

## BOOK II

### SUARNADVIPA

#### CHAPTER I

#### EARLY HINDU COLONIES

##### I. MALAY PENINSULA

THE Malay Peninsula played a very important part in the maritime and colonising activity of the Indians in the Far East from a very early period. Its geographical position made it the centre of carrying trade between China and the western world. It must have been known to India from a very early time, probably long before the Christian era.

The Hindu colonists established several States in Malay Peninsula during the first five centuries of the Christian era, some of which existed as far back as the second century A.D. About one of these, Lang-Kia-su, founded in the second century A.D., the following account is preserved in the Chinese Annals.

“The people of this country say that their State was founded more than 400 years ago (*i.e.* A. D. 100), but that it got weaker in course of time, and as there was among the relations of the king one who was an excellent man, the people turned towards him. When the king heard of this, he put him into prison, but his chains snapped spontaneously. On this the king thought him to be a supernatural being and dared not hurt him any more, but only drove him from his territory, whence he took refuge in India, and was married there to the eldest daughter (of its king). When on a sudden the king died, the great officers called back the prince, and made him king. He died more than 20 years later, and was succeeded by his son Bhagadato. In A.D. 515 he sent an envoy named Aditya with a letter to the emperor of China.” He repeated the embassies in 523, 531 and 568 A.D.

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To the north of Lang-Kia-su was the kingdom of P'an-pan, on the Gulf of Siam, which sent an embassy to China in the second quarter of the fifth century A.D. It was visited by a Hindu named Kaunḍinya, who is associated with the second wave of Hindu colonisation in Fu-nan.

Among other Hindu States may be mentioned Kāmalaṅkā or Karmaraṅga (which has given its name to the fruit *carambola*, Bengali *Kāmrāṅgā*), Kalasapura (in Lower Burma or northern part of Malay Peninsula), Kala (Keddah), and Pahang.

Actual remains of early Hindu civilisation in the Malay Peninsula, though scanty, are not altogether lacking. There are remains of a Hindu temple and a few stone images at Sungai Batu Estate at the foot of Gunong Jerai (Keddah Peak). The remains of a brick-built Buddhist shrine, discovered in its neighbourhood, at Keddah, may be dated approximately in the fourth or fifth century A.D., on the strength of a Sanskrit inscription found in it. Similarly remnants of pillars, which once adorned some Buddhist temples, have been found in the northern part of Province Wellesley. These also may be dated in the fourth or fifth century A.D. on the strength of inscriptions engraved on them. A gold ornament, bearing the figure of Viṣṇu on his Garuḍa, has been unearthed at Selinsing (Perak), and also, in a hole left by the roots of a fallen tree, a Cornelian seal engraved with the name of a Hindu prince, Śrī Viṣṇuvarman, in characters of the fifth century A.D.

Ruins of shrines and fine images exist in the region round Takua Pa, which has been identified with the famous port Takkola mentioned by Ptolemy. On the eastern coast, round the Bay of Bandon, are the remains of early settlements, specially in the three well-known sites Caiya, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat, and Vieng Sra. The temples and images of these places may be of somewhat later date, but the inscriptions found at Ligor and Takua Pa and on a pillar at Caiya show that these settlements could not be later than the fourth or fifth century A.D.

A large number of inscriptions have been discovered in different parts of the country. They are written in Sanskrit and in Indian alphabets of about the fourth or fifth century A.D. Two of them distinctly refer to a Buddhist creed and prove the spread of Buddhism in that region. An inscribed clay tablet containing three stanzas in Sanskrit—probably part

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of a Sūtra of the Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna—has been found in the neighbourhood of Keddah. These three Sanskrit verses embodying philosophical doctrines of the Mahāyāna sect are to be found in a Chinese translation of the *Sāgaramati-pariprichchā*. This testifies to the prevalence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Malay at least in or before the 6th century A.D. The large number of inscriptions found in Malay Peninsula clearly show that the Indians had established colonies in the northern, western and the eastern sides of the Malay Peninsula by at least fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and that the colonists belonged to both northern and southern India.

One of these inscriptions refers to “the captain (*Mahānāvika*, lit. great sailor) Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Rakta-mṛittikā.” Rakta-mṛittikā, which means “Red clay,” has been identified with a place, still called Rāngāmāṭi (Red clay), 12 miles south of Murshidabad, in Bengal.

The archaeological remains in the Malay Peninsula confirm what might have been deduced on general grounds from literary evidence. Takkola, modern Takua Pa, was the first landing stage of the Indian traders and colonists. From this some crossed the mountain range over to the rich wide plain on the opposite coast round the Bay of Bandon. From this centre they could proceed by land or sea to Siam, Cambodia, Annam, and even further east. This trans-peninsular route, marked by remains of Indian settlements, was followed by many who wanted to avoid the long and risky voyage through the Straits of Malacca. That this second route was also very popular and largely used is indicated by the archaeological remains in the Province Wellesley. This all-sea route was naturally preferred by many traders who wanted to avoid transshipment, and offered a shorter passage to Java and southern Sumatra. On the whole the Malay Peninsula may be regarded as the main gate of the Indian colonial empire in the Far East.

The report of the Archaeological Mission in Malay Peninsula contains interesting observations regarding Hindu colonisation in this land which may be summed up as follows:

“The colonies were large in number and situated in widely remote centres, such as Chumphon, Caiya, the valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor), Yala (near Patani), and Selensing (in Pahang) on the eastern coast; and

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Malacca, Province Wellesley, Takua Pa, and the common delta of the rivers Lanya and Tenasserim on the western.

"The most important of these was unquestionably that of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor). It was an essentially Buddhist colony which probably built the great *stūpa* of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surrounded it. A little to the north was the colony of Caiya, which appears to have been at first Brahmanical, and then Buddhist. These two groups of colonies were mainly agriculturists. The others which occupied Selensing, Panga, Puket, and Takua Pa, prospered by the exploitation of tin and gold-mines.

"The available evidence justifies the assumption that the region around the Bay of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence spreading across the route from Takua Pa. There is a strong persistent local tradition in favour of an early migration of Indians across the route from the west. At the same time persons of an Indian cast of features are common on the west coast near Takua Pa, while colonies of Brahmans of Indian descent survive at Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and Patalung, and trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula."

## II. JAVA

The island of Java is one of the largest of what are usually known as the Sunda islands, in the Malay Archipelago. Its length is about 622 miles, while its breadth varies from 55 to 121 miles. The area of Java, including Madura and adjacent islands, is about 51,000 sq. miles. Java is bounded on the north by the shallow Java Sea which separates it from Borneo. On the south is the deep Indian ocean, stretching as far as the Antarctic Pole without a single patch of land. On the east a narrow strait, about two miles broad, separates it from the island of Bali. To the north-west is the Sunda Strait separating Java from Sumatra. The strait, at the narrowest, is only 14 miles wide, its extreme breadth being nearly 50 miles. There are many islands to the north of Java. Madura, the chief among them, is regarded as a part of Java for all practical purposes being separated by a strait which, in some places, is less than a mile.

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An uninterrupted range of mountains, volcanic in character, runs along the whole length of the island through its centre. There are innumerable rivers in Java, but, with two exceptions, they are small and not navigable beyond a short distance.

Although the rivers of Java are mostly useless for purposes of navigation and commerce, they are excellently adapted for irrigation. Java is one of the most fertile countries in the whole world. Any one who travels in the country cannot fail to be charmed by its evergreen fields, meadows, and hills, with traces of abundant harvest everywhere around him. Indeed, a railway journey from Batavia to Surabaya gives the traveller the impression that he is passing through a well-laid garden.

The Hindu colonisation of Java is by far the most outstanding event in the early history of that island. Many legends associate the original colonists and their leader Aji Saka with the heroes of the Mahābhārata ruling at Astina, *i.e.* Hastināpura, as their capital. A modified version of these legends takes the descendants of these princes to Gujarat, whence a further wave of emigration to Java took place at a later date.

Another cycle of legends gives the credit for the colonisation of Java to the people of Kalinga. In one of them we read that "twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling. These people prospered and multiplied. They continued, however, in an uncivilized state till the year 289 (of Javanese era *i.e.* Śaka era) when the almighty blessed them with a prince, named Kano." After describing three generations of kings, who ruled for a total period of four hundred years, the story continues: "Another principality, named Astina, sprang up at this time, and was ruled by a prince called Pula Sara, who was succeeded by his son Abiāsa, who was again succeeded by his son Pāṇḍu Deva Nātha."

In the last part of the above story, there is no difficulty in recognising the names of epic heroes like Parāśara (Pula Sara), Vyāsa (Abiāsa), and Pāṇḍu.

A tradition preserved in Java, in a late period, seems to refer the foundation of the Hindu State to A.D. 56. The Javanese era, commencing from Aji Saka, starts from 78 A.D., the epoch of the Śaka era in India. Ptolemy in the second century A.D. refers to the island as Javadion (Javadvīpa) which shows that the Indian name of the island was much earlier.

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But in any case the Hindus must have established their authority in Java by the beginning of the second century A.D., for in 132 A.D., king Devavarman of Java sent an embassy to China.

We have more definite information regarding a Hindu kingdom founded in Western Java from four Sanskrit inscriptions of king Pūrṇavarman. His father, called Rājādhirāja, and grandfather, called Rājarshi, ruled before him. The capital of Pūrṇavarman was named Tārumā and he ruled there for at least twenty-two years. The inscriptions may be referred to the fifth century A.D.

There was also a Hindu kingdom in Central Java which the Chinese called Ho-ling or Kalinga, and evidently the colonists from that Indian province dominated in this region. It was a strong centre of Buddhism in the 7th century A.D. Ho-lo-tan was the Chinese name of another kingdom which is located in Java by many scholars. It sent embassy to China between 430 and 452 A.D.

### III. SUMATRA

Sumatra is the most westerly, and next to Borneo, the largest island of the Malay Archipelago. It is very narrow at its two ends and broad at the centre. The equator passes through it, dividing it almost into two equal halves. Its total length is 1060 miles, and the extreme breadth, 248 miles, giving a total area of 167, 480 sq. miles.

