconstruction of peopling of the Indonesian Archipelago in prehistoric times.

Author's effort is to spot the exposing situations of skeletal remains and to perceive contingent systems of interments so far skeletons showed appropriate funeral positions. Resultants of deductions from scattered data give a picture of funeral traditions which refer back to an evolution since the Mesolithic stage.

PLANS OF SKELETAL DEPOSITION

It is obvious, that skeletons recovered through excavations indicate definite ways of placing the dead body in the burial ground. Informations on results of arbitrary digging as well as of proofs from systematic excavations constitute sufficient data on the methods in burying the dead applied by groups of peoples during their time of settling in prehistoric period. The examination of data extracts such following methods of depositions:

- I. DIRECT INHUMATION (single or multiple) including:
 - A. Uncovered primary burials
 - B. Covered primary burials, using:
 - a. sarcophagi
 - b. stone cists
 - c. stone vats
 - d. stone cambers
 - e. dolmen-like structures
 - f. jars
- II. DEFERRED INHUMATION (single or multiple) including:
 - C. Uncovered secondary burials (complete or selective)
 - D. Covered secondary burials (complete or selective) using:
 - a. jars
 - b. sarcophagi (?)
- III. COMBINED INHUMATION (Single or multiple):
 - E. Uncovered primary mixed with uncovered secondary burials
 - F. Uncovered primary burials mixed with covered secondary burials
- IV. EXPOSED DEPOSITION (occasionally followed by selective inhumation).

Skeletons from primary burials demonstrate the placing of bodies in several postures of which three main systems can be distinguished, namely:

1. the STRETCHED POSITION with different manners of placing the upper-extremities.
2. the FLEXED or SEMI-FLEXED POSITION including the dorsal and sidelong attitude.
3. the CROUCHED or SQUATTED POSITION.

Besides these, a very scarcely occurring posture namely the PROSTRATE position has been observed.

New dating methods have not been applied towards substances of productive sites, except on very few samples, so that the dating of these observed burial methods is performed merely by way of identifying artifacts which were found in association with skeletal remains such as accompanying funeral goods or other cultural elements occurring in the same skeleton

bearing stratum. Chronological determination of a few number of skeletal finds came to inadequate results because of the total lack of related cultural remains. Conclusions towards units of totally disturbed skeletal finds are derived from accompanying grave wares or from identic but better preserved burials. Emptied covered burials actuate to interpretations based on forms and sizes of covering materials as well as on identic intact burials. It must be noted, that a fair number of material yielded too generalized informations which impeded extensive considerations.

THE PLEISTOCENE AND MESOLITHIC STAGE

Discoveries of human remains in Pleistocene period did not demonstrate signs of interment as fossilized skulls have been recovered in volcanic layers, except of the Late Pleistocene skulls of *Homo soloensis* which have been found on an ancient terrace on the left border of the Solo River at Ngandong village in East Java (Pl. 1, 2). The location of *Homo soloensis* skulls in terrace layers arose questions concerning whether the skulls had been purposely placed in camping deposits in terms of selective interment or whether these, as practically mere remaining parts of human skeletons, were evidences of intertribal conflicts (Weidenreich, 1951). Supposed cannibalism among *Homo soloensis*, priorly a popular acceptance, with regard to the exceptional discovery of eleven skulls merely, should be discarded as no convincing traces of skull mutilation to extract the brain, could be propounded (Jacob, 1967: 25 - 39). Yet the location of *Homo soloensis* skulls on the fossil vertebrates bearing terrace of the Solo River remains a problem.

Human interment was obvious during the Mesolithic stage. Evidences have been encountered mainly in shellmounds and rockshelters (Pl. 3). Several sites of skeletal discoveries showed up but fragmentary remains which indicate the use of *selective inhumation*. In some instances there was a tendency of cannibalism according to the occurrence of many split or burned limb bones as for instance in a kitchen midden at Bindjai Tamiang, Northeast Sumatra (Schürmann, 1931) and in Gua Mardjan, East Java (van Heekeren, 1937). Selective inhumation chiefly consisted of the burying of skulls or parts of skulls and occasionally of limb bones either covered or not with haematite as proved through excavations at kitchenmiddens in Northeast Sumatra, at some caves in East Java and at caves on the island of Flores (Verhoeven, 1953, 1951 - 57; Jacob, 1967: 77 — 116). Exposed deposition was assumed to exist among Toala cave-dwellers in South Sulawesi as parts of skulls, sometimes perforated, and a few limb bones have been revealed in Toala cave deposits (van Heekeren, 1957: 97).

Intact burials were recovered in caves of East Java and Flores. Burials with skeletons in flexed - sidelong position seemed to be common in East Java, namely at caves of Sampung, Sodong and Mardjan (van Stein Callenfels, 1932; van Heekeren, 1936, 1937). Several skeletons were lacking parts of the body, namely the skull or extremities bones, and some were found covered by rather big stones (Pl. 4, 5). These skeletons have not been provided with funeral goods, except of one in Gua Lawa at Sampung which was of a child and which was furnished with a necklace of small perforated shells (Pl. 6). Caves on Flores yielded burials with the

body commonly placed in crouched position, one of these in Momer Cave, West Flores; was covered by a big stone (Verhoeven, 1951 - 57; 1958). Also on Flores during this period the deads were not provided with gifts, except of a female skeleton in a cave in the area of Reo which was furnished with beads. Rather exceptional was the discovery at Gua Alo, West Flores, which consisted of two skeletons in extended position without any kind of funeral goods but, according to informations, were attested stratigraphically in the context of the Mesolithic flake-blade industry (Jacob, 1967, 107 - 108). With regard to the occurrence of beads upon the skeleton at Reo and the divergent way of placing the dead body at Gua Alo, these burials most likely originate from a later period. Intensive research on caves of Flores has been performed by *Dr. Th. Verhoeven S.V.D.* Because of the numerous archaeological finds which must be taken upon this island, detailed informations on burials were lacking, so that only a general picture is at the disposal.

THE NEOLITHIC STAGE

Data on burials from the Neolithic period were scarce. Systematic excavations towards Neolithic sites have not revealed burials up to date. Informations on burials yielding polished stone adzes, earthenware pottery, beads and other funeral articles were gained from results of clandestine diggings on the North coast of West Java executed by local inhabitants in search of valuable grave goods (Soejono, 1964). According to the categories of finds from this region which were handed over to the Archaeological Institute can be assumed that this extended area contains burials from the Neolithic period as well as from the Early-Metal age. Test excavations done in 1958 did not touch burials, but informations from villagers pointed out the existence of buried skeletons in extended position usually provided with neolithic adzes, glass and carnelian beads, stone rings, ornamented earthenware pottery, terracotta netsinkers, gold ornaments, bronze items (axes, rings) and iron fragments and some more other objects.

At least one cave on Flores, the big Liang Bua, contained Neolithic burials in the upper-layers as well as Mesolithic graves in the lower-stratum. Skeletons of the Neolithic burials showed the extended position in North-South direction, with the head on the North side. Accompanying gifts consisted of polished stone adzes, earthenware pots and grinding stones (Verhoeven, 1965).

The find of Neolithic adzes and earthenware pots as mere grave goods in stone-cists in areas of Tjirebon (van der Hoop, 1937) and Kuningan (Archaeol. Inst., 1967 - 1968), both situated in the eastern part of West Java, tend to the assumption, that this type of graves had developed since a later stage of the Neolithic. As these graves were dug out by the local population pulverized skeletal remains fell beyond people's attention, but the extended position of skeletons and even multiple burials are most conceivable according to the dimension of these sepulchres.

THE EARLY-METAL AGE

The largest amount of burial evidences dated from this cultural period. Variations of burial system with particular local characteristics occurred in areas of the Indonesian Archipelago. Certain areas developed a definite system, but it was proved, that several systems have been applied together in one area. The most occurring method of burying had been the *covered interment*, either primary or secondary. *Uncovered burials*, primary or secondary, seemed to be applied in areas of Northern West Java, West Bali and North Lombok.

Covered burials used following items as container or cover of the dead body: sarcophagi, stone-cists, stone vats (*kalamba*), stone chambers, dolmen-like tombs (*pandhusa*) and jars. Almost all types of covered burials have been discovered in association with other categories of Megalithic remains, except of jar burials which occurred as an isolated non-megalithic tradition.

- *Sarcophagus burial*

The use of sarcophagi was concentrated in areas of Besuki, East Java (van Heekeren, 1931), Bali (van Heekeren, 1955; Soejono, 1965) and Sumbawa (Kuperus, 1937). Sarcophagi consist of lid and coffin, each hewn out from a single massive rock. Shapes and decoration patterns of sarcophagi vary in every locality. At Besuki all of the known sarcophagi have been emptied or destroyed (Pl. 7). The dimension of the big tombs indicate the placing of the body, single or plural, in the stretched position. The most occurring funeral gift consisted of glass beads of various sizes and colours and in less extent beads of carnelian. Sarcophagi on Bali included several dimensions with as the most common type the small size sarcophagus containing a single corpse in flexed position (Pl. 8). Here bronze articles like arm- and footrings (some-times still attached to the skeleton), peculiar shaped axes or shovels and spirals, were popular gifts to the dead (Pl. 9, 10). Some very small size sarcophagi at Besuki and Bali might be used for primary burials of children, but can be used also for secondary burials. On Sumbawa have been discovered emptied sarcophagi which are decorated with human and animal figures. Decoration, size and form of the sarcophagi are similar to some of those found in Besuki. The only peculiar type of lid of a sarcophagus was found in Besuki in the form of a roof-shaped coverstone of the *waruga* in North Sulawesi (van Heekeren, 1958: 98).

Scattered finds of sarcophagi cover areas in Sumatra (Djambi, Samosir, South Batak Land), East Kalimantan and on Nias. Sarcophagi in Apo Kajan region in East Kalimantan are supported by pillars decorated with carved human figures (Sierevelt, 1929).

Up to present times people on Sumba still bury the dead, wrapped in long shawls, in squatted position in communal tombs (van de Wetering, 1926). These tombs, consisting of one or two chambers have a slightly trapezoid shaped cist covered with a thick flattened lid. In the near past peoples at Samosir and Nias practiced the selective secondary burial system, often multiple, in sarcophagi (Schnitger, 1939).

Peculiar cubical, huge stone tombs with roof-shaped covers have been in use in past times in Minahasa, North Sulawesi. In these tombs, called *waruga* the dead were successively placed in the crouched position (Bertling, 1931/32).

- *Stone cist burial*

This type of burial only existed in South Sumatra and Java. Big stone slabs made up the floor, walls and cover of the tomb (Pl. 11). Stone cists in South Sumatra consist of crudely hewn stone slabs, whereas in Java constructing slabs of stone cists are usually smoothed and show regular thickness. Grave goods and other associated cultural remains, in particular Megalithic objects, suggested stages of development of the stone cist burial starting tentatively from the Late Neolithic and continuing into the Bronze and the Iron Period.

As cited above, contents of stone cists in West Java refer to a seemingly Neolithic stage of development. Stone cists at Pasemah, South Sumatra, dated from an earlier stage of the Early-Metal Age, according to the existence of bronze objects, some gold and iron objects, and various types of glass beads as funeral goods as well as their localization in the region of Megalithic statues which showed Dong Son Culture influences (van der Hoop, 1932).

In the area of Wonosari, Central Java, fields of burials have been recovered, containing tens of stone cists which were entirely dug out by the local population since former times (Pl. 12, 13). Systematic surveys and excavations have been executed in 1935 to gain accurate data (van der Hoop, 1935). The results demonstrated that several stone cists have been used for mass burials in stretched position (Pl. 14, 15). Objects accompanying the dead were adzes and weapons of iron and beads of glass and carnelian as the most common gift, further in lesser extent: earthenware bowls, bronze rings, mortars, grinding stones and textile. These cultural items indicate a later stage of development of this burial system.

In the area of Tjepu, Central Java, was reported the occurrence of stone cists still in undisturbed condition.

- *Stone vat burial*

In Toradja Land (Napu, Besoa, Bada), Central Sulawesi, were found big stone vats (Pl. 16, 17) which have been emptied and of which the shape and size resemble those ever found in Laos (See: Colani, 1932). These stone vats called *kalamba* by local inhabitants are cylindrical shaped and consist of a single or sometimes double chamber. Disc-shaped big monoliths are used as coverstones. Human faces, human and animal figures are main patterns of decoration of several *kalambas*. Broken pots of earthenware found in the surroundings of *kalambas* were obviously destroyed grave furniture. It is evident, that these *kalambas* contained more than one skeleton placed in flexed or crouched position (Kruyt, 1932; 1938: 331 - 498).

- Stone Chamber burial

Tombs of this sort of burial were distributed in a restricted part of the Pasemah region of South Sumatra as an element of the Megalithic Culture. The chambers have been built up by big massive slabs and might be used for mass burials. Excavations at one of the sites revealed a double-chamber tomb which did not contain any remains of skeletons or grave goods (de Bie, 1932). On the walls were still visible paintings of human and animal figures in colours of white, black, red, yellow and grey presented in stylized way (Pl. 18). This type of paintings has also been revealed on slabs of one of the stone cists in the Pasemah area. In Besuki, East Java, has been discovered a stone chamber constructed of smooth carved rectangular stone slabs (Archaeol. Inst., 1960). During illicit digging performed by the local population were found remains of human skeletons and beads of coloured glass and carnelian. This tomb too seems to be used for a plural burial.

Another category of chamber burial used rooms which were hewn out on rocks. The outer walls of these rock-chambers are decorated with human faces as well as human and animal figures. Rock-chamber burials have been discovered in Batak region, Northeast Sumatra (van Stein Callenfels, 1924), in Besuki (van Heekeren, 1931) and in Apo Kajan region, East Kalimantan (Sierevelt, 1929). All the chambers were found empty, but the use of these chambers for plural burial could be estimated with regard the large measurements of the rooms. Plural burial in rock-chambers is practiced up to now among the Toradja's of Central Sulawesi (Adriani and Kruyt, 1912: 96, 127).

- Burial in dolmen-like tomb

Tombs with massive slabs as walls and with a cover of prepared or else unhewn large monoliths, locally called *pandhusa*, occur in the same area of sarcophagi in Besuki (Pl. 19). The inner space of the tombs was either floored with stone slabs or left unfloored. A great deal of these graves were found in destroyed condition as was the case with the sarcophagi burials. Excavations done towards some dolmen graves have shown the use of this type of tombs for burials of more than one person (Hubenet, 1903; de Haan, 1921 ; Willems, 1938). Burial gifts consisted of items like beads made of various raw material (glass, earthenware, carnelian), fragments of decorated earthenware pottery, fragments of Chinese porcelain, skeletal remains of cattle, a golden ring, while outside the tombs, yet in the same Megalithic context, were discovered iron instruments (a chisel, a bracelet, knives), stone bark-beaters and a stone mortar. Based on the type of Chinese porcelain was argued that the use of these dolmen graves lasted up to the 9th Century A.D. The plan of body deposition cannot be traced out, because of either reports never cited about this matter or skeletons were found in very pulverized conditions.

- Jar burial

Two main types of jar burial existed, namely a primary and a secondary jar burial. Jars are made by hand and are of large size with thick wall, rounded bottom and a narrow mouth which

is usually smashed to facilitate the placing of the dead body or collected bones of the dead. According to the system of the primary burial the single dead body is placed in a jar in crouched position. This method was encountered at Anjer, West Java (van Heekeren, 1956a) together with earthenware pottery, consisting of a flask, a small pot and two dishes on stands, as grave furniture (Pl.20). The secondary burial contained complete bones of a single person, as found at Gilimanuk, West Bali (Soejono, 1966) or selected bones, such as skulls and extremities bones, of one or more persons which is found at Melolo, Sumba (van Heekeren, 1956b) (Pl. 21, 22) and at Lewoleba on the island of Lombok (Verhoeven, 1961). Funeral ware were not found at Gilimanuk, but in jars at Melolo were recovered earthenware flasks (Pl. 23), shell ornaments and a single piece of Neolithic adze. Generally a single jar was used, covered with large pottery fragments, but at Gilimanuk the cover consisted of another complete jar placed in up-side-down position. This double jar method was only to be found at Gilimanuk (Pl. 24), whereas other sites, besides Anjer and Melolo (Pl. 25), namely on the island of Selajar, South Sulawesi (Schroder, 1912) and in Central Sulawesi (Willems, 1940) practiced the single jar method.

Uncovered burials from the Early-Metal Age have been discovered chiefly in association with burials using jars and sarcophagi. A burial of a person in stretched position provided with an earthenware bowl and a long iron knife was found near the jar burial at Anjer, West Java (Archaeol. Inst., 1958) (Pl. 26). Burials in extended position occurred at Lewoleba, Lombok (Pl. 27), here in association with secondary jar burials of which the jars were decorated with human faces in relief (Verhoeven, 1961), as well as in sand-dunes at Puger, Besuki (Snell, 1938) (Pl. 28). Both burial sites yielded no funeral goods. Primary burials containing bronze objects in the very surroundings of sarcophagi, located in West Central Bali, have been destroyed by villagers, before authorities were able to intervene (Korn, 1930). The densest site of uncovered burials was revealed at Gilimanuk located on the coast of West Bali, where the double-jar burial system had also been applied. Here excavations showed up complicated systems of primary and secondary uncovered burials (Soejono, 1966) The primary burials showed the usual extended position, among which in some occasions bones of the upper and lower extremities were mutilated, and included some evidences of flexed burials, while the secondary burials consisted generally of collections of complete skeletal parts. Single and plural burials as well as mixed burials of the primary and the secondary system occurred side by side (Pl. 29, 30, 31). One of the skeletons in prostrate position, with the legs folded backwards, which was found below a secondary double-jar burial, indicated that human sacrifice had occasionally been put to use to complete funeral provisions of some important members of the community (Pl. 32). Funeral gifts of the Gilimanuk site consisted of decorated pottery (among which the net-impressed pattern is the most popular), coloured glass beads and rings, bronze axes, bronze rings, iron daggers and lance-heads, gold ornaments, stone pestles and mortars and domestic animals like pigs, dogs and poultry. Considering the similar types of bronze objects (rings and socketed axes with heart-shaped blades) used as grave furniture, these Gilimanuk coastal people must be in close contact with inland sarcophagi builders.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

Those above recorded patterns demonstrate the diversity of burial methods during prehistoric times in Indonesia. It is obvious that these burial traditions, notwithstanding their local appearance have certain relationship with neighbouring areas. Burials in Mesolithic context namely primary burials in flexed position, selective secondary burials and exposed burials found their counterparts in Southeast Asian regions. Madeleine Colani reported on finds of skeletal parts associated with Hoabinhian implements in caves in Vietnam (Colani, 1930) which indicate the common existence of selective burials. Flexed or contracted burials were discovered rather scarcely in Vietnam (van Heekeren and Knuth, 1967: 63 - 64), Malay Peninsula (van Stein Callenfels and Noone, 1940: 120 - 121: Sieveking, 1954 - 55) and Serawak (Harrison, 1957: 164) and like in Java did not include grave furnitures. Harrison used the term *contorted burial* for this type of deposition. The use of big stones, either to cover the corpse or to be placed in the very surrounding of the dead body seems to be part of this burial custom. Secondary burials performed after exposed deposition of the corpses have been propounded by van Stein Callenfels and Noone based on results of an excavation in Gol Ba'it on Malay Peninsula:

«According to the custom of secondary burial, which still prevails among several primitive or semi-civilised peoples (e.g. the Dayaks of Borneo) the corpses of the dead are first exposed in the jungle, usually on a treeplatform, and only after complete decomposition of the flesh are the principle bones collected and buried. The bones of the several people who have died in a year, after they have been treated in this way, are given a communal *secondary burial*. The remains encountered in the middle layers at Gol Ba'it give abundant proof that the old inhabitants waited until several members of the tribe were ready for this *secondary burial* before they finally interred them. In one place, for instance, the remains of at least three individuals were found in a heap. (van Stein Callenfels and Noone, 1940: 120 - 121).

This type of burial which Sieveking called *dismembered burial*, sometimes consisting of more than one individual (plural secondary burial), showed evidences of some form of cannibalism at Gua Cha judging the lack of signs of formal arrangement of the bones and the occurrence of burnt rib and arm bones and broken skulls among incomplete skeletal remains (Sieveking, 1954 - 55: 92 - 93, 98 - 99). Several extended burials were unearthed in Gua Cha in the Hoabinhian level, but because of their fragmentary condition and lack of comparative informations from other Hoabin-hian sites this type of burial is considered to be insignificant to be evaluated (Sieveking, 1954 - 55: 98).

Up to now Neolithic burials have not yet been discovered in Indonesia through systematic excavations. Informations obtained from either clandestine or unsystematic diggings point to the practice of interring the dead in the extended position usually furnished with burial goods in particular beads, handmade pottery, polished stone adzes and stone rings. On the

other hand extensive excavations revealed numerous extended burials in Thailand (van Heekeren and Knuth, 1967; Solheim, 1966), Malay Peninsula (Sieveking, 1954 - 55) and Serawak (Harrisson, 1957). The relationship between the Neolithic Culture in Kanchanaburi (Thailand) and Northern Malay with the Lungshan Culture of Northern China is now being illuminated based on the occurrence of similar elements especially of earthenware pottery. C-14 dating explain a maximum age of 1770 +140 B.C. for Kanchanaburi Neolithic (Sørensen, 1967: 109 - 147, Solheim, 1966; 38). It is obvious, that the extended burial has been a common element of Neolithic Cultures in Southeast Asian areas, where local differences are determined mainly by physical appearance of grave furnitures. Several burials at Gua Cha indicate a secondary method of interring which Sieveking denotes as *ceremonial burials* which consist mainly of long bones. These collected bones were placed in parallel orientation with the extended burials and were furnished with types of Neolithic pottery (Sieveking, 1954 - 55: 87 - 88). van Stein Callenfels and Noone came to a conclusion which gives some hint of a chronological order of burial customs in his excavation at Gol Ba'it starting from Mesolithic layers up to the Neolithic:

«For the first time in any excavation in the Malay Peninsula or Netherlands Indies we find what may be called anthropological stratigraphy. It is quite clear that the rather modern burials of the top layers, the secondary burials of the middle layers, and again, the complete flexed burial in the lowest layer, represent three different stages of culture, and it is to be hoped that study of human remains may throw valuable light on the problem of the racial types which were the carriers of the Hoa-Binhian culture». (van Stein Callenfels and Noone, 1940: 120—121).

Types of burials from the Early-Metal Age too demonstrate general resemblances in the use of cover material with several Southeast and East Asian regions. Sarcophagus burial which is not found in other areas of Southeast Asia showed some resemblances with Japanese types. Particularly the provision of protuberances on one or both halves of the stone coffin on Bali or on the coverstone of the dolmen-like stone graves in Besuki resemble some Japanese types of stone coffins (Kaneko, 1964: 41 — 42). Stone cist burials were encountered in Malay Peninsula (Tweedie, 1955: 36 - 37), as the nearest site to Sumatra and Java. Von Heine Geldern (1945: 151 - 152) assumed the spread of the stone cist burial beside the burial in stone chambers from China since the Han Period. The jar burial system occurred wide-spread in Southeast and East Asia containing usually secondary interred bones (Solheim, 1961 ; Janse, 1959; Harrisson, 1957; Kaneko, 1966; Kidder, 1954: 104 - 110). Primary burials in jars in Indonesia occurred only at Anjer, while this system is found repeatedly in the Philippines and Japan. The existence of the double-jar burial in Indonesia using a cover and a lower jar which is only to be found on Bali may be connected with a system from northern regions i.e. the Philippines and Japan. Double jars at Gilimanuk, Bali, contained bones of a secondary burial whereas the double jar system in the Philippines and Japan were practiced for either the primary or secondary burial.

Extended uncovered burials in association with bronze implements have been reported from Northeastern Thailand (Solheim, 1966) and Serawak (Harrisson, 1957). The most peculiar site found in Southeast Asia up to now has been Gilimanuk, Bali. Here were unearthed an extended cemetery from the Early-Metal Age containing a complex system of primary (in extended, flexed and prone position) and secondary burials provided with burial goods mainly consisting of bronze implements and earthenware pottery.

Concerning peoples which are regarded practicers of these related burial customs in Southeast Asia results of investigations made on skeletal remains of excavated burials showed the domination of Australomelanesoid stock in earlier periods and more elements of Mongoloids Malays in later periods, particularly since the Neolithic (Jacob, 1967: 130 - 137).

This attempt to observe burial methods in Indonesia in relation with neighbouring regions is still in the beginning. Profounder observations as on material evidences in this burial context, ritual processes (including a.o. the varied orientation of skeletons etc.), racial contacts and assimilating or interchanging factors among groups or areas of burial customs have still to be accomplished.

Note.

Mesolithic should be read *Epi palaeolithic*.

Homo soloensis should be read *Pithecanthropus soloensis*.

CENTRO COSELA DI ORIENTAZIONE INDIVITALE

GENERAL CONTEXT OF PREHISTORIC BURIALS IN INDONESIA

PERIOD	LOCALITY	METHOD*)	FUNERAL WARE	RACIAL AFFINITIES **)
<i>Palaeolithic Mesolithic</i>	- N.E. Coast Sumatra (dens).	IIC: selective.	-	Austromelanesian.
	- East Java (caves)	IA2 IIC: selective.	beads of shell	Austromelanesian.
	- S. Sulawesi (caves)	IV	-	Austromelanesian.
	- Flores (caves)	IA2 IIC: selective	-	Veddoid/mongoloid. Austromelanesian.
<i>Neolithic</i>	- West Java	IA1 IBc1 IBe (?)	neol. adzes, pottery, beads. neol. adzes, pottery.	Austromelanesian. ? not yet determined.
	- Flores (caves) - S. Sumatra	IA1 IBc1 IBe IBc3 IA1	neol. adzes, pottery, mortars. bronze & iron tools, beads	? not yet determined. -
<i>Early-Metal Age</i>	- West Java	IBc1 IBb1 IBf1 IA1	pottery, beads. bronze & iron tool, pottery, beads.	Austromelanesian. ? not yet determined.
	- Central Java - East Java	IBc1 IBb1 IBf1 IA1	iron tools, pottery, beads. niro tools, pottery, beads. beads.	- - - -
	- Kalimantan - S. Sulawesi	IBb IBa IBd IBb1, 2	- - pottery. bronze & iron tools, pottery, beads, arm & footings.	Austromelanesian. - - -
	- Bali	IA1, 2	bronze & iron tools, pottery, beads, arm, & footings, golden ornaments. bronze tools, pottery, beads.	Mongoloid Mongoloid
		IIC: complete IIDa		Mongoloid Mongoloid

GENERAL CONTEXT OF PREHISTORIC BURIALS IN INDONESIA

PERIOD	LOCALITY	METHOD *)	FUNERAL WARE	RACIAL AFFINITIES **)
Early-Metal Age	-	IIDb (?)	-	Mongoloid.
	-	IIIE	bronzes & iron tools, pottery, beads.	Mongoloid.
	-	IIIF	-	Mongoloid.
	-	IA4	-	Mongoloid.
	- Sumbawa	IBb	-	-
	- Lombok	IA1	-	Negroid/Veddoid/Malay.
	- Sumba	IIDa	-	Negroid/Veddoid/Malay.
		IIDa: selective	Pottery, shell ornaments, neolithic adze.	Palae-Melan. & Mongoloid

*) See page 3 - 4

**) Based on Teuku Jacob, 1967: 131 - 132

ABBREVIATIONS

- BEFEO* : Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.
BKI : Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde.
Hommage : Hommage du Service Archeologique des Indes Neerlandaises au Premier Congres des Prehistoriens d'Extreme-Orient a Hanoi, 25 - 31 Janvier 1932.
NION : Nederlandsch Indie Oud en Nieuw.
OV : Oudheidkundig Verslag van Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch Indie.
TAG : Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
V.K.I. : Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde.

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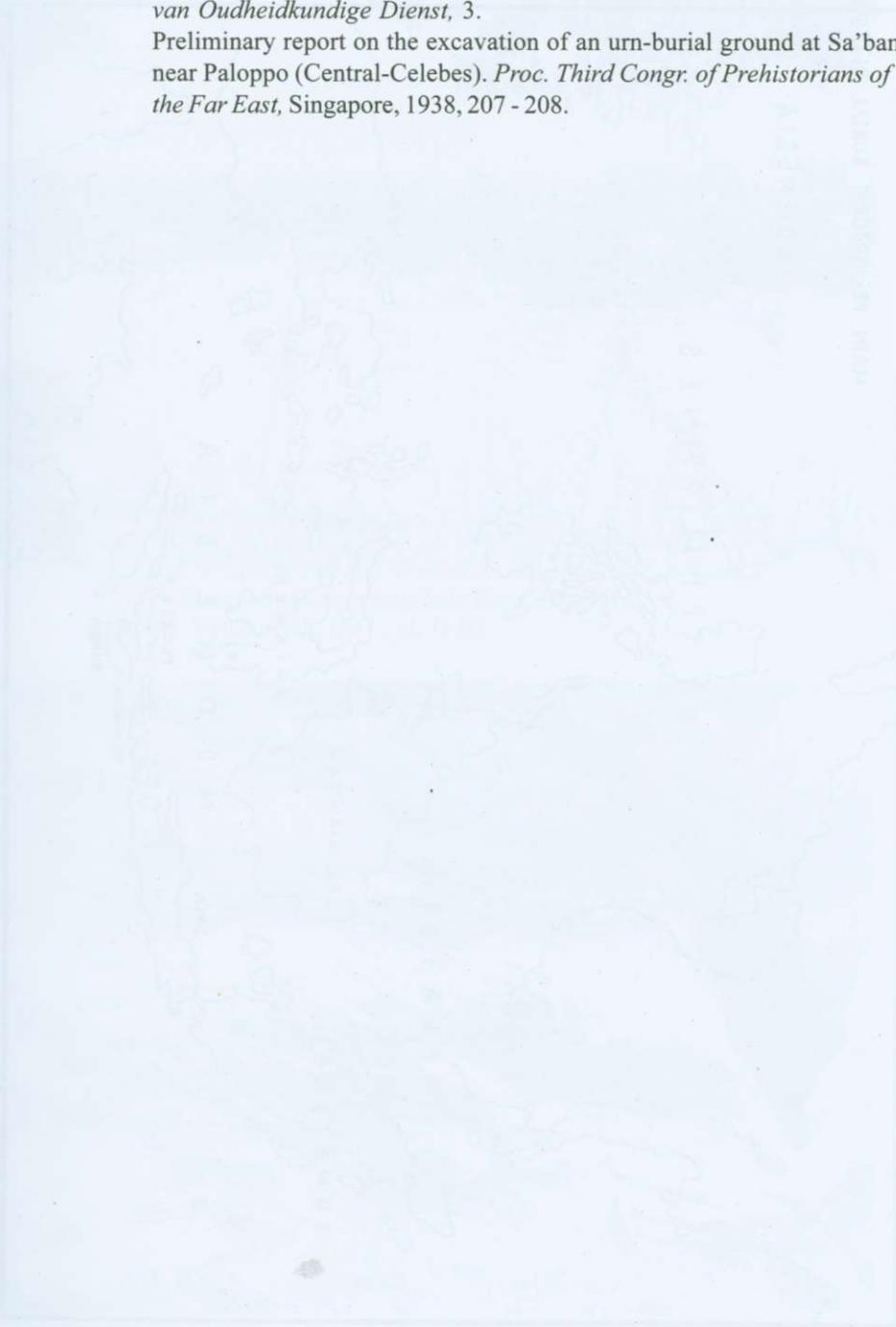
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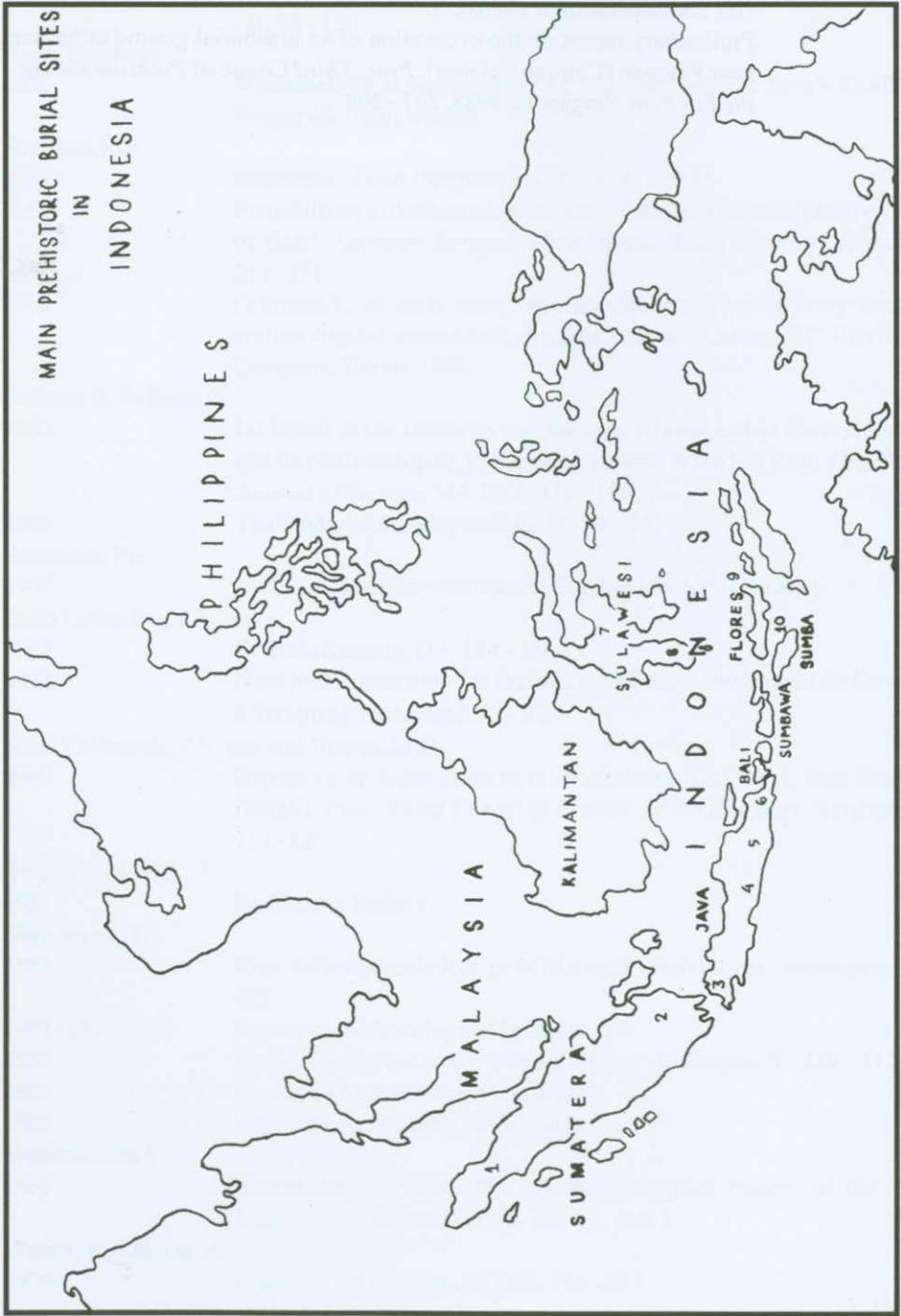
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Distribution map of Prehistoric burial sites in Indonesia :

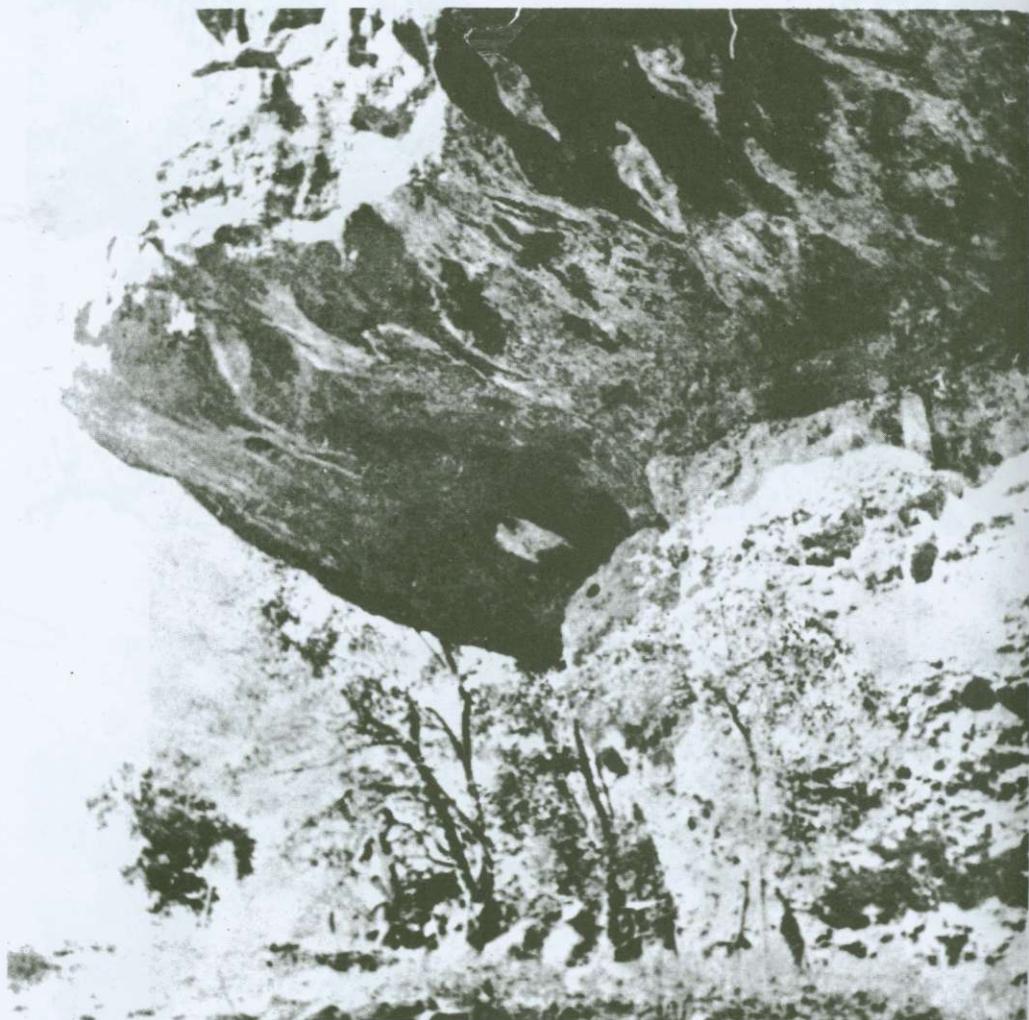
1. Bindjai Tamiang, 2. Pasemah, 3. Anjer, 4. Wonosari, 5. Gua Lawa, 6. Besuki, 7. Toradja, 8. Toala, 9. Lomblem, 10. Melolo



P1. 1. View on Ngandong terrace along Solo River (East Java).
(Reprod. Weidenreich, 1951 : pl. 16 B).



P1. 2. Cranium of *Homo solonensis* discovered in upside-down position
on the bank of Solo River at Ngandong (East Java)
(Reprod. Weidenreich, 1951 : pl 16 A)



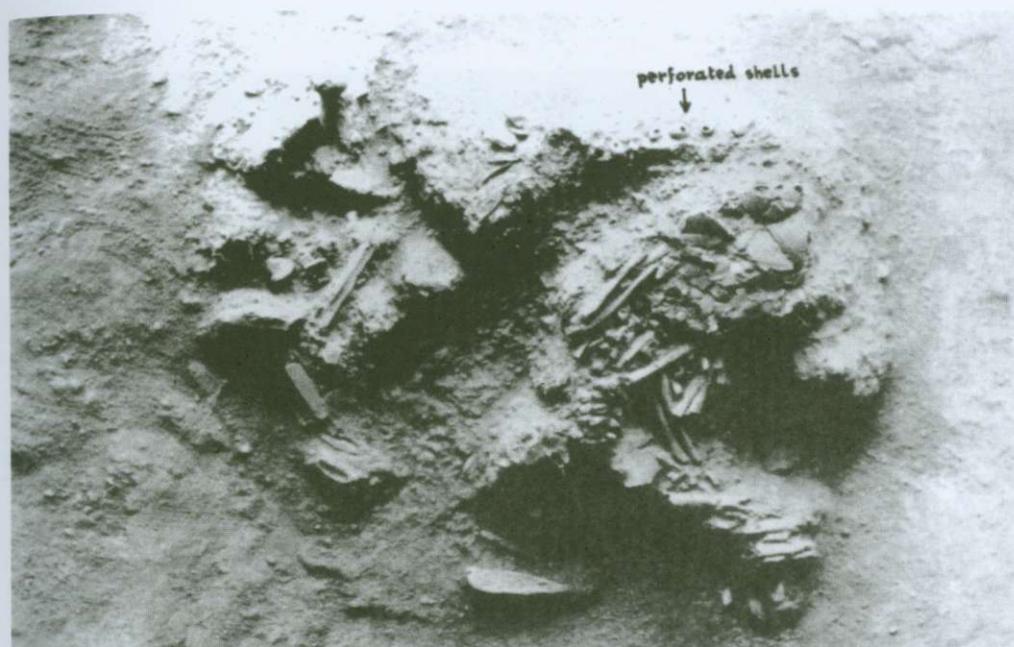
P1. 3. Liang Momer, a rockshelter at Labuanbadjo, (Flores)
(Reprod. Verhoeven, 1958 : Tafel 1a)



P1. 4. Flexed burial in Gua Sodong (Besuki) with the skull missing.
(Reprod. Van Heekeren, 1936 : Pl. 2)



P1. 5. Flexed burial in Gua Lawa, Sampung (East Java), covered with big stone.
(Reprod. Stein Callenfels, 1932 : pl. XVI A)



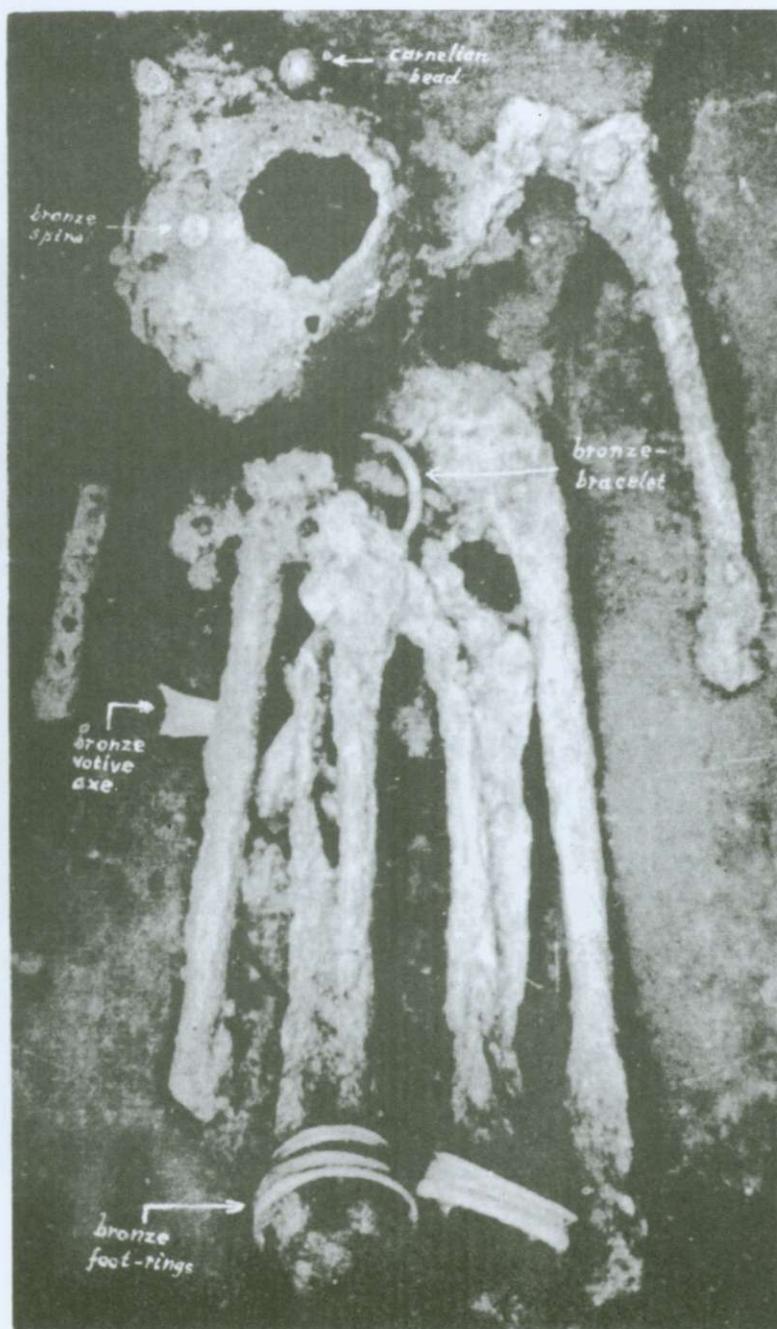
P1. 6. Burial of a child in Gua Lawa, Sampung (East Java), adorned with perforated shells. (Reprod. Stein Callenfels, 1932 : p1. XV)



P1. 7. Sarcophagus at Nangkaan, Bondowoso (East Java).
Lid lying beside coffin. (Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia).



P1. 8. Primary burial in sarcophagus at Petang (South Central Bali). Body is placed in flexed position.
(Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)



Pl. 9. Primary burial in sarcophagus at Tjatjang (Central Bali). Body is placed in dorsal squatted position. (Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)



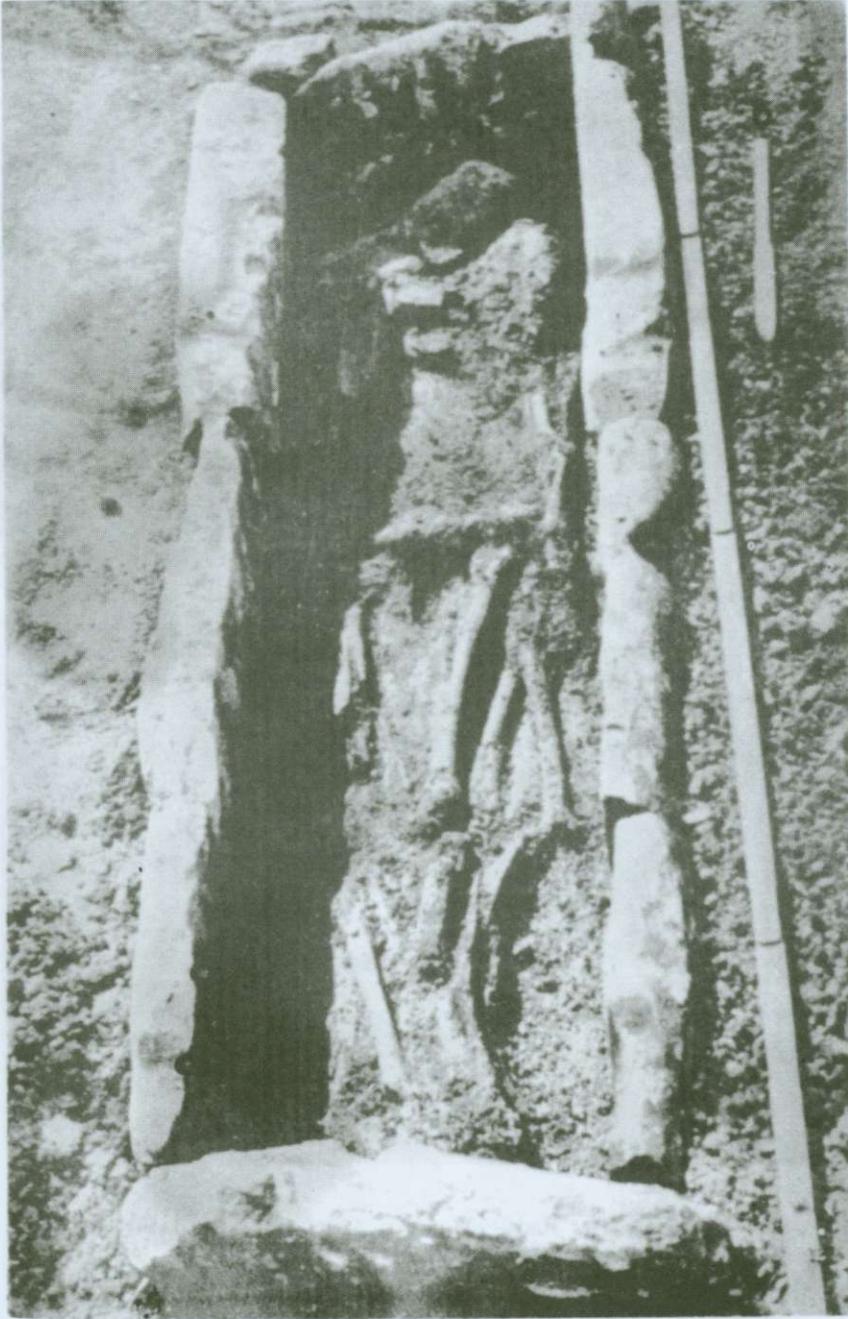
P1. 11. Stone cist, constructed of crude slab stones, at Tegurwangi, Pasemah region (South Sumatra)
(Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)



P1. 12. Stone cist at Kadjar, Wonosari (Central Java), which is not yet emptied.
(Reprod. van der Hoop, 1935 : P1. 4)



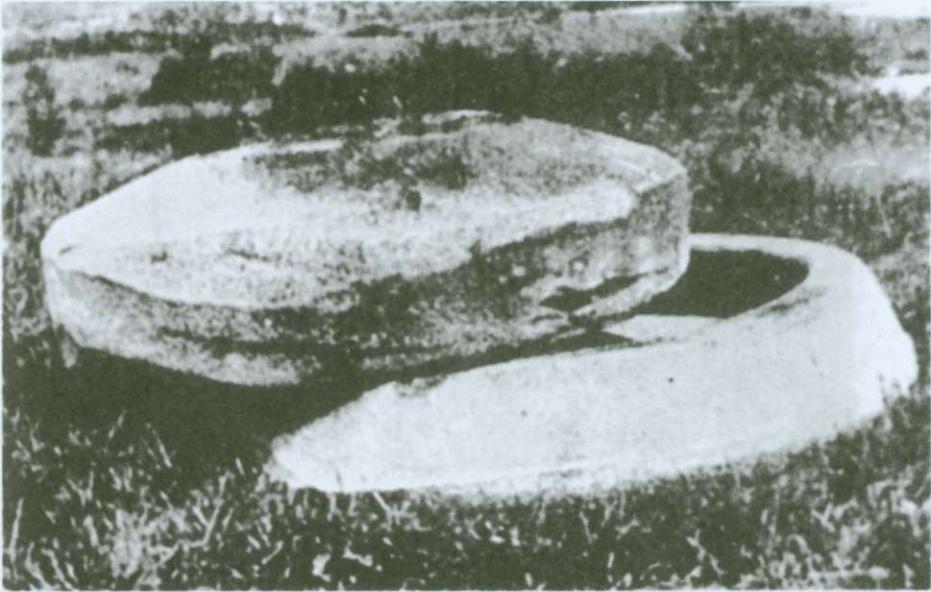
P1. 13. Stone cist at Kadjar, Wonosari (Central Java), constructed of smoothed slab stones.
(Reprod. van der Hoop, 1935 : P1. 6)



P1. 14. Plural burial in stretched position in stone cist at Bleberan, Wonosari (Central Java).
(Reprod. van der Hoop, 1935, p1. 13)



P1. 15. Plural burial in stone cist at Kadjar, Wonosari (Central Java)
(Reprod. van der Hoop, 1935 : pl. 8)



P1. 16. *Kalamba* or stone vat; buried partly with lid on top coffin at Bada, Toradja (Central Sulawesi)
(Reprod. Kruyt, 1932 : pl. d, facing p. 14)



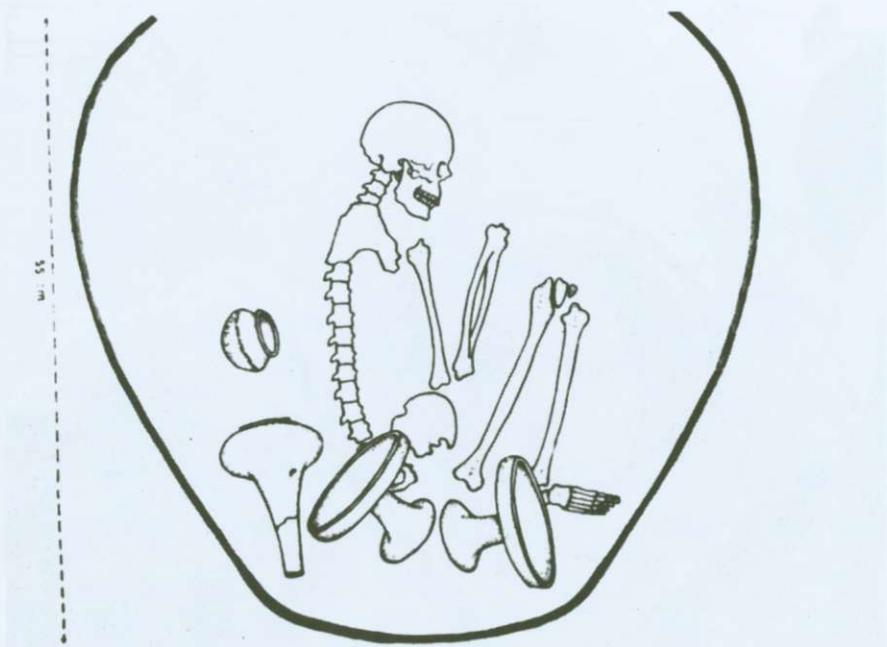
P1. 17. Stone vat with stylized human faces decoration at Besoa, Toradja (Central Sulawesi)
(Reprod. Kruyt, 1932 : pl. c facing p. 14)



P1. 18. Painted wall of burial stone-chamber at Tandjung Ara, Pasemah region (South Sumatra). (Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst of Indonesia)



P1. 19. *Pandhusa* or dolmen grave at Pakauman, Bondowoso (East Java). (Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)

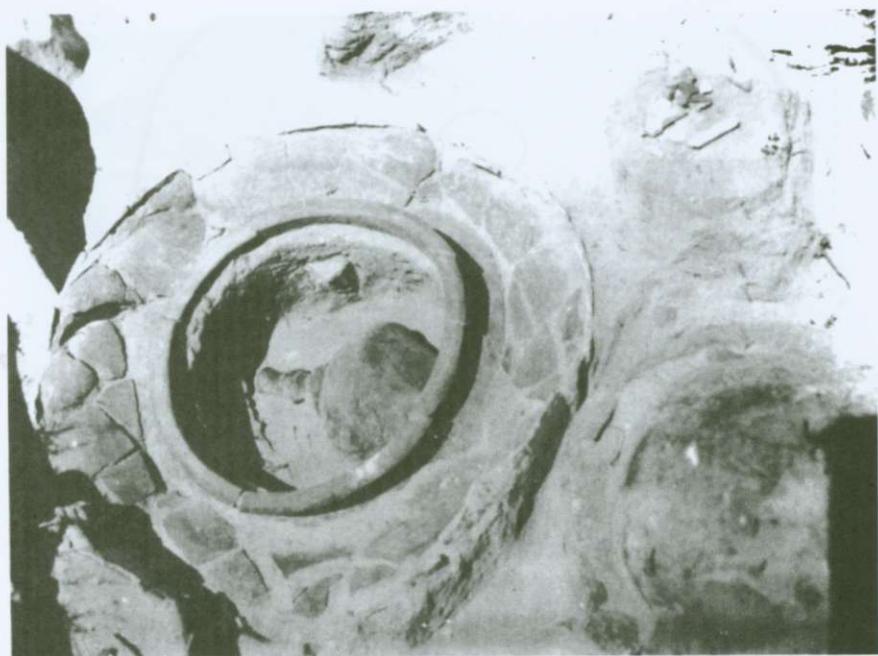


URN BURIAL
ANJER, DECEMBER 1954.

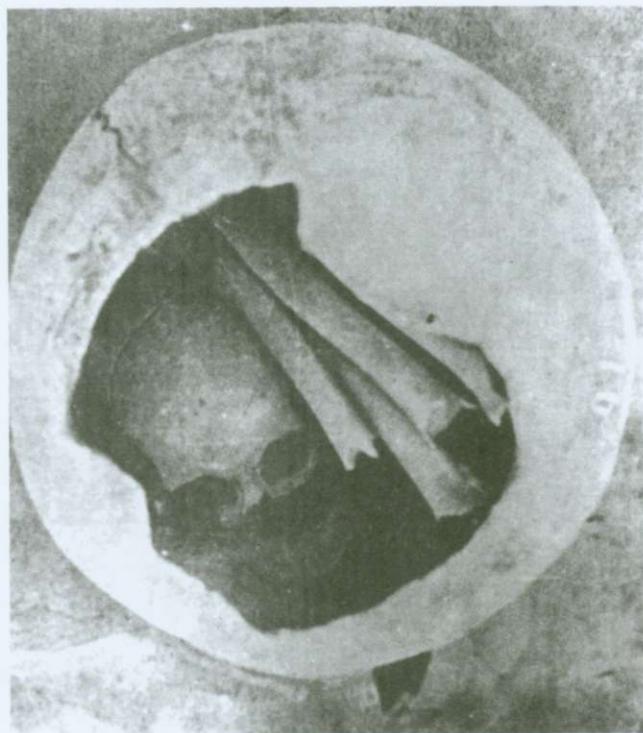
P1. 20. Reconstruction of a primary burial in jar at Anjer (West Java). Body is placed in crouched position



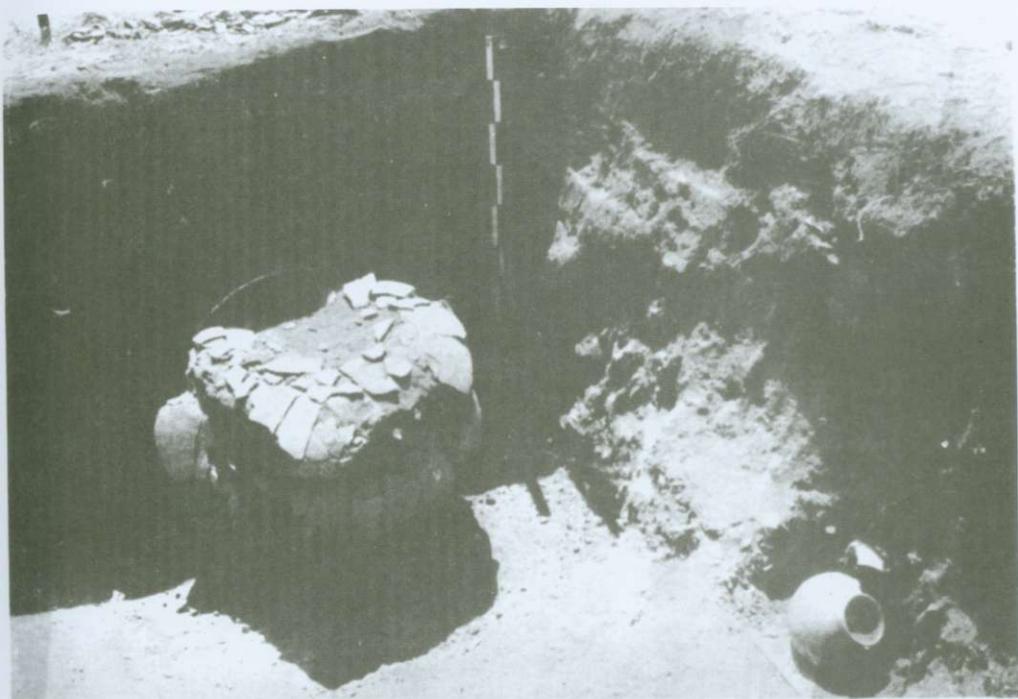
P1. 21. Secondary burial in jar at Melolo (East Sumba)
(Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst of Indonesia).



P1. 23. Earthenware flask as grave furniture in jar at Melolo (East Sumba).
(Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)



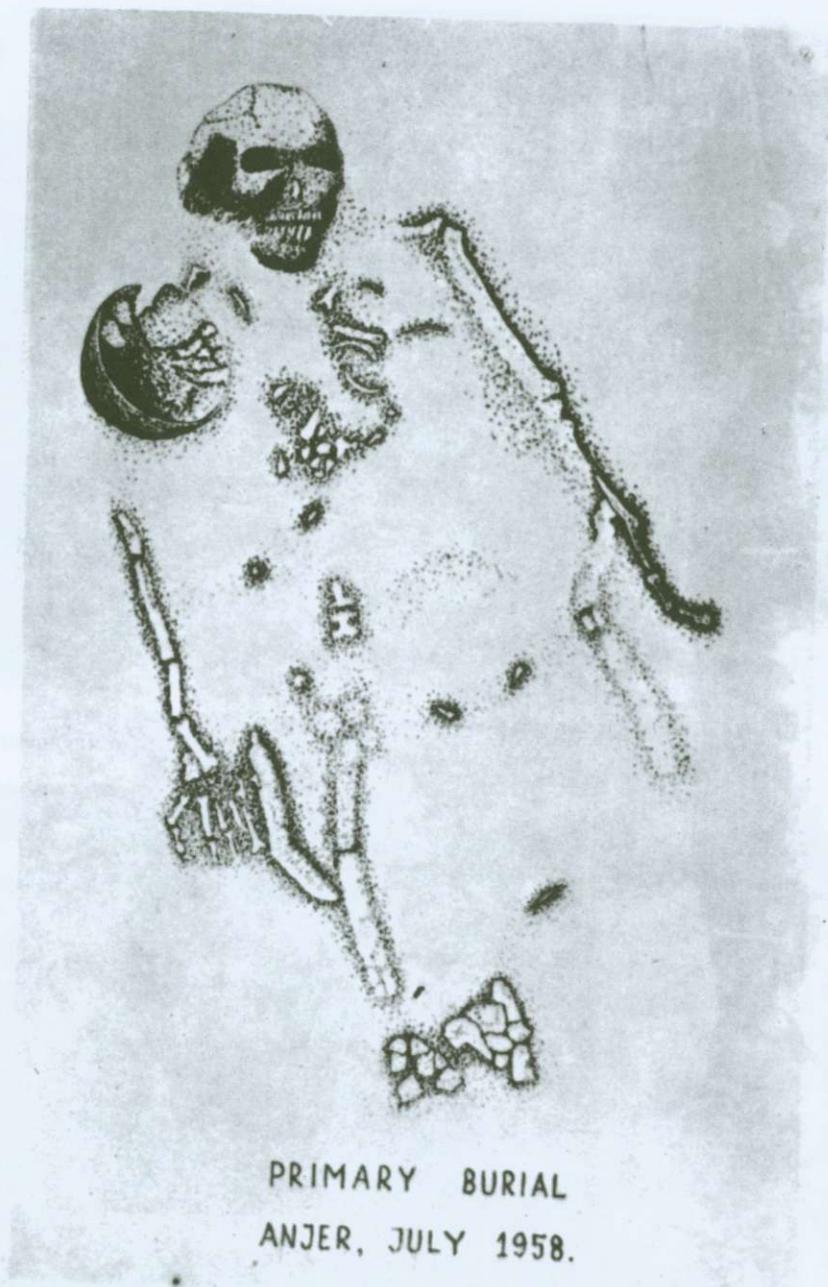
P1. 22. Secondary burial in jar at Melolo (East Sumba).
(Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia).



