

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### BACKGROUND TO THE SRI VIJAYA STORY—PART II.

J.G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia I : Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd* (Bandung, 1950).

J.G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia II : Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Centuries A.D.* (Bandung, 1956).

S. Paranavitana, "The Designer of Barabudur", *The Maha Bodhi, Vaisakha Number* (Volume 78, May-June 1970, Number 5-6, 1970 Calcutta), pp. 165-168.

#### 7. The South Sumatran Inscriptions

The Sri Vijaya Story, or what might be called the Sri Vijaya-Sailendra Argument, is a triangular argument between South Siam, South Sumatra and Central Java. A great deal of blood, sweat and tears, to say nothing of ink, has been spilt on this subject, yet the whole argument would never have occurred if the internal evidence of the various locations had been kept separate from external evidence.

The Sri Vijaya Story can be divided into four main periods, namely 1) The 7th century, with internal evidence from all three localities; 2) The Sailendra Period, covering the 8th and 9th centuries, with internal evidence from Central Java and South Siam (Chaiya); 3) The Jāvaka or Second Sailendra Period, covering the 10th and 11th centuries; and 4) The Padmawamsa Period, covering the 12th and 13th centuries. The only internal evidence from these two latter periods come from South Siam (inscriptions and chronicles). This, the second of a review article in three parts, deals with the first two periods only.

In the first or 7th century period, all three localities produced internal evidence. I-Ching's evidence is considered internal evidence for South Siam because he was at *Foche* between 671 and 695 and did his writing there, but it is external evidence for South Sumatra and Java. The internal evidence of Central Java consists of some Buddha images from Bogem and Bogisan. These figures are not rural or primitive in any way, but the expression had not reached the high Classic of Borobudur or Sewu (Buddhist) and Prambanan (Hindu) a full century later.

The South Sumatra internal evidence consists of some Sri Vijaya inscriptions. Originally there were four such inscriptions discovered in South Sumatra and the island of Bangka, dated between 683 and 686 A.D. Lately a fifth inscription of the same period has been discovered at Telaga Batu, together with a few fragments which were published by Dr. J.G. de Casparis in his *Prasasti Indonesia II* in 1956. One of the inscriptions mentions the phrase Sri Vijaya Jayasidhiyatra, and another mentions Bhumi Java. None of them are 'religious' in the proper sense because they consist of curses and imprecations, while one records the setting up of a park.

The first inscription came from Kědukan Bukit near Palembang and states that on a day corresponding to April 23, 683 A.D., the king embarked on a boat and 25 days later (May 19) conducted an army of 20,000 strong from some place and arrived some place else. The phrase Sri Vijaya Jayasiddhiyatra would imply that whatever the expedition was, it was successful and was of benefit to Sri Vijaya.

The second inscription, dated 684, was found some kilometers from Palembang and commemorated a park called Sri Kshetra, set up by order of King Sri Jayanasa (or Sri Jayanaga.)

The third, fourth and newly found fifth stones are similar to one another in that they recorded an imprecation uttered on the occasion when a Sri Vijaya army started on an expedition against Bhumi Java, which had not submitted. I have already said that Java and Javadvipa (Cho'po and Ye-po-ti in Chinese) were generic names and could refer to Borneo, Malaya (island), Sumatra or Java, or to all of them. One stone was found on the Jambi river on the east coast of south Sumatra; another, dated 686, on the island of Bangka; and the fifth came from Telaga Batu slightly to the east of Palembang.

Basing his theory on these South Sumatran inscriptions (but without the stele from Telaga Batu which was published after his retirement), as well as on the external evidence of I-Ching and a Sri Vijaya inscription from Chaiya (see section 8 below), Professor Coedès in 1918 introduced the Sri Vijaya Kingdom. According to his theory, the Sri Vijaya Kingdom, which was located in South Sumatra with its capital at Palembang, attacked Java (Bhumi Java in the inscriptions) and expanded

northwards to the Peninsula (Chaiya Inscription). Obviously a theory like this, based solely on the written evidence and not taking into account things like the superb art of Central Java in the 8th and 9th centuries, was bound to have people who disagreed. So we have Dutch wits writing about "A Sumatran Period in Javanese History", and "A Javanese Period in Sumatran History", but somehow they all failed to take in the whole overall picture. Professor Majumdar was the first to suggest that Sri Vijaya should be located on the Malay Peninsula. That was in 1933.\* Then in 1935 Dr. Wales submitted that Chaiya was the capital of Sri Vijaya,\*\* only unfortunately he later withdrew his proposal. After that, in 1937, Mr. J.L. Moens wrote in his 'Sri Vijaya, Yava en Kataha'†:

"The inscription of 683 A.D. (from Kedukan Bukit) is not the year of the founding of Sri Vijaya in Palembang, but the capture of Palembang during that year by a force of 20,000 men."

Moens thought that Palembang was conquered by the 'New Sri Vijaya' located at Muara Takus on the equator (the 'old Mo-lo-yu' of I-Ching's evidence. He located the 'old Sri Vijaya' at Kelantan on the Malay Peninsula.) Moens' idea is worth following up in a little more detail. The following version is essentially his, but I have modernised it in the light of new data. The Kēdukan Bukit inscription contains three dates (23 April, 19 May and 16 June), which should mean that the king of Sri Vijaya left his capital (Moens: Kelantan; Chand: Chaiya) on 23 April for Muara Takus (Malayu or Minana Tamvan in the text), where he set up a base. From there he set out again on 19 May to attack Jambi, Palembang and Bangka by land and by sea; and the whole expedition was over by 16 June. The king then set up five inscriptions (so far found, not counting some fragments), three of which contained curses and imprecations against any infringement that any one might incur

\* R.C. Majumdar, 'Les rois Śailendra de Suvarṇadvīpa', (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, XXXIII, 1933).

\*\* H.G. Quaritch Wales, 'A newly explored route of ancient Indian expansion', (*Indian Art and Letters*, 9, 1, 1935), 1-31.

† J.L. Moens, "Crivijaya. Yava en Katāha" (*Tijdschrift voor Indisch Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Batavia, Deel LXXVII, 1937, p. 317-486).

Abridged English translation by R.J. de Touché, (*Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 17, 2, 1940), 1-108.

against his orders. The language used was old Malay, and the text stated, "Sri Vijaya, victorious, successful in his expedition, endowed with plenty . . ." I understand many people have tried but no one has succeeded in explaining these three dates, or two stages of the expedition as I might call it, if Palembang is made the starting point. Coedès himself submitted that the expedition from Palembang was made against Cambodia. This was his last conjecture concerning his Sri Vijaya theory.\* I cannot follow his arguments very well because he brings in too many conflicting details and has too many irrelevant footnotes. Meanwhile of the people who disagreed with Coedès, and thereby indirectly agree with Moens, I shall only mention two or three.

Dr. Soekmono, Head of the Indonesian Archaeological Service, thought that Palembang was conquered by a Sri Vijaya based at Jambi, where one of the inscriptions was found.\*\* Soekmono's theory that Palembang was the place conquered and not the capital of Sri Vijaya was based on two counts. The first is geomorphological, namely Palembang, today located about 70 kilometers from the sea, was on the tip of a promontory and therefore could not have been the capital of anything. The second is epigraphic, namely that the Telaga Batu stele contained such "terrific imprecations" that it was hardly a charter that one would set up in one's own capital. It was more likely to have been set up in conquered territory. I am not sure that I accept Soekmono's geomorphological evidence, or rather Soekmono's interpretation of that evidence, but I think he has a good point concerning imprecations not being set up in one's own capital. But then if Palembang had been conquered by Jambi, why set up an imprecation at Jambi too? At any rate, Soekmono's views, written with the full prestige and authority of his office, is of great importance because it shows that Indonesian scholars do not accept Professor Coedès' theory.

Meanwhile the Thai, in particular the Chaiya monk, the Ven. Buddhādāsa Bhikku, and his layman brother, Nai Thammatas Panij, have

\* G. Coedès, "A Possible Interpretation of the Inscription at Kēdukan Bukit (Palembang)", in, John Bastin and R. Roolvink, Eds., *Malayan and Indonesian Studies. Essays presented to Sir Richard Winstedt on his eighty-fifth birthday* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 24-32.

\*\* R. Soekmono, 'Early civilisations of Southeast Asia', (JSS, 46, 1, 1958), 17-20.

never accepted Coedès' theory from the first. They thought that in the 7th century South Sumatra was conquered by Sri Vijaya from Chaiya, and in the 8th Sri Vijaya under the Sailendras conquered Central Java. Their theory, written in Thai and scattered in several journals over the years\*, is based on the Sri Vijaya inscription from Wat Hua Vieng, Chaiya, only unfortunately this stele is dated a full century after the South Sumatran inscriptions. I think I-Ching's evidence is much more telling. This evidence is one of the chief ingredients in Professor Coedès' theory of his Sri Vijaya Empire. If we take I-Ching's evidence as being internal evidence for Chaiya because I-Ching did his writing there, and external evidence for Sumatra; and the South Sumatran inscriptions as being external evidence for Chaiya and consider the two pieces of evidence separately, then Coedès' theory cannot hold water at all. On the other hand, if we consider them together, we find that the geographic evidence for locating I-Ching's *Foche* at Chaiya is quite firm (see section 5), while the Sumatran inscriptions are so controversial that the Chaiya brothers' theory of Palembang and Jambi being conquered by the King of Sri Vijaya from Chaiya is not only tenable but it is also the only theory that would fit the facts as we have them. Without intending to, Professor Wolters seems to lend support to this theory when he says on page 22 of his *Early Indonesian Commerce*, "The second impression was that by about 700 the headquarters of the empire was at Palembang, though there has been no agreement about its earlier relationship with Malayu-Jambi, a subject bedevilled by I-Tsing's mysterious statement that Malayu was 'now' Sri Vijaya." I have not mentioned archaeological remains but they are important too. In this respect Chaiya produced a great deal while Palembang almost nothing, and Professor Coedès himself has remarked, "the complete absence of archaeological remnants in Palembang is a mystery which demands solution" Funny he never tried to find any solution to such a simple problem himself.