A series of mountains run along the whole length of the island, and contain about 90 volcanoes, of which 12 are yet active. The strip of territory between the hills and the Indian ocean on the west is extremely narrow, while there is a vast alluvial plain in the east. In spite of its rich natural resources Sumatra is but a poor and thinly populated country.

The geographical position of Sumatra marks it out as pre-eminently the site of the earliest Hindu settlement in Indonesia. Being situated midway on the route between India and China, important harbours and trading stations must have developed on its eastern coast from an early period. A stone image of Buddha of the Amarāvātī school has been found at Palembang. From this fact as well as from what has been stated above, it will not be wrong to place the beginning of

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Hindu colonisation in Sumatra at the beginning of, if not two or three centuries before, the Christian era.

The earliest Hindu kingdom in Sumatra was Śrī-Vijaya (Palembang). It was founded in or before the fourth century A.D. and rose to great eminence towards the close of the seventh century A.D. It had by that time conquered another Hindu kingdom named Malayu (modern Jambi) and established its political supremacy over the neighbouring island of Banka. In 684 A.D. it was ruled over by a Buddhist king named Śrī-Jayanāśa (or Jayanāga). In 686 A.D. this king (or his successor) sent an expedition against Java and issued an interesting proclamation of which two copies, engraved on stone, have reached us.

It begins with an invocation to the gods who protect the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya. It holds out threats of severe punishment to the inhabitants of countries, subordinate to Śrī-Vijaya, if they revolt or even aid, abet, or meditate revolt, against the suzerain authority. Punishment was to be meted out not only to actual rebels, but even to their family and clans. On the other hand, the people who would remain loyal to the government of Śrī-Vijaya, together with their clan and family, would be blessed with all sorts of blessings divine.

I-tsing tells us that Śrī-Vijaya was a centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the Southern Sea, and that the king of Śrī-Vijaya possessed trading ships sailing between India and Śrī-Vijaya. We also learn from his memoir that the city of Śrī-Vijaya was the chief centre of trade with China, and that there was a regular navigation between it and Kwan-Tung.

That Śrī-Vijaya was fast growing into an important naval and commercial power appears clearly from an inscription discovered at Ligor (Malay Peninsula). This inscription, dated in Śaka 697 (=775 A.D.), refers to the mighty prowess of the king of Śrī-Vijaya. He is said to be the overlord of all neighbouring States whose kings made obeisance to him. It shows that the Buddhist king of Śrī-Vijaya had extended his political supremacy over the Malay Peninsula, as far at least as the Bay of Bandon, before 775 A.D.

The inscriptions thus give clear indication, in broad outline, of a purely aggressive policy pursued by the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya during the century 675-775 A.D. By 686 A.D. it had

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absorbed the neighbouring kingdom of Malayu, conquered the neighbouring island of Banka, and sent a military expedition to the powerful island kingdom of Java. Before a century was over, we find its power firmly established in the Malay Peninsula. The extension of the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya towards the Strait of Malacca on the north-west and the Sunda Strait on the south-east was undoubtedly motivated by the ambition to control the two great passages from the Indian Ocean to the Sea of China. The possession of these two made Śrī-Vijaya the master of the extensive trade and commerce between the East and the West. The Chinese Annals state that several embassies came from Śrī-Vijaya to China during the period between 670 and 741 A.D.

The kingdom, called Kan-to-li in the Chinese history, was probably in Sumatra. Some time between 454 and 464 A.D. its king, the Chinese form of whose name is equivalent to Śrī Varanarendra, sent a Hindu, named Rudra, as ambassador to China. In 502 ruled the Buddhist king Gautama Subhadra, whose son Vijayavarman sent an embassy to China in 519 A.D.

### IV. BORNEO

Borneo is the largest island in the Malay Archipelago, but it is little known and thinly populated. The earliest evidence of the Hindu colonisation in Borneo is furnished by seven Sanskrit inscriptions. These were discovered in the district of Koti (Kutei), at Muara Kaman on the Mahakam river, an important sea-port in old days. The inscriptions are engraved on stone pillars which were sacrificial pillars (*yūpa*) set up by Brahmans to commemorate the rich donations and sacrifices of king Mūlavarman, son of Aśvavarman and grandson of king Kuṇḍuṅga (Kaṇḍinya). Mūlavarman performed a sacrifice called Bahu-Suvarṇakam (large quantity of gold) and made a gift of 20,000 cows to the Brahmans in the holy field of Vaprakeśvara.

These inscriptions have been referred to about 400 A.D. Thus there is no doubt that by the fourth century A.D., the Hindus had established kingdoms in the eastern part of Borneo. The inscriptions show the thorough-going nature of the Brahmanical religion in that locality. The Brahmans evidently



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formed an important element of the population, and the Brahmanical rites and ceremonies were in great favour at the court.

In addition to the antiquities at Muara Kaman described above, a beautiful bronze image of Buddha, in Gupta style, has been found at Kota Bangun in the district of Koti. Remains of ancient Hindu culture have also been found in other localities in east Borneo. The most notable among these is the cave of Kombeng situated considerably to the north of Muara Kaman and to the east of the upper course of the Telen river.

The cave consists of two chambers. In the back-chamber were found twelve sandstone images, pieces of carved stone, and a few half-decayed iron-wood beams. All these may be taken as the remains of a temple which were hurriedly secreted in the dark chamber of a cave, apparently for safety. That the images were brought from elsewhere is clearly indicated by the fact that most of them have a pin under the pedestal, evidently for fixing them in a niche. The images were both Buddhist and Brahmanical. The latter included those of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nandī, Agastya, Nandīśvara, Brahmā, Skanda and Mahākāla. •

The antiquities secreted in the Kombeng cave must have been brought there for safety from plains or lower regions more exposed to a hostile attack. The original site of the temple was probably in the valley of the Mahakam river. The river undoubtedly played the chief part in the colonisation of east Borneo by the Hindus. A great river is a necessity in the early stages of colonisation by foreigners. In the first place, its junction with the sea serves as a good sea-port and trading centre, which receives goods from without and distributes them in the interior and, by the reverse process, collects articles from inland and ships them to foreign lands. Secondly, the foreign colonists, having secured a firm footing in the port, find in the river an excellent, and in many cases the only safe, means of communication with the interior, as a preliminary stage to the spread of their power and influence along its course.

But the Mahakam river was not the only one in Borneo to play such an important rôle in the early colonisation of the country by the Hindus. Another river, the Kapuas, offered the same facilities for colonisation of western Borneo. At

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various places on or near the bank of this river, we come across archaeological remains of the Hindu period, which, taken together, imply a flourishing period of Hindu colonisation of fairly long duration. It is thus evident that Hindu colonists settled in different parts of Borneo during the early centuries of the Christian era. It has been suggested with a great degree of plausibility that Borneo, which was called P'o-ni by the Chinese, represents the Varhiṇa-dvīpa mentioned in the Vāyu-Purāṇa (Ch. 48, v. 12).

### V. BALI

The island of Bali is situated to the east of Java, separated from it by a very narrow strait, less than two miles wide. Its dimensions are quite small. Its extreme length is 93, and extreme breadth, about 50 miles. Its area is estimated to be 2,095 square miles, and its population, about a million.

A chain of volcanic mountains, apparently a continuation of that of Java, runs throughout the island from west to east, leaving fertile valleys and plains on both sides.

The coast-line is difficult of approach and has but one or two harbours. There are numerous rivers, but they are small, and navigable, only for small vessels, up to the reach of the tide. The island abounds in lakes at high elevation, which supply abundant means of irrigation. The land is fertile, and the whole country has the appearance of a beautiful garden.

The island of Bali possesses the unique distinction of being the only colony of the ancient Hindus which still retains its old culture and civilisation, at least to a considerable extent. Islam has failed to penetrate into this island, and it still affords a unique opportunity to study Hinduism as it was modified by coming into contact with the aborigines of the archipelago.

The Chinese History of the Liang dynasty (502-556 A.D.) contains the earliest account of P'o-li, the Chinese name for Bali. It gives us the following interesting account of the king of the country:

“The king's family name is Kauṇḍinya and he never before had any intercourse with China. When asked about his ancestors or about their age, he could not state this, but said that the wife of Suddhodana was a daughter of his country.

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“The king uses a texture of flowered silk wrapped round his body; on his head he wears a golden bonnet of more than a span high, resembling in shape a Chinese helmet, and adorned with various precious stones (*sapta ratna* or seven jewels). He carries a sword inlaid with gold, and sits on a golden throne, with his feet on a silver foot-stool. His female attendants are adorned with golden flowers and all kinds of jewels, some of them holding chowries of white feathers or fans of peacock-feathers. When the king goes out, his carriage, which is made of different kinds of fragrant wood, is drawn by an elephant. On the top of it is a flat canopy of feathers, and it has embroidered curtains on both sides. People blowing conches and beating drums precede and follow him.”

The above account leaves no doubt that the island of Bali was the seat of a rich and civilised kingdom ruled by Hindu colonists who professed Buddhism. The kingdom existed as early as the sixth century A.D. For we are told that in 518 A.D., the king sent an envoy to China.

I-tsing enumerates Bali as one of the ‘islands of the Southern Sea where the Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya has been almost universally adopted.’ The prevalence of Buddhism in Bali is hinted at in the earliest Chinese records dating from the sixth century A.D. It may thus be fairly inferred that Buddhism had a firm footing in the island in the early centuries of Hindu colonisation.

## VI. HINDU CIVILIZATION IN SUVARṆADVIPA UP TO

### THE END OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

Archaeological discoveries prove beyond doubt that most of the peoples in South-east Asia, described above, had the neolithic culture when they came under the influence of Hinduism. It was the case in Sumatra and Java in Indonesia, and Annam, Cambodia and Malay Peninsula in Indo-China. Even in distant Celebes, a bronze image of Buddha of the Amarāvātī school was found at Sempaga just above the neolithic strata.