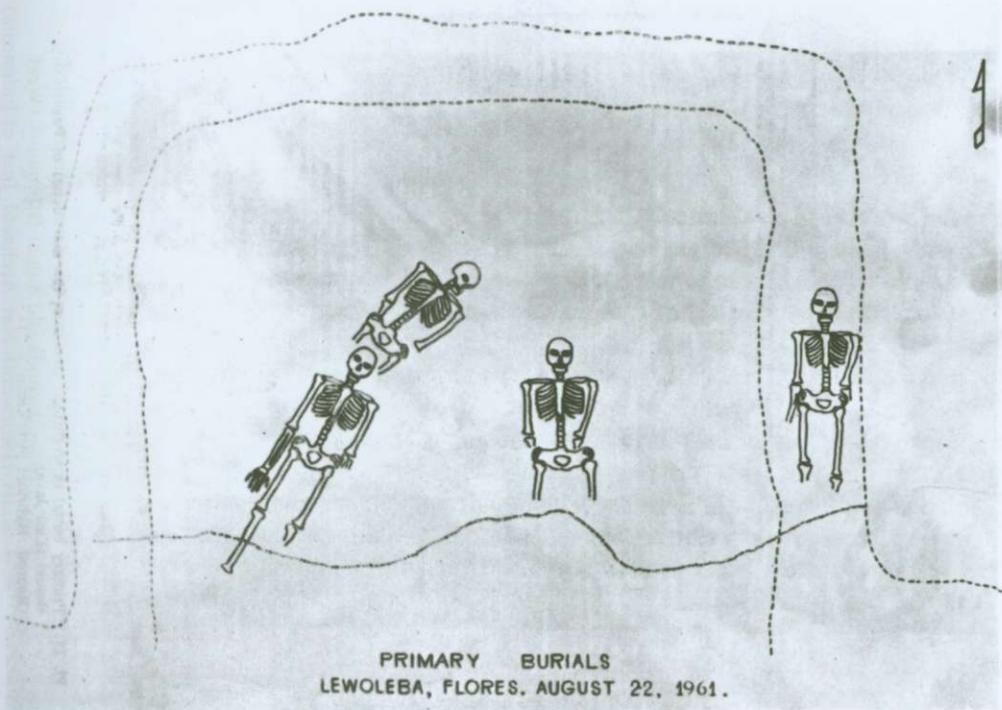
P1. 24. Double-jar burial at Gilimanuk (West Bali). Cover jar and lower jar are heavily damaged. (Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)



P1. 25. Single-jar burial field at Melolo (East Sumba).
(Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)



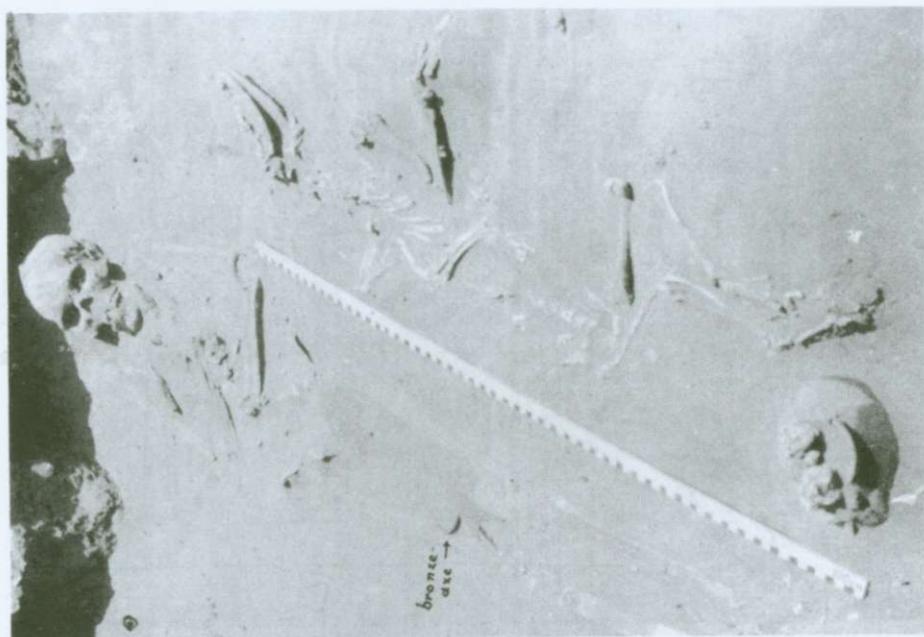
P1. 26. Primary burial is stretched position provided with funeral goods in urn burial site at Anjer (West Java).



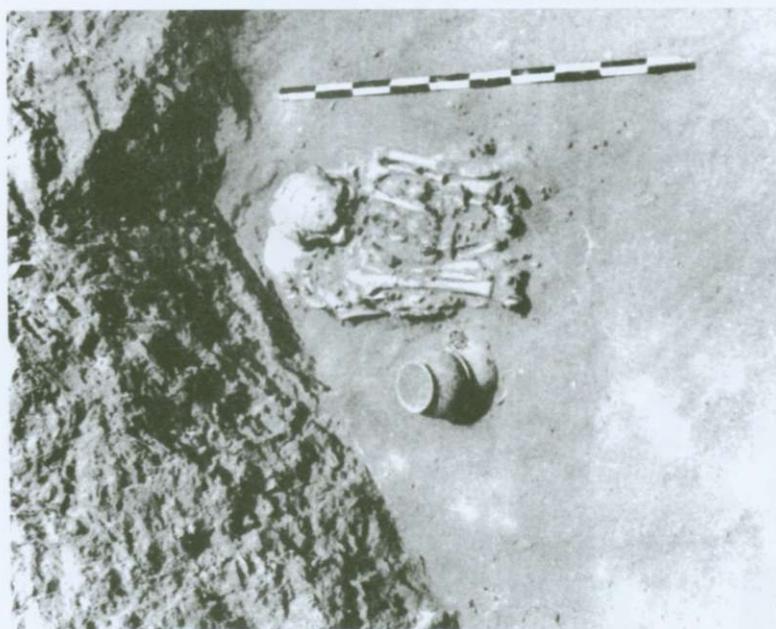
P1. 27. Reconstruction of primary burial in stretched position on the coast of Lewoleba (Lomblen). (After Verhoeven, 1961)



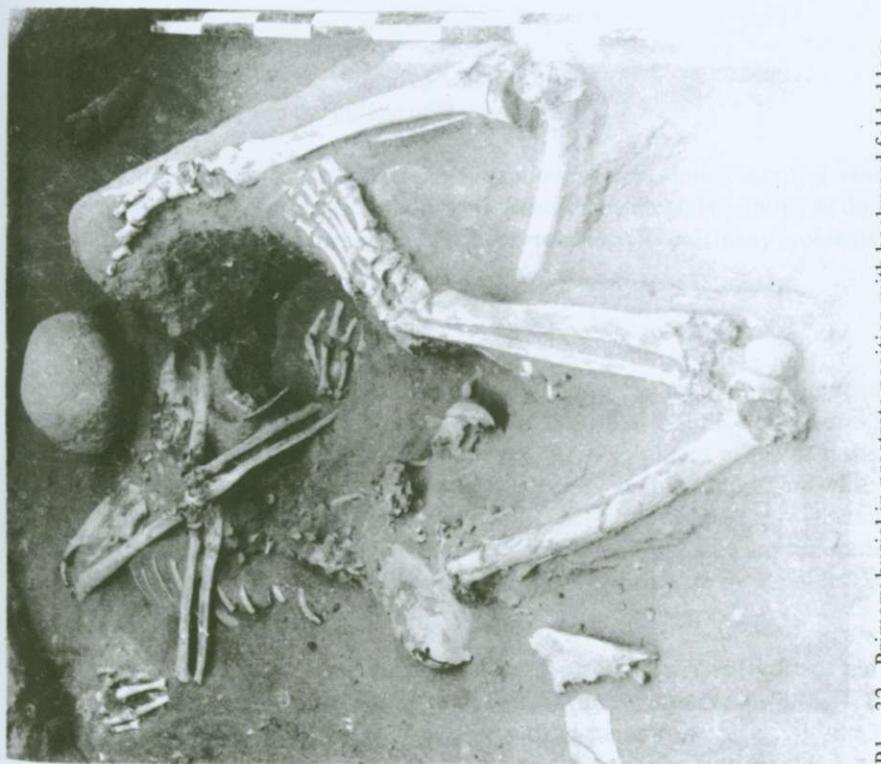
P1. 28. Primary burial in stretched position in the sand dunes of Puger, Besuki (East Java) (Reprod. Hybride: plate facing p. 81)



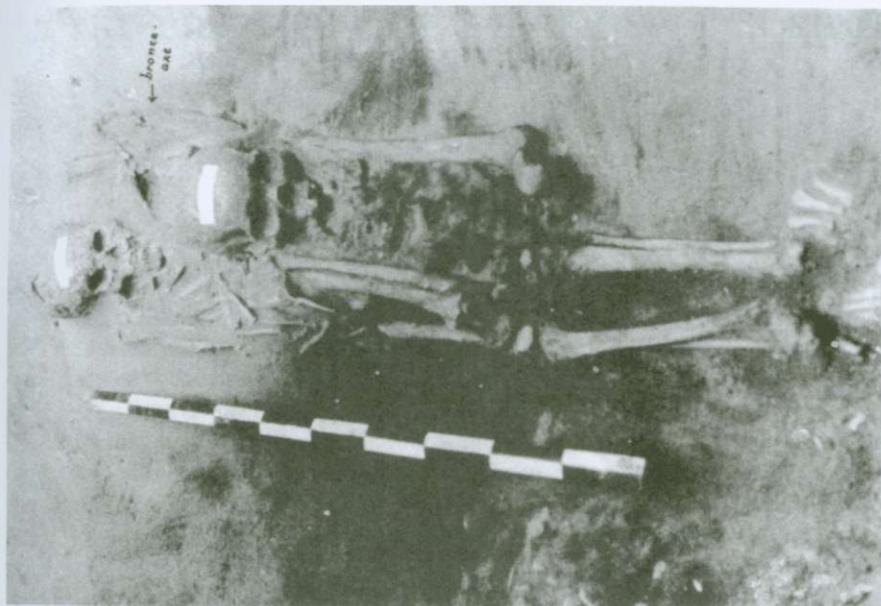
P1. 29. Primary burial in stretched position provided with funeral goods and dog at Gilimanuk (West Bali). (Photo-coll. Nat. Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)



P1. 30. Double secondary burial at Gilimanuk (West Bali)
Collected bones of one body is placed on the top of the other. (Photo-coll. Nat Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)



P1. 32. Primary burial in prostrate position with backward folded legs and arms found below the double urn (see P1. 11) at Gilimanuk (West Bali). This person has been sacrificed to accompany a dead person of important status. (Photo-coll. Nat Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)



P1. 31. Combined burial containing a primary and secondary burial at Gilimanuk (West Bali). Noticed the large bronze ceremonial axe on the right. (Photo-coll. Nat Archaeol. Inst. of Indonesia)

THE DISCOVERY OF THREE NEW INSCRIPTIONS IN THE DISTRICT OF KLATEN (SOUTH CENTRAL JAVA)

by
M. Soekarto Kartoatmodjo

In the year 1962, three new inscriptions were found in the district of Klaten. One was a copper-plate incised with some letters on it and the other two were of stone. From the first one, I could get only two pieces of the negatives by the size of 4 X 6 cm. According to the man who kept the photographs, the written copper-plate was found by a villager while he was working in the field at the foot of Mount Merapi in the district of Klaten. On account of the name of the village, which was firstly mentioned in the copper-plate, let us call it the Kaduluran - inscription. The other two stone - inscriptions were found by this writer at the villages Mao and Ngruweng situated about some km north - east and south - east of Klaten. Now both of them are kept safely in the Archaeological Service at Prambanan.

So, to make the following explanation easier, those inscriptions are named:

1. The Kaduluran inscription,
2. The inscription from the village of Mao,
3. The inscription from the village of Ngruweng.

Beforehand I want to make it clear that the following explanation is only a transcription with some translations and a little description. This is caused by the impossibility of doing a thorough research like digging around that place, and there are especially still many problems which cannot be solved yet connected with those inscriptions.

1. THE KADULURAN INSCRIPTION.

According to the man who gave me the photographs. that copper-plate was found by a villager in the village of Kluwangan, situated in the district of Klaten (Surakarta), Central Java. As explained above, this writer could get only two pieces of the negatives by the size of 4 x 6 cm. And in my opinion, the copper - plate is + 27 cm long and 12 cm wide. Although the photographs are of a very small size we can still use them, because this amateur work is not too blurred. The inscription is written on both sides, the front side has ten sentences and the other side has only two. As the end part of it, there is a picture or a notch that looks like a four-petals lotus flower.

The Old-Javanese language and characters are used here. The figure of the characters is rather fat and round, matching the type of Mid-Javanese letters of 900 A.D. Unfortunately the photographs are not very clear here, because a part of the inscription is rusty. That is why some sentences are illegible, especially the fifth and the sixth sentences.

The remarkable thing of the inscription is that some characters have special symbols, for instance:

- a. The *wirama* (Javanese *paten* =soundkiller) encircles two third of the letters, as in the word *kaduluran*, *pasêk-pasêk*, *mas*, and there is one which encircles the whole letter as in the word *watêk* (*watêk tumanggung*).
- b. Sometimes the *anuswara* is represented by the symbol of a little circle, as it is placed above the words *sang*, *panunggalan*, *rikang*, *nikanang*. Another part uses only the dot above words like *mwang*, *tuhanning*, *têgangrāt* and also the word *sang*.
- c. The *suku* (the foot) turns a little to the left, especially at the end.
- d. The *pepet* is represented by the symbol of a circle with a cross in its middle and looking like the symbol used in addition (+) as in the word *watêk*, or sometimes it looks like the symbol of multiplication (X) as in the word *pasêk-pasêk*.
- e. The writing of some irregular words, for instance *inañḍih* and *inañḍêh*, *sang tuhanning* and *sang tuhān ning*.

The inscription was dated 807 Ç (885/886 A.D). Unfortunately the Kaduluran copper-plate did not mention the name of the king. It only mentioned a high dignitary *Rakyān i Hamêas Pu Sammat*¹⁾. But it seemed that its date was almost exactly the same as that of the last reigning period of King Rakai Kayuwangi or the beginning of the government of Rake Gurunwangi or Haji Rakai Watuhumalang. From the date of the other inscriptions we know that Rakai Kayuwangi ruled (lived) from about 851 A.D. until after 882 A.D.²⁾ According to L.C. Damais, Rakai Kayuwangi Pu Lokapala ruled perhaps from 778 (856), but surely from 785 (863), until at least 804 Çaka (882 A.D)³⁾. Based on the above-mentioned year, we know that there are two famous charters from Rakai Kayuwangi dating from the year 863 A.D.⁴⁾ and 882 A.D.⁵⁾.

About Rakai Kayuwangi Dr N.J. Krom has said that the name was just a synonym of the name Gurunwangi⁶⁾. But Damais still doubted the truth of this opinion, and finally Dr J.G. de Casparis confirmed it⁷⁾, because the name Rakai Gurunwangi was carved together with the name Rakai Pikatan on a stone found in the northern complex of the Plaosan temple (Tjandi Plaosan Lor)⁸⁾. So, Gurunwangi might have had the position of a crown-prince and possessed the right to succeed the king. This matter is worthy of comparison to the Kedu copper-plate 907 A.D)⁹⁾, which registers the name of kings who were Sang Ratu Sanjaya's descendants, and which places the name Çrī mahārāja Rakai Kayuwangi after the name Pikatan. Further on the name Çrī mahārāja Rake Gurunwangi was also found and mentioned in the inscribed stone of Bulus village (or the stone charter of Munggu Antan), in the district of Kedu, which dated 886 (887) A.D.¹⁰⁾.

As I have quoted above, Krom and Casparis declared that Kayuwangi and Gurunwangi were the same king. If this opinion is true, Kayuwangi must have ruled until 886 (887) A.D and from 886 (887) on the government was taken over by Haji Rakai Watuhumalang whose name was written in K.O. IX (808 Ç).

In addition to all this, a short writing in red paint reading (bearing) Kayuwangi has been found in the ruins of temples of Tjandi Plaosan Lor (a 1953 find)¹¹⁾. Unfortunately it has lost its original proper sequence. Now according to the last finding I am of the opinion that Rakai Kayuwangi and Rake Gurunwangi are two different names for both names are discovered in the same temple complex.

Since the Kaduluran inscription dated 885 (886), it would be reasonable to guess that that year was exactly the last period of the government of Rakai Kayuwangi or the beginning of the government of Rake Gurunwangi or Haji Rakai Watuhumalang.

And now follows the transcription.

Transcription :

Front - side.

1. //0// Swasti çakawarsatita 807 Jeṣṭhamāsa tithi saptami kṛṣṇapaksa. ma. pa. so. wāra tatkāla rāma
2. nta i kaduluran inaṇḍiḥ wadwāyunya de rakryān i hamēas pu sammat anakwanua i wirun wa
3. tak sigaran. sākṣi sang tuhānning kanayakan sang katanggaran. pu ṣong tuhānning lampuran². sang panung
4. galan mataṇḍa. sang kahangattan tuhānning wadwā raray. sang palumutan tuhānning kalula. sang watu
5. warak sang guhuwu (?) lawan (?) anghingtu. sang rawayur mangasêakan. sang gugudan likhitapātra. sang tung tuwala
6. s wahuta haphayang pu sarbwa. sang hayamanyi wacana. tumapal si byan (?) umangsêakan ikanang anakwanua ma
7. waih pasêk-pasêk i rakryān mawanua mās su 1 i sang tuhan mās su 6 kinabaihan su wadihati
8. rikang kāla pu ḍakut anakwanua i paṇḍamwan watêk wadihati. tapān miramiraḥ sang rapilang anakwanu
9. a i miramiraḥ watêk wadihati winaiḥ pasêk-pasêk mās su 3. kalang rikang kāla si rātna mwan pu mithu. winikara
10. punta bhānu mwan pu bikayī. parujar kolyan mwan pu balī. gusti pu gowara mwan kaki widyu. kwaih nikanang wadwā

Back - side.

1. yun inaṇḍeḥ para patih rikang kāla patih agallagal sang tēgangrāt watêk tumanggung
2. winaiḥ pasêk-pasêk mās su 1 //0//0/ -

Translation :

Front — side.

1. //0// Hail, Çaka-years past by 807, on the 7th day of the dark-part of the month Jeṣṭha (May-June), on the week-days mahulu (the name of the sad-wāra), pahing (the name of the pancawara or the market-day), and it was on that Monday that the honourable Chief of the village (Rāmanta)
2. of Kaduluran was inaṇḍiḥ wadwāyunya (?) by Rakryān of Hamēas pu Sammat, a villager of Wirun in the district of Sigaran ;
3. the witnesses were the Leader of the Kanayakan Society Sang Katanggaran, pu Song as the Lampuran Leader. Sang Panunggalan
4. as the Mataṇḍa (those in charge of holding flag or command ?)¹²⁾, Sang Kahangattan as the Leader of the Children Society, Sang Palumutan as the Leader of the Slaves (the Leader of those in charge of earthenware)¹³⁾,

5. Sang Watuwarak, Sang Guhuwu (?) lawan (?) Anghingtu, Sang Rawayur has proffered, Sang Gugudan as the Secretary, and Sang Tung as the master of the forests,
6. pu Sarbwa as the Wahuta Haphayang (?). Sang Hayamanyi as the Wacana (spokesman?), and Si Byan (?) as the Tumapal (tapal = mask) ; the inhabitants of that village proffered and
7. each offered 1 *suwarna* gold to Rakryān Mawanua (Rakryān of the village ?), and 6 *suwarnas* gold to Sang Tuhān, those were the *suwarnas* gold which offered by (to) the Wadihati village,
8. at that time pu Dakut was a peasant of Pandamwan in the district of Wadihati, and the Tapān (priest ?) of Miramiraḥ, and also Sang Rupilang who was a peasant of
9. Miramiraḥ village in the district of Wadihati, and each was given 3 *suwarnas* gold ; the forester at that time were Si Rātna and pu Mithu
10. Punta Bhānu and pu Bikayī the Winikara (?), Kolyan and pu Balī the spokesmen. Gusti pu Gowara and Kaki Widyu, the total number of Wadwāyun

Back - side.

1. which (who) were *inaṅḍēḥ* (?), of the ministers (*patiḥ*) at that time were among others the Patih Agallagal Sang Tegangrāt from the district Tumanggung
2. were given 1 *suwarna* gold each //0//0//

Brief explanation:

The above-mentioned inscription obviously explains about a certain Rāmanta of Kaduluran who was *inaṅḍiḥ wadwāyunya* (?) by Rakryān of Hamêas pu Sammat, a *Wirun* peasant in the district of Sigaran. Afterwards the inscription mentions the witnesses present on that occasion. One of them was Sang Kahangattan, the Leader of the Children Society. Then it gives an account of the quantity of gold offered (given) to Rakryan Mawanua. Finally it mentions the sum of *wadwāyun* which (who) were *inaṅḍēḥ*, and the presence of Patih Agallagal as the representative of all the other ministers (*patiḥ*) who also had a share in the gift.

The above-mentioned transcription presents some terminological words and some officials whose duties and actual functions are still vague. Heaps of problems concerning the meanings and the functions of some state-official are undoubtedly found in every inscription. And most inscriptions make use of short solid sentences ; this being the so called inscription - language.

A more interesting word on the Kaduluran copper-plate is *inaṅḍiḥ wadwāyunya*. The word „*inaṅḍiḥ*” derives from the root „*aṅḍiḥ*” which gets the infix, *in*, showing the passive voice, added to it. The meaning of the word is vague. It might bear the following meanings:

- a. In modern Javanese the word “endih” means „to lose”. It might mean „defeated” either. And “*wadwāyunya*” probably means “the general of an army” or „the military instructor” of our time. So the whole phrase might mean „the general of an army is defeated”. However in this inscription the word seems to have nothing to do with any army.
- b. Another opinion is „put under the power of the general of an army.
- c. Compared to another inscription, „*inaṅḍiḥ*” might mean „sub-tracted”. This can be seen

in the Rakai Kayuwangi inscription of 882 A. D ¹⁴) which says:
muang pinta kasih nikanang rāma i ramwi i rakarayan. mamalaku ya inaṅḍēḥ gawainya, tamwayan domas, gawainya mangke samas, muang rowangnya

inaṅḍêḥ tulung tutu prāna 3 muang wadahoma prāna 2 anung pinuput ¹⁵⁾.

This above-mentioned sentence clearly indicates that *inaṅḍih* is used for a sort of *gawai* (work) the quantity of which was 800 (*domas*) at first, but which later decreased to 400 (*samas*). Due to this indication of subtraction, *inaṅḍih* can be translated into subtracted.

d. Compared to the word *wadwā haji* in other inscription (*O.J.O.LX*, on line 4 of the back side), this *wadwāyuna* probably means "Chief of the servants". So the whole phrase might mean also „The chief of the servants is defeated or subtracted.”

The word *wadwāyun* is still a great puzzle. The Randusari I inscription ¹⁶⁾ uses this word which is left untranslated by Dr W.F. Stutterheim ¹⁷⁾. However the word *wadwā* in the same inscription is translated into servant ¹⁸⁾. This same *wadwā* is also found in the other inscriptions. Analysing, *wadwāyun*, I conjecture that it is derived from *wadwā - ayun*. like *wadwā - raray* and *wadwā - dmit* ¹⁹⁾. The term *wadua* in *wadua i sama kaki* as mentioned in Prasasti Indonesia I, might be the synonym of this *wadwā* ²⁰⁾.

Further on saying about the quantity of gold mentioned in the Kaduluran copper-plate, the writer says only here, that 1 (one) *suwarna* = 16 *masa* = 1 *tahil* = 1/16 *kati*. For further details see Stutterheim's article in *Inscripties van Nederlandsch Indië* ²¹⁾.

Among the names of the villages that calls for attention here is Panunggalan, but it has never been explained clearly who Sang Panunggalan as the *Mataṅḍa* actually was. *Panḍamwan watêk Wadihati* (Pandamwan in the district of Wadihati) might be very closely connected to *Pangramwan sîma Wadihati* (Pangramwan's free territory of Wadihati) in the copper-plate of Randusari I ²²⁾. Stutterheim connects this *Pangramwan* to the present Prambanan village with the suffix „an” added to its name ²³⁾. The remarkable thing is that about 7 km north of the present Prambanan, near a small Çiwa temple which is called Candi Morangan by the surrounding people, another village named *Prambonan* was also discovered.

Besides the two above - mentioned villages the name Tegangrāt as mentioned in the first line of the back-side of this Kaduluran copper-plate might be the same as Tegangrāt in *K.O. IX* (886 A.D) and T'gangrāt in *K.O. XX* (919 A.D?), which also mentions *pitamāha* i Hladan. i Praganita and i Kupa ²⁴⁾, besides *pitamāha* i T'gangrāt. Further on the name Tumanggung is also found painted in red colour on the Eastern side of the fence that surrounds the central yard of the Lara-Djonggrang temple ²⁵⁾.

Finally the symbols engraved on some inscriptions are also of great significance. Talking about symbols, I do not mean those *lāncana* or seals like the *garuda-mukha* (garuda-head) ²⁶⁾, *jalasamūha* (all-waters) ²⁷⁾, *mīnadwaya* (two fishes) ²⁸⁾ or the *narasingha* (man-lion) ²⁹⁾ as found in some of the inscriptions, but I mean those frequently forgotten signs at the end of the *praçāstis*.

Fortunately, J.J. Boeles has analysed those symbols carefully, the result of which is reported in his article entitled, *The migration of the magic syllable om*” ³⁰⁾. It shows that the sign of the so - called *manggala om* in all its forms showing a development, is also found in some of the Indonesian ancient inscriptions such as the stone - inscription of Kotakapur (606 A.D), the Tjanggal - charter (732 A.D), the Old-Javanese *jayapattra* (922 A.D) ³¹⁾ and 2.

THE INSCRIPTION FROM THE VILLAGE OF MAO:

According to the tradition (superstition) of the local inhabitants Prambanan was founded by a certain teacher named *Kyai Ramban*. And the holy grave of this founder it now still found at the same village.*

many other *praçastis*. One of the *Om* - signs has got the form of an inverted question - mark with a spiral tail as indicated in the concluding part of *K.O. XIV* and *K.O. XV* ³²).

The Kaduluran inscription does not have the- sign of the *manggala Om*. Instead its sign bears a symbol resembling a four - petals lotus flower. In spite of his close resemblance to the jasmine, it must anyhow represent the sacred lotus flower. On the surface this sign might also represent a common flower, but in my opinion it symbolizes the *mūla-padma* or the *mūladhara*, namely the four-petals ***padma flower, which has a significant position in the yoga and yantra*** contemplation ³³). *Mūlapadma* represents the central strength or *cakra* situated between the anus and the human organ of sexual intercourse. *Mūlapadma* with the four petals functions as a bearer of *meru* (backbone) and a sacred abode of *Çiwa*'s *çakti* (*Çiwa*'s wife) who takes the form of a female dragon named *Devi Kuṇḍalini* ³⁴). Sometimes this goddess is also called *Bhujanggin*. A picture showing that *mulapadma* with the four petals could be seen in some articles (books), namely a short book *Kundalini Yoga* by *Swami Siwananda* ³⁵). On the contrary, *sahasrārapadma* is found on top of the fontanel. *Sahasrārapadma* is a one thousand - petals lotus flower as the home of the god *Çiwa*. Through *yoga* contemplation only this goddess *Devī Kuṇḍalini* ascends and crawls up along the *meṛu* (Javanese *ula-ula* = *meru* = backbone, *ula* = serpent) until she is united with the god *Çiwa*. The way used by this goddess is situated in the *meṛu*, or exactly in the *susumna - nadi* (marrow) which forms a little canal called *Brahma - nadi* (*Canalis centralis*). To awake and activate the goddess *Bhujanggin*, could be only gained by studying and practising the *hatha - yoga, raja - yoga* and *jnana - yoga*. When this union is achieved the purpose of the *yoga* is also obtained.

Actually, something else is also found in the *yoga* contemplation, namely the *Bhīmapadma* (having six petals) which centers in the organ of sexual intercourse, and the *Nabhipadma* (having ten petals) which is situated on the navel. Through the other *sad - cakra* (six *cakras*) at the end *Kundalini* will reach *sahasrārapadma* in the fontanel.

So, the picture or symbol of the four-petals lotus flower as described above are found in the Old-Javanese *jayapattra* of 922 A.D and also in the copper-plate of Kaduluran dating 885 (886) A.D. Only the difference lies in this : In the Old-Javanese *jayapattra* (a receipt to the discharge of a debt) another small sign symbolizing the *manggala om* is seen behind the lotus (see figure). Supposed that the two small circles between some verticals lines before the four-petals lotus of this Kaduluran copper-plate are also symbolizing the magic syllable *om*.

Finally as a conclusion to the whole explanation, I would like to repeat that the signs forming four-petals lotus flowers found in those two above-mentioned inscriptions, very likely symbolize *mūlapadma* or *muladhāra*, and that they have an important meaning to the *yoga* contemplation.

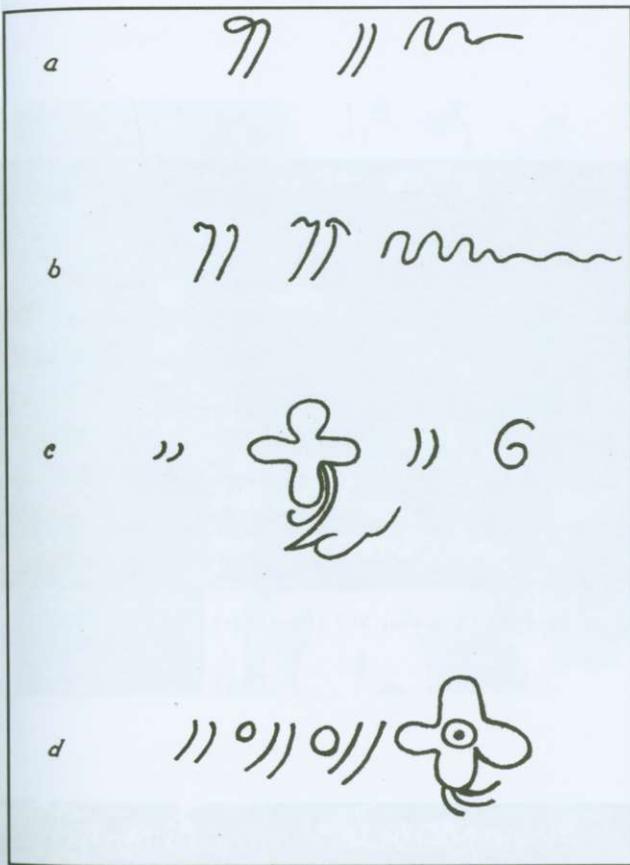


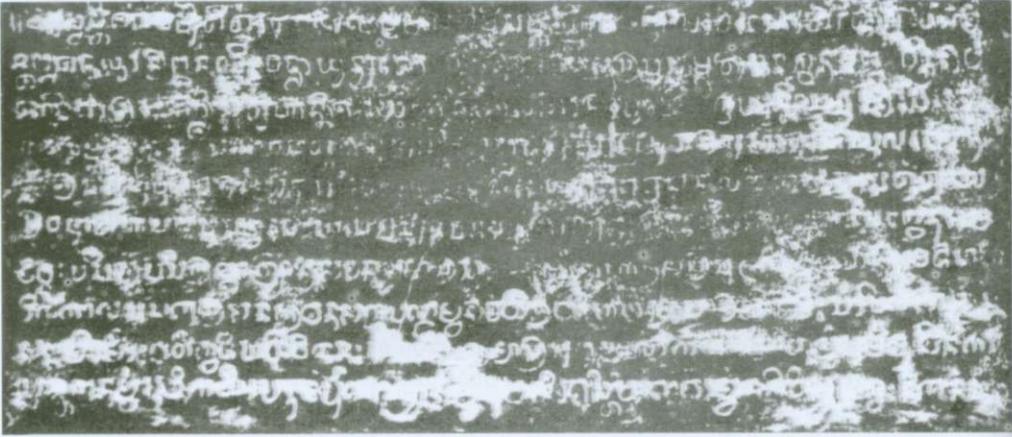
Figure 1.

- a. The *manggala om* (magic syllable) in K.O. XIV (881 A.D).
- b. The *manggala om* (magic syllable) in K.O. XV (882 A.D ?).
- c. The four-petals lotus flower (*mūlapadma*) and the *manggala om* in the Old-Javanese *jayapattra* (992 A.D).
- d. The four-petals lotus flower / *mūlapadma* in the inscription of Kaduluran (885/886 A.D.)

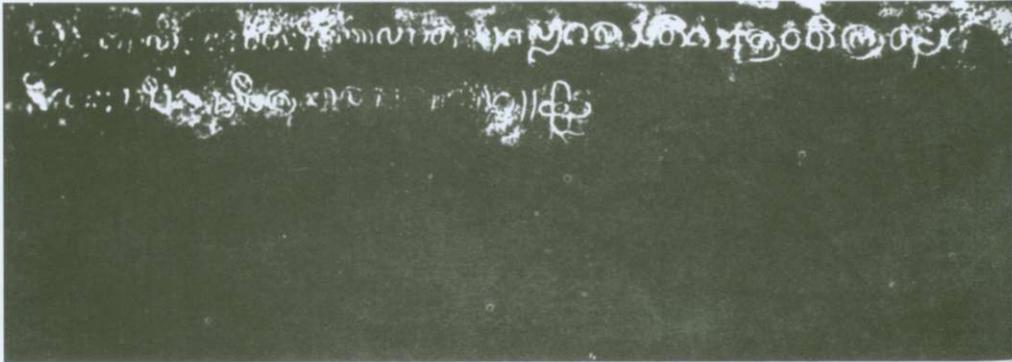


Figure 2.

The four-petals lotus flower (*mūlapadma*) as a sacred abode of the female dragon *Kunḍalini*.



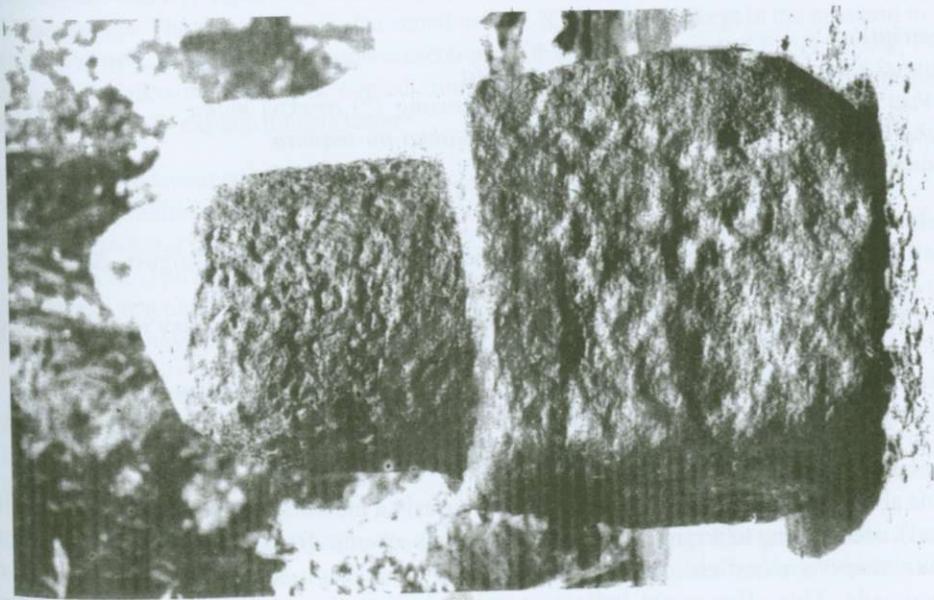
The Kaduluran-inscription from the Çaka-year 807 (front-side)



The Kaduluran-inscription from the Çaka-year 807 (back-side)



The stone-inscription from Mao when it was found



The stone-inscription from Mao after cleaning.

In 1962, on October 16, I found this inscription at Mao, in the district of Klaten, residency of Surakarta (Southern part of Central-Java). Its writings are carved on a stone having the *pseudo-lingga* form, namely that form with a square bottom and a round top. It is 54 cm high. The square part is 28 cm wide and long, and the diameter of the round part is 27 cm. The top of a pseudo-lingga on which the date is stated, has a slight crack. Four lines of curly letters are found on the round part. The characters and language are Old-Javanese. A slight crack on the part stating the first line makes the reading illegible. However, behind the word *çakawarçatita* and the indication of the year, one can still catch a glimpse of *da*-alphabet. This syllable might be a part of the *masa* (month) and a abbreviation of the month *Bhadrawada*. Further behind the above-mentioned syllable one can see *e... daca* which might indicate the date (*tithi*) *ekadaca* (*ekadaçi*).

The above-mentioned historical stone was found on the side of a small road, and it never occurred to the peasants to distinguish it from the ordinary river stones. However the villagers used the inscription as a dike on the side of that road. But some days later I had it removed to the Archaeological Service at Prambanan. Not far from this stone, about 15 meters east of it, another bigger (74 cm high) pseudo-lingga without any writing was found in a gutter.

This remarkable Mao village has some more archaeological things like: temple-stones which were spread also over the surrounding villages, a *makara* - gargoyle, a niche with the image of Aksobhya in it (with the so-called *bhumi-sparçamudra*), an image of Çiwa Mahaguru, and a bronze image once kept by the peasant³⁶). And also the inhabitants of Mao often find some archaeological things while they are working in rice-fields.

Here follows the transcription of the inscription on the above-mentioned stone.

Transcription:

1. *Swasti çakawarçatita da e..daca cukla*
2. *paksa panirwan wagai çukra tatkala ra-bawang (?) anakwi manu*
3. *suka sima sawah tampah 4 pawaih rakai wakka pu manota*
4. *sawaha ni wihara abhayananda.*

Translation :

1. Hail, the holy Çaka-years past by in the month of Bhadrawāda (August - September), on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month,
2. Panirwan (the name of the six-day week), Wagai (the name of the five-day week), it was on a Friday that Ra-Bawang's wife (?) was going to arrange
3. a free territory, and a rice-field of 4 *tampahs* given by Rakai Wakka pu Manota
4. so that the rice-field can be of any use to the monastery of Abhayananda

Brief explanation:

This above-mentioned Mao inscription is obviously a memorandum of Ra-Bawang's wife (anakwi), of her going to arrange a free-territory (sima, exempt from taxes), and of her offering the four *tampahs* rice-field, once given by Rakai Wakka pu Manota, to a monastery of Abhayananda. This offer might indicate a noble deed to the priest (*bhiksu*) living in that monastery. So, the four *tampahs* rice-field (sawah) which are offered to wihara Abhayananda might be the same as *labha - pura* in Bali at present: *labha - pura* means, that all the incomes of certain rice-fields and grounds are appropriated or destined for the expenses of temple -

ceremonies, namely the so-called *odalan* or *otonan* (temple birth-ceremony). Such rice-fields which probably were called *sawah - sima* in the old period, are now named *sawah - Laba* or *sawah - bukti* by the Balinese (derived from Sanskrit : *labha* = acquisition, gain, *bhukti* = eat, *pura* = temple in the Balinese).

Also in this inscription, it is never stated clearly to whom the name Ra-Bawang (?) belongs, and who Rakai Wakka pu Manota is. Also a problem is the meaning of the honorifix Ra added before the name Bawang. In my opinion, this honorifix Ra might be the unfinished abbreviation of *Rakai* or *Rakryan* (*Rakarayan*), this is based on the other inscription which mentioned the name *Rakryan Bawang*³⁷⁾. Anyhow the exact meaning of Ra in this inscription is still vague and uncertain. Further on it is not clear either whether Wakka here should be the same as Wka in other inscriptions, because the name *Rakai Wka pu Kutak* is found on Randusari I 38), *Rakai Wka pu Kirana* in *K.O. I*³⁹⁾, and *Rakai Wka pu Baliçwara* in *O.J.O. XLVII*⁴⁰⁾, etc.

According to Mr Boechari the word *rakarayan i wka* might correspond to the term *raja Putra* of the Telaga Batu inscription⁴¹⁾. The Old-Javanese word *wka* means child or is the synonym of *putra* 42). But sometimes it seems that the word *i wka* (of with *rakryan mapatih i halu, sirikan, wka* in *O.J.O. XXXV*) and *Wakka* also indicates the name of an village or a district.

Further on the word *anakwi* here might be similar to *anakbi* which is stated in Randusari I and which Stutterheim has translated into wife⁴³⁾. Besides this, the word *pakwiannira* (*puyut sang ratu i halu pakwiannira i jangluran*) is stated on the Pereng or Wukiran stone as well. According to Dr Poerbatjaraka the terms *anakbi* are found in the inscriptions up to those during the period of King Sindok⁴⁴⁾.

From the contents of this Mao inscription, one comes to understand that it bears the spirit of Buddhism. This is especially true in, sofar that it mentions a *wihara* (monastery) named *Abhayananda*. The same name is also stated in *K.O. XXV* which is kept in the museum in Jakarta now. Later on L.C. Damais gave some corrections of that inscription in *B.E.F.E.O. XLVII, 1955 45)*. And these following sentences copied from the above-mentioned short inscription based on *B.E.F.E.O. XLVII* explain things clearer :

1. // Swasti sakawarsatita 776
2. caitramaśā tithi caḥurdasi suklapa
3. ksa wurūkung pahing sūkfawara tatkala
4. raḥai sisair) pu wiraja manuskuk)
5. sawah i wayuku simā ni biha
6. ra nirā i abhayanandā (2) (fiñ)

The above-mentioned *bihara Abhayananda* in *K.O. XXV* (*B.E.F.E. O. XLVII*) might belong to *Rakai Sisair pu Wiraja*. Only the location of the monastery is still vague. Now that the Mao inscription is found, the writer dares to say that *wihara Abhayananda* lies in Mao village or at least in one of the nearby villages.

As is briefly indicated above, some other archaeological things like temple -stones and other statues are also found in Mao. And up till now Mao maintains a queer tradition which is not found in any of the surrounding villages:

1. The Maos are not allowed to plant banana trees,

2. Neither are they allowed to pound rice in a wooden-pot; they must pound it in a stone-pot instead,
3. They are not allowed to do any gardening or to work hard on Pon - Friday.

These restrictions are obeyed up to now. Approximately 350 m West of Mao village, a rice-field called Budo⁴⁶⁾ is found near the Djalatunda spring⁴⁷⁾. It is said that the local peasants often find archaeological things made of gold around this place. Even in Jalatunda spring itself, people has found some other archaeological objects like measure - stone (stone pillar with 4 protruding knobs on its top)⁴⁸⁾, a big natural stone bearing the footprints of Bhima⁴⁹⁾ and other statues.

Another village named Mandjungan lies approximately one km East of Mao. It was in this village that I found so many temple - stones, a statue of Ganeça, an image of Nandi, temple - stairs - stone, temple - tops, and many terracotta waterpipes.

From the objects discovered in the two above-mentioned villages, one can conclude that Mao bears the spirit of Buddhism, and Mandjungan bears the spirit of Çiwaism. Tradition and fact prove that these two villages have a strong feeling of brotherhood with each other and inter-marriages among the inhabitants of those villages.

3. THE INSCRIPTION FROM THE VILLAGE OF NGRUWENG :

The present author, assisted by Mr Darsono and Mr Budijono⁵⁰⁾, found this inscription at Ngruweng, in the district of Klaten, residency of Surakarta (South Central - Java) on November 30, 1962. The above-mentioned inscription was found on the north end of the village, or at the end of the road south of the rice - field. Its writings are carved on a stone having the lingga-form, namely that form with a square bottom, an octagonal on its middle, and a round top. It is 68 cm high. The square bottom is 24 cm wide and long, while the diameter of the cylindrical top is 24 cm.

According to Mr Nitisentono, one of the inhabitants of Ngruweng, this stone -inscription was discovered accidentally on April 16, 1955 when people worked in cooperation to broaden the road. The inscription was found beneath a groups of thickly grown bamboo bushes. Later on I removed the lingga - inscription to the Archaeological Service at Prambanan.

Similar to the Mao inscription some lines of curly letters are carved on the round part of the top. They are Old - Javanese characters and language. The type of the characters correspond with those inscriptions from the ninth century. The first and the second line can be read easily, though the name of the day stated is still hazy and uncertain, because this inscription states *po - wara* which might mean Monday or *soma - wara*. The third line is not clear yet since it is neither known how it should be read, nor what the row of words might mean altogether. Part of the characters on it, however are quite plain and clear. This suggest that the inscription might have been left unfinished.

Now the transcription.

Transcription:

1. // *Swasti çakawarçatita 804 bhadrawadamasā*
2. *dwitiya çuklapaksa ma u po wara. tatkala*
3. *nisi bha ta(?) ra(?) ptaka pya (?) a*

It means:

1. // Hail Çaka - years past by 804, in the month Bhadrawada (August-September),
2. on the second day of the bright - part of the month, *maḥulu* (the name of the six-day week), *umanis* (the name of the five-day week) it was on a Monday (?),
3. when nisi

Short explanation :

The year 804 Ç or + 882 A.D. suggests that the above-mentioned lingga-inscription might belong to the last part of the reigning period of Rakai Kayuwangi. I am unfortunately unable to know exactly from that inscription what important events are stated, because what comes after the word *tatkala nisi* on line number three is quite illegible.

On the name Ngruwēng : the villagers said that the name Ngruweng was derived from the Javanese word „*kuru di-eweng-eweng*” (a thin man whom people dragged). This explanation is obviously not a scientific information, it is mere folk -etymology. At present Ngruweng is confined by other villages around it, namely Wiro, Tegalasin, Junggrangan, Pilangsari, Jeto etc. West of it lies a small hill called Tugu (pillar or tower) by the peasants. The villagers also said that Ngruweng of the ancient times was ruled by Jeto.

In addition to the above-mentioned inscription there is also a holy grave which the inhabitants regarded as sacred. Peoples believe that it was the burial place of a certain *Kyai Ngabdulkahar alias Raden Pundjul*, the founder of Ngruweng. All throughout his life Raden Punjul was both a teacher and a court-poet to the Susuhunan Pakubuwono IX, the sovereign of Surakarta. It was said that during his life he was a very devoted Moslim teacher, faithful to his religion, and yet could not escape one weakness, namely the weakness for polygamy. Here again it is quite obvious that this teacher, who is regarded as the founder of Ngruweng, has no relationship whatever with the above-mentioned lingga - inscription.

Besides the holy grave, two water - springs are found at Ngruweng, and they are called *Umbul Ngruweng* at the west end of the village and *Umbul Tamansari* east of it. Their water is used for the rice-fields in and around the village; and for this very reason Ngruweng plays an important role compared with its neighbouring villages.

The question as to, whether the above inscription is originally from Ngruweng, or merely a thing moved into that place from another village, can not be answered yet. It is true that such a small stone-inscription of 68 cm high can easily be moved from one place to another. Closer investigation at Ngruweng by the officials of the Archaeological Service at Prambanan under my supervision did not show any discovery of even a sign of the existence of a temple or any statues. Hence, this situation differs much from that of Mao as stated in my above-mentioned article.

Finally we can only hope that more inscriptions and fragments will be discovered in the surrounding villages, and that the problem of this Ngruweng inscription will be solved more clearly.

Notes :

1. The name Hamêas was also found at Plaosan Temple, namely Anumoda sang hamêas pu jumêndang, which means The devotion of Sang Hamêas pu Jumêndang. This stone inscription is kept now in the Archaeological Service at Prambanan. See *O.V.* 1925, Derde en Vierde Kwartaal, p. 88, picture 22.
2. See J.G. de Casparis : *Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd, Prasasti Indonesia I*, A.C. NIX & Co Bandung, 1950, p. 133.
3. L.C. Damais : Epigrafische Aanteekeningen I, Lokapala-Kayuwangi, in *T.B.G.* LXXXII, 1949, p. 6.
4. The stone - inscription of Argapura or Wanua Tengah from the year 785 Ç, which mentions the name Kayuwangi pu Lokapala (*ratu tatkala rakarayan kayuwangi pu lokapala*). See *O.J.O.* VIII *B.E.F.E.O.* XLVII, 1955, p. 27.
5. *K.O.* XV.
6. J.G. de Casparis : Short inscriptions from Candi Plaosan Lor, in *B.D.P.* no: 4, 1958, p. 23.
7. *l.c.* p. 21.
8. The complete form is as follows:
 - (a) astupa çri mahârâja rakai pikatan
 - (b) anumoda rakai gurunwangi dyah saladu See *B.D.P.* no: 4, p. 11 and footnote.
9. W.F. Stutterheim : Een belangrijke oorkonde uit de Kedoe, in *T.B.G.* LXVII, 1927, p. 173 216.
10. *O.J.O.* XVIII.
11. The stone-inscription is kept now in the Archaeological Service at Prambanan. The writing consists of 7 letters in vague red paint. The first letter is illegible, while the second is *nga*, and below it (the so-called *pasangan* in modern Javanese terminology) is *na* (*ka*). The third letter is also *nga*, and the next four letters together form the word *Ka(ta)yuwangi*.
12. J.G. de Casparis : *Selected inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th century AD, Prasasti Indonesia II*, Masa Baru Bandung 1956, p. 239, footnote 166.
13. *L.c.* p. 239, footnote 170.
14. *K.O.* XV.
15. *Ibid.* on line 11-13 (XV, b)
16. W.F. Stutterheim: Oorkonde van Balitoeng vit 905 A.D. (Randoesari I), in *Inscripties van Nederlandsch Indië*, afl. I, 1940 p. 3-28.
17. *l.c.* p. 8
18. *l.c.* p. 18
19. De Casparis : *Pras. Ind. II*, p. 239, note 109.
20. ne Casparis : *Pras. Ind. I*, p. 129.
21. W.F. Stutterheim : *Insc. van Ned. Ind.* afl. I, p. 17
22. *l.c.* p. 4
23. *l.c.* p. 15
24. *K.O.* XX, on line 11.
25. Most of the inscriptions from the Lara Jonggrang Temple employed paint of red and white colours and only one which was discovered employed the black colour (*garjita*). Prof Moh. Yamin thought that the red and white had some connection with our National Flag. But in my opinion the three colours had to do with the colours of the Indian Trinity (Trimurti), for in the Prambanan Temple all the three colours were used. So the colour for Brahma is red. Çiwa white and Wisnu the black one.

26. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar : Ten Old-Javanese Copper-plates from Sidoteka of the Saka year 1245, in *The Greater India Society*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 1.33.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *O.J.O.* LXVIII, on line 15 (front-side).
30. J.J. Boeles : The migration of the magic syllable *om*, in *India Antiqua* (a volume of oriental studies presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel), Leyden 1947, p. 40-56.
31. See figure 1.
32. *Ibid.*
33. P.H. Pott : *Yoga en Yantra in hunne beteekenis voor de Indische Archaeologie*, Leyden E.J. Brill 1949, p. 8-9.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Also translated into Indonesian by Kwee Liong Tian. and published by Penjedar, Tjelaket 12, Malang.
36. The bronze figure is kept by one of the inhabitants there. Unfortunately he does not allow anybody to see his bronze statue.
37. *H.J.G.* p. 213.
38. W.F. Stutterheim : *Insc. van Ned. Ind*, afl. I, p. 4
39. *K.O.* I, on line 7.
40. *O.J.O.* XLVII, on line 6 (front-side).
41. Boechari : A preliminary note on the study of the Old-Javanese civil administration, in *M.I.S.I.*, No. 2, 1963, p. 128.
42. *Ibid.*
43. W.F. Stutterheim : *Insc. van Ned Ind*, afl. I, p. 9
44. R.Ng. Poerbatjaraka : *Het Oud-Javaansche Ramayana*, in *T.B.G.* LXXII, 1932, p. 151.
45. *B.E.F.E.O.* XLVII, Fasc. I, 1955, p. 23.
46. In modern Javanese the word Budo means Buddha or the old period (*jaman kabudan*).
47. Do not confuse it with the Jalatunda Temple in East-Java.
48. The same stone (which forms a pillar with 4 protruding knobs on its top) I have found not so far from the totally ruined temple of Sokajagir in the regency of Bayalali (Surakarta). The inhabitants of Soka and the surrounding villages called this stone-pillar Watu Pentil, which means a stone representing a woman's nipple (cf. *lingga* with 4 bullets from C. Sukuh) .
49. People call this stone *tapak Bimo* (the footprints of Bhima). The same stone is also found at Majasanga in the regency of Bayalali (Surakarta) .
50. Both are teachers of the Kalibaka Elementary School, some km South - East of Klaten.

List of abbreviations :

1. **B.D.P.** : *Berita Dinas Purbakala* (Bulletin of the Archaeological Service of the Republic of Indonesia).
 2. **B.E.F.E.O.** : *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient.*
 3. **H.J.G.** : *Hindoe - Javaansche Geschiedenis.* 2 nd ed. 1931.
 4. **K.O.** : *Kawi Oorkonden in facsimile.*
 5. **O.J.O.** : *Oud - Javaansche Oorkonden.* nagelaten Transcripties van wijlen Dr.J.L.A. Brandes, uitgegeven door Dr.N.J.Krom, *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, deel LX, 1913.
 6. **M.I.S.I.** : *Madjalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia* (Indonesian Journal of Cultural studies).
 7. **T.B.G.** : *Tijdschrift voor de Indische Taal,-Land-en Volken-kunde*, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
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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 Mênangkabau 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 Mênangkabau 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 Mênangkabaus 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 Mênangkabau 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.

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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.

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 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 *ūpawita*, 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 *Srī Mahārāja Srīmat Tribhuanarāja 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 Dhārmāsekhara. After the king: *Udayadityawarman Pratapaparakra-marajendra Maulimaliwarmmadewa* (who is *mahārājadhirāja*), 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 Matanginisa and Matangī, the former being a demonical form of Amoghapasa in the particular form which is called *Gaganaganja*. 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 Udayaditya (warman) (rising sun).

As regards the style of the statue: it has several Majapahit characteristics, like the rich jewellery, the ear decoration 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 Mahārājadhiraja we may regard this occasion as his coronation ceremony. Among the heirlooms of the historic kingdom of Pagarryung, 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 Matanginisa and Matangi, (Bosch 1930) regards these figures on the dagger as the portrait figures of Adityawarman and his wife.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The inscriptions of Adityawarman in the Mênangkabau area ¹²⁾ are many, about 30. Only a few have sofar been read and discussed by Brandes and Kern.

The inscriptions discussed now are: 1). the large inscription of Pagarryung.2). Inscription of Kuburrajo.3). Inscription of Pagarryung 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). Pagarryung I

Mention is made of the founding of a vihara in suvarnnadvipa by *Adityawarman* *mapratā-paparakramarajendra maulimaniwarmmadewamahārājadhiraja*. He is called Dharmmarajakulatilaka: ornament of the dynasty of Dhārmamārāja. 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 barbwinas* (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 *kubur* 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 Pagarryung 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 nityasmṛti*". 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 *ksetrajna* 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 "Surawasa" and "Grama Sri Surawasa" - 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 sofar 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 Arjuna ¹⁶⁾ 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, Trihhuwana. 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. Moens ¹⁸⁾ has pointed out in 1924 that Adityawarman, like Kertanegara was a follower of Kalacakra Buddhism. It appears now, after reading *Hewajra* instead of *powajra* that also Ananggawarman, his son identified himself with Hewajra a demonical 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 Hevajrase kaprakriya, 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 top 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 Jawabumi 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 from 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 Dharmaprasadottunggadewi,³⁴⁾ which is similar to the name of the king whose palace was raided by the Chola King in 1023 : Sri Sanggramawijayottunggawarman.

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 Kertanagara 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 Pararaton.

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 Mahārājadhirāja, we may even regard it as his own coronation ceremony.

His later inscriptions are all found in the Mênangkabau area. Moens called his kingdom Mênangkabau, but Adityawarman never mentions that name. Nor does he call himself King of Malayu. On the contrary, it is *Kanakamedinindra* (Lord of Gold Land) or *Suwarnadwipa*, 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 Mênangkabau 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, benzoin 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. Hall ⁴⁰⁾ 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 - Mênangkabau 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 Suwardib 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 Mênangkabau 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 benzoin 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 Mênangkabau 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 Mahārāja of Dharmasrāya 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 Dhārmāsraja, 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 Mênangkabau area, which does not mean that he lived there in isolation. On the contrary, he had the Jambi area (Dhārmāsraja) 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-troops 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 crownprins 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 Dhārmāsrāya 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 Dhārmāsrāya to be crowned as king of Sriwijaya by the Chinese emperor? Besides the loss of Jambi would have cut his kingdom off from the eastcoast 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 Mênangkabau area (and Riau) and Dhārmāsrāya-Jambi. Moreover this territory, with in addition Palembang was called San-fo-ch'i. After the occurence with the Chinese envoys who were on their way to San-fo-ch'i at the request of the king of Dhārmāsrāya, 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 Krom⁵³⁾ 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 Parahyangan⁵⁴⁾ 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 inscription 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 Mênangkabau, 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, Dhārmāsraya and Adityawarman.

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

List of ILLUSTRATIONS

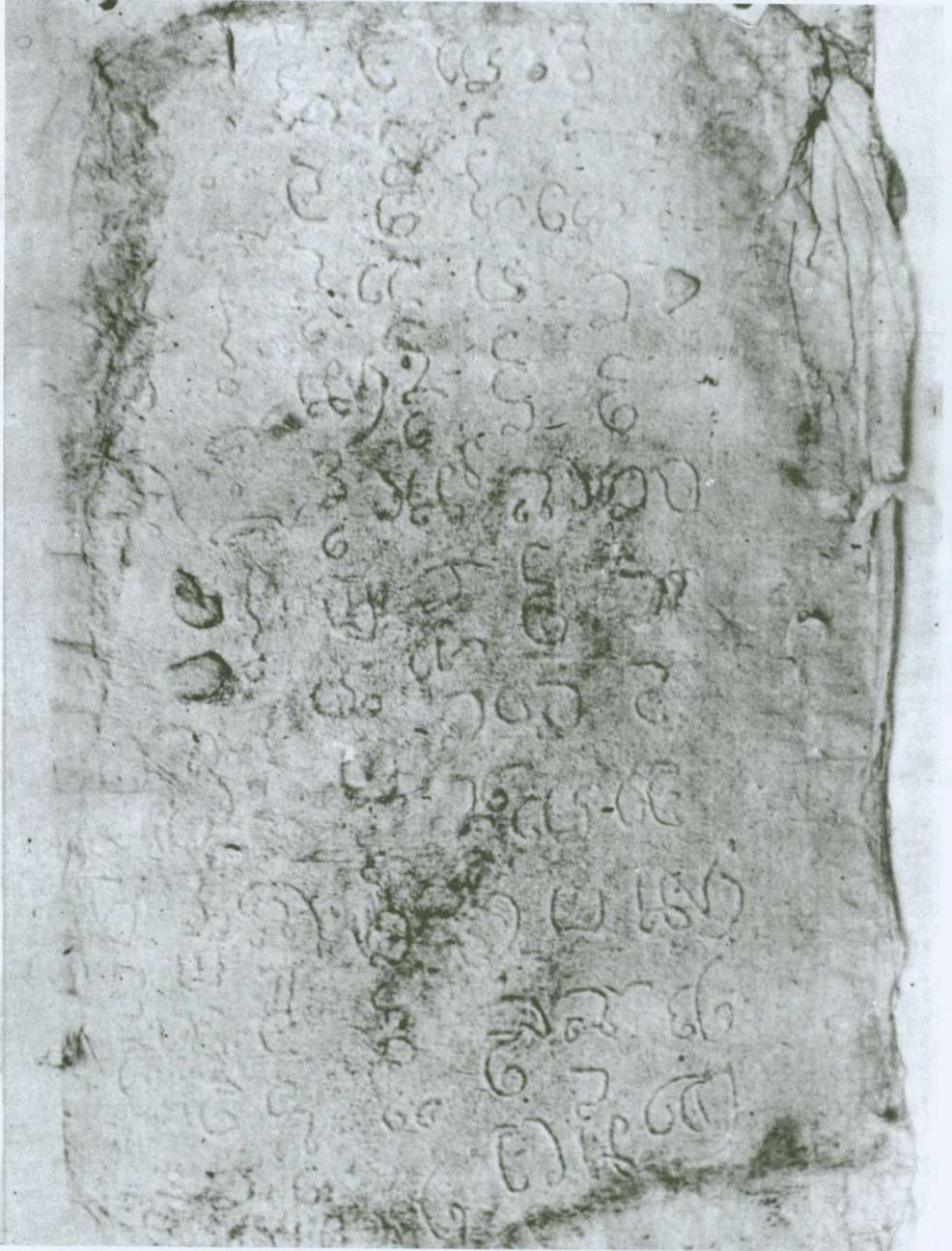
- Pl. 1 Guardian figure from Lubuk Layang, Kabupaten Pasaman.
- Pl. 2 2 guardian figures from Padang Lawas, South Tapanuli, North Sumatra.
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Pl.1 Guardian figure from Lubuk Layang,
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Pl.2 Guardian figure from Padang Lawas, South Tapanuli, North Sumatra



Pl.3 - Face D Inscription from Lubuk Layang, Kabupaten Pasaman.

Pl.4 - Bronze head from Indropuro, Museum Padang



Pl.5 - Awalokiteswara, Stone. Batu Sangkar, Kabupaten Tanah Datar



Pl.6 Amogapasa with surrounding Bodhisattwas and Taras, stone, found at Rambahan, Museum Nasional, Jakarta



Pl.7 Adityawarman as a Buddhist Bhairawa, stone found at Sungai Langsat, Museum Nasional, Jakarta



Pl.8 Ganesa, Karang Kates, Kabupaten Blitar, East Java



Pl.9 Inscription from Pagarryung 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, 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 Dharmakirtti'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) Wolters 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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BIOGRAPHY

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(1977)

NEW FINDS IN NORTHERN CENTRAL JAVA*

by
Sri Soejatmi Satari

INTRODUCTION

The northern part of Central Java has until recently failed to attract the attention of archeologists. One reason could be that except in the regency of Semarang, no temples were discovered, compared to the abundance of remains in the southern part of Central Java dating from the Sailendra period, like the temples of Borobudur, Prambanan, Plaosan and Sewu with marvelous sculptures scattered all over the area. One of the few writers was H.J. Domis (*VBG*, 1825, 10) who wrote about the archaeological remains around the Merbabu Mountain and the temple of Gedong Sanga in the regency of Semarang. J.F.G. Brumund, whose account was recorded in "Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Hindoeïsme op Java" (*VBG* 1868, 33) visited the area between Tegal and Demak. From his account we gather that Brumund found only loose objects such as statues, inscriptions and smaller items. No mention was made of foundations except for those of the temples around Ungaran.

Dr. N.J. Krom, in his "*Inleiding tot de Hindoe Javaansche Kunst*" (1919. 433-439) divided the art of Central Java into two main groups, basing his opinion on these finds. Firstly the intensively hinduized Central Javanese Art, comprising the area surrounding the Dieng Plateau, Kedu, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and Semarang. Secondly, area situated more to the west, whose art flourished later on, the main characteristics of which are fewer finds of statues and a gradual absence of temple ruins. In these areas indigenous aspects of art come forward, as shown by sculptures with traits of the so-called Polynesian statues, especially in the regencies of Pekalongan and Tegal.

It is possible that due to their location nearer West Java where there were kingdoms from the 5th century, North Central Javanese art was influenced by that of West Java. A survey carried out by the National Research Centre of Archaeology in 1975-1976 covered the regencies of Pekalongan, Batang and Kendal. After rechecking previously discovered sites there was a search for new ones, and new finds came indeed to light, scattered all over the coast and up to the mountainous areas. These included inscriptions, temple remains including foundations and statues. The first two will be mentioned briefly while more attention will be paid to the statues.

INSCRIPTIONS

Almost all the inscriptions were found in the regency of Batang. A new inscription in the subdistrict of Gringsing on the coast north of Batang, consisting of 5 lines, written in Sanskrit with Pallawa characters was also discovered. It is supposed to be one of the oldest inscriptions in Central Java. But the thinly engraved writings made it difficult to decipher them properly. Several meters from the site of the inscription is a site which seems to have been that of an old bathing place, called the Bale Kambang, in which potsherds were found scattered on that of the lowest level. Two stone ducks, temple fragments and a makara originating from this site were moved to the site of the inscription.

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Other new finds of inscriptions were concentrated around the northern slope of the Prahu Mountain, in the district of Reban and Blado, among others:

- a. The inscription of Sojomerto dating from the early seventh century (Buchari, 1966, 241-251), which mentioned the name of *Dapunta Selendra*.
- b. The inscription of Indrakila (district Reban), dating from the ninth century, mentioning the name of Dihyang (Dieng). This inscription is now kept at the Archaeological Office in Prambanan.
- c. The inscription of Banjaran (Reban), found in a coffee plantation. Very thinly engraved and consisting of 13 lines, it is written in Old-Javanese character. The deciphering and reading of this inscription is still not completed (Berita Penelitian Arkeologi, 1977,9).
- d. The newly discovered inscription of Kepokoh (Blado), which, is written in Old Javanese characters, using a mixed language: Sanskrit and Old Javanese. No mention was made, of a date or name, but this inscription must be of a later date than that of Sojomerto.

FOUNDATIONS AND TEMPLE RUINS / REMAINS.

Some finds worth recording are :

- a. Remains of a brick temple at Kangkung in the regency of Kendal from which some ornamented antefixes and pinnacles, one Durga and one Ganesa have been moved to the town.
The Durga is eight-armed, of which the six rear arms are raised in a parallel pose, each holding a *camara* (?), a knife, a *pasa*, a *trisula*, a *sankha* and a *parasu*, while each, of the forehands grabs the bull's tail and the demon Mahisasura's hair.
- b. Unlike the brick temple of Kangkung which was situated on the coast, remains of temples made of stone or brick were also found up-hill, in the subdistrict of Mijen, Boja and Limbangan. This is not so surprising in view of the fact that these places border on the regencies of Semarang, where the pure Central Javanese art flourished, like the temples around Mount Ungaran and the temple compound of Gedong Sanga.
Those three sites yielded brick temple foundations, temple stones, yonis, statues and temple fragments.
- c. Traces of Hindu sanctuaries have been found in a well-preserved condition on the northern slope of the Prahu Mountain, right on the other side of the Dieng compound, covering a space of about 18x24 meters. Located in the district of Bawang, regency of Batang, it consists of several temple fragments and statues: a lintel decorated with a kala head and ending in stylized makaras, padma-shaped pinnacles, a *yoni*, small *linggas*, high *padmasanas*, a mortar and its poulder, a nandi and a ganesa. An open space in the village of Kepyar, which people still use as a graveyard, yielded some temple fragments such as temple summits showing traits of the Dieng style. Besides there was a richly decorated kala head with a style, resembling that of the Penanggungan of East Java.

After this brief account of the inscriptions and temple remains, we turn now to the statues.

STATUES AND SCULPTURES

The statues in the three regencies are divided into three main groups, in accordance with their characteristics.

1. Pure central Javanese statues and sculptures.

These are products of what Krom denotes as the intensively hinduized Central Java Art. (Krom, 1919, 433-439). It comprises statues with south central Javanese and Dieng characteristics which might have originated from those areas and were then scattered from Pekalongan to Kendal. The collection in the house of the Resident of Pekalongan (*R.O.D.*, 1914, 131) includes a statue of Durga. Besides there were a sitting Siva and Visnu obviously portrait statues of royal personages, as is shown by the *anjali* pose of Siva, and the fact that Visnu has his hands in his lap, in a meditation pose, a flower lying in his right palm, instead of holding the usual attributes. Similar statues are also found in the regency of Kendal, viz. that of royal personages and a sage depicted as a god. Some of them ride on anthropomorphic *vahanas* like garuda and nandi.