\* Thammatas Panij's views are collected in, ธรรมทาส พานิช, *หนังสือทวารวดี ศักดิ์ชัย* (ฉบับพิมพ์ครั้งแรก, แพรวพวย, 2515), esp. Chaps. 3-7, and 10.

This covers the internal evidence of the Sri Vijaya story in the 7th century. The views put forward are what Wolters calls heterodox, for he says on page 22 of his *Early Indonesian Commerce*, "A few attempts have been made to upset the view that Palembang was the original headquarters and to look for it in the Malay Peninsula, but this form of heterodoxy has never found favour with the veterans, and indeed in 1936 Professor Coedès felt moved to comment on 'the strangest vicissitudes of the history of Sri Vijaya in these last few years' and to call a halt to the tendency to look for its original seat anywhere except at Palembang." Wolters then adds, rather naively I thought, "His advice was not immediately heeded, but today there is little inclination to break with traditional thinking on this subject." Perhaps a reassessment of the evidence in a more scientific manner than Coedès brought to bear on the question would turn this heterodoxy orthodox—not amongst veterans of course, but only amongst young people beginning to study this subject.

To summarise this section on Coedès' Sri Vijaya theory : by the end of the 7th century, Sri Vijaya on the Malay Peninsula had got complete control of the Malacca Straits, and this control was to last for six centuries. The main points of control were Muara Takus in Central Sumatra and Kedah on the west coast of the Peninsula. It is difficult to know what subsequent part Palembang played in this scheme because, after the 7th century, South Sumatra produced no more internal evidence until about 1286 A.D. This was on the base of an image of Amoghapasa-Lokesvara, which had been sent by a King of East Java, and was not a local record any more than were the 7th century South Sumatran inscriptions. It has been suggested that the Malays set up a kingdom at Palembang, presumably because the South Sumatran inscriptions were in the Malay language. This is very doubtful. As the evidence will show, the Sri Vijaya people were of the Javaka race, and if this race was not Malay, then the Malays of Palembang were the subject race and not the rulers. In any case West Java was in a better position to control the Sunda Straits than South Sumatra. So on the meagre evidence we have, I cannot yet accept that the Malay race played any very important part in the Sri Vijaya story at such an early stage.

### 8. The Sailendra Dynasty in Chaiya and Central Java

The first Sailendra Period, covering Central Java and the Malay Peninsula, as well as Muara Takus on the equator in Central Sumatra, lasted about two centuries. Some 7th century Chinese toponyms have already been mentioned in section 3, namely *Chele-foche* (Sri Vijaya or Chaiya), *Ho-ling* (Tambalinga or Nakorn Sri Thammaraj), *Chih-tu* with its capital *Seng-shih* (Singora Inland Sea), *To-po-teng* on the west coast (Tuptieng or Trang) and *Chieh-cha* (Kedah). Some of the other Twelve Naksat Cities (section 1) might have come into the story, though of course in this early period the Naksat Cities had not come into being as such. The main point to remember is that South Sumatra had dropped out at the end of the 7th century, so any placenames in the story that cannot be located in Java must be found on the Malay Peninsula or in Central Sumatra. The names are confusing, but by keeping the geographical aspects of the evidence in mind, most of them can be located without difficulty.

The first and last inscriptions that are internal evidence for this period are Sanjaya's Cangal Charter dated 732 A.D., and Balitung's Kedu inscription dated 907. The names of the kings of Mataram are given in the latter stele, starting with Sanjaya and ending with Balitung himself. The list as given in Professor Sastri's *History of Sri Vijaya*, is as follows:

Rakai mataram sang ratu sanjaya  
 Sri maharaja rakai panang karan  
 Sri maharaja rakai panung galan  
 Sri maharaja rakai warak  
 Sri maharaja rakai garung  
 Sri maharaja rakai pikatan  
 Sri maharaja rakai kayu wangi  
 Sri maharaja rakai watu humalang  
 Sri maharaja rakai watu kura (Balitung).

Sanjaya's charter was set up at a mountain called Wukir in Central Java and recorded the establishment of a Linga, symbol of the Shaivite faith. In the stele he also gave information about one Sanna (or Sannaha, which means the above mentioned Sanna.) The text contains 12 verses

and verse 7 tells of a shrine of Siva set up in Kunjara-kunjadesa, surrounded by Ganga and other holy rivers. This was in Javadvipa, rich in grains and gold mines. The text is specific that this Javadvipa was not in Java, so it must have been in the Malay Peninsula, and was the same as Ptolemy's Iabadiou and Fa-Hien's Ye-po-ti (see section 5 above).

Verses 8, 9 and 11 tell of Sanna and his relationship with Sanjaya. Sanna was well-born, and Professor Nilakanta Sastri in his *History of Sri Vijaya*\* interprets Sanjaya as being Sanna's nephew: "This king was named Sri Sanjaya, son of the sister of Sannaha who ruled the kingdom justly." Other translations state that Sanjaya was Sanna's brother-in-law, that is, Sanna either married Sanjaya's sister, or Sanjaya married Sanna's. In a translation that was once made for me to check the experts' translations, Sanjaya was the son of Sanna's father-in-law, which means that Sanjaya's sister was either Sanna's queen or a concubine (minor wife). I will follow the view that Sanna and Sanjaya were brothers-in-law when I return to this subject, because it is the majority view.

The next two inscriptions in chronological order are dated 752 and 775 A.D. The first was engraved on a large rock in the village of Plumpangan in Central Java. The text is Buddhist and the name of the king might have been Bhanu. The second came from Chaiya and is probably the most controversial of all the inscriptions, so I will deal with it at length.

The only epigraph that is internal evidence for South Siam is an inscription that came from Wat Hua Vieng, Chaiya, dated 775 A.D. This is the same stele that Professor Coedès mistakenly said came from Wat Sema Muang, Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, and is thus known as the Ligor Stele. This simple error, because it concerns two very important inscriptions, has produced a fantastic amount of wild conjectures in an essentially straight-forward story. The following account is based on what Nai Thammatas Panij of Chaiya has written, and on what he himself has told me.

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\* Nilakanta Sastri, *History of Sri Vijaya* (Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1946-1947) (Madras, 1949).



When the inscriptions from South Siam were collected and sent to Bangkok, two were taken from Wat Hua Vieng in Chaiya. The base of one inscription was still *in situ* at Wat Vieng the first time I went to Chaiya, but since then it has been moved to the small museum at Wat Phra Dhatu in Chaiya. This inscription is completely illegible and needs no longer concern us. The second inscription from Wat Hua Vieng is No. 23 in Professor Coedès' *Receuil II*. Soon after the inscriptions arrived in Bangkok the authorities wrote to the head abbot of the Chaiya district (the ecclesiastical *nai amphur* or district officer so to say) to ask for measurements and other details of the Wat Hua Vieng inscriptions because, they said, one of the inscriptions had become mixed with an inscription from Vieng Sra. The information was given, but when the inscriptions were printed, No. 23 was said to have come from Vieng Sra in the Thai version, while in the French version Coedès said that the stele came from Wat Sema Muang in Nakorn Sri Thammaraj. (Presumably, to take the place of the missing inscription from Wat Vieng in the records, Coedès said that No. 24, which the records said came from Nakorn, came from that *wat* in Chaiya.) The good folks of Chaiya complained because they were certain of their facts. When the two inscriptions were being moved to Bangkok, it was found that No. 23 had some obscene writing on the uninscribed part. The pious folks of Chaiya, and the folks of Chaiya are still considered pious today, washed off the writing, which I presume was in chalk or charcoal. Surely such a wealth of detail must have been founded on fact.

Many years passed and Professor Alexander B. Griswold went to Chaiya. Thammatas told him about Coedès mixing up the two inscriptions and Griswold told Coedès, who in turn wrote to Thammatas asking for full details. The information was supplied, but when the second edition of the Thai version of the inscriptions was reprinted, Coedès added a note that a monk from Nakorn had told him that No. 23 came from Wat Sema Muang and thus there was no need for him to change his opinion. Actually the official records do not have any inscription that came from Wat Sema Muang, though there is one that came from Wat Sema Chai next door, which has been moved to the small museum at Wat Phra Dhatu. Sema Chai is today a deserted *wat* and I suppose

at one time it was integrated into that of Wat Sema Muang, though a school now occupies most of the space. So very likely a monk from Wat Sema Muang not only mixed up the inscriptions but the *wats* as well. Anyway, Coedès accepted the word of this nondescript monk of Nakorn against those of *Nal* Thammatas and the on-the-spot monks of Chaiya, against the official records, and even against the contexts of the two inscriptions.

For this paper I will give these two inscriptions new titles so that there will be no further confusion; I will call No. 23 the Sri Vijaya Inscription dated 775 A.D., or, in full, the Sri Vijaya-Sailendra Inscription from Wat Hua Vieng, Chaiya, dated 775; and No. 24, which came from Nakorn, the Chandra Banu Inscription of Tambralinga dated 1230. This latter inscription will be dealt with in due course.

The Sri Vijaya-Sailendra inscription consists of two sides, and both sides were written at the same time, in the same place, by the same scribe using the same language and style. Any interpretation or argument that does not take this fact into consideration is just a joke that is not even funny. One face consists of 29 lines of writing, while the second face, starting with the word Svasti, has only four lines.

The longer or Sri Vijaya side contains a date corresponding to 775 A.D. It records three brick buildings set up by a King of Sri Vijaya to commemorate some victory or other. The buildings each contained a Buddha image and two Avalokesvaras. There is nothing in the text to suggest that the king had his seat anywhere other than at Chaiya, and the three buildings were probably at Wat Long, Wat Kaeo and Wat Vieng, where the inscription was set up. The second or Sailendra side mentions a king named Vishnu who was the head of the Sailendrawamsa. (Coedès called him 'le chef de la famille Cailendra,') The two sides together, then, recorded a King of Sri Vijaya named Vishnu, who was the head of the Sailendra family, setting up three brick buildings at Chaiya in 775 A.D. to celebrate a victory somewhere. What that victory was will be submitted later.