It seems almost to be a universal law, that when an inferior civilisation comes into contact with a superior one, it gradually tends to be merged into the latter, the rate and the extent of this process being determined solely by the capacity of the one to assimilate, and of the other to absorb. When the Hindus first settled in Suvarṇabhūmi and came into close association

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with her peoples, this process immediately set in, and produced the inevitable result.

The Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Borneo, Java and Malay Peninsula lead to the conclusion that the language, literature, religion, and political and social institutions of India made a thorough conquest of these far-off lands, and, to a great extent, eliminated or absorbed the native elements in these respects.

The Kutei inscriptions of Mūlavarman, as noted above, hold out before us a court and a society thoroughly saturated with Hindu culture. The inscriptions discovered in western Java also present before us a strongly Hinduized society and court. We have reference to Hindu gods like Vishṇu and Indra, and Airāvata, the elephant of Indra. The Indian months and attendant astronomical details, and Indian system of measurement of distance are quite familiar to the soil. Besides, in the river-names Chandrabhāgā and Gomatī we have the beginnings of the familiar practice of transplanting Indian geographical names to the new colonies.

The images of various gods and goddesses discovered in Borneo and Malay Peninsula corroborate the evidence of the inscriptions. As already noted above, the images of Vishṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nandī, Skanda and Mahākāla have been found in Borneo, and those of Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Nandī in the Malay Peninsula. The thorough preponderance of the Puranic form of Hindu religion is also proved by the remains at Tuk Mas in Java. Here we get the usual attributes of Vishṇu and Śiva, *viz.* the Śaṅkha (conchshell), Chakra (wheel), Gadā (mace), and Padma (lotus) of the former, and the Trīśūla (trident) of the latter. Besides, the inscription refers to the sanctity of the Ganges. (Plates XIII, XIX, XX, XXI).

The images and inscriptions prove that in addition to Brahmanical religion Buddhism had also made its influence felt in these regions. Taken collectively, the inscriptions prove that the Sanskrit language and literature were highly cultivated. Most of the records are written in good and almost flawless Sanskrit. Indian scripts were adopted everywhere. The images show the thorough-going influence of Indian Art.

The archæological evidence is corroborated and supplemented by the writings of the Chinese. First of all, we have

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the express statement of Fa-hien that Brahmanism was flourishing in Yavadvīpa, and that there was very little trace of Buddhism. The 200 merchants who boarded the vessel along with Fa-hien were all followers of Brahmanical religion. This statement may be taken to imply that trade and commerce were still the chief stimulus to Indian colonisation. As the merchants belonged mostly to Brahmanical religion, we get an explanation of its preponderance over Buddhism in the Archipelago.

But that Buddhism soon made its influence felt in Java appears clearly from the story of Guṇavarman, preserved in a Chinese work compiled in A.D. 519. Guṇavarman, a prince of Kashmir (Ki-pin), was of a religious mood from his boyhood. When he was thirty years old, the king of Kashmir died without issue and the throne was offered to him. But he rejected the offer and went to Ceylon. Later he proceeded to Java and converted the queen-mother to Buddhism. Gradually the king, too, was persuaded by his mother to adopt the same faith. At this time Java was attacked by hostile troops and the king asked Guṇavarman whether it would be contrary to the Buddhist law if he fought against his enemy. Guṇavarman replied that it was the duty of everybody to punish the robbers. The king then went to fight and obtained a great victory. Gradually the Buddhist religion was spread throughout the country. The king now wished to take to the life of a monk, but was dissuaded from this course by his ministers, on the express condition, that henceforth no living creatures should be killed through the length and breadth of the kingdom.

The name and fame of Guṇavarman had now spread in all directions. In A.D. 424 the Chinese monks requested their emperor to invite Guṇavarman to China. Accordingly the Chinese emperor sent messengers to Guṇavarman and the king of Java. Guṇavarman embarked on a vessel, owned by the Hindu merchant Nandin, and reached Nankin in A.D. 431. A few months later he died at the age of sixty-five.

The story of Guṇavarman shows how Buddhism was introduced and then gradually took root in Java in the fifth century A.D. The accounts left by I-tsing leave no doubt that towards the close of the seventh century A.D. Buddhism had

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spread over other regions. On his way to India, the pilgrim halted in Śrī-Vijaya for six months, and learnt the Śabdavidyā (Sanskrit Grammar). During his return journey also he stopped at Śrī-Vijaya, and after a short stay in China, he again returned to the same place. Here he was engaged in copying and translating the voluminous Buddhist texts which he had brought with him from India. Why he chose this place for his work is best explained in his own words:

“Many kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean admire and believe (Buddhism), and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. In the fortified city of Śrī-Vijaya Buddhist priests number more than 1,000 whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in India; the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original), he had better stay here one or two years and practise the proper rules and then proceed to India.”

It is thus evident that in the seventh century Buddhism and Buddhist literature had their votaries in Suvarṇadvīpa and there were in this region important centres of Indian learning and culture which attracted foreigners. The importance of Śrī-Vijaya in this respect deserves, however, more than a passing notice. Apart from its position as a great centre of Buddhism, it merits distinction as the earliest seat of that Mahāyāna sect which was destined ultimately to play such a leading part in the whole of Suvarṇadvīpa. Several eminent Indian Buddhists visited this region and helped to spread there the new developments in Buddhism. For the seventh century A.D. we have a distinguished example in Dharmapāla, an inhabitant of Kāñchī, and a Professor at Nālandā, who visited Suvarṇadvīpa. Early in the eighth century A.D., Vajrabodhi, a South Indian monk, went from Ceylon to China, stopping for five months at Śrī-Vijaya. He and his disciple Amoghavajra, who accompanied him, were teachers of Tantrik cult, and are credited with its introduction in China.

The Chinese accounts and stories like those of Guṇavarman, Dharmapāla, and Vajrabodhi clearly indicate that there was a regular intercourse between India and Suvarṇadvīpa. A story told in connection with Lang-ga-su, quoted above, shows that there was even social intercourse between the two. A brother of the king, being expelled from the kingdom,

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betook himself to India and married the eldest daughter of the ruler of that country. Indeed, everything indicates a regular, active, and familiar intercourse between India and her colonies.

In addition to religion, the influence of Hindu civilisation is also clearly marked in the political and social ideas and the system of administration. We may refer in this connection to a State called Tan-Tan, the exact location of which it is difficult to determine. This kingdom sent ambassadors to China in 530, 535, and 666 A.D. We get the following account in the Chinese annals:

“The family name of its king was Kchsatriya (Kshatriya) and his personal name Silingkia (Śringa). He daily attends to business and has eight great ministers, called the “Eight Seats,” all chosen from among the Brāhmaṇas. The king rubs his body with perfumes, wears a very high hat and a necklace of different kinds of jewels. He is clothed in muslin and shod with leather slippers. For short distances he rides in a carriage, but for long distances he mounts an elephant. In war they always blow conches and beat drums.”

The following customs of Ka-la, referred to by the Chinese, are also Indian in origin:

“When they marry they give no other presents than areca-nuts, sometimes as many as two hundred trays. The wife enters the family of her husband. Their musical instruments are a kind of guitar, a transversal flute, copper cymbals, and iron drums. Their dead are burned, the ashes put into a golden jar and sunk into the sea.”

The Indian colonists in the Far East transplanted to their lands of adoption the cultural ideas with which they were imbued at home. Indeed, even now, when the political supremacy of the Indians in those far-off lands is merely a dream of the past, they contain unmistakable traces of the Indian religion and its handmaid, art and architecture.

The study of Indian religion, as developed in these countries, is one of profound interest. Although it is a familiar story, how Buddhism made extensive conquests in foreign lands, Hinduism is generally believed never to have made its influence felt outside the boundaries of India. Yet it is precisely the conservative form of Brahmanical religion that mostly prevailed in these colonies (except Burma and Siam) and dominated the entire development of Hindu civilisation.

The Brahmanical religion that flourished in these colonies was not the Vedic religion of old but the neo-Brahmanical

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religion that was evolved in India almost at the same time as Buddhism and Jainism. The essential characteristic of this new religion was its sectarian character, the chief God being recognised as either Brahmā, Vishṇu or Śiva. The worship of a multiplicity of gods which prevailed in Vedic times was replaced by absolute faith and devotion to one personal God. Gradually the new faith inspired a new literature, the Purāṇas, and ushered in elaborate rituals and ceremonies. We find an echo of the pomp and grandeur of Buddhism in the magnificent temples erected to Vishṇu, Śiva and the hosts of gods associated with them. These gods formed the centre of new philosophical speculations and hosts of myths and legends, and on them was lavished the wealth and luxury of an opulent people.

In course of time the sectarian Brahmanical religion triumphed over Buddhism which for long played a dominant part in India. But although worsted in the struggle, Buddhism maintained its existence for centuries to come and was gradually assimilated to the Brahmanical religion. Thus the religious history of India during the first thousand years of the Christian era presented a new spectacle, the gradual rise of the new sects and the corresponding decline of the once triumphant Buddhist religion.

All these characteristic features can be traced in minute detail in the religious history of the Indian colonies in Suvarṇabhūmi with the help of the large number of inscriptions, religious texts and images of deities that are still to be found in that far-off land.

Of the two Brahmanical sects Śaivism was by far the more influential and exercised a profound influence on the whole course of religious development. The hold of the Vishṇuites and the Buddhists was poor in comparison. But there is no trace of any religious struggle. On the other hand, we have abundant evidence of mutual good will and attempts at reconciliation between the different sects.



## CHAPTER II

### THE ŚAILENDRAS

#### I. THE ŚAILENDRA EMPIRE

IN the eighth century A.D. most of the small States in Suvarṇadvīpa formed part of a mighty empire. The rulers of this vast empire, at least for the first four centuries, belonged to the Śailendra dynasty, and we may, therefore, call it the Śailendra empire. Inscriptions found in Java and Malay Peninsula prove that the Śailendras established their authority in Malay Peninsula in the eighth century A.D. They wrested the Ligor region from the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya some time after 775 A.D., and established their authority in Java by 782 A.D.