2. Statues and sculptures showing local traits.

In this case the statues either preserve the megalithic tradition and Polynesian features or develop traits diverging from the pure Central Javanese ones.

- a. A Polynesian statue depicting a standing person with crossed arms is found at Tlagapakis, Pekalongan, side by side with a Ganesa with the usual classical features.
- b. Another Polynesian-styled statue in the form of a Ganesa is still kept in the teaplantation of Jalatiga, Pekalongan. It has small legs and only two arms, hanging stiffly at the sides. The Polynesian appearance is enhanced by the rounded shape, the incised eyes and trunk and the unadorned and rigid body (*op.cit.* 1976.6).
- c. A stone statue of Wisnu is found in the district of Tersono, regency of Batang. It is already badly weather-worn, with its feet half buried in the ground. It is four-armed with plump limbs and a rather large head and wears a conical headdress. Its ears are adorned with a pair of *kundalas* or earrings. In each of his hands he holds a *sankha*, a *gada* and a *cakra* while the object he holds in his right forehand is still undiscernible. He is flanked by two acolytes or more probably his consorts, Sri and Laksmi. Elaboration of the limbs and the head are similar to that of the first Visnu image of Cibuaya, West Java (Boisselier, MCMLIX, 210-226), which displays South East Asian features. It is likely that what we have here is an example of a statue influenced by West Javanese art.
- d. An interesting find, to which we will refer again, is a sculptured stone, popularly called the "*watu gajah*" or elephant stone, found in the under district of Wonotunggal, Batang. It was reported as being a prehistoric object, but further investigation revealed that it could not be classified as one, but dated from the classical period. It seems, that megalithic traditions were still being carried on, including an archaic way of carving. As a whole it is not unlike the megalithic Batu Gajah statue of Pasemah which represents a warrior riding an elephant (v.d.Hoop, 1932 34-35, p1.89-95).

3. Statues and sculptures under the influence of East Java art.

A surprising phenomenon in North Central Java is the presence of late East Javanese traits in its archaeological remains. This is shown by :

A. Some Statues from the regency of Kendal,

- a. A *yaksi* or a *camaradharini*, standing with her right hand holding a *camara* over her right shoulder (R.O.C.I 911.130). She is wearing a *dhoti* and a turbanlike headdress. On the relief of Borobudur is depicted a *camaradharini* who belongs to a king's retinue and who acts as a door guardian of the palace (Siwaramamurti, 1961.21.p1.1).
- b. A Mahakala with a bulky head, goggle-eyed and with fangs. His right hand is holding up a club. This kind of statues are found in the regency of Madiun, East Java.
- c. A *punakawan*-like statue, wearing an ankle-length wraparound skirt. This kind of dress has been preserved till the end of the Majapahit period (Satyawati Suleiman, 1975, 8). Moreover it has snakes as necklace, bracelets and armlets. Its frontal look and *pancanakha* nails mark it as Kertolo, attendant of Panji the legendary prince of Kahuripan, in the *wayang gedog*, the shadowplay with a repertoire of Panji stories. (see Pigeaud 1938,p1. XLVII, opposite p. 476).

B. Sculptures from the regency of Pekalongan:

- a. A stone statue of Doro, representing a divinity with four arms. His outward pointing feet stand on a pair of horned, open-jawed nagas. Its unfinished *prabhamandala* is intended to be carved the Majapahit aureole (compare with B. Kempers: *Ancient Indonesian Art*. pl. 262), while the gesture of the forehands and the headdress display some traits of ancestral statues. This divinity might pass for Batara Guru, the popular personification of Siva in the Javanese shadow-play.
- b. A *lingga-yoni* from Petungkriyono, the *yoni* of which is decorated with a coiling naga having wide open jaws and horns, wearing a pair of *kundalas*. Here we find the pure East Javanese features, in contrast to the Central Javanese nagas which are smooth and close-mouthed. The naga is seen resting on a base ornamented with a protruding front part and hind legs, suggesting a turtle. (Pl, no. 1).

After reviewing the finds, especially the statues and the sculptures of the three regencies, we shall now return to the two interesting items mentioned before, the "elephant stone" of Wonotunggal and the *lingga-yoni* of Petungkriyono.

THE ELEPHANT STONE OF WONOTUNGGAL

As was stated before, this sculpture still maintains the megalithic tradition in appearance. The upper part of the stone fitting in a groove on the surface of the lower part, has vanished. Both sides of this stone are carved, each with a different relief. The left side shows an elephant's head, a fore and a hind leg, but they seem not to fit each other. Next to one leg there is something that looks like a ribbon or a plough. This leg rests on the rear part of a creature with a kind of tail. (Pl. no. 2).

The right side consists of an elephant's head, its foreleg and body, with a human hind leg. Still another leg wearing an anklet rests on the arm of a winged being which holds a kind of lotusbud or a weapon. And at last there is a big elephant's rear leg which does not belong to the smaller one. (Pl. no. 3).

What does this complex jigsaw puzzle mean? It is made even more complex by the lack of the missing upper part. While we still have to guess about the relief on the left side, we shall try to solve the problem presented by the right flank.

Here we have three main elements: an elephant, or maybe two, a winged creature and its rider. A plausible explanation for this puzzle should be sought in the Hindu mythology. The Bhagawata-Purana (T.A. Gopinatha Rao: 1914. 266) narrates the story of the deliverance of Gajendra, the king of elephants by Visnu.

Gajendra was caught by a crocodile while quenching its thirst in a watertank on the mountain Trikuta. By praying and offering a lotus flower it besought the help of Visnu. The god heard his prayers and descended by mounting his vehicle, the garuda. He hurled a disc towards the crocodile and so released Gajendra from its suffering. The crocodile then assumed its former shape as a *gandharwa*.

Iconographically, when this story is depicted on a relief or a statue it is called *Visnu Varadharaja*, meaning Visnu as king among boon-bestowers or benefactors, or *Karivarada*, benefactor to the elephant Gajendra. Sculptures of this kind are common in the southern provinces of India (*op.cit.*268). A sculpture depicting the *Karivarada* is found in Mysore State (*op.cit.*id). Here the figures are carved one on top of the other. Visnu is seen mounting his *wahana*, the garuda. Beneath the garuda the elephant is seen praying to Visnu with a lotus in its trunk while a crocodile is biting its hind leg. A *cakra* on the back of the crocodile, represents Visnu who kills the monster. (Pl.no.4).

A Varadaraja sculpture is kept in the Varadarajasvamin temple at Dadikkombu. Here the figure of Gajendra and the crocodile are absent.

After analyzing the sculptures found in South India and comparing them with the sculpture of Wonotunggal, it is not too rash to conclude that our statue also represents the *Karivarada*. Ignoring the big elephant's leg, we see here Visnu's right leg resting on the arm of the garuda which holds a lotus bud or an *ankusa* in its hand. The crocodile is not shown here. But what is lacking here seems to be completed by the left side of the sculpture. On this side the Gajendra is seen squirming frightfully while the crocodile is crawling on its back. The crocodile is depicted with a human leg, and what looks like a ribbon or a plough beneath it must in reality be its tail. Thus we have here the only sculpture in Indonesia which narrates the tale of the *Karivarada*.



Pl.1. The lingga yoni of Petungkriyono, with naga on the base, Pekalongan



Pl.2. The left side of the "elephant stone" of Wonotunggal



Pl.3. The right side of the "elephant stone" of Wonotunggal



Pl.4. Kari-Varada, Visnu on Garuda killing the crocodile, Mysore State.
(Gopinatha Rao, pl. LXXX, fig. 1)

THE LINGGA-YONI OF PETUNGKRIYONO

This object is found deep in the hinterland of Pekalongan, in the district of Petungkriyono. It consists of a *yoni* supported by a *naga* which coils its body around the base of the *yoni* and twists its tail around its own chest (C.den Hamer, 1893 CXXI-CXXII).

The *naga* is of East Javanese type, with open jaws and a pair of horns on each side of its head, the lower ones of which wear *kundalas*. The *kundalas*, have the shape of nightshades (*solanum melongena*). Likewise *kundalas* are seen adorning a statue carved on top of a bronze bell from Trenggalek, East Java (14th - 15th century) now kept in the Central Museum of Jakarta.

The body has finely carved scales decorated with antefixes on its corners and sides. Smaller antefixes adorn the body's base. The *naga* wears a pearl necklace with a triangular pendant (*Op.cit.*1977.Z6.8). On the flat pedestal a pair of hind legs, a tail and a head, which probably represents a turtle, can be perceived. This was not mentioned in den Hamer's description.

A pedestal supports the *naga* and the *yoni*. The *yoni* itself is plain, except the spout end on which is carved a winged *sankha*. A *lingga* is placed on top of the *yoni*, decorated with *tumpal* (triangular) motifs around an octagonal base. Two smaller *linggas* of equal size stand on a row on the *yoni*'s canal, in front of the main *lingga*. But these *linggas* probably belong to another pair of *yonis*, for near this remarkable *lingga-yoni* still another turtle-like pedestal was dug out of the ground. The small-sized *yoni* fits the small *lingga* perfectly. The height of the large *yoni* reaches to 1.50 m, and is oriented to the west, while the height of the small *yoni* is up to 29 cm.

Let us first take into view some decorated *yonis* with or without *lingga* which are kept in the Central Museum of Jakarta coming from several parts of Central and East Java :

- a. A combination of a *yoni* and a *naga* is most common, as is displayed by collection nos.366a and 390b.

No. 366a is an octagonal-formed *yoni*, the upper rim of which is decorated with a meander-like design and hanging antefixes or stylized winged *sankha*, while - the body and the base have a *padmāsana*-formed plinth. The *naga* supporting the spout is of early or middle East Javanese type, as is shown by the horns, the crown beside the jewel on its head and the closed jaw with ridges on the upper side (Pl.no.5)

- b. In Hindu mythology and sculpture the *naga* is frequently accompanied by a *garuda*. Those two creatures are mortal enemies, particularly when it concerns the *amrta* (nectar of immortality), yet inseparable because they represent two contrasting aspects of life (light and dark, good and evil, etc.), indispensable to keep the balance in the universe.

Coll.no.359 shows a *garuda* squatting in a relaxed position on the left side of the *yoni*.

The unusual long spout of the *yoni* is supported by a *naga* dating from the late East Javanese period, i.e. with open jaws, protruding tongue and double horns with hanging *kundalas* like those worn by the *naga* of Petungkriyono. A crown is on its head. (pl.no.6).

A *yoni* with *naga* and *garuda* is also standing in the Museum of Sumenep, Madura, but that *naga* is of the early or middle East Javanese type, and richly decorated (Pl.no. 7 & 8).

- c. Besides those two creatures a *yoni* is sometimes, although rarely, adorned with a turtle as illustrated by nos.360a (pl.no.9) and 5791 (*V.B.G.XXXI,CICVIII*). Here three *nagas* spring out from the base of the *yoni*, each having a garland and jewels cascading from its mouth. A turtle perches on their heads and this again carries an anthropomorphic *garuda* which holds its arms upwards thus functioning as a *gana*, supporting the spout of the *yoni*. No.360 has also a *kalahead* put on the *yoni's* spout.

The *nagas* are carved in the Central Javanese manner, smooth-headed with a *ratna* or jewel on its top.

A recent excavation carried out in Patengteng on the island of Madura yielded *yoni* with ornaments consisting of a *naga* with closed jaws and a small object protruding beneath it, which on closer examination appeared to be a turtle's head. (Pl.no.10).

A similar piece was also found during the survey carried out in Kendal (*Op.cit.*1977. 44).

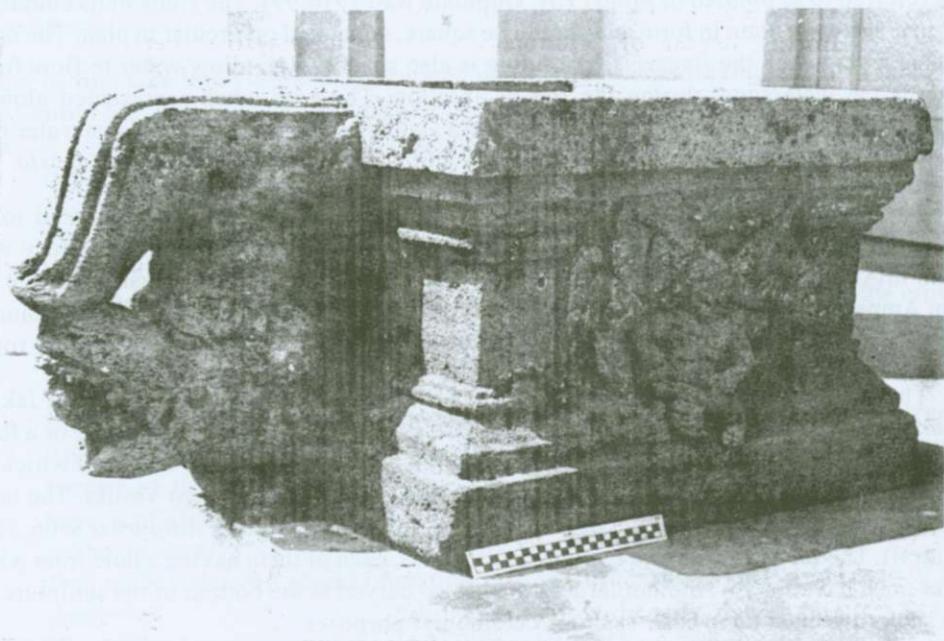
We come to the conclusion that most of the decorations are Visnuitic i.e. the winged *sankha*, the *garuda* and the turtle. The question now is: why have *lingga* and *yoni*, symbols par excellence of Sivaism, such dominantly Visnuitic characteristics? We will consider first the function of the *yoni* in the Hinduistic rituals. Used as a pedestal for a *Lingga*, a *yoni* is also referred to as *pindika* or *pitha* (T.A. Gopinath Rao 1916,99). The *yonis* in its country of origin are usually plain in form and should be square, octagonal or circular in plan. The upper surface from which the *lingga* is protruding is also shaped as to allow water to flow freely towards the waterspout during the rite of ablution. The *yoni* when represented alone is referred to as the chalice or water vessel (Alain Danielou 1964: 230-231). Thus water is an essential element in connection with the *yoni*, and is in this case considered as *amrta*.

The quest for *amrta* in which deities and *asuras* have taken part is depicted in the *Samudramanthana* or *Amrtamanthana*. Stones adorned with scenes from this story were found in Ampelgading, East Java, in Pejeng, Bali and in Sirahkencong, East Java. The one from Ampelgading has next to *devas* and *asuras* (S. Soejatmi Satari, 1975:11) also dancing *asuras* and an *apsara* at the bottom, while instead of one there are two *nagas* used as ropes.

The *amrtamanthana* from Sirahkencong is now kept in the Central Museum of Jakarta (Soekmono, 1952: 35-39). This sculpture comprises a round *padmasana*, a *kurma* or a turtle as an *avatara* of Visnu, a *naga* entwining the mountain Mandara on the slopes of which are carved animals, woods and flames, *devas* and *asuras* pulling at the *naga* Vasuki. The horse Ucaihssrava is seen springing out of the ocean of milk. (Juynboll HH. *Adiparwa* 1906.31 ff). (Pl.no.11). The top is surrounded by four smaller ones, each of them having a hole from which water must have flown. Another larger hole is also carved at the bottom of the sculpture. So this sculpture must have been used for ceremonial purposes.



Pl.5. An octagonal *yonī* with a high pedestal
Coll No. 336 a, Central Museum of Jakarta.



pl.6. A *yonī* decorated with *garuda* and *naga*.
Coll No. 359, Central Museum of Jakarta



Pl.7. A *yoni* in the collection of museum of Sumenep, Madura



pl.8. Detail of *yoni* No. 7
The *naga* has ridges on the upper jaw.

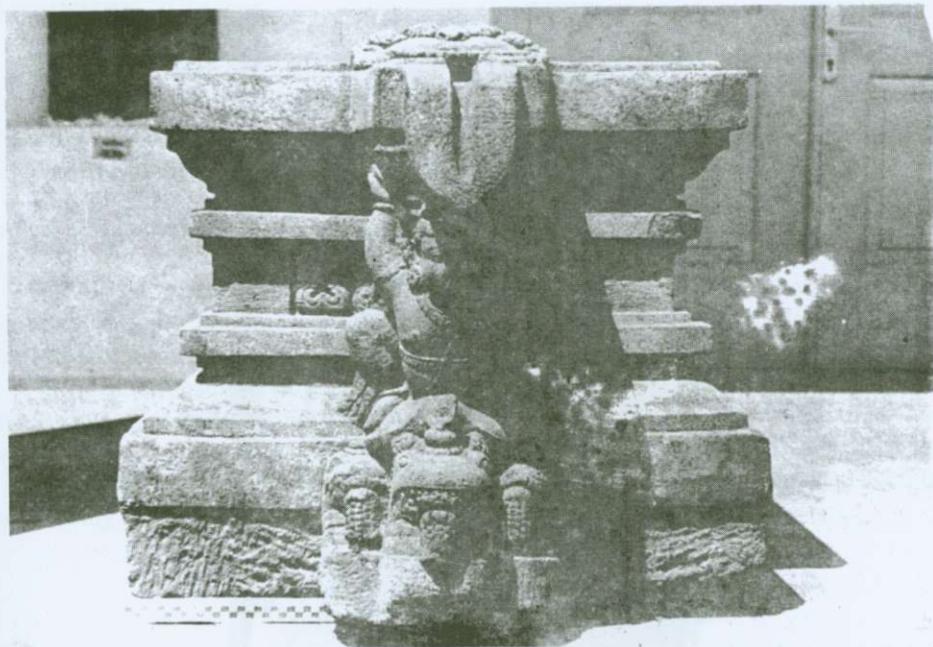
In Hindu iconography the *lingga* is sometimes depicted as a *mukhalingga* and in that case might also have five faces. One corresponds to Isana, which should be put on top of the *mukhalingga* and the other four are aspects of Siva which face North, South, West, and East respectively (*Op.cit.*II.64). Both sculptures, that representing the *samudra-manthana* of Sirahkencong and the *lingga yonis*, serve the same purpose i.e. to perform the rite of ablution. Therefore the five tops of Sirahkencong also corresponds to the five aspects of Siva. The uppermost top represents Isana, while the four other tops the other aspects of Siva. The holes on the four tops indicate the cardinal points towards which the *caturmukha* must turn. On the reverse, a *yoni* with its accessories might also depict the *amrtamanthana*, as a *yoni* has the aspects of an *amrta* vessel.

A museum piece (Pl.no. 12) displays a *yoni* finely carved with creepers and animals on its upper part, a stylized winged *sankha* on the spout and a beautifully carved *naga* with cobrahood, horned but still without *kundalas* yet, a crown and a jewel on its head and a necklace consisting of a pendant and a chain across its neck. The woods of Mandara are represented by the creepers and the animals, the *sankha* is a symbol of Visnu who has an important role in the quest for *amrta*, and the *naga* represents Vasuki, the serpent god. Considering the carvings this piece might date from the Singhasari period.

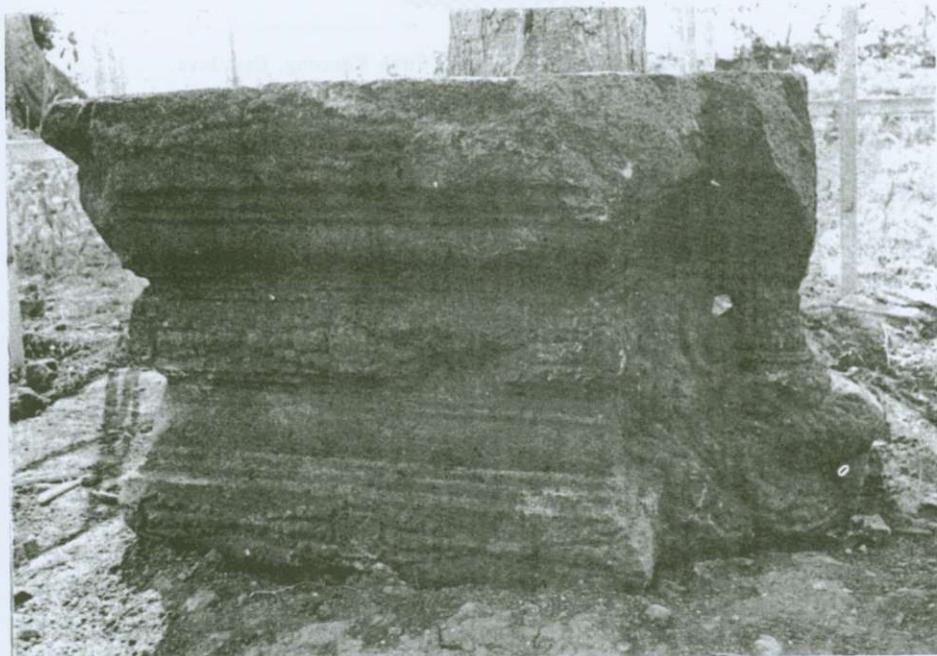
Thus while on the ornamented *lingga-yoni* is depicted the scene of the quest for *amrta* the plain *lingga-yoni* or *yoni* alone represents the *amrta*- or water-vessel.

The water which flows from it gives life to all beings, so that the *lingga-yoni* also becomes a symbol of fertility. When not placed in a temple it should therefore be put in places where water would fertilize the surroundings, i.e. amidst the rice-fields. It is not surprising that most *lingga-yoni* in Indonesia are found in these places.

We will return to the *lingga-yoni* of Petungkriyono. Surrounded by rice-fields it is in the first place a symbol of fertility. But here we clearly see that it represents also the *amrtamanthana*: the *naga* Vasuki coiling its body around the Mandara mountain represented by the *yoni*, the turtle, an *avatara* of Visnu, functioning as the underlayer of the Mandara-*yoni*, the winged *sankha* as representative of Visnu, the *lingga* as representative of Siva, and in this case, as the stick for churning the ocean of milk, from which the *amrta* will be obtained.



Pl.9. *Yoni* decorated with a *garuda*, a turtle and three *nagas*.
Coll. No. 360 a, Central Museum of Jakarta



Pl.10. *Yoni* found in Patengteng, a village on the island of Madura



Pl.11. The Samudramanathana from Sirah Kencong, East Java.
Coll. Museum Jakarta



Pl.12 - Yoni richly decorated with fauna and floral motives.

CONCLUSION

North Central Java had a blooming political and cultural life in the classical period, i.e. from the seventh century till late in the fifteenth century. This is proved by recent finds, consisting of statues and sculptures which range from the Polynesian type to those with East Javanese traits, found in the regencies of Pekalongan, Batang and Kendal.

The Northcoast of Central Java could have been the important coast of "Ho-ling where the ruler lives in the capital of She-Pho" (see Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, 1967, p. 216).

This Ho-ling was already mentioned by I-tsing in the 7th century. (Wolters, 1967, p.185) Ancient towns and harbours along the coast must have flourished while sanctuaries or sacred objects for religious purposes were created further inland, in the mountainous areas.

A close relationship was maintained with West Java, considering the finds of Visnu statues, sculptured in the same style both in Krawang (West Java) and Batang (Central Java).

Krom might be right in his assumption that both provinces have influenced each other in turn during the course of the eleventh century.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

- R.O.C.* : *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch - Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera.*
- R.O.D.* : *Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch - Indië.*
- V.B.G.* : *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.*

BIOGRAPHY

Mrs. Sri Soejatmi Satari graduated at the University of Indonesia in 1963, and has been serving the Archaeological Service since 1960.

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(1978)

THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF PANAI AND THE RUINS OF PADANG LAWAS

(North Sumatra)*

by

Rumbi Mulia

HISTORICAL SOURCES AND INTERPRETATIONS

The first historical reference to the name of the ancient kingdom of Panai¹⁾ occurs with certainty in the Tanjore inscription of the Cola king Rajendra I, dated 1030/1031 A.D., describing the attack made by sea against the Sailendra ruler Sangrama - Wijayottungavarman, King of Kadaram. It mentions that, after the attack on Srivijaya and the capture of the king, Panai was singled out for the next attack and temporarily overrun by Rajendra Cola of Coromandel.

"Pannai", as the inscription runs was "watered by rivers" : Nilakanta Sastri's translation reads "Pannai with water in its bathing ghats", which has been explained further by Wheatley (Wheatley 1961 : 199) "since Pannai means cultivated land in the Tamil language, this phrase may simply mean *the well-watered fields (of Srivijaya?)*". Plainly, he doubted the existence of a state named Pannai.

There are differences of opinion about the correct location of Panai and various interpretations have been made. Coedes (Coedes 1964 : 142) explained it as "Panai on the east coast of Sumatra, facing Malaca". Generally most scholars accepted that the Panai of the Tamil inscription must have been located near the mouth of the Barumun river near Labuhanbilik. But some scholars are of the opinion that Panai is clearly the Panai of Central Sumatra, associated with the well known monuments of Padang Lawas.

It is a great pity that apart from the name nothing else is said about the kingdom so that more evidence about the accurate location is lacking and only archaeological research could assist in solving the problem. It is moreover not certain whether the states mentioned in the inscription as the various possessions of the king of Srivijaya were dependencies or only tributaries to Srivijaya at that time.

Chinese sources

Another external source of information about the kingdom of Panai is provided by the Chinese annals. Although in endeavouring to identify which name could correspond to Panai its needs to be considered that most probably Panai was not directly on the Chinese trade routes. If we may presume that Panai was inhabited by the Batak people, who lived deeper inside Sumatra in a territory hardly accessible to foreigners, references would be very few and vague.

There are scholars who suggest that already in the 6th century the kingdom of Panai existed and that it must have ranked as a principal state amongst the various kingdoms of

* This is a revised and extended version of a paper originally presented at the 7th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, Bangkok, August, 22 -26, 1977.

Sumatra about the year 1000 A.D. Schnitger was of the opinion that Pu-ni or Po-li mentioned in the Chinese annals stands for Panai²⁾.

According to Chinese records P'o-li in the fifth and sixth centuries was one of the tributary kingdoms³⁾. Scholars working in this field however have different opinions about where P'o-li was located. It has been placed in Kalimantan, on the northern coast of Sumatra, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, at Asahan in Sumatra and on the island of Bangka; Pelliot even identified it with Bali. Nevertheless most scholars place P'o-li in Sumatra. I Tsing, the Chinese pilgrim who lived for some years in Sumatra mentions P'o-li vaguely east of *Barus* but places it deeper in the interior. Hsu Yun-ts'iao finally identified it with *Panai* having in mind the archaeological remains of Padang Lawas⁴⁾.

In support of this opinion, it seems that P'o-li of the sixth century was a Buddhist kingdom.

Barus, the old harbour on the west coast

I Tsing knew of Barus and it may be expected that he had a reasonable knowledge of the geography of Sumatra. Moreover, Chinese accounts of the 8th century state that Srivijaya was divided into two kingdoms with separate administrations. The western one was called Lang-p'o-lu-ssu and had much gold, mercury and camphor (Wolters 1967:191). It is usually accepted that Barus in the north of Sumatra is meant.

As early as the 7th century camphor was already presented as tribute to the Chinese emperors. It was highly valued and regarded as a luxurious and costly substance. I Tsing mentions the habit of the monks of putting camphor into water for washing their mouths.

The camphor tree grows in some areas in Sumatra, the southern Malay Peninsula and Kalimantan, but not in Java. The Chinese records of the camphor trade provide a valuable source of information.

The Chinese name for camphor is P'o-lu (perfume) which is a transcription of "Barus" and the famous "*kapur Barus*" (= camphor) is eagerly sought after among the species of Southeast Asia. Is it possible that the trade name for camphor derived from the name of the camphor port of Barus on the north western coast of Sumatra?

Owing to their great economic value the jungles of Sumatra must have played an important role in stimulating foreign interest. Aromatic resins even found a place in the so called Persian trade. The port of Barus on the Bay of Tapanuli must have been the centre of the camphor trade which gave the west coast its importance. Barus was thus inevitably associated with the name of the most valuable sort of camphor.

Arab sources

The Arabs of the 9th century knew of *Fansur* as a famous camphor producing area. Almost certainly Fansur is the name of a place in the immediate neighbourhood of Barus. An Arab merchant visiting Fansur in the first half of the 10th century reported that "tailed man-eaters" lived between Fansur and Lamuri (Aceh). He could only have referred to the Bataks who inhabited the area in the hinterland of Barus. References to "tailed men" in northern

Sumatra often appear in literature. An explanation is available in the habit of the men wearing their hair hanging down their backs, vanishing into the forest for months in search for camphor yielding trees. To this day these tappers can be observed coming out of the forest with a bag slung over their shoulders in which the harvest has been collected. Their long hair hanging down their backs could easily be mistaken for a tail⁵). That the search for resin and benzoin has always been a means of livelihood in the Batak country is shown in the folk songs of the Batak people⁶).

The name Fansur probably derived from the Malay word *pancur*, meaning "spring", and referred to the area near the river at Barus.

An interesting account of Fansur is given by *Shaykh Abu Salih al-Armini* in an Arab text concerning the history of the churches of Egypt and some neighbouring countries of which the original text is in the Bibliotheque National de Paris⁷). It contains the following quotation: "Fansur: there are many churches in that place, all belonging to the Nestorian church and this was the situation there. From this place originates the *kapur Barus* (camphor) which appears when the tree is tapped. In the town is found a church named "The Holy Virgin Mary".

Archaeological remains confirm the statements made by Abu Salih in his account of the churches and monasteries of the early 12th century⁸). Critical investigations have proved that Abu Salih's records are correct. Thus his account of the Nestorian community in Fansur has been accepted: the oldest Christian community in Indonesia was already settled in the 7th century in the neighbourhood of Barus. Evidence of the church may be found in the name of a place called Gianju Maria (Mary's pledge) near Pansur⁹).

Early Batak history

The area of North Sumatra from Lake Toba down to the border of Minangkabau is inhabited by the ethnic group called the Bataks. Heine Geldern has recently attempted a reconstruction of early Batak history from the 7th century based on Chinese records of a kingdom P'i-k'ien in pre T'ang times¹⁰). He refers to Pelliot's "Histoire des Leang" 1903 and the passage about this kingdom. He implies that P'i-k'ien was not the name of the entire island but only a region of the island which may correspond to the coast of Sumatra in the environs of Barus, the old harbour of the Batak people. The country, is described in the Leang History as rich in gold, situated in the mountains, and the inhabitants are said to eat their enemies.

The king of P'i-k'ien had the curious name of "the king with the big neck" and is described as a vigorous, formidable person endowed with supernatural powers and immortality. Heine Geldern saw a parallel between this big-necked priest king and the legendary *Si Singa Mangaraja* (the great lion king) of the Batak people.

The population were said to eat foreigners and cannibalism is often mentioned as one of the most striking customs of the Bataks, for which they acquired notoriety, though this habit in ancient days was not the prerogative of the Bataks only.

Although Heine Geldern's opinion has not been shared by other scholars because of the meagre evidence on which it is based, it is generally agreed that a Batak kingdom must have existed in the hinterland of Barus as early as the 7th century.

Panai as a kingdom in the 10th to 14th century.

About 1000 A.D. Panai must have emerged as an important state in Sumatra, otherwise the Cola king would not have raided it in 1025 A.D. It seems that the expedition had no lasting effects and Panai must have shaken off any further obligation to the invaders. In the following centuries it flourished independently and displayed great activity in building large temple compounds, known as the once so mighty and imposing temples of Padang Lawas.

However, though these temples have yielded various inscriptions, there is no mention in them of the name of a kingdom, or king or other reference to historical facts. They mostly concern religion and magic related to Tantric cults. Since these inscriptions date from the 11th to the 14th century, these Tantric doctrines fit with what we know of the religious zeal of contemporary kings such as Kartanegara in East Java and Adityavarman in Central Sumatra, even the great Mongol emperor Kubilai Khan.

The only internal source found in Indonesia that mentions the name of the kingdom of Panai, is the *Nagarakrtagama*, the panegyric written in 1365 A.D. by the court poet of Hayam Wuruk, king of Mojopahit.

In recording Mojopahit's power over the other islands, called by him "the *Nusantara*", he listed Panai among the possessions of this renowned empire. This is the last recording of Panai; no more later evidence has come to light and it seems to have sunk entirely into oblivion.

The name of Panai has survived in various forms; it is the name of a river, a district, a god in the ancient Batak religion and the name of a Batak *marga* (clan).

The *Batang Pane* (Panai river) is the northern tributary of the Barumun river, flowing into the Straits of Malacca. Along this river are found the remains of brick buildings, formerly solemn temples towering above the wide plain of Padang Lawas.

The district of Pane lies in the Simalungun territory east of Lake Toba, bordering the Karo Highlands. According to legend the raja of the district possessed a sacred *parpaneian* (divination book) which he consulted before every important decision. As a result he was successful in all his campaigns and therefore named the land Pane after his "*par-pane-an*".

Pane na Bolon is the name of a god, a deity of the underworld. It is assumed that the lightning seen in the eight direction of the world throughout the year is *Pane na Bolon*, the lightgod of the underworld who moves around the middleworld starting from the east.

The *marga Pane* belongs to the group of the Angkola Bataks of south Tapanuli. The most important characteristic of the Batak people is their system of the "*marga*" (clan), which existed long before Hindu influence affected the region. Till now the Batak community has maintained a very strict system of relationship in which every-body belongs to a clan, the so called *marga*, a patrilineal group originating from an ancestor who is considered to be

the patriarch (usually a mystical ancestor). Formerly these *margas* were territorial units but with the advance of civilization they broke into numerous subdivisions and were no longer restricted to certain areas.

Obviously the *marga* Pane has never occupied the present district of Pane in north Tapanuli nor the land where the river Pane flows. Nor is there any relation between the river Pane in south Tapanuli and the district of Pane.

The question then arises where the state of Panai was that was attacked by the Cola king in the 11th century and which area did it occupy when it had to submit to Mojopahit in the 14th century?

During the time between these two events the building of the temple complexes of Padang Lawas took place.

Coedes located Panai on the east coast of Sumatra near the ending of the river in Labuhanbilik. But the river that flows into the Straits of Malacca has never been called the Panai river, but always the Barumun river.

If we assume that Panai was a territory inhabited by the Batak people, then we must look further inland. As matter of fact the Bataks have never showed any tendency to settle on the east coast. On the contrary, they have always tended towards the west coast. Evidence for this is provided by the camphor trade already recorded in the Chinese annals. The Chinese associated camphor with the name of Barus, the old harbour of the Batak region on the west coast, which served not only the trade in camphor but also in benzoin. Batak legends say that one must go to the bay of Sibolga for salt which was produced in Raso Garam (taste of salt) a name still used for Sibolga. The Bataks in the interior lacked especially salt. Did they get it in exchange for their camphor products?

In 1088 a Tamil merchant guild erected an inscription at Lobuk Tua in the Fansur region close to the camphor producing country of northern Sumatra. This gives further evidence of great activity on the west coast, which undoubtedly influenced the Batak area.

One of the easiest transinsular routes runs from Sibolga east to Padang Sidempuan then across the low pass in the Bukit Barisan (the mountain-chain running from north to south Sumatra) to Padang Lawas. And since Padang Lawas is inhabited by the ethnic group of Batak, there must have been a relation between the Panai kingdom and the Batak people in the hinterland of Barus. The sites of Padang Lawas are nearer to the west coast than to the east, so that Barus and Sibolga could have served as the ancient ports of Padang Lawas. A small island near Barus is still called Panai.

Bosch (O.V. 1930 : 147) mentioned the influence of South India in Tapanuli and assumed that Panai derived from the Tamil word "pannai" meaning cultivated land or colony. However, the assumption that Panai must have been a Tamil colony does not fit in with the attack of the Cola king. Why should he raid his own colony ? It is quite obvious that Bosch's assumption that Panai was a colony of South Indian merchants settled near the river on the much navigated coast of the Straits, of Malacca, is not acceptable.

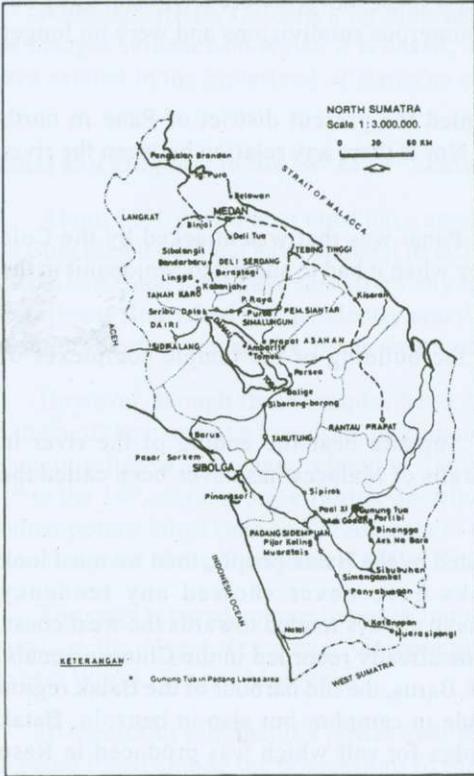
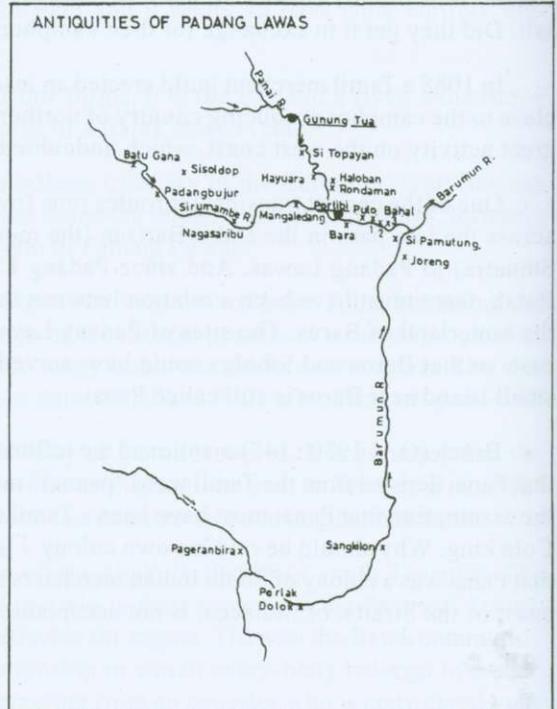


Fig 1. Map of North Sumatra

Fig 2. Sites of principal antiquities in Padang Lawas



The state of Panai must have existed long before the attack of the Colas. Another objection against the view that South Indian merchants had a hand in the building of the temples of Padang Lawas is that Sivaism has always been the dominant religion in the Cola kingdom, which conflicts with the evidence of the Tantric Buddhist cults at Padang Lawas.

Systematic research and archaeological excavations have scarcely begun so that so far it has not been possible to establish the true location of the kingdom of Panai.

THE RUINS OF PADANG LAWAS

Of the antiquities in Sumatra the sculptures and buildings of Padang Lawas (the Great Plain) are among the most interesting. The remains of at least sixteen temple compounds are scattered on the upper course of the Barumun river and its northern tributary, the Panai river (Fig. 2). Unfortunately, the *biaros* (= Sanskrit *vihara*, i.e. monastery) as they are called by the population have been very neglected and have never been the object of thorough investigation. After the second world war several superficial explorations were undertaken by the Archeological Survey in order to rescue and safeguard what was left. But up to the present systematic research and excavations have scarcely begun¹¹⁾.

The centre of the archaeological remains is the village of Portibi (= Sanskrit *prithivi*, i.e. the earth) near Gunung Tua¹²⁾, the principal settlement of Padang Lawas or more correctly Padang Bolak (= *lawas*, *lwas*, *luas*, i.e. extensive). The plain covers approximately 1500 square km stretching like a carpet of *alang-alang* grass without end. A dry wind blows constantly creating an unusual treeless landscape¹³⁾.

The ruins are called *biaro*, which is the name for the temples of the Hindu/Buddhist period in Sumatra. But while in India *viharas* are monasteries for the accommodation of monks living together in communities connected with a sanctuary, in Sumatra the *biaro* is the sanctuary itself. An inscription of Si Topayan mentions "*barbwat biyara*" referring to the foundation of a sanctuary for the king.

Among the various temple ruins only a few are easily accessible: Biaro Bahal I, II, III, Pulo, Bara, Si Topayan and Si Pamutung. The temple compounds consist of a walled-in courtyard with the principal temple surrounded by smaller temples, stupas and terraces. Whether the temple terrain was divided by inner walls into two or more courts, as is the case in Java and Bali, cannot be ascertained any more. Access to the courtyard is afforded by a gate with steps at both sides, probably provided formerly with a wooden door. The *biaros* are facing east and built of bricks measuring in length 27 - 28 cm, in height 16 - 18 cm and in width 4,5-5 cm.

The main temples are more or less the same, a terraced foot with a cubical body and a superstructure topped by a *chatra*, the honorific umbrella. Slight variations occur in Si Pamutung and Bahal I. On the whole the temples are sparsely decorated and only a few reliefs can be observed on the walls. Worth mentioning are the dancing *yaksas* and grinning lions depicted at Bahal I and Pulo.

Sculptures are found near the temples but most of the statues are lost except a few specimens and even those are sometimes in a deplorable state. The damaged condition of nearly all these antiquities; especially of the deities, must be ascribed to intentional demolition.

The religion of the sanctuaries

Buddhism had reached the area at an early time, as is confirmed by the reports of Chinese pilgrims. It later took root as Mahayana in Tantric form. However, it also developed into a complete fusion of Sivaism and Buddhism. Often a king already obtained deliverance during his lifetime through the practice of Tantric teachings.

The demonic character of Tantrism with its horrible rituals, involving human sacrifice suited the old Batak religion in which sorcery and the conjuring of spirits played an important role. The doctrines of Tantric Buddhism seem to have fallen into fertile soil in Padang Lawas (Bosch, *ON*. 1930). The population eagerly accepted the new Tantric doctrines, readily recognizing their old indigenous elements and customs in these rites. However since our knowledge concerning Tantrism in Padang Lawas is still vague we can only guess at their secret meaning.

One of the main mystic symbols of Tantrism is the *vajra*, found in almost all the temples. In Bahaq II an image of *Heruka*, the god of Vajrayana was represented. It is one of the rare examples of the god of all Bhairavas, who is seldom depicted. The sacred image is dancing on a corpse, in the right hand holding the vajra and in the left a skull. Clasped against his body is a staff trimmed with ribbons. This staff in particular as an attribute, must have been regarded by the Bataks as the counterpart of their magic staff, the *tunggal panaluan*. The magic wand, a stick carved with ancestral figures with a hole in the centre in which the magical substance is placed, is the attribute of the *datu* (priest), used to exorcise ghosts and evil spirits. In 1930 the image was found smashed to pieces and it may be assumed that it was done intentionally. The image, though badly damaged, could then be put together to have it photographed, but in 1976 it disappeared and not even fragments were found.

Biaro Si Pamutung

The most important monument among these sanctuaries is Si Pamutung¹⁴⁾ near the confluence of the Panai and Barumun rivers. It is the largest of the shrines and must have been the principal temple of Tapanuli. According to legend the founder known as Si Pamutung (= the Tempestuous, the Ferocious) could be killed by no means except his own dagger.

To reach the temple one must cross the Barumun river and walk 4 km through *alang-alang*, grass, the height of a man. The ruins are left to their fate. Unlike on Java, the local population do not wish to be associated with the *biaros* and pretend not to be aware of their existence.

Entering the courtyard, which measures 46 x 61 m, the visitor can only see the main temple rising above the trees and scrub. (*Pl. 1*). A tree encircling the walls within its roots has prevented the temple from falling down. Of the smaller monuments only mounds covered with grass and creeping plants are visible.

The temples are all built of brick, with the exception of one terrace built of natural stone. Strangely enough besides being constructed of sandstone it shows the typical Central Javanese profile of the 9-10th century. The staircase is flanked by two big crocodile heads with human noses. *Makaras* replaced by crocodiles can be observed in Java too.

The main temple with a *pendopo* terrace in front of it is in a straight line with the entrance gate, all facing to the east. The superstructure of the main temple, according to reconstruction should rise to two stories on the first of which 16 stupas must have stood and on the second 12; the top was crowned by a large central stupa topped with parasols (*chatras*). Three smaller terraces and a stupa completed the compound.

During the excavation in 1936 Schnitger (Schnitger 1936 : 23) found a bronze statuette, 12,5 cm in height and identified it as a bronze *Amitabha*¹⁵. But the Dhyani Buddhas of Borobudur are always depicted seated in the *vajrasana*, cross-legged with the soles of the feet turned upwards. This image is seated in the *paryāṅkasana*, the legs folded one above the other (*Pl. 2*) which is not usual for *Amitabha*. The hair is arranged in spiky curls and surmounted by a flame-like projection which is an iconographical peculiarity of South Asian origin. The symbolic meaning of this is probably that it represents the "aura" emanation of light from the Buddha. The arrangement of the hair fits the head like a cap and is very similar to a bronze head found in 1976 in Indrapuro and identified as a *Bodhisattva*¹⁶. It is however more plausible to refer to these statuettes as *Buddha* images.

Another remarkable discovery by Schnitger was a stone fragment representing a finely moulded upper torso of a goddess, hands in *anjali mudra*, the gesture of solutation. She is wearing armlets, bracelets and a necklace of two strings with a pendant. Notable are the large curved tusks protruding from either side of her mouth, while the bulging eyes and large ear studs complete the demonic character of the image. It must have represented a royal figure and could be no less than the queen, spouse of the founder Si Pamutung, consecrated in life as *Bhairavi* (*Pl. 3*). Her coiffure consisted of three tiers, the lowest band adorned with a large triangular ornament in the centre. The eyebrows are very rounded and meet at the top of the bridge. An attractive feature is her square face which is definitely an expression of local ethnic type, indicating that it must have been a portrait statue. More fragments of torsos are in the surroundings and there may possibly have been more portrait statues in the compound.

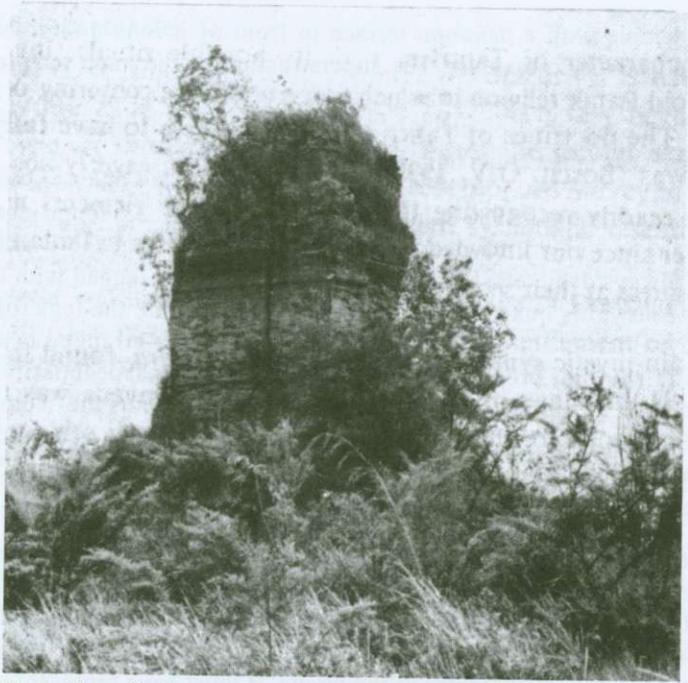
Biaro Bahal

A prominent group of ruins is to be found in the hamlet of Bahal near Portibi, with remains of brick buildings, respectively called Bahal I, II and III.

Bahal I is the most beautiful of all the surviving temples of Padang Lawas (*Pl. 4*). The courtyard 49 x 57 m contains several brick structures among which the main temple has partly survived. The round roof rises from a lotus cushion and is decorated with garlands (*Fig. 3*); the top was formerly crowned by a *stupa* with *chatras* (parasols).

Fragments of these *chatras* have been found near the staircase and are very similar to those of mainland Southeast Asia. Most remarkable are two lifesize figures, carved on either side of the portal, at the entrance to the temple chamber. They were still visible in 1930 but have now vanished.

Makara heads terminate the stair balustrades and are flanked by threatening guardian figures. On the wings of the projecting staircase are carved panels depicting dancing *yaksas* with bulging eyes and tusks coming out of their mouths. They are wearing garments of which the front tail hangs down to the ground between their legs (*Pl. 5*). On the walls of the basement on the north side squatting lions, grinning fiercely, are represented.



Pl. 1. *Biaro Si Pamutung*: grass is growing everywhere (photo 1976)



Pl. 2. Bronzes Buddha image seated in meditation: height 12,5 cm



Pl. 3. Stone fragment; Bhairavi with hands in *anjali mudra*. Biaro Si Pamutung

In the temple court several rectangular terraces, most probably once shaded by roofs resting on wooden pillars are arranged. These terraces must have served as meeting places, for placing offerings and for the magic preparations of the Tantric ritual orgies.

North of the main temple (Fig. 4) lies a monument which must have been a stupa on an octagonal base. Facing the main temple and directly in front of the entrance is a *pendopo* terrace. Two smaller terraces stand south of the *pendopo* terrace. The entrance itself with steps on either side is not exactly in the centre of the east wall, but slightly to the south. The surrounding wall is about 1 m in height and 0.97 m thick.

Bahal II is a smaller compound of which only the main temple still exists. Headless guardians (*dvarapalas*) are found among the grass and a headless image of a sitting elephant. (Pl. 6)¹⁷). The *Heruka* discussed above has vanished without trace.

Bahal III Only a shapeless mass of bricks and trees indicate the main temple and fragments of stones on which carving can be vaguely discerned are strewn around. Guardian figures have been found near their pedestals showing how these images were mounted once.

Biaro Pulo

This sanctuary is build on a small hill reinforced with stones. The main temple the only part that is left was formerly a threefold stupa. The basement had casements decorated with reliefs of dancing figures. Fortunately, of the eleven reliefs five were found in an almost complete state and sent to the museum in Jakarta where they are still on display. They are extremely interesting and have no counterpart elsewhere in Indonesia.

The figures are represented dancing frantically as if intoxicated. But though they have human bodies two of them have respectively a bull's and an elephant's head. The weird creatures are only clad in a small loincloth, ornaments on their breasts and big ear ornaments recognizable as *yaksas*. Their curly locks, wide open eyes and protruding tusks characterize their demoniacal nature. Placed around the basement of the building they were designed not only to protect the temple against intruders, but they also served to illustrate the Tantric rituals in which savage dancing was accompanied by passionate music and laughter.

Biaro Si Topayan

Biaro Si Topayan consists of two terraces, with a little courtyard between them. The western terrace has a staircase on the east side formerly guarded by *makaras* and *dvarapalas* (Pl. 9). Two square pedestals without a hole in the centre but with inscriptions on them refer to the foundation of the sanctuary. The pedestals are still in situ but not much is left of the terraces or sculptures (Pl. 8).

Biaro Bara

Bara lies on the other side of the Panai river from Portibi. Formerly this site was called Aek Biara. That Bara derives from *biara* is also revealed by the Bara of the well known Barabudur. When the main temple was cleared a pedestal appeared, decorated with rosettes in lozenges and a border with the so called "recalcitrant spirals" (an ornamental design favoured in Central Javanese art) (Pl. 13). *Naga* pedestals usually belong to Sivaitic temples. Was Bara a Sivaitic sanctuary amid the Tantric cult of Padang Lawas?

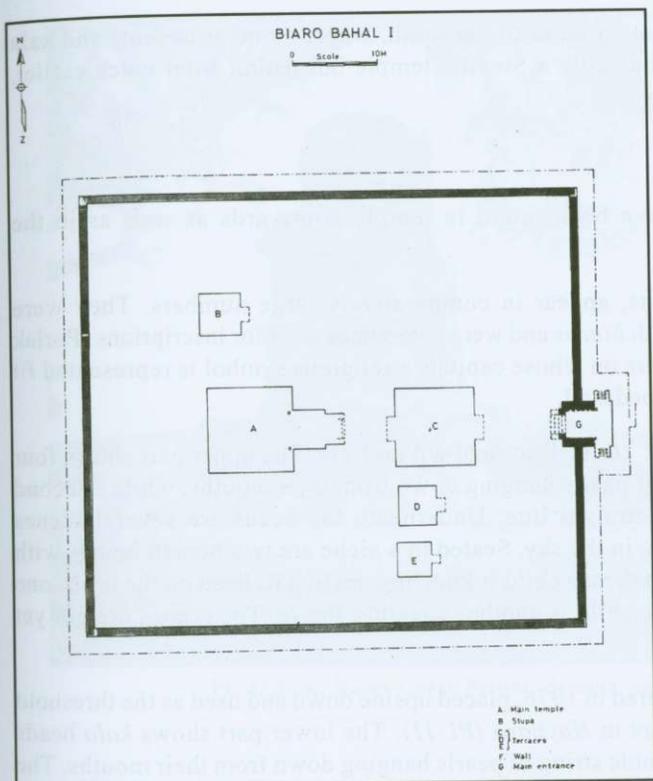


Fig. 3. Ground plan of Bahal I

A = main temple

B = stupa

C.D.E = terraces

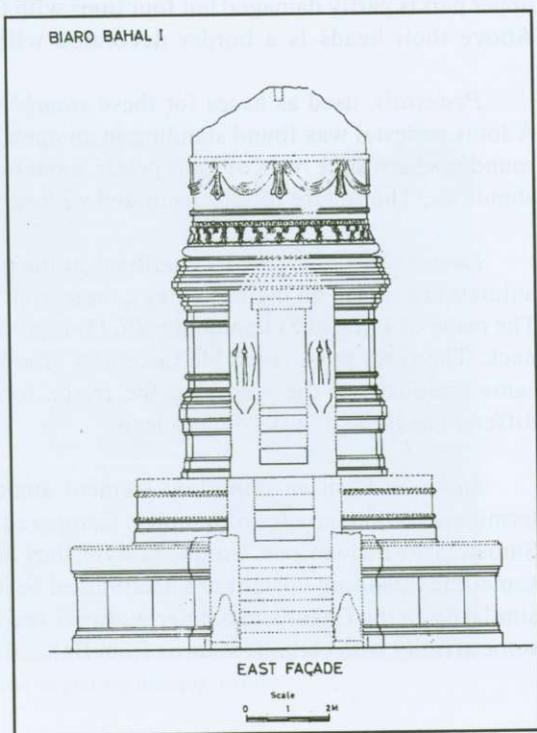


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the main temple, Bahal I

The antiquities of Si Mangambat more to the south, where stone ornaments and *kala* heads have been found was undoubtedly a Sivaitic temple but dating from much earlier, probably from the 8th or 9th century.

Kinds of antiquities

A number of antiquities have been found in temple courtyards as well as in the surroundings.

Stambhas, decorated columns, appear in comparatively large numbers. They were probably erected in association with *biaros* and were sometimes used for inscriptions (Porlak Dolok, Sorik Merapi). Those pillars on whose capitals a religious symbol is represented fit into a corresponding hollow in a pedestal.

A *stambha* from Hayuara (Pl. 10) is decorated with reliefs. The upper part shows four *kala* heads connected by a string of pearls hanging down from their mouths, while a second string connects their heads in a straight line. Underneath the heads are several scenes depicting a celestial being floating in the sky. Seated in a niche are two human beings with arms clasped together and between them a child is kneeling, resting its head on the lap of one of them. It looks as if opposite the child is another kneeling figure. The scenes are not yet identified.

Another *stambha* was discovered in 1976, placed upside down and used as the threshold of the house of one of the villagers in Hayuara (Pl. 11). The lower part shows *kala* heads connected with each other by a double string of pearls hanging down from their mouths. The upper part is partly damaged but four lions with the appearance of monkeys can be discerned. Above their heads is a border decorated with tendrils; the top of the *stambha* is flat.

Pedestals, used as bases for these *stambhas* are found separately.

A lotus pedestal was found standing in an open field under a tree in Hayuara (Pl. 12). On a round base are three rows of lotus petals, a flat top with a hole in it, in which a round terminal should fit. The square foot is decorated with reliefs, depicting two human figures.

Lions or *simhas* serve as guardians at the portals of temples, terraces, and *stupas*. The animals are sitting on their hind legs, their front legs stretched to support the up-right body. The mane of a lion of Si Pamutung (Pl. 15) is stylized into a fringe forming a collar around the neck. The front paws resemble the claws of a bird. Another lion of Bara ; (Pl. 14) has the same treatment of the mane but the fringe forms a double collar. The posture is a little different as if the lion is going to leap.

Makaras form an important element among these antiquities. These monster heads terminate the balustrades of temples. Compared with the Javanese makaras, the makaras of Sumatera are huge in size. Unique in style, they hold in their jaws richly dressed men, who are sometimes standing upright or kneeling and bearing sword and shield. There is obviously a similarity to the Cham and Khmer *makaras* and Stutterheim has pointed out that they show some affinity with certain *makaras* from Bali.



Pl. 4. *Biaro Bahal I* near Portibi; dancing *yaksas* on basement



Pl. 5. *Biaro Bahal I*; relief depicting dancing *yaksas*



Pl. 6. *Dvarapala* and sitting elephant, headless; Biaro Bahal II



Pl. 7. Head of *dvarapala*, Nasional Museum. Probably belonging to *dvarapala* of Bahal I



Pl. 8. Remains of *Biaro Si Topayan* with inscribed pedestals (photo 1976)



Pl. 9. *Biaro Si Topayan*, photo 1920 (O.D. No. 4172)



Pl. 10. *Stambha* from Hayuara with decorated relief



Pl. 11. *Stambha* found in Hayuara; used as a threshold of a villager's house)



Pl. 12. Lotus pedestal; Hayuara



Pl. 13. Naga pedestal from Bara



Pl. 14. Lion from Bara



Pl. 15. Lion from *Biaro Si Pamutung*



Pl. 16. *Makara* from *Biaro Si Pamutung*



Pl. 17. *Dvarapalas* from *Biaro Si Pamutung*, headless, seen from the front



Pl. 18. *Dvarapalas* from *Biaro Si Pamutung*, headless; seen from the back



Pl. 19. Stone fragment found in *Biaro Pulo*, probably from small *dvarapala*.



Pl. 20. Small *dvarapala* from *Biaro Bahal I*, height 80 cm, now disappeared

The *makara* from Si Pamutung (Pl. 16) has a peculiar forearm like a human being ending in a paw with claws. Behind the upturned trunk and the eye the ear is shaped in the form of a leaf.

Dvarapalas (door-keeper) or guardians are in a category of their own in the art of Padang Lawas. They are extremely interesting, posted on either side of the staircase, charged with the task of protecting the building.

They differ in size, large *dvarapalas* being as high as 1,50 m and smaller ones about 0,80 m; sometimes standing, kneeling on one knee or bending a knee slightly. Their demonic features with bulging eyes and open mouth with fangs showing in the corners, were designed to keep off intruders. Decorated with serpents, wound around their powerful figures as armlets, anklets, bracelets or encircling the upper torso as *upavita*, they are clad in the way usual in Sumatra: a *kain* of which the end is tucked between the legs and secured behind so that it fits the body like short pants (Pl. 17, 18). A long drapery folded in a knot at the waist hangs down like a long tail between the legs, in front as well as behind.

The *dvarapalas* are always portrayed raising a threatening left hand with the forefinger pointing upwards and a weapon in the right hand. The reverse is observed in Java where the guardians threaten with the right hand, the fore- and middle finger upraised and a weapon in the left hand.

The elaborately arranged coiffure is sometimes adorned with strings of coiling snakes as seen on the head of a *dvarapala* from Bahal I (Pl. 9) now in the Central Museum in Jakarta.

Inscriptions

A number of short inscriptions and dated sculptures related to the sanctuaries of Padang Lawas are reported.

INSCRIPTION	PRESENT LOCATION	DATE	
1. Gunung Tua	Central Museum no. B. 626 d.	1024 A.D. 1039 A.D.	(Kern, Krom) (Damais)
2. Si Joreng Belangah	Central Museum no. D. 165	1179 A.D. 1179 A.D.	(Bosch) (Damais)
3. Porlak Dolok	<i>in situ</i>	1245 A.D. 1213 A.D.	(St. Callenfels) (Damais)
4. Si Topayan	<i>in situ</i>	1235 A.D. ? 14 th c.	(Goris) (Damais) (Stutterheim)
5. Aek Sangkilon	Central Museum no. 6146		
6. Tandihet	Central Museum no. 6149	end 13 th c.	(Stutterheim)
7. Lobuk Tua	Central Museum (part) <i>in situ</i> (part)	1088 A.D.	(N. Sastri)
8. Sorik Merapi	Central Museum no. D 84.	1372 A.D. 1242 A.D.	(Bosch) (Damais)

1. The *Gunung Tua* inscription is found on the back of a bronze statue of a four armed Lokanatha standing between two seated Taras. One of the Tara has disappeared, the other holds a flower in her hands (*Pl. 21, 22*). According to Krom the characters of the inscription are similar to the Old Javanese script of Central Java, which also applies to the style of the image.

The inscription on the back of the pedestal (*Pl. 23*) records that the statue has been made (*barbwat*) by the master smith (*juru pandai*) Surya from which it may be concluded that the image was made locally. It runs '*juru pandai suryaya barbwat bhataran lokanatha*'. Bosch (O.V. 1930) dated it 1024 A.D. and stated the language, to be Sanskrit with some Malay words. Damais however, revised the date to 30-3-1039 A.D. (EEI III, IV - 1952, 1955) and called the language Old Malay interspersed with Sanskrit words.

2. The inscription of *Joreng Belangah* is written on a stone plaquette and consists of two lines in the Old Javanese script of Central Java, interpreted by Bosch as 1101 Saka, corresponding to 1179 A.D. Damais offers the exact date 26-4-1179 A.D. In the right hand corner a skull with a crescent moon is depicted, a *candrakapala*, which was also the seal of the Kadiri king Kamesvara I (\pm 1115 - 1130 A.D.).

3. In *Porlak Dolok* a pillar was found of which the top was carved into a Ganesa head. The script which is similar to the Old Javanese script of Central Java, announces the year read by Stein Callenfels as 1245 A.D. (O.V. 1920). A few more lines are written in South Indian characters. Damais however, deciphered the date as 25-10-1213 A.D. and read the title as "Paduka Sri Maharaja". Unfortunately the name of the king is no longer visible. The language according to Damais is Old Malay.

4. The *Si Topayan* inscription is inscribed on two pedestals and refers to the foundation of the sanctuary there. The script with curious edged forms is a forerunner of the Batak script (Stein Callenfels) and the language Old Malay. According to Goris several words of the second inscription indicate a *candra sangkala* corresponding to 1235 A.D. (O.V. 1930 : 234). Damais however doubted the existence of a chronogramme.

5. A gold plate 5 x 13 cm was found by Schnitger in 1935 in the main temple of *Aek Sangkilon*. In the centre is a square with a *vajra* and the syllable "*hum*"; above and underneath are lines of Nagari script (*Pl. 24*). According to Stutterheim (*J.B.G. IV, 1937 : 159*) these refer to the consecration of a Yamari image. The script is very similar to the inscription of Muara Takus and could be dated in late 14th century. The gold plate is kept in the Central Museum (no. 6146).

6. From *Tandihet* another very similar gold plate also with a *vajra* square, 4,5 x 12,5 cm has come to light (*Pl. 25*). Stutterheim deciphered the inscription as a rendering of various sounds imitating ritual laughter intoned during Tantric ceremonies. This terrific laughter is preserved in the inscription: *hahahaha hum huhuhaihohauhaha*. The plate is dated to the 13th century and is kept in the Central Museum (no. 6149).

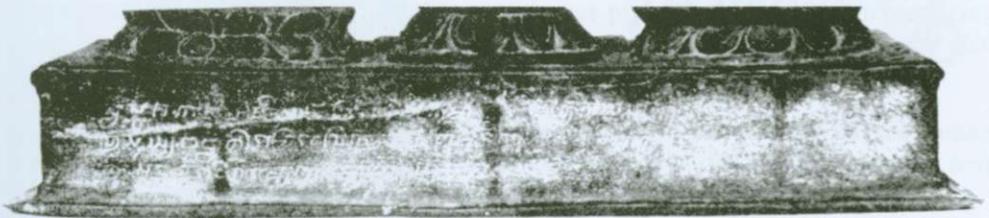
7. In the village of *Lobuk Tua* near Barus, four inscribed stones have been found. Apparently three of the stones originally formed a hexagonal column with writing on three sides. The inscription, written in Tamil, records the gift of a merchant guild called "the thousand and five hundred", a South Indian commercial partnership well known in Asia.



Pl. 21. Bronzes Lokanatha flanked by Taras, from Gunung Tua; now Central Museum; Front side.



Pl. 22. Bronzes Lokanatha from Gunung Tua reverse side



Pl. 23. Pedestal with inscription, bronzes Lokanatha from Gunung Tua



Pl. 24. Gold plate from Aek Sangkilon,
5 x 13 cm; Central Museum



Pl. 25. Gold plate from Tandihet,
4,5 x 12,5 cm; Central Museum

Nilakanta Sastri (*TBG* 1932) dated it 1088 A.D. The stones are in the Central Museum. The other stone, inscribed in Old Javanese characters, is still in situ and has not yet been published.

8. From *Sorik Merapi* west of Kota Nopan have come four small stone columns now in the Central Museum (D. 53, 65, 83 and 84). One of them (D. 84) revealed in Old Javanese script the date 1372 A.D. (Bosch, *O.V.* 1930). Possibly the old east-west trade route ran through Siabu, Sorik Merapi to the Padang Lawas region. Damais gives the date as 9-9-1242 A.D. and says the language is Old Malay.