The name Sailendrawamsa also appears in three Central Javanese inscriptions, once each in inscriptions from North India, South India and

Ceylon. The South Indian stele, known as the Larger Leiden Plate, does not concern this period and can be left for later treatment. In chronological order, the other five inscriptions are :

1. *Kalasan 778 A.D.* : Panamkarana, an ornament of the Sailendra family (*tilaka* Sailendrawamsa), built Chandi Kalasan and dedicated it to Tara, a Buddhist goddess or possibly his mother or queen. This inscription is dated three years after the Sri Vijaya-Sailendra inscription of King Vishnu, who in contrast was called the head of the Sailendra family.

2. *Kelurak 782 A.D.* : King Dharanindra, another ornament (*tilaka*) of the Sailendras set up an image of Manjusri. Dharanindra is not in Balitung's list of the kings of Mataram that started with Sanjaya, while Panamkarana of the previous inscription has been equated with Sri maharaja panang karan, the name that follows Sanjaya.

3. *Kerangtenah 824 A.D.* : Samaratunga, another ornament of the Sailendrawamsa, appears in this inscription, as well as his father, Indra (the Dharanindra above), and daughter Princess Pramodavardhani.

4. *Nalanda Copperplate circa 850 A.D.* : (or as late as 860, 39th year of the reign of Devapaladeva, Pala ruler of Bengal) : Balaputradeva, a king of Suvannadvipa, built a monastery at Nalanda and the Pala king made a grant for its upkeep. Balaputra was the son of a king of Javabhumi (perhaps entitled Samaragravira), who was another ornament of the Sailendra family (*tilaka*). Balaputra's mother was named Tara, a daughter of Dharmasetu. She cannot be equated with the Tara of the Kalasan inscription (if the latter was a queen and not a goddess) because the two dates are too far apart. Suvannadvipa meant Sumatra while Javabhumi might have been Java or the Malay Peninsula.

5. *Rambaya Slab 15th century A.D.* : Parakramabahu VI of Ceylon referred to a Simhalarama temple built by Samarottunga (Samara + Uttunga), an ornament of the Sailendra family (*kula ketuna* Sailendrawamsa), on the Ratubaka Plateau in Central Java at the end of the 8th century A.D. This king has generally been equated with Samaratunga (Samara + Tunga) of the Kerangtenah inscription and Samaragravira (Samara, the brave in battle) of the Nalanda Copperplate above. If the

Copperplate is dated 850 A.D., fifty years would intervene between the buildings set up by the father and his son Balaputra, which is as long a stretch as can be reasonably accepted. If the dating of the Nalanda inscription is moved forward a decade or so, then Samarottunga and Samaragravira could not have been the same person.

But the main point about the five Sailendra kings in these inscriptions is that they were all called 'ornaments of the Sailendrawamsa', in contrast to Vishnu of the Sri Vijaya-Sailendra inscription who was called 'head of the Sailendra family'. Surely the use of the description 'ornament' five times could not have been accidental. Put another way, there must have been two branches of the Sailendra family, one on the Malay Peninsula; and the other, called ornaments, in Central Java.

*Nai Thammatas Panij* of Chaiya has a theory. Sanna, the well-born king of Kunjara-kunjadesa in Javadvipa (Chaiya), who was the brother-in-law of Sanjaya, the author of the Cangal Charter dated 732 A.D., was a Sailendra. The children born of Sanna's queen would be first-class princes (Lords of the Sky, called *Chao Fa* in Thai). Vishnu of the Sri Vijaya-Sailendra inscription dated 775, was one such *Chao Fa*, a son or grandson of Sanna's queen. He was called the head of the Sailendra family in the same way that the present king of Siam is considered head of the Chakri dynasty. Into this scheme Sanjaya's sister would fit in as a concubine (called *sanom* in Thai) and her children would be second-class princes (called *Phra Ong Chao*). When Sanna died and Sanjaya became king of Java, his sister went with him, taking her children too. Bhanu (Plumpangan, 752) was one such child. Then Sanjaya's children intermarried with their Sailendra cousins and the offspring were of the combined Sanjaya-Sailendra dynasty. These would include Panamkarana (Kalasan 778), Dharanindra (Kelurak 782) Samaragravira (alias Samarattunga 824, and Samarottunga who built Simhalarama in 794) and Balaputra (Nalanda Copperplate circa 850). The kings were called 'ornaments of the Sailendra family' because they were not of the direct male line, and the description was presumably used because the Sailendras were internationally known, so to say, while Sanjaya was a more local name. Such is *Nai Thammatas'* theory for what it is worth, though of course there could be other possible interpretations.

### 9. The External Evidence of the Sailendra Period

Before dealing with the external evidence, I will mention a few of the archaeological landmarks in the Bandon Bight district and Chaiya. The reason is because external evidence must be equated with some internal evidence, namely from the Malay Peninsula or Java, but not both.

Chaiya is today a sleepy village several kilometres from the sea. The main landmark is Wat Boromadhatu, whose stupa is considered one of the most sacred in Thailand. A new finial has been added but the original is said to be very similar to Chandi Pawon in Central Java. I think perhaps a combination of the side *chandis* of Prambanan and Sewu would be more similar, but this is a minor point. Several objects of archaeological significance have come from this *wat*, of which the most interesting is probably an iron bell dug up from fairly deep down. The bell has some Chinese writing on it, and two others like it have been dug up from Wat Chompuphan and Wat Prasop, both in Chaiya.

Slightly to the east of Wat Boromadhatu is Wat Vieng or Wat Hua Vieng; and south of Wat Vieng are Wat Long (Wat Luang) and Wat Kaeo, set in a line equidistant from one another. Not very much remains of these three *wats* except a pillar and one of the sides of the stupa at Wat Kaeo. The stupa is said to be similar to Chandi Kalasan in Central Java, which was put up in 778. Vishnu's inscription dated 775 was set up near a sacred well called Boh Mod (Ants Well) at Wat Vieng, and the three brick buildings mentioned in Vishnu's inscription probably referred to the three stupas of these *wats*.

To the west of the village is a small hill called Anchor Chain Hill, where tradition says that the Maharaja (called Phya Yumba) manufactured the anchors for his fleet. To the east of Chaiya, on an old bar in the Chaiya River, was an open-sided hall called Sala Mae Nang Sundari (Queen Sundari's Sala.) The building has disappeared, and the bar is now some way from the sea, but the tradition of the queen's *sala* still remains. Princess Sundari will appear in the story in the next part of this paper.

South of the Chaiya district is the Tapi River or Menam Luang, which flows from the hills of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj province northwards to the Bandon Bight. The water of the Tapi is considered sacred, and when kings are crowned in this country, water is taken from this river to be mixed with other sacred water from all over the country and used as lustral water in the ceremony. Other sacred watering places on the Bandon Bight include Boh Mod at Wat Hua Vieng in Chaiya, already mentioned, and a pond called Sra Gangajaya to the north of the town. Both the well and pond have dried up.

On the Tapi River is Vieng Sra, a very old site that was probably Pan-Pan, which sent many embassies to China between 424 and 617 A.D. At a later period Pan-Pan moved further down the river to Punpin, where there is a hill called Khao Sri Vijaya. Later still, when the southern railway was cut, old Punpin moved back to a fork in the river where the two outlets are called Pak Leelet and Pak Pan Kuha.

Another ancient city state where a king had his seat was Khanthuli to the north of Chaiya. Khanthuli, which the Chinese called Kan-to-li, sent embassies in the 5th and 6th centuries. Also north of Chaiya is Ta Chana or Victory Harbour (of the Maharaja), where there is a *wat* called Wat Ganesa. A mukhalinga (a linga with a human face) was found at this *wat* and, according to J.S. O'Connor (An Ekamukhalinga from Peninsular Siam, *JSS*, January 1966), this particular phallic symbol has the same hair dressing as those from Oc-eo and Wat Sampou in Cambodia. O'Connor thinks all three should be given an early dating.

Such are a few of the archaeological sites of the Bandon Bight, and if some of them could be excavated, then we should know a little more about the Sri Vijaya story.

The Phya Yumba and the Maharaja mentioned above referred to the same character. According to the Ven. Buddhadasa Bhikkhu, the southern folks are inclined to use the U sound a great deal, so a word like *khon*, a man in the Central dialect, becomes *khun* in the Southern language. So Phya Yumba was Phya Yamba (or Damba in some Ceylonese chronicles) and Phya Yamba in turn was Phya Javaka, or Javak-araja, or the Maharaja of Zabag of the Arab records.

The good folks of Singora province, however, think that the seat of the Arabs' Maharaja of Zabag was in their province. The tongue of land that divides the Singora Inland Sea and the Gulf of Siam is today called the Satingphra Peninsula, though the local people call it Pan Din Bok; and the people who live in the land are called Jao Bok (people of the land). A Singora acquaintance of mine told me that he once asked somebody who knew how to write Arabic to put down into Arabic characters the name Maharaja of Zabag. Then he got somebody else who knew how to read the language to pronounce the name, and the *exact* pronunciation was 'Maharaja of Jao Bok.' So he claims that the Javak-araja, or the Maharaja of Zabag, was really the Maharaja Jao Bok of his province. What a wonderful word-game all this is!