Thus during the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. the Hindu kingdoms of Sumatra, Java, and Malay Peninsula had all to succumb to, or at least feel the weight of, this new power. The Śailendras ushered in a new epoch in more senses than one. For the first time in its history, Suvarṇadvīpa, or the greater part of it, achieved a political unity as integral parts of an empire, and we shall see later, how this empire rose to a height of glory and splendour unknown before. But the Śailendras did more than this. They introduced a new type of culture. The new vigour of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, and the highly developed art which produced such splendid monuments as Chaṇḍi Kalasan and Barabudur in Java, may be mainly attributed to their patronage. The introduction of a new kind of alphabet, which has been called the Pre-Nāgarī script, and the adoption of a new name Kalinga for Malayasia, at least by the foreigners, may also be traced to the same source.

Yet, strangely enough, we have as yet no definite knowledge of the chief seat of authority of the Śailendras. It was once generally held that they were originally rulers of Śrī-Vijaya

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(in Sumatra), and extended their authority gradually over Java and Malay Peninsula. But there are far better grounds for the belief that the original seat of authority of the Śailendras was either in Java or in Malay Peninsula. For the present the question must be left open.

But whatever might have been the original seat of the Śailendras, there is no doubt that from the eighth century A.D. they were the dominant political power in Suvarṇadvīpa. The Śailendra empire is referred to by various Arab writers, who designate it as Zābag, Zābaj, or the empire of Mahārāja, and describe its wealth and grandeur in glowing terms. It is quite clear from these accounts that the authority of the king of Zābag extended over nearly the whole of Suvarṇadvīpa, and possibly also, for some time, over the two mighty Hindu kingdoms in Suvarṇabhūmi, viz., Kambuja (Cambodia) and Champā (Annam).

The fleet of Java raided more than once the distant coast of Champā during the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. Although definite evidence is wanting, there are reasons to believe that the successive naval raids overthrew the royal dynasty of Champā. But even if it were so, the success was a shortlived one. For a new dynasty soon established itself in Champā. On the whole, therefore, while there is nothing to show that the fleet of Java gained any permanent material success in Champā, the raids indicate their power, prestige, and daring nature. As Java was at that time either included within the empire of the Śailendras, or ruled by a member of the same dynasty, we are justified in regarding the naval raids as ultimately emanating from the empire of the Śailendras.

The emergence of the Śailendras as the leading naval power in Indonesia constituted an international event of outstanding importance. The Arab merchant Sulayman narrates a romantic story of the conquest of Kambuja by the Śailendra king and concludes by saying that "this incident raised the king (of Zābag) in the estimation of the rulers of India and China."

The empire of the Śailendras reached the high-water mark of its greatness and glory in the eighth century A.D. The following century saw the beginning of the inevitable decline. By the middle of the ninth century A.D., their supremacy was successfully challenged by the two great neighbouring states

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of Kambuja and Java. The Kambuja king Jayavarman II (802-850 A.D.) threw off the yoke of the Śailendras, and there is no evidence that the latter had any pretension of supremacy over that kingdom after Jayavarman's time. About the same time, the Śailendras lost their hold on Java. Unfortunately we know almost nothing of the circumstances which led to the loss of the kingdom some time before 879 A.D.

The Śailendra Emperors had intimate relations with the Pāla Emperors of Bengal. As early as 782 A.D., we find Kumāraghoshā, an inhabitant of Bengal, as the royal preceptor (*guru*) of the Śailendra kings who were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. An inscription on a copper-plate found at Nālandā, in Bihar, dated about the middle of the ninth century A.D., records that the illustrious Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa and son of Samarāgravīra, built a monastery at Nālandā, and at his request the Pāla Emperor Devapāla granted five villages for defraying the expenses of the monastery.

In spite of the loss of Cambodia and Java, the Śailendra empire retained its position as a great power, and, to the outside world, it was still the greatest political power in Indonesia.

In addition to the Nālandā copper-plate, which describes the Śailendras as rulers of Suvarṇadvīpa, our knowledge of them about this period is derived from the accounts left by Arab writers, who, as already remarked, refer to their country as Zābag or Zābaj. Ibn Khordadbeh (844-848) says that the king of Zābag is named Mahārāja. His daily revenue amounts to two hundred *mans* of gold. He prepares a solid brick of this gold and throws it into water, saying 'there is my treasure.' A part of this revenue, about 50 *mans* of gold per day, is derived from cock-fight. A leg of the cock which wins belongs by right to him, and the owner of the cock redeems it by paying its value in gold.

But the most detailed account of Zābag is furnished by Abu Zayd Hasan who published, about A.D. 916, the account originally written by Sulayman in 851 A.D., with additional remarks of his own. He applies the name Zābag both to the kingdom and its capital city. His remarks may be summed up as follows:—

"The distance between Zābag and China is one month's journey by sea-route. It may be even less if the winds are favourable.

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"The king of this town has got the title Mahārāja. The area of the kingdom is about 900 (square) Parsangs. The king is also overlord of a large number of islands extending over a length of 1000 Parsangs or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribuza (=Śrī-Vijaya) with an area of about 400 (square) Parsangs, and the island called Rami with an area of about 800 (square) Parsangs. The marine country of Kalah, midway between Arabia and China, is also included among the territories of Mahārāja. The area of Kalah is about 80 (square) Parsangs. The town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade in aloe, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices, and various other articles. There was a regular maritime intercourse between this port and Oman.

"The Mahārāja exercises sovereignty over all these islands. The island in which he lives is very thickly populated from one end to the other.

"There is one very extraordinary custom in Zābag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted, and weighed, and these are entered in official records. The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals, and royal slaves according to their rank, and the remnant is distributed among the poor."

Mas'udi (943 A.D.) remarks:—

"In the Bay of Champā is the empire of the Mahārāja, the king of the islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of this king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics, and no other sovereign of the world has as much wealth from the soil."

Alberuni (c. 1030 A.D.) says:—

"The eastern islands in this ocean, which are nearer to China than to India, are the islands of the Zābaj, called by the Hindus Suvarṇadvīpa, i.e. the gold islands. . . . The islands of the Zābaj are called the Gold Country because you obtain much gold as deposit if you wash only a little of the earth of that country."

The accounts of the Arab writers quoted above leave no doubt that a mighty empire, comprising a large part of the Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula, called Suvarṇadvīpa by the Hindus, flourished from the middle of the ninth to at least the end of the tenth century A.D. Thus we must hold that even after the loss of Java and Cambodia, the Śailendra empire continued to flourish for more than a century, and Sribuza or Śrī-Vijaya formed an important and integral part of it.

The Chinese annals contain references to a kingdom called San-fo-tsi which undoubtedly stands for the Śailendra empire.

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We learn from them that several embassies of the Śailendras visited China during the tenth century A.D.

The detailed Chinese accounts testify to the political and commercial greatness of the Śailendra empire throughout the tenth century A.D.

## II. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ŚAILENDRAS AND THE CHOLAS

In the eleventh century A.D., the one outstanding fact in the history of the Śailendras, known to us, is a long-drawn struggle with the powerful Chola rulers of South India.

The Chola State was one of the three kingdoms in South India which flourished from a hoary antiquity. It extended along the Coromandel coast, and its traditional boundaries were the Pennar river in the north, the Southern Vellaru river on the south, and the borders of Coorg on the west. The rise of the Pallavas within this area kept the Cholas in check for a long time. But the Cholas re-asserted their supremacy towards the close of the ninth century A.D. With the accession of Parāntaka I in 907 A.D., the Cholas entered upon a career of aggressive imperialism. By a succession of great victories Rājarāja the Great (985-1014 A.D.) made himself the lord paramount of Southern India. His still more famous son Rājendra Chola (1014-1044 A.D.) raised the Chola power to its climax, and his conquests extended as far as Bengal in the north.

The Cholas were also a great naval power and this naturally brought them into contact with Indonesia. At first there existed friendly relations between the Chola kings and the Śailendra rulers. We learn from a Chola Inscription that the Śailendra king, Chūḍāmaṇivarman, commenced the construction of a Buddhist *Vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭana, modern Negapatam, in or shortly before the 81st year of Rājarāja, when a village was granted by the Chola king for its upkeep. King Chūḍāmaṇivarman, however, died shortly after, and the *Vihāra* was completed by his son and successor, Śrī-Māravijayottuṅgavarman.

This interesting record naturally recalls the Nālandā copper-plate of the time of Devapāla. In both cases an Indian king grants villages to a Buddhist sanctuary, erected in India by a

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Śailendra king. Both furnish us with names of Śailendra kings not known from indigenous sources.

Fortunately the Chola inscription can be precisely dated, for the 21st year of Rājarāja falls in 1005 A.D. We thus come to know that king Chūdāmaṇivarman was on the throne in 1005 A.D., and was succeeded shortly after by his son Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman. So the relations between the Chola and Śailendra kings were quite friendly at the commencement of the eleventh century A.D. There were also commercial relations between the two countries.

The friendly relations between the Chola kings and the Śailendra rulers did not last long. We know from a Chola inscription that "the king of Kāmboja sent his chariot as a present to the Chola monarch in order to win the latter's friendship and thereby save his own kingdom". It may be that the ruler of Kāmboja (Kambuja or Cambodia), threatened by the Śailendras, asked for the protection of Rājendra Chola and this gave him a pretext or opportunity to attack the Śailendras. It is also not unlikely that after defeating the Śailendras Rājendra Chola threatened Kambuja, and its ruler conciliated him. In any case, hostilities broke out, and Rājendra Chola sent a naval expedition against his mighty adversary beyond the sea. The details preserved in the Chola records leave no doubt that the expedition was crowned with brilliant success, and various parts of the empire of the Śailendras were reduced by the mighty Chola emperor.

It appears that the chief stronghold of the Śailendra power at this time was Kaṭāha or Kaḍāra (Kedda in Malay Peninsula), and they also exercised suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya and other smaller States in Sumatra, Malay Peninsula and the neighbouring islands. Rājendra Chola defeated the Śailendra king, conquered ten or eleven of these States specifically named in the records, and concluded the campaign by taking Kaḍāra itself.