The art of Padang Lawas

The art of Padang Lawas might never have played a role as a disseminator of culture, but it succeeded in creating a purely local art form with its own identity. It is an art which may seem simple and coarse, even brutal, lacking the graceful flowing lines of Javanese art, but it possesses a frankness of expression which well served the needs of the religious cults of that time.

The art of Padang Lawas was essentially religious and closely connected with magic, a conception entirely different from the viewpoint of the classical Javanese art. The temples were thought of as a source of magic power, where magic practices and sorcery could be performed. These conceptions and the persisting influence of the ancestor cult affected artistic development. As a result, there is an archaic stiffness and the forms designed from a frontal viewpoint are primitive and lacking in spirituality and delicate restraint.

Final remarks

To-day, the Padang Lawas region is a poor lonely and barren land, *alang-alang* grass reaches a man's height, making it impossible to grow anything. At one time however, the plain must have been covered with dense forests and running rivers. As a result of the ruthless destruction of all the timber, which was probably also used for producing the enormous number of bricks needed for building the temple complexes, the region changed into the desolate and infertile plain it is now.

Elephants must regularly have visited the temples in the past and caused damage by rubbing against the temple walls. But even they have now disappeared and only herds of buffaloes graze undisturbed amongst the debris of the temples.

If in the near future more intensive research and excavations were undertaken, it should yield more comparative material which would undoubtedly contribute to a deeper appreciation of the art of Padang Lawas.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. J.F.H. Villiers, Director of the British Institute in South-East Asia, who was helpful enough to read my article and correct my imperfect English.

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Acknowledgement of plates :

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| Pl. 1,4,5,6,10 - 19 | Photograph by Mr. Jazir Marzuki |
| Pl. 7,21,22,23 | Photograph by Mr. Waluyo. |
| Pl. 2,3 | Reproduction Schnitger, 1936. |
| Pl. 9,20,24,25 | O.D. (Oudheidkundige Dienst, Archaeological Service). |

NOTES

- 1) The Tamil inscription spelled the name Pannai. The Nagarakrtagama mentions it as Pane, as in the Batak language. In the Indonesian language it is usually written as Panai of Panei.
- 2) F.M. Schnitger, "Forgotten kingdoms in Sumatra", 1939 says: "The great Panai empire is mentioned for the first time in the 6th century in the Chinese annals under the name of Poeni or Poli" (p. 85).
- 3) Wolters, O.W., *Early Indonesian Commerce*, Appendix C. Chinese transcriptions of the names of the tributary kingdoms. P'o-li, on other occasions rendered as Po-li.
- 4) Hsu Yun-ts'iao "Notes on 'Tan-tan'", *JMBRAS* 20,1 (1947) p. 47-63
- 5) The area of camphor yielding trees has shrunk considerably. Tappers are now collecting benzoin. The benzoin of Tarutung, south of Lake Toba rates among the best benzoin in Indonesia.
- 6) The Bataks around Lake Toba are renowned singers. Their folksong repeatedly mention "*bona ni seko*" meaning trees producing sweet aromatics.
- 7) "The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries, attributed to Abu Salih, the Arminian", edited and translated by B.T.A. Evetts. Oxford Clarendon Press 1895. Reprint London 1969.
The transcription is as follows :
"Fansur, fiha 'idda biya' wa-jami' min biha min al-Nasara Nasathirah (Nusthuri), wa hal fiha kadhalika. Wa hiya allati yasala minha alkafur, wa hadha al-sinf yan-buka min al khashab. Wa hadhihi al madinat biha bi'at wahidat 'ala ismi Sittna al-Sayyadatu al Adhra al-Thahirah mar'at Maryam".
- 8) UNESCO report "Monuments of Nubia", 1966 mentions the imposing remains of the Church at Qasr Ibrim, which confirm the account of Abu Salih.
- 9) "Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia", Jakarta 1974. (History of the Catholic Church in Indonesia).
- 10) R. Heine - Geldern, "Le pays de P'i-k'ien, le roi au grand cou et le Singa Mangaradja". BEFEO, 1959, Tome XLIX, Fasc. 2 p. 361 - 401.
- 11) In 1978 the Directorate of History and Archaeology started the clearance of the temple compounds of Biaro Bahal I, II, III, Si Pamutung, Si Joreng Belangah, Si Topayan, Bara dan Pulo. But restoration has not yet begun.
- 12) Gunung Tua must originally have been spelled *Gunung Tuah* (*tuah* = fortune, invulnerable) as in the name Hang Tuah. Gunung (= hill, mountain) recalls the title "King of the Mountains", the imperial title of the dynasty of the Sailendras. In Khmer, Kurun Bnam (= King of the Mountains) was the title of the earliest rulers. Modern Phnom derives from *bnam* (= mountain). In ancient time the title "King of the Mountains" must have been the title of the rulers of the region, possibly claiming descent from the ruling dynasty of the Sailendras.
Up to the present names and titles using "*gunung*" as a honorific are much favoured by the Batak population, though the meaning is no longer understood.

- 13) It is no coincidence that the *marga* Harahap who formerly occupied the Padang Bolak area are called "*bayo and boru angin*" meaning the sons and daughters of the wind.
- 14) In the Batak language all names begin with the article "si". Even the *biaros* are referred to as Si Topayan, Si Joreng Belangah, Si Pamutung, Si Mangambat.
- 15) The image now belongs to the study collection of the Institute of South Asian Archaeology, University of Amsterdam. It is on display in the Museum of the Tropical Institute in Amsterdam.
- 16) Satyawati Suleiman, "The archaeology and history of West Sumatra", 1977, p.2. "In Indrapuro, a small town near the border of Bencoolen a small Bodhisattwa head was excavated".
- 17) In 1936 the two *dvarapalas* were still complete; only one headless *dvarapala* was found in 1976.

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BIOGRAPHY

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(1980)

Chandi Gumpung Of Muara Jambi : A Platform Instead of a Conventional Chandi ? *)

by
R. Soekmono

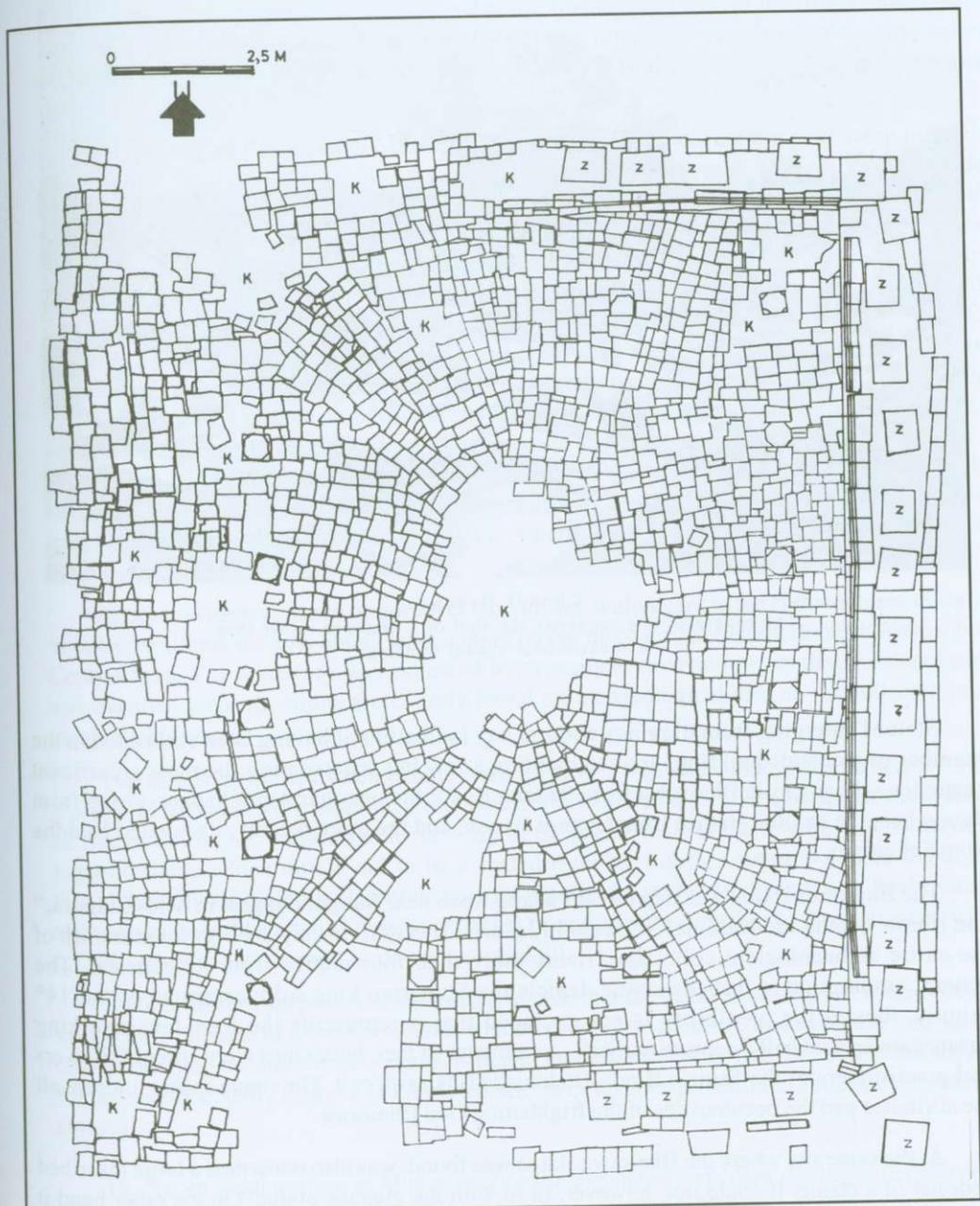
I. The current picture of a chandi is a stone edifice for housing a statue that represents a deceased king in his divine appearance. It is simply inconceivable to imagine a chandi without an inner space, and thus without the indispensable room exclusively meant for the enthronement of the object of worship. Chandi Borobudur does not necessarily make an exception, since its denomination 'chandi' is due to the erroneous tradition to call any kind of edifice dating back to the classical period of Indonesian history a chandi (including even stupas, gateways, bathing places, platforms, etc.).

No wonder that, when we come across a statue in the open air, we immediately look for the remains of the accessory temple building. And if the remains are too scanty, making it impossible to get even the slightest idea of how the structure could look like, we blame treasure hunters for the total destruction or the local people for using the site as stone quarries. However, if the scanty remains point to the use of perishable material, we are inclined to think of the preliminary stage of the construction of a chandi awaiting the permanent one in stone. Take for example Chandi Boyolangu near Tulungagung in the southern part of East Java. No stone construction is to be found there, not even the slightest indication. On the other hand, the presence of a number of stone blocks serving as the supports of wooden poles suggests very strongly a wooden temple building with a thatched roof (may be consisting of an uneven number of super-imposing stages that gradually decrease in size, like the present 'meru' in Bali). A very beautiful stone statue of a goddess - alas without head now - seated cross-legged on a lotus cushion was certainly the object of worship, presumably representing Queen Tribhuwana of the Majapahit kingdom, who was depicted as the goddess Prajñāparamitā¹⁾.

It is quite possible, of course, that Chandi Boyolangu was planned to be built of stone, just like so many other chandis; and that the wooden construction was to be replaced by a permanent edifice afterwards. Due to some reason we do not know the plan could, however, not be realized when the site was abandoned. Nevertheless we cannot help raising the question whether there is no other alternative to explain the peculiarity shown by Chandi Boyolangu. Would not it be more plausible to think of a temple that was intended, indeed, to be built of wood? In other words, why should we have to stick to a generalization which is merely based on the majority of cases and not on any code or even rule, while rejecting *à priori* the idea of an open pavillion or the like for the enthronement of the statue of the deity worshipped?

That such a possibility is not excluded may be evidenced by a peculiarity at the Chandi. Plaosan Lor compound in the Prambanan area East of Yogyakarta, which so far has escaped our attention. It is the most northern part of the site, outside the walled in court yards of the two main rectangular storeyed building. No heaps of stone blocks and no indication of any ruinous building are to be found here. What we find is a slightly elevated paved open terrace. Its shape is rectangular, measuring about 20 x 15 square metres. The eastern side, and also part of the northern and southern sides, are flanked by some twenty²⁾ stone statues of human size, all of them seated

¹⁾The present paper is an updated elaboration of an oral address to the 3rd Archaeologica Meeting (PIA III), held in May 1983.



Candi Plaosan
Detail groundplan of the paved open terrace



Chandi Banon

The excavated site suggestig the find of a platform rather than a conventional chandi building

Statues emerging from diggings without any indication of having been enthroned in the chamber of a chandi-building, are - to mention a few but representing the most significant examples - the gigantic Bhairawa from Padang Roco, the peculiar Amoghapaça-group from Rambahan, the exalted statues from Chandi Banon, and the quite recently excavated Buddha from Selomerto.

The Bhairawa statue was dug out at Padang Roco near Sungai Langsat in Mid-Sumatra,³⁾ and is now kept in the National Museum in Jakarta. It is until to-day the biggest monolith of the entire archaeological collection, rising more than four metres from its pedestal. The general assumption is that the statue depicts the Sumatran king Adityawarman of the 14th century, though the possibility is not excluded that it represents the East-Javanese king Kṛtanagara around half a century earlier⁴⁾. As a matter of fact, both kings were ardent followers and practitioners of the Tantric Hindu-Buddhistic Bhairawa cult. The statue shows, indeed, all the attributes and the peculiarities of the frightening God Bhairawa.

At the same site where the Bhairawa statue was found, was also unearthed a large inscribed pedestal of a statue. It could not, however, fit in with the gigantic statue. On the other hand it turned out to belong to quite another statue that was discovered at about the same time near the village of Rambahan, not too far away from the first site⁵⁾. This statue, which is also kept in the National Museum now, depicts the Buddhist deity Amoghapaça Lokeçwara, accompanied by 14 other deities. The lengthy inscription, carved on the upright sides of the pedestal, bears the date 1286 A.D. and explicitly refers to this Amoghapaça group as a special gift from Çri Viçvarupakumara with the support of the Singhasari king Kṛtanagara to the delight of the people of Malayu.

Both the Padang Roco and the Rambahan sites did not bring to light any convincing structural remains, so that the obvious conclusion is that the Bhairawa as well as the Amoghapaça statue was not enthroned in a chandi of the conventional construction. It is only a pity that the reports of the finds in question do not mention in detail what exactly were the accompanying archaeological data.

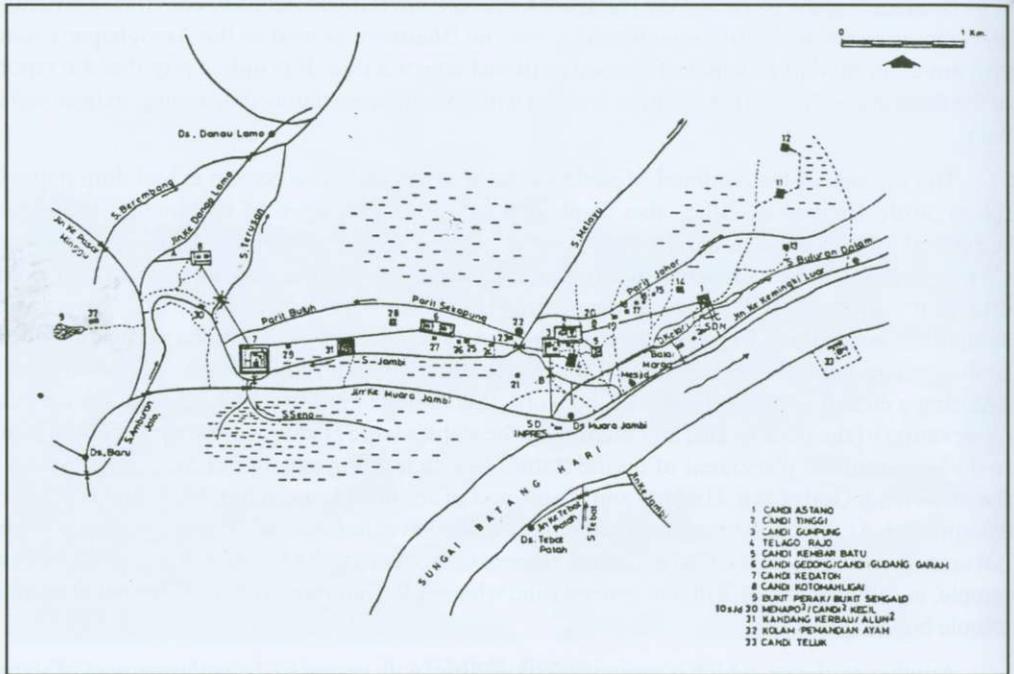
The rotunda of the National Museum in Jakarta, which is to a certain extent dominated by the gigantic Bhairawa statue, also displays a set of masterpieces of the ancient Indonesian sculptural art, viz. the exalted life-size standing statues of the main Hindu Gods, dug out at the Chandi Banon site East of Borobudur in Central Java. These statues, too, were unearthed from a site that only yielded in the most scanty remains of a brick structure. No reports available⁶⁾, but judging from the photographs illustrating the few words in the publication of the find we cannot possibly conclude that the domination 'Chandi Banon' has to be understood as denoting a chandi in the real sense of the word. It is rather a platform that emerges from a close observation of the photographs, and seemingly the statues were standing in a row, in contradiction to the conventional placement of divine statues in a chandi. As a matter of fact, the presence of the three main Gods Çiva, Brahma and Visnu, and in addition Ganeça too, but without Durga, is exceptional. At the Loro Jonggrang compound we do have, indeed, the Trimurti plus Ganeça but not arranged in the way we find at Chandi Banon. Ganeça occupies the rear chamber of the Çiwa temple, in full accordance with the general rule, whereas Brahma and Visnu are housed in separate temple buildings.

Another evidence, which is moreover convincing, with regard to the enthronement of statues in open pavillions we now obtain from a quite recent discovery at Selomerto near Wonosobo in Central Java. The discovery was followed by systematic excavations, so that the conclusions and eventual reconstructions are entirely based on archaeological data so far collected in the most reliable way⁷⁾.

The discovery started when people were digging a well and suddenly came across a huge Buddha head, measuring more than one metre from chin to top. The subsequent excavations, carried out in stages, yielded in the recovery of the greater part of the missing fragments of the gigantic statue which turned out to be a seated Buddha. Another statue was also found, and though heavily mutilated it clearly depicts the figure of a seated Bodhisattva. A further search after one more Bodhisattva as may be expected from the usual depiction of the Mahayana-trinity (cf. Chandi Mendut), is until to-day not successful.

For our present purpose it is interesting to note that the excavations have revealed only the very scanty remains of a brick structure, which cannot be associated, however, with any kind of chandi building because of the very insufficient amount of debris. The find of 4 stone supports for poles undoubtedly denotes to a roofed platform or an open pavillion to enthrone the extra big statues.

III. Recent explorations at Muara Jambi have expanded considerably the earlier identified archaeological site at the left bank of the Batanghari river some 25 kilometres downstream from the provincial capital city of Jambi. When until some 10 years ago only the chandis Astano, Tinggi, Gumpung, Gedong I and II were known⁸⁾ - though as shapeless mounds rather than as monuments, except Astano which was uncovered in the thirties already- to-day we have a few more. Chandi Kembar Batu near the chandis Tinggi and Gumpung at the outskirts of the village of



Muara Jambi
 Situation map of the archaeological sites

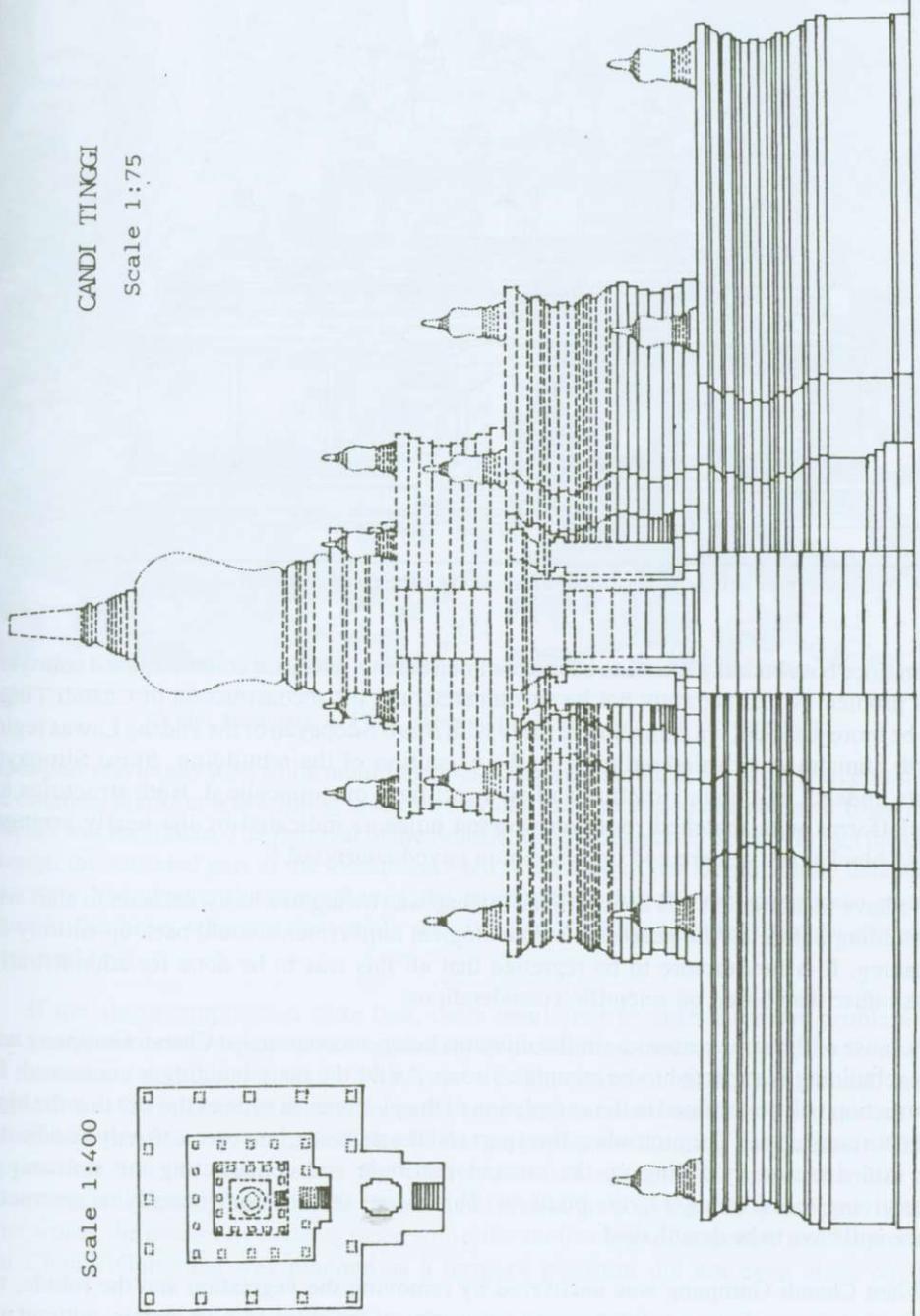
Muara Jambi, Chandi Kedaton situated a few kilometres farther inland, and Chandi Teluk at the other side of the Batanghari river, have been unearthed quite recently, following the intensive removal of the dense vegetation and the rubble covering totally the chandis Tinggi, Gumpung and the two Gedongs. Chandi Koto Mahligai, on the other hand, which situated farther away from Chandi Kedaton, is not covered with vegetation. The clearance of the shrubs while leaving the trees as they stood shows clearly the disordered mound of rubble, which will remain untouched until a thorough and sistematical excavation can be carried out.

Among the newly uncovered monuments at Muara Jambi Chandi Tinggi has been rebuilt, while the reconstruction of Chandi Gumpung is nearing its completion. The restoration of these two monuments, however, has invited many questions and created many problems, the greater part of which cannot be clarified satisfactorily.

The main obstacle in the attempt to restore the two monuments is obviously conceptional in nature, so that the solution of the problem emerging from the rebuilding activities is hard to find. The undertaking is namely based on the well established assumption that a chandi should consist of a base with a staircase at its front side, a body with a half-dark chamber inside, and a roof of superimposing retreating stages with a finial on top. The building materials, however, so far retrieved did not allow a reconstruction along that design. Subsequently the rebuilding of Chandi Tinggi had to be stopped half-way, leaving the problem concerning the upper structure unsolved, whereas the present terraced three stages resulting from the reconstruction is conjectural rather than based on archaeological evidence. The find of another brick edifice in front of it, for instance, has apparently been neglected in the attempt of rebuilding, and now has created an irritating

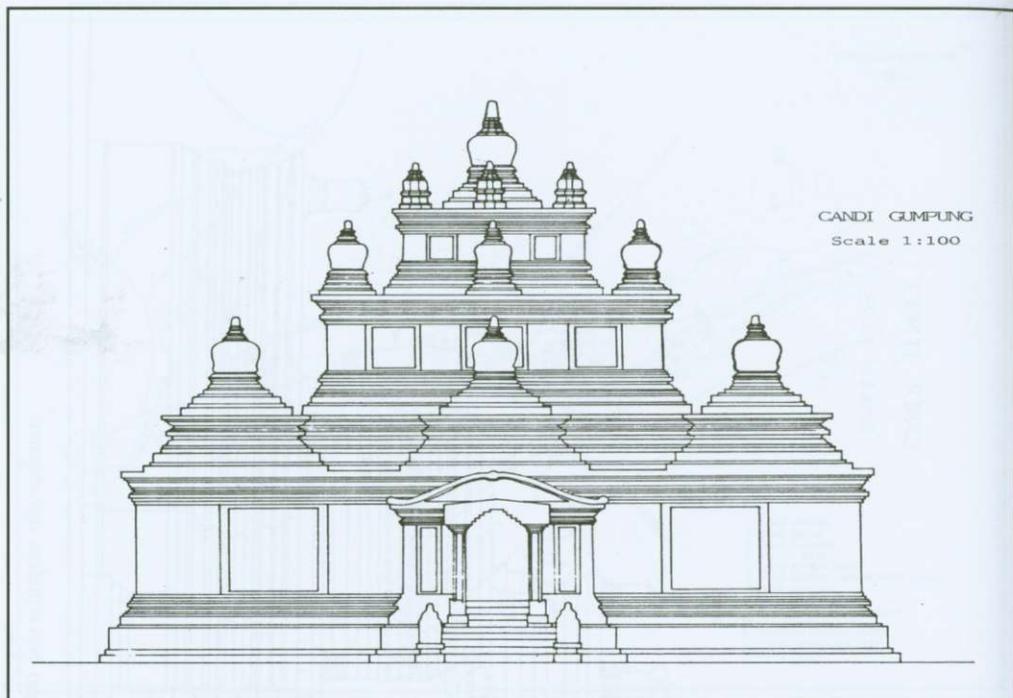
CANDI TINGGI

Scale 1:75



Scale 1:400

Conjectural reconstruction of chandi Tinggi Nevertheless the absence of an inner space is evident



The obvious reconstruction according to the conventional concept

problem since both buildings prove to have a common base or, at least, a common paved courtyard. Such a problem would certainly not be encountered, and the reconstruction of Chandi Tinggi would be more justified, if a comparative study with *Biaro* Sitopayan of the Padang Lawas region in North Sumatra was carried out prior to the execution of the rebuilding. *Biaro* Sitopayan consists, indeed, of a main structure and an auxiliary one opposite it. Both structures are open platforms with thatched roofs on wooden poles as indicated by the neatly arranged 'umpak' blocks, and are erected on a common paved courtyard⁹⁾.

We have to admit that this conceptual mishap was owing to a hasty decision to start with the rebuilding before all the necessary archaeological requirements could back up entirely the undertaking. It is furthermore to be regretted that all this was to be done for administrative reasons rather than based on scientific considerations.

Because of the same reasons a similar dilemma being encountered at Chandi Gumpung now that its rebuilding is expected to be completed soon. As far the main building is concerned, the reconstruction will be confined to the completion of the platform, in spite of the fact that the height will remain conjectural. The protruding front part and the staircase, however, can only be adjusted to the said decision by filling up the created vestibule and constructing the staircase as is its as giving access straight to the platform. This means that the conjecturally reconstructed entrance will have to be demolished.

When Chandi Gumpung was uncovered by removing the vegetation and the rubble, the structure that emerged was a solid masonry, measuring at the sides 18 x 18 metres, without any trace of an inner space. At some places the wall reached a height of some 3 metres, but the entire



Chandi Gumpung in 1954, completely covered by tropical vegetation

upper part was totally lost, while mouldings were only discernible at the base. The central part of the obtained platform was sagging in such a way that the impression of a chamber filled up with rubbish was inevitable. The removal of the rubbish and the dislocated bricks - in fact the digging through the subsided part of the monument - led to the find of the sacred temple deposit. This discovery had apparently strengthened the supposition that the uncovered structure was actually the base, whereas the rubble was the result of the tumbled down walls and the collapsed roof.

If the above supposition were true, there would not be such a serious problem as we now encounter with respect to the reconstruction of the protruding part at the front side of the monument and the staircase. The base of the staircase had been found, indeed, projecting as far as some 10 meters from the supposed entrance wall, but the stairs are totally lost except the first two steps and one of the gargoyles terminating the handrail. Thus the supposition that the stairs led to the vestibule before entering the main chamber of the monument was entirely based on the preoccupied idea of the conventionally designed chandi. In other words, the possibility of being faced with quite another type of sanctuary and the probability that Chandi Gumpung was planned as a terraced platform did not even cross our mind.



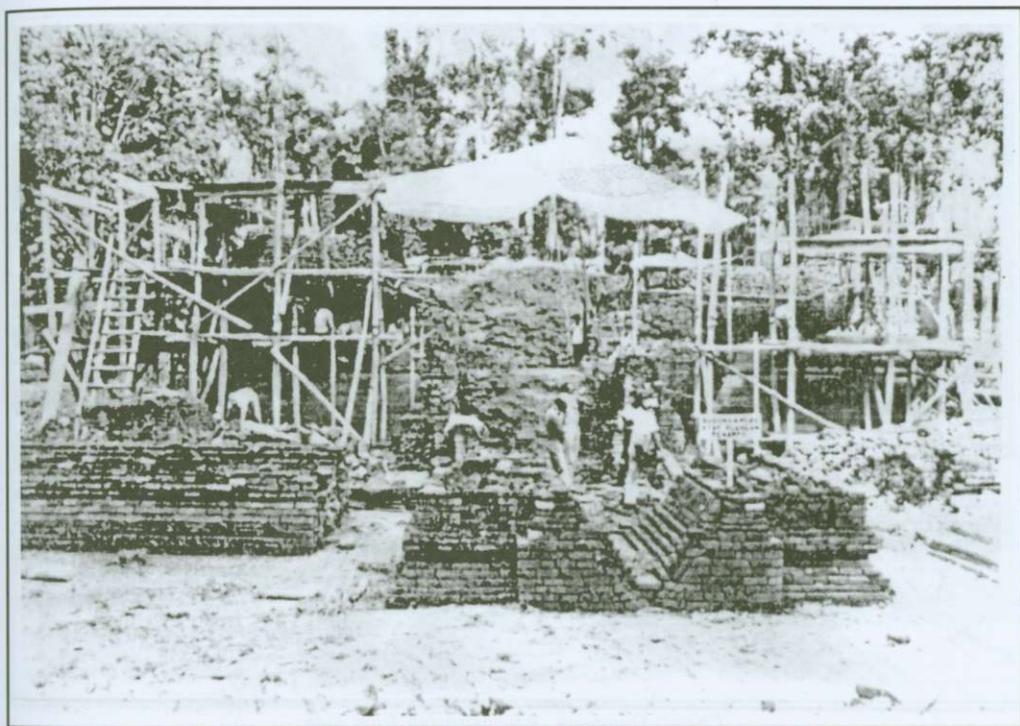
Chandi Gumpung after clearance of the site

This probability, now, turns out to come true. And the evidence is to be found some three kilometers only from Chandi Gumpung, that is to say at the very archaeological site of Muara Jambi. It is the Chandi Kedaton that comes across our mind.

Chandi Kedaton is quite recently brought to light after that the big tree surmounting the mound was cut down and the shrubs as well as the rubble were cleared away. Any attempt to reconstruct it, however, has not been done, so that the situation as it is now may serve as a reliable source of information.

Whereas Chandi Gumpung was entirely built up of brick, thus leaving no room for any kind of an inner space, Chandi Kedaton demonstrated in the most convincing way that it has never been intended to function as a conventional chandi, in spite of the walled-in central chamber and the front room. The edifice is interely built of brick, and has a square groundplan measuring 25 x 26,8 meters. A protruding part is only to be found at the front side - i.e. northern side - measuring 8 x 7 m., with another protruding part in front of it apparently meant for the flight of steps. The walls are so thick, measuring more than 4 meters, that the inner space of the structure only measures 16,2 x 17,5 metres. The walls of the front room is less thick, a bit more than 1 metre, proportional to the measurements of the protruding part of the temple.

Queer enough there is no link between the main and the front room: a brick wall of about 3 thickness separates definitely one room from the other. More peculiar, however (and therefore more interesting to note), is the fact that chamber was apparently not meant as such, and certainly not for housing a statue or any other object of worship. It namely entirely filled up with stones and gravel, and so is the room in front of it.

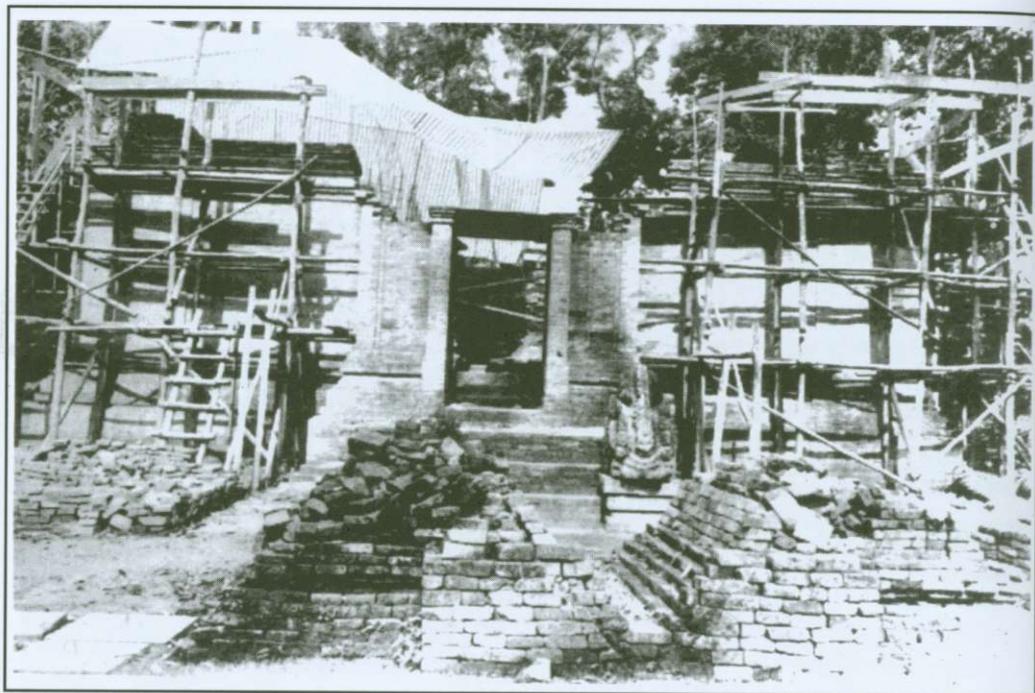


Chandi Gumpung being restored

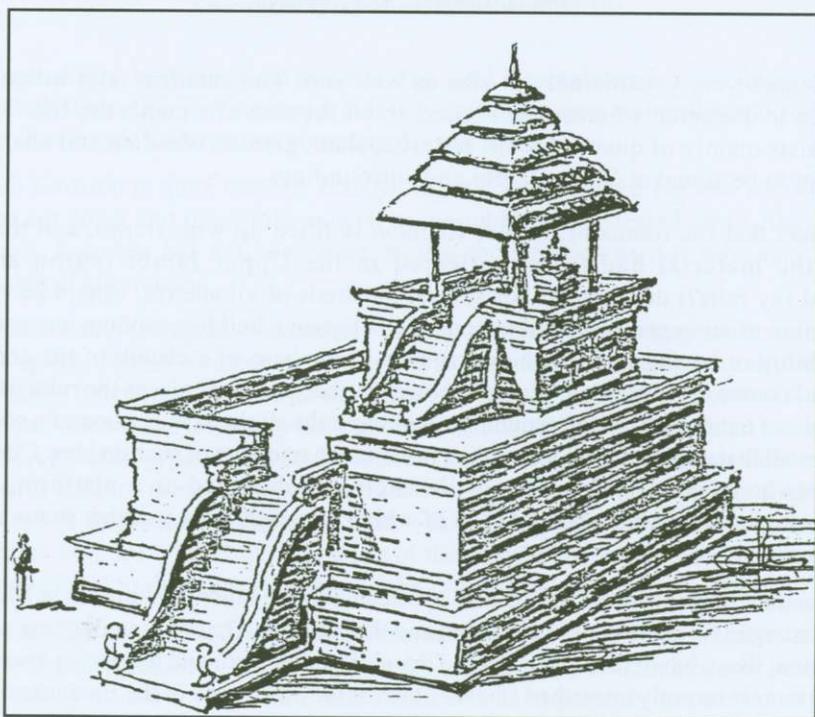
The stones vary considerably in size as well sort. The smallest ones measure 1 to 2 centimetres in diameter, whereas the biggest about the size of a man's fist. The sort of stone consists mainly of quartz, basalt, andesite, slate, granite, obsidian and chalcedon, all of them not to be found at Muara Jambi and surroundings.

The fact that the rooms of Chandi Kedaton is filled up with stones, and that for this purpose the material had to be collected in the Upper Jambi region and hence transported (by rafts?) downstream for several hundreds of kilometres, cannot be else than a demonstration of an imperative need to construct a massive building without any room inside. The possibility of having to do with the remains of the base of a chandi of the conventional design is, of course, not excluded. The fact, however, that at several places the ruinous walls rise up to a height of 6 metres from the ground level without the slightest indication of a continuation to another wall that might enclose a chamber, justifies the rejection of such an idea. Consequently the obvious conclusion is that Chandi Kedaton was designed as a platform, maybe in superimposing but retreating stages on top of which was enthroned a divine statue in an open wooden pavillion.

The picture of stepped terraces is also applicable to the other monuments at Muara Jambi that have emerged from the dense vegetation and the rubble but have not undergone any attempt of restoration, like Chandi Gedong I and II, Chandi Kembar Batu and the earlier known Chandi Astano. The most recently unearthed Chandi Teluk at the other bank of the Batanghari river does seemingly not make an exception. It becomes apparent, therefore, and is even not too bold a



Chandi Gumpung. Reconstructed front side



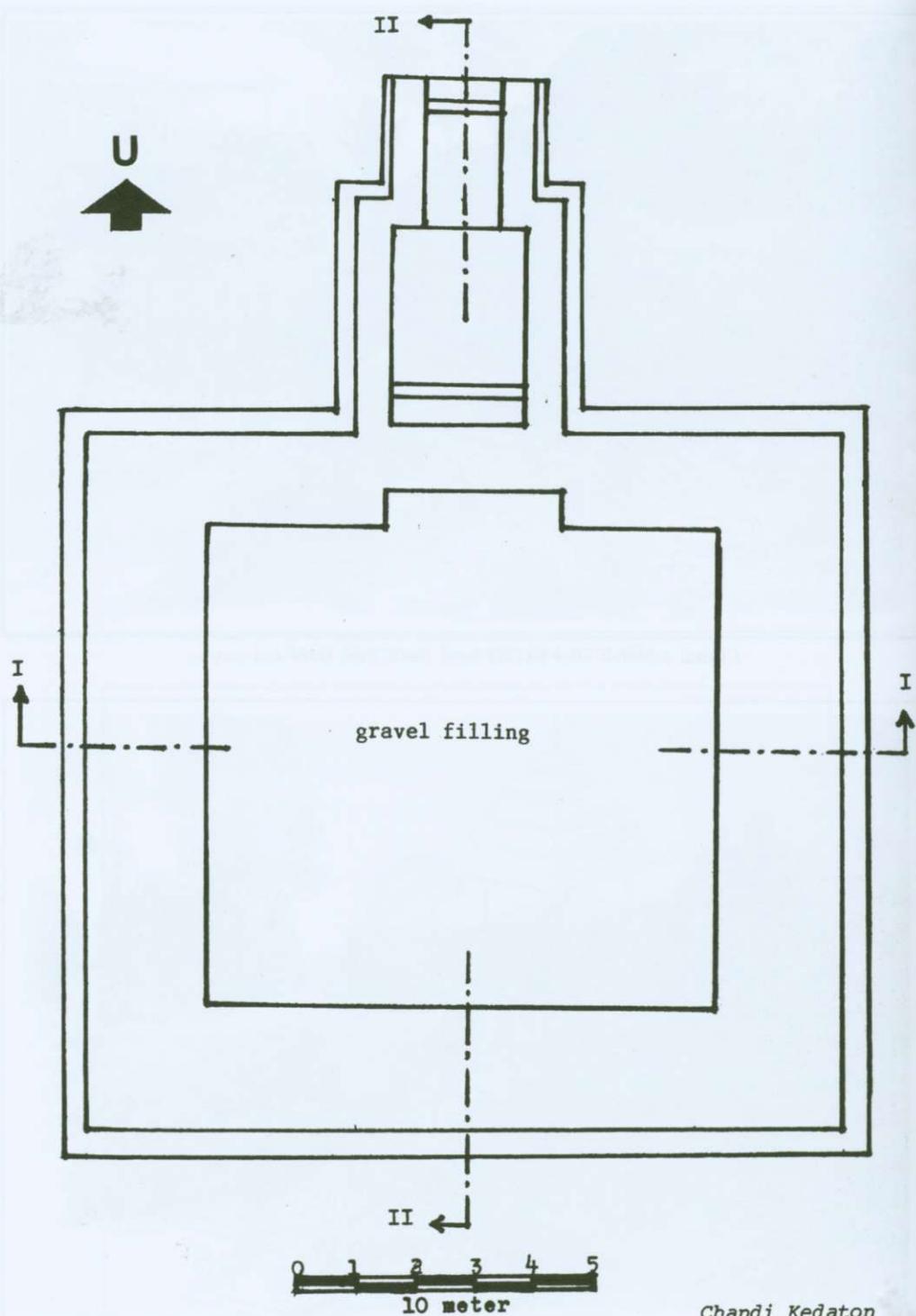
Chandi Gumpung. Artist's impression



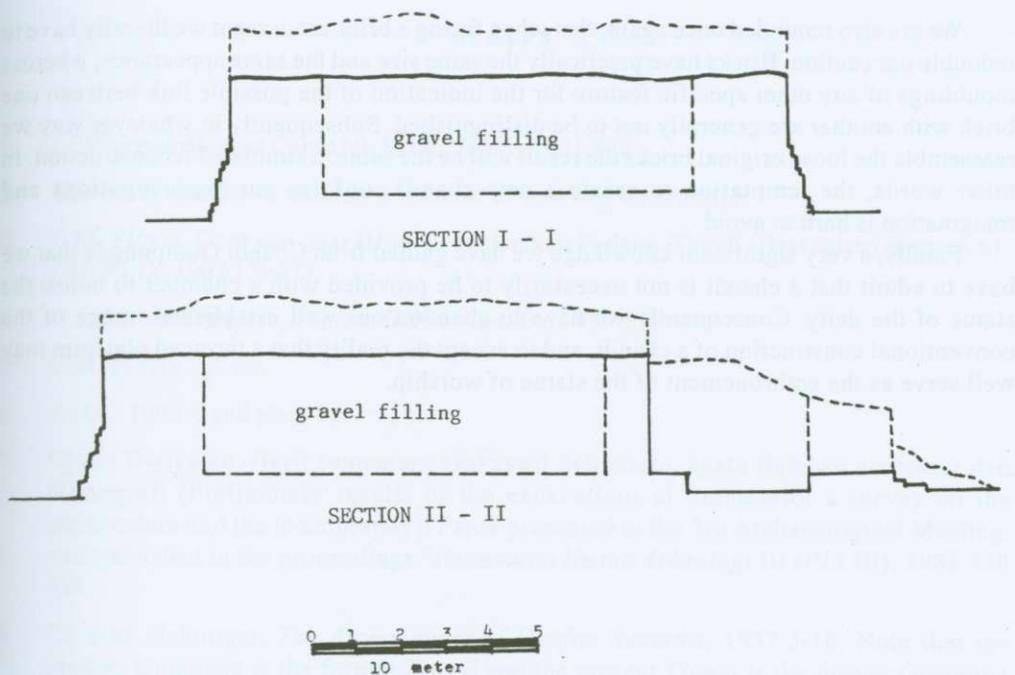
Chandi Kedaton after having been freed from trees and scrubs



Chandi Kedaton. Part of the stones and gravel from the inside of the structure



Chandi Kedaton
Groundplan



Chandi Kedaton, cross section

conclusion that the monuments at Muara Jambi differ substantially from the generally known chandi in Java.

In spite of the shortcomings and the regrettable facts, one point is undoubtedly certain, viz. that Chandi Gumpung was from the very outset not intended - in the conventional way - to house a statue of a deity, but rather designed as a terraced sanctuary with an open pavillion on the uppermost platform. The find of a very beautiful but headless Prajñāpāramitā statue among the rubble of the totally collapsed monument, the size of which is too small to be brought in line with the dimensions of the edifice, supports very strongly the supposition that the goddess was, indeed, enthroned in such a pavillion. The find of bricks with rounded sides, thus indicating to make part of a stupa, does not contradict to the said reconstruction, since stupas might well embellish either the flight of steps or the terraces.

IV. The case of the rebuilding of Chandi Gumpung at Muara Jambi is very instructive in many respects. In the first place we are once again reminded that the rebuilding of a monument can only be taken into consideration after that a 2-dimensional reconstruction -i.e. on paper - can be obtained from the matching of the original stone so far gathered. By then we are in the position to study the probabilities of a 3-dimensional reconstruction and to decide to what extent a rebuilding is justified : wholly or partially. On the other hand it is also possible that we fail to produce a reconstructional drawing, though even partially, because of the lack or the insufficient evidence as the prerequisite. In this case the restoration should be confined to the consolidation and the upkeep of what is still erect.

We are also reminded once again, that when facing a brick monument we literally have to redouble our caution. Bricks have practically the same size and the same appearance, whereas mouldings of any other specific feature for the indication of the possible link between one brick with another are generally not to be distinguished. Subsequently in whatever way we reassemble the loose original bricks the result will be the same: a simulated reconstruction. In other words, the temptation to create a new chandi conform our preoccupations and imagination is hard to avoid.

Finally, a very significant knowledge we have gained from Chandi Gumpung is that we have to admit that a chandi is not necessarily to be provided with a chamber to house the statue of the deity. Consequently we have to abandon our well established image of the conventional construction of a chandi, and to accept the reality that a terraced platform may well serve as the enthronelement of the statue of worship.



Notes

1. Cf. Nāgarakṛtāgama Canto 69; Krom, *HJG*², 1931:422
2. The exact number is unknown because of loss and destruction.
3. C.M. Pleyte, Over een paar Hindoebeelden van Padang-Tjandi (Batanghari districten). *TBG XLIX*, 1907:171-177.
4. A.J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, 1959:87.
5. C.M. Pleyte, *op. cit.*
6. *R.O.C.* 1905-6 and plate 82
7. Djoko Dwiyanto, Hasil sementara ekskavasi Selomerto: suatu tinjauan arsitektur dan ikonografi (Preliminary results of the excavations at Selomerto: a survey on the architecture and the iconography). Paper presented to the 3rd Archaeological Meeting, and published in the proceedings "Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi III (PIA III), 1985:438-454.
8. Cf. F.M. Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, 1937:5-10. Note that the present Gumpung is the former Tinggi and the present Tinggi is the former Gumpung (exchange of names by confusion?).
9. *O.V.* 1930. It is noteworthy that the same lay-out as Chandi Tinggi and *Biaro* Sitopayan is suggested very strongly by the quite recently uncovered Chandi Kembar Batu.

NEW INVESTIGATIONS ON THE LOWER PALAEOOLITHIC PACITAN CULTURE IN JAVA

by
H.R. van HEEKEREN

Introduction

The Sewu mountains extend from the mouth of the Opak River in the north to the Pacitan Bay in the South. The area has a greatest length of 85 kilometres, a greatest width of 25 kilometres and covers approximately 1400 square kilometres. It represents a typical Cone-Karst region and is composed of an uplifted and compact massif of Upper Miocene reef-limestone overlying disconformably folded Lower Miocene volcanic beds with shales, silicified tuff and fossil wood. The latter is exposed near the base of the Baksoka Valley, where the river cuts clear through the limestone into the old volcanic formation.

According to Lehman¹⁾, the karstification is a result of tilting of the limestone, but more probably the karst which is very analogous to the karst sequences of the Northern Shan Highlands of Burma and the Yangtze Valley of South China, may be joined with a pluvial climate and came into existence as a result of pluvial conditions as has been presumed by de Terra²⁾, the area remained slightly above sea-level till the Pleistocene. Then a regression of the sea took and afterwards it was elevated and tilted.

Typical for this region is the series of karstified hills (approximately 30 hills on one square kilometre), and the long and narrow valleys between them. Some are filled with water. The beehive-shaped hills are 30-75 metres high. Weathering products of the limestone as red earth (*terra rossa*) fill the karst and a younger volcanic ash deposit can be noticed in the dissected relief.

In some fissures and sinkholes which are filled up with *terra rossa* von Koenigswald has found remains of a Middle Pleistocene (Trinil Age) fauna, with bear, *tapir*, *Simia*, *Stegodon*, *Elephas namadicus*, *Echinosorex*, *Symphalangus* and *Hylobates*. This proves that the karst was developed in Middle Pleistocene times. In the lower parts of the hills many caves occur. Some trial excavations carried out by the present writer and his team yielded mesolithic and neolithic tools of stone, bone and shell associated with the remains of sub-fossil fauna including *Elephas maximus*. Therefore, the caves may have originated in Post-Glacial times.

In October 1935, Dr G.H.R. von Koenigswald³⁾ and Mr. M.W.F. Tweedie, Curator of the Raffles Museum, Singapore, paid a visit to the Sewu mountains. On the 4th of October they discovered for the first time in Java, a series of large, massive, crudely worked stone tools, apparently of a Lower Palaeolithic character. The vast majority of the tools were manufactured of volcanic rock (notably silicified tuff) and are dark in colour. Other examples were shaped

1. Joshmann, Herbert, 1936 *Morphologische Studien auf Java*.
Geogr. Abhandl. Vol. IX. Stuttgart.
2. Terra, H. de, 1943 *Pleistocene geology and Early Man in Java*.
Trans. Am. Philos. Soc. 32, p. 437-464.
3. Koenigswald, G. H. R., von *Early Palaeolithic stone implements from Java*
Bull. Raffles Museum, 1, p 52-60

out silicified lime stone and a few were made of fossil wood. The implements were picked up in a dry watercourse of the Baksoka River, south of Punung ; but similar tools were collected in a 'boulder conglomerate' in the bank of the river, 3-4 meters above its bed. In some place this bench was dipping under the level of the valley, showing that it was gently folded. According to von Koenigswald this proves the tectonics of the implementiferous conglomerate were not younger than the Middle Pleistocene. Yet von Koenigswald was not quite sure if these were the parent layers of all tools, some of them may be secondarily deposited and have been washed out from higher horizons.

Typologically as well geologically, von Koenigswald stated the newly discovered Palaeolithic culture represents a 'complex Chellean' with handaxes, flake tools and a few crude blades. In total approximately 3000 stone tools were collected in this very prolific locality; but thusfar none of them has been extracted from a datable geologic horizon and palaeontologic evidence was almost absent.

Von Koenigswald's discovery was of paramount importance for the knowledge of the development of the oldest stone-cultures in Java and for the whole Far East as well. Great interest was aroused by the finds but it could not be ignored that detailed study of the problem was still not complete. Thus, several scientists carried on further investigations and studied this culture and its stratigraphic position, resulting in the collection of many archaeological and geological data.

In the spring of 1938, after having finished a fieldprogram in the Irrawaddy Valley of Upper Burma, which resulted in the acknowledgement of a peculiar Lower Palaeolithic cultural development in Southern and Eastern Asia, Hellmut de Terra, Père Teilhard de Chardin and Hallam L. Movius accompanied von Koenigswald to the Baksoka area to study the situation on the spot and the geologic problems connected with it.

Père Teilhard de Chardin ⁴⁾ only devoted some pages to the problem. He observed three different pleistocene formations in the area. First a thick layer of Upper Pleistocene volcanic ash in the dissected relief, secondly *terra rossa* deposits in the fissures and sinkholes of the karst where as stated before, von Koenigswald had found a fossil Middle-Pleistocene fauna and finally, three levels of terraces on respectively 2 metres (composed mainly of silt), on 10 metres (red gravel and loam with a basal layer of coarse gravel) and on 25 metres (boulder gravel with red loam). The small elevation of the lowest terrace may be explained in this way, that the river after having reached the volcanic beds, hardly any longer cuts its bed. Most tools are rolled and are heavily patinated. Without any doubt the tools are of Pleistocene age. Teilhard, also qualifies the palaeolithic assemblage as 'Chellean', in which the flake tools are little typical.

The most profound and expert study of the Pacitan tools has been made by Hallam L. Movius ⁵⁾ who very considerably enlarged our knowledge of this culture. He contests its Chellean character., rightly pointing out that true bifaces are rare, as only 153 (6.32%) out of 2419 tools can be classified as hand-axes. And even then, only 42 examples were completely

4. Teilhard de Chardin, P. 1937

1938 :

5. Movius, H. L., 1949

Notes sur la Paleontologie humaine en Asie meridionale, *L'Anthropologie*, 47, p 23-34. Deuxièmes notes sur la Paleontologie humaine en Asie méridionale. *Ibid*, p 449-456.

The Lower Palaeolithic cultures of Southern and Eastern Asia, *Trans. Am. Phil. Soc.* 38, p. 329-420.

worked around the butt-end. The working technique in most cases, notably longitudinally flaking parallel to the axis of the tool, betrays the Chopper tradition. More than 50% of the assemblage is formed by flake-implements and trimming flakes showing signs of use. The massive tools made on pebbles or on large flakes and sphere-segments derived from a shattering process, consist of Choppers, Chopping-tools, Hand-adzes and Proto-handaxes. Therefore, the Pacitanian shows a striking difference and is in marked contrast with the Lower Palaeolithic bifaces of Peninsular India, the Near East, Europe and Africa. It forms part of the great Chopper Chopping-tool Complex of the Far East which represents a continuum of an archaic pebble culture, uninfluenced by contemporary innovations and resembling such pebble cultures as the African Oldowan and Pre-Stellenbosch industries. Thusfar this complex has been recorded in Punjab ⁶⁾ where it is named the Soanian, in Burma ⁷⁾ (the Anyathian), in Siam ⁸⁾ (the Fingnoian), in Malaya ⁹⁾ (the Tampanian) and in Northern China ¹⁰⁾ (the Choukoutienian) where it was found in association with skeletal remains of *Sinanthropus* '*Pithecanthropus*' *pekinensis*.

In some instances, like in the Soanian, the Anyathian and the Choukoutienian, a Middle Pleistocene antiquity could be established and the same tradition persisted in a modified way into the Upper Pleistocene. The Anyathian, the Fingnoian and the Choukoutienian are devoid of handaxes. Several authorities when referring to the Chopper Chopping-tool complex of the Far East consider the racial factor to be essential, its authors being members of the Pithecanthropus group of man-kind.

A word of explanation on the use of terms as choppers, chopping-tools and so on is needed. While Movius has met with an unrecognized Lower Palaeolithic culture in the Far East, the classic sequence established in Western Europe is not applicable. It was found necessary to invent new archaeological terms for the large massive pebble tools in the following way ¹¹⁾ :

„In dealing with the archaeological material from Upper Burma and Java, it was found necessary at the outset to establish two new classes of implements--*chopping-tools* and *hand-adzes* -and to redefine the terms *chopper* and *scraper*. This simply provides a convenient method of arranging the material for purposes description. Each is a purely artificial category of little or no significance from point of view of function, which, with respect to such remote period (Middle Pleistocene) is still a question of speculation. Actually, the only difference between a chopper and a scraper, both flaked by secondary working on the upper surface

6. Terra, H. de and T. T. Paterson, 1939, Studies on the Ice Age in India and associated human cultures. Carnegie Inst. of Washington, 493, p. 1-354.
7. Movius, H. L., 1943, The Stone Age of Burma, *Trans. Am. Philos. Soc.* 32, p. 341-393.
8. Heekeren, H.R. van 1948 : Prehistoric Discoveries in Siam., *Proceedings Prehistoric Society*. Cambridge, 2, p. 24-32.
9. Collings, H. D., 1938, Pleistocene sites in the Malay Peninsula., *Nature*, 142, p. 575-576.
10. Teilhard de Chardin, P. and W. C. Pei, 1932 The lithic industry of the *Sinanthropus* deposits in Chcu-kou-tien., *Bull. Geol. Soc. China*, 11, p. 221-232.
11. Movius, H. L., 1949, Old-World Palaeolithic Archaeology., *Bull. Geol. Soc. of America*, 60, p. 1443-1456.
1944 : Early Man and Pleistocene stratigraphy in Southern and Eastern Asia. *Papers Peabody Mus. Am. Arch. and Ethn.*, 19, p. 1-125.

only, is one of size, and in this sense. 'large, crude scraper' are called *choppers*. The latter are usually core tools. whereas flakes predominate in the scraper category. A *chopping-tools*, on the other hand, is a core implement often made on a pebble, with a cutting edge worked from both sides. In many cases the edge itself has fashioned by alternate flaking, which produces a tool remarkable for sinuosity. *Hand-adzes* are roughly tabular chopping or cutting implements, which resemble choppers, except for the that they are square or rectangular, rather than of round or oval outline. *Choppers*, *chopping-tools*, and *hand-adzes* all differ fundamentally from the classic *hand-axe* or *coup de-poing*, which is a true bifacial tool, extensively flaked on both upper and lower surfaces. Wherever the above types of implements are found, that is in Punjab, Northern China, Upper Burma and Java, the definition given here will be adhered to for purposes of descriptions and comparison". In later papers ¹²⁾, Movius has added another type to the above-mentioned term i.e. Proto Hand-axe : „implements in most cases made on flakes, that are worked on the upper surface only, into crude and roughly pointed types of hand-adzes of plano-convex section. Cortex normally adheres to the butt-ends, and seldom is the upper surface flaked all over. These tools may be considered as transitional between hand-adzes and true hand-axes - bifaces or coup-de-poings -from a typical point of view". Movius who has examined 2419 Pacitan tools, classified the as follows :

Type of implements	Total	Percentage of total
Choppers	431	17.82
Chopping-tools	89	3.68
Hand-adzes	87	3.59
Proto Hand-axes	195	8.06
Hand-axes	153	6.32
Flake-implements	596	24.64
Trimming flakes showing signs of use	807	33.36
Cores	31	1.28
Miscellaneous	30	1.24
	2419	99.99

In this respect, attention must be drawn to Movius' following statement : "In general, no absolutely rigid line can be drawn between the above classes of implements in all cases". In the descriptions of our own finds in the Baksoka area and newly discovered Tabuhan sites, we have accepted Movius' terminology, but we have redefined the choppers into three distinct types :

- a. 'Flat-iron' choppers : Long, highbacked ; plano-convex section ; flat-iron shape ; resolved longitudinal trimming ; some examples are "keeled".
- b. 'Tortoise' choppers : Short, highbacked and flat-bottomed ; tortoise shape. There is not much difference between Movius' hand-adzes and our tortoise or turtle-backed choppers.
- c. Side-choppers : Massive side scrapers ; irregular in outline.

'Flat-iron' choppers and 'Tortoise' choppers are very characteristic for the Pacitanian ; they may be used as type-specimens or as guide-forms for this industry.

12. Movius, H.L., 1949 The Lower Palaeolithic culture of Southern and Eastern Asia. *Trans-Am. Philos. Soc.* 38, p. 329-420

Post-war investigations

After the Dutch had transferred sovereignty in 1949 to the new Republic of Indonesia, scientific fieldwork was soon possible again in Java. We have, however, restricted our record to the investigations concerning the Pacitanian,

In September 1952, a young promising palaeontologist Dr P. Marks who had just discovered an additional mandible of *Meganthropus*¹³⁾ near Sangiran in Central Java, paid a ten-day visit to the Baksoka region, making detailed geological study of the area and collecting a vast number of Pacitan tools in the river bed. Besides, he extracted some specimens from low terraces ; his paper on the subject has not been published as yet.

In the prosecution of my own study, valuable services were rendered by Mr Basuki and Mr Socjono to whom I want to express my thanks.

On the 22nd of October 1952, Mr A. Christie of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and the present writer made a brief trip to the Baksoka Valley. Stone tools were collected but the soil was so moist and swampy that it was hard to move around. On the 6th of August 1953 the same area was visited again; this time I was accompanied by P. Marks, Soejono and Basoeki. We noticed an implementiferous boulder bed on the right bank of the river and 3.20 metres above it. The tools were rolled and were found in the upper part of the bench. Similar tools were picked up in the rivergravel and from low benches (1/2 - 1 metre) of the Ngambar tributary. The next day while searching for a fossil-containing fissure near Tabuhan, Soejono discovered a well-finished 'Flat-iron' chopper near the Gedeh river. It was the first Pacitan tool ever found in this area and it led to a more careful examination of the surroundings and in the organization of more investigations. Under a rock-fall near the Gedeh river a site which was filled up by young black clay and silt (the site is overflowed when torrents come down), more Pacitan tools were found. In the riverbed, too, a number of palaeoliths was collected and on the right bank we located a small boulderbed with stone tools on top, one metre above the river. More stone tools were collected in the dry mater-course of the Serikan River which connects the Gedeh River with the Sunglon River. A few implements were extracted from a low boulderbed, a half metre above streamlevel.

New investigations were planned in October 1953, but the present writer fell ill. My co-operators carried on further research during a ten-day stay. The Tabuhan area was mapped and a trial excavation was performed in the Songterus Cave, resulting in the discovery of mesolithic and neolithic tools made of stone, bone and shell and of a sub-fossil fauna including some teeth of *Elephas maximus*. Some new palaeolithic sites were discovered on the right bank of the Sunglon river ; a small cemented implementiferous boulderbed, one metre above the river and at Kiut at tereace containing Pacitan tools 5.9 meters above the river. A few palaeoliths were collected on the left bank, 20-30 meters above streamlevel at a site which may be the remnants of heavily dissected terrace.

In December 1953, we spent another ten days in the Sewu mountains, mainly making reconnoitring trips ; the soil near the rivers was very swampy in this time of the year. Nevertheless we collected quite a number of palaeolithic artifacts among them two beautiful hand-axes, one round in outline and one almond-shaped; they recall in general form as well in detail some standard form of Eurafrikan Acheulean.

13. Marks, P, 1953,

Preliminary note on the discovery of a new jaw of *meganthropus* von Koeningswald in the Lower Middle Pleistocene of Sangiran, Central Java. *Indonesian Journal for Natural science*, 1-3, p. 24-33

An implementiferous boulderbed was noticed on the left bank, 1 1/2 metres above the river ; it is exactly situated opposite the mouth of the Ngambar tributary. The rolled tools were found in the upper portion of this bench.

In May 1954 Mr Basoeki made a ten-day stay at Punung ; on this occasion the Baksoka Valley was mapped over a distance of eight kilometres.

The Tabuhan area was explored again by us in June 1954 during a stay of 17 days. The trial excavation in the Songterus Cave was finished but no palaeoliths were discovered. New implementiferous terraces were located notably at Kiut, this time another red gravel terrace with palaeoliths on the right bank of the Sunglon river at an altitude of 11.5 metres above the river. At the right bank of the Serikan river a terrace containing palaeoliths was discovered 5 metres above streamlevel. In the dry watercourse of the same river we collected a well-finished hand-axe and a fine 'Flat-iron' chopper. A small excavation carried out in the one-metre bench of the Sunglon river proved that the tools were embedded in the upper portion only ; the tools were heavily waterworn. Soil examples were taken. A one-day trip to the Baksoka Valley resulted in the discovery of an implementiferous terrace at the right bank, 4 metres above streamlevel. Besides, we recognized a dissected terrace with lateric gravel, 15-20 metres above the river. It is thusfar the highest in the series. This bed has several metres of red clay on top. In total 120 unrolled stone implements were collected. They were made from silicified limestone and are entirely red stained, caused by their lying in the red clay for an indefinite period. We have tabulated the collection as follows, using Movius' classification for comparison's sake :

Type of implements	Total	Percentage of total
Choppers	25	20.8
Chopping-tools	2	1.6
Hand-adzes	1	0.8
Proto-Handaxes	8	6.7
Hand-axes	3	2.5
Flakes	81	67.5
	<hr/> 120	<hr/> 99.9

Among the choppers is one large keeled 'Flat-iron' example. The flakes are to be subdivided in 42 flake-tools and 39 trimming flakes showing signs of use.

We will now give a survey in the same way of the other sites : Baksoka river ; Rolled tools in the riverbed.

Type of implements	Total	Percentage of total
Choppers	29	20.6
Chopping-tools	5	3.5
Hand-adzes	6	4.3
Proto-Handaxes	13	9.2
Hand-axes	7	5.0
Flakes	76	53.9
Miscellaneous	5	3.5
	<hr/> 141	<hr/> 100.0

Three of the seven hand-axes are beautiful specimens. One discoidal and a large almond-shaped hand-axe are shaped out of glossy fossilized tuff. Both hand-axes are carefully

chipped on both faces; they are the finest hand-axes ever found in Java. The almond specimen has a thick butt-end and one of the long sides shows a tendency towards the 'S' twist.