### The External Evidence

I will start with the Arab writings. Ibn Hordabeh, who was writing between 844-848 A.D., was the first writer to mention the Maharaja of Zabag or Zabaj. He gives some fairy tales about the flora and fauna of Zabag, and relates that the king was so wealthy that he had a gold brick made every day, which he threw into the water, saying "There is my treasury." Part of the king's revenue was derived from cock-fights, when the king would win a leg of the winning cock and the owner had to buy it back with gold. There is no geographical evidence concerning where the king had his seat, whether in Central Java or the Malay Peninsula. In the former case the Maharaja might have been Pikatan or one of the kings appearing in the Perot and Ratubaka inscriptions around the middle of the ninth century. In the latter part of the eighth century, miscellaneous records and inscriptions found in Annam, Champa and Cambodia give some loose information in connection with Sri Vijaya.

In 767, the people from Kun-lun and Daba (Java) pillaged the Ngan-an delta (North Annam, the present Tonkin), as far as the capital near the present Hanoi. They remained in possession of the region until the military governor drove them out and built the citadel of Lo-thanh. The evidence is not clear whether the raid was made from Java or the peninsula; nor is it clear whether it was a piratical raid or the

Maharaja of Javaka (to call him by the name that will come into use a few decades later) attacked some pirates operating in the Ngan-an region on the main trade-route. Considering the prevailing winds the raid should have been from the peninsula, but if the Maharaja had made careful preparations beforehand, the raid could easily have been from Java, particularly if he had bases in Borneo.

In 774, a new Cham kingdom, Huan Wang, appeared in the south with its capital at Rajapura or Virapura. In that same year, according to the inscription of Po Nagar, ferocious dark skinned people who were filthy in their eating habits (cannibals?) came from overseas in ships and sacked the temple of Po Nagar, carrying away a golden Mukhalinga and other spoils. This was one year before the Sri Vijaya-Sailendra inscription found at Chaiya, which recorded the establishment of three brick buildings to celebrate some victory or other.

Here again it is not clear where the attack was made from, whether made by Vishnu from Chaiya or by Panamkarana (Kalasan 778). The evidence from Chaiya is stronger. A Mukhalinga (a phallic symbol with a human face) has been found at Chaiya, but I think the datings of this Po Nagar inscription and that of Vishnu are probably better evidence than the linga that the raid was made from Chaiya.

In 787, according to another Cham inscription, Yang Tikuh, a Shaivite temple near Virapura was burnt by the armies of Java coming in ships. Again there is no evidence concerning from which Java the raid was made.

In 802, Jayavarman II set up his capital at Angkor and founded the Kambujan state in Cambodia. Before that Jayavarman was taken to Java, probably as a hostage, and when he was returned he declared his independence. He stayed at several capitals before actually founding Angkor, which presumably meant that he was playing a game of hide and seek because he was afraid of the wrath of the Maharaja. This would indicate that the Java that Jayavarman was taken to was the Malay Peninsula because Java itself was too far away for him to fear any wrath of the Maharaja from that island.



An inscription dated 811 Maha Sakaraj (889 A.D.) has also been found at Paniad in Chandaburi province on the east coast of Siam, but this stone has not been read and I only mention it for the record.

Then there are the Chinese records, mainly records of embassies, and they go back to very early times (Pan-Pan, Kan-to-li etc.). Many of the placenames cannot be identified or located, and the names of the kings who sent the embassies are even more difficult to interpret. But these records are unbiassed and can sometimes be used to settle controversial points, particularly in the later period dealt with in the third part of this paper.

### The Master Architect of Borobudur

New external evidence has become available from Ceylon. Dr. S. Paranavitana, whose book *Ceylon and Malaysia* will be dealt with in the third part of this paper, has also produced several articles based on sources which he has recently deciphered. One of these articles, called 'The Designer of Barabudur', concerns the period under treatment and was published in the 1970 Vaisakha Number of the *Maha Bodhi*. The source for this article is chapter 34 of the *Paramaparakapustaka* (Book of Tradition), which was written down by order of the Ceylonese king, Parakramabahu VI (1412-67). The original has been lost, but the same information was inscribed 'in minute characters' on stone pillars which Paranavitana has recently read. Parakramabahu VI, according to Paranavitana, counted the Sailendras of Java amongst his ancestors, and so had the information concerning them that could be collected at that late period written down for posterity. There is nothing unusual in this. The Khom inscriptions have many such records, for instance the story of Jayavarman II, which was written down several centuries after the events recorded; the Mon Kalyani inscription from Thaton was a similar affair; and most local chronicles were collected at a much later date. The main point about such sources is that while there may be a lot of inaccuracies, there was also a hard core of history.

Paranavitana's sources are considered by some not to be authentic—in fact his critics claim that he invented the story himself, evidence and all. The whole thing must seem like Zen to some people. Paranavitana

claims to be able to read the story from stones inscribed in minute characters and written between the lines of some earlier inscriptions; while other people who have looked at the same inscriptions cannot see even one character, minute, interlinear or otherwise. Also, Paranavitana claims to have supporting evidence from Ratubaka in Central Java; but the point of all this is, if Paranavitana had invented the whole story, how could he produce evidence that agrees with other sources about which he knew nothing? I would say that this seems a very good reason for accepting Paranavitana's story, or at least for giving it careful consideration. Unfortunately Paranavitana's story, even if only half accepted, would mean rewriting not only of the history of Southeast Asia, but that of Ceylon as well. I very much doubt whether the professors who teach Eastern history would be prepared to make such radical changes in their lecture notes. For all that, I will give them the benefit of my guesswork, which guesswork, I need hardly add, is nothing like any conjecture made by the past masters. In short I shall try to collate Paranavitana's external evidence with the internal evidence of the dynastic history and art of Central Java, and I might add that this should only be taken as a preliminary canter. I will begin with the gist of Paranavitana's story and after that let us have a new section. The *Maha Bodhi* probably circulates amongst religious rather than academic circles, so I will quote Paranavitana's own words where possible.

Karunakaracarya, a monk from Gaudadesa (Bengal), went to Ceylon and stayed at the Abhayagiri Vihara in Anuradhapura. He told the king, Udaya I (circa 797-801), that "the worship of the Bodhi tree, which was the focal point of Buddhist devotion in ancient Anuradhapura, was at that time becoming out of date, that he had designs for a new type of Bodhimanda combining the Stupa and the Pratima-grha, and that if king Udaya were to establish in Ceylon a Bodhimanda as he would design it, the Sinhala monarch would once more be acknowledged as Bodhiraja by the kings of Malayadvipa and Samudradvipa."

Udaya replied that "the administration of the Sinhala kingdom often gave him sleepless nights, and that if he were to add to his burdens by acquiring an imperial status, he would not even get the little sleep he was able to obtain. So saying he rejected Karunakaracarya's proposal."

The monk finally arrived at Suvarnnapura where Visnuraja was on the throne. According to the story, Visnu was a son of Sannaphulla, who was the founder of the Silahara dynasty, and he (Visnu) had married the heiress of the Suvarnnapura kingdom (Sri Vijaya) and succeeded to the dignity of Maharaja.

"Karunakaracarya expounded to Visnuraja his schemes for a great empire and a grand monument. Karunakara told Visnuraja that there were many islands to the east and north of Yavadvipa which was suited to be the centre of a great empire comprising all these islands. Consequently, Visnuraja invaded Java, defeated Sanjaya the Saivite ruler of Katakapura in Central Java, and stationed his son there. But his schemes of further conquest were checked by the receipt of the news that the Malay King of Eastern Dvaravati had captured Tambralinga. Visnu hastened back with his forces to wage war against Dvaravati and recaptured Tambralinga. Shortly after this, Visnuraja died."

"Fratricidal war between the two sons of Visnuraja, Balaputra of Suvarnnapura and Panamkarana of Java, gave the opportunity for the Saivite Sanjaya dynasty to recover its strength temporarily. But Samarottunga, the son of Panamkarana, by his brilliant victory over the forces of Suvarnnapura and of King Sannaha of the Sanjaya dynasty, brought both Sumatra and Java under his rule, and was acknowledged as Maharaja by the kings of the Malay Peninsula."

According to the story, Samarottunga built Borobudur. I will quote another paragraph, the second, from Paranavitana's paper :

"The 34th chapter of the *Paranaparakustaka*, which I have succeeded in deciphering, gives an account of the triumphant career of Samarottunga, who became the sovereign of an empire which included the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Java. It is stated that Samarottunga, in order to commemorate the foundation of his empire, built the Barabudur following the advice of Karunakaracarya, a Mahayana teacher from Gaudadesa (Bengal). It is also said in the source that the design of the Barabudur was first approved by Visnuraja, the grandfather of Samarottunga, and that the sculptured slabs and images necessary for the monument were fashioned by workmen trained by Karunakaracarya during the reigns of Visnuraja and his son Panamkarana."

A few preliminary remarks are required. Of the placenames mentioned in the story, Suvarṇapūra was Chaiya (Sri Vijaya), Tambra-linga was Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, Katakapura was Mataram in Java, Javadvīpa was a generic name, and Java in the text meant the present island of that name. The Malay King of Eastern Dvaravati is a little tricky. If this is not a mistake (in the reading or the interpretation) then Dvaravati would mean Lopburi, which at that time was called Lawo. A century and a half later, the name was changed to Khambojnakorn. The name of the new city was derived from a Khambojaraja who came from Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, and perhaps this was the reason the king was called a Malay and not Mon or Khmer.

I should imagine that the building that Karunakara designed, called a Bodhimanda, was a box-like building that the Thai called a Mandapa (pronounced *mondop*). If the building on top was a *chedi*, the building would be called a *chedi mondop*; if a *prang*, a *prang mondop*; and the images (*pratima*) inside the buildings might have been a Buddha and/or Avalokeshvara. Many such buildings are to be seen all over the country—the Three Prangs of Lopburi were a set of three '*prang mondops*' set close together, with a Buddha image and two Avalokeshvaras inside; while the three brick buildings set up by Viṣṇu at Chaiya in 775 were probably a set of three '*chedi mondops*', set far apart but equidistant to one another and again containing a Buddha image and two Avalokeshvaras.