Rājendra Chola's conquests extended practically over the whole of the eastern coast-region of Sumatra and the central and southern parts of Malay Peninsula, and included the two capital cities Kaṭāha and Śrī-Vijaya. That the story of this victory is not merely an imagination of the court-poets, but based on facts, is proved, beyond all doubt, by the detailed references to the vassal States. It is interesting to note that

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many of these States are included in the Śailendra empire by later Chinese authorities.

This great catastrophe befell the Śailendra empire some time about 1025 A.D., but the hostility broke out much earlier, and as early as 1017-18 A.D., or some time before it, a Chola naval expedition was sent against Kaṭāha.

Although it is impossible now to ascertain exactly the cause of either the outbreak of hostility or the complete collapse of the Śailendra power, reference may be made to at least some important factors which contributed to the one or the other. According to the Chola records, the conquest of Kaliṅga and the whole eastern coast up to the mouth of the Ganges was completed before the oversea expedition was sent. The mastery over the ports of Kaliṅga and Bengal gave the Chola king well-equipped ships and sailors, accustomed to voyage in the very regions which he wanted to conquer. The naval resources of the whole of the eastern coast of India were thus concentrated in the hands of Rājendra Chola, and it was enough to tempt a man to get possession of the territory, which served as the meeting ground of the trade and commerce between India and the western countries on the one hand, and the countries of the Far East on the other. The geographical position of the Śailendra empire enabled it to control almost the whole volume of maritime trade between western and eastern Asia, and the dazzling prospect which its conquest offered to the future commercial supremacy of the Cholas seems to be the principal reason of the oversea expedition undertaken by Rājendra Chola. But it is the conquest of the eastern coastal regions of India that alone brought such a scheme within the range of practical politics.

The Śailendra kings evidently asserted independence after the death of Rājendra Chola. But Vīrarājendra, the Chola king (1063-70 A.D.), claims to have conquered Kaṭāra and given it back to its king who paid homage to him. Thus in spite of the arduous nature of the task, the Chola Emperors tried to maintain their hold on the distant oversea empire for nearly half a century. But at last amity was established between the two powers before 1090 A.D. For in that year the Chola king Kulottuṅga, at the request of the king of Kaṭāra, communicated by his envoys Rājavidyādhara Sāmanta and Abhimānottuṅga

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Sāmanta, exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery called Śailendra-Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra (*i.e.*, the one established by king Chūḍāmaṇivarman as referred to above).

### III. THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ŚAILENDRA EMPIRE

The long-drawn struggle with the Cholas, which continued throughout the eleventh century A.D., and at one time threatened utter destruction to the Śailendras, thus ended in a draw. After fruitless efforts of nearly a century, the Cholas finally abandoned the impossible enterprise of maintaining suzerainty over Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. The Śailendra kingdom, exhausted and humiliated as it was, slowly recovered its former position.

But, although we can definitely trace the existence of the kingdom for nearly three centuries more, when it was finally destroyed, the Śailendra dynasty passes from our view. After the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., we hear no more of that powerful ruling family that dominated Suvṛṇadvīpa since the end of the eighth century A.D. This does not, of course, mean that they vanished, or even ceased to reign, but the fact is that we do not possess any definite information of them. For all we know, they might have still continued to rule over the kingdom.

The continuity of the kingdom is, however, clearly attested by the Chinese, and, perhaps also by the Arab accounts, which still refer to the prowess of San-fo-tsi and Zābag, the Chinese and Arabic names, respectively, of the mighty empire.

We possess an interesting Chinese account of this kingdom in the twelfth century A.D., according to which, San-fo-tsi was master of the Straits of Malacca and thus controlled the maritime trade between China and the western countries. San-fo-tsi itself was a great centre of trade, and fourteen States in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula were dependent upon it. This account of the great power of San-fo-tsi is corroborated by the history of its king Chandrabhānu who ruled in 1230 A.D. The detailed account, as given in the Ceylonese Chronicle *Chulla-vamsa*, may be summarised as follows:—



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"In the eleventh year of the reign of king Parākramabāhu II of Ceylon, a king of Jāvaka, called Chandrabhānu, landed with an army at Kakkhalā, on the pretext that they were Buddhists and therefore came on a peaceful mission. The soldiers of Jāvaka, who used poisoned arrows, treacherously occupied the passages across the rivers, and having defeated all those who opposed them, devastated the whole of Ceylon. But the regent Vīrabāhu defeated them in several battles and forced them to withdraw from the land. A few years later, king Chandrabhānu again landed at Mahātīrtha, and his army was, on this occasion, reinforced by a large number of Pāṇḍya, Chola, and other Tamil soldiers. After some initial successes the Jāvaka army was surrounded and completely defeated by the Ceylonese troops under Vīrabāhu. King Chandrabhānu somehow fled with his life, leaving behind his family and treasures in the hands of the victorious enemy. The two invasions of Chandrabhānu probably took place in A.D. 1236 and 1256."

The very fact that Chandrabhānu could lead a successful expedition against distant Ceylon indicates the power of his kingdom. But Chandrabhānu's invasion of Ceylon was an act of extreme imprudence, and had the most regrettable consequences. The two expeditions to the distant island must have taxed the strength of the Jāvaka kingdom to the utmost, and the disastrous end of the second expedition weakened its prestige and authority beyond recovery.

Some time before 1264 A.D. Chandrabhānu was defeated and killed by the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya. The fact that the Pāṇḍya king boasts also of having conquered Ceylon, seems to connect the Ceylonese expedition of Chandrabhānu with his defeat and death at the hands of Jaṭavarman. It may be recalled that during his second expedition against that island, Chandrabhānu was helped by troops from Chola and Pāṇḍya countries. Perhaps he made an alliance with these two powers and organised a joint expedition against Ceylon. But as in many other similar allied expeditions, it was dissolved on the failure of the project, and then Vīra-Pāṇḍya presumably took advantage of the helpless situation of Chandrabhānu and turned against him.

The catastrophic end of Chandrabhānu completed the disruption and gave a unique opportunity to the Javanese king Kṛitanagara to extend his authority over the dominions of the Sailendras. He conquered Pahang in Malay Peninsula which was a vassal State of San-fo-tsi. He also sent an expedition against Malayu (Jambi) in 1275 A.D., and converted it into a separate State under his own authority. Thus Java planted

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important outposts in the very heart of the empire of San-fo-tsi, from which she could gradually extend her power and authority in all directions.

For the time being, however, these calculations were upset by the tragic end of Kṛitanagara and the fall of his kingdom. The Javanese army of occupation was withdrawn from Malayu, and therewith the Javanese authority vanished from the land. But San-fo-tsi, which was not strong enough to resist the Javanese encroachments, was also too weak to take advantage of this opportunity to re-assert its authority over Malayu. Malayu remained an independent kingdom and soon became a powerful rival of San-fo-tsi.

The fact is that San-fo-tsi had not only to reckon with the growing menace from the side of Java, but also to contend with another great military power, the Thai, who had overrun Siam towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D., and conquered the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. Hemmed in between the rising power of the Thais in the north and the growing kingdom of Malayu in the south, the discomfiture of San-fo-tsi was complete. She lost her position of supremacy and sank into a local power. Henceforth her possessions in the Malay Peninsula formed a bone of contention between Malayu and Siam.

San-fo-tsi continued this inglorious existence for nearly a century, and the Chinese accounts refer to its conquest by Java some time before 1377 A.D. Its condition in 1397 A.D. is thus described in a Chinese History of the Ming Dynasty: —

“At that time Java had completely conquered San-fo-tsi and changed its name to Ku-Kang. When San-fo-tsi went down, the whole country was disturbed and the Javanese could not keep all the land. For this reason, the local Chinese residents stood up for themselves and elected as their chief a man from Nan-hai in Canton.”

In other words, a Chinese pirate set himself up as a king in a part at least of what was once the flourishing kingdom of the Śailendras. This was no doubt due to the weakness of Java. Java was able to destroy the old kingdom, but could not build up a new one in its place. Some have even suggested that the destruction of San-fo-tsi was a deliberate act on the part of Java. In order to wipe off from the face of the earth a power that had been in the past, and might be in future, a great rival in political and economic spheres, she intentionally and systemati-

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ally laid waste the country, which afterwards became a strong hold of Chinese adventurers.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. San-to-tsi passes from our view. Kaḍāram (Keddah) continued as a petty State and the local annals refer to seven Hindu rulers of the State, the last of whom adopted Islam in 1474 A.D.

## CHAPTER III

### JAVA

#### I. THE KINGDOM OF MATARĀM

Reference has been made above to an important Hindu kingdom in Western Java, under king Pūrṇavarman, in the fifth or sixth century A.D. For the next two or three hundred years we have no definite information regarding the political history of the country. But about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. a powerful kingdom was founded in Central Java. Its capital was probably at Matarām which nearly nine hundred years later gave the name to a powerful Muslim principality in Java. The old Hindu kingdom of Matarām was founded by king Sannāha who is said to have ruled righteously like Manu for a long time. He was succeeded by Sañjaya, who was a very powerful king and a great conqueror. After subduing the whole of Java and Bali, he is said to have led expeditions to Sumatra, Cambodia and other lands beyond the sea. Sañjaya set up a *Śivaliṅga* at Changal in Kedu, in A.D. 732. He probably ascended the throne in A.D. 717, as an era, called after him, began from that year.

Not long after the death of Sañjaya Central Java was conquered by the Śailendras. The exact status and position of the royal dynasty founded by Sañjaya, during the period of Śailendra supremacy, cannot be determined. It appears that the kings of Matarām continued to rule from a capital about 150 miles further towards the east. But before the close of the ninth century A.D. the old capital of the kingdom was recovered by them. Balitung or Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu, who reigned at least from A.D. 899 to 910, certainly ruled both over Central and Eastern Java. Probably he was originally a ruler of the east who got possession of the central part by marriage. In his inscription we find for the first time reference to Matarām as the name of the kingdom and an era named after Sañjaya.

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Contemporary inscriptions leave no doubt that Central Java continued to be the chief seat of culture and political authority throughout the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. But Eastern Java now gradually came into prominence, due no doubt to the long residence of the Javanese kings in the east during the dominance of the Śailendra rulers in the central region.