TABUHAN AREA ; ROLLED TOOLS IN THE RIVERBED

	Gedeh River	Sunglon River	Serikan River
Choppers	2	4	1
Chopping-tools	3	4	1
Hand-adzes	1	0	0
Proto-Handaxes	2	1	0
Hand-axes	0	1	1
Flakes	16	9	26
	24	19	29

The hand-axe from the Sunglon River is a fine specimen, ovate in outline and much flatter on the lower face than the upper. The example from the Serikan River is a long, thick-butted specimen ; the butt-end is untrimmed with the crust of the pebble still adhered to it. More cortex was noticed on the posterior part of the upper face. The cutting-edges are irregular and jagged. In the same river a heavy, well-shaped 'Flat-iron' chopper was obtained. All tools in the river beds are brought down by wateraction.

	Gedeh rockfall	Serikan 5 m.terr.	Sunglon 1m.terr.	Kiut 6.9 m.t.	Kiut 11.5 m.t.	Klepu 23 m.t.
Choppers	3	0	6	4	1	2
Chopping- tools	0	0	1	5	1	1
Hand-adzes	0	0	0	0	0	0
Proto- Handaxes	2	0	3	0	0	0
Hand-axes	0	0	1	2	0	1
Flakes	17	2	22	43	1	12
	22	2	33	54	3	16

The totality of finds in the Tabuhan area is :

Type of implements	Total	Percentage of total
Choppers	23	11.4
Chopping-tools	16	7.9
Hand-adzes	1	0.5
Proto-Handaxes	8	4.0
Hand-axes	6	3.0
Flakes	148	73.2
	202	100.0

Conclusions

Post-war discoveries by the present writer and his team have thrown new light on the vertical distribution of the Pacitanian. Besides, new localities were revealed notably in the Tabuhan area, North of Punung.

In the region under consideration, the Gedeh River and the Sunglon River both break through the karstified hills on two places. The first tools have been found near the Gedeh River proper but it was not possible to locate any gravel terraces on its banks. Only on the right bank a low gravel bench was noticed with some palaeolithic tools. It was situated only one metre above the river-level. Apparently the terraces here are missing and have been removed by erosive action or they are superposed by a mantle of clay.

More successful were the investigations in the Sunglon Valley where four defined implementiferous levels were exposed, respectively on one, six, eleven and twenty metres above streamlevel, while the small Serikan River furnished proof for the existence of at least two different implementiferous horizons ; one low bouldergravel at one metre and a gravel terrace at five metres above the river.

The tools of the low benches were found in the upper portion only and they are heavily rolled. Therefore, I presume that the tools are brought down by erosive wateraction from a higher level and that they are secondarily deposited. It is noteworthy that similar low benches accompany the Sunglon, Serikan, Gedeh and Baksoka rivers and its tributaries on both sides at an altitude of 1/2 - 2 metres above river-level. The terrace sequences of the Baksoka and Sunglon Valleys correspond very well and they have many features in common. They are characterized by four implementiferous terraces, showing a similar system of ancient streamlevels and four distinct cycles of erosion.

The most important terrace thusfar seems to be the 15-20 metres terrace from the Baksoka Valley. It is the highest and oldest in the sequences and is the most prominent in this region. As contrasted with the tools from the lower terraces and those of the riverbed, the implements are not waterworn and are made of silicified limestone. Apparently the tools have been fashioned during a period when the karst was nascent and before the river wore down its bed into the volcanic formation and the silicified tuff became available to the toolmakers. In this stage the Trinil Fauna occupied the region, their fossils have been found in fissures and sinkholes. Accordingly, the tools from this terrace may be of Middle-Pleistocene antiquity, but the Pacitanian persisted without any significant innovations into the first part of the Upper Pleistocene. These and other indications go to prove that the Pacitanian from the High Terrace and the lower terraces form a single culture. Therefore it seems clear that the Pacitanian shows an excessive slowness in the tempo of change in tool technique and in creating new forms.

The technique employed in working the Pacitanian tools is essentially monofacial, as has been already stated by Movius. The flake-tools which seldom exhibit either a bulb of percussion or a striking platform outnumber by far the pebble-tools. But the Pacitanian is characterized, too, by a great number of massive tools as choppers, chopping-tools, hand-adzes and proto-handaxes, the absence of true Levallois flakes and a low percentage of bifaces. The massive tools are made of rough lumps of silicified tuff and pebbles, the oldest from silicified limestone and a few of fossil wood. It is not uncommon to find that the butts are left untrimmed with a considerable part of the original crust of the pebble sticking to it.

As has been presumed by Movius, the Pacitanian demonstrates a fundamental similarity with, and is closely allied to the Anyathian of Upper Burma, both forming part of the great Chopper Chopping-tool complex of Southeastern Asia. Some conspicuous, not uncommon forms are 'Flat-iron' shaped choppers and the Tortoise or Turtle-back choppers. They are high-backed and 'flat-bottomed, plano-convex in section with "resolved" endlong flaking to the cutting-edges.

Contrary to the Anyathian, Choukoutienian, and Fingnoian, the Pacitanian comprises a low proportion of bifaces. Many of them are flatter and much less flaked on the lower than on the upper face. It is equally true that many of them show a technique of stone flaking, notably endlong trimming parallel to the axis of the object closely resembling the Chopper tradition. Nevertheless, it can not be ignored that we found some bifaces with regular outlines which were flaked in the best tradition of the Early Acheulean technique. There are ovates, round and almond forms and elongate thick-butted examples, some of them showing slightly 'S'-twisted cutting-edges. They could equally be classified as Early-Acheulean.

Movius suggests the idea that the Pacitan bifaces are locally developed, notably the pointed specimens evolved from the choppers and the ovates developed from the chopping-tools.

I am rather inclined to believe, in spite of the fact that thusfar no bifaces have been found in Upper Burma and Ceylon, that the hand-axes indicate the introduction of foreign forms, probably from Peninsular India. In this connection attention must be drawn to the fact that true bifaces were already well developed in the Early Pacitanian from the highest terrace in the sequences, which gives further support to my conception. The fact remains however, that only a small proportion of the tools may be labelled as classic Acheulean and that Levellois-tools are complete absent.

Our investigations concerning the Pacitan culture will be continued. More attention will be paid to the higher parts of the valleys where actual Lower Palaeolithic occupation sites are to be suspected.



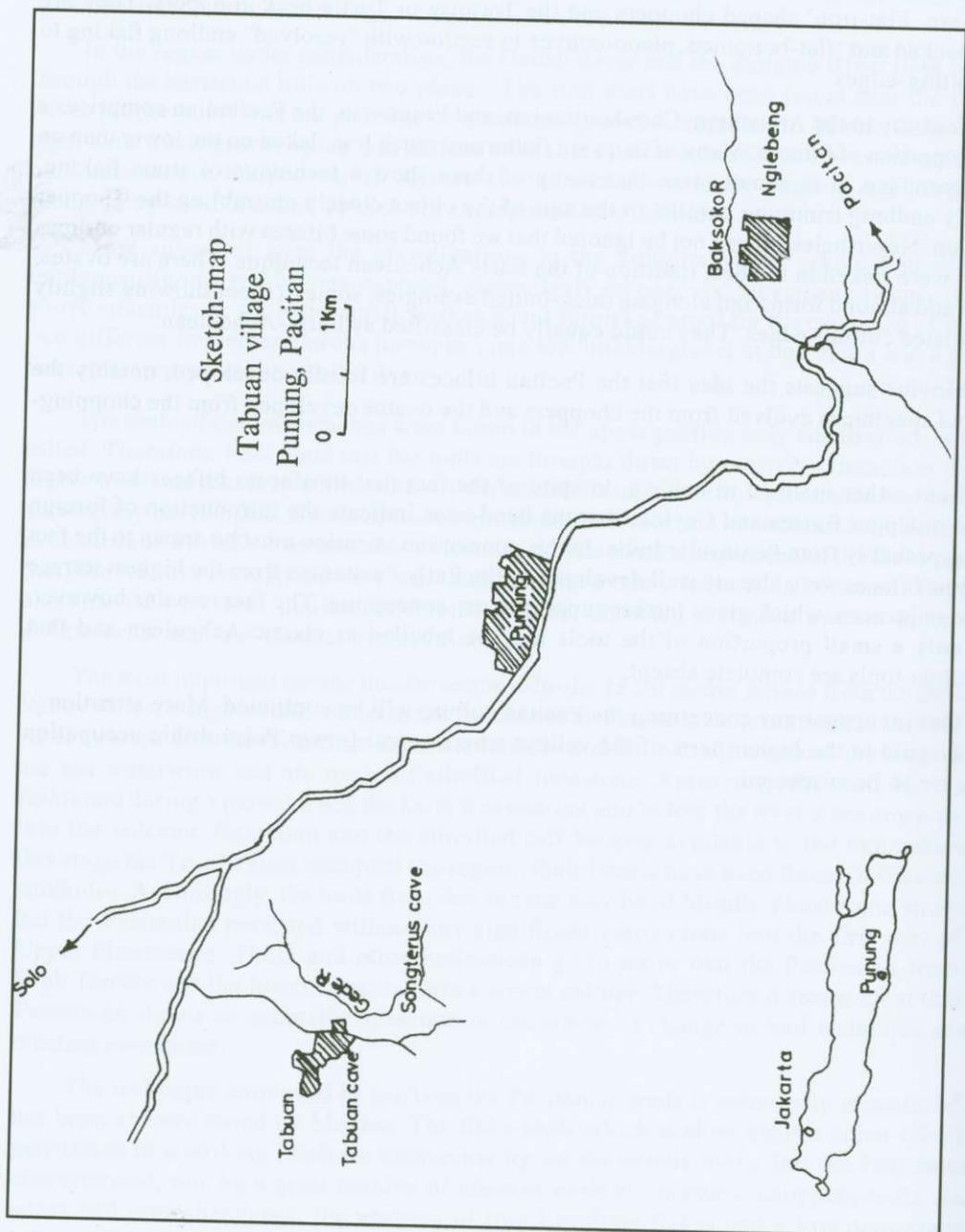


Fig. 1

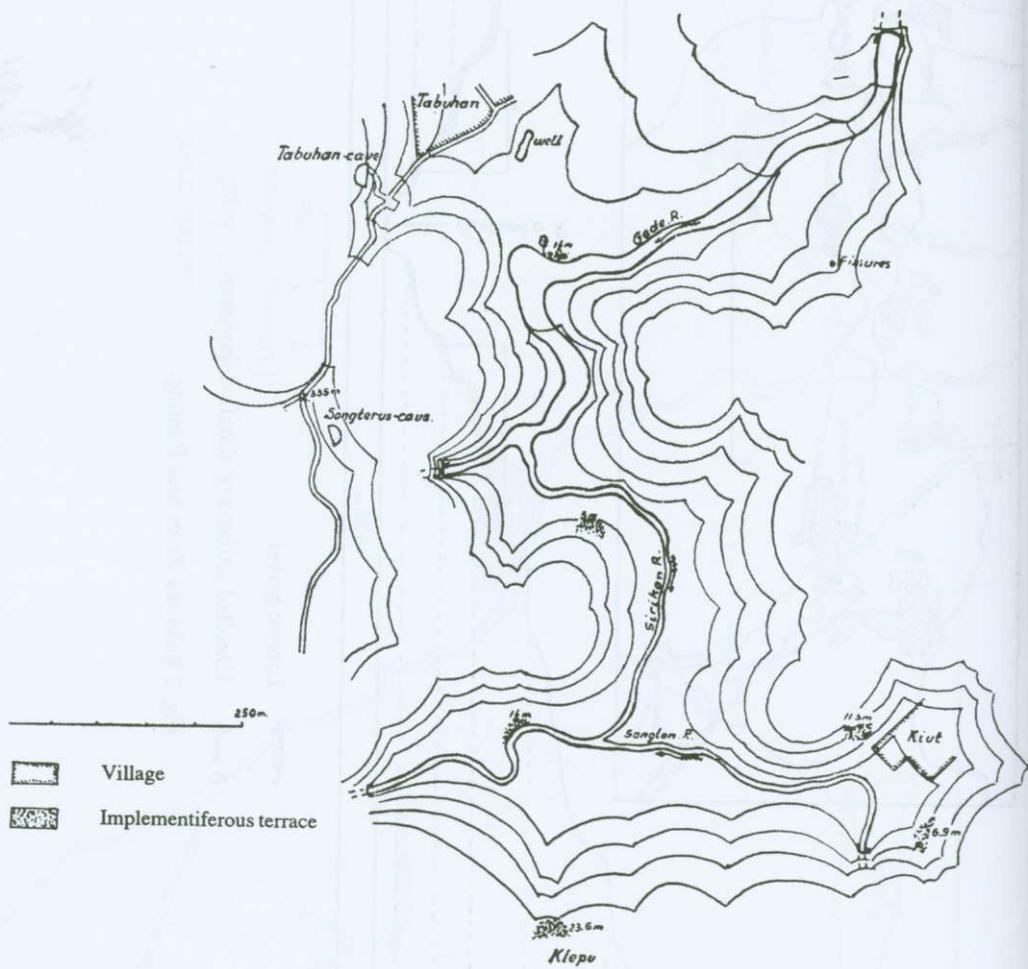
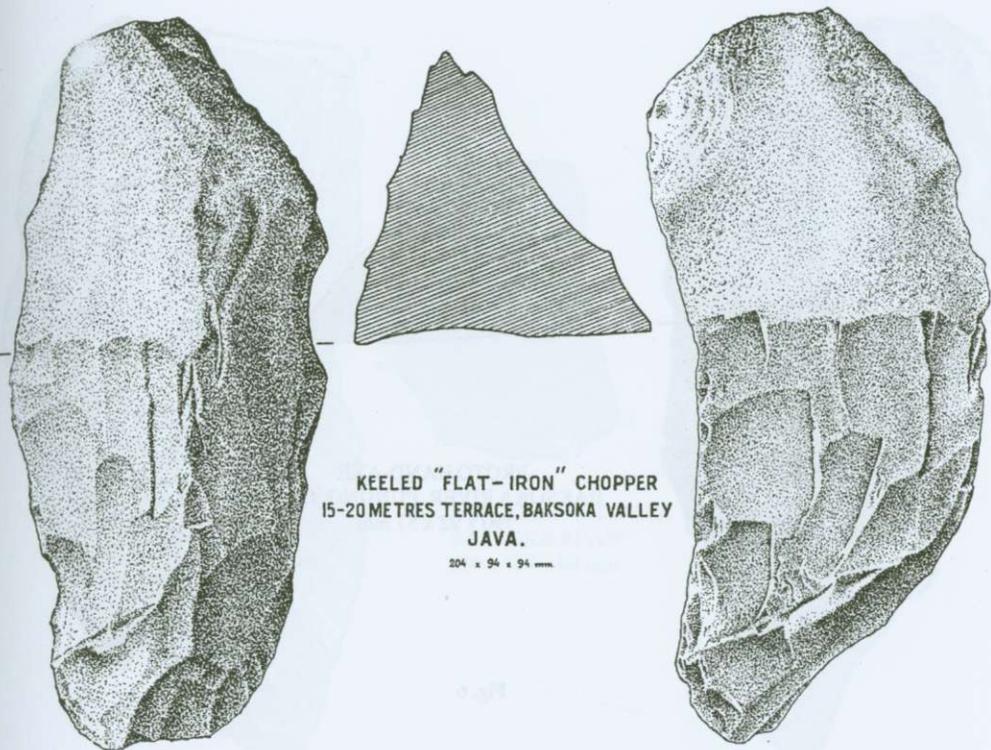


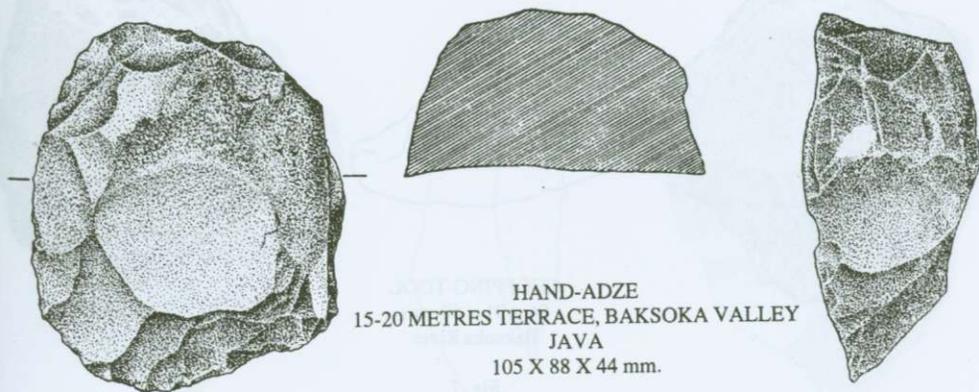
Fig. 3 Location of sites



KEELED "FLAT-IRON" CHOPPER
15-20 METRES TERRACE, BAKSOKA VALLEY
JAVA.

204 x 94 x 94 mm.

Fig. 4



HAND-ADZE
15-20 METRES TERRACE, BAKSOKA VALLEY
JAVA

105 X 88 X 44 mm.

Fig. 5



Fig. 6

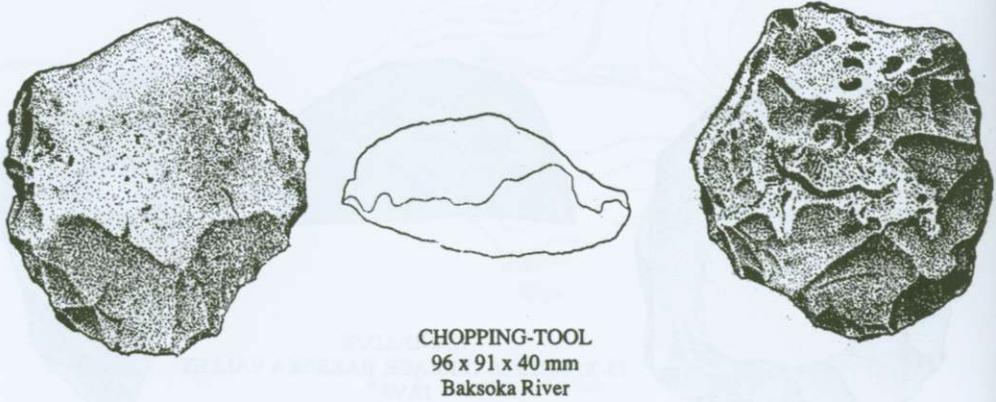


Fig. 7

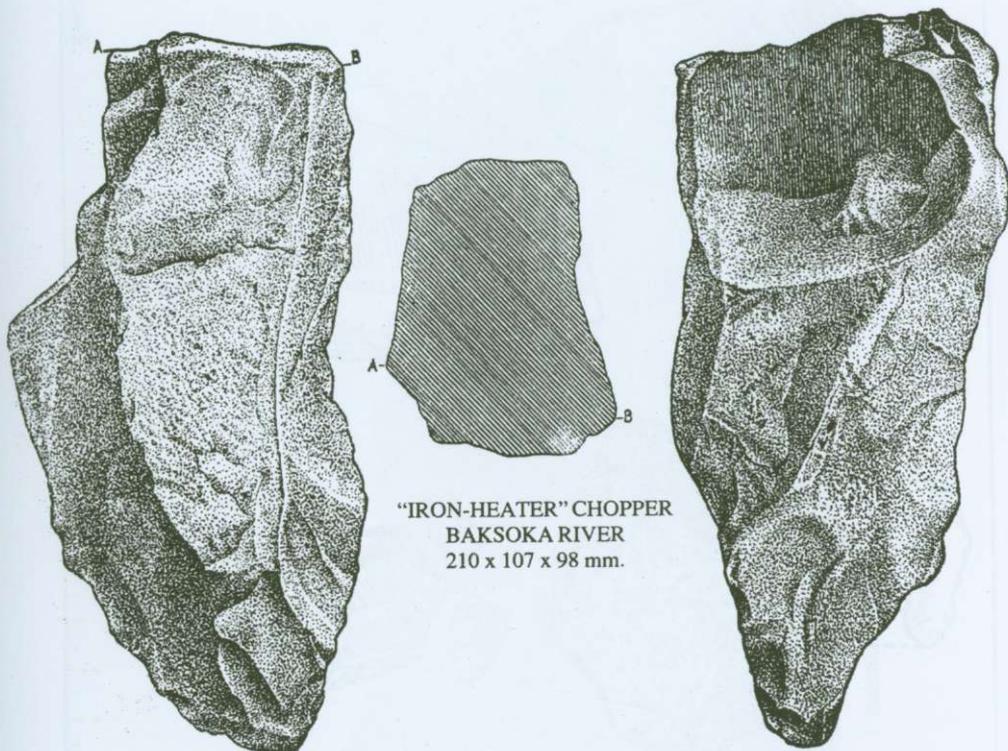
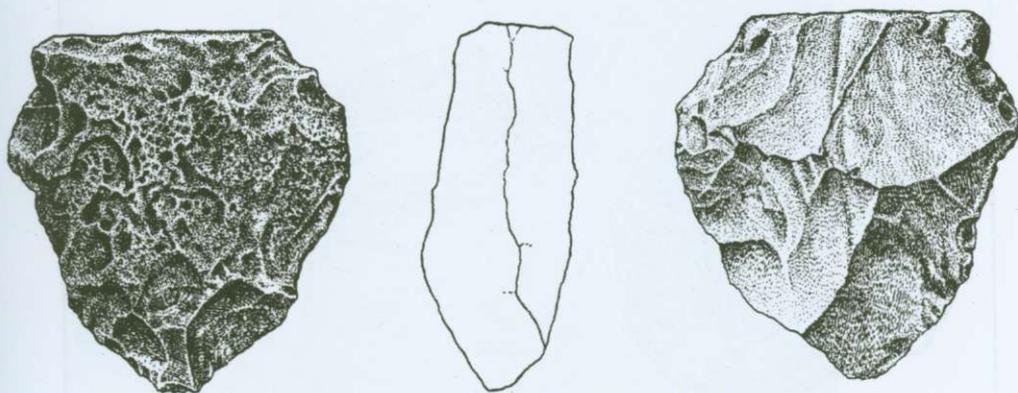
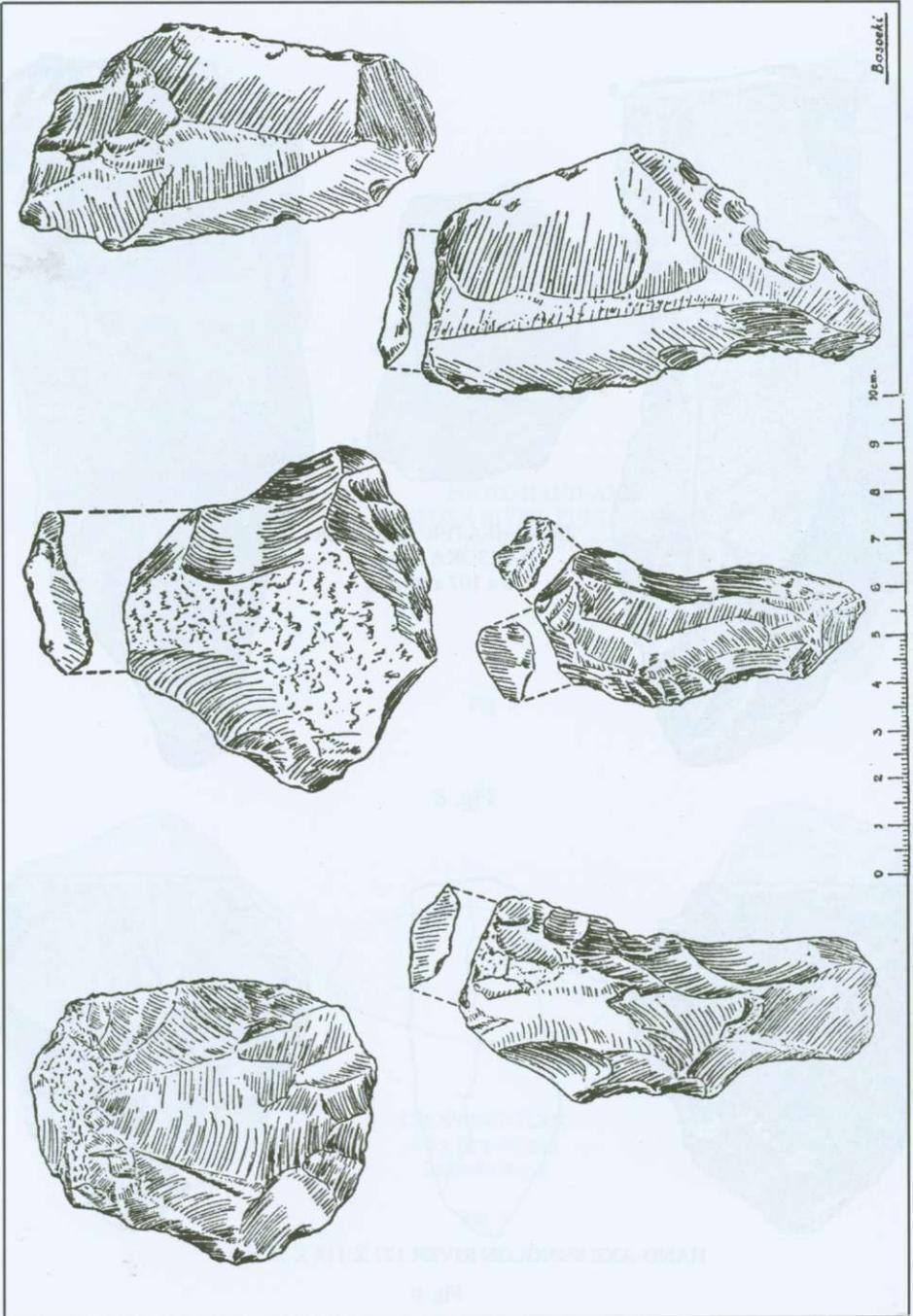


Fig. 8



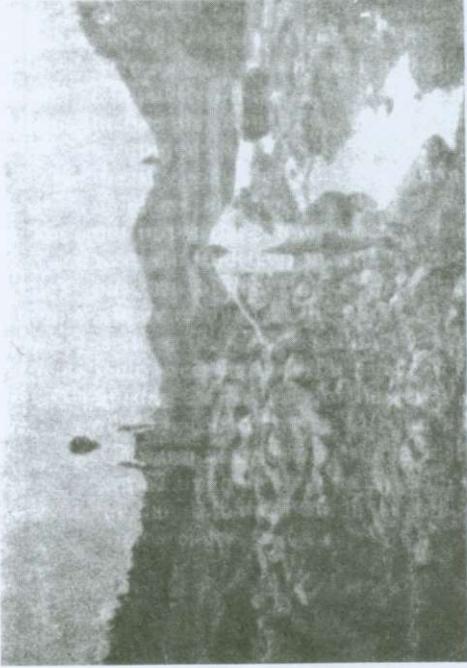
HAND-AXE SUNGLON RIVER 127 X 118 X 56 mm.

Fig. 9





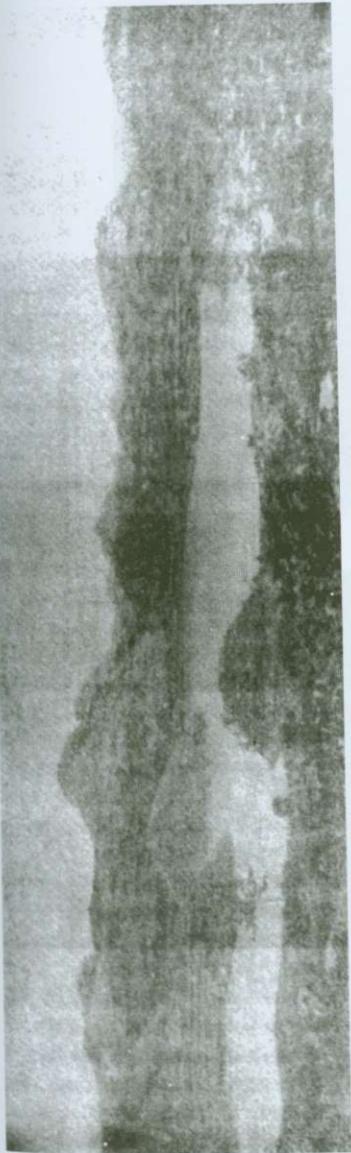
Pl. 1 Baksoka Valley



Pl. 2 Implementiferous bouldergravel 1 1/2 metres above the Baksoka river



Pl. 3 Karstified Hills near Tabuhan. 'Sewu' mountains.



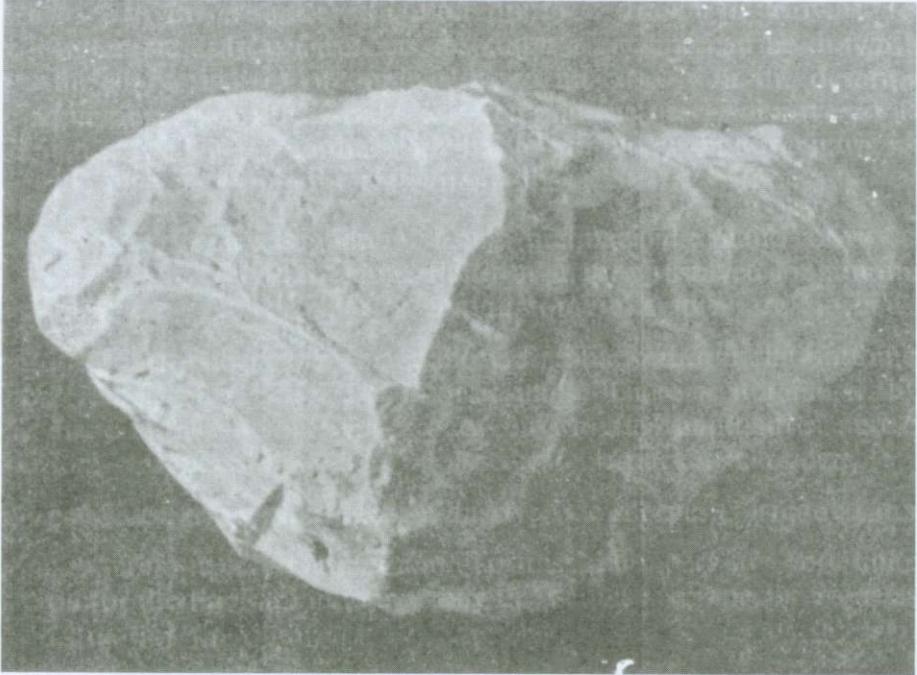
Pl. 4 Lake Gujang Warak near Punung



Pl. 5 Gedeh River



Pl. 6 Gedeh River

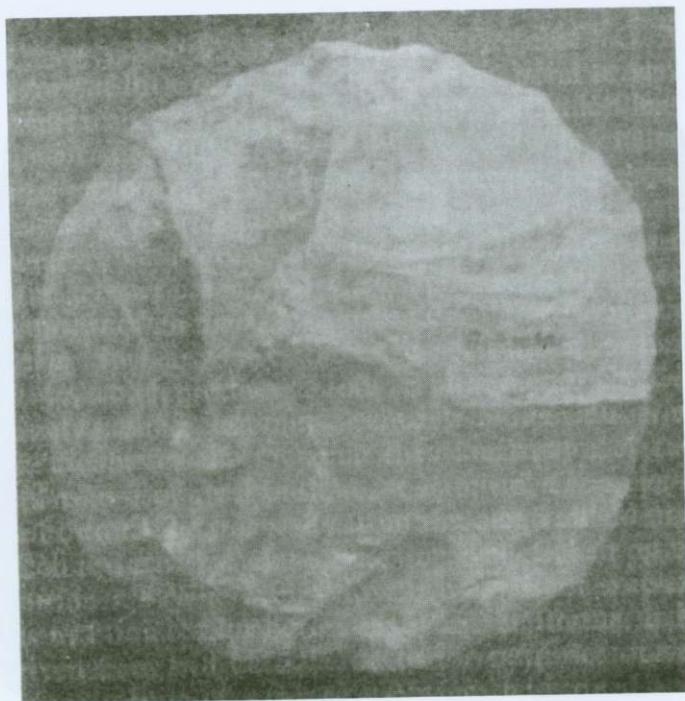


Pl. 7b



Pl. 7a

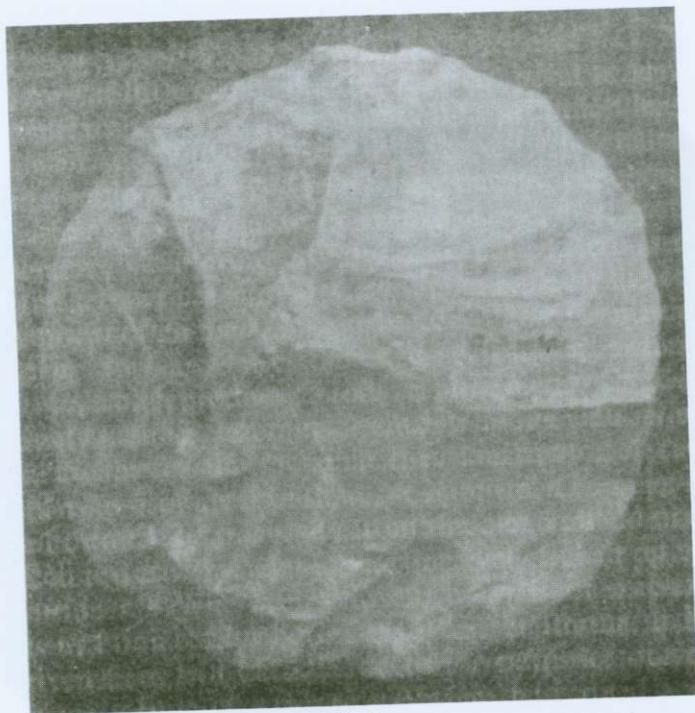
Long bivalacial hand-axe
Baksoka River



Pl. 8a



Pl. 8b
Dislike Biface
Baksoka River



Pl. 8a



Pl. 8b
Dislike Biface
Baksoka River



Pl. 9b



Pl. 9a

Hand-axe
Sunglon River

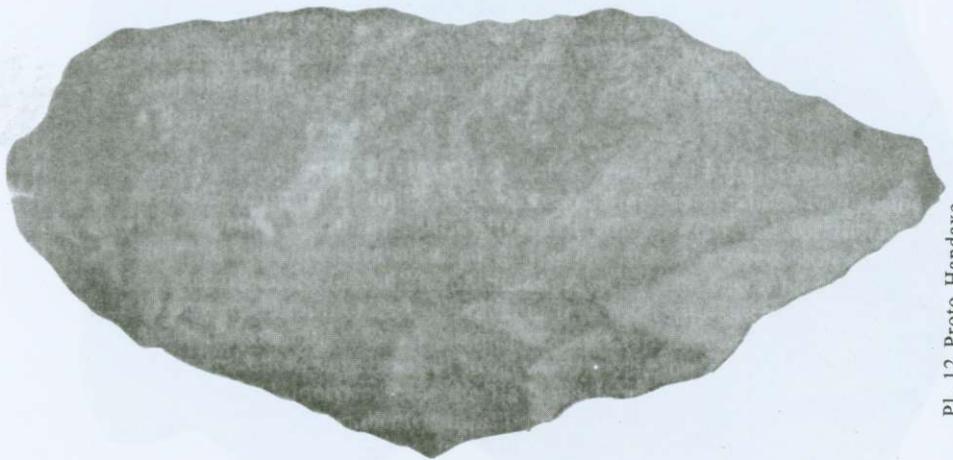


Pl. 10b



Pl. 10a

Chopping-tool
Gedeh River



Pl. 12 Proto Handaxe
Baksoka River



Pl. 11 'Flat-iron' chopper
Baksoka River

H. S. SHARMA

The results on the various and 12 specimens of single ...



Pl. 13 Flake-tools. Baksoka River

The majority of specimens that were found at a ...

In 1925 ...

PROTO-HISTORIC SARCOPHAGI ON BALI

by

H. R. van HEEKEREN

The records on the existence and the discoveries of stone sarcophagi on the Island of Bali are scattered over some newspaper articles, in which precise information is commonly lacking, and a few articles in the magazine „Nederlandsch Indië Oud en Nieuw”, which I shall quote briefly.

The only expert on this subject, the late Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, excavated one or more sarcophagi in 1931, but he never published any report. This paper, therefore, can give no more than a rather gloomy account of a series of dubious records, gross negligence and desecrations of sarcophagi so far as they have been found.

At the end I will deal with the results of a recent excavation of two sarcophagi at Nongan, the contents of which have unfortunately been lost. Having finished the excavation, we visited the other sarcophagi, the main purpose being to study them closer and make additional notes.

In my work I was assisted by Mr Soejono and Mr Basuki.

Tanggahan-Pekan

The first to discover a sarcophagus on Bali was the Officer P. de Kat Angelino ¹⁾ although he did not grasp its meaning. In 1921 in the Pura Penataran in the village of Tanggahan-Pekan (Susut, Bangli) he noticed an object that must be sacred because it was covered by a white-cloth. When, on his request the cloth was taken away, he saw what according to the Balinese, was a stone ship, but he himself took it for a stone pig-trough. The photograph which accompanies his article, however, clearly proves that it was a small sarcophagus with typical knobs, two on the front and two on the back ; the lid was absent.

On inquiry it appeared that the stone had been found in a ricefield some thirty years ago. A few years later, when an epidemical eye-disease broke out which affected almost everybody, the stone was moved to the temple. There it is worshipped now as a copy of the ship of the Goddess Ida Ratu Mas Meketel who is married to the Batara of the Raung volcano in East Java and lives on the shore of Lake Batur. The stone, so the story runs, grows some centimetres every year.

In 1928 Mooijen visited the same stone coffin which was moved in the meantime into the sanctuary. The greatest length of the cist is only 0.97 metres and the greatest breadth 0.58 metres. This specimen is, as far as we could find out, the smallest ever found on Bali ²⁾

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1. Kat Angelino, P. de
1921-1922. Hindoe of Heiden, *Nederlandsch Indië Oud en Nieuw*.
6e jaargang, p. 281-285,
 2. Mooijen, P. A. J.
1929 : Steenen Doodkisten op Bali., *Nederlandsch Indië Oud
en Nieuw*, 13e jaarg., p. 313-316.

Manuaba

Some years later, in January 1925, Mr. E. Evertsen discovered two large sarcophagi in the rice-fields near the village of Manuaba, east of Tegallalang. The mutual distance between the two is approximately 150 metres. Both are extending in north-south direction. Nieuwenkamp³⁾ was the first to describe them and he published a good drawing of the best preserved example.

At that time neither Nieuwenkamp nor Mooijen⁴⁾ did recognize the significance of the objects under consideration; the former, however, was already on the right track when in the last part of his paper he assumed that it was not improbable that the so called troughs were prehistoric graves of which some examples had already been found in Java and elsewhere.

On our tour we visited Manuaba on the 7th November 1954. Manuaba I is the best preserved one. A small sanctuary has been built over the grave, which is named after the sarcophagus: Pura Batu Lusu. It had partially sunk in the ground. Front and back have the same breadth: 0.90 metres. The greatest length of the lid where it meets the coffin is 2.59 metres. It is the biggest sarcophagus so far found on Bali. In the middle of the lid is an oblong ridge; the longest sides of lid and coffin have two protruding knobs (30 X 35 centimetres). Consequently, the whole sarcophagus has eight knobs.

Manuaba II greatly corresponds with the former, but the breadth at the north part (0.90 metres) is greater than at the south (0.75 metres). The greatest length is 2.54 metres; the knobs are well preserved and protrude 13 centimetres.

The sarcophagi round Tegallalang are so large that the dead could easily be buried at full length; besides, they are large enough to contain more than one body.

It is to be noted that in the Pura Dalam at Manuaba, fragments of a stone mould with a clearly recognizable mask ornament, are stored. It is the mould of a large 'mokko' (a later form of kettledrums) of the Pedjeng type; hence, these drums were not imported, the smelting of bronze from copper and lead (or copper and tin) and the practise of casting drums were well-known on Bali. It seems reasonable to suppose that the drums of the Pedjeng type antedate the hindu-balinese period.

Kaliki

Another large sarcophagus, of which the lid is absent, was found in the Pura Gunung Kawi⁵⁾, west of Tegallalang. On the 9th November 1954 the place was visited by my co-operators; several drawings, photographs and additional notes were made. The greatest length is 2.37 metres, the breadth at the south part 0.85 metres, at the north 0.88 metres. The

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3. Nieuwenkamp, W.O.J. 1926 : Van eenige raadselachtige voorwerpen en een weinig bekende kluizenarij op Bali. *Nederlandsch Indië Oud en Nieuw*, lie jaarg. p. 90-93,
 4. Mooijen, P. A. J., 1926 : *Kunst op Bali*. p. 109,
 5. Goris, R. en Dronkers, P. L., 1952: *Bali. Cults and Customs*. Photograph 111.

greatest height 0.65-0.58 metres. The round protruding knobs at the westside have a diameter of 50 centimetres, those at the eastside 48 X 51 and 40 X 50 centimetres respectively.

Busungbiyu

In May 1928, a small sarcophagus was brought to light at an old burial place in the rice fields of Lebah Sangga near Busungbiyu along the road from Buleleng to Tabanan in North Bali. Dr Korn ⁶ was the first to give a description, while Mooijen ⁷ published more details and added some drawings and a photograph after its reconstruction.

It appeared that the sarcophagus had not been disturbed. One of its short sides bore two knobs on the cist as well as on the lid, the other short side had only one. Made of soft tuff, the greatest length was 1.10 metres and the greatest breadth as well as the height 0.80 metres.

After having been opened, it displayed an adult human skeleton in ultra contracted position. The find would have been of much greater importance, had there been an expert to guide the excavation. No photographs were taken, and the skeleton fell to pieces because the bones had not been prepared before they were touched. Even so, this discovery will prove to be sufficiently important to suggest an interpretation of the meaning of the small sarcophagi. The sarcophagus also contained an oxidized bronze fragment. The inhabitants of Busungbiyu reported that formerly four other sarcophagi were found, which contained bronze rings and a spear-head.

Petang

In 1930, September 16, near the village of Petang near Denpasar, the reparation of a road brought to light several sarcophagi which appeared to have been interred in an old burial place. The site was littered with potsherds among which occurred those of gourd-shaped pots with long, straight necks. When Korn ⁸ arrived at the spot, three sarcophagi had already been smashed and looted. Unfortunately, it is not clear at all from the newspaper article on this find, which are Korn's own records and which the workmen's. One of the sarcophagi contained a human skeleton in a squatted position but again, upon touching them, the bones were reduced to powder owing to the above mentioned negligence. The sarcophagus had the same dimensions as the Busungbiyu example, only there were two knobs at the front and two on the back, both on coffin and lid. The excavation also yielded many bronze objects, which comprises a number of rings of various sizes, some of them flat, others round; large hollow anklets or bracelets are 12 centimetres in diametres; peculiar spiral-shaped fingerings which cover the whole finger ⁹ and fragments of tangentspirals, forming parts of a necklace ¹⁰. It is worth noting that Dr Korn also reports the occurrence of stone axes and spear-heads,

6. Korn, V. E. 1928 : Lijkbezorging op Bali, *De Locomotief*, 120.

7. Mooijen, P. A. J. Parassteenen doodkisten op Noord Bali.
1929a : *Mensch en Maatschappij*, 5e jaargang.
1929b : Steenen Doodkisten op Bali, *Nederlandsch Indië Oud en Nieuw*, 13e jaargang, p. 313-316.

8. Korn, V. E. 1930 : Een Oud-Balische Begraafplaats, 244.

9. Hoop, A. N. J. Th. à. *Catalogus der Praehistorische Verzameling*, see number 1466. Microscopic research carried out by Dr W. Lubberhuizen proved that the rings still contain fragment of phalanges

10. *Ibid* see page 285, number 1471

which proves that stone had been maintained as material for tools at the time that metal was introduced on Bali. Unfortunately again, no description of the tools was added, nor, for that matter, is there record of their present whereabouts.

Bheng, Gianyar

From a rambling statement in one of the numbers of *De Java Bode* of 1931, it appears that van Stein Callenfels has excavated at least one sarcophagus at Bheng. The catalogue of the Jakarta Museum mentions, under the numbers 1447-1457, some bronze objects which seem to be originating- from Bheng, but whether they have been found in the sarcophagi is not clear. There is, however, sufficient proof that these objects really belong to the Bheng find ¹¹⁾ They consist of anklets, bracelets, fingerrings, small U-shaped beard pincers, spiral ornaments, peaked bell-shaped pendants and a number of small-sized shovels. The latter are too fragile for utensils and were meant as funeral gifts. The spiral ornaments are fragments of tangent spirals which formed part of a necklace or necklaces ¹²⁾.

Pujungan

During levelling at Pujungan on the road from Buleleng to Tabanan in 1950, another small sarcophagus came to light. The workmen smashed one of the lid's sides and pocketed the funeral gifts.

Dronkers ¹³⁾ published a photograph of the sarcophagus after it had been smashed and another with some funeral gifts. It contained no skeleton ; the inhabitants, on the contrary, told us that human bones had been found and that they had cremated them according to the Balinese custom. The sarcophagus had two knobs at the front and the back of lid and coffin.

The site was inspected by our team on the 6th of November 1954. The sarcophagus was for the greatest part covered with shrubs and earth and did not show much. Fortunately, most of the finds are still preserved by the villagehead. There are three necklaces ¹⁴⁾ composed of 30-40 tangent-spirals which are linked together by small rings. The length of the three bronze necklaces range from 69 to 89 to 99 centimetres ; the largest spirals of the three chains, are in the middle, whence the spirals diminish in size towards the ends where they measure 9.2 milimetres in diameter. There are in addition three simple flat bronze bracelets with a diameter of respectively 51.5, 61.5 and 55.9 milimetres. The last is decorated with incised parallel lines. Then there are some beads, one of which is made of carnelian (22.9 X 23.6 milimetres) and two beads of pale blue glass, 7.8 and 7.5 milimetres long respectively.

11. <i>Ibid</i>	1447	small shovels ;
	1448	3 bell-shaped pendants;
	1449	1 small shaped : 55 x 50 x 13 milimetres ;
	1450	3 human teeth ;
	1451	78 fragments of small shovels ;
	1452	11 spiral ornaments with a diameter of 17 mm ;
	1453	4 fragments of spiral ornaments ;
	1454	27 rings, round, the ends bent against each other .
	1455	1 U-shaped beard pincers;
	1456	3 round rings ;
	1457	1 ring, bent, screw-like with an interspace of 59 mm. between the ends.

Lake Bratan

A number of stone troughs on the shore and mountain slopes of Lake Bratan had remained unnoticed till the late Dr W.F. Stutterheim reported them in a short note¹⁵⁾. They are approximately one metre long and half a metre deep. The author reports that they are always found in odd pairs, and that no lids have been discovered, further, that the troughs have no special grooves in which to fit the lids (in this respect I want to emphasize that the Balinese sarcophagi have no special grooves, either).

The inhabitants of this area assumed that the objects in question had a meaning in connection with former human sacrifice and this may be an indication that they once contained human bones.

The importance of the discovery lies partly in the fact that it shows quite distinctive features of its own. The primary problem, however, is whether or not the stone troughs are sarcophagi. In some respects they bear resemblance to them. Their occurrence in pairs suggests that one is the coffin, the other the lid. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that there are no differences in shape between coffins and lids on Bali.

There is, however, one notable difference. The Bratan troughs have no protruding knobs and this is an essential characteristic of the Balinese sarcophagi.

It seems clear from these observations that no definite opinion can be expressed regarding the meaning of the Bratan stone troughs. One large stone trough has been reported, too, east of Candikoening near Tabanan¹⁶⁾ and another one is in the Pura Dalam near Denpasar.

12. see footnote 14.

13. Goris, R. and Dronkers, P. L. 1952 : *Bali. Cults and Customs*. Photographs 112 and 113.

14. Fischer, H. W. 1909: *Catalogus 's Rijks Ethn. Museum*. Vol IV. Leiden. The picture on page 11 shows a bronze necklace (*fohu mbagi*) which is almost similar with the Pudjungan necklaces. The necklace was collected in 1894 on the Island of Nias.

15. Stutterheim, W. F. 1935 : *Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen (megalithen op Bali)*. *Bijdr. Taal, Land en Volk*. 92.

16. *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 53, Bijlage III.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT NONGAN

a. Introduction

In the first half of 1954 Mr J.C. Krijgsman, assistant-inspector of the Archaeological Service of the Republic Indonesia, reported the find of a sarcophagus at Petian east of Nongan near the road from Klungkung to Rendang. According to Resident Oka, the stone coffin was found when the same area was cleared in 1930. It was opened and robbed of its funeral goods, among which was a 'kris', by someone unknown ; but as the robbery was followed by a sudden death in the village, the robber returned the 'kris' to the coffin and planted a Cambodia tree on the spot as an atonement.

Although it was known that the grave had been disturbed, we decided to examine the site.

When visiting the site, the above-mentioned tree was found. Mr Krijgsman made the necessary arrangements with the officials who cooperated whole heartedly in the enterprise. Permission was given to undertake an excavation but on the condition that prior to the excavation, sacrificial ceremonies (*banten*) had to be given at three different places : firstly at the site proper, secondly in the Pura Bukit Jinjing and finally in the Pura Balang Tamak. The last mentioned sanctuary was named after a legendary person called Pan Balang Tamak who can be compared more or less with the European Tyll Owlglass. The population assumed that the coffin was the burial place or the treasury of the said Balang Tamak. This was the reason that our excavation aroused an extraordinary interest, and people from as far as Karang Asem came to witness our work. During the fieldwork we were accomodated by a Balinese family at Petian.

b. The excavation

After the sacrificial ceremonies, groundlevelling and excavation started October, 27, 1954 ; the activities lasted till November, 3.

The main features revealed by this small excavation are as follows : the first day, parts of two lids of small sarcophagi were exposed to view, lying close together and parallel to each other in northwest-southeast direction. The ground, a black humus, was excavated as far as the junction of lids and coffins. The westside of the eastern coffin appeared to be smashed completely ; the other had a hole in the southwest portion of its lid.

To lift the lids succesfully a scaffold with a Weston pulleyblock was built over the graves. After the lids had been lifted it appeared that the coffins were entirely filled up with clay ; they were carefully emptied. The eastern coffin did not yield any cultural finds ; the western coffin contained a few objects which will be described later together with the finds which were discovered outside the graves.

The excavation was continued in order to study the structure of the coffins proper and to get an insight in the sequences of the various earth-layers. Apparently the structure, the shape and the measurements of both lids and coffins were exactly the same. In other words the lids are coffins upside down. Both lids and coffins have one knob in front and back.

Consequently a complete sarcophagus has in total four knobs. The greatest length of the sarcophagi is respectively 105 and 101 centimetres and the greatest height is 130 centimetres. The breadth of the northern portion (78 centimetres) is greater than of the southern one (66 centimetres). It is evident, therefore, that these sarcophagi held bodies that were buried in a squatted position. The lateral view of both sarcophagi is that of a circle with flat bottom and top, whereas the front view is that of two joined isosceles trapeziums; all four sides are sloping. Further particulars about shape and measurements are clearly demonstrated in the figures and photographs.

Some insight was gained into the soilstratigraphy ; we could easily define four different layers according to their colour and composition :

- I. a thick layer of black humus ;
- II. a thin band of red clay ;
- III. a thin band of grey-blue granular soil ;
- IV. a stratum of yellow loam.

Soil examples were taken and analysed at the "Algemeen Proefstation" at Bogor. The results will be published later.

Soil stratigraphy is sometimes very instructive, but it can not be denied that owing to the lack of systematic archaeological fieldwork, the present knowledge in this field of science in tropical regions is very inadequate. This excavation revealed that the stone coffins proper had been buried in the older layers.

c. The finds

Since both sarcophagi have been looted formerly, finds were scarce. As was stated before, the east sarcophagus was sterile as regards cultural relics ; the other one yielded the following finds :

- 1 small fragile piece of bronze wire ;
- 2 carnelian beads measuring respectively 13.7 X 14.1 millimetres and 12.9 X 12.9 millimetres ;
- 2 fragments of an iron object ;

Outside the sarcophagus also some finds were made, notably : sherds of a small pot, of a large pot, of a small bowl and 1 fragment of bronze measuring 49.3 X 27.7 X 17.8 millimetres. The sherds of the small and large pot were sufficiently complete for reconstruction but the rimsherds and other sherds of the small bowl were too few for reconstructing purposes. The shapes of the undecorated and round-based pots which probably have served as food vessels, were very simple. The question if these pots have been originally placed in or outside the coffins still remains in suspense.

The two heavily oxidized iron fragments belong to one object, probably to a spear-head.

It is worth noting that not a single human bone fragment or tooth was found.

CONCLUSIONS

The amount of data at our disposal is sufficient to give in a necessarily limited way a picture of the material culture and mode of life on proto-historic Bali.

Up to the hindu-balinese period, from which the oldest inscription dates from 896 A.D., Bali was the centre of a culture which was associated with the belief in immortality and ancestor worship. There is ample evidence that the Balinese were already familiar with metal-working (bronze and iron). The sarcophagi thusfar found fall into two groups :

- a. small sarcophagi, measuring from 0.90 metres up to 1.20 meters in length. Shape and measurements made it reasonable to infer that the deceased were buried in a squatted position, and this surmise became true at the discovery of sarcophagi at Busungbiyu and Petang in which human skeletons were found lying in a contracted position together with their weapons and ornaments.
- b. large sarcophagi measuring more than two and a half metres. There seems to be little doubt with regard to the fact that the bodies were buried in a stretched position. Only three large sarcophagi are known on Bali thusfar; all three were situated near Tegallalang. Whether they are distinct local variations or older or younger forms of the small sarcophagi is not clear for we possess no knowledge whatsoever of the grave goods in the large sarcophagi.

Lids and coffins of both the small and large sarcophagi are hewn out of one block of stone; the small ones are made of tuff, the larger of breccia. They all have protruding knobs on bodies and lids, the larger on the long sides, the smaller on the short sides. As to the meaning of these knobs, it is possible that they served as handles, to facilitate their transport, or to tie coffin and lids together. But a magic meaning cannot entirely be disregarded, too.

The funeral gifts, found in the small sarcophagi, give us some important information. In the first place, almost all the metal objects are made of bronze. It is true that two fragments of an iron weapon were discovered at Nongan, but this is only an exception. Beautiful chains consisting of a number of bronze tangentspirals have been discovered at Pujungan and similar spirals came to light at Petang and Bheng. They are not only examples of the skillful bronze workmanship of this period, but as tangentspirals have played an important part in the Dongson Period of Indo-China, they also provide evidence that Dongson elements infused the Balinese Early Metal Age. But on Bali there are also some new culture elements like the peculiar bronze ceremonial shovels, which are the more remarkable because they do not occur anywhere else.

The round-based pots of Nongan are but little elaborate and hardly characteristic. Similar pots are still made in Indonesia and some Dayak tribes use them as funeral gifts. Records tell us that some gourd-like pots have been found at Petang, but no pictures are at our disposal.

It is remarkable that beads are scarce; one carnelian bead and some glassbeads were discovered at Pujungan and two carnelian beads at Nongan. Carnelian beads are well known in the Dongson culture, but they are absent in the megalithic graves of Besuki in Java.

It is noteworthy to state again that at Petang, together with bronze objects, also stone tools of a neolithic habitus came to light ¹⁷. It is obvious therefore, that stone tools occupied a place in man's equipment throughout the Early Metal Age, because copper-ore was seemingly scarce and expensive.

The sarcophagi at Busungbiyu and Petang were found in an old burial place ; from this it might be inferred that only chieftains or other important persons were interred in stone sarcophagi whereas the common people were buried in the ground or in wooden coffins.

As has already been mentioned, some Dongson influences have been noticed on Bali. Now the Dongson culture is characterised by bronze kettledrums which were used as ceremonial objects of great importance and as funeral gifts. It would therefore, be reasonable to infer that the large bronze 'mokkos' of the Pejeng type ¹⁸ which antedate the hindu-balinese period notably 300-600 A.D. and which are in fact local variations of kettledrums; are connected with the culture of the sarcophagus builders. Besides, I should like to repeat that stone moulds of a Pejeng-type *mokko* with masked figures were found in the neighbourhood of stone sarcophagi at Manuaba.

The sarcophagi thusfar discovered are all accidental finds and the chances are that more will be discovered.

17. At *Dongson*, too, neolithic tools were discovered in the Han stratum

18. Nieuwenkamp, W.O.J., De trom met de hoofden te Pedjeng op Bali. *Bijdragen Taal, Land en Volkenkunde*, 81, p. 319-338.