Paranavitana's story kills many of the old arguments and at the same time it introduces new arguments of its own. One example: Did the Sailendrawamsa really stem from the Silahara dynasty? According to Professor Coedès, the Sailendra 'Lords of the Mountains' derived from Funan on the mainland (funan=banom=mountain); Professor Majumdar, a North Indian, thought the Sailendras originated from the Sailobhava kings of Kalinga in North India; Professor Sastri, a South Indian, at one time proposed that the Sailendras had a South Indian origin; and now Professor Paranavitana, a Ceylonese, has introduced a Silahara dynasty. With so many choices one almost feels like being at some race track trying to pick a winner, not of a horse race, of course, but of a rat race.

### 10. Dr. de Casparis' *Prasasti Indonesia*

Before starting to comment on Professor Paranavitana's story of the building of Borobudur, a little historical background is necessary, as well as a few words on Central Javanese art. I will comment on Dr. de Casparis' two volumes of *Prasasti Indonesia* and at the same time bring in these two aspects. Although de Casparis has produced some very bright contributions about the kings of Java of the 8th and 9th centuries in his two books, I cannot agree with his theories to any great extent. However *Nai Thammatas Panij* of Chaiya seems to accept most of them, and at the same time he has supplied one or two additional aspects that seem reasonable and could well be correct. I will deal with only two items in his thesis, one from each book. The first is that there were two contemporary dynasties ruling in Java, and the second is that there was a decline and fall of the Sailendra dynasty in the middle of the ninth century.

At one time it was thought that the Sailendra or Buddhist period in Central Java was squeezed in between two Hindu periods: Sanjaya's Cangal Charter dated 732 A.D. and Balitung's Kedu inscription dated 907. In this way all the Buddhist art was made after Sanjaya's reign and before Balitung's; while the Hindu art was created before Sanjaya and after Balitung. This is incorrect. It is not true that only a Hindu king would put up a Hindu temple, nor that a Buddhist king would only put up Buddhist buildings. In the classic period of Indian art, the Gupta kings put up both Hindu and Buddhist structures; while in Thailand in the Sukhothai period, a period that we like to see through rose-coloured glasses and think that Buddhism was then at its purest, Hindu images of natural size or larger were also cast. In the case of Java, Mr. J.L. Moens in his 'Sri Vijaya, Java en Kataha' thought that Sanjaya, who set up the Cangal Charter to record the founding of a Shaivite linga, also founded the Buddhist Chandi Mendut. Other cases will be cited later.

In order to provide a solid foundation for my discussion of Dr. de Casparis' theories, I will first say a few words about Central Javanese art. This art seemed to burst suddenly into full bloom, but nevertheless, as in all schools of metropolitan art, it must have had a pre-classic and

a post-classic period, and these periods must be looked for in Java itself. Taking Borobudur to be the classic expression, we can say that the images of Bogem and Bogisan were pre-classic and those of Chandi Plaosan post-classic.

About fifteen years ago, my research collaborator, the late Khien Yimsiri, who was a sculptor and later became Dean of the Faculty of Painting and Sculpture in the Fine Arts University after Professor Silpa Birasri's death, went to Java to do research on Indonesian art. I took the opportunity of asking him in what order the major *chandis* were built. His opinion was based solely on what he could read from the art. As one of the classic structures has a date (Chandi Kalasan, 778 A.D.), it was not difficult for me to work out a new chronology based on his information and, though Kalasan has been repaired, 778 is generally thought to have been its foundation year.

For this reason a certain amount of overlap must be allowed for in the following dates.

Bogem-Bogisan	650-700 A.D.
Pawon-Mendut	700-725 A.D.
Borobudur	725-775 A.D.
Kalasan	778 A.D.
Chandi Sewu (Buddhist)	775-825 A.D.
Prambanan (Hindu)	775-825 A.D.
Chandi Plaosan	825-850 A.D.

Most of these dates are a good three quarters of a century earlier than what had previously been thought. But Dr. Soekmono, then Head of the Archaeological Service of the Republic of Indonesia, told me that they did not run contrary to the latest evidence. He also said that a new inscription had been found at Chandi Sewu dated 792, which mentions the enlargement of Chandi Menjucigrha (? his handwriting is a little difficult to read!) It is presumed that this was the old name of Sewu where the inscription was set up. Perhaps what this means is that the main structure of Sewu had been built by 792, and then it was decided to expand the Chandi into a complex like Prambanan and Plaosan.

Pawon, Mendut and Boroburdur are located in the same district, while the remaining *chandis* in the list are located in what the Indonesian Archaeological Service calls 'the Kalasan District'. (There is a small field museum at Kalasan where the finds from these *chandis* are collected.) It is to be noted that the contemporary Buddhist Sewu and the Hindu Prambanan are located in the same district. As these temples are so immense the kings who built them must have had control of all the manpower and resources of the whole country.

According to Dr. de Casparis' first theory (*Prasasti Indonesia I*), there were two dynasties ruling in Central Java at the same time, namely the Sanjayawamsa, who were Shaivite, and the Buddhist Sailendras. The Sanjaya line consisted of the kings of Mataram in Balitung's inscription already given at the beginning of sections 8, while the Sailendra kings seem to consist of names not in Balitung's list but who appeared in the various inscriptions of the period (as far as the inscriptions were read when de Casparis produced his *Prasasti I* in 1950). Two reasons for not accepting this theory have already been given and I will now give a few more. I have already mentioned that Moens thought that Sanjaya, who set up a linga in 732, also built Chandi Mendut. If this is correct, then, according to Khien's chronology, Mendut was built before or at the time Sanjaya set up his linga. Then, Panamkarana, the Sailendra king who built the Buddhist Kalasan, has been equated with Sri Maharaja Panang Karan, the second name on the Balitung list. And then, according to firm epigraphic evidence, Pikatan of the Shaivite line, built or had a hand in building the Buddhist Plaosan Lor (north complex). Finally, although I may be mistaken on this point, I understand that the word Sanjayawamsa does not appear in any Javanese inscription. In any case the list of kings in Balitung's inscription were kings who had their seat at Mataram. That the list starts with Sanjaya does not necessarily mean that they were all of that line, though the chances are that they were. The kings of Ayudhia were certainly not of the same dynasty, and in the story to come the kings of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj were first of the Sailendra dynasty, but later they were of the Lotus Line (Padmawamsa), though all were of the Javaka race.

Before going on to Dr. de Casparis' second theory (*Prasasti II*), I will collect the more important names and dates from the inscriptions, both of kings and art, and arrange them in chronological order. I will not try to equate any names, most of which come from Javanese inscriptions (the exceptions are the Nalanda Copperplate and Parakramabahu's inscription). The list is not complete, and my hope is that I have made no factual error that might lead students astray in later interpretations. (The names in capitals are of *chandis*, while those in italics are the kings who appear in Balitung's list).

BOGEM-BOGISAN	650-700
PAWON-MENDUT	700-725
<i>Sanjaya</i> (Cangal Charter)	732
BOROBURDUR	725-775
Bhanu (Plumpangan)	752
SEWU-PRAMBANAN	775-825
Panamkarana (Kalasan)	778
Dharanindra (Kelurak)	782
Manjucrigrha (enlargement of Sewu)	792
Samarottunga (Simhalarama)	794
<i>Panang Karan</i>	—
<i>Panang Galan</i>	—
<i>Warak</i>	—
<i>Garung</i>	—
CHANDI PLAOSAN	825-850
Indra (Kerangtenah)	824
Samaratunga (Kerangtenah)	824
Princess Pramodavardhani (Kerangtenah)	824
Patapan (Kerangtenah)	824
Patapan (Gandasuli)	832
Queen Kahulunnan	842
Samaratunga	847
Samaragravira (Nalanda)	about 850
Balaputradeva (Nalanda)	about 850
Patapan (Perot)	850
<i>Pikatan</i> (Perot and Plaosan Lor)	850



Kahulunnan (Plaosan Lor or north complex)	850
<i>Kayu Wani</i> (Plaosan north complex)	850
<i>Pikatan</i> (Ratubaka)	856
Khambhayoni (Ratubaka)	856
Jati-ning-rat (Ratubaka)	856
Valaputra	856
<i>Kayu Wani</i> (Argapura)	863
<i>Watu Humalang</i>	907
<i>Watu Kura</i> (Balitung)	907

**Sanjayawamsa**

Warak (? Patapan)

Pikatan  
|  
= Kayu Wani

**Sailendrawamsa**

Samaratunga

Princess Pramodavardhani (Queen Sri Kahulunnan) Prince Balaputra (Valaputra)

In de Casparis' theory, Samarottunga (794), Samaratunga (824 and 847) and Samaragravira (about 850) are considered the same king. It is not certain whether he had died when the Nalanda Copperplate was set up, but he had a long reign of over fifty years (794 to 847). The king had two children, Princess Pramodavardhani, who married Pikatan and became Queen Sri Kahulunnan, and Balaputra, who left Java when he was young, married a Sri Vijaya princess and became king of the country (Suvarnadvipa). Such was the theory submitted in *Prasasti Indonesia I*, which was published in 1950. After that new evidence became available, for example the name Valaputra appears in a document dated 856 A.D. So in *Prasasti II*, published in 1956, de Casparis amended his theory slightly and this theory concerns the decline and fall of the Sailendra dynasty.

The general drift of the theory is that the Shaivite Sanjayawamsa overcame the Buddhist Sailendras and acquired hegemony over Central Java in 856 A.D. The main character in the story is Sri Maharaja Rakai Pikatan of Balitung's inscription, who had a hand in the building of the Buddhist Plaosan Lor in 850. The main sources are the inscriptions from the Ratubaka Plateau dated 856, and an old Javanese poem of the

same date where the name Valaputra appears. Pikatan (his regnal title) is equated with Khumbhayoni (his fighting name) and with Jati-ning-rat (his hermit name), viz. he won a victory on the Ratubaka Plateau in 856 (Khumbhayoni), and after setting up three lingas (or one linga with three inscriptions) to celebrate his victory, made over the kingdom to his son Kayu Wani. After that the king became a hermit (Jati-ning-rat). All this happened in 856, and the defeated king was Valaputra. This king de Casparis equated with the Balaputra of the Nalanda Copperplate, who escaped to Sri Vijaya, married a princess there and became king of that country. In order to accommodate these new factors, de Casparis proposed to move the date of the Nalanda Copperplate from about 850 to 860 or even nearer 870. I think this is stretching the period too far because we know that Samarottunga built Simhalarama on the Ratubaka Plateau as long before as 794.