Dharmodaya Mahāsambhu was succeeded, in or before 913 A.D., by Dakshottama who had the titles Vajra-bāhu and Prati-pakshakshaya. He and his two successors, Tulodong and Wawa, ruled over both Central and Eastern Java. But Wawa, who ruled during A.D. 924-8, may be regarded as the last ruler of the kingdom of Matarām which was founded two centuries ago.

With the accession of Siṅḍok, in A.D. 928-929, the centre of political authority definitely, and finally (so far as the Hindu period is concerned), passed to Eastern Java. At the same time we notice almost a complete collapse of culture and civilisation in Central Java. The circumstances that brought about these two important changes are not known to us. Some have attributed them to a volcanic eruption or violent epidemic in Central Java which the superstitious people might regard as a divine manifestation to the effect that Central Java should no longer be inhabited. Some attribute the change to a deliberate policy adopted by the kings of Java to guard against the danger of an invasion by the Śailendras. The Śailendra kings who were still ruling in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula undoubtedly cherished the ambition of reconquering the lost territories. It was easy for their fleet to transport an army to Central Java within a comparatively short time. All these might have induced the kings of Java not only to shift their seat of authority to the east, but deliberately to leave Central Java to its fate, so that it would soon be reduced to a no-man's land and serve as a protection against the possible invasion of the Śailendra kings from that side.

This view satisfactorily explains the removal of the seat of authority to the east, but it would be too much to believe that the kings of Java would deliberately sacrifice a flourishing region merely at the possibility of a foreign invasion. Nor is it necessary to resort to such a hypothesis. As we have seen above, the kingdom of Matarām continued to exist from the middle of the eighth century. During the period of Śailendra supremacy it

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shifted its seat of authority towards the east. Although it recovered Central Java by the middle of the ninth century A.D., and probably the official capital was once more formally restored, there is no doubt that the political centre of gravity, if we might use the expression, still remained in the east. This might be partly an effect of the first change, and partly the result of a deliberate policy of guarding against the Śailendra invasion as suggested above, but the fact admits of no doubt. The culture and civilisation of Central Java continued for nearly a century after this, but gradually the shifting of political authority produced its natural effect. Slowly but steadily the flow of Javanese life and culture followed the political change, and Central Java lost political importance as well as cultural pre-eminence. Some unknown reasons, such as a volcanic eruption, outbreak of an epidemic, or the ravages by the fleet of the Śailendras might have hastened the progress of decay, but the decay itself had become inevitable on account of the transfer of the seat of authority to the east.

But whatever may be the reasons, the broad fact remains that from the middle of the tenth century A.D., the Hindu culture and civilisation began to lose its hold in Central Java, as was the case in Western Java about five hundred years before. Henceforth the political centre shifted to Eastern Java, which remained, for another period of five hundred years, the only stronghold of Hindu culture and civilisation in Java.

### II. THE RISE OF EASTERN JAVA

Siṅḍok, the first ruler in Eastern Java, is a great name in Javanese history, and for centuries the later kings were eager to trace their relationship with him. Yet we are unaware of any great achievements that may be set to his credit. He is not even definitely known as the founder of a new dynasty, and seems to have gained the throne by ordinary rules of succession. But there must have been some special reason, unknown to us at present, why his name was singled out by posterity and he was regarded as the remote ancestor of a long line of Javanese kings.

The ceremonial name which Siṅḍok assumed at the time of coronation was Śrī-Isāna-Vikrama Dharmottuṅgadeva. He ascended the throne about 929 A.D., and ruled for nearly twenty

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years, his last known date being 948 A.D. Siṅḍok was succeeded by his daughter, who ruled as queen Śrī Isānatuṅggavijayā. She was married to king Śrī-Lokapāla, and the issue of this marriage was king Śrī-Makuṭavaṁśavardhana.

King Makuṭavaṁśavardhana had a daughter, Mahendradattā, also known as Guṇapriyadharmapatnī. She was married to Udayana, and they had a son named Airlangga. Airlangga was married to the daughter of Dharmavaṁśa, king of East Java, and possibly the successor of Makuṭavaṁśavardhana. Bali was at that time under the political authority of Java, and Udayana and Mahendradattā were ruling the island on behalf of the Javanese king Dharmavaṁśa.

The Balinese records of Udayana and Mahendradattā fall between 989 and 1001 A.D., while the name of the former alone appears in records dated 1011 and 1022 A.D. It would thus appear that Mahendradattā died some time between 1001 and 1011 A.D., and Udayana alone ruled from that time.

King Dharmavaṁśa ruled in Java towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. In 992 A.D., he sent an envoy to China and an account of it is preserved in the Chinese history. This account clearly shows that Java was not in touch with China for a long period. The embassy to China may, therefore, be taken to indicate a new epoch in the foreign policy of Java, when after a long life of isolation, she was again renewing her diplomatic intercourse with her neighbours. The imposition of political supremacy over Bali, referred to above, shows that she had begun to pursue a policy of aggressive imperialism. After the conquest of Bali she evidently turned her attention to her neighbours, the Śailendras. The struggle with the Śailendras had probably begun a long time before 990 A.D., when the kingdom of San-fo-tsi itself was invaded by Java. That kingdom was reduced to such straits that its envoy even sought the aid of the Chinese emperor against Java. Possibly the Javanese embassy of 992 A.D. was sent to counteract the activity of the enemy in that direction. In any case there can be hardly any doubt that Java took the offensive and gained great success at about 990 A.D. Thus under king Dharmavaṁśa the international glory and prestige of Java were revived towards the close of the tenth century A.D.

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But the success of the king was shortlived. By 1003 A.D., the Śailendra king had evidently hurled back the invasion of Java and was able to send an embassy to China without any hindrance from the latter.

Within four years of this a great catastrophe befell Dharmavaṁśa and his kingdom. The exact nature of this catastrophe is not known to us, but we learn from a record that in 1006 A.D. Java was destroyed by a great calamity (*pralaya*) which overwhelmed it like a sea. 'Then the flourishing capital city, which was hitherto a seat of joy and merriment, was reduced to ashes, and the great king met his end in 1006 A.D.'

It has been suggested that the reference is to a natural calamity like a volcanic eruption. But it is more likely that the catastrophe was caused by the invasion of a hostile king. Who this king was, it is difficult to say.

But whoever the enemy may be, his efforts were eminently successful, and the disruption of Java was complete. King Dharmavaṁśa died, and his palace and kingdom perished with him. His young son-in-law, Airlangga, then only sixteen years old, took shelter in the forest, accompanied by only a few faithful followers. Being pursued by the enemy they shut themselves up in a small monastery, clothed themselves in bark of trees, and lived on food supplied by monks and hermits. Three years passed in this way. Evidently the partisans of Dharmavaṁśa came to know of Airlangga's whereabouts. In 1010 some people, including eminent Brahmans, met him with a request to assume the royal authority. He was then acclaimed as the legitimate king by the partisans of Dharmavaṁśa. By 1019 A.D. Airlangga made himself master of the small territory in the neighbourhood of Pasuruhan, and the ceremony of his consecration by the revered priests of Buddhist, Śaiva, and Brahmanic faith was held in that year, when he assumed the royal name of Śrī-Lokeśvara Dharmavaṁśa Airlangga Ananta-Vikramottuṅga-deva.

By 1028 A.D. Airlangga felt powerful enough to make a bold bid for the lost kingdom. He had to fight with a number of kings during the first four years. Some of them submitted to his authority and those that refused to do so were either killed or expelled.

The king of Vengker, a small State in the modern district



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of Madiun, with its capital at Setana, now remained the only powerful foe of Airlangga. Already in 1030 A.D. Airlangga had inflicted a defeat upon this enemy. Although it was not of a decisive character, it forced Vijaya, king of Vengker, to remain on the defensive and left Airlangga free to reckon with his other powerful enemies. In 1035 Airlangga led an expedition against Vengker on a large scale, and gained a great victory. Two months later Vijaya was imprisoned by his own troops and killed. This, we are told, was due to the diplomatic move of Airlangga, which he learnt from the book of Vishṇugupta (Kauṭilya). With the fall of Vengker, the war of restoration came to an end, and Airlangga became the undisputed master of Java.

During Airlangga's reign Java came into contact with foreign lands. His records contain a long list of foreign peoples who used to come to Java for purposes of trade or other peaceful pursuits of life. The list includes Kling, Singhala, Draviḍa, Karṇāṭaka, Champā, and Kmir which may be easily identified as Kalinga, Ceylon, Chola country, Kanara in South India, Viet Nam, and Kambuja.

An inscription informs us that the Brantas river burst its banks and caused great havoc when Airlangga built a dam to stop it. It is interesting to note that even irrigation works undertaken in the nineteenth century have profited by this dam built by Airlangga. The same inscription informs us that the work of Airlangga caused great joy to the foreign merchants and captains of ships who thronged the port at the mouth of the Brantas river. This was either Surabaya or a former port in its immediate neighbourhood which played the same role as Surabaya does now. From another inscription, we come to know of another sea-port at or near modern Tuban. All these indicate that maritime trade and commerce flourished in Java during the reign of Airlangga.

According to a later Javanese tradition, Airlangga retired from the world in his old age and lived the life of an ascetic. His latest record is dated 1042 A.D. With the adoption of an ascetic life, king Airlangga passes from our view, and we do not know anything about his last days. He died in 1049 A.D. There is no doubt that his career was one of the most interesting in the history of Java. The various phases of life

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through which he passed ever since he was married, at the age of 16, mark him out as a striking personality. He was indeed a hero, in the arts of war as well as in those of peace.

Airlangga was regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu, and was cremated at Belahan, where a fine statue of Vishṇu on Garuḍa has been found. The figure of Vishṇu is a beautiful piece of sculpture, and we can probably see in it the actual portrait of the famous king who passed such an eventful life. We may also infer from it that the art of sculpture flourished highly during the reign of Airlangga. That the king was a patron of literature, too, appears clearly from the fact that the famous old-Javanese *kāvya*, *Arjunawivāha*, the first book of its kind, was written under his patronage by poet Kaṇva.