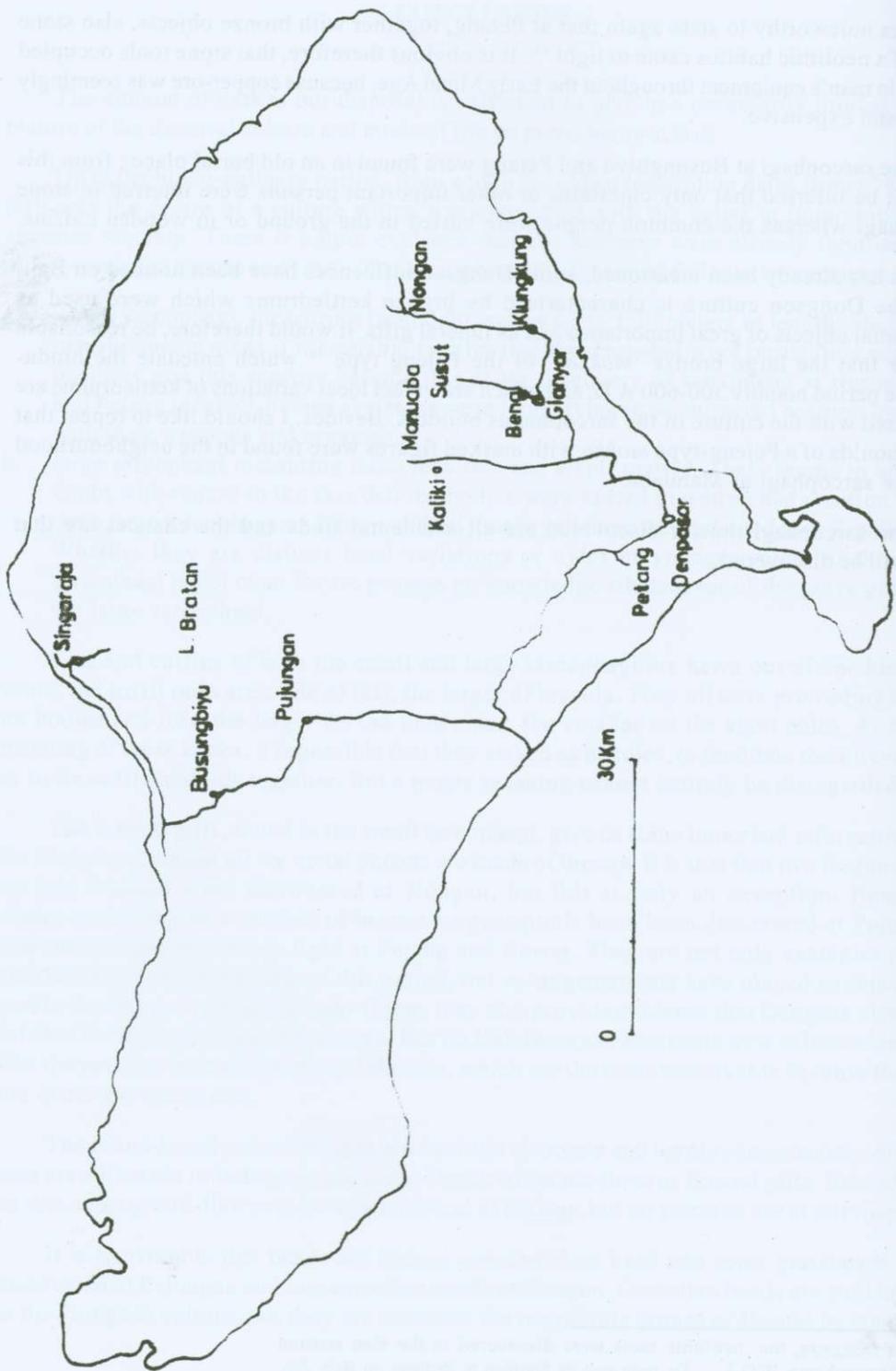


Fig. 1 Map of Bali. Location of the various sites

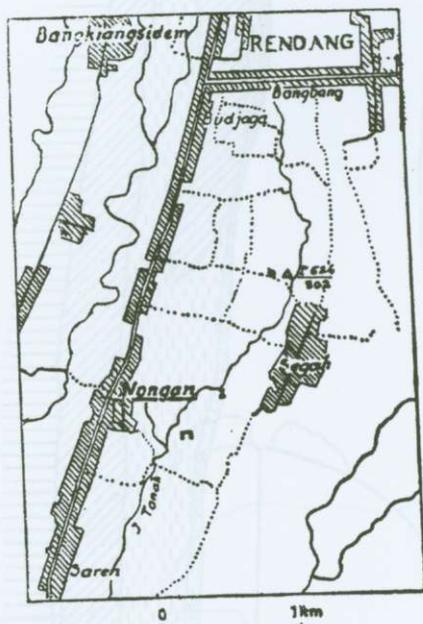


Fig. 2 Nongan and Segah

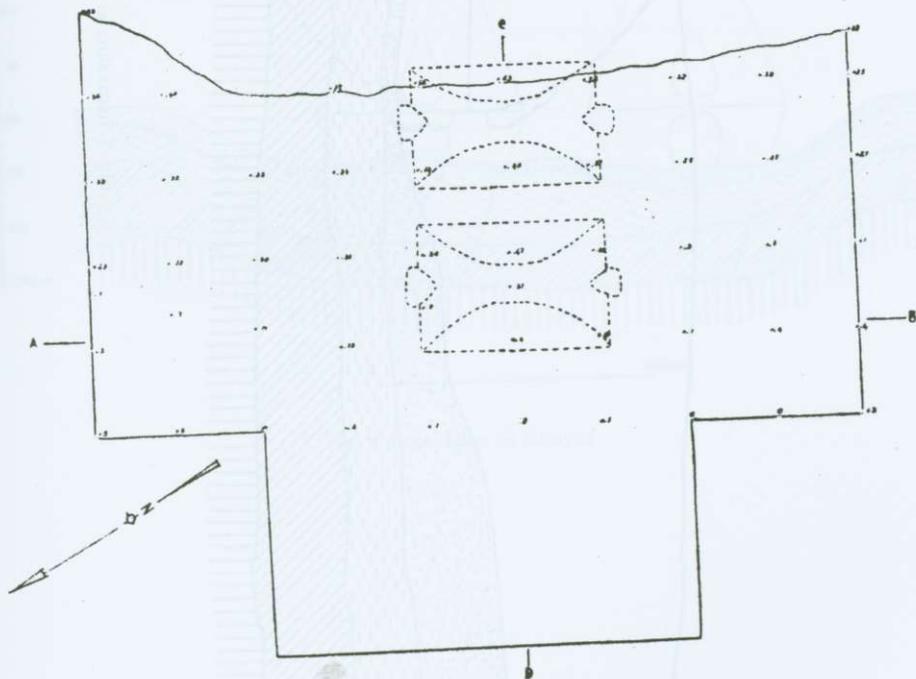


Fig. 3 Excavation at Nongan

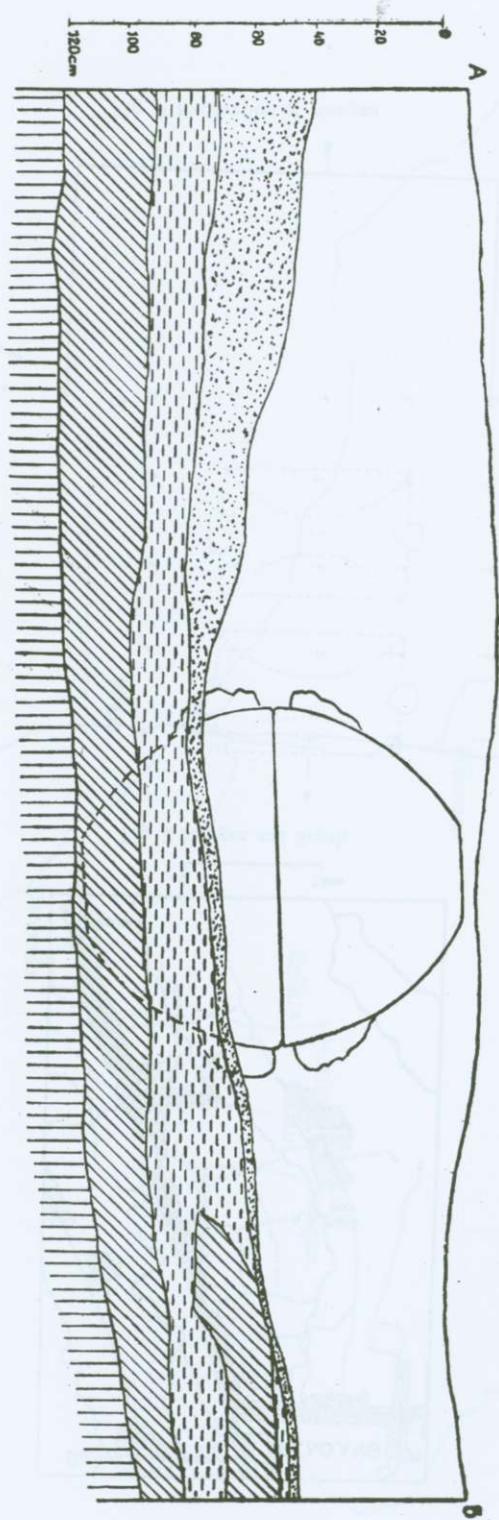


Fig. 5 Excavation at Nonggan

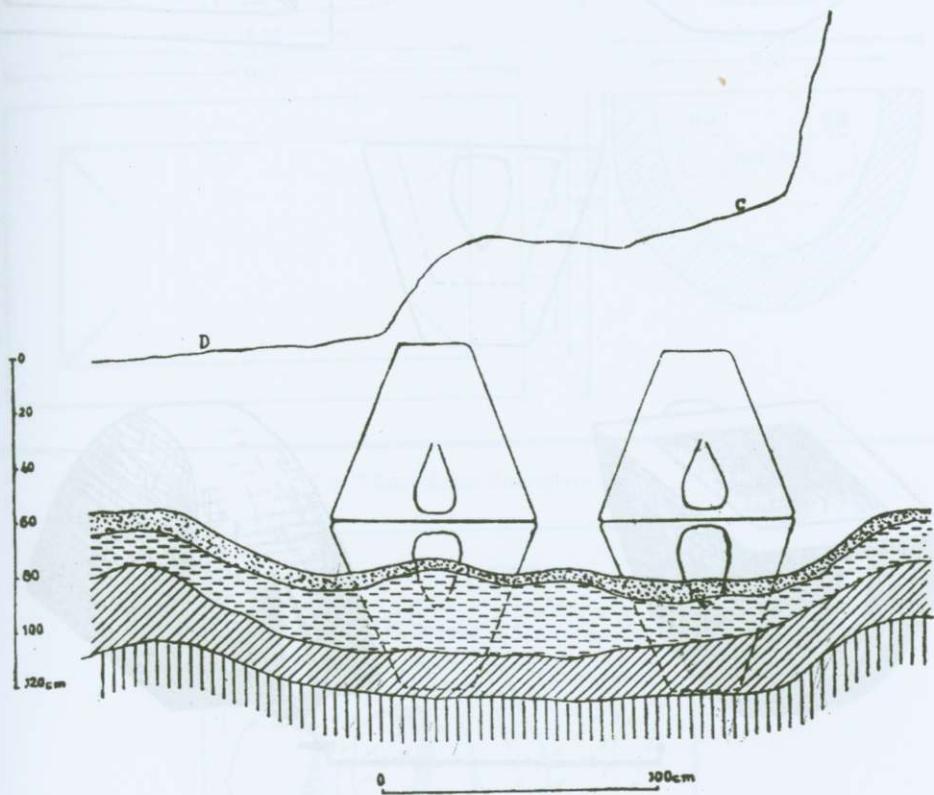


Fig. 4 Excavation at Nongan

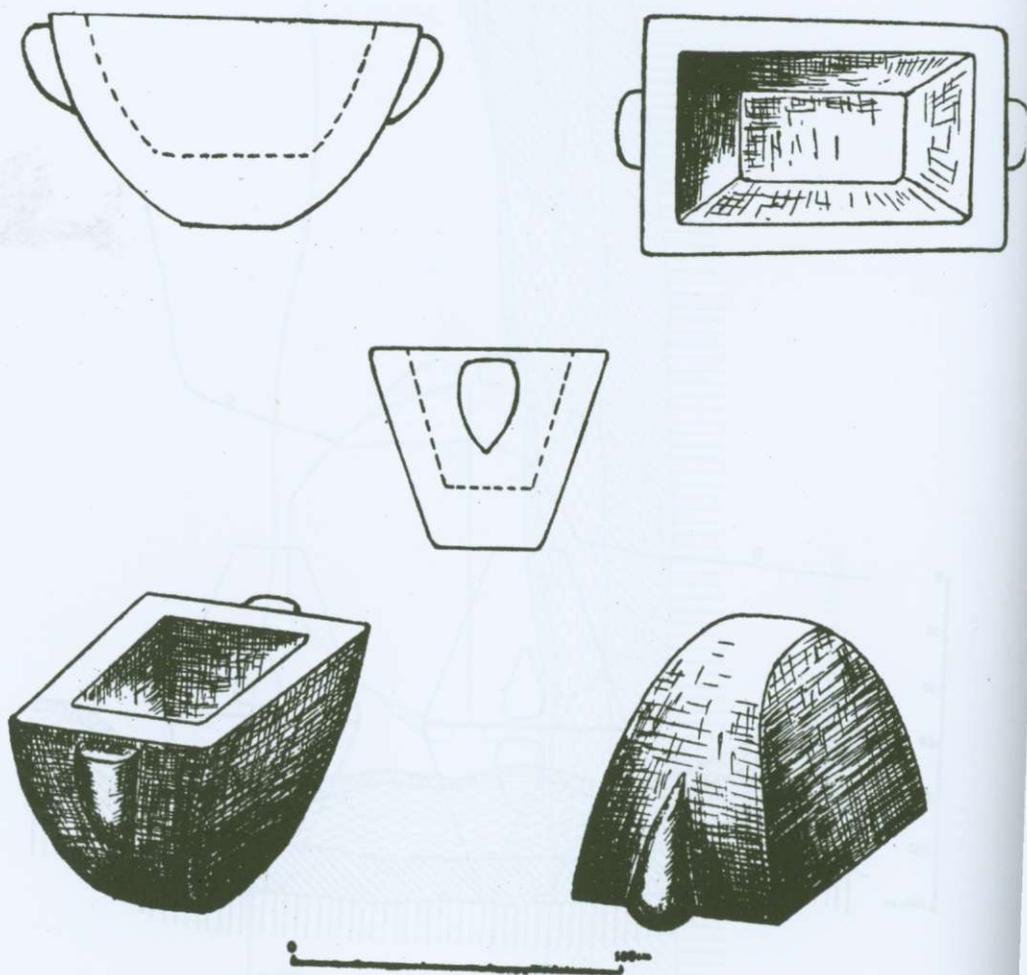


Fig. 6 Sarcophagus of Nongan

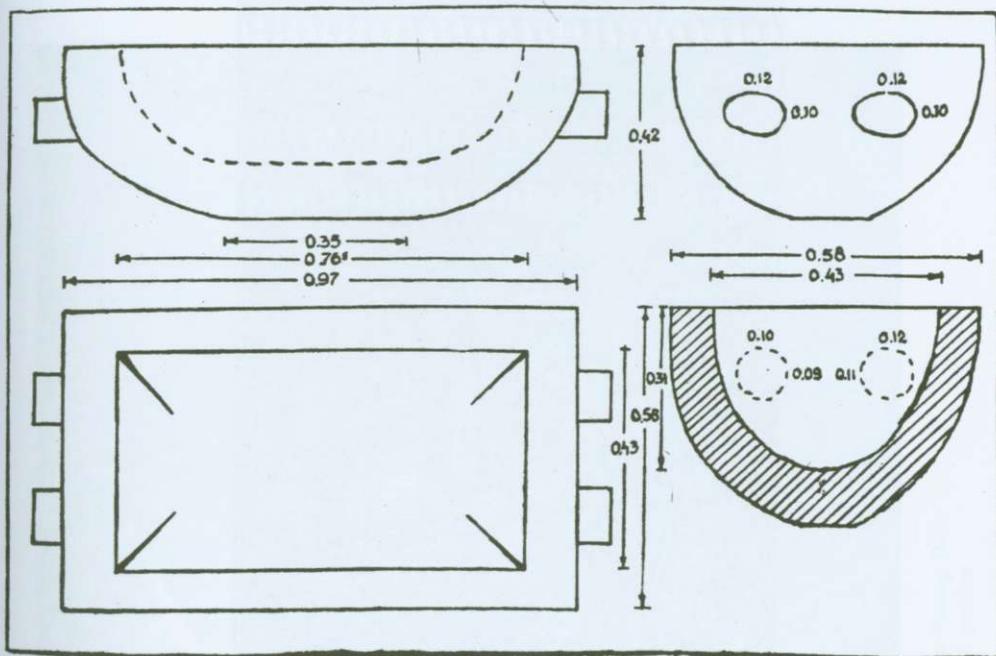


Fig. 7 Sarcophagus Busungbiyu

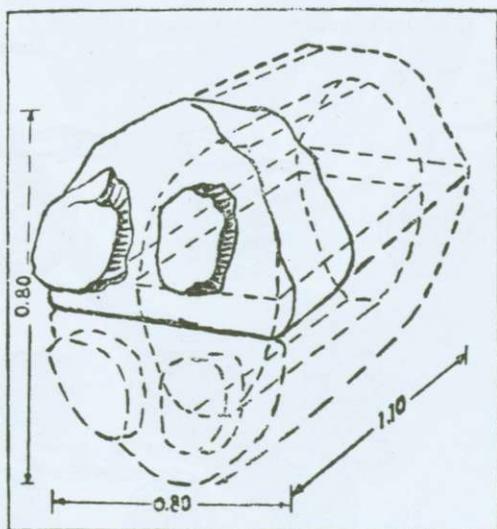


Fig. 8 Sarcophagus Busungbiyu



Fig. 9 Maskornament on the drum of Pejeng



Fig. 10 Funeral gifts Bheng



Pl. 1 A Sarcophagus excavated near Petang, Bali.
The dead is interred in flexed position



Pl. 2 Sarcophagus Busungbiyu



Pl. 3 Sarcophagus Pujungan

EXCAVATIONS at NONGAN

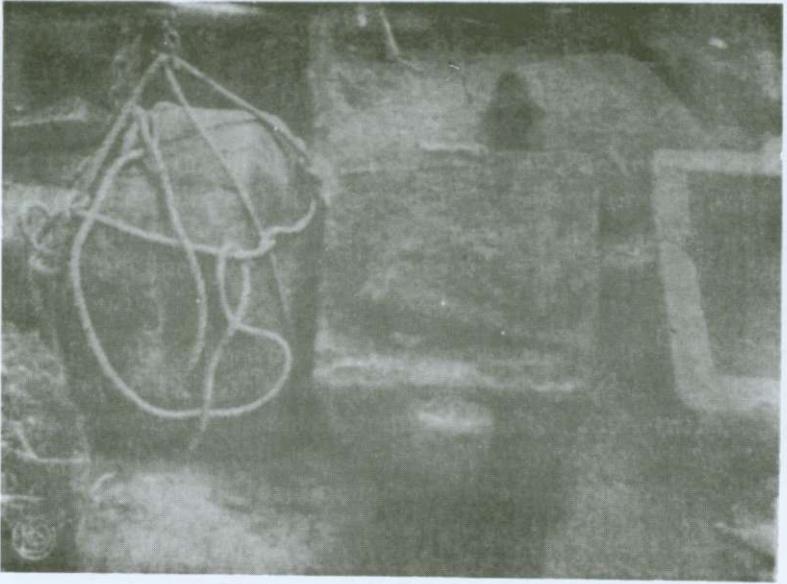


Pl. 4

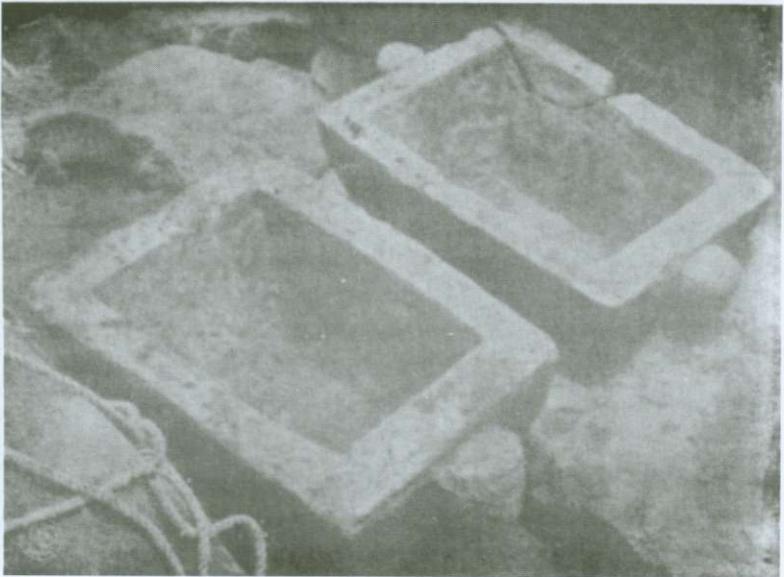


Pl. 5

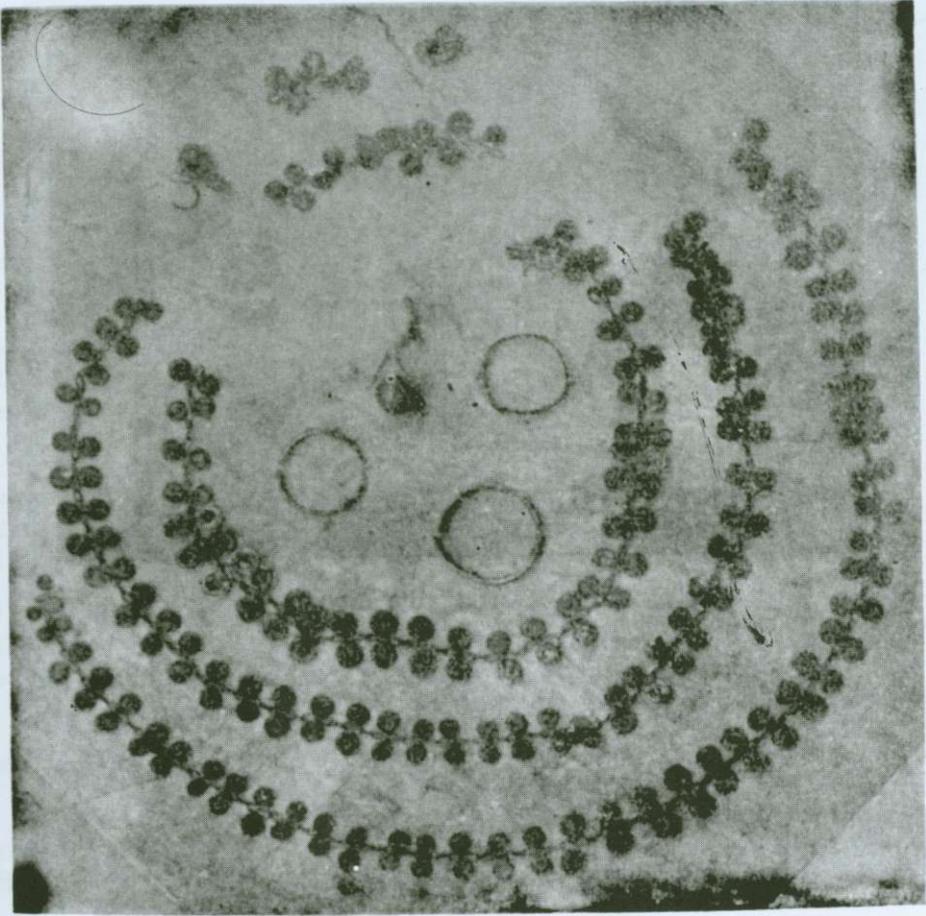
EXCAVATIONS at NONGAN



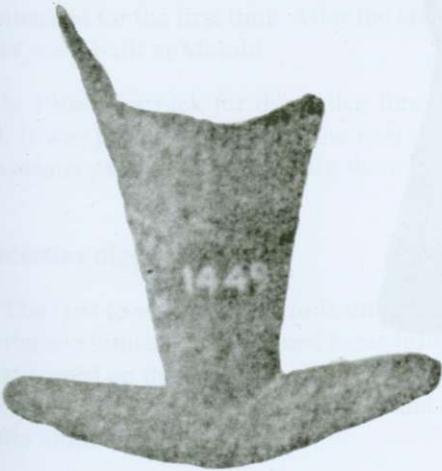
Pl. 6



Pl. 7



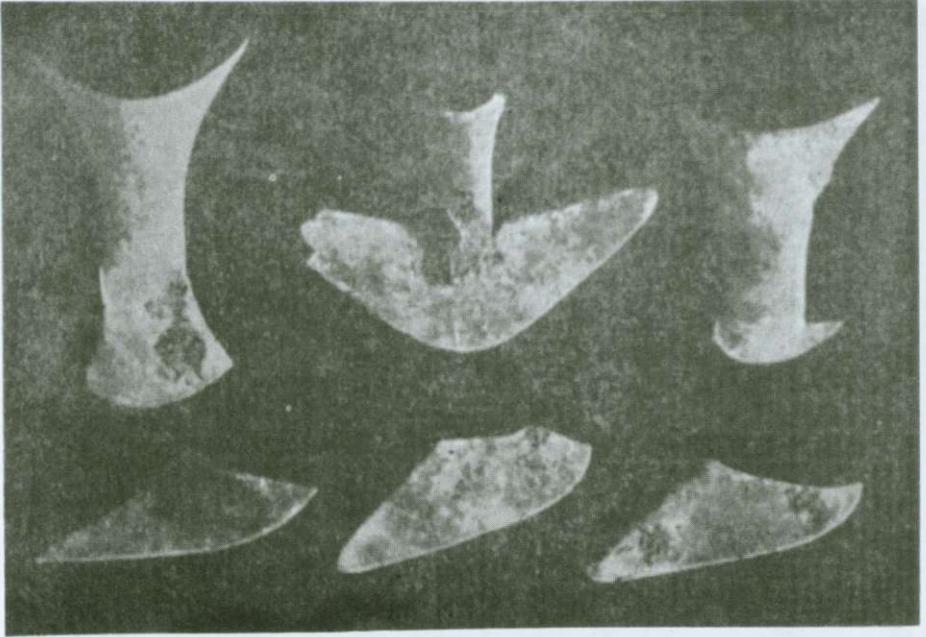
Pl. 8 Funeral gift Pujungan



Pl. 9 Bronzes shovel



Pl. 10 Fingerrings



Pl. 11 Funeral gifts Bheng



Pl. 12 Bell-shaped pendant

THE URN CEMETERY AT MELOLO, EAST SUMBA (INDONESIA)

by

H. R. van Heekeren

Introduction

The data of research work done at the Melolo urn-burial site, as represented in this paper, have been taken from several records, including those (as yet unpublished) of the Dr. L. Onvlee and W. J. A. Willems who both visited and examined the site. These records have been kept at the Office of the Archaeological Service of Indonesia for years.

With the consent of the Head of the Archaeological Service I made use of Willems' records, photographs and maps which speak highly for his thorough excavation methods and exactness. Dr Willems unfortunately left Indonesia in 1942 never to return and the war did not allow him to finish his study.

I am much obliged to Mr Soebo Kastowo of the Jakarta Museum (*Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia- "Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen"*) for contributing towards this article by his excellent illustrations Figs. 2-8.

Location

Melolo is situated in East Sumba near the mouth of the Melolo river, 63 Km southeast of Waingapu, 10 metres above sea-level and only 200 metres from the shore. The area was withdrawn in 1908 from the Self-Government and declared Government's property.

The Sumbanese, so reads Dr. Onvlee's record, never occupied the area under consideration, the plain being 'hot' and dangerous and the very place where their ancestors disembarked for the first time. After the arrival of peoples from the Island of Savu, however, houses were built at Melolo.

In 1908 a barrack for the police force was built here which was demolished again in 1920. It was probably then that the first urns were discovered, for since that year it seems that various persons started to dig there at random.

Clandestine digging

The first to write some words on the Melolo urnfield was Dr A.C. Kruyt¹⁾. He did not visit the site himself but obtained some information from Mr. D.K. Wielenga who published a brief record on the subject later on²⁾. We are informed by the latter that Savunese peoples plundered the site in searching of gold and treasures. Finding nothing of the kind, they left the site alone.

Wielenga excavated a number of urns himself. They were entirely filled with sand and contained human skeletal remains. According to him the urns were placed in rows, in three succeeding layers. This observation proved incorrect because there is no question of an orientation whatsoever. Incorrect, too, is his remark that the urns were baked around the skulls because the mouths were too narrow to allow the entrance of the skulls. Willems was able to prove that urns were merely utensils, sometimes used for funeral purposes. When the mouth proved too narrow, the upper-portion was cut off skillfully. Once the skull was inside, the cut-off portion was loosely replaced upon the jar.

In the same year (1923) the Civil Officer Dannenberger³⁾ excavated a large urn containing the skeletal bones of eleven (?) individuals. What happened to Wielenga's and Dannenberger's finds is not known.

In August of the same year Prof. E. R. K. Rodenwaldt carried out investigations at the Melolo site⁴⁾. He presented the finds, urns and funeral gifts such as special earthenware flasks to the Museum at Jakarta⁵⁾ and some urns to the Instituut voor de Tropen at Amsterdam (Pl. 1), while 34 skulls were sent to Prof. Dr J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan⁶⁾ who gave a detailed description of them (see the section on the human skeletal remains in this paper).

In 1926 it was Dr K. W. Dammerman's turn to do some digging. He reported⁷⁾ that the urns were lying close together with an interstice of some centimetres only. The large urns had a diameter of approximately 50 centimetres, the smaller 25 centimetres. He supposed that the urnfield contained about 1300 to 1400 urns. They were entirely filled with sand and contained human bones. In total four skulls were found. The colour of the ware was red and grey with yellow-brown fractures. The present whereabouts of the finds is unknown. After Dammerman's investigation, all private and amateur digging was forbidden. Plans to register the area as 'monument' were not realized.

Dr. Onvlee's investigation

By Government's decree of 29.5.1935, permission for a fresh investigation was given to Dr L. Onvlee who in the months March and April 1936 visited the site. A detailed record was presented afterwards to the Head of the Archaeological Service. His report comprised many interesting linguistical, ethnological and archaeological data.

Onvlee started digging one metre wide trenches at three different places and within half an hour one of these trenches yielded the first urns. The trench was enlarged, covering an area of 5 x 4 metres. A fairly great number of urns were unearthed. It appeared that some urns were placed upon others. The majority had collapsed and was crushed, their sherds were found around a lump of sand with human skeletal bones. None of the urns held a whole skeleton. One urn contained skulls and bones of adults and the skeletal remains of a child.

The urns were found covered with small or large pots, some of them upside down; in some cases small pots were placed into the mouth of the urn as a kind of a plug; in others the urns were covered with sherds of bowls. The large urns had a diameter of 50 to 60 cm with the same height and a mouth of 20 cm wide. The shapes of the urns vary (Fig. 9A). Several urn-necks display incised line ornaments such as triangles, wavy lines and nail imprints. Onvlee noticed two different kinds of ware, one in red, the other in grey. Some funeral gifts were also

recovered notably peculiar polished earthenware flasks with incised line ornaments and incised human faces with tattoo-signs. Most faces have round eyes, some others oval and slit eyes. A small, black quadrangular stone adze came to light during the course of the excavation and is now on display at the Jakarta Museum (No 2758). Of great importance, too, was the discovery of a shuttle. Dr Onvlee was so kind as to present all his finds to the Jakarta Museum ; 26 human skulls taken from urns were forwarded to Dr W. Lubberhuizen and Dr C. A. R. D. Snell at Surabaya'; the latter has made a detailed study of them ⁸⁾.

Traces of a second urnfield were discovered by Dr Onvlee along the road from Melolo to Waingapu, exactly at the place where the Melolo River meets the road. A superficial investigation yielded remains of urns, human bones and a earthenware flask.

P. J. Lambooy ⁹⁾ also published a paper on the Melolo urn field; it is not clear, however, if he dug himself or was only referring to Dr Onvlee's investigation. He noticed that the urns contained the skulls and some bones of human beings, which gave the impression as if the deceased were first kept outside till the flesh had decayed ; afterwards the skulls and some limb bones were placed into the jars. There were no traces of cremation. The urns were rather fragile and low fired. Most important is his mention of the find of a lower jaw of a pig in one of the urns ; unfortunately, there is no indication as to the kind of pig it belongs to. Anyway, it is the only record we have of animal offerings at the Melolo necropolis.

Dr. Willems' excavation

The only scientifically based excavation has been the one led by the prehistorian of the Archaeological Service, Dr W. J. A. Willems in August-September 1939, from whose diary and notes we borrowed ; the horizontal plan of the excavation (Fig. 1) and a series of excellent photographs also helped in forming an outline of the situation.

As far as is known the Melolo urnfield covers an area of 34 X 20 metres but it should be remembered that the south and west boundaries have not been defined as yet, as these parts have not been explored.

Willems started the excavation with the digging of a two metres wide trial trench directed to the south. The plan was made by a simple system of coordinates. At first the finds were left for what they were. After removing the upper layers, the position of the finds was marked, excavation was then continued down to the substratum. Right below the surface in the dirty-gray upper layer, was a great number of plain and ornamented sherds. All finds were marked and levelled. More to the south, a number of urns was unearthed at a depth of 10-20 cm below the surface. All urns were heavily damaged, the upper portion being totally crushed.

The trial trench digging was continued to the north ; here the urns were found in a lower level ; the northern boundary could be defined. Another two meters wide trench was made, parallel to the first one, with a half metre of profile between them. Afterwards the first trench was extended to the south, which resulted in the discovery of such an unexpected great number of urns that it was found necessary to reduce the trench's width to 1 metre, while no further attempt was made to define the southern boundary. Three more trial trenches, directed to the east, were made, perpendicular to the above mentioned trenches, in this way the eastern boundary of the cemetery was found. The search for the western boundary, however,

was discontinued because of the abundance of urns recovered in this sector, for the excavation was planned for only one month. In the western part the urns were found immediately below the surface, at a depth of 2-5 cm. Two earthenware flasks, of which the upper portions were missing, were uncovered.

With the preliminaries finished, Willems started with the details. The urn groups 91, 92, 84, 85 and 85a were carefully unearthed and cleaned, and their contents examined. Urn 92 had a wide flaring neck of which the upper portion had collapsed, its mouth contained a damaged earthenware flask, adorned with three tattooed human faces (Pl. 4 and 5 ; Fig. 6 A and B). Urn 91 had sunk upon urn 92. Both urns fell to pieces when they were cleaned but they could be reconstructed.

In urn 92 a human skull and some bones were found and a complete shell ring (Pl. 7). The ornamented flask as well as the shell ring are now in the Jakarta Museum (registered as no 4327 and 5886a). In urn 91 were human bones and a small globular pot : urn 91b contained human skeletal remains and two flat beads. In the upper portion of urn 84 a damaged earthenware flask was found upside down and three beads. The greatest part of the urns was heavily damaged or totally crushed ; undamaged examples like the pear-shaped urn no 31 or no 111 (Pl. 8) are exceptions.

Only one skull was found in the urns :

no 29 (bones), 31 (some bones), 38 (large limb bones), 37 (mandible), 41 (covered with part of a jar ; it contained on the bottom some bones of a very small child and two beads), 60b (bones and a flat bead), 88 (an earthenware flask upside down in the mouth ; on the bottom a skull, some bones and a flat bead), 94a (bones and a pendant of shell), 99 (skull totally crushed), 102 (mandible fragment and some teeth), 103a, 104 (some bones and a shell ring), 102 (some bones and a mandible), 106, 100a (some bones), 111 (bones.). 112 (mandible : skull totally crushed), 116a (a flat bead ; Skull crushed), 118, 133b (on the bottom : a pot upside down and a shell bead), 113a (bones, a shell bracelet and a bead), 139a (remains of a skull), 146 (wide flaring neck ; contained an upside down skull), 148 (skull upside down), 152, 155 (a small globular pot firmly stuck in the neck like a plug), 267 (covered with part of a globular pot), 225 (wide flaring neck ; skull crushed), 257 (mandible, some bones and some flat beads), 260 (skull of a child).

Two skulls were found in :

No 71, 62, 78, 123, 236 (together with limb bones). Urn 255a was covered with an upside down jar ; on the bottom many bones and two skulls. The large urn 34 contained two skulls and was covered with a small jar also holding two skulls.

Because many urns had collapsed; various isolated skull were encountered during the excavation. Between some heavily damaged urns, human post-cranial remains and three skull were unearthed ; in the same place was a shell ring. Only 8 cm below the surface another skull came to light between the broken urns 104 and 109. Against urn 116 and 117 a damaged skull was found and fargments of limb bones. In the northern part of the second trial trench, some centimetres below the surface, two skull were discovered with some broken bones.

It has several times been emphasized that the urns were covered in various manners. Some details are added here. Stuck in the mouths of the urns 34 and 35 which were both made of red earthenware, was a small grey globular pot, in the mouth of the damaged urn 39 a cylinder-shaped flask of earthenware; on urn 149 stood a small pot. Urn 85 was covered with a jar upside down. The urns 87, 88 and 93 were caked together. On urn 88 a pot of dark brown ware upside down. The low-fired urn 81 was covered with a rather large jar upside down. In urn 94 were an earthenware flask and a small quadrangular stone adze. The neck of the collapsed urn 235 contained a small globular pot; urn 55 had collapsed but it appeared that it had been covered by a very large overturned jar; urn 113 by sherds and urn 44 by two jar fragments placed upon each other. Urn 54, which had a wide flaring neck, by three layers of sherds.

Here follow some additional comments and some other particulars about the funeral gifts, found loose during the excavation :

Urn 214 contained a small pot and some flat perforated beads; on urn 103 lay a sherd with a small quadrangular stone adze (P1. 2) and, close to this adze, part of a shell ring; in urn 254 were two earthenware flasks, one of which was beautifully adorned, and a small globular pot; on the neck of urn 67 in the east profile of the excavation lay a quadrangular stone adze; urn 118 held fragments of an earthenware flask and the bottom and neck parts of another flask; the former shows an incised human face with slit eyes (Fig. 6B).

The extension of the trial trench II to the north yielded numerous broken urns. In the north-west corner of the site a crushed earthenware flask and the remains of a second flask were found. In the western part of the second trial trench was a beautiful pendant, carved out of the convolution of a *Tridacna* shell, apparently representing a pig's head (Fig. 7). The urns 137, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148 and 150 were found together. In urn 255 two beads were found, one of stone, the other of shell.

These are the most important data which we could find in Willems' diary. We have added an extract of Willems' lecture which he held on the 18th of Januari 1940 for the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* at Jakarta¹⁰). It should be remembered, however, that this lecture was more or less preliminary, because Willems had not yet fully studied the finds.

Dr. Willems' lecture

"....the urns which often were found groups, contained the skeletal remains of secondarily buried dead; no traces whatsoever of cremation could be recorded. Though the urns in general each contained some remains of two or even three individuals. Sometimes funeral gifts were found in the urns e.g. shell bracelets, beads, stone adzes, and a fine pendant in the shape of a pig's head, skillfully carved out of a shell. The discovery of stone adzes in the Indonesian Archipelago does not warrant a neolithic age. As long as we are not familiar with the genetic connection with older or contemporaneous culture, or with later cultural influences, it will be difficult to settle the age of the cultural manifestations. Although the quadrangular adzes and the total absence of metal objects point to a neolithic age, the speaker is rather inclined to classify this culture as belonging to the Bronze Age of South East Asia.

Of course, it is essential to track down other urnfields in Sumba and especially to find out if they also occur in the interior ; some evidence points in that direction. Unless this area is better explored, it will remain a moot point whether this burial site is to be attributed to a tribe or a group of people who came here from abroad.

A striking feature is that the recent population is not acquainted with this kind of burial. It has to be remembered, however, that the village of Melolo and its surroundings is completely occupied by Savunese peoples. Another thing is the necessity to keep track of a possible connection with the still flourishing megalithic culture or with old megalithic cultures on Sumba.

Furthermore it appears that the dead were interred for a second time in common earthenware utensils. It is, therefore, not surprising to find urns with too narrow mouths to allow the entrance of a skull. For that purpose the urn peoples of Melolo cut off the upper portion of the jar which they later replaced loosely on the urn.

All the urns were covered with upside down jars, or with a small globular pot in the neck of the urn or simply by sherds. The low-fired urns, unable to stand the weight, had collapsed. The urn necropolis of Melolo is at present only partly excavated and a continuation of research is needed.

Post-war investigations

In the year 1949, the Swiss ethnologist, A. Buhler ¹¹⁾, made an excavation at Melolo. From some letters we know that the site was covered with cultivated plants when he arrived. On that account skulls and urns which were buried close to the surface, were damaged or got lost. Buhler insisted on a more efficient protection of the site. Hence the present writer went to Sumba in October 1949 to take measures to protect the site against further destruction. On that occasion all sorts of assistance was promised by the officials. An accident quite unexpectedly obliged me to leave the island.

A number of skeletal remains was forwarded to Dr. Snell at Surabaya, but his examination did not open up any new aspects. Six rather well preserved skulls of adults were reconstructed : facial parts and bases were missing. There were also teeth from adults as well from children. One urn contained remains of several individuals, adults as well as children.

Buhler discovered a new burial ground in the Rende district, south of the village of Palindi, which needs further investigation.

The human skeletal remains

The Melolo bones are white, a little calcified and brittle and show no traces of fossilisation. A great number of skulls was crushed owing to the fact that many urns had collapsed. Many skulls were so heavily damaged that they were useless for anthropological and anthropometrical studies. The skulls labelled 1-34 have been excavated by Prof. Rodenwaldt in 1923 and were examined by Prof. Dr J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan ¹²⁾; the skulls A-K, found by Dr Onvlee in 1936, and I-VI, found by Dr Willems in 1938, have been examined by

Principal anthropological data of the skulls from Melolo

(after Snell and Kleiweg de Zwaan)

	Max. Length	Glabello Inion L.	Max. Width	Min. Frontal	Max Occip. Width	Height Cal- varium	Index Cra- nialis
A.	177	168	131	85	101	100	74.0
B.	188	181	130	101	110	110	69.1
C.	183	171	131	88	99	111	71.6
D.	166	157	133	83	100	98	80.1
E.	184	172	139	96	-	108	75.5
F.	183	175	-	90	105	106	-
G.	175	153	128	85	99	102	73.1
H.	181	164	133	91	103	111	73.5
I.	173	163	136	-	-	101	78.6
J.	170	149	136	-	101	113	80.0
K.	182	173	-	89	101	101	-
l.	181	164	133	-	106	107	73.5
ll.	160	156	126	85	97	88	78.8
lll.	190	184	137	95	112	107	72.1
IV.	178	173	140	87	105	98	78.7
V.	183	171	138	93	—	102	75.4
VI.	187	180	136	-	112	101	72.7
1.	178	163	133	94	102	109	74.72
2.	186	183	133	96	106	101	71.51
3.	185	181	140	-	114	108	75.68
4.	176	171	136	98	105	103	77.27
5.	175	174	125	-	101	97	71.43
6.	186	179	137	-	103	96	73.66
7.	182	182	140	95	113	106	76.92
8.	185	175	144	90	108	105	77.84
9.	180	179	133	92	100	96	73.89
10.	168	164	138	-	-	78	82.14
11.	188	189	136	96	109	97	72.34
12.	178	177	141	-	105	96	79.21
13.	175	169	145	97	107	100	82.86
14.	181	179	134	-	95	105	74.03
15.	180	178	138	-	106	87	76.67
16.	180	172	133	-	109	99	73.89
17.	180	-	141	-	—	—	78.33
18.	178	169	132	96	111	104	74.16
19.	177	178	130	90	101	95	73.45
20.	181	170	138	89	104	106	76.24
21.	171	166	132	90	97	98	77.19
22.	173	-	130	82	104	100	75.14
23.	183	181	136	98	107	99	74.32
24.	169	159	133	84	-	95	78.70
25.	175	166	138	89	104	102	78.86
26.	174	166	133	90	103	96	76.44
27.	173	164	139	90	105	102	80.35
28.	177	165	133	-	105	96	75.14
29.	181	173	135	100	116	105	74.59
30.	183	181	139	-	107	104	75.96
31.	174	-	125	86	-	-	71.84
32.	179	172	137	—	106	105	76.54
33.	167	157	131	87	—	93	78.44
34.	182	178	137	95	107	103	75.27
average	178	171	135	91	105	101	75.7

Prof. Dr C. A. R. D. Snell¹³). We have added the most important measurements taken by Kleiweg de Zwaan and Snell together, and we have calculated the averages.

The examined Melolo skulls represent 21 dolichocephalic skulls or 42.8%, 23 mesocephalic skulls or 46.9% and 5 brachycephalic skulls or 10.2%. Striking is the high proportion of dolichocephalics and the low proportion of brachycephalics. The group as a whole is mesodolichocephalic with an average index of 75.7.

Only the skulls of adults were studied; besides Snell measured some mandibles and teeth, but this material was too damaged and too incomplete for comparative study. Special attention was paid, however, to a heavily built mandible, belonging to skull B. In thickness it surpasses not only the averages but also the maxima found in Malayan groups, the measures corresponding more with those of Palae-Melanesian mandibles. This statement is confirmed by a well developed *fossula supraspinata*, a characteristic very seldom found in recent mandibles except in those of the Palae-Melanesians of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands.

Snell's conclusion reads as follows¹⁴):

"We are able to distinguish two types among the skulls from Melolo. There are skulls which clearly exhibit Negroid characters, viz. bilateral flattening of the cranium in combination with lophocrania, a narrow cranium with relatively great frontal and occipital width. Representatives of this type are Melolo B and H; Melolo B and some fragments possess, moreover, qualities which must be regarded as typical Palae-Melanesoid, viz. a great thickness of the *corpus mandibulae*, and a *fossula supraspinata*.

The second type exhibits Malay characteristics, viz. the all-rounded Malay cranium, with the Malay type of the *supra-orbital* region, and the Malay profile of the facial part of the skull. The representative for this type is Melolo D. Most of the skulls possess, besides Negroid, also Malay characters.

In the skulls from Melolo we are in all probability, dealing with the remains of a people which originated from an intensive mixing of Negroid and Malay elements. Among the former the Palae-Melanesians (or Austro-Melanesians) are to be specially mentioned. No traces are to be found which would require us to consider any other race element playing any part in the composition of the former population of Melolo".

Kleiweg de Zwaan¹⁵) on the other hand considers the Melolo people as a mixture of Proto-Malayan and Veddah elements. The controversy is not so great as it seems to be at first sight. In point of fact, Saller regards the Veddah as a branch of the Austro-Melanesian stock.

Melolo finds in the Jakarta Museum

The Jakarta Museum (*Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia*-*"Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen"*) keeps the following finds from the Melolo urn field:

a. From Prof. E. R. K. Rodenwaldt's excavation (1923).

Mus. No. 1943. Earthenware flask; globular body; neck shaped into a human figure (Fig. 2). Diameter body: 190 mm; height 250 mm. Found in an urn which also contained human bones and skulls.

1948. Urn. Diameter 450 mm; height 460 mm.
 1949. Earthenware flask. Diameter 195 mm ; height 295 mm. Found in urn 1948.
 1950. Urn. Diameter 330 mm; height 360 mm.
 1951. Urn. Diameter 430 mm; height 430 mm. Upper portion damaged.

From Dr. L. Onvlee's excavation (1936) :

2727. Urn. Rim broken off. Height 470 mm ; greatest diameter 450 mm. The urn was filled with grey sand and many bone fragments.
 2728. Six sherds of an earthenware flask, made of rather coarsegrained, dark-brown, polished ware. Greatest thickness 8 mm, at the rim 13 mm.
 2729. Part of an urn. Surface brick-red. Polished ware ; greatest thickness of the rim : 11 mm.
 2730. Neck and shoulder parts of an urn ; restored. Grey, coarsegrained ware ; at shoulder : incised lozenge motif ; greatest thickness 13 mm ; diameter 272 mm.
 2731. Rim of an urn ; restored. Brick-red ware with incised lozenge motifs.
 2732. Sherds ; brick-red, polished ware. Greatest thickness 14 mm.
 2733. Sherd ; rim of a pot ; brick-red ware with incised zig-zag lines ; greatest thickness 10 mm.
 2734. Two sherds ; brick-red, polished ware. Thickness 6 mm.
 2735. Four sherds ; brick-red, polished ware, with simple incised lines. Thickness 10 mm.
 2736. Sherd ; round, brick-red ware ; in the centre a hole. Shuttle.
 2737. Sherd. Polished, brick-red ware. Near the edge a small hole. Thickness 7 mm.
 2738. Sherd. Brick-red ware ; thickness 16 mm.
 2739. Upper portion of a flask's neck. Black-brown, polished ware. Below the rim a number of small knobs and a double circle of white dots. Diameter mouth 48 mm ; height 67 mm ; thickness 9 mm.
 2740. Upper portion of an earthenware flask ; black-brown. Below the mouth a prominence on the neck with a double circle of white dots and a human face (two ears, two eyes, two nostrils and a mouth). Diameter mouth : 27 mm ; height 63 mm ; thickness 5 mm.
 2741. Upper portion of the neck of an earthenware flask; darkbrown, polished ware. Below the mouth a prominence on which a double circle of white dots and a human face ; height 31 mm.
 2742. Sherd of an urn's rim ; thickness 22 mm.
 2743. Sherd of an urn's rim ; brick-red ware ; thickness 14 mm.
 2744. Sherd of an urn's neck and shoulder ; brick-red ware. Thickness 10 mm.
 2745. Four sherds ; red ware ; thickness 11 mm.
 2746. Sherd ; grey-black ; thickness 4 mm.
 2747. Urn sherds ; restored. Flat bottom ; Beneath the neck an incised lozenge figure ; dark-brown, polished ware. Thickness 8 mm. diameter bottom 89 mm; height 119 mm.

2748. Sherds of an urn's mouth ; reconstructed. Brick-red, polished ware ; on the shoulder indistinct incised lozenge motifs. Diameter mouth : 185 mm; thickness 9 mm.
2749. Upperportion of an urn ; outward curved lip ; on the shoulder incised lozenge motif ; brick-red, polished ware ; thickness lip 12 mm.
2750. Sherds, restored. Globular body ; grey-black, polished ware: Thickness 10 mm.
2751. Part of a flask's neck.
2752. Sherds of an earthenware flask ; restored. Dark-brown; in the flask: sand and shells; height 130 mm, diameter bottom 65 mm ; diameter body 139 mm.
2753. Urn ; restored. Globular body : part of the mouth broken off ; brick-red, polished ware. Height 308 mm ; diameter mouth 195 mm, thickness lip 17 mm.
2754. Earthenware flask ; tapering neck. On the shoulder four circlets with zigzag lines ; brick-red ware; height 228 mm ; diameter body 155 mm ; diameter mouth 34 mm.
2755. Urn ; wide mouth and short neck ; globular body; height 138 mm ; diameter mouth 97 mm ; thick-ness 4 mm.
2756. Urn ; globular body ; greatest part of the neck broken off. Brick-red ware ; height 248 mm ; diameter body 25.1 mm.
2757. Earthenware flask ; globular body ; sloping shoulder. Neck thickened, in the middle ; rim damaged, body broken ; grey ware. Height. 213 mm ; diameter body 171 mm.
2758. Quadrangular stone adze ; black. Cutting-edge

c. From Dr. W.A.J. Willem's excavation (1938)

4327. Earthenware flask ; with incised lines ; globular body, flat bottom ; neck thickened at two places ; on one of them an incised human face with ears,, nipples and navel. Height 328 mm ; diameter 208 mm.
5872. Earthenware flask ; two rings around the body, flat bottom. Neck with three prominences inter-spaced by eye-motifs. Height 250 mm; diameter 262 mm.
5873. Earthenware flask ; darkbrown ; neck broken off ; globular body, flat bottom ; height 174 mm ; diameter body 230 mm ; with incised wavy, zig-zaglines and circlets.
5874. Earthenware flask; black-brown. With an incised human face on the neck ; globular body, flat bottom. Height 171 mm ; diameter 122 mm.
5875. Earthenware flask ; black-brown. Restored, neck is missing. With incised figures ; globular body, flat bottom.
5876. Fragment of an earthenware flask ; neck adorned with incised figures. Dark-brown ware ; height 131 mm ; diameter neck: 63 mm.
5877. Fragment of an earthenware flask ; black-brown ware with incised figures ; height 154 mm, breadth 51 mm.
5878. Fragment of an earthenware flask (bottom). Black-brown ware; diameter bottom 82 mm ; height 75 mm.

5879. Fragment of an earthenware flask with incised triangles. Black-brown ware; length 120 mm; breadth 72 -mm.
5880. Fragment of an earthenware flask with incised lines and circlets. Dark brown ; height 84 mm ; breadth 104 mm.
5881. Fragment of an earthenware flask with incised figures; black-brown ware; 114 X 60 mm.
5882. Six fragments of an earthenware flask (neck) with incised human faces.
5883. A number of sherds.
5884. A number of sherds.
5885. Two rings of mother of pearl.
a. diameter 61 mm, thickness 5 mm.
b, diameter 55 mm, thickness 3 mm.
5886. Two rings of shell.
a. diameter 50 mm, thickness 10 mm.
b. diameter 50 mm, thickness 19 mm.
5888. Amulet of shell in the shape of a pig's head;
51 X 26 X 14 mm. (Fig. 7).
5889. Eight beads of shell and stone. Largest 23 X 10 mm ;
smallest 10X 2 mm.

For the number 1943, 1948-1951, 2727-2758 and 4327, vide v.d. Hoop's Catalogus voor de Praehistorische Verzameling pp 300-304 ; for the numbers 5872-5889 : see *Jaarboek Bataviaasch Genootschap*, X, 1948-1951, pp 49-50. Some urns from Prof. Rodenwaldt's collection are on display at the *Instituut voor de Tropen* at Amsterdam (Pl. 1).

Much of Dr. Willems' material was lost during the war including the four stone adzes and some restored urns.

CONCLUSIONS

This study holds the results of some excavations carried out at the Melolo urn cemetery in East Sumba. The actual spot is located about 200 metres from the coast and some 10 metres above the sea-level ; it is a prolific urn burial-ground, part of which is not explored, the southern and western boundaries not having been defined as yet. The site, covers an area of approximately 40 X 25 metres. Numerous urns (simple jars) were recovered near the surface of the ground (2-50 cm) and no preferred orientation was apparent ; sometimes they were found in groups.

The urns, red, grey or darkbrown were, technically spoken, of a low standard ; round bottomed none of them were mounted on a foot. Many of them had collapsed and were totally crushed, sometimes lying together in tangled masses ; only a comparatively small number of unbroken examples were unearthed. A great portion of them, however, could be restored by Willems and his co-operators afterwards, showing a variety of forms. There were globular jars with vertical necks, urns with wide and narrow mouths, urns with slightly and strongly outcurved necks. (Fig. 9A) Only a few were adorned with simple incised line patterns mostly meanders, wavy lines and nail-imprints. In height they range from 70 to 20 cm. They were covered in various manners : by sherds, broken pots, by jars upside down and sometimes peculiar earthenware flasks or bottles turned upside down in the mouth of the urn.

The urns contained human skeletal remains but never a complete human skeleton. This clearly points at a secondary burial custom in which only the skull with or without the mandible and sometimes with some limb bones were buried in the urn. Usually the urns contained one skull each though there were examples which two or three skulls from adults as well as from children had been interred, probably at the same time.

Burial gifts consisted of shell-beads drilled from both sides, stone beads, shell bracelets and rings, quadrangular stone adzes and a unique pendant skillfully carved out of a *Tridacna* shell, apparently representing a pig's head. (Fig. 7). One of the outstanding features of the grave goods were specific polished earthenware flasks, red or darkbrown with long slender necks and with compound silhouette: (Fig. 9 B). They were adorned with incised line patterns, the lines filled in with a white paint, and displaying the favourite designs, such as strings of triangles, parallel dotted lines, meanders arranged in parallel straight rows, circlets and series of zigzag lines. (Fig 8). The workmanship of this white-on-red or white-on-darkbrown pottery is of a high standard. The neck shows a single incised line pattern of a human face (in one case with three faces), mostly with round eyes except for some which have oval or slit eyes. In this respect it should be remembered that the same pattern occurs on the huge stone menhirs of Central Celebes. This is, of course only merely suggestive and not conclusive evidence of any cultural connection between both areas. There is one flask which is quite different. Made of darkbrown polished earthenware, its neck is shaped into a human figurine with flattened torso and short stretched arms which are only partly indicated. The head is covered with what seems to be a helmet (Fig. 2).

Evidence of killing of offerings was hardly noticeable : there were only some shells mixed with ashes, in one case a pig's mandible. A considerable number of skulls were recorded to show that the peoples who were responsible for the urn-burial were a mesodolichocephalic

group of mankind, apparently a mixture of Palae-Melanesian and Malayan races. Similar groups still live at present more eastwards in the Indonesian Archipelago.

At first glance the discovery of a total of five quadrangular stone adzes and the complete absence of metal objects clearly argue for a neolithic age. A careful study of the funeral gifts and the designs on them, however, makes it more acceptable to assign the Melolo urn cemetery to the Early Metal Age as has already been suggested by Willems and Heine Geldern¹⁶). In this respect it should not be overlooked that stone adzes played an important role throughout the Early Metal Age. It has been noticed for example, that stone adzes were recovered at the classical Dongson site and in some Balinese stone sarcophagi¹⁷). Onvlee's discovery of a shuttle indicates that the urn-people of Melolo already knew the art of weaving.

To trace the origin and development of the urn burial customs in Indonesia and to fix their range in time and space constitutes a problem which can be solved only by more methodical investigations of which Willems gave us an excellent example. Therefore, due to the scant data of comparative nature, only a few general statements seem justified. Our present knowledge proves that there are three or four different urn burial customs in Indonesia, all belonging to the Early Metal Age. They can briefly be listed as follows :

- a. Large urns in which human skeletons were interred singly in a squatted position ; with them went polished dark-brown earthen-ware, saucer shaped cups on stands, flasks with long vertical necks, and crude globular, round bottomed pots. The decoration is simple and conventional. Example : Anyar, West Java¹⁸).
- b. Large urns with skulls and some limb bones only, displaying a secondary burial system. Funeral gifts were specific earthenware, polished flasks with incised geometric patterns and human faces, the lines filled in with white paint, globular pots, shell rings, shell and stone beads and quadrangular stone adzes. Example : Melolo, East Sumba.
- c. Huge stone urns or vats. Similar to those of Laos, the latter definitely belong to the Early Metal Age. Heine Geldern probably rightly suggests that they originated from the contact of the cultural wave that introduced the custom of urn burial with some local megalithic culture. Example : Central Celebes.
- d. Large and small urns mostly of Chinese origin (1300 = 1600 A.D.), containing calcined human bones without funeral gifts. Prolonged until the coming of Islam. Numerous in the South Celebes (Bone, Soppeng, Wajo).

The discoveries of urn-fields in Indonesia are promising enough but, due to disorganized digging, we are at a loss how to classify them. On the island of Salayar, Schroder¹⁹) reported urns containing broken human bones, some bronze bracelets, beads of semi-precious stone and a bronze earring. J.C. Noordlander²⁰) recorded some urns at the Lesung batu district near Tebingtingi in South Sumatra ; besides human bones, there were two beautifully ornamented flasks of polished red earthenware which in some respects resemble the flasks of Melolo. Finally Kaudern²¹) reported that urn-fields exist in the same Central Celebes area where numerous stone vats and menhir-statuettes were found, and Willems excavated an urnfield at Sa'bang north of Paloppo in South Celebes²²). The urns of the latter site were completely empty.

All these sites urgently need further methodical investigations.

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3. Dannenberger, p. 250-251, 1923
4. *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, p. 12-13, 1923
5. v.d. Hoop, p. 300, 1941
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8. Snell, p. 1-20, 1948
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11. Buhler, p. 273, 1951
12. Kleiweg de Zwaan, p. 342-362, 1941
13. Snell, p. 1-20, 1948
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18. Van Heekeren, p., 1956
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20. *Oudheidk. Versl.*, p. 13, 1939
21. Raven, 1933 ; Kaudern, 1938
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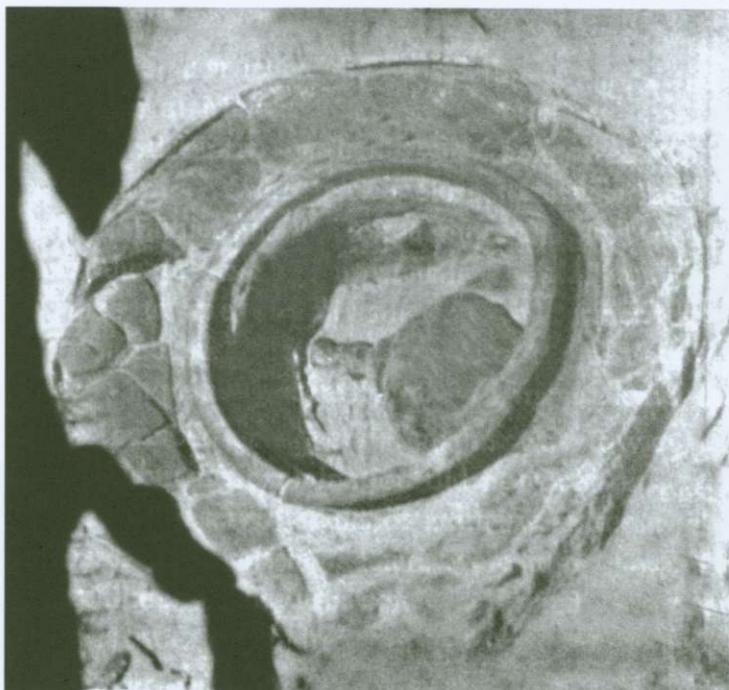
Pl. 1 Urn (*Instituut voor de Tropen*
Coll. Rodenwaldt)



Pl. 2 Urn 103 with a stone quadrangular adze



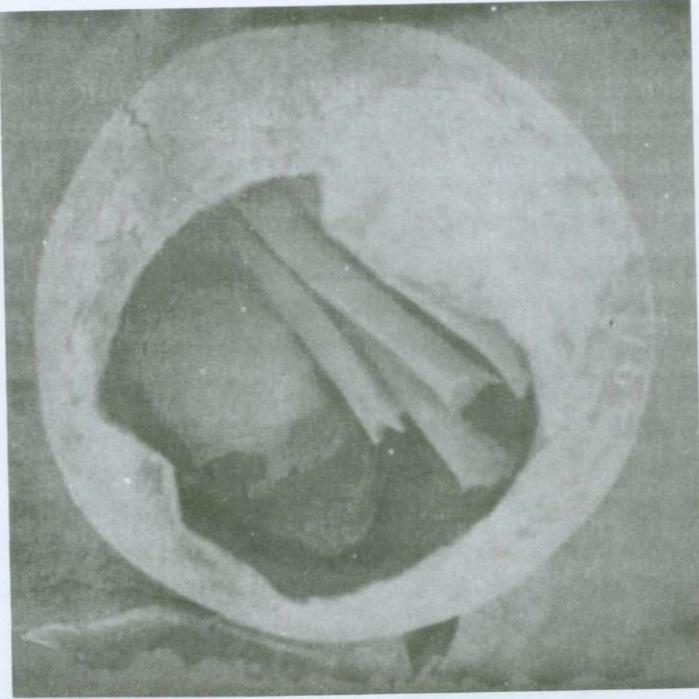
Pl. 3 Urn 92 containing a human skull



Pl. 4 Urn 92 containing a ornamented flask



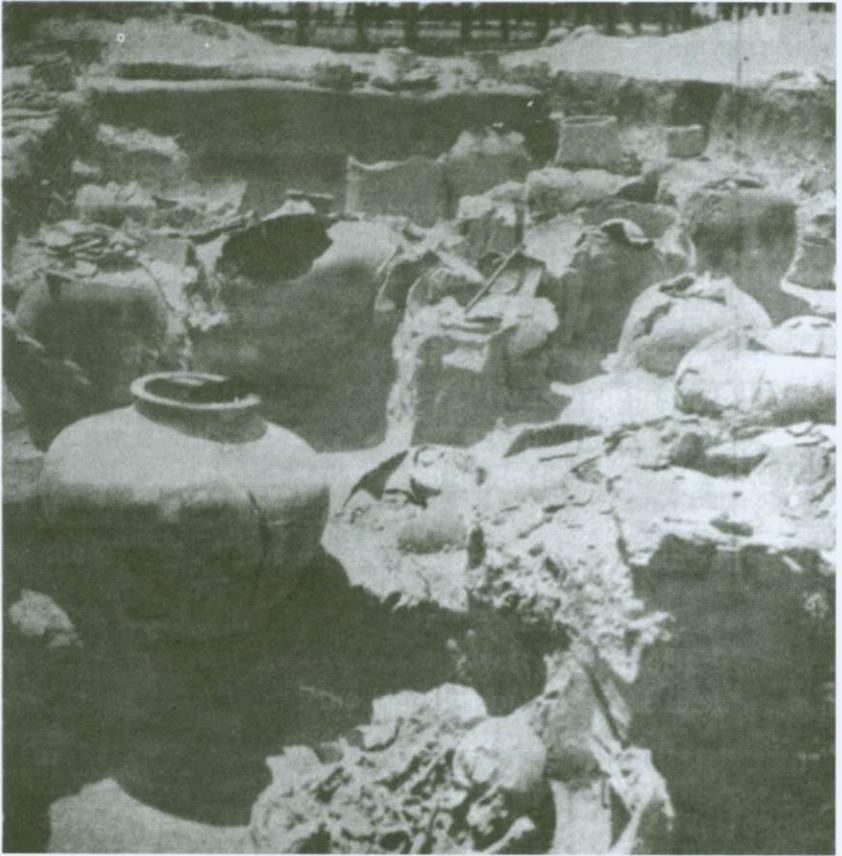
Pl. 5 Flask from urn 92



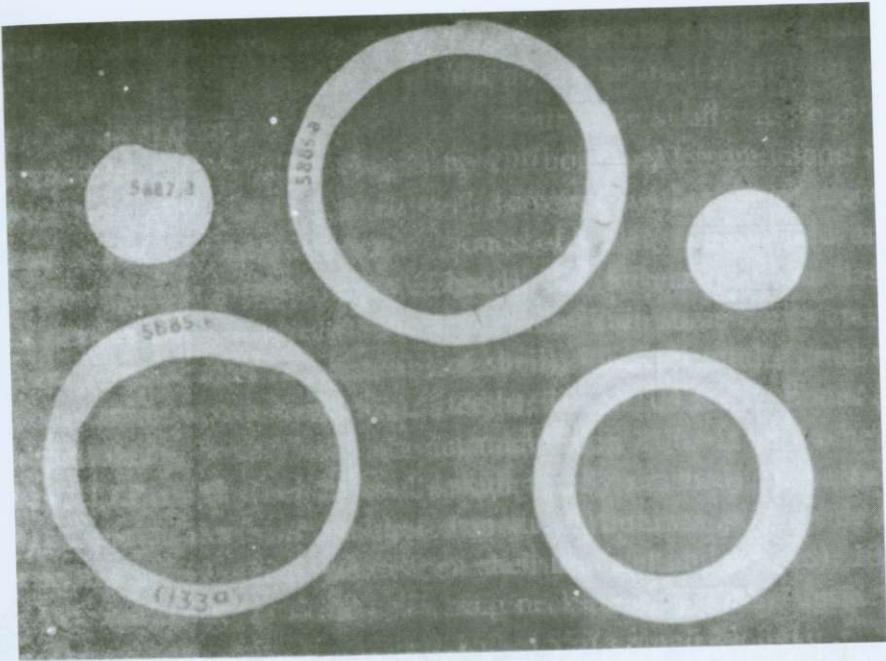
Pl. 6 Urn containing human skull and limb bones



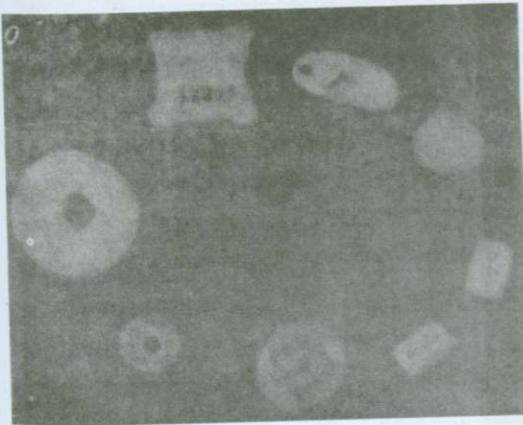
Pl. 7 Urn 92 with arming made of shell



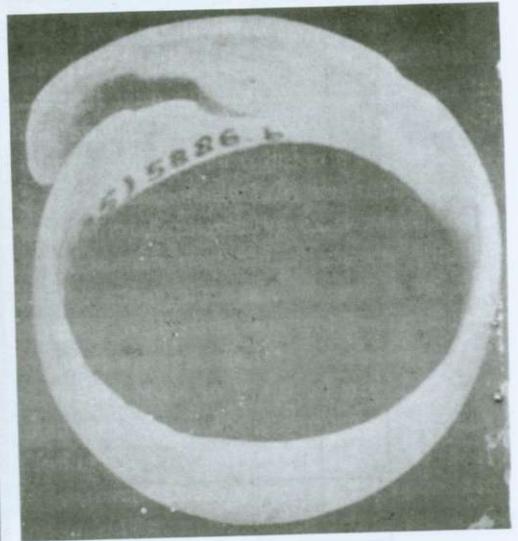
Pl. 8 View on urn 111 and other



Pl. 9 Shell adornments.