Then de Casparis has looked at Javanese history in all its isolated splendour. Balaputra of the Nalanda Copperplate was a son of Queen Tara, who in turn was a daughter of Dharmasetu (or Varmasetu). An attempt has been made to equate this name with one of the Pala kings or princes, but the theory has not generally been accepted. Yet, as the building was put up at Nalanda and one of the Pala kings, Devaputra-deva, made the grant for its upkeep, I think this idea of family connections is worthwhile for scholars to look into in a little more detail.

Perhaps the following interpretation of the Nalanda Copperplate would fit the facts better. Samaragravira, the Sailendra king of Javabhumi, sent his son Balaputra to become *uparaja* in Suvarnadvipa (viz. to act as harbour master and control one of the Straits on the trade-routes). The seat of the prince might have been at Palembang, Jambi or Bangka where Sri Vijaya inscriptions had been set up in the previous century; or at Muara Takus on the equator. Then, for some reason which I will not guess, Valaputra (if he is equated with Balaputra) invaded Java in 856 and was defeated. As we hear no more of this Valaputra, perhaps he was killed in the field. In this way there is no need to change the dating of the Nalanda Copperplate.

An alternative interpretation of the evidence might be suggested. Princess Pramodavardhani succeeded her father, King Samara, and became Queen Sri Kahulunnan in her own right (like the present Queen of England), and Prince Pikatan was her consort. In this scheme, Patapan, if he was the father of Pikatan, would have played a very important part. Perhaps he was Prime Minister, in the same way that Gajah Mada was Prime Minister in the Majapahit period a few centuries later. The question of Balabutra of the Nalanda Copperplate invading Java is also a little doubtful. Paranavitanas' source gives a Balabutra of Suvarnapura who was defeated by his brother Panamkarana, and the two stories seem so much alike that de Casparis' theory seems a little unconvincing. That Panamkarana, who was king of Java, should invade the Peninsula and put down his brother seems reasonable, because the latter controlled the wealth that accrued from the trade that passed through the Malacca Straits; but for Balabutra II (Valabutra) to have invaded Java from Suvarnavdipa, where he was harbour master, does not seem quite logical to me, though I admit it is possible. I will leave this problem to future students, because unfortunately I do not know, or if I knew I have now forgotten, the location of the Sailendras' capital in Central Java. It must have been near the magnificent monuments that they put up.

So on the whole I do not accept de Casparis' theory of two contemporary dynasties in Java, nor do I accept that there were any decline and fall of the Sailendrawamsa. The Sailendra period in Central Java just came to an end, and this was probably what happened. Soon after Balitung set up his inscription in 907 A.D., there was a general exodus from Central Java. The reason for this evacuation was the eruption of the Merapi, the active volcano of the district. Such is the view of some Javanese scholars. In fact I have been told that when the Dutch first saw Borobudur, a great part of it was covered with lava which had to be cleared before the bas-reliefs could be studied. I cannot say whether this is true or false, but I can say that soon after Balitung's inscription the Sailendra story in Java ended and a new period in Javanese history started in East Java. This history had nothing to do with the Sailendras, so Java dropped out of the Sri Vijaya story at the beginning of the 10th century and the subsequent story concerned only the Malay Peninsula and the Malacca Straits.

### 11. The Building of Borobudur

We now return to Professor Paranavitana's story of the building of Borobudur (section 9 above). I will start with the 'cast of characters', even if this entails a little repetition. This will make a fairly complicated story easier to follow. At the beginning of section 8 above, there is a list of the Kings of Mataram from Balitung's Kedu Charter dated 907 A.D. The list starts with Sanjaya and the kings are thought to have been of the Sanjaya dynasty. Meanwhile the Sailendras, according to Paranavitana and other sources, are

1. Sri Jayanasa or Jayanaga (South Sumatran inscriptions, 683-86): King of Sri Vijaya, but does not appear in Paranavitana's story. According to Paranavitana he was not a Sailendra.

2. Sanna (Sanjaya's Changal Charter, 732): The well-born king of Javadvipa who was Sanjaya's brother-in-law. Does not appear as such in Paranavitana's story (see 4 below).

3. Bhanu (Plumpangan, 752): The inscription is Buddhist, but the name does not appear in Paranavitana's story, nor in Balitung's list.

4. Sannaphulla: according to Paranavitana, was a Sinhalese prince who was the founder of the Silahara dynasty in India.

5. Visnu (Chaiya, 775): The Sri Vijaya king who was head of the Sailendra family. According to Paranavitana, Visnuraja, son of Sannaphulla above, had married the heiress of the Suvarnapura kingdom and succeeded to the dignity of Maharaja. Then, according to Paranavitana, Visnuraja invaded Java, defeated Sanjaya, the Saivite ruler of Katakapura in Central Java, and stationed his son Panamkarana there.

6. Panamkarana (Kalasan, 778): An ornament of the Sailendra family. This name has generally been equated with Panang Karan, the second name in Balitung's list of the kings of Mataram, but according to Paranavitana, he was the son of Visnuraja of Suvarnapura (Chaiya) above.

7. Dharanindra (Kelurak, 782): Another ornament of the Sailendrawamsa. *Nai Thammatas Panij* thinks he was the same person as the name above, that is, Panamkarana was the name of the crown prince in his father's life time, while Indra or Dharanindra was the regnal title. This would imply that Visnu died sometime between 778 and 782.

8. Balaputra I: Another son of Visnuraja and, according to Paranavitana, shortly after the father's death, there was fratricidal war between Balaputra of Suvarnapura and Panamkarana of Java, which gave the opportunity for the Shaivite Sanjaya dynasty to recover its strength temporarily.

9. Samaratunga (Kerangtenah 824 and 847): Can be equated with Samarottunga of the Ceylonese records and Samaragravira of the Nalanda Copperplate dated about 850, because all three were called 'ornaments of the Sailendrawamsa'. According to Paranavitana, Samarottunga was the son of Panamkarana, while in the Javanese records he was the son of Indra. This would support Thammatas' idea that Panamkarana and Dharanindra were the same person. Paranavitana then says that Samarottunga "by his brilliant victory over the forces of Suvarnapura and of King Sannaha of the Sanjaya dynasty, brought both Sumatra and Java under his rule, and was acknowledged as Maharaja by the kings of the Malay Peninsula." Sannaha does not appear in Balitung's list of the kings of Mataram.

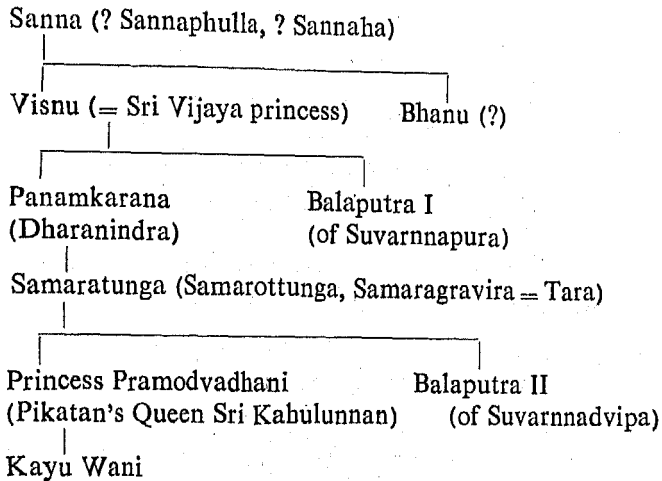
10. Princess Promodavardhani (Kerangtenah, 824) and Queen Sri Kahulunnan (Kerangtenah 842): Daughter of Samaratunga, the Sailendra ornament above. According to de Casparis, she became Pikatan's queen. Pikatan is the sixth name in the Balitung list, and he was probably a son of Patapan, a name not in the list. He and his queen, Kahulunnan, appear in some short inscriptions from the north complex of Chandi Plaosan dated 850.

11. Balaputra II (Nalanda, circa 850): Son of the Sailendra ornament, Samaragravira, who was king of Jayabhumi. Balaputra himself was king of Suvarnadvipa. According to de Casparis, he also appeared as Valaputra in an old Javanese poem dated 856. In that year he was defeated by his brother-in-law, Pikatan.

There are one or two discrepancies in the names above, of which the first is whether there was one Balaputra or two. According to Professor Nilakanta Sastri, the name Balaputra meant 'the youngest son'. If this is correct, then there were probably two Balaputras, though there seems to be too much similarity in the two stories for this to be altogether convincing. Anyway, when Visnu left his son Panamkarana

in Java, he kept his youngest son (Balaputra I) by his side; and when the father died, the two sons waged a war which Panamkarana won. Panamkarana evidently remained in Java, but sent his son Samaratunga to the Peninsula, because Samaragravira was able to marry a Pala princess, Tara by name. (Experts are not in agreement about this point.) He was described as King of Javabhumi by his son, Balaputra II, who was King of Suvarnnadvipa. According to Paranavitana, Samarottunga became the sovereign of an empire which included the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Java. Evidently Samarottunga had to fight for his throne, for the source also states that he won victories over Suvarnnapura (? Suvarnnadvipa) and King Sannaha of the Sanjaya dynasty in Java. Samaratunga then sent his youngest son to become king of Suvarnnadvipa, as has been mentioned; and after his death (according to de Casparis) Balaputra II invaded Java and was defeated by his brother-in-law, Pikatan. This brought the story of the direct line of the Sailendras in Java to an end, but the Sailendras in the Peninsula still carried on, as will be seen in the third part of this paper. Pikatan had his seat at Mataram, too far from the north coast for the Javanese to have played any further part in the Sri Vijaya story, a story that concerned a seafaring people.