### III. THE KINGDOM OF KAḌIRI

Before his death Airlangga had divided his kingdom into two parts and bestowed them upon his two sons. This partition of the kingdom gave rise to two States in Eastern Java which continued to divide the country for a pretty long time. It is, no doubt, a matter of surprise and regret, that Airlangga, who had experienced more than anybody else the evils of a divided kingdom, and the aim and crowning success of whose life was to undo the evils thereof by a reunion of the country, should have himself sacrificed his life-work by such a fatal measure. There must have been very strong reasons for inducing him to this decision. Two sons of Airlangga claimed succession to the throne, and both felt powerful enough to contest it by force. It seems that the aged father, unable to reconcile them, and in order to avoid the inevitable civil war, was compelled to take the only step which offered some reasonable chance of a peaceful succession after his death.

Thus arose the two kingdoms of Panjalu and Janggala. Panjalu, the official name of the western kingdom, was soon changed to Kaḍiri, and towards the close of the thirteenth century it was called Gelanggalang. The capital of the kingdom was, throughout, the city of Kaḍiri, also called Daha. There is no doubt that this place is now represented by the town of Kediri which has thus preserved the old name.

Nothing is known as to the name or position of the capital of Janggala. The probability is that Kahuripan, the capital of

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Airlangga, still continued to be the capital of the eastern kingdom. We possess very little information regarding the kingdom of Janggala. Indeed, it may be doubted if the kingdom of Janggala continued to exist for a long time.

On the other hand, we know the names of a large number of kings of Kaḍiri, who were great patrons of literature and under whom the kingdom of Java was raised to great power and affluence. The first king of Kaḍiri whose name is known to us is Śrī-Jayavarsha Digjaya Śāstraprabhu, who reigned in A.D. 1104 and under whose royal patronage the poet Triguna composed the *Kṛishṇāyana*.

The old-Javanese *kāvya*, *Smaradahana* by Dharmaya, refers to a king Kāmeśvara who probably ruled from 1115 to 1135 A.D. The poet describes the king as the incarnation of the god Kāma (Cupid), and his abode, the wonder of the world, is called Dahana. Śrī-Isānadharma is referred to as the founder of the family. Thus, like Airlangga himself, his descendants, the kings of Kaḍiri, traced their ancestry to Siṇḍok-Isāna. Kāmeśvara's queen is referred to as Śrī-Kiraṇa.

Kāmeśvara was succeeded by his son Jayabhaya, one of the few royal names that have lived in popular tradition in Java. In the case of Jayabhaya, the explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that he was the patron of the famous poem *Bhārata-yuddha*. He probably ruled from about 1135 to 1157 A.D. The poet Seḍah could not complete his poem *Bhārata-yuddha*, and the task was accomplished by Panuluh, presumably in the reign of Jayabhaya.

The names of a few more kings are known to us, such as Sarveśvara (1160-1), Āryeśvara (1171), Kroñchāryadīpa (1181), and Kāmeśvara II (1185), but we know very little about them. The last king of the Kaḍiri dynasty was Kṛitajaya. According to *Pararaton*, a Javanese historical work, he demanded that the clergy should make obeisance to him, and when they refused, showed them some miracles to overawe them. But far from submitting to the royal command, the clergy left him in a body and sought refuge with the ruler of Tumapel. The latter attacked Kaḍiri, and Kṛitajaya, being defeated, took to flight (1222 A.D.) and sought refuge in a monastery. With the defeat of Kṛitajaya perished the kingdom of Kaḍiri.

Before, however, we leave the history of the Kaḍiri dynasty,

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we must take note of the very interesting accounts of Java which the Chinese chronicles furnish us. It appears there were three political powers exercising authority over the different parts of the island. The most powerful kingdom, comprising the greater part of the island, is named Sho-po whose dependencies, both in and outside Java, numbered fifteen. Sho-po is equivalent to Kaḍiri, and among its fifteen dependencies, eight are said to be situated in islands. The Chinese author describes the inhabitants of these islands as barbarous. Although it is difficult to identify the islands individually, it is almost certain that they refer to the eastern isles of the Archipelago. Two of them are almost certainly Bali and Borneo. It is thus quite clear that Java had begun to exercise political domination over Bali, Borneo and the savage and semi-savage peoples of numerous other islands of the east. Kaḍiri had thus already laid the foundation upon which ultimately Majapahit built an imperial structure of vast dimensions.

As we have had occasion to note above, the Kaḍiri period witnessed a high degree of development both in art and literature. On the whole this period is one of the most remarkable in the whole history of Java. It saw the beginnings of the Javanese empire and a remarkable outburst of intellectual activity. It is a prominent landmark in the history of Indo-Javanese culture.

### IV. THE DYNASTY OF SINGHASĀRI

Like many other founders of royal families, the life of Ken Angrok, who established a new kingdom in Singhasāri, has been the subject of many popular legends. Bereft of supernatural elements, which make him an offspring or incarnation of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, Angrok is represented in these legends as the son of a peasant at Pangkur who spent his early life in highway robbery till he was taken in the service of Tunggul Ametung, the governor of Tumapel (Singhasāri). Angrok assassinated his master, married his widow, Queen Deḍes, and made himself ruler of the territory to the east of Mount Kavi.

The establishment of his authority soon brought Angrok into conflict with Kṛitajaya, king of Kaḍiri. Fortune again smiled on Angrok. As we have seen above, king Kṛitajaya was involved in a quarrel with the clergy and Angrok took advan-

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tage of this to declare himself openly as king. He took the name 'Rājasa' and probably also 'Amūrvabhūmi.'

A fight between the kingdoms of Kaḍiri and Tumapel (Singhasāri) became inevitable. Rājasa, evidently still helped by the clergy of Kaḍiri, declared war against his enemy. A decisive battle took place at Ganter in 1222 A.D. After a long and bloody encounter Kṛitajaya's brother and commander-in-chief, Mahīsha Walungan, died in the battlefield, and the army, bereft of its leader, took to flight. The rest of Kṛitajaya's army was again defeated near Kaḍiri. Kṛitajaya fled from the battlefield of Ganter with a few followers and was heard of no more. Kaḍiri was henceforth included within the kingdom of Rājasa and probably placed in charge of a member of the late royal family.

Rājasa thus united the whole of Eastern Java under his authority. The new kingdom was at first called Tumapel. Gradually the kingdom was called after its capital, Singhasāri. With the foundation of Singhasāri, we enter on a new phase of Javanese history. The downfall of the dynasty that traced its descent from the royal house of Matarām finally snapped the connecting link with the old traditions and the history of Central Java. Therewith the old Hindu culture and civilisation rapidly receded into the background and more and more a purely Javanese element took its place.

Rājasa restored peace in the country, but met with a violent end. We are told that prince Anūshapati, the son of queen Deḍes by her first husband, noticed the difference in the king's attitude towards him and his other brothers and sisters. On inquiry he learnt from his mother that he was really the son of the former king who was killed by Rājasa. He, therefore, employed a high official to murder the king, and as soon as the deed was done, he himself killed the assassin, as if to avenge the death of the king. This probably took place in A.D. 1227.

Anūshapati succeeded Rājasa. He maintained his hold on the whole kingdom and died in 1248. He was killed by his half-brother Tohjaya while watching a cock-fight, and thus atoned for the foul crime by which he came to the throne.

King Tohjaya ruled only for a few months when he was killed by his nephew Rangga Wuni, son of Anūshapati, who ascended the throne in 1248 A.D. under the name of Śrī-Jaya

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Vishṇuwardhana. Vishṇuwardhana died at Mandaragiri in 1268 A.D., the first and the only king of Singhasāri to die a natural death.

Kṛitanagara, the son and successor of Vishṇuwardhana, had already been anointed king by his father in 1254 A.D. Since 1268 A.D. Kṛitanagara ruled alone. The reign of Kṛitanagara was an eventful one both in home and foreign politics. After a long interval Java entered into political relations with the neighbouring lands. A military expedition was sent to Bali in 1284 A.D. to re-establish the supremacy of Java over that island, and the king of Bali was brought a prisoner before Kṛitanagara. The success over Bali was however a shortlived one—for it soon became independent again.

The expedition against Bali was evidently the result of a deliberate imperial policy of expansion, and the authority of the king was established over Malayu, Pahang, Gurun, Bakulapura, Sunda and Madhura.

Malayu in this list undoubtedly denotes the kingdom of that name in Sumatra, now called Jambi. We have already seen that it formed an independent kingdom till it was conquered by Śrīvijaya, and formed a part of it since seventh century A.D. The Javanese military expedition against Malayu left the port of Tuban on ships in 1275 A.D. By 1286 A.D. the kingdom of Malayu, which extended far into the interior of Sumatra, formed a vassal State of Java. It was a great achievement and may be regarded as the crowning glory of Kṛitanagara. He established a Javanese military outpost in Sumatra, from which the authority of his land ultimately penetrated into the farthest corners of that country.

Among the other conquests of Kṛitanagara, Pahang represents the district of that name in the Malay Peninsula, and Bakulapura, the south-western corner of the island of Borneo. Gurun, probably Gorong or Goram, means the eastern regions. Thus Kṛitanagara established his political authority in Jambi in Sumatra, parts of Borneo and Malay Peninsula, Bali, Sunda, and Madura, and under him Java rose to be the leading power in Suvarṇadvīpa. The very fact that the Śailendras (or their successors) could neither prevent Java from obtaining a secure footing in the heart of Sumatra, nor remove her from the posi-

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tion so obtained, shows that the sun of their glory had set and a new power was gradually taking their place.

It is perhaps not altogether unconnected with the imperial policy of Java that we find about this time a princess of that island, named Tapasī, married to Jayasimhavarman III, king of Champā (c. 1287-1307 A.D.). At that time Champā had, after an arduous struggle, delivered herself from the yoke of Kublai Khan, the dreaded Mongol ruler of China. Possibly the alliance between Java and Champā was the result of a common enmity to the Mongol Emperor. For the latter had, as usual, invited the king of Java to come in person to the imperial court and pay homage to the Mongol Emperor (1281 A.D.). Kṛitanagara avoided the task on one pretext or another till the crisis came in 1289. Unable to bear any longer with the importunate and pressing invitation to humiliate himself in the imperial court, Kṛitanagara sent back the Chinese ambassador after mutilating his face. It was a defiant challenge and Kublai did not fail to take it up. He organised an expedition against Java, but before it could reach that island an internal revolution had removed Kṛitanagara from this world.