Pl. 10 Shell and stone beads



Pl. 11 Shell bracelet

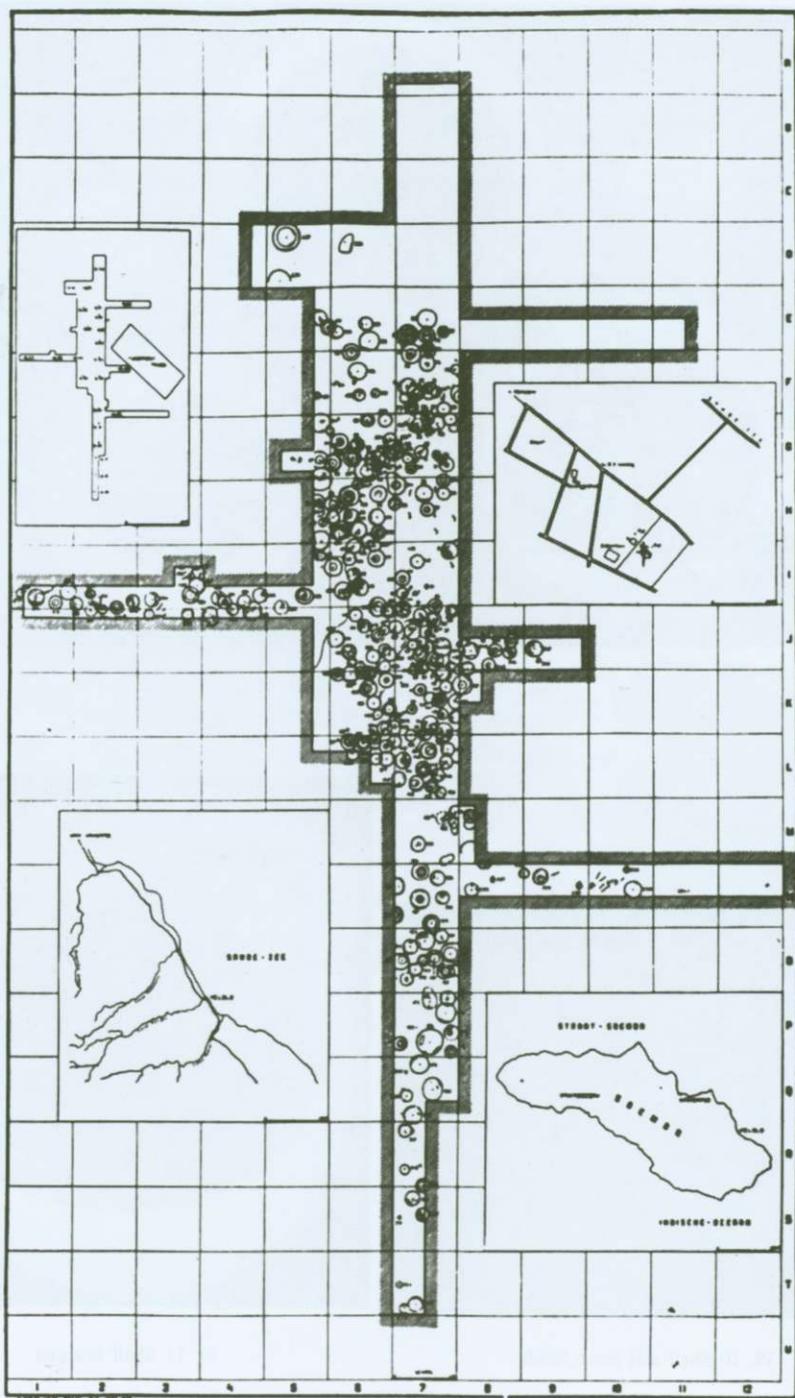


Fig. 1 Ground plan of Willem's Excavation of the Urn burial-ground at Melolo, East Sumba

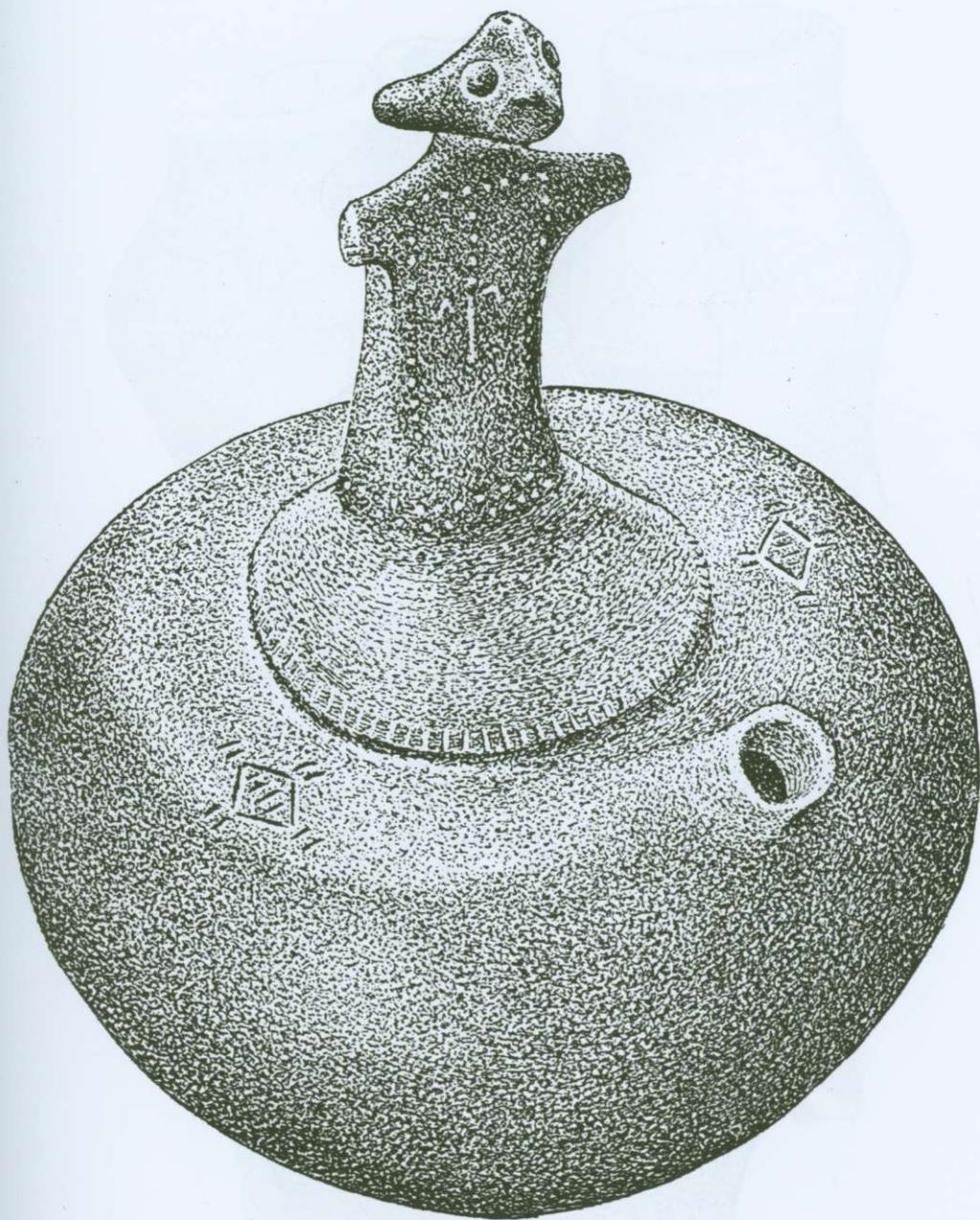


Fig. 2 Earthenware flask with human figurine

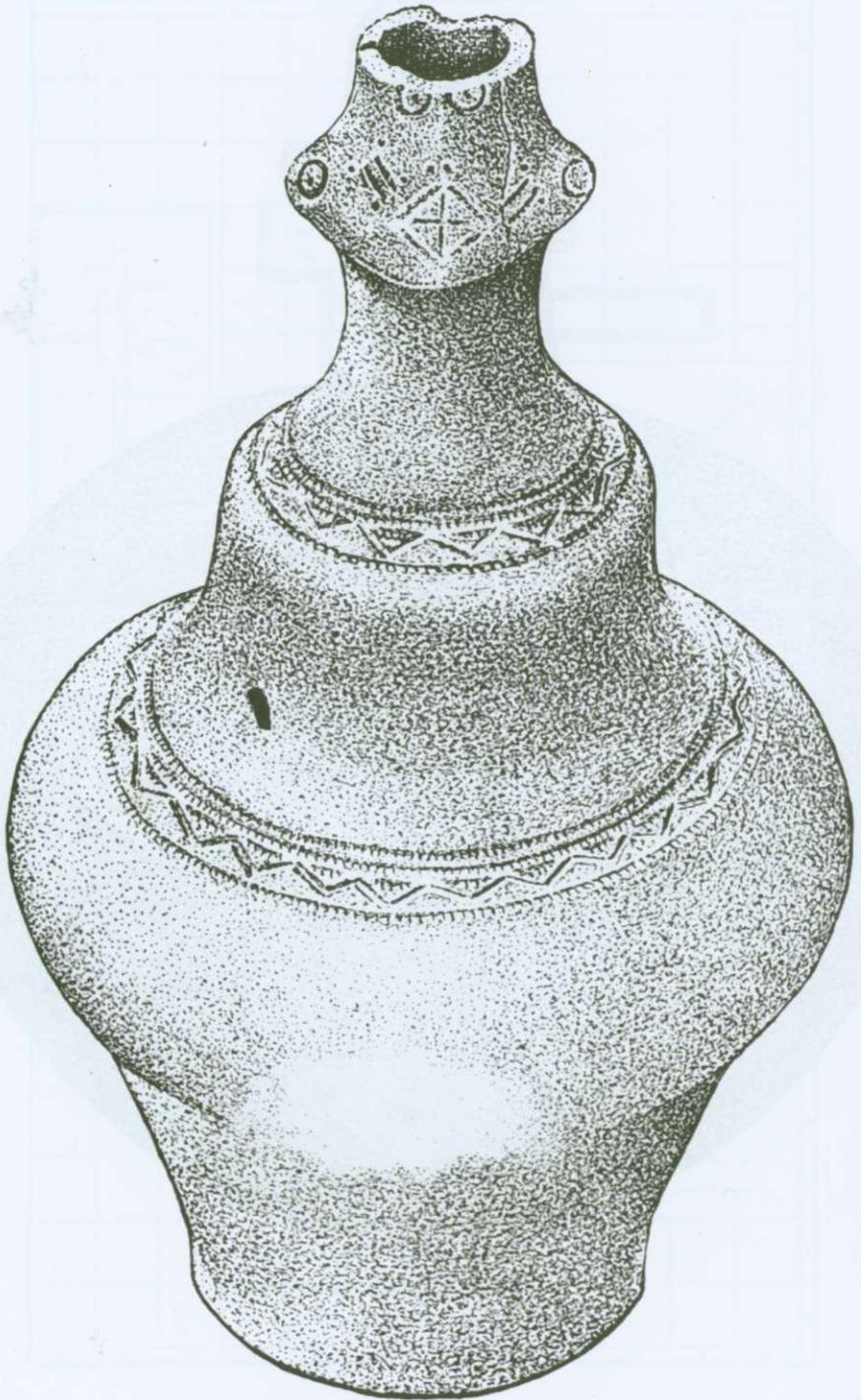


Fig. 3 Earthenware flask with incised human face

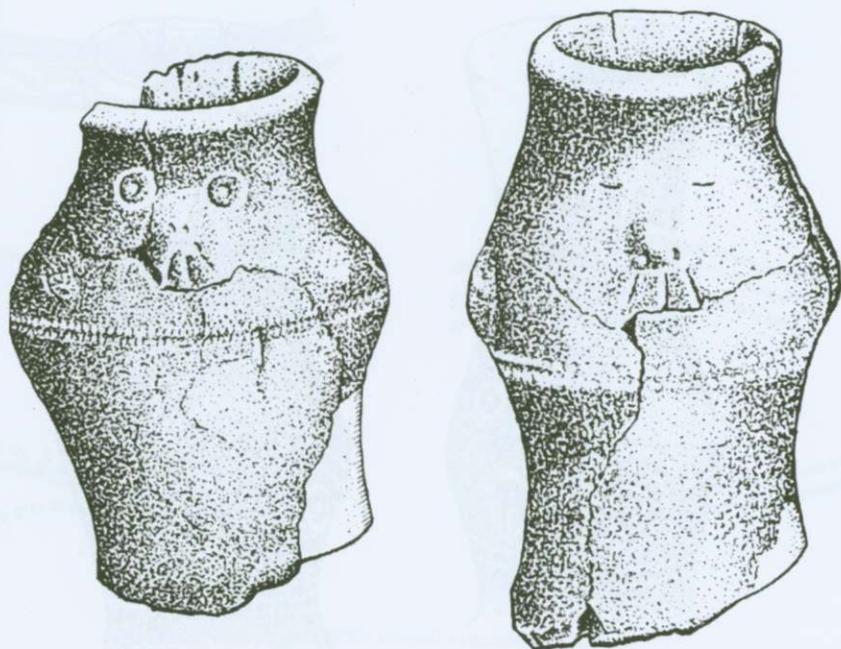


Fig. 6 Ornamented neck of flask nos 204 and 162

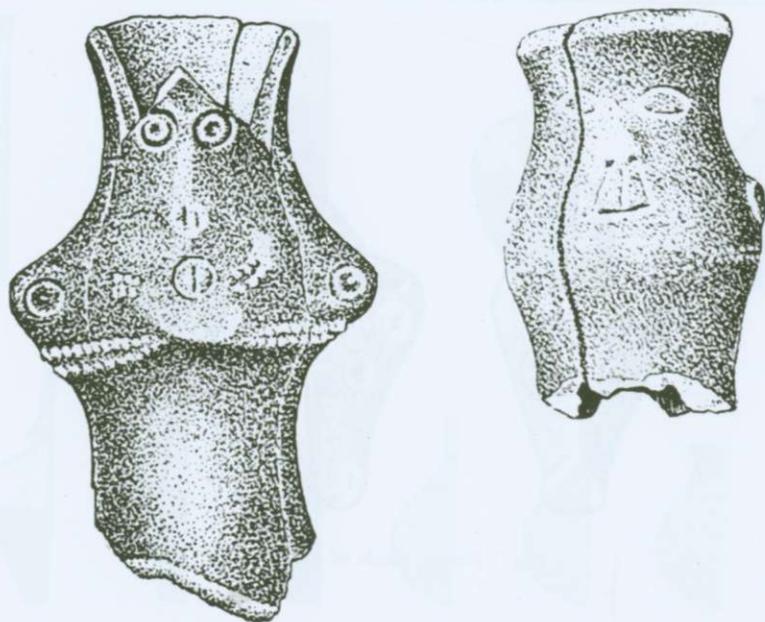


Fig. 5 Ornamented neck of flask nos 214

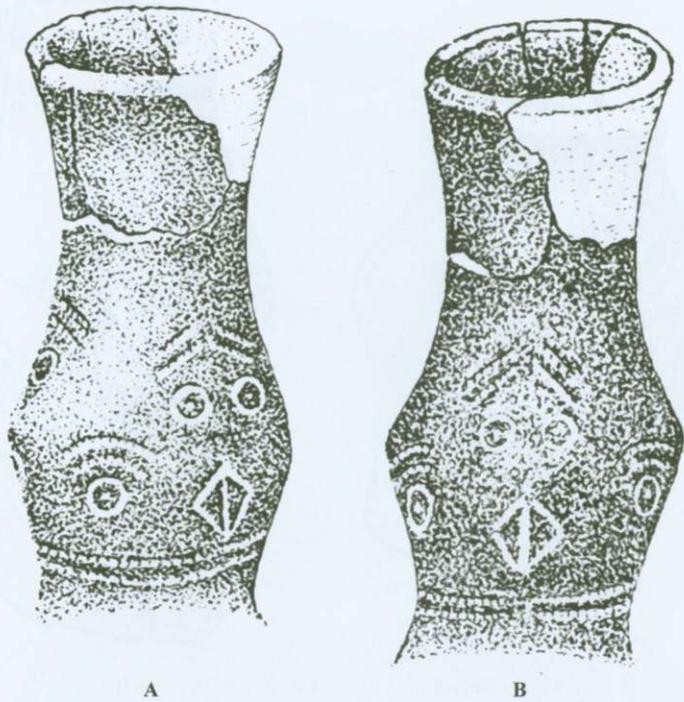


Fig. 6 Neck of a flask with three human faces

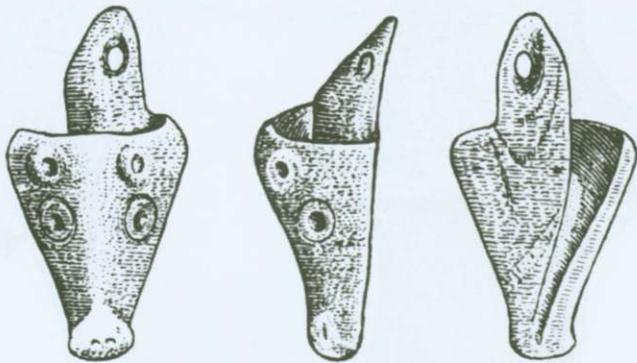


Fig. 7 Pendant made of a *Tridacna* shell

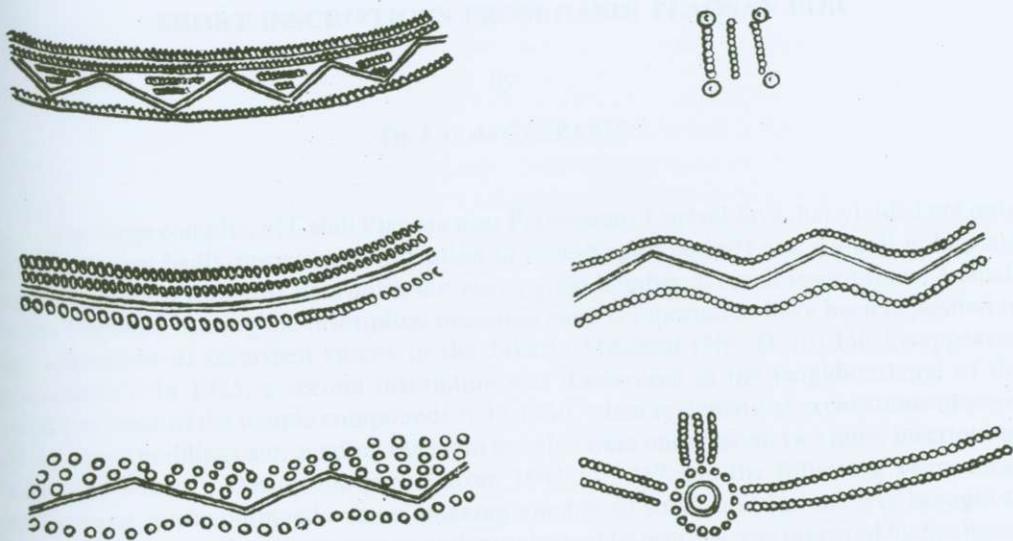


Fig. 8 Various geometric incised ornament on flask

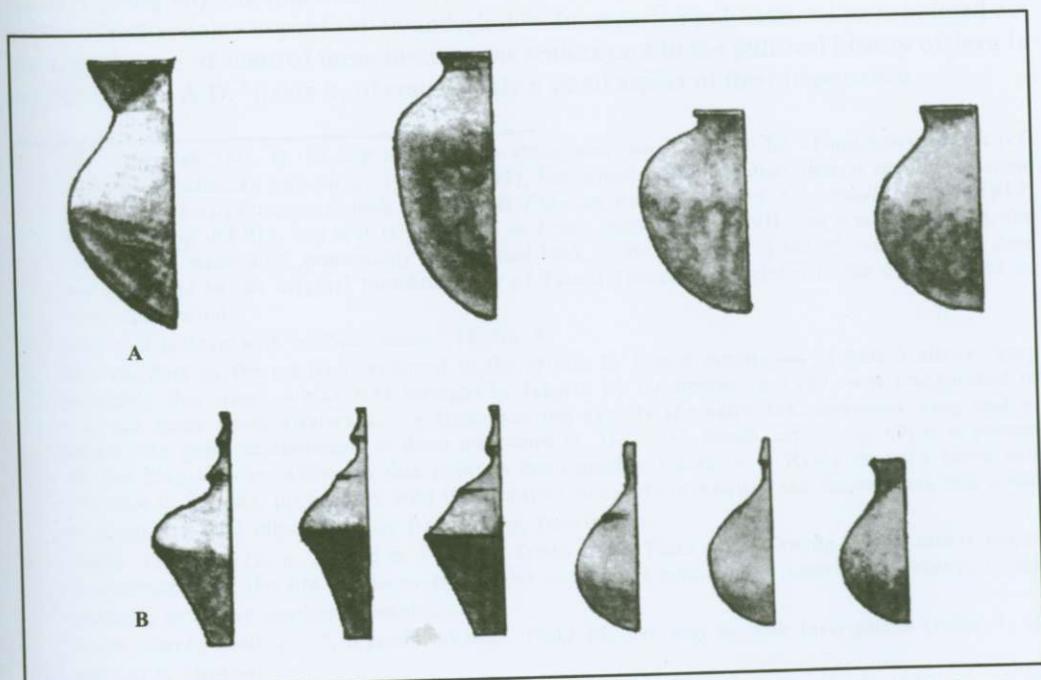


Fig. 9 Various profile of jars (A) and flasks (B)

SHORT INSCRIPTIONS FROM CANDI PLAOSAN LOR

by

Dr. J. G. de CASPARIS

The large complex of Candi Plaosan near Prambanan, Central Java, has yielded not only a lengthy, but badly preserved, inscription in Prae-Nagari script¹⁾ and a small gold plate inscribed with a Buddhist *dharani*²⁾, but also a great number of small inscriptions. A small stone fragment bearing the inscription *anumoda sang* is reported to have been deposited in the collection of inscribed stones in the Jakarta Museum (No. D 76) but disappeared afterwards³⁾. In 1925, a second inscription was discovered in the neighbourhood of the southern fence of the temple compounds⁴⁾. In 1940, when systematical excavations of some of the small buildings surrounding the main temples were undertaken, two more inscriptions were discovered⁵⁾. During the period from 1941 to 1947 and the following years these excavations were continued and an amazing number of small inscriptions was brought to light⁶⁾. A report on these inscriptions with provisional transcripts was prepared by Soehamir and placed at the present writer's disposal⁷⁾. As a few more inscriptions have since been discovered and partial reconstructions were performed on the small buildings, it was necessary to revise the results. The present author had the opportunity to visit the Plaosan complex in July 1952 and August 1953, where, assisted by those in charge of the excavations, further material could be collected. Although the final results are by no means definite (the activities are still going on), the importance of the finds, amounting to more than fifty inscriptions, makes a further delay in publication undesirable. In an earlier publication I have pointed out the significance of some of these inscriptions with regard to the political history of Java in the 9th century A.D.⁸⁾; this is, of course, only a small aspect of their importance.

¹⁾ Viz. Mus. Jak., No. D. 82. Up to 1915 the stone was considered to be of unknown origin (cf. Verbeek, *Oudheden van Java*, 1891, p. 164), but Bosch made it clear that it originates from Plaosan (*De stichtingsoorkonde van Candi Plaosan teruggevonden ? in Oudh. Versl.*, 1915, Bijlage N, pp. 89-91). The text is published in *Pras. Indon.*, II. No. VII ; as a matter of fact, the Prae-Nagari inscription, presumably to be dated back to the first half of the 9th century A.D., does not appear to be the original foundation act of Tjandi Plaosan, but relates to the extension of an older foundation.

²⁾ This text is dealt with in *Pras. Indon.*, 11, No. V.

³⁾ For the details, the reader is referred to the article by Bosch mentioned in note 1 above. Very probably this stone, which was brought to Jakarta by Groneman in 1889, was transported to Plaosan some years afterwards ; a stone bearing exactly the same text *anumoda sang* and of exactly the same measurements as those mentioned of D. 76 (cf. Bosch, *art. cit.*, p. 89) is at present on the Plaosan site. Although this point is mentioned nowhere, it is likely that the stone was returned to Plaosan, presumably with the intention to ascertain whether the fragmentary text could be combined with other, likewise fragmentary, inscriptions.

⁴⁾ *Oudh. Versl.*, 1925, p. 72 and p. 88, reproduced *ibid.*, Plate 22 a. Owing to the rather vague determination of the site of discovery, it does not appear whether the inscription belongs to the northern or to the southern complex.

⁵⁾ *Oudh. Versl.*, 1940, p. 22, reproduced *ibid.*, Plate 15. The text of both inscriptions (*infra*, I, 15 and 16) is identical.

⁶⁾ Cf. *Oudh. Versl.*, 1941-1947, pp. 40 sq. and p. 50, and, especially, *Oudh. Versl.*, 1948, pp. 27-32 ; cf. also *Laporan Tahun* 1950, p. 17.

⁷⁾ This belongs to the material briefly referred to in *Oudh. Versl.*, 1941-1947, p. 50.

⁸⁾ *Pras Indon.*, I (1950), pp. 116 sq

A brief introduction about various details will be followed by the transcription, after which a few points about the meaning of the epigraphs will be noted down.

The position of the numerous buildings of the Plaosan complex clearly appears from the sketch published in the Annual Report of the year 1948⁹). Almost all inscriptions hitherto discovered belong to the northern complex (Candi Plaosan Lor). Those of the southern complex will be discussed later, when more data will be available. The present writer has limited himself to a small remark about the relation between the inscriptions of the southern and the northern complex.

The type of script used for the inscription published in 1925 is very different from that of the inscriptions of the Plaosan Lor complex in general. This point clearly appears from the photograph published in *Oudh. Versl.* 1925, Plate 22 a. The *virāma*, occurring twice in the epigraph, is expressed by a curve over the *akṣara*, whereas in all the other Plaosan inscriptions the *virāma* begins at about the same place (*i.e.* at the left hand side above the aksara), but is drawn down to below the right hand foot of the *akṣara*. The *virāma* over the *akṣara* is a typical feature of the script of the inscriptions of, for instance, Dinaya (vulgo Dinojo, dated 760 A.D.). Kuburan Candi (821)¹⁰), Karangtengah (824), Gandasuli (832 ?) - examples which are all unambiguously dated¹¹). On the other hand, the two inscriptions of Tjandi Perot (850), the Ratubaka inscriptions (856), and all the later texts show the *virāma* extending to the right of the *akṣara*. Finally, it is noteworthy that in an inscription dated 842 A.D.¹²) either *virāma* form occurs as well as some intermediate forms¹³). As to the undated examples of the *virāma* placed over the *akṣara* attention is drawn to some short inscriptions from the Candi Sewu complex¹⁴) with which the Plaosan inscription published in 1925 has another point in common, *viz.* the expression of the guttural nasal at the end of a word by the *akṣara* *ña* with a *virāma* instead of by the *anusvāra* mark as is usual in Old Javanese inscriptions.

The two respects in which the inscription published in 1925 differs from the other Plaosan inscriptions, *viz.* the form of the *virāma* and its use with the *akṣara* *ña* to express the guttural nasal at the end of a word, may be connected with a lack of practice in writing Old Javanese by a type of script originally used for other languages. In Sanskrit and in Indian Prakrits the *virāma* could be used almost exclusively at the end of a sentence, so that a clear expression in script was hardly essential. In Old Javanese, however, words very frequently end in consonants and each word constitutes a clearly defined phonetical unity so that the combination of the final consonant into a ligature with the initial consonant(s) of the next word is something not quite natural¹⁵). Consequently, a very frequent use of the *virāma* is noticeable in Old Javanese and this necessitated a more distinct indication of this detail. It is

⁹) *Oudh. Versl.*, 1948, p. 28.

¹⁰) Edition by Goris in *T.B.G.*, 70 (1930), pp. 157-170. For the date, cf. *Pras. Indon.*, I (1950), p. 126, where Goris' reading 753 (Çaka) is corrected into 743, a reading which is confirmed by Damais, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1 (1952), pp. 26 sq.

¹¹) With the exception of the Gandasuli inscription, where the date is presumably expressed by the words *sahinālas partapan* which may have the cipher values of 4, 5 and 7 respectively (cf. *Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 55-57). Damais (*art. cit.*, p. 28) does not consider it likely that the three words have cipher values, but arrives at about the same date by different arguments. - To the above texts may be added the Naṅgulan inscription dated 822/823 A.D. (*Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 128-130; Damais, *art. cit.*, pp. 26 sq.).

¹²) *Pras. Indon.*, I, No. VI, pp. 79-95.

¹³) *Ibid.*, p. 80.

therefore likely that the more elaborated form of the *virāma* represents the later development, whereas the *virāma* written as a small curve over the *akṣara* belongs to an older period when there was not yet any established practice of writing Old Javanese.

The second peculiarity of the inscription published in 1925 is the use of the *akṣara ṅa* with a *virāma* instead of the *anusvāra* mark to indicate the velar nasal at the end of a word, a very frequent case in Old Javanese. Although the *ṅa* with a *virāma* may occur in Sanskrit texts (if words such as *pratyān* occur in *pausa*), the case is not a frequent one. In Indonesian languages, the frequency of the velar nasal in that position necessitated an easier rendering of this phoneme. Already in early times the *anusvāra* mark, a simple point over the *akṣara*, was used to that purpose. The cases in which we find *ṅa* with a *virāma* mark are clearly archaic and belong to a period in which the spelling rules of Old Javanese had not yet fully developed. It may therefore be concluded that the inscription *anumoda sang hamêas pu jumêndañ* is considerably earlier than the other Plaosan inscription. There is some reason to assume that it belongs to the southern Plaosan complex which appears to date from the same period as Tjandi Sewu¹⁶⁾ As to the inscription *anumoda sang* (cf. note 3 above), there is no indication whether it belongs to the northern or to the southern complex. On account of the uncertainty about this point, the inscription will be left out of the account which follows and in which the present author has restricted himself to the northern complex in the hope of being able to deal with the hitherto very few inscriptions belonging to the southern complex as soon as further data are available.

All the other short inscriptions clearly represent one and the same type of script. Some of its main characteristics are :

(a) the *u* following a consonant (called *suku*, "foot", in modern Javanese) is always expressed by a vertical stroke at the foot of the *akṣaras* ; the vertical stroke is, however, not completely straight but ends below in a small, but distinct curve to the right. Examples may be found in most of the inscriptions ;

(b) the *virāma* mark is expressed in the same way as in most Old Javanese inscriptions, viz. to the right of the *akṣara*. It has already been noted above (p. 4) that this detail makes it unlikely that the Plaosan inscriptions should anticipate the middle of the 9th century A.D. by more than one or two decades¹⁷⁾ ;

¹⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-116.

¹⁵⁾ As a matter of fact, the words are separated in Old Javanese inscriptions as a rule. The cases in which we find two phonemes belonging to different words combined into a ligature are not at all rare, but they are nevertheless exceptional if compared with the number of cases in which the words are separated.

¹⁶⁾ *Oudh. Versl.*, 1948, pp. 31 sq. For the inscriptions from Candi Sewu. cf. Krom, *Inleiding* I, (1923) p. 283 ; Stutterheim. *Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen IV, De ouderdom van Tjandi Sewoe*, in *Bijdr. K.I.*, 85 (1929), pp. 491-496; *Pras. Indon.*, I (1950), pp. 113-116. I accept Krom's conclusion that the Sewu type of script belongs to the first half of the ninth century. The little hook at the left hand top of the *akṣaras ha, sa* and *pa* is an archaism and not a modernism as Stutterheim presumed (*art. cit.*, p. 494) ; We find it back in the Karangtênah inscription (824 A.D.) and in the oldest Dieng inscription (809 AD.) Transcription by Brandes-Krom in *O.J.O.* II). Stutterheim's opinion is partly based on the fact that some centuries afterwards, in the full Eastern Javanese period, the left hand vertical of most *akṣaras* is written in an ornamental way, which is, however, rather different from what is observed in the Sewu inscriptions. Other details such as the *na* with *paten* are obviously in favour of the date assigned to the Sewu inscriptions by Krom.

¹⁷⁾ As has been pointed out above (p. 5), the only example of a *virāma* written over the *akṣara* occurs in the inscription *anumoda sang hamêas pu jumêndañ*, which has every chance to belong to the southern complex.

(c) when the *suku* is attached to the *aksara ka*, it is attached to its middle vertical (*kuti*, I 49)¹⁸;

(d) the lower horizontal stroke of the *da* is not straight as in the Karangtengah inscription (824 A.D.) and all the earlier records, but shows the upward curve which will remain characteristic of the *da* in Old Javanese script, at least from the middle of the 9th century on¹⁹).

All the details here mentioned are found together in the two inscriptions of Candi Perot dated 850 A.D. In connection with the paucity of dated inscriptions in this period, only a limited importance could be attached to these palaeographic details²⁰). With this restriction, they appear to point to the period from about 840 to 860 as the most likely time in which the inscriptions were written. This provisional conclusion is fully confirmed by some of the titles and names mentioned in the texts of the inscriptions which will be dealt with in the Additional Notes.

Finally, attention should be paid to a curious mistake of the stone-cutter in inscription I 34 where it is clearly visible that the stone-cutter, wanting to put down *ra*, inverted the order of the *aksara* and the *danda*, putting down the latter first. A mistake of a different kind, but not completely certain, is the name *kuti* (I 49), which one would like to correct into *kuti* - especially as the spelling of a long *i* suggests a Sanskrit word. We may not, of course, conclude from this example that the lingual and the dental tenues were confused in this period; a more likely explanation is that the draftsman presumed wrongly that the word should be written as a dental; the word obviously was not in common use.

In the transcription which follows, the texts are numbered according to the principles already adopted in a previous publication²¹): the three rows of small buildings surrounding the central sanctuaries are indicated by the roman ciphers I to III beginning at the inner row. The monuments themselves, starting at the south-west corner, are numbered by Arabic ciphers. From row I, consisting of fifty buildings, forty-two inscriptions were recovered, *i.e.* from 84 % of the buildings. The high number makes it probable that the eight remaining

¹⁸) This place of the *suku* is an archaism which dates back from the times in which only the middle part of the *ka* was a full-sized vertical (as in the older Pallawa script). Not too much weight should, however, be attached to this detail. Although the inscriptions of the Kayuwani-Balitung period regularly have the *suku* attached to the right hand vertical of the *ka*, exceptions are all but rare. Balitung's Kêdu inscription dated 907 A.D. gives numerous examples of *sukus* written in the archaic way; as a matter of fact, the script, composition and language of the latter document are archaic - which is hardly surprising in a document in which the preceding kings from Sanjaya on are invoked as divine witnesses to the foundation.

¹⁹) The upward curve in the lower horizontal stroke of the *da* is probably a means to prevent the *da* from being confounded with the *na*, a means which became necessary when the *na* had lost its curve in its vertical portion.

²⁰) In all palaeographic discussions it should be considered that even in the most favourable case a margin of at least twenty years is necessary; since, as a rule, people retain the writing habits adopted in youth, much depends on the age of those who write. The case is not unfavourable for the Plaosan inscriptions in as far as they exhibit a transitional phase between the older variety of Central Javanese script (*e.g.* in the Karangtengah inscription dated 824 A.D.) and the more evolved type in the inscriptions of the Kayuwani-Balitung Period.

²¹) *Pras. Indon.*, I (1950), p. 116. For the following description, the reader is referred to the groundplan prepared by the Seksi Bangunan of the Dinas Purbakala at Prambanan, Central Java, which is reproduced on Plate I. There, the form and the orientation of the buildings as well as the area where the inscriptions are to be found are clearly indicated.

buildings also had inscriptions. This surmise is more or less confirmed by the fact that from all those buildings from which no inscriptions have been recovered considerable portions of the basements are still missing. From the second and third rows a relatively very small number of inscriptions were found again. Probably only the eight square corner buildings and a few *stūpas*, viz. those at the *gopura* B 4 and II 21 and III 24, were inscribed. Finally, an inscription in red paint ²²⁾ was discovered on one of the tower-like corners of the innermost complex (E 3).

Further research may bring more inscriptions to the light, although there is no reason to suppose that the final results will be completely different from what they are now.

Transcription ²³⁾

I (first row)

1. dharmma çri mahārāja ²⁴⁾
2. anumoda sang kalungwarak pu/dakṣa huwus ²⁵⁾
3. - ²⁶⁾
4. anumoda sang rasbang pu ²⁷⁾ mañju
5. anumoda ra<kai> ²⁸⁾ wanwa galuḥ/tinulusakan = dai rakai gurunwāni
<dyah ra>nu ²⁹⁾
6. anumoda rakai gurunwāni/dyah ranu
7. anumoda sang ramraman pu singha huwus
8. anusnoda sang romraman pu singha/huwus
9. anumoda sang watuhumalang pu tguh

²²⁾ This is the only inscription in paint discovered in the northern complex of Plaosan. It is well-known that a considerable number of short inscriptions written in red, black and white paint are found in the Lara Djonggrang complex of Prambanan, but most of these are very difficult to be read. Inscriptions in red and black paint have been noticed on Tjandi Sadjiwan and on the Ratubaka plateau, too. They will be dealt with in a future publication.

²³⁾ Cf. the reproductions on Plates 11 — IX.

²⁴⁾ This inscription, mentioned in Suhamir's list (cf. p. 3 above), could not be retraced. Probably, the stone fragment got lost in the earth again, from where it will be recovered in due time. As the same text is often repeated on other stones in the Plaosan complex, an error by Suhamir seems unlikely.

²⁵⁾ The vertical strokes in the transcripts indicate that the texts are interrupted by an antefix.

²⁶⁾ The horizontal stroke indicates that no inscription has (as yet) been discovered on the building. This method was only followed for the buildings in row I, where there are grounds to presume that all the buildings once had inscriptions.

²⁷⁾ Owing to a mistake by the stone-cutter, the little curve at the base of the *suku*, which is characteristic of the script of the Plaosan inscriptions (cf. the Introduction), was prolonged in the upward direction. The result resembles the ligature *ppa* in the form used in the inscriptions of Central Java. This lapse tends to show that the lapicide mechanically reproduced an example which had perhaps been previously written in chalk on the stone. Assuming that the stone-cutter wrongly extended the curve of the *suku* too high here, it is easy to understand that the lapicide mistook the *suku* for a subscribed *pa*. Some similar mistakes were discussed in the second volume of *Prasasti Indonesia*, the introduction to No. X. Cf. also *infra* note 37.

²⁸⁾ The portion of the stone missing here is large enough to contain the syllable *kai*, which is necessary in the context.

²⁹⁾ As *nu* is well preserved, it seems very likely that this is the same name as in I 6. Another dignitary having the same title *rakai gurunwāni*, but named *dyah saladū*, is mentioned in III 14 and 15.

10. anumoda sang maḍaṅḍar pu tahun/anumo³⁰⁾
11. -
12. anumoda sa<ng> ḍawka pu³¹⁾
13. -
14. -
15. anumoda sang sirikan pu sūryya³²⁾
16. anumoda sang sirikan pu <s>ūryya³²⁾
17. dharmma ḥṛī mahārāja
18. anumoda ḥṛī kahulunna/n
19. anumoda ḥṛī kahulu/nnan
20. anumoda sang ḍāṅgul pu/candra
21. dharmma ḥṛī mahārāja
22. anumoda sang taṅunan pu dwāra
23. anumoda rakai layuwatang dyah mahārṇnawa
24. anumoda sang puluwatu pu para³³⁾
25. dharmma śrī maharaja
26. anumoda sang sirikan pu ang/gēhan
27. dharmma ḥṛī mahārāja/dharmma ḥṛī mahārāja
28. anumoda sang da/halu pu rāja
29. dharmma ḥṛī mahārāja,
30. <anumo>da sang dalinan pu bala³⁴⁾
31. anumoda sang ḍa/tirip pu kaisawa
32. minulān³⁵⁾ sang tawan pu piṅul gawai sang tawān pu kais-sawa³⁶⁾

³⁰⁾ As is visible on the photograph of I 10 (cf. *infra*, Plate IV C), a stone with the inscription *anumo* (to be exact, *anume*, for the *daṅḍa* is not visible, nor is the second vertical of the *ma*) is at present placed at the left hand side of the antefix of the temple to which I 10 belongs. Although the size of the stone does not exclude the possibility that its place is correct, there is no other example in which more than one *anumoda* inscription occurs on the same building. In the cases where more than one dignitary has collaborated, this point is clearly mentioned by the use of different terms (cf. the term *tinulusakan*, "achieved by", in I 5; the use of *minulān* and *gawai* in I 33; the mention of three dignitaries together with the king in I 41, and, finally, the inscription *dharmma ḥṛī mahārāja* which occurs twice in I 27). Although it remains theoretically possible that I 10 contained the same inscription twice (as is the case with the last quotation where, however, the fact of the founder being the king himself makes an essential difference), it seems far more likely that the fragment *anumo* is wrongly placed in I 10. It might have been the beginning of the inscription of I 11, which has not yet been recovered.

³¹⁾ A stone fragment with only the aksara *wa* exactly after the break, but an empty space after this *wa* was found within the remains of I 12. It is probably the ending of the name of the authority mentioned in I 12. As long as the other stone fragments, which are assumed to bear the beginning of the name, have not been recovered there remains a possibility that the fragment with *wa* belongs to one of the neighbouring buildings I 13 or 14, the inscriptions of which have not been found.

³²⁾ These inscriptions have been published in *Oudh. Versl.*, 1940, pp. 29 sq.; cf. *ibid.*, Plates 15 and 18.

³³⁾ As the stone fragment immediately following has not been recovered, it is possible that the name is not complete in this form.

³⁴⁾ The stone fragment preceding *da* has not been found; it is, however, not likely that there has been a term other than *anumoda*.

³⁵⁾ Undoubtedly a derivative from *mūla* with the infix *-in-* and the suffix *-an*, so that the correct spelling should have been *minulān*.

³⁶⁾ Curiously enough, spelt with a double *s*, the first of which is a *sa* with a virama mark. It is undoubtedly the same name as *kaisawa* in I 31. The correct spelling of the name would have been *kesawa* (one of the names of Viṣṇu).

34. dha.<r>mma çr<i> mahārāja³⁷⁾
 35. anumoda sang wurutuṅgal pu/ basa huwus
 36. anumoda sang pa/ngumulan pu mandeha
 37. --
 38. --
 39. gawai sang waḍinin pu pañca
 40. anumoda sang tilimpik/pu pager
 41. anumoda sang hagu/lawan sang pu raliṅgang pu // dharmma
 çrī mahārāja // habat kina<pata>nnira lawan = sang maṇasö
 42. dharmma çrī mahārāja
 43. --
 44. anumoda sang antulan pu awat³⁸⁾
 45. anumoda sang ratira pu mandêha³⁹⁾
 46. anumoda sang ra<w>uga pu sarwwa⁴⁰⁾
 47. -
 48. dharmma çrī mahārāja
 49. anumoda sang patapān pu kuṭi⁴⁴⁾
 50. anumoda sang tiruraṇu pu laṅkā

II (second row)

1. anumoda⁴²⁾
 13. pu mahota⁴³⁾
 19. anumoda sang ḍa/wruluk pu nadī pu candra mana/lihi
 21. anumoda çrī kahulunnan⁴⁴⁾
 22. anumoda çrī kahulunnan⁴⁴⁾
 29. anumoda sang kalangwatu/pu mungu

³⁷⁾ In spite of the damage the reading may be taken for granted. In the introduction, it has been pointed out that the lapicide made a curious mistake in cutting the *rā* : he put down the *daṇḍa* before instead of after the aksara.

³⁸⁾ The final aksara is not quite certain ; it may be a *ka*, but this seems less likely although *awak* is more satisfactory as a name than *awat*.

³⁹⁾ According to Suhamir's list : I did not succeed in finding the inscription again. The title *ratira*, unknown from other sources, seems somewhat questionable. Two titles frequently found in Old Javanese inscriptions are *tiruan* and *tiru*, but the latter term is almost always followed by *raṇu*, i.e. in the form *tiruranu* ; the oldest reference is one of the Candi Sewu inscriptions (cf. *Pras. Indon.*, I, p. 115). In connection with the above, one might consider the possibility that the reading should be corrected to *ratiru* (i.e. *tiru* preceded by the prefix *ra*). This suggestion cannot, however, be checked unless the inscription is found back again.

⁴⁰⁾ This inscription, which was still *in loco* during my visit in 1952, could not be found again in 1953, so that no photograph is available. The completion to *rawuga* necessarily remains conjectural, although this is the only title, satisfying the given conditions, which is known from elsewhere, too. A Pamêgêt Wuga is the principal person in the inscription of Kuburan Candi dated 821 A.D. (cf. note 7 above) ; for the prefix *ra-*, cf. the inscriptions I 4, I 7 and 8 (if *ramraman* is to be analyzed as *ramraman*, not as *ram-ram-an*), I 41, I 45 and the Additional Notes below.

⁴¹⁾ As already noted in the Introduction, this might be an error for *kuṭi*.

⁴²⁾ According to Suhamir's list. The fragmentary inscription (the word *anumoda* is always followed by a title and a name) could not be found again in 1952 nor in 1953.

⁴³⁾ According to Suhamir's list. The beginning of the text (presumably consisting of *anumoda* and *sang* followed by a title) has never been known.

⁴⁴⁾ Both inscriptions were present in July 1952, but could not be retraced in August 1953 : consequently no photograph is available.

49. rakai⁴⁵⁾

III (third row)

l. anumoda⁴⁶⁾

14. (a) anumoda rakai gurunwani dyaḥ salaḍū

(b) asthupa⁴⁷⁾ ḥri mahārāja rakai pikatan

15. (a) astupa⁴⁷⁾ ḥri mahārāja rakai pikatan

(b) anumoda rakai gurunwani dyaḥ salaḍū

21. anumoda sang ḥikhanandi pu hujung huwus

24. dharmma ḥri mahārāja

35. anumo<da>⁴⁸⁾

55. anumoda sang pagarwsi pu gunung⁴⁹⁾

56. anumoda sang tumungtung pu baruṇa⁴⁹⁾

Loose stones or stone fragments with inscriptions⁵⁰⁾ :

(a) // dharmma ḥri mahārāja //⁵¹⁾

(b) dharmma ḥri ma.....⁵²⁾

(c) // a numoda sang hamêas pu jumêndan //⁵³⁾

(d) anumoda sang⁵⁴⁾

⁴⁵⁾ According to Suhamir's list. In connection with the very few Rakai titles mentioned in the Plaosan inscriptions (cf. the Additional Notes), the loss of the rest of the inscription is to be regretted.

⁴⁶⁾ According to Suhamir's list.

⁴⁷⁾ Should from the three spelling mistakes in the single word *stūpa* (two in inscription III 15 a), a striking thing in itself, be concluded that the word was less known to Old Javanese clerks and architects than it is to modern archaeologists? There is another explanation possible: rather because the word was very well-known, clerks may have bothered little about writing it correctly. A slight point in favour of the latter explanation is the fact that the word spells differently on two buildings very close to one another.

⁴⁸⁾ The rest of this text has not been found; the fragment here gives undoubtedly the beginning of the word *anumoda*.

⁴⁹⁾ The inscriptions were at III 55 and 56 in 1952, but could not be traced back in August 1953. As III 56 seems an unusual place for an inscription, but the corner building II 49 could be expected to bear one, there is good reason to suppose that the stone with the inscription *anumoda sang tumungtung pu baruṇa* does not belong to III 56, but to II 49.

⁵⁰⁾ These five inscriptions were found on the grounds of Candi Plaosan (northern or southern complex), but without any exact data about the places where they once belonged. Further reconstruction activities will perhaps furnish precise data; some of the previously mentioned inscriptions of which the original place was uncertain at first could be replaced where they exactly fitted in with other stones of a building, (cf. also the *addenda*.)

⁵¹⁾ At present in the office of the Dinas Purbakala at Prambanan. Comparing this inscription with the numerous inscriptions from Plaosan Lor bearing the same text, an important difference is noticeable *viz.* the use of a double *daṇḍa* before and after the text. Now, it is striking that one of the very few inscriptions hitherto discovered on one of the buildings of Plaosan Kidul also reads *dharmma ḥri mahārāja* with a double *daṇḍa* before and after these words. The inscription may, therefore, be considered to belong to the southern complex, as is probably also the case with inscription (c).

⁵²⁾ The text was probably identical with that of inscription (a), but without the double *daṇḍas*. Nothing is known about its original place.

⁵³⁾ As was noted in the Introduction, there is good reason to suppose that this inscription belongs to Plaosan Kidul. At present, the stone is in the office of the Dinas Purbakala at Prambanan.

⁵⁴⁾ This may be the inscription which was once reported to have been brought to Jakarta; cf. the Introduction.

(e)la l tumuli⁵⁵⁾

Inscription in red paint on the tower E 3⁵⁶⁾
palarhyang⁵⁷⁾

Additional notes about the meaning of the inscriptions.

In the Introduction, we briefly pointed out the unique interest of the Plaosan inscriptions. As a matter of fact, there are quite a few other Javanese monuments that bear some, or even numerous, small inscriptions. There are, for instance, those engraved above reliefs of the lowest series of the Barabudur - inscriptions valuable not only for the relation with the Mahakarmavibhanga text⁵⁸⁾, but also for the approximate dating of the great monument⁵⁹⁾. The inscriptions above a relief series of Candi Panataran in East Java⁶⁰⁾ might at one time show the way to the interpretation of the scenes. A considerable number of short inscriptions were discovered in the Loro Jonggrang complex at Prambanan⁶¹⁾ the provisional results are promising, but these inscriptions are obliterated and partly illegible owing to the fact that they have all been done in red, black and white paint⁶²⁾. Small numbers of short inscriptions are associated with the Candi Sewu complex⁶³⁾, Tjandi Mendut⁶⁴⁾,

⁵⁵⁾ At present the stone fragment is in the working shed at Plaosan. No data about the exact place of discovery are as yet available. The reading of the fragment presents no real difficulty. I have no doubt that the symbol following *la* is not an aksara, but the cipher 1 ; it is slightly lower than the *akṣaras* and has exactly the same form as the cipher 1 in the Kayuwani records (an earlier; in the later inscription it is undistin guishable from the *akṣara ga*). The form of the first *suku* (in *tu*) is curious and differs considerably from the second one (in *mu*), in the other Plaosan inscriptions, for instance in I 24, the syllable *tu* is written in the normal way. Not only the script, but also the text itself is unusual. If the reading is correct, this inscription would be the only one from Plaosan in which a cipher occurs. The *la* could be the end of a term indicating a measure or a weight (such as *pala*). *Tumuli* is an Old Javanese word meaning "after that". The stone gives the impression of being only a fragment of a longer text which presumably consisted of an enumeration of some kind.

⁵⁶⁾ This is the only inscription in red paint found in the complex of Candi Plaosan up to now.

⁵⁷⁾ This inscription is very well preserved; it only contains the well-known title : no traces of the name could be discovered.

⁵⁸⁾ The inscriptions were published by Krom in *Barabudur, Archaeologische Beschrijving* (1920), pp. 50-52. Cf. also Sylvain Levi, *Mahākarmavibhanga* (1932), where the Barābudur inscriptions are discussed in the notes to the Sanskrit text, and the discussion of the latter publication by Bosch in *T.B.G.*, 73 (1933), pp. 374-379.

⁵⁹⁾ Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 sq. Krom there bases his dating mainly on the form of the *virāma* written as a small curve over the *akṣara*. Krom's statement that the Dieng inscription dated 731 Çaka (809 A.D.) would have the *virāma* expressed to the right of the *akṣara* is wrong ; the four *virāma* marks occurring at the back of the stone have the *virāma* as a small curve over the *akṣaras* (*viz.* in *lamwit*, line ; in *wantil*, line 2 ; and in *panuliñan* and *pikatan*, line 3). The same *virāma* form occurs in inscriptions dated 821 (*Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 126 sqq.), 822 (*op. cit.*, p. 128), 824 (*op. cit.*, p. 30) and, occasionally, in later inscriptions (in 842 ; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 80). The Barabudur script agrees as closely as possible with that of the Karangtênah inscription dated 824 A.D. (cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 111 sq.)

⁶⁰⁾ Cf. Krom, *Inleiding*², II (1923), p. 277 sq.

⁶¹⁾ Cf. Krom, *Inleiding*², II (1923), p. 477 and pp. 487 sq. ; *Oudh. Versl.*, 1940, p. 29 and Plate 11 : Stutterheim, *Oudh. Aantek.*, No. XXIX, *Tjandi Lara Djonggrang en Oost-Java*, in *Bijdr. R.I.*, 90 (1933), pp. 267-2.

⁶²⁾ The number of inscriptions is far greater than it would appear from the publications mentioned in note 61. These texts will be dealt with in a special publication about Loro Jonggrang.

⁶³⁾ Krom, *Inleiding*², I, p.283 : Stutterheim, *Bijdr. K.I.*, 85 pp. 491 sqq. ; *Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 113-116.

⁶⁴⁾ Krom, *Inleiding*², I, p. 317 : *Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 112 sq.

the Ratubaka plateau ⁶⁵), Candi Sadjiwan ⁶⁶), and a few others ⁶⁷) ; nowhere, however, the harvest is comparable with that of Candi Plaosan with its more than sixty inscriptions, most of which are complete and easy to read. In the notes which follow, a few points concerning the short texts will be discussed, viz. (a) the language, in particular the technical terms, (b) titles and names, and, finally (c) the conclusions which may be based on these texts concerning the time and the way in which the Plaosan temples were built.

(a) **Language and technical terms.** Most of the short inscriptions are of a stereotyped form consisting of a term, usually the word *anumoda* (46 times), but sometimes other terms such as *dharma* (13 times), *gawai* (twice) and *stūpa* (twice in different but likewise incorrect spellings), followed first by a title preceded by *sang* and after that by a name preceded by *pu*. Instead of titles preceded by *sang*, there are sometimes, but far less frequently, other titles preceded by *rakai* ; instead of names preceded by *pu*, names preceded by *dyaḥ* occur a few times. The inscriptions in which either *çrī mahārāja* or *çrī kahulunnan* occurs are of a different and shorter type ; they usually consist only of *dharma* and *stūpa* in the case of the *çrī mahārāja* inscriptions and *anumoda* in those of *çrī kahulunnan* followed, of course, by either of these indications ; only in III 14 and 15, the formulation is a little more precise owing to the addition of the king's *Rakai* title. The obvious conclusion is that the two titles were sufficient by themselves, so that there was no need to give further details. Fortunately, this method was not followed everywhere ; the more elaborate mention of the king in III 14 and 15 makes his identification possible.

Sometimes, various details are added in the texts. In a number of cases (I, 2, 7, 8 and 35 ; III, 21) the word *huwus* is added to texts of the above types. Other, more interesting formulations are found in those cases where more than one dignitary had merits with a view to some little buildings. Thus, two names with the addition of the word *mañālihi* are found in II 19 ; the word, a derivative of *kālīḥ* (*kalih*), "two", means "to do (make) something with two men together" ⁶⁸) ; probably, the two persons mentioned had cooperated in having the building erected. In quite a similar way occurs the expression *kinapatannira*, "done (made) by four (persons together)" in I 41, where four names are, in fact, mentioned ⁶⁹). In another case the building I 5 is determined as the *anumoda* of the dignitary bearing the title *Rakai Wanwa Galuh*, but it was brought to an end (*tinulusakan*) by (*dai*) a *Rakai Gurunwañi* named *Dyaḥ Rāṇu*. Presumably, the former was prevented (by death ?) from executing his good intentions, so that his efforts were continued by another dignitary. From this it may be

⁶⁵) Only very recently an inscription in red paint was discovered on a miniature tjandi near the so-called *pēndapa* terrace. In July 1953, two small fragments of a longer stone inscription, presumably in Sanskrit, were discovered near the southern border of the same terrace. A small gold plate with *ye te svaha* (i.e. an abbreviation of the well-known Buddhist formula *ye dharma hetuprabhava* etc.) was found near the southern border of the terrace. Three lengthy inscriptions in Sanskrit strophes (one of which is briefly mentioned by Stutterheim, T.B.G., 75 (1935), note 3 to p. 443 and by Damais, *Epigr. Aantek.*, I, in T.B.G., 83, 1949, p. 3, and B.E.F.E.O., XLV 1, Fasc. 1 (1952), pp. 30 sq.; are published in the second volume of *Pras. Indon.*

⁶⁶) J. van Blom, *Tjandi Sadjiwan* (1935). pp. 12 sq. ; Stutterheim, *Djawa*, XV (1935), pp. 89 sq. ; *Pras. Indon.*, i, p. 118.

⁶⁷) For some short inscriptions written in black paint on the walls of Candi Sari, cf. Stutterheim, *Oudh. Versl.*, 1925, pp. 16 sq. and Plate 12.

⁶⁸) Cf. the meaning of *nañlihi* in modern Javanese (Gericke and Roorda, *Handwoordenboek*, s.v. *ro*, I, p. 316, first column).

⁶⁹) I.e. four including the king. The inscription will be discussed in detail.

concluded that there must have been a close relation between these two Rakais, possibly that of father and son, older and younger brother or some other relationship.

There is a similar case in I 32, where, however, other terms are used. It reads : *minulān sang tawān pu piñul, gawai sang tawān pu kais-sawa*. In spite of its spelling by a short *u*, there is no doubt that the first word is a derivative of *mūla*, "root, fundament, beginning", by means of the infix *-in-* which denotes the passive and the suffix *-an*. It is well-known that the latter, in passive forms, corresponds to the suffix *-in* active forms. *Minulān* should therefore be considered the passive of a term meaning "to lay the fundamentals of, to begin with". In this case, where the term refers to a definite building, the former, more literal, would be preferable ; *gawai*, a term meaning "work, activities" in general, would, then, denote the remaining activities in behalf of the building, *viz.* those which had to take place after the basement had been constructed. Here, the two persons bear the same title of *sang tawān* ; they are either colleagues or, more probably, the latter is the successor of the former ⁷⁰⁾ ; probably, the Tawan named Pu Piñul intended to have the little temple constructed, but succeeded only as far as the basement was concerned; he probably died and his successor Pu Kecawa ⁷¹⁾ brought the work to an end.

The above examples might perhaps suggest a plausible interpretation for *huwus*, "finished, already" ⁷²⁾, which occurs at the end of a number of short inscriptions as noted above. It is undoubtedly an abbreviated expression, probably for *huwus umatī*, "no more in life". If this is correct, the conclusion is that the authorities to whose names *huwus* is added fully accomplished their task in having the buildings erected, but died before the time when the short inscriptions were added to indicate the merits of all those who co-operated in the foundation ⁷³⁾. The use of *huwus* could then be compared with our custom of adding a cross behind the author's name on the title page in posthumous publications. If this interpretation of *huwus* is correct, the Plaosan inscriptions distinguish three different cases : (a) the dignitary fully accomplished his task in having the building erected and inaugurated, (b) the dignitary fully accomplished his task as far as the erection of the building was concerned, but died before its inauguration, and (c) the dignitary died during the construction of the building. In the second case the addition of the term *huwus* is sufficient, but in the case of the dignitary's death during the construction it is necessary to add who brought the building to an end.

The most common term met with in all these inscriptions is *anumoda*. Most buildings are stated to be the *anumoda* of a certain dignitary. The term may be translated by "gift" or

⁷⁰⁾ As a matter of fact, there are no example of more than one dignitary with the title *sang tawan* being mentioned in the same edict. In this case it is striking that the same name Pu Kaisawa occurs in the immediately preceding inscription I 31, where it is, however, the name of a dignitary denoted as *sang datirip*. Since the titles *tawān* and *tirip* are usually mentioned together in inscriptions (the third dignitary usually mentioned in the same connection, *viz.* the title *pankur*, is also found in the immediate neighbourhood in I 33), both Pu Kaisawas would probably be one and the same man ; bearing the title *datirip*, he had the building I 31 erected, but when the Tawān Pu Piñul had died, Pu Kaisawa succeeded to his rank and title and was obliged to finish the task which his predecessor had not been, able to perform to the end, *viz.* the erection of I 32.

⁷¹⁾ This is probably the correct spelling of the name given as *kaisawa* and *kaissawa* in the text, Keçava is one of Viṣṇu's names.

⁷²⁾ With many secondary meanings. Thus, *huwus* (*wis* in modern Javanese), placed before a term of a verbal meaning, indicates that an action is fully accomplished at the moment considered. For further details, the reader is referred to the discussion by Berg, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Javaansehe werkwoordsvormen*, in *Bijdr. K.I.*, 95 (1937), pp. 54 sq.

⁷³⁾ This point will be discussed in detail in the last part of these Additional Notes.

something similar⁷⁴), but this does not explain why one of the common words of that meaning, e.g. Sanskrit *danām*⁷⁵) or Old Javanese *pawaiḥ*, *sêmbaḥ*⁷⁶) was not used. *Anumoda*, though evidently applied to some kinds of pious gifts, has its own associations, especially in Buddhism. The form *anumodayati* is sometimes used in the final formula of Buddhist texts instead of the more usual term *abhinandati* to express “*la satisfaction, mais dans le sens de l’approbation, de l’adhésion et de la foi*”⁷⁷). It is the joy felt by the audience of the Bhagavat after having listened to the correct exposition of the Law. It is joy derived from the revelation of the Good Doctrine which is a means of escape from the miseries of Phenomenal Existence. It may be compared with the term *pramudita* (*viz. bhūmi*), used to denote the first stage of the Bodhisattva’s career when the latter “becomes possessed by a joyous felicitous feeling, as he sees that he draws near to the attainment of Supreme Enlightenment and can further the weal of other living beings”⁷⁸). In the latter case *pramudita* expresses the joy at something yet to come, *viz.* the possibility of devoting oneself to the weal of all other beings after the attainment of Supreme Enlightenment. In contrast to the prefix *pra-*, *anu-* could be used only to denote joy at something past⁷⁹), such as the good words of the Law (technically *dharmānumodana*)⁸⁰) or the accomplishment of pious deeds⁸¹). The contrast between *pramoda* and *anumoda* clearly appears from Bodhicaryāvatāra, III, strophe 1⁸²) :

*Apāyaduhkhaiçramam sarvasattvaiḥ kṛtam çubham /
anumode pramodena sukham tiṣṭhantu duḥkhitāḥ //*

In spite of Prajñākaramati’s commentary⁸³), there is, in my opinion, no doubt that *anumode* expresses the Bodhisattva’s joy on account of the merits acquired by all living beings, whereas *pramodena* is his joy on account of the future bliss which will be enjoyed by those now suffering. The exact meaning of *anumoda* clearly appears from the compound

⁷⁴) Cf. Krom, *Inleiding*², I (1923), p. 283 ; Bosch, *Oudh. Versl.*, 1925, p. 88 ; *Pras. Indon.*, I (1950), p. 114. As we noted (*loc. cit.*), there is no reason to complete *anumoda* in the Candi Sewu inscription, to *anumodana* ; the frequent occurrence of *anumoda* in the Plaosan inscriptions makes such a correction unlikely. The Buddhist texts give the terms *anumoda* and *anumodana* (and even a third form, *viz. anumodana* ; cf. the Mahāvastu quoted in note 77 below) in the same meaning.

⁷⁵) This is the word which, for instance, occurs in the Barhut inscriptions ; cf. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions* (1926), pp. 3 sqq.

⁷⁶) The choice between these (and other) terms in Old Javanese depends upon the relation (in rank or in age) between the giver and the receiver.⁷⁷) Cf. the note by Senart to *dharmānumodana* in *Mahāvastu*, I (1882), p. 298, line 19 (the note itself on p. 594).

⁷⁷) Cf. the note by Senart to *dharmānumodanā* in *Mahāvastu*, I (1882), p. 298, line 19 (the note itself on p. 594).

⁷⁸) Quoted from Obermiller’s résumé of the *Abhisamayālamkāra* by Haribhadra in *Acta Orient.*, XI (1932), p. 53. Cf. also the explanation given in the *Daçabhumikasutra*, edition by Rahder (1926), p. 12, § W, especially the words *sarvathāgatājñānaprave çaprayogam anusmaran bhuyah pramodyavan bhavati*, “considering (that the Marga is) the training which may lead to the wisdom of all the Tathagatas, he becomes still more filled with joy”.

⁷⁹) The learnt texts of Buddhism often attach a pregnant meaning to such prefixes. For *pra-* and *anu-*, cf. the difference established between *pravṛtti* and *anuvṛtti* in the *Abhidharmakoça*, translation by De la Vallée Poussin, IV, p. 27.

⁸⁰) Cf. note 77 above.

⁸¹) *Puṇyānumodana* ; cf. note 88 below.

⁸²) Edition by De la Vallée Poussin (together with Prajñākaramati’s *Pañjika*) in *Bibl. Ind.* (1901-14), p. 74.

⁸³) The *Pañjika* is based on a different reading, *viz. anumode prasadena* in the third *pada* (*anumode prasadeneti sampraharsayami prasannacittan*, “*anumode prasadena* means : ‘I make them

puṇyānumodana, a technical term used to denote the third aspect of *anuttarapūja*, the supreme form of worship⁸⁴). *Anumoda* sometimes denotes the “feeling of delight with regard to one’s own achievements”⁸⁵); thus, it is stated that the Buddha looks back to his achievements as a Bodhisattva while abiding on the austere Path of Concentration and now considers it characterized by the feeling of delight⁸⁶). Usually, however, *anumoda* is the feeling of delight in regard of other people’s achievements, which is the meaning required in most of the above quotations. This use of the term is not limited to Mahāyāna⁸⁷), not even to Buddhism⁸⁸).

happy by being in a placid state of mind’ “), which is rather common-place and less satisfactory than *pramodena*, as De la Vallée Poussin adds in a note to this passage. I translate the strophe as a whole : “I rejoice at the good acts done by all living beings, (acts) which will bring about the cessation of suffering due to annihilation; (I rejoice) with the gladdening certainty that all those suffering will be in a happy state”.

⁸⁴) Cf. *Dharmasamgraha*, XIV. to which De la Vallée Poussin refers the reader in note I to p. 44 of his Bodhicaryāvatāra edition ; there, a list of the different forms of *anuttarapūjā* is given. Cf. also the quotation from the Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabhāṣūtra in *Çikṣasamuccaya*, p. 13, lines 10-15 (Bendall’s edition in *Bibl. Buddh.*, I, (1902), giving *vandanapūjanapapadeçana-puṇyānumodana buddhādhyeṣaṇa-yācana - bodhiparinamanam*. Another important passage, quoted from one of the Prajñāparamita recensions in *Çikṣasamuccaya*, p. 313, line 113, to p. 314, line 17, gives a detailed analysis by specifying different kinds of *anumodana*, such as rejoicing at the Bodhisattvas who made the first step on the Path towards Buddha-hood by *bodhicittotpada*, those who continue on that Path, etc. This *anumodana* over the good acts by other people, especially over the roots of virtue planted by them, is one of the aspects of the Bodhisattva’s efforts in liberating all the creatures from the *Samsara*.

⁸⁵) Obermiller, *The Doctrine of Prajñā-pāramita*, etc., in *Acta Orient.*, XI (1932), p. 43.

⁸⁶) In the *Abhisamayālamkāra* (11, 24), *anumoda* is considered the ninth element of the Buddha’s omniscience in regard of the Path (Obermiller, *art. cit.*, p. 75). It is hardly necessary to add that *anumoda* (in contrast to *pramoda*) always refers either to past action (by oneself or by other people) or to present action ; in the latter case it always denotes the feeling of delight with regard to other people’s good deeds;.

⁸⁷) Outside Mahāyāna, the only clear references to the concept of *anumoda* in Buddhism are found in the Mahāsāṃghika School from where it could possibly have been introduced into Mahayana. Cf. the expression *dharmānumodana* quoted in note 77 above from the Mahāvastu. Another passage in the Mahāvastu, occurring in the history of the Kinnari (II, pp. 94-115 of Senart’s edition), may be interesting on account of the associations connected with *anumoda*. There, the king Subahu orders his son Sudhanakumāra to assist at the great sacrifice of king Sucandrima at Śimhapura. Subahu addresses his son by the words : *gaccha simhapuram rājā sucandrimo yajñam yajisyati tam anumodahi*. The meaning is that the prince should assist at the ceremonies as a token of sympathy which could be an important factor for a successful sacrifice. The continuation of this Jataka (in which Sudhana shows his sympathy by preaching about *ahiṃsā* and thus preventing the king from executing the cruel sacrifice - rather out of love for the Kinnari than for more properly Buddhist reasons) is not relevant to our purpose. The main point is that it seems to follow from the above passage that the typically Buddhist use of *anumoda* is based upon a more general meaning of a mark of sympathy in regard of other people’s actions ; usually, as in the Mahāvastu quotation, it is sympathy associated with respect due to a person distinguished by worldly power or superior wisdom. *Anumoda* is not only opposed to *pramoda*, but also, in a different way, to *karuṇa* which implies sympathy with the poor and wretched. This note may account for the Old Javaneese: use of *anumoda* to be mentioned in the following note.

⁸⁸) The term *anumoda* rather often occurs in Old Javanese, where Juynboll, *Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst*, s.v., translates it by “approval” (Dutch : “goedkeuring”), the meaning required, for instance, in the Old Javanese Ramayana, I, strophe 55. Juynboll’s translation does not, however, sufficiently take the special shade of meaning of *anumoda* into account. In the Ramayana strophe, the term is applied with reference to the wish of a *maharsi* : king Daçaratha approves of Viçvāmītra’s request in spite of his initial objections because he does not dare to refuse. To obey the words of a sage is, of course a joy, though sometimes a forced one. We may also ask whether the joy expressed by the dignitaries in having little temples constructed round the king’s foundation would not have been an equally forced one. It is about the same joy which the

The above references leave no doubt about the meaning of *anumoda* required in the Plaosan inscriptions. A great number of dignitaries express their feelings of joy at the pious foundation as a whole by having each one or more small buildings erected round the central foundation. Since the word *anumoda* never occurs when mention is made of foundations by the king himself (the terms *dharma* and *stupa* are used in that case), the obvious conclusion is that the king took care of the main temples in the centre of the complex and of some of the small buildings especially denoted as the king's foundations, whereas court dignitaries, local vassal princes and, perhaps, individual persons showed not only their devotion to the Buddhas, but also their obedience to the king by having one or more little buildings erected each.