The relationship between Sanna, Sannaphulla, Sanjaya and Visnu is rather tricky. My preference is to follow Sanjaya's record, which says that he was Sanna's brother-in-law. (The reason is because Sanjaya's record is internal evidence while Paranavitana's is not. Also it is contemporary to the events recorded.) If such is the case, then Sanna, who was king of Javadvipa, used Sanjaya in some capacity or other, probably as Admiral of the Fleet, because according to a late Javanese poem, the *Carita parahvangan*, Sanjaya was a great conqueror who raided as far as Khmer and China before returning to Galuh. (Galuh has been identified as Kedah, but Indonesian scholars say that it is in the eastern part of West Java. This complicates the whole story to such an extent that I wish to be excused!) Anyway, a preliminary working genealogical table is submitted as well as a very short Summary.



Without going back beyond I-Ching at the end of the 7th century we have King Sri Jayanasa or Jayanaga of Sri Vijaya invading South Sumatra and setting up inscriptions at Palembang, Jambi and Bangka between 683 and 686. Then early in the 8th century we have Sanna, a king of Javadvipa who was Sanjaya's brother-in-law. Sanna was followed by Visnu, a son who was called 'head of the family' at Chaiya, though according to Paranavitana Visnu was a son of Sannaphulla, the founder of the Silahara dynasty. According to the story Visnu married a Sri Vijaya princess (perhaps a daughter of Sanna if Sanna and Sannaphulla were different persons) and became Maharaja at Suvarnnapura (Chaiya). He then invaded Java, where he defeated Sanjaya and started the building of Borobudur. He left his son, Panamkarana, as ruler there. There is no difficulty after Visnu: he was followed by the son he left in Java, who became King Dharanindra; then by a grandson, Samaratunga; and a great grand-daughter, Queen Sri Kahulunnan. The names and dates agree very well with the expression of the Buddhist buildings in Central Java.

But the main discrepancy in Paranavitana's story is in the dating. The whole story must be moved back three quarters of a century, from Udaya I's reign (797-801) to Sanjaya's Changal inscription in 732. Also Visnu 'invaded Java' early in his reign and not towards the end, as in the story. This would give Visnu a long reign of about 50 years,

Now that the preliminaries are over, we can get on to the real job, namely the story of the building of Borobudur. My ideas on this monument were formed many years ago—in fact when I saw Borobudur for the first time—but now that we have Parānavitana's story, I will incorporate this evidence into my ideas, as well as *Nai Khien Yimsiri's* dating of the various buildings in Central Java.

### **Borobudur and the Images of Chandi Mendut**

Borobudur as we see it today is a building in ten levels. The first five consist mainly of open terraces with magnificent bas-reliefs. The reliefs on the first stage however have been covered by stone casements and can no longer be seen, though they were known to exist as early as about 1885 A.D. During the last war the Japanese took out a few stones and a section of the reliefs can now be studied. The subject shown is of a mundane character and the handiwork shows art in its primitive form. A few words of writing criticising the art also came to light, which we can translate freely as 'lousy work'. The reliefs on the other four levels however are of an entirely different category. They show the genius of Javanese art at its full bloom, and are as good examples of Buddhist art as can be found anywhere. The story told is mainly that of the life of the Buddha, with several episodes repeated several times, such as the episode of Sujata offering food to the Lord for his last meal before Enlightenment. I will explain the reason for this repetition later, as well as why the bottom row of reliefs was covered up, because it seems illogical to cut the reliefs and then hide them from prying eyes even if the art is 'lousy work'.

The sixth level of Borobudur, built over a natural hill, consists of a large plateau on which three round platforms have been built where 72 Buddha images of natural size have been placed (making a total of nine levels). The images are covered by latticed stupas, while at the top or tenth level there is a larger *chedi* that acts as a finial to the whole mass. What the main *chedi* contained is no longer known.

Close to Borobudur are two other *chandis*, namely Pawon and Mendut. Pawon is today empty and we do not know what it originally held, while Mendut has three monoliths, a Buddha image in the preaching



attitude and two Avalokesvaras. The name Mendut is probably derived from the Indian Mandapa, or what the Thai call *mondop*. It is a square, boxlike building, and the theme of a Buddha image and two Avalokesvaras is the same as that of the Three Prangs of Lopburi (*prang mondops*), where the structures are placed close together; and the three brick buildings set up by Visnu at Chaiya in 775 A.D. (*chedi mondops*), where the structures are set apart but equidistant from one another. The three *chandis*, Pawon, Mendut and Boroburdur, are considered to have been related in some manner, and Khien Yimsiri, allowing a little overlap, thought that Pawon and Mendut were built between 700-725, while Boroburdur was built between 725-775 A.D. The expressions of the Mendut figures and the Boroburdur bas-reliefs are the same and can be given the same dating. Moens thought that Sanjaya, who set up the Cangal Charter in 732, was the founder of Mendut.

There have been many interpretations of the meaning of Boroburdur. Some have said that the ten levels of Boroburdur referred to the ten stages on the path to Buddhahood; others that they represent the Ten Paramis (acquirements necessary to become a Buddha); and still others that they represented ten generations of the founder's forefathers. As for Pawon and Mendut, these were places where the king was cremated, or where his ashes were deposited, or where he meditated. All this sounds like eyewash of the highest order to me. It does not take the esthetics of Boroburdur into consideration, and while the mass of Boroburdur is most inspiring architecturally, it lacks a basic unity. This suggests that the plans had been changed while work was still in progress.

Sannaphulla (Paranavitana) and Sanna of Sanjaya's Charter were probably the same person, and Visnu was his son. According to Sanjaya, Sanna was his brother-in-law, but I doubt if Visnu was the son of Sanjaya's sister (more likely it was Bhanu of the Plumpangan inscription). For all that, Visnu probably considered Sanjaya a sort of honorary uncle. Early in his reign, Visnuraja listened to Karunakara-carya's idea of an island empire and a grand monument, and either 'invaded Java' or went there on a friendly visit to Sanjaya. The scheme for Boroburdur was put in hand. The master-plan called for a grand Bodhimanda (*mondop*) with a stupa (*chedi*) and pratima (images); and

the base was to cover a natural hill. The master architect made his designs, drew the sketches for the bas-reliefs consisting mainly of episodes from the Buddha's life, and had the work started on the images to be placed in the buildings. The Javanese at that time had reached their classic expression, after producing some highly competent work for Chandis Bogem and Bogisan in the previous century. Visnu then returned to Chaiya (Suvarnnapura), putting in charge of the work Sanjaya and Panamkarana, a son whom he left in Java. Karunakara either died soon after or left Java at the same time as Visnu, because the sketches he made for the bas-reliefs were not sufficient to cover all the walls. So the Javanese artists repeated some of the compositions several times, such as those of Sujata presenting the Buddha-to-be with his last meal before Enlightenment.

When the hill had been covered and an immense platform had come into being, where a huge *mondop* to house three images was to be built (or three smaller structures to house the images separately) it was found that the images were too large to cart up to the platform. So there was a change of plans, and the three figures for the top of Borobudur were placed in Chandi Mendut, a building far too small for one image, let alone three. I cannot agree with any idea that Mendut was a place where the king was cremated, or that it was a depository for his ashes, or that he meditated there. Mendut was, and still is, a go-down pure and simple.

The change of plans called for 72 Buddha images to be placed on the platform, each covered by a latticed stupa. The expression of these figures are younger than the bas-reliefs and the Mendut images, so we can say that the alterations were carried out in the latter part of Visnu's reign. At that time Visnu was back in Chaiya, where he set up an inscription in 775, so the change was carried out by his son Panamkarana (Kalasan, 778). Visnu died about 780, and his son became King Dharanindra (Kelurak, 782). According to Paranavitana, Samarottunga, Dharanindra's son and successor, built Borobudur. This should mean that the new king put the final touch to the whole complex, namely the top stupa that acts as the final to Borobudur. As for the lowest level

of the reliefs being covered up, the explanation is quite simple. Cracks appeared in the walls, so a casement of stone was added to keep the whole thing from falling apart. Very likely this happened even before the work was finished. Today cracks have again appeared on the walls of Borobudur, and it is to be noted that those on the lower levels (the 2nd and 3rd) are wider than those on the upper strata.

Dharanindra probably died about 790. He very likely started Chandi Sewu also, because the images at this complex, though slightly younger, are very like those of Borobudur. Again the work was unfinished, and again his son carried on. Samaratunga built Simhalarama on the Ratubaka in 794, and he probably expanded Sewu in 792, though Sewu is said to be unfinished. Samaratunga himself started Chandi Plaosan, where the images are younger than those of Sewu. The work was unfinished when he died and his daughter, Queen Sri Kahulunnan, carried the work forward. She dedicated the merit to her father, called Dharma Sri Maharaja in a few short inscriptions from Plaosan Lor. The side *chandis* of the north complex contain short inscriptions starting with the word Anumoda and followed by the names of the donors.

Anumoda is probably the same as our Anumodana or Modana Satu, and might be translated freely as "Rightful indeed is this merit". The name of the Queen, as well as her husband, Rakai Pikatan, their son, Garun Wani, his wife, Dyah Ranu, his mother-in-law (?) Rakai Wanwa Galuh, and another unidentified prince, Rakai Layuwatang Dyah Maharamawa, as well as a host of others, appear as joining in the merit of the founding of Plaosan. The only name without the Anumoda is that of Dharma Sri Maharaja, and this should refer to the founder, Samaratunga. Plaosan is the last of the major *chandis* of Central Java built by the Sailendras. Khien's dating of the complex is 825-850 A.D.