Two other terms, *dharma* and *gawai*, are used to denote buildings of exactly the same kind as those with the *anumoda* inscription ; it is obvious that the use of different terms applies not to the form of the structures themselves, but to the relations between the buildings and those who erected them. The term *dharma* is reserved for foundations by the king himself. *Dharma* may, of course, not be concluded to always denote a royal foundation⁸⁹⁾ ; the essential difference with the other little buildings is, it seems, that the buildings denoted by *dharma* are 'independent' foundations, whereas the kind denoted by *anumoda* are due to the collaboration by those dependent on the king who is the founder of the complex as a whole. It is, however, not clear why in I 32 and in I 39 *gawai* is used instead of *anumoda*. In the case of I 32 it might be supposed that the tawān Pu Keçawa could not use *anumoda* because he only finished the building started by another, but this explanation does not hold in the case of I 39. It can be supposed that the dignitary there mentioned did not collaborate with the joy displayed by the others, in other words, that his contribution was not a voluntary one ; there is, however, no real argument to support this interpretation. On the other hand, there is nothing that would suggest a lower rank of the authority mentioned in I 39 : his title and name are of exactly the same type as most of the other ones⁹⁰⁾.

It appears from I 41 that the same building may be a foundation (*dharma*) by the king and, at the same time, the 'joy' (*anumoda*) of three other persons. Unfortunately, the text of I 41 is not complete. Possibly, the three other persons were direct servants of the king who could not afford to have an entire temple constructed on their own account. They would, therefore, have asked the king to allow them to contribute something each to the building so as to prove their good will. The way in which the inscription as a whole was placed is not in conflict with such a supposition. As a matter of fact, the *çrī mahārāja* inscription was cut in the middle of the wall between two antefixae, the rest of the inscription having been added afterwards in front of and behind the king's inscription, a fact which also seems to follow from the wording of the text itself ; for it is stated that three persons express their joy at

member of the royal family and other dignitaries felt when each of them had to build a small part of the walls of the *kraton* of Plered on the order of Sultan Agung. The comparison might be less out of place than would seem at first.

⁸⁹⁾ Such a supposition would be in direct conflict with other inscriptions ; to give one example out of many, a foundation by *sang pamgat hino pu apus* is stated to belong to the latter's *dharma* (*dharmmanira*) at Saliñčinan (*O.J.O.*, XI lines 3 and 4). Neither is it proved that *dharma* would always denote a sanctuary used for royal cremation ceremonies : as far as we know, none of the temples in the Plaosan complex was used for that purpose.

⁹⁰⁾ The conjecture that *anumoda* and *gawai* would be only synonyms is not likely ; in the Candi Sewu complex, too, inscriptions beginning with both *anumoda* and *gawai* were found (cf. *Pras. Indon.* I, pp. 114 sq.).

collaborating with the founder (*sang mañasö*), a term undoubtedly referring to the central inscription⁹¹). It might even be suggested that the defective form of this epigraph, in which names have been left out, has to be ascribed to the fact that the drafter, well-trained in the subtle laws of court hierarchy and painfully scrupulous in writing the titles and names of the dignitaries correctly, did not think it worthwhile to enquire about the exact names of the lower servants and just left them out.

This case is different from that in II 19 where two dignitaries have had a building constructed between them (*mañālihi*); it is different, too, from the inscriptions III 14 and 15, where each *stūpa* has two different inscriptions. The latter case, which is particularly important, will be dealt with in the last paragraph.

(b) Names and titles. The highest authority, mentioned no less than fifteen times⁹²), is the king (*çrī mahārāja*). The inscriptions III 14 b and 15 a have the words Rakai Pikatan added. A Çrī Mahārāja Rakai Pikatan is well-known from the famous list of kings occurring in Balitung's Kedu inscription, dated 907 A.D.⁹³), where he precedes king Rakai Kayuwani. The same king, but referred to as *ratu* instead of *çrī mahārāja*, is mentioned in two inscriptions from Candi Perot dated 850 A.D.⁹⁴). I expect to prove elsewhere that this king still reigned in 856 A.D., the year in which he was succeeded by king Rakai Kayuwani⁹⁵). Previously, it has been pointed out that there are strong arguments in favour of the surmise that Rakai Pikatan was the first king in the dynasty which begins with Sañjaya who, after the period of Çailendra hegemony, reigned as a completely independent ruler in Central Java; he probably owed this position to his marriage with the daughter of the last known Çailendra king Samaratunga⁹⁶).

It was probably this lady who, after her marriage with king Rakai Pikatan, had two important inscriptions made in 842 A.D. under the title of Çri Kahulunnan⁹⁷) The reign of Rakai Pikatan may then be fixed between 842 (or a few years earlier) and 856 A.D. Since it is unlikely that the Çrī Mahārāja title would have been used after the king's resignation or death⁹⁸), it has to be

⁹¹) The meaning of some derivatives of *asö* (or: *ansö*) in Old Javanese charters is sometimes difficult to be settled. The fundamental meaning of the word seems to be "to go forward", "to go into"; the most common meaning of *masö* (*umasö mañsö, umañsö*) is "to attack"; the derivatives with *akan* (*akên*) always mean "to give (to a person of high rank)". *Mañasö* means "to exert right upon" (a territory). For the simile, cf. *tan tama* (or: *tumama*) *i*, literally: "do not enter into", *i.e.* "have no rights upon, an expression used for collectors of taxes etc. with reference to the grounds of a sanctuary. *Sang mañasö* might be translated by "the proprietor; he who exerts the full rights". As the building is denoted as the king's *dharma*, it seems certain that *sang mañasö* refers to the king. "Founder" might be a satisfactory, though not literal, rendering of the term. The words *kinapatannira lawan sang mañasö* may then be rendered by [constructed by the three persons] in cooperation with the founder as the fourth man".

⁹²) Twice on the same building I 27. In this total I included one of the inscriptions (*b*) the exact place of which has not yet been ascertained, but excluded inscription (*a*) where the use of the double *danða* makes it probable that the text belongs to the southern, not to the northern complex

⁹³) Published by Stutterheim with an elaborate introduction in *T.B.G.*, 67 (1927), pp. 172-215.

⁹⁴) The exact date of the Perot inscription and the identity of Rakai Pikatan, concerning which there has been some misunderstanding (cf. Krom, *Geschiedenis*², p. 156), have been settled by Damais, *T.B.G.*, 83 (1949), pp. 18 sq. and *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1 (1952), pp. 30 sq. sub Nos. 17 and 18.

⁹⁵) The arguments are discussed in detail in *Pras. Indon.*, II, the introductions to Nos. X and XI.

⁹⁶) *Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 116 sq.

⁹⁸) In the first case he would have been denoted by some spiritual title (as may have been the case with Airlaṅga; cf. Krom, *Geschiedenis*², pp. 270 sqq. The authenticity of the Kêboan Pasar plates is very doubtful, but the spiritual title is confirmed by other sources. According to calculations by

concluded that the inscriptions were cut between 842 (or some years earlier)⁹⁹ and 856 A.D. As the inscriptions of the northern complex clearly demonstrate the same type of script¹⁰⁰, it may also be concluded that the inscriptions were cut within a short period and those bearing *dharmma çrī mahārāja* only refer to the same king Rakai Pikatan. Besides, considering that cutting in the inscriptions would have been one of the last things to be done, the complex of Plaosan Lor may be taken to exist as it stands from about the middle of the 9th century A.D., *i.e.* almost three quarters of a century earlier than is usually accepted¹⁰¹). The importance of this inference for our knowledge of the history of plastic art and architecture in Java is evident.

The inscriptions on the stupas III 14 and 15 makes some further important deductions possible. Either building bears a second inscription, to wit *anumoda* rakai gurunwañi dyah salaḍū. This inscription presents a case rather different from that occurring on I 41, which has been discussed above. In the latter case, the *dharmma Çrī mahārāja* inscription to which the text mentioning the collaboration of three other people was added, is clearly the primary one. As far as the *stūpas* III 14 and 15 are concerned, the two inscriptions they bear are more or less equivalent. Rakai Gurunwañi, although in rank the king's inferior, as seems to follow from the use of the term *anumoda*, must undoubtedly have been closely associated to the king; this conclusion is, moreover confirmed by the use of such high titles as *rakai* and, especially, *dyah*, a title which seems to be limited to members of the royal family¹⁰²). It is a well-known fact that the title Rakai Gurunwañi is borne by a king in an Old Javanese copper-

Damais, published in *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1 1952, pp. 64 sq., the Kêboan Pasar plates would be dated almost a month earlier than the Pamotan stone, which gives the usual royal title of Airlaṅga), in the second by a post-humous name.

⁹⁹) If the date of the Gandasuli inscription fixed at 832 (a date conjecturally proposed in *Pras. Indon.*, I, pp. 55-57) is right, this year would be an absolutely certain *terminus post quem*.

¹⁰⁰) Cf. the discussion on the type of script preceding the transcription. Inscriptions from the southern complex are., of course, irrelevant in this respect: the difference in script and style would rather suggest another undoubtedly earlier, Çri Mahārāja.

¹⁰¹) Cf. Krom, *Inleiding*², II (1523), pp. 3 sq.; *Geschiedenis*², p. 171. The main argument to date Plaosan (and also Sadjiwan and Loro Djonggrang) in the last part of the Central Javanese period (*i.e.* in the first quarter of the 10th century) is based on the use of marl for these buildings, presumably from the Ratubaka plateau. It is obvious that the quarries on the plateau could not have been exploited during the time that a royal residency was situated there. Krom concluded that the construction of the above monuments should be assigned to a period when the Ratubaka residency was no longer in use. Though well-reasoned, the argument had better not be used as long as there are no data available concerning the time that the Ratubaka plateau served as a royal residency. As to that, Krom notes at another place (*Geschiedenis*², p. 149) that the Ratubaka plateau, if it were indeed a royal residency, could only have been the seat of the Çailendra kings and thus before, perhaps considerably before, the middle of the 9th century. Besides, it is doubtful whether the whole marl argument holds good. Marl is a very soft substance which is cut off without the noise that Krom considered incompatible with the neighbourhood of a royal residency (cf. Stutterheim, *Djava*, 6, 1926, pp. 129-137). The other arguments given by Krom in favour of his date for Plaosan need not be considered here: they are extremely vague (such as presumed influence, from Eastern Java in a period that gives no data about Eastern Javanese art). The lines sketched by Krom as far as relative chronology is concerned may remain essentially intact, but they still suffer from a lack of chronological precision due to the paucity and the difficult interpretation of our written sources. A few fixed points, even if their value is far from being absolute, can yet force us to set back an entire line of development by half a century or more, to squeeze it into a smaller lapse of time or, finally, to extend it over a longer period. One of the main points of interest of the Plaosan inscriptions is that they supply us with a point of time fixed, at least, between a few decades - at least as far as the final activities on the complex are concerned.

¹⁰²) In later times, the use of *dyah* is limited to princesses. This cannot, of course, be the case with the title in the Central Javanese period as it would mean that Balitung and Wawa were princesses. On the

plate inscription dated 886 A.D. Since the last known inscription by king Rakai Kayuwani is dated 882 A.D., i.e. only four years earlier, Krom concluded in 1932 that a new king had, in the meantime, come to the throne¹⁰³). A few years later, however, Krom changed his opinion : considering that in the elements *kayuwani* and *Gurunwani* the second compositional parts are identical, whereas the meanings of *kayu* and *gurun* are closely related, he concluded that the titles *kayuwani* and *gurunwani* are mere synonyms, consequently the same king was still ruling in 886 A.D.¹⁰⁴). Damais, examining the list of kings in Balitung's Kêdu inscription, considered Krom's last conclusion unlikely or, at least, doubtful¹⁰⁵). It cannot, however, be denied that Krom's identification, though not absolutely beyond doubt (which, unfortunately, is rarely the case with our difficult inscriptions), is based on strong arguments. This is clearly apparent when considering the objections which the only other alternative would raise. The necessity of inserting king Rakai Gurunwani into Balitung's list would meet serious objections¹⁰⁶) ; it seems even more strange that this king would have adopted the Rakai title of his predecessor with only a slight modification¹⁰⁷). On the other hand, it is undeniable that there is a certain freedom about names and titles in Old Javanese even in such official documents as the stone and copper-plate inscriptions. As far as titles are concerned, I remind of the conclusion by Bosch on the identity of the titles (Rakai) Halu and Watutihang¹⁰⁸). A detailed comparison between almost contemporary records reveals a number of equivalent terms in which a title or, more frequently, a part of a title is replaced by synonyms. Anticipating a more detailed treatment, Palarhyang and Paṅgilhyang¹⁰⁹), Wadihati and

other hand, this very fact proves that *dyah* may be used before names of kings, too. The reasons why Balitung and Wawa used *dyah* while their successors Daksa and Sindok had *pu* put before their names are obscure. Without going into details, *dyah* may be stated, to be far more exclusive than *pu* ; in the Plaosan inscriptions, for instance, the former is used before three names only (always together with a Rakai title). the latter before all the other names. Similar relations of frequency prevail throughout Old Javanese epigraphy. The surmise implying that *dyah* belongs to some of the members of the royal family in its strictest sense, *pu* being characteristic of the nobility in general (but not excluding the king and the royal family), seems to be the most satisfactory conclusion in the present state of research. As to the question which members of the royal family used *dyah* and further, why a few kings used it too, only conjectures could be made. The dynastic position of *Dyah* Balitung and *Dyah* Wawa with reference to their successors *Pu* Daksa and *Pu* Sindok was indeed a very particular one : in either case, we find the successors as Rakai Hino, with names and titles not less impressive than those of the kings, in the edicts gone forth by their predecessors - something exceptional in Old Javanese documents.

¹⁰³) *Geschiedenis*², p. 181

¹⁰⁴) In Stapel's *Geschiedenis*, I (1938), p. 168.

¹⁰⁵) *T.B.G.*, 83 (1949), note 1 to p. 22, and *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1 (1952), pp. 42 sq.

¹⁰⁶) The other examples given by Damais to stress the possibility that the list in the Kêdu inscription would not be complete are not convincing. The Çri Mahārāja Rakai Limus Dyah Dewendra could hardly be considered a good example (Damais, *T.B.G.*, 83, 1949, p. 22). Krom (*Not. B.G.*, 49, 1911, p. 59) has established that the text is not authentic in its present form ; in addition, Damais's fixation of the date (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1, note 4 to p. 43), which leads to the conclusion that it contains a mistake, confirms Krom's views on the record. Until there is proof to the contrary, the inscription should be considered unauthentic ; the possibility of its having some historical background cannot be denied, but does not lead far unless this background can be determined.

¹⁰⁷) This argument has the more weight because the Rakai title seems to be the most characteristic element of the king's names and titles. In Balitung's list, most of the kings are denoted by the Rakai titles only.

¹⁰⁸) *Oudh. Versl.*, 1925, pp. 46 sq. Even a third synonym, viz. Wunkaltihang, occurs.

¹⁰⁹) The identity of these two titles can be easily proved by comparing the lists of dignitaries in a number of Central Javanese inscriptions : the title mentioned after Rakai Halaran is sometimes called Palarhyang, sometimes Paṅgilhyang. The meanings of *palar*, "to seek, to wish", and *paṅgil*, "to call", are closely related.

Ayamteas¹¹⁰), Kalangwatu and Kalangwuñkal¹¹¹) are added here. If Kayuwañi and Gurunwañi are taken for a similar case, all the difficulties arising with the acception, of the other alternative are avoided.

The inscriptions III 14 and 15 nearly confirm the identity of the two titles. It has been concluded that both texts suggest a very close relation between king Rakai Pikatan and Rakai Gurunwañi. If then, the latter is indeed future king Kayuwañi, the place of the inscriptions is exactly where it may be expected for a heir apparent. After all, he would have been the dignitary who was closest associated with the king. It might even be suggested that the very striking place where the inscriptions happen to be - the *stūpas* III 14 and 15 are placed at either side of one of the two main passages leading to the northern temple (A 1) and immediately behind the *gopura* B 4¹¹²) - was chosen to lay particular stress on this relation between the king and the heir apparent. It may not be too far-fetched to suspect a political motive behind this intent : the sacred grounds of a large temple complex would have been the ideal place to confirm the position of the heir-apparent and thus ensure his future succession. The necessity of making unambiguous arrangements is almost obvious considering that the dynastic position of Rakai Pikatan will evidently have been weak after the Çailendra interregnum¹¹³).

The personal name given to Rakai Gurunwañi in the inscriptions on III 14 and 15 is unknown from other sources. Presumably, Dyah Salaḍū is the name of the later king before his accession to the throne¹¹⁴). In the Argapura inscriptions dated 863 A.D. king Kayuwañi has a personal name not preceded by Dyah but by Pu, *viz.* Pu Lokapala¹¹⁵). At present, no acceptable explanation of the change can be given¹¹⁶).

It is curious that the Plaosan inscriptions do not mention one but two dignitaries bearing the title of Rakai Gurunwañi. The second Rakai Gurunwañi, with the personal name Dyah Rāñu, is mentioned on two other buildings, *viz.* I 5 and 6. Here too, the place of the buildings is striking, *viz.* at either side just in front of *gopura* B 3 which leads to the southern main temple A II. Who could this second Rakai Gurunwañi have been ?

Considering the different explanations that suggest themselves, there is only one that

¹¹⁰) Here, the identity of these two Pamégêt titles follows from a similar comparison. In addition, *hati* and *tēas* (spelt *twas* in later Old Javanese) both mean "heart".

¹¹¹) Also in a number of other names *watu* and *wuñkal*, both meaning "stone", are interchangeable.

¹¹²) For the indications, cf. Plate I.

¹¹³) I accept the term introduced by Van Naerssen in *India Antiqua* (1947), pp. 249-253.

¹¹⁴) The name itself is rather strange : unlike most other names, it does not appear to mean anything ; the reading, however, is beyond doubt.

¹¹⁵) Cf. Damais, *T.B.G.*, 83 (1949), pp. 1-6. In an inscription dated 856 A.D. (published in the second volume of *Prasasti Indonesia* as No. XI : some details are given by Brandes in the *Catalogus Groeneveldt*, p. 382, and by Damais in *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1. 1952, pp. 30 sq), the name is found as Dyah Lokapala in strophe 9, *pāda c* (*dyah lokapāla ranujāmata lokapāla*, "Prince Lokapala, considered a younger brother of the Lokapāla gods" ; *ranujāmata* is interpreted as *ranujāmata*, *i.e.* *anujāmata* with the honorific prefix *ra-*; the text of this inscription gives numerous examples of the lengthening and shortening of vowels with a view to metrical exigencies, in this case, the *Vasantatilakā*).

¹¹⁶) It might be suggested that the change of the prince's name reflects a change in the position of the dynasty. Whatever Salaḍū means, it is hardly doubtful that Lokapāla is a more impressive name for a king.

proves to be completely satisfactory ¹¹⁷). In most countries the same title of nobility is borne by husband and wife ¹¹⁸), and Old Javanese society is no exception to this rule. If necessary, it is specified whether the husband or the wife is meant. Thus, the Gaṇḍasuli inscription (line 2) distinguishes the two Ḍang Karayān Partapān by *ḍang karayān laki* and *ḍang karayān wini* ¹¹⁹). In the Old Javanese portion of the Karangteṅah inscription, the two Rakarayān Patapan, who happen to have the same name, are distinguished by the terms *sang laki-laki* and *anakbi* respectively ¹²⁰). In the Kudjonmanis inscription, to take a later example, the wife of the Samgat Margañung pu Danghil is referred to by *sangkat anakbi* ¹²¹). The addition of terms such as *laki-laki* or *anakbi* is, on the whole, exceptional since, as a rule, either the context or the names themselves leave no doubt whether the husband or the wife is meant ¹²²). On account of the explanation above, the most likely solution of the dilemma about the two dignitaries Rakai Gurunwañi is that Dyaḥ Salaḍū is the crown prince and Dyaḥ Rāṇu his wife ¹²³).

A similar case concerns the two dignitaries *sang sirikan*, viz. Pu Sūrya (I 15 and 16) and Pu Aṅgēhan (I 26); here again, it might be suggested that Pu Aṅgēhan is the wife of Pu Sūrya ¹²⁴).

The dignitary Rakai Gurunwañi Dyaḥ Rāṇu is mentioned in two inscriptions. viz. I 5 and I 6. In I 5, she only continued and finished a foundation by Rakai Wanwa Galuh. Presumably, Rakai Wanwa Galuh was prevented (by death ?) from finishing the building. It may be concluded that there was a close relationship between Rakai Wanwa Galuh and Rakai

¹¹⁷) The possibility that one of the two Rakais Gurunwañi had died and was succeeded by the other may be excluded: it has been shown above that it is very likely that all inscriptions were made at the same time; if one of the two Rakais Gurunwañi was no more in life at that time, such an essential point would not have been omitted in the text (cf. the explanation of *huwus* suggested above). On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that two different dignitaries bore the same Rakai title unless they were husband and wife.

¹¹⁸) In the languages with grammatical sex distinctions, the wife's title is usually derived from the husband's title by means of a suffix. It is true that sex distinctions exist in later Javanese titles where, for instance, *ratu* and *dyah* are used for women only. That this distinction is a later one, not valid in the older phase, appears, e.g., from the Kêdu inscription dated 907, where Balitung is *dyah* Balitung and Sañjaya sang ratu Sañjaya.

¹¹⁹) *Pras. Indon.*, I, p. 61, line 2

¹²⁰) *Op. cit.*, p. 40, lines 25 sq.

¹²¹) *O.J.O.*, XLVII, front part, lines 24 sq. and elsewhere.

¹²²) Thus, in the lists of witnesses it is usually clear from the presents whether male or female persons are meant (men receive *wḍihan*, women *kain*). List of village authorities are introduced by *rama mañagam-kon*, "the village -elders holding functions", or by *anakbi ning mañagam-kon*, the wives of those occupying function". In addition, words such as *rama (bapa) ni* or *reña (ibu) ni* after the names of witnesses etc. make it clear whether they are men or women. Sometimes the names themselves are a clear indication of the sex: Pu Dakṣa, Pu Singha, Si Teguh and Si Çiwa are undoubtedly men, whereas Si Dewi, Si Ayu, Si Turuk and Si Tanmerang would rather have been women.

¹²³) The name could not be traced in other documents. The Randusari inscription No. 1 (*vide* Stutterheim, *Inscr. Ned.-Indië*, I, 1940, pp. 3-28) mentions a *nini haji*, "king's grandmother", named Rakai Wwatan Pu Tammêr. One of Balitung's grandmothers could be Kayuwañi's spouse. The disagreement of the names is hardly an argument against the identification suggested in the text, especially when considering the possibility that Balitung acceded to the throne as a consequence of a marriage (Stutterheim, *T.B.G.*, 67, 1927, p. 179; further references are given by Krom, *Geschiedenis*², note 8 to p. 187).

¹²⁴) It is not likely that *sang sirikan* means Rakai Sirikan, the title of one of the highest dignitaries, but rather a representative of the latter. Cf. note 133 below.

Gurunwani Dyah Rāṇu, perhaps that of mother and daughter ¹²⁵). In Wanwa Galuh, the word *wanwa* constitutes an essential part of the title. In a similar way a Rake Wanua Poḥ named Dyah Mala (undoubtedly, therefore a high personage) is mentioned in the Boroteṅah inscription dated 901 A.D. ¹²⁶). Both Poh and Galuh are associated with *kraton* names in Java¹²⁷)

One more Rakai title occurs in the Plaosan inscriptions, *viz.* Rakai Layuwatang Dyah Mahārṇnawa (I 23). The combination of the Rakai title with *dyah* leaves no doubt that he belonged to the higher court officials. A *sang layuwatang pu mananggung*, mentioned in the Kadiluwih inscription dated 845/6 A.D. ¹²⁸), is undoubtedly a different person, although there might be some relation between the two ¹²⁹).

One of the most interesting titles in the Plaosan inscriptions is Çrī Kahulunnan (I 18 and 19 ; II 21 and 22). As has been noted above, there is a striking analogy between the titles Çrī Mahārāja and Çrī Kahulunnan ¹³⁰) not only are these the only two titles in which the royal predicate Çrī occurs, but, in the Plaosan inscriptions they are not followed by a name introduced by *pu* or *dyah* ¹³¹). It may be concluded that the title Çrī Kahulunnan was perfectly sufficient and unambiguous by itself, just as Çrī Mahārāja ¹³²). Finally, it is noted that the inscription *anumoda çri kahulunnan* is by far the most frequent one after the king's inscriptions ¹³³).

- ¹²⁵) There are, of course, a few other possibilities such as father and daughter, elder and younger sister etc., but they seem less likely. Only new materials could furnish greater precision.
- ¹²⁶) *O.J.O.* No. XXII. line 2 Cf. also Damais, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1 (1952), pp. 44 sq., No. (9. Damais assumes two founders, *viz.* *Rake Wanua Poḥ Dyah Mala* and *Rake Wka Sang Ratubajra*. The text gives, however, *tatkāla rake wanua poḥ dyah mala wka sang ratu bajra*. Since there is no punctuation mark after *mala* and no repetition of *rake*, I prefer to take *wka* (i.e. *wēka*) in the meaning "son" (or : "daughter" ?) and to consider the words *wka sang ratu bajra* an apposition to *rake wanua poḥ dyah mala*. *Sang Ratu Bajra* presumably denotes a former king (queen) with a posthumous name.
- ¹²⁷) For instance the preceding kings reigning in Medang, in Poh Pitu ("The Seven Mangos"), according to the Kēdu inscription.
- ¹²⁸) This is the correct reading of the date as has been pointed out by Damais in *Études d'Épigraphie Indonésienne*, I, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XI-V, Fasc. I (1951), p. 31.
- ¹²⁹) The two names date of, approximately, the same period, it would not be impossible that *Pu Mananggung* is the representative of Dyah Mahārṇnawa ; the meaning of *manaṅgung*, "he who guarantees, warrants", would not be opposed to such an interpretation. Presumably, the relation between Rakai Layuwatang and Sang Layuwatang corresponds to that between Rakai Sirikan and Sang Sirikan (cf. *supra*, note 128 and *infra*, note 153).
- ¹³⁰) Cf. the beginning of section (a) of these Additional Notes.
- ¹³¹) The inscriptions III 14 b and III 15 a, in which the Rakai title is added, could hardly be considered exceptions - at least not as far as the statement in the text is concerned. The more elaborate mention of the king on these two buildings, unlike the thirteen other inscriptions in which the king is mentioned, may have served the definite purpose of demonstrating the close relation between the king and the heir apparent (cf. p. 22 above).
- ¹³²) As a consequence there is much arbitrariness in the wording of royal titles in Central Iavanese documents before the beginning of the 10th century. Thus, of all the Kayuwanī inscriptions only a single one (*K.O.*, No. XV) adds the king's *abhiṣeka* name ; on the other hand, the two Argapura inscriptions are the only documents in which the personal name of the king, *viz.* *Pu Lokapāla*, is mentioned (cf. Damais, *Epigraphische Aantekeningen*, I, in *T.B.G.*, 83, 1949, p. 5).
- ¹³³) Only a few inscriptions occur more than once (I 7 and 8; L 15 and 16) ; only the Çrī Mahārāja and the Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions occur more than twice. As not all inscriptions have been found, no absolute value should be attached to these ciphers ; the percentage (*viz.* 84% of the buildings in the outer row) is, however, sufficiently high to attach some importance to the relatively high frequency of the Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions.

Not only the form of the titles but also the place of the buildings on which the Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions are found suggests a close relation between the king and Çrī Kahulunnan. In I 18 and 19 the Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions follow a Çrī Mahārāja inscription, a fact which has not necessarily a particular meaning, but the two other Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions (II 21 and 22) are very peculiar since they constitute a third of the cases, six times in all ¹³⁴), in which texts were inscribed in the *stūpa* buildings. The most curious point is, however, the place on II 21 where the inscription is found. Whereas all other inscriptions face the centre of the complex ¹³⁵), the text on II 21 is found at the opposite side, and the obvious explanation is that this has been done with a view to having the Çrī Kahulunnan inscription face the Çrī Mahārāja on III 24 in order to suggest a close relation between the two¹³⁶). In a previous publication ¹³⁷) the identification of Çrī Kahulunnan has been dealt with in detail and it was concluded that it is the title of the queen who was the daughter of the last Çailendra king, viz. Samaratuṅga, and from whom two inscriptions had gone forth in 842 A.D. Presumably, this queen had a considerable part in the extension of the Plaosan complex : the king himself, belonging to a Çaiva line of rulers beginning with Sañjaya according to the Kêdu inscription of 907 A.D.¹³⁸), could hardly have been very enthusiastic about this Buddhist foundation, except for political considerations ¹³⁹).

Almost all other dignitaries in the Plaosan inscriptions are characterized by a title preceded by *sang* and a name preceded by *pu* ¹⁴⁰). It is known from other inscriptions that this type of name is characteristic of representatives of higher authorities, especially of those with Rakai and Pamêgêt titles, i.e. the representatives denoted by *parujar* or *parwuwus* in the charters. Examples may be found in most of the elaborated Central Javanese inscriptions. The reader may be referred to, e.g., the inscription of Randusari I, dated 905 A.D., where from Plate Ib, lines 13 sqq. on, a long list of such representatives is given. All of them are indicated by a title preceded by *sang* followed by a name introduced by *pu*. The beginning of the list

¹³⁴) The four remaining cases are : (1) the Çrī Mahārāja inscription on III 24 (connected with the two Çrī Kahulunnan inscriptions as will appear below), (2) the inscriptions on III 14 and 15 (the place of which undoubtedly has a particular meaning as has been concluded above), and (4) the inscription considered to belong to III 56. The fourth case is very doubtful : the inscription probably belongs to II 49, not to III 56 (cf. note 49 above).

¹³⁵) Excepting again, the *stūpas* III 14 and 15, where it has undoubtedly been the intention to call particular attention to the association of the two dignitaries just as is supposed for II 21 and III 24. Other exceptions are the inscriptions on I 5, 6, and 12, turned towards the two entrance paths. These cases need no comment. Neither do the twelve corner buildings where there is always a choice between two sides. From the places where the inscriptions are found, it may be concluded that the corner buildings were reckoned to belong to the shorter sides.

¹³⁶) Cf. the similar interpretation which was suggested for the buildings III 14 and 15 (p. 22 above).

¹³⁷) *Pras. Indon.*, I (1950), pp. 83-86, pp. 107-109 and pp. 116 sq.

¹³⁸) Cf. note 97 above.

¹³⁹) For these presumed political considerations, almost selfevident in a period in which Buddhist domination belonged to an only recent past, the reader is referred to *Pras. Indon.*, 2nd Volume, Nos and XI.

¹⁴⁰) The usual type is *sang sirikan pu sūryya* (I 15 and 16) ; the combination may be expressed by the formula *sang A pu B*. A variant is *sang ḍa-A pu B* (e.g. in I 28 : *sang ḍa-halu pu rāja*). Both *Sirikan* and *Halu* are well-known Rakai titles. Some of the highest dignitaries are denoted by the formula *rakai A dyah B* (e.g. in I 23 : *rakai layuwatang dyah mahārṇnawa*). From a comparison between these two modes of expression it may be concluded that (a) *sang A* cannot mean *rakai A* and (b) *sang A* is a title, not a name. In all these cases, the term 'title' seems preferable to 'functionary' : many titles may have implied definite functions, but there is not a shadow of proof that this was always the case. On the contrary, the main executor of the king's will (*patih*, *sang mapatih*, *rakryān mapatih* or *mahāmantri* in the edicts) may bear different titles (Rakai Weka in the

in the transcription by Stutterheim¹⁴¹) reads : *sang tuhan mamuat wuwus kabaiḥ parujar i hino sang kandamuhi pu tungang*. We know from other sources that *sang kaṇḍamuhi* is a title¹⁴²). The type of name of *sang kaṇḍamuhi pu tungang* corresponds exactly with the numerous names in the Plaosan inscriptions. It appears from the same list that this kind of name is not limited to representatives¹⁴³) only, but includes such dignitaries as those denoted by *citralkha*¹⁴⁴) and *juru*¹⁴⁵). It might be supposed that the persons thus indicated were (more or less) learned Brahmanas who, being able to write and dress up official documents, were the obvious persons to represent the more worldly authorities. No wonder then that the great majority of the Plaosan inscriptions give the titles and names of such representatives.

Most titles preceded by *sang* are known as Rakai and Pamêgêt titles, too. This is the case with Kalungwarak (I 2)¹⁴⁶), Watuhumalang¹⁴⁷), Maḍaṇḍar¹⁴⁸), Sirikan¹⁴⁹), Tañunan¹⁵⁰),

Perot and Argapura inscriptions) Rakai Hino in the inscriptions of Balitung ; Rakai Halu in those of Dakṣa, etc.).

¹⁴¹) *Inscr. Ned.-Indië*, 1 (1940, p. 4. Similar elaborate lists occur in other inscriptions from approximately the same period ; cf. the Kêmbang Arum inscription, published by Bosch in *Oudh. Versl.* 1925, Bijl. B, pp. 42-49, from Plate 1, line 16 to Plate II, line 7 ; the Kedu inscription, published by Stutterheim in *T.B.G.*, 67 (1927), pp. 172-215, A, lines 12-17 (less elaborate) ; *K.O.*, 1, Plate A, line 13 to Plate B, line 3, etc.

¹⁴²) This follows from the fact that the first representative (*parujar, parwuwus, tuhan mamuat wuwus*) of Hino has regularly the title of *sang kaṇḍamuhi* ; cf., for instance, *K.O.*, 1, Plate A, line 13 : *Parujar i Hino kaṇḍamuhi sang bhāsura*.

¹⁴³) The literal meaning of *parujar* (*parwuwus* etc.) is : "speaker" (in the name of a higher dignitary).

¹⁴⁴) In most inscriptions issued by Balitung, Tulodong, Wawa and Siṅḍok, the highest authorities have both a speaker (*parujar*) and a writer (*citralkha*) ; cf., for instance, the inscription of Randusāri I, Plate Ib, line 14, where the *rakryān mapatiḥ i hino* has not only the *parujar* quoted above, but also the *citralkhā* (read : *citralkha*) *sang watuwarani pu manēsör*. As far as may be concluded from the titles, *parujar* and *citralkha* had the same rank ; presumably the former represented the *rakryān mapatiḥ* at official occasions, whereas the latter dressed up official documents. It is, however, likely that the *parujar* of the dignitaries who had no special *citralkha* had the latter's function too.

¹⁴⁵) Some of the lower dignitaries (e.g., the *Pamêgêts Wadihati* and *Makudur*) were represented by *jurus* ; cf. again the Randusari inscription, Plate Ib, line 12.

¹⁴⁶) The title is found written with red paint on a stone from the Lara Djonggrang complex at Prambanan, where it is spelt *kaluṇi* (*ṇi* with *virāma*) *warak*. The latter spelling is clearly more archaic than that found in Plaosan ; cf., however, the spelling *jumēndaṇ* in an inscription presumably from Plaosan Kidul (*supra*, p. 5).

¹⁴⁷) The title of Rakai Watuhumalang is that of a king reigning after Kayuwāni (Krom, *Geschiedenis*², p. 181),

¹⁴⁸) The title of *Maḍaṇḍêr* (*Maḍaṇḍar* is only a more archaic spelling) occurs in almost all the inscriptions of Wawa and Siṅḍok as the first of the two *samgat momahumah* who are, as a rule, the first authorities mentioned after the king. The king's command is sometimes stated to descend upon (*umingsor*) these two dignitaries (e.g. in *O.J.O.*, No. XXXIX, front part, lines 3 sq.) before going down further. Some conjectural explanations of the title are given by Stutterheim, *T.B.G.*, 65 (1925), note 59 to p. 241.

¹⁴⁹) I, 15 and 16 and I 26 ; the two names Pu Sūrya and Pu Angêhan may again belong to the husband and the wife, respectively (cf. *supra*, p. 24).

¹⁵⁰) *Tañunan*, without further indication, is written in red paint on a stone found in the Lara Djonggrang compounds. The stone had been placed before the office of the Dinas Purbakala at Prambanan until recently, when it was pointed out that the inscribed stone was part of the *gopura* at the northern entrance to the central temple group.

Puluwatu¹⁵¹), Dalinan¹⁵²), Tawān¹⁵³), Wurutuṅgal¹⁵⁴), Paṅgumulan¹⁵⁵), Tilimpik¹⁵⁶), Patapān¹⁵⁷), Tiruranu¹⁵⁸), Kalangwatu¹⁵⁹) and Pagarwsi¹⁶⁰).

A few other authorities have *sang* titles to which the element *da* or *ra* is prefixed, viz. *Rasbang*¹⁶¹), *Ramraman*¹⁶¹), *Da-wka*¹⁶²), *Ḍaṅgul*¹⁶¹), *Ḍa-halu*¹⁶³), *Ḍa-tirip*, *Ḍa-pañkur*, *Ra-tira*, *Ra-wuga* (?)¹⁶⁴) and *Ḍa-wruluk*¹⁶¹). The titles *Ḍa-halu*, *Ḍa-wka*, *Ḍa-tirip* and *Ḍa-pañkur* stand in an obvious relation to the titles without this prefix; they are probably the representatives of Rakai Halu, Rakai Wka and the Tirip and Pañkur respectively. As far as the last two representatives are concerned, *sang ḍatirip* and *sang ḍapañkur* occur already in

- ¹⁵¹) Puluwatu is a *Pamêgêt's* title ; cf., for instance the Kêmbang Arum inscription (published by Bosch in *Oudh. Versl.*, 1925, Bijl. B, pp. 41-49), Plate I, line 9: *sang pamagat puluwatu pu kunir sang winīta*.
- ¹⁵²) A Rakai Dalinan is mentioned in almost all the Central Javanese inscriptions which give lists of dignitaries. Dalinan is also the name of a village (mentioned, e.g., in a copper-plate inscription of Balitung ; cf. Van Naerssen, *Bijdr. K.I.*, 95, 1937, p. 444, line A 4 of inscription II) and of a place where there was a Buddhist foundation in the Majapahit times (*Nagārakṛtāgama*, 77, 3 ; cf. Stutterheim, *T.B.G.*, 67, 1927, p. 182).
- ¹⁵³) The Old Javanese title *tawān* occurs already in the Sanskrit inscription of Kalasan (cf. Krom, *Geschiedenis*², p. 135).
- ¹⁵⁴) Wurutuṅgal is both the name of a village (cf., e.g., the inscription of Raṅḍusari II, *Inscr. Ned.-Indië*, T, 1940, pp. 29 sqq., line 12 of the text) and of an administrative 'group' (*watêk*) ; cf. the same text, line 2. Wurusiki, undoubtedly the same name (*siki* and *tuṅgal* are synonyms, both meaning "one"), occurs elsewhere (e.g., in the inscription of Randusari I, Plate Ib, line 19) as the name of an administrative group. It is well-known that the names of such groups almost always correspond to titles of Rakais and Pamêgêts, although we have no reference to the use of Wurutuṅgal as a Rakai or Pamêgêt title in any Central Javanese inscription. It is, however, found as a Pamêgêt title in inscriptions of Siṅḍok (e.g., in *O.J.O.*, XLVII, left side, line 32).
- ¹⁵⁵) Paṅgumulan occurs as the name of a village in the Kêmbang Arum inscription (Plate I, line 2/3 ; Plate II, line 12, etc.) and as one of the copper-smith's villages in *K.O.*, X, Plate Ia, line 5.
- ¹⁵⁶) Tilimpik is well-known as a title ; cf., for instance, *K.O.*, I ; Plate I, line 7. It is often associated with Mamrati.
- ¹⁵⁷) Numerous references are given in *Pras. Indon.*, I, p. 153.
- ¹⁵⁸) An inscription Tiruraṅu was found in the Candi Sewu complex ; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 115, No. 5. A Pamêgêt Tiruraṅu is the main person associated with a temple at Salinsiṅan in an inscription on a *linga* from Krapyak (published by Stutterheim in *T.B.G.*, 74 (1934), pp. 85-93).
- ¹⁵⁹) A *sangkat kalangwungkal pu layang* is the principal person in an inscription of Balitung, published by Van Naerssen in *Bijdr. K.I.*, 95 (1937), pp. 444 sq. Van Naerssen suggests that this may be the same person as a *sangkat lamwa pu layang* mentioned in a contemporary record (*ibid.*, p. 450). Should a change in the title be thought of, as Van Naerssen suggests, or is this a case to be compared with those mentioned on p. 22 above ? A Rakryan Kalangbūnkā, named pu Manukū, is the principal person in an inscription on a copper-plate in the Sriwedari Museum at Surakarta (No. A 15) ; cf. its transcription by Poerbatjaraka in *Oudh. Versl.*, 1922, Bijl. L, p. 85. There is no reasonable doubt about the identity of Kalangwūnkā and Kalangwatu.
- ¹⁶⁰) A Rakai (or Rakarayān) Pagarwsi is mentioned in most of the Central Javanese inscriptions which give detailed lists of dignitaries ; cf., e.g., the Kêmbang Arum inscription, Plate I, line & (*Oudh. Versl.*, 1925, p. 41).
- ¹⁶¹) There are no other references to these names.
- ¹⁶²) Probably connected with the common title of Rakai Wka. In the inscriptions of Perot (850) and Argapura (863) the function of a *rakarayān mapatiḥ*, undoubtedly the second person after the king, is occupied by a Rakai Wka. The person here denoted by *sang da-wka* might have been one of the latter's representatives.
- ¹⁶³) Probably in a similar relation to the dignitary Rakai Halu as *sang da-wka* is to the Rakai Wka.
- ¹⁶⁴) The reading is not certain : cf. note 44 above.

the Sanskrit inscription of Kalasan (778 A.D.) where, however, the terms are hard to recognize owing to the use of *sandhi* rules¹⁶⁵).

What do these 'representatives' represent, higher dignitaries or certain territories? This question implies a definite choice, but one that can hardly be relevant in Old Javanese society. It is a well-known fact that most titles following Rakai or Pamêgêt occur as administrative units (denoted by *watêk*, "group") in the Old Javanese records. It is not certain whether these administrative 'groups' were territorial units at the same time. Dispersed small territories and villages which formed a 'group' only in so far as they all belonged to the apanage of one nobleman or more clearly defined districts '? In the present state of research there are strong arguments in favour dispersed small territories and villages, but this should not, however, be made a matter of principle¹⁶⁶). In spite of the uncertainty about the latter point, the fact that there exists a close relation between the titles and the domains of the kingdom as a whole is well-established. In the more elaborate documents, all the villages excluded from the so-called free territories (*simā*)¹⁶⁷) belong to a certain 'group'. If, in addition, the names by which the groups are denoted usually, if not always, agree with names found behind Rakai and Pamêgêt, it must be concluded that the total of these names corresponds to the domains of the kingdom as a whole, - excluding, of course, the free territories. Consequently, it may be said that a representation of all the *watêk* units in the kingdom is, at the same time, a representation of all the dignitaries (Rakais and Pamêgêts) and of the kingdom as a whole. In discussing the composition of the complex of Lara Jonggrang at Prambanan, Krom suggested that the arrangement of the numerous buildings round the

¹⁶⁵) Cf. *Pras, Indon.*, i, note 4 to p. 136, and Damais, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. 1, pp. 24 sq. The final consonant of *sang* is assimilated to a lingual before the *ḍa* according to the rule formulated by Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, 1 (1896), pp. 184 sq. § 163 a). Instead of *saṅ-ḍatavānādibhiḥ*, the Kalasan inscription gives *san-tavānakādibhiḥ* out of metrical considerations; may it be concluded that the Sanskrit suffix *-ka* was considered more or less the equivalent of the Indonesian prefix *ḍa-*? One has the impression that those mentioned in strophe 9 of the Kalasan inscription are the representatives or the subordinates of the Paṅkur etc. mentioned in strophes 4 and 7.

¹⁶⁶) It appears that a great number of different *watêk* names is found in a restricted area. 'thus, the 52 villages, which are all or almost all situated in the Klaten region, belong to 27 *watêks* in the Raṅdusari inscription (cf. the alphabetical lists given by Stutterheim, *Inscr. Ned.-Indie*, I, 1940, Bijl. 2 and 3, pp. 27 sq.). On the other hand, there are 12 villages in the total of 52 which belong to the *watêk* Kiniwang, a fact from which it might be concluded that the Kiniwang group, *i.e.* the vilages belonging to the apanage of the Pamêgêt Kiniwang (cf. *samagat kiniwang*, PI, 1b, line 10), was relatively well represented in the Klaten region. Similar concentrations of villages belonging to a same apanage are found in other regions too. In the present state of research it appears that at least the most frequently occurring *watêk* names are found throughout the kingdom (*e.g.* Hino, Halu, Weka and a few others), whereas most of the other names are mainly restricted to certain areas, — mainly, not exclusively, it seems. Before further data and more detailed studies about the already existing data are available, a Middle Path between the extremes of completely scattered villages and territorial units appears to be the most acceptable solution. Cf. Stutterheim, *T.B.G.*, 67 (1927), pp. 196-200, and the survey by Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 159, and Van Naerssen, *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden in Duitsche en Deensche verzamelingen* (1941), Introduction, where further references are given.

¹⁶⁷) The usual Old Javanese spelling is *simā*, but also *sīmā* and several wrong spellings (especially *çīma*) occur. A curious combination is *manusuk-sema* in one of the two Perot and one of the two Argapura inscriptions (cf. Damais, *T.B.G.*, 83, 1949, p. 19 and p. 5). The same form is found in the Naṅgulan inscription dated 822/23 A.D., where I did not recognize it and transcribed *kṣema* (*Pras. Indon.*, I, p. 129) as was rightly noted by Damais (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XLVI, Fasc. I, 1952, note 4 to pp. 26 sq.). Although the *e* might be a mere orthographic mistake, it is not impossible, that the Sanskrit word *kṣema* meaning "abode, enjoyment" etc. and *kṣetra*, "field", are partly responsible for the

sanctuaries in the central complex might correspond to as many parts of the empire, so that the temple group as a whole should be considered a royal mausoleum and a state sanctuary at the same time ¹⁶⁸)

With regard to Plaosan too, the question whether there is some relation between the titles of the representatives and the parts of the empire with which they are associated is very important for a correct understanding of the whole. Unfortunately, our knowledge of ancient topography of Central Java is still very vague and many preliminary studies will be required before this point can be dealt with adequately. It may be imagined, for instance, that the dignitaries associated with the western territories of the kingdom had their *anumodas* erected at the western side of the complex, whereas those associated with northern territories were ordered to do so at the northern side etc. Apparently there is nothing in conflict with such a surmise which on account of general considerations seems not unlikely ¹⁶⁹); in a few cases the situation is confirmed. Thus, it is curious that wherever the same titles occur in Plaosan and Lara Jonggrang ¹⁷⁰) they happen to be at the same sides. The argument is not as strong as it would seem to be since the number of corresponding titles hitherto discovered is very small. A striking example is the title *tanunan* inscribed on the northern *gopura* at Lara Jonggrang ¹⁷¹); the same title occurs in the northern row of Plaosan on I 22. On the other hand, some of the representatives' titles, known as the names of villages, appear to agree with centres located in the respective points of the compass ¹⁷²). Some examples, apparently certain, are Wurutuṅgal (I 35) which may be identified with a centre known to have been situated in the Klaten region, i.e. to the east of the foundation ¹⁷³) and Paṅgumulan (I 36), probably to be identified with a well-known village inhabited by copper-smiths according to an Old Javanese inscription ¹⁷⁴). A few more examples could be given, but it is obvious that more exact data on ancient topography must be found out before the above suggestion can be accepted as a conclusion.

wrong spelling. Sanskrit *sima* always means "boundary", whereas in Old Javanese the word has become the usual term to denote grounds (with villages etc.) which belong to religious foundations and are excluded from civil administration. The term is translated by "free territory". As to the spelling, it may be added that two forms occur in Sanskrit, viz. *sīmā* and *siman* (nominative *sima*) of similar but not identical meanings. Both *sīmā*, and *siman* are mentioned in the Mahavyutpatti as very high numbers (10¹⁴ v, it seems); cf. the edition by Minaiev and Mironov in *Bibl. Buddh.*, XIII, (1911), 246, No. 13, (p. 96) and 287, No. 15.

¹⁶⁸) Krom, *Inleiding*², I (1923), pp. 452 sqq.; cf. also *Geschiedenis*², pp. 172 sq.

¹⁶⁹) The orientation to the four quarters is of a paramount importance in most of the older South-East Asian empires; it plays an essential role in such ceremonies as the *rājasūya*. Cf. the excellent discussion of its symbolism by Paul Mus, *Barabudur*, Cinquième Partie, Ch. VII, in *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXIII (1933), pp. 699 sqq. For the importance of orientation in recent ceremonies in the courts of the Malay Peninsula, cf. Winstedt, *Kingship and Enthronement in Malaya*, in the *J. Mal. Br. R.A.S.*, XX (1947), Pt. 1, pp. 128-139, a short bibliography is added to the latter article.

¹⁷⁰) As to the Lara Jonggrang inscriptions, cf. note 22 above.

¹⁷¹) The stone in which this title (spelt *tanunnan*) is written with red paint was in the office of the Dinas Purbakala at Prambanan until recently when it appeared that it belongs to the northern *gopura*. Both the type of script (the form of the *na* with undulating vertical) and the spelling (the double *nn* in Lara Jonggrang and the single consonant in Plaosan) seem archaic.

¹⁷²) Cf. note 769 above. It is hardly necessary to add that the most frequent *watèk* names (Hino, Halu, Wèka, Sirikan and Tiruan) are not limited to a certain area, although even these may have a centre in a particular quarter of the sky.

¹⁷³) For Wurutuṅgal, *alias* Wurusiki, cf. note 154 above.

¹⁷⁴) *K.O.*, No. X, Plate I a, line 5.

A few other curious points about the dislocation of the inscriptions may briefly be noted here. *The dharmma çrī mahārāja* inscriptions are found on the four sides as might have been expected since the king's dominions are not, of course, limited to any particular quarter of the sky, at least theoretically. It is only natural that the king's inscriptions are to be found at the most essential points, viz. at the corners. As a matter of fact, they occur on three of the four corners (I, 1, 17 and 25)¹⁷⁵). The king's inscriptions are found on other important spots too, e.g. on I 21 and 34, right in the middle of the northern and eastern sides respectively. The inscription in the middle of the southern side 'has not yet been recovered (I 47), but at the corresponding point on the western side (I 9) there is a different text. For the rest, the king's inscriptions are found at more or less regular distances, often separated by four other texts, e.g. in the first row on the numbers 17, 21, 25 and 29. That this regularity is far from definite appears, for instance, from the fact that the king's inscription following I 29 is not No. 33, but No. 34. That the interval of four could not have been regular is due to the simple fact that fifty is not divisible by four¹⁷⁶).

The north-western corner shows a Çrī Mahārāja building in the angle, flanked by two identical inscriptions *anumoda sang sirikan pu sūryya* on the western, and two other identical inscriptions *anumoda çrī kahulunnan* on the northern side. Observing that the two *stupas* behind the latter two (II 21 and 22) also has the same text *anumoda Çrī kahulunnan*, whereas the building immediately to the north of II 21, viz. III 24, has again a *dharmma çri mahārāja* inscription, it becomes obvious that the north-western corner had a particular significance. In addition, it may be noted that the only gold plate hitherto discovered in the Plaosan complex was found in the same corner, viz. between the *stupas* II 21 and 22¹⁷⁷). One is inclined to associate this striking concentration of inscriptions, especially the Çrī Kahulunnan 'square' (I 18 and 19 and II 21 and 22) flanked by two Çrī Maharaja inscriptions, with the orientation towards the holy spots of Buddhism situated in the north-western direction of Central Java¹⁷⁸). In addition, it may be noted that the four Çrī Kahulunnan buildings at this significant spot stress the undoubtedly important role played by this Buddhist queen in the construction of Candi Plaosan Lor¹⁷⁹).

(c) Final Conclusions. Having arrived at the end of my analysis, it might be interesting to formulate some of the results hitherto gained. Compared to the richness of the materials, the results might seem disappointing. Only a small minority of the titles and names could be

¹⁷⁵) On the south-eastern corner building, viz. I 43, no inscription has been discovered up to this moment.

¹⁷⁶) In the western row, viz. the buildings I 1-17, the çri mahārāja inscriptions occur only on the two corner buildings. It is obvious that no conclusions could be based as long as there are still four temples on which no inscriptions have been found (I 3, 11, 13 and 14). But even if some of the latter buildings prove to have çrī mahārāja inscription, it is obvious that there cannot be any regularity on this side.

¹⁷⁷) Cf. note 2 above. A detailed account of the discovery is given in *Oudh. Versl.*, 1948, pp. 30 sq. ; also an inscribed silver plate, a bronze pot filled with a bronze chain, burned grains, earth etc., were found at the same place.

¹⁷⁸) Also two other Buddhist sanctuaries, viz. Candi Mendut and Candi Pawon, are orientated approximately to the North-West (with, however, no negligible deviation towards the West, especially for Candi Mendut ; cf. the exact figures given by Van Erp in *T.B.G.*, 53, 1911, pp. 582 sqq. and in *Barabudur, Bouwkundige Beschrijving*, 1931, pp. 8 sq.). Van Erp deals with the orientation of a number of other Buddhist monuments in note 7 to p. 9 of the latter publication.

¹⁷⁹) One of the most typical aspects of Candi Plaosan is the importance attached to women. as appears from the relief work in the interior of the two main temples : whereas the northern one (A I) has only male figures, the southern temple (A II) has only female figures represented (cf. Krom, *Inleiding*², II, pp. 7 sqq.).

identified with a considerable degree of probability, but among these occur the names of king Rakai Pikatan, Queen Çri Kahulunnan, the crown-prince Rakai Gurunwañi (who will become king after or in 856 A.D.), the latter's consort Dyaḥ Rānu, and his mother-in-law (?) Rakai Wanwa Galuh. Another prince, Rakai Layuwatang Dyaḥ Mahārṇawa, could not further be identified. This makes the total of three male and three female members of the royal family¹⁸⁰).

Very little could be concluded about the numerous other dignitaries. Most of them seem to be representatives (Brahmins ?) of higher dignitaries all over the kingdom, so that the temple complex as a whole would more or less reflect the relations within the kingdom. It is not clear on what considerations the order in which the authorities are mentioned is based ; there may however, be some indications that the place in the complex occupied by their buildings corresponds to the situation of the territories with which they are associated. If this surmise proves correct, a further study of the titles might perhaps give an idea of the extent of the kingdom of Rakai Pikatan and the relations between its different parts¹⁸¹). At present, some reliable conclusions may be drawn with regard to the way in which the complex arose : the use of the term *anumoda* explains itself by Buddhism and allows a peep into the forms of collaboration that led to the construction of the complex.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the inscriptions is the material which they provide for an approximate dating of the monument. Both the type of script and the mention of king Rakai Pikatan make it very probable that the texts should not be dated much later than about 850 A.D., perhaps some ten to twenty years earlier¹⁸²). If some weight may be attached to the argumentum *ex silentio* that none of the names of representatives could be found again in inscriptions dated 850 and 863 A.D.¹⁸³), the last decades before the middle of the century, i.e. the period between about 825 and 850 A.D., could be accepted as the time in which the complex got its present extent¹⁸⁴). Further excavations, perhaps not so much at Plaosan Lor as in the neighbouring southern complex and, of course, in other temple groups in the Prambanan region such as Candi Sewu (where the few inscriptions hitherto found suggest the possibility that numerous other inscribed stones are still hidden in the soil), might supply us with badly wanted material for comparison.

¹⁸⁰) It might be wondered whether there could be any connection between these personages and those sculptured in relief in the six chambers of the two main temples (cf. their description by Krom, *Inleiding*²-, I, pp. I I sq.).

¹⁸¹) It might be suggested that the shape of the complex as a whole, its North-South axis being about twice as long as the West-East axis, schematically corresponds to the empire of Rakai Pikatan. Java's geological shape results in there being far more territories situated in the East and West than in the two other regions.

¹⁸²) As has been pointed out, 832 A.D. or, at least, 824 A.D. Would be an almost certain *terminus post quem* for the termination of the complex as a whole.

¹⁸³) The inscriptions of Perot (850 A.D.), Pereng and Argapura (the last two dated 863 A.D.) mention the names of numerous authorities including representatives, but none of the names agree with those of Plaosan as far as could be ascertained. For the period before 850 the material at our disposal is scarce ; the not very numerous edicts which we still possess from that period do not give regular lists of dignitaries as the Perot and Argapura inscriptions do.

¹⁸⁴) The Prae-Nāgari inscription of Plaosan (cf. note I above) appears to deal with the erection of a Buddha or Bodhisattva statue in a temple which existed earlier. From the portion which is still legible (published in *Pras. Indon.*, II, No. VII), it may be concluded that the buildings have been subject to considerable changes ; the history of the construction of the Plaosan complex may be a lengthy one. Since the inscriptions on the smaller buildings could only have been written after the achievement of the complex as a whole, they could only supply us with data about the time in which the complex was finished. Smaller changes could have been made even when the inscriptions had been placed, but this seems less likely.

ADDENDA

After the above was already finished, we noticed that two more inscription fragments from the Plaosan complex have been known, but were lost afterwards. In the collection of estampages of the Dinas Purbakala at Djakarta I found two samples (Nos. 2881 and 2882) of very fragmentary inscriptions stated to have been prepared in 1941. Further details are unknown¹⁸⁵). Considering the type and size of the *akṣaras* there is no reasonable doubt that they belong to Candi Plaosan Lor. The two texts should be added to the list of "Loose stones or stone fragments with inscriptions" mentioned on p. 11 above.

The first estampage (No. 2881), to be denoted by **f** gives after a mutilated aksara *numoda sanu*, followed by the left hand portion of another *akṣara*. The mutilated *akṣara* is undoubtedly an initial *a*, which we expect on account of the context. The identification of the last fragmentary *akṣara* gives greater difficulties ; by comparing the left hand part of a number of *akṣaras* the most likely identification seems *la*. The transcription therefore is:

(f) <a>numoda san ul¹⁸⁷).

The text on the second estampage (No. 2882) is longer, but its state of preservation is worse. In addition, a mistake in preparing the estampage was made. The inscription occupying two stones, the order was inverted. By reestablishing the correct order one arrives at the following transcription :

(g) <an>u <mo>da sang huwusan pu¹⁸⁷).

The name Huwusan, unknown from other sources, should be added to the names mentioned on pp. 27 sqq.

¹⁸⁵) The data are based on the list of estampages of the Dinas Purbakala at Jakarta.

¹⁸⁶) The title cannot be identified.

¹⁸⁷) Of the syllable *mo* only the *danḍa* has remained.

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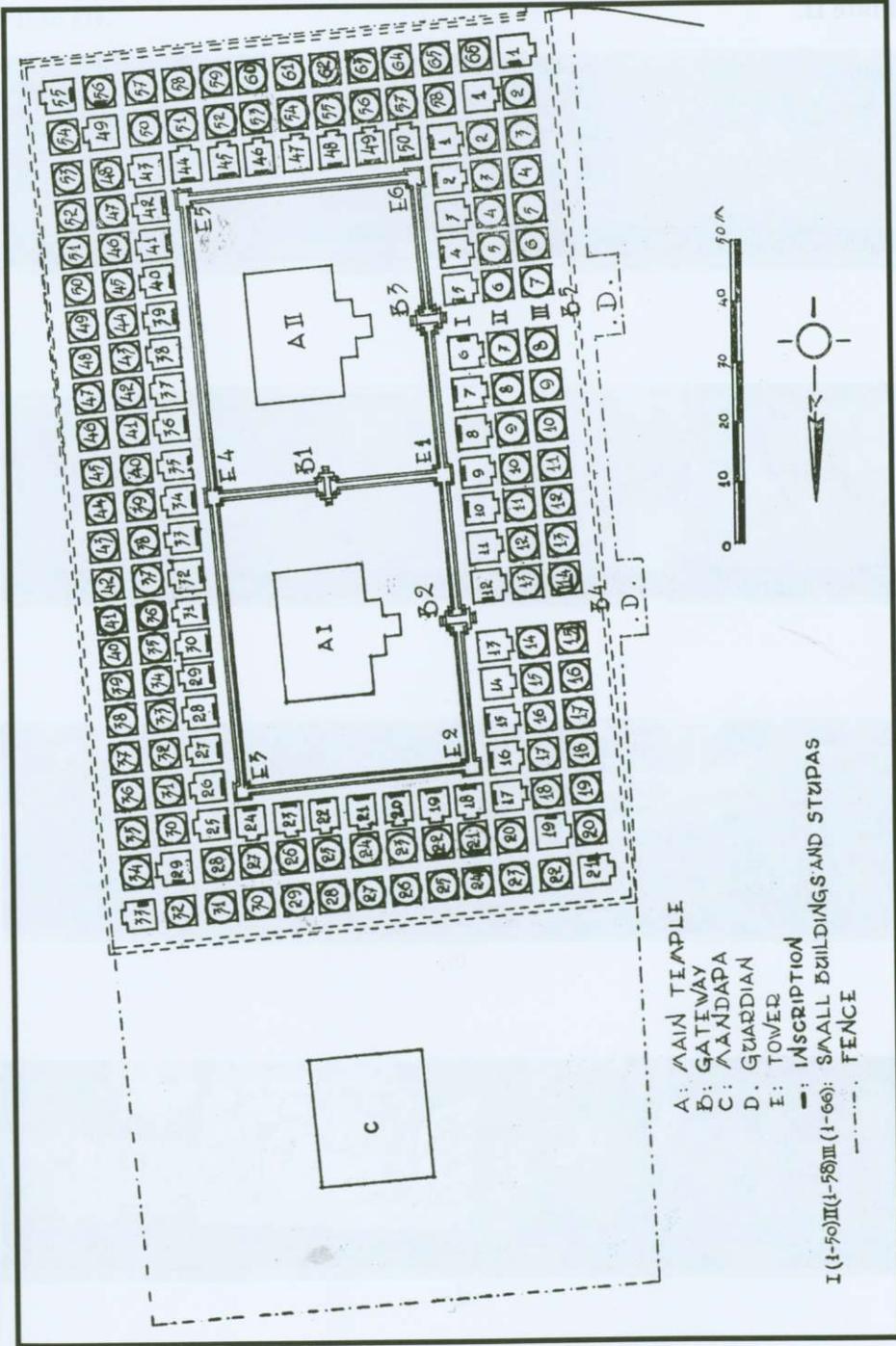
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Plate I.



Groundplan of Candi Ploasan. Lor

Plate II.



a



b



c



d

Plate III.



a



b



c



d



a..



b.



c.

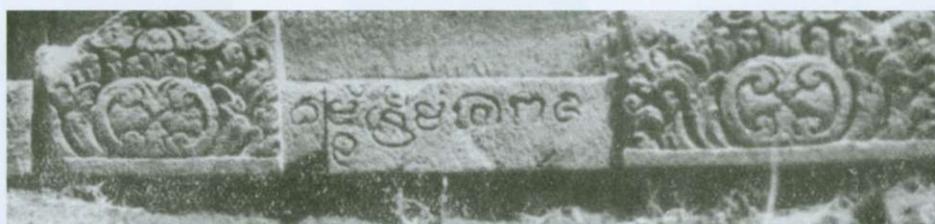


d..

Plate V.



a



b



c

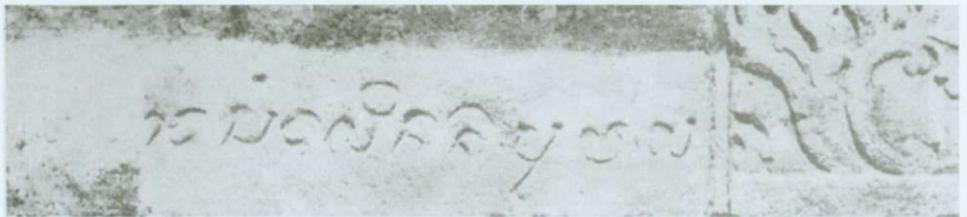


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Plate VI.



a



b



c



d



a.



b.

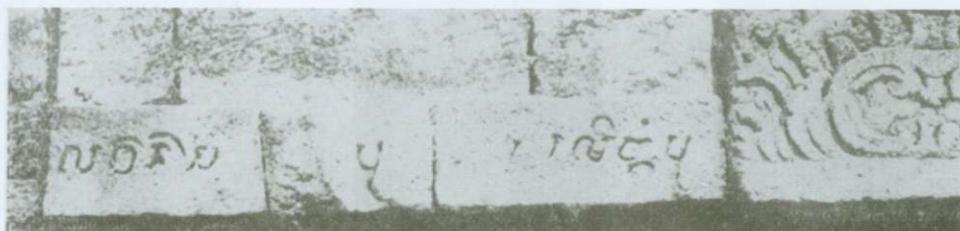


c.

Plate VIII.



a



b



c



d

Plate IX.



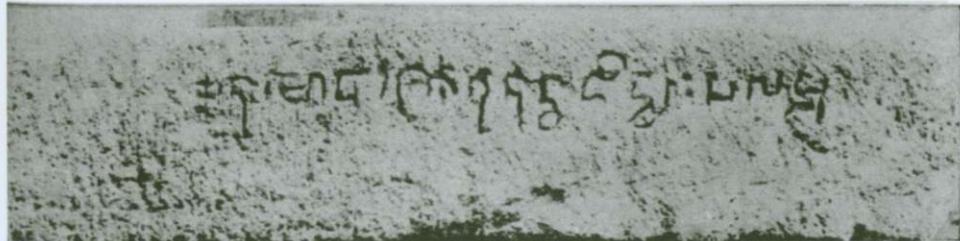
a



b



c



d

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1
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