This brings my comments on Parनाविताना's story to an end, but before leaving the subject let us see exactly what 'history' Parनाविताना has produced. At first Professor Coedès thought that the Sri Vijaya Empire, based in South Sumatra, conquered both Java and the Malaya Peninsula. When it was pointed out to him that as Central Java produced so much magnificent masonry like Borobudur and several other complexes, it was more likely that Central Java conquered Sumatra.

So Coedès accepted that the Sri Vijaya and Sailendra elements were separate entities. This left the Peninsula in the air, viz. it was conquered by both South Sumatra and Central Java at about the same time! In this way, though it was on the main trade route between China and India, the Peninsula has no history of its own. Not only that, but the history of South Sumatra only had evidence covering about 30 years between 670 and 700; while the history of Central Java lasted only two centuries between 700-900 A.D. Yet the Peninsula came into the story right from the beginning and was still there at the end after six centuries. With Paranavitana's sources these same six centuries become history, where the events fit the dates, topography and art in a continuous story. Such is Paranavitana's hard core of history, indeed a core so hard that it is solid stainless steel.

Two questions come to mind. The first is: how do the kings of Mataram in Balitung's inscription that started with Sanjaya (section 8 above) come into the story? And the second question is: why did Visnu, who was king at Chaiya (Suvarnnapura), build Borobudur in Java and not in the Malay Peninsula? Also of course why did two other Sailendras, Balaputra (circa 850) and Sri Mara Vijayottunga-varmandeva (circa 1000), set up *viharas* in North and South India respectively? I do not know the answers to these questions, so I will supply a little guesswork which scholars please reject at their pleasure.

If ever there was a Sri Vijaya Empire that covered Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, then it was more a conglomeration of City States. Mataram in Java was one such City State; Muara Takus in Sumatra was another; and Chaiya on the Bandon Bight was a third. One of the kings might have been elevated to the dignity of an emperor along the lines of the Holy Roman Empire before the advent of the Hapsburgs. In the Chaiya-Java period under review, Visnu of Chaiya, who sent his son Panamkarana to rule in Java, and Panamkarana's son, Samaratunga, who sent his son Balaputra to rule in Suvarnadvipa, were both qualified to be called Emperors; while two centuries later, Samara, Vijayottunga probably qualified also. In this period Java had dropped out of the story and the period should be thought of as that of Nakorn-Lanka. In this latter period the concept of a United City States of Sri Vijaya will become much clearer.

The Javakas of the Malay Peninsula were a sea-faring people, and sea-farers simply do not develop into artists or put up any substantial buildings. By the nature of their occupation they spend more time afloat than working on the land, either in fishing or trading, or, in the period under treatment, in collecting tolls from the traffic that passed through the Malacca Straits, or, without actually calling them pirates, in making raids on the coasts of Indochina and elsewhere. In this way they made more money than they would have by working the land, and of course their king was a wealthy potentate.

The Sailendras of Central Java and the kings of Mataram had their seats near the south coast where the major *chandis* were put up in the Kedu Plain. Their capitals were too far from the north coast of Java for their people to have been sea-farers. A modern map of Central Java shows Semarang as the main port on the north coast, while Jogjakarta in the Kedu Plain is probably farther from Semarang than Palembang in South Sumatra is to the coast. I have already said that Palembang was too far from the sea ever to have been the capital of any sea-faring empire, and the same remark applies to any city in the Kedu Plain of Central Java. The Central Javanese under the Sailendras were landlubbers, and they developed their artistic talents to the highest standard. It was only after the Sailendra period, when Javanese history had moved to East Java, that we find firm evidence of the Javanese being sailors with a war fleet of their own. East Java never produced anything like the magnificent buildings in Central Java. So when Visnu wanted to set up a monumental structure, all he had to have were some blueprints and capital — and he had both — so that he could hire the highly skilled labour of Central Java. Such a building as Borobudur could not have been put up in Sumatra or the Malay Peninsula unless he imported expensive labour from Java. The idea of the Javanese not being good sailors until their history developed in East Java may not be acceptable, but one thing is certain — any city located in the Kedu Plain of Central Java was too far from the north coast and the main trade routes through the Malacca and Sunda Straits to have been the capital of any sea-faring empire. The same remark applies to Palembang in South Sumatra. So what is all this chatter I hear about a Sri Vijaya Empire?

### Summary Part II and Preview Part III

The theme of this part is that internal and external evidence must first be kept apart, and then later integrated if possible. The internal structure of the Sri Vijaya empire was non-existent: a handful of inscriptions from South Sumatra in the 7th century, misinterpreted by epigraphists to fit a misinterpreted external record; the magnificent structures of Central Java in the 8th and 9th centuries, interpreted by art historians as being located in the vicinity of the capital of a sea-faring empire against the scientific facts of physical geography; and now historians are beginning to dig into the economic aspects of the Sri Vijaya story, where the Chinese evidence is a veritable goldmine, and the Arab records are not to be sneezed at either. A new problem now comes to the fore, namely where were the main entrepôts located, as opposed to the capital or capitals of the Sri Vijaya Empire? I have already suggested that any city in South Sumatra or Central Java was too far from the sea to have been the capital of any sea-faring empire. On this point, it is just possible that I may be wrong. I now suggest that the main entrepôts were located in the Malay Peninsula, or were sufficiently near the Malacca Straits to control the main trade-route between east and west. There cannot be the slightest doubt that this suggestion is or can be wrong. Unfortunately it is not possible to develop this theme in the third part of this paper, because there is so much 'political material' that must be dealt with first, otherwise the pattern of the dynastic history of Sri Vijaya cannot be seen in its true perspective. To deal with this economic aspect would mean writing a fourth part to this paper, and this is certainly something I am not going to do. And in any case I think a religious history of Sri Vijaya is more important than its economic history. But I will say a few words now, and at the same time give a preview or road-map of what can be expected in the next part.

Historians of Southeast Asia (to borrow the title of a book edited by Professor D.G.E. Hall) have an altogether wrong conception of the geography of their subject, particularly concerning Sri Vijaya. The Malay Peninsula was a bridge, or a resting place that acted as a bridge, for ships sailing between China and India. So we should look for more history and trade, more cultural and other Indian influences, in the

Peninsula than on its periphery in South Sumatra and Java, or on the mainland in Indochina. For many centuries of the early historic period, the Sri Vijaya kings of the Javaka race had a strangle hold on this bridge. Their seats were mainly on the east coast—at Chaiya on the Bandon Bight where the Nasan Plain on the Tapi River could feed a large population; at Nakorn Sri Thammaraj; and at Singora where the Inland Sea was a natural harbour that could shelter the greatest fleet of those days. But the two principal locations that controlled the main trade-route, the Malacca Straits, were Muara Takus in Central Sumatra and Kedah on the west coast of the Peninsula. The 7th century Chinese toponyms for these five places were: *Foche* or *Chele-foche* (Chaiya, thought to have been Sri Vijaya), *Ho-ling* (Nakorn, thought to have been Kalinga, though it could have been Tambralinga), *Chih-tu* (Singora Inland Sea, with its capital of *Seng Shih*, the Lion City), Muara Takus (*Mo-lo-yu* or the Malayu of the inscriptions) and *Chieh-cha* (Kedah).

In the next or third part of this paper which starts early in the tenth century, this simple but logical concept based on physical geography and meteorology—that the Malay Peninsula was a bridge or resting place between China and India—must be enlarged considerably, namely that the Peninsula was one of two resting places between China and the Middle East. The other of course was Ceylon, where ships also called to take on food and water. According to Dr. Paranavitana's *Ceylon and Malaysia*, there were contacts between Ceylon and the Peninsula from very early times; and in the four centuries covered by the book, there were alliances that presumably tried to maintain control of the two bridges. Obviously the Javanese (the Sailendra period having ended in the century before) and the people of Mainland Southeast Asia, as well as the South Indians—the Colas, Chalukyas and Pandyas—would attempt to wrestle control of one or both these locations from Sri Vijaya and Ceylon. The epigraphic evidence supplied by Paranavitana matches what few local sources there are so well that the two might be said to be different sides of the same coin; so for a change the story can be told almost straight. The whole tale is a true medieval romance—complete with damsels in distress, abductions and assassinations—but while one part reads rather like the story of the War of the Roses in English history, another has its counterpart in modern European history in the first half

of this century, when a Triple Alliance was formed against two aggressive nations. Such is the story to come.

Several new placenames come into the story early in the tenth century: the Chinese records have *San-fo-chi* instead of *Chele-foche* (*Shih-li-fo-shih*); the Arabs have Sribuza, the country of the Maharaja of Zabag; the South Indians have Sri Visaya-Kataha (Sri Vijaya-Kedah) and Kidaram (Kedah); inscriptions from South Siam have Grahi (Chaiya 1183) and Tambralinga (Nakorn 1230); and the Ceylonese records have Tambarattha and Kalinga, Suvarn-Java-pura and Suvarnpura (the City of Gold), Malayapura and Simhalapura (the Lion City). I will defer discussion of these names till later, though I will say now that while I consider locating the toponyms correctly to be of the greatest import, what those same toponyms refer to philologically is of secondary importance. This is a question of priority and I think historians of Southeast Asia, as well as archaeologists, epigraphists, sinologists and zoologists, from A to Z, should give it more serious consideration. The question of priorities is an important one. The historians of Southeast Asia who appear in Professor Hall's book of that name do not include any historian of Thailand. So there are four major 'missing links' in the history of Southeast Asia, of which the most important is the Sri Vijaya story because it concerns South Siam as well as Malaya and Indonesia. The reason for this is because the external evidence of the story has been given priority over its internal evidence. In this way, in the histories of Sri Vijaya written in English that I have seen, a new kind of history has come into being. It is not political history as we know it, nor is it social or narrative history as such, but it is something that might be called conjectural history. Unfortunately these historians, unlike their counterparts, the historical novelists, have not yet realised their own achievement in creating this new kind of literature.

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