For, in spite of the brilliant success of his foreign and imperial policy, Kṛitanagara failed miserably in his internal administration, and we hear of frequent revolutions. In 1270 A.D., the king had to put down the rebellion of one Chayarāja (or Bhayarāja) who was evidently powerful enough to assume the royal title. Ten years later he had to suppress another rebellion, headed by one Mahīsha Rangkah.

But the final blow was given by the governor of Kaḍiri. The details supplied by the Javanese chronicle *Pararaton* attribute the debacle mainly to the wrong choice of his officers by the king. His first minister Raganātha served him well and exerted himself for the welfare of the State.\* But the king not having paid any heed to his advice, he threw up his office in disgust. The king now appointed Arāgani as his minister. The new minister's only care was to serve the king with good dishes and wine. Another capricious act of the king was to raise a very low man, Ārya Virarāja, to a high position in court. What was worse still, when this man proved to be untrustworthy, the king appointed him to be governor of Sungeneb in East Maḍura.

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According to *Pararaton*, Virarāja and Arāgani were the evil geniuses of the king. Arāgani was instrumental in sending the expedition to Malayu, thus denuding Java of most of its troops. Virarāja saw the opportunity and entered into a treasonable correspondence with his friend Jayakatvang, the governor of Kaḍiri since 1271, who longed for an opportunity to secure the throne by any means. At the instigation of Virarāja, Jayakatvang undertook the perilous venture. He sent a small part of his army towards Singhasāri by the northern route and it advanced with music and banners. King Kṛitanagara, who all this while was doing nothing but drinking wine, would not at first believe of the revolt of Jayakatvang, whom he regarded as favourably disposed towards him. But when at last the sight of the wounded men convinced him of the reality of the situation, he sent all the available troops against Jayakatvang's army in the north. The royal army was commanded by two sons-in-law of the king. One was Prince Vijaya and the other was Ardharāja, the son of Jayakatvang himself. The royal army obtained a victory and drove back the rebel troops in the north. In the meantime, however, another larger and better equipped army from Kaḍiri advanced stealthily along the southern route and reached Singhasāri without any opposition. They stormed the palace and, according to *Pararaton*, found the king and his minister drinking wine. Both fell by the sword of the Kaḍirian troops. This took place in the year 1292 A.D.

The detailed account of *Pararaton*, depicting the king in the blackest colour, is in striking contrast to the other accounts that we possess about him. According to *Nāgara-Kṛitāgama*, a famous historical poem, the king was "well-versed in the six-fold royal policy, expert in all branches of knowledge, quite at home in (Buddhist) scriptures, and eminently righteous in life and conduct." This may appear to be an obvious exaggeration, but similar praise for scholarship and spiritual excellence of the king, the lord of the four continents (*dvīpa*), is also found in the inscriptions. Indeed, the king's passionate love for Buddhism had become proverbial. He scrupulously followed in his life all the rules, regulations, and injunctions of the religion. He was deeply versed in Buddhist writings, particularly the *Tarka* and *Vyākaraṇa-Śāstra* (logic and grammar) and that which



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concerns the inner self of man. The king practised Yoga and Samādhi, and made many pious foundations.

The curious contrast between the two opposing views of the life and character of Kṛitanagara may perhaps be understood if we remember that the particular Tantrik form of Buddhism to which the king was devoted was accompanied by objectionable and even revolting practices such as the free use of wine. When *Pararaton* refers to the drinking debout of Kṛitanagara he was evidently telling the truth, though he viewed it in a different light from others who remarked in an approving manner that the king scrupulously followed the prescriptions of religion.

While we may not be prepared to accept the picture of the king, as given in *Pararaton*, drinking wine even while the enemy was within the palace, we may take, as historical, the general outline of the story as given above. Engrossed by his imperial policy abroad, and religious practices at home, the king was indifferent to the internal dangers that threatened him, and did not evidently take sufficient precautions against them. The imperial policy of Kṛitanagara was sure to weaken the resources of Java in men and money, and the troops stationed in the various newly conquered territories to maintain the authority of the king very likely denuded Java of the best part of its troops when the serious rebellion broke out. One trait of the royal character, alleged in *Pararaton*, viz. the king's childlike faith in the goodness of others, e.g. Jayakatvang and Vīrarāja, even when they deserved it least, may not be absolutely unfounded. A religious enthusiasm, which almost bordered on fanaticism, is hardly compatible with a true discernment of men and things. We can well believe that the king, engrossed in his books and keenly busy with his religious practices, had hardly any time or capacity to look around and keep a vigilant eye on the possible disturbing factors of the kingdom. His implicit trust in others gave him a false idea of security. Heedless of the impending dangers that threatened him on all sides, he wildly pursued his imperial and religious activities and rushed headlong towards destruction. Thus it was that his ruin was brought about by precisely those traits in his life and career which rendered him so high and noble in the estimation of some. It was this paradox and contradictory elements in his

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life that is mainly responsible for such radically different pictures of king Kṛitanagara as have been preserved to us by our two chief authorities, *Pararaton* and *Nāgara-Kṛitāgama*.

In concluding the account of king Kṛitanagara we may refer to the very brief but interesting account of his kingdom contained in the writings of Marco Polo (1292 A.D.). The Venetian traveller describes Java as a prosperous kingdom under a great king. It was very rich and noted for its trade and commerce.

### V. THE FOUNDATION OF MAJAPAHIT

With the death of Kṛitanagara, the kingdom of Singhasāri fell to pieces, and Jayakatvang established the supremacy of Kaḍiri. The success of Jayakatvang may be viewed in different lights. To the family of Kṛitanagara he, no doubt, appeared as a usurper and traitor. But it is also possible to regard him as having restored the supremacy of Kaḍiri, which had been lost nearly seventy years ago, after a glorious existence of about two centuries. Whatever that may be, his success was shortlived. The danger which overwhelmed him and his kingdom at no distant date arose from two sources, *viz.*, prince Vijaya, who commanded the northern forces of Singhasāri at the time of the catastrophe; and secondly, the dreaded Mongol chief Kublai Khan, who was provoked beyond measure by the cruel offence of Kṛitanagara as mentioned above.

It has been already mentioned that when the forces of Kaḍiri invaded the kingdom of Singhasāri from the north, king Kṛitanagara sent all his available troops against them under his two sons-in-law, Princes Vijaya and Ardharāja. After three brilliant victories over the army of Kaḍiri Vijaya naturally thought that the enemy was totally routed. Then followed a strange reverse. Suddenly a new Kaḍirian army appeared to the east, and Ardharāja, the colleague of Vijaya, deserted the royal cause. The army of Vijaya suffered a serious reverse and he fell back. There is no doubt that this crisis was the result of the fall of Singhasāri and death of king Kṛitanagara. The southern Kaḍirian army which had accomplished this task must have now been released to assist the northern troops, and Ardharāja, the son of Jayakatvang,

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naturally deserted the cause of his dead father-in-law, and joined his successful and victorious father.

The position of Vijaya was rendered hopeless. With six hundred men that now remained with him he proceeded northwards, and after great difficulties and privations, reached Madura with only twelve followers.

Vijaya went to Madura, as he hoped to find an ally in its governor Vīrarāja, who owed everything to the late king Kṛitanagara. He was, of course, ignorant of the treasonable correspondence between Vīrarāja and Jayakatvang. Vīrarāja, astounded at first by the sight of Vijaya, soon collected himself and received Vijaya with all outward signs of honour. Vijaya made a passionate appeal to him: "Vīrarāja, my father," said he, "my obligations to you indeed are very great. If I ever succeed in attaining my object, I shall divide Java into two parts; one part will be yours and one part will be mine." This bait was too much for Vīrarāja. This arch-conspirator now betrayed Jayakatvang and entered into a conspiracy with Vijaya.

Vīrarāja's plan was in short as follows:

Vijaya should submit to Jayakatvang and ingratiate himself into the favour of the latter. As soon as he had sufficient influence with the king he should ask for a piece of waste land near Trik where the people from Madura would establish a settlement. As soon as Vijaya could gather sufficient information about the men and things in Kaḍiri, he would ask for leave to settle in the new region, and gather there his own trusty followers from Singhasāri and all the discontented elements from Kaḍiri.

The plan was admirably carried out. A new settlement sprang up, and as one of the settlers tasted a Maja (*Vilva*) fruit and threw it away as bitter (*pahit*), it came to be called Majapahit or its Sanskrit equivalent "Vilva-tikta" or "Tikta-vilva." From his new home at Majapahit Vijaya sent word to Vīrarāja that everything was ready. But before they could achieve anything Java was invaded by the army of Kublai Khan.

It has already been mentioned how Kṛitanagara had provoked the wrath of the great Kublai Khan by mutilating the face of his envoy. In order to avenge this insult the emperor organised an expedition against Java. In 1293 A.D., the

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expedition reached the port of Tuban on the northern coast of E. Java. There the Chinese army was divided into two parts. Half the army marched overland, and the other half went by sea to the mouth of the Solo river and from there to the Surabaya river.

Vijaya, who had already established himself at Majapahit, thought of utilising the Chinese expedition to his advantage. He immediately offered his submission and sent his Prime Minister with fourteen other officials to meet the Chinese army.

Jayakatvang, on the other hand, made preparations to defend his country. He sent his Prime Minister Hi-ning-kuan, with a flotilla of boats, to guard the mouth of the Surabaya river, and himself advanced against Majapahit.

The Chinese army reached the Surabaya river and completely defeated the hostile fleet, guarding the mouth of the river. Hi-ning-kuan left his boat and fled overnight, whereupon more than a hundred large ships were captured. This took place on the first day of the third month in 1293 A.D.

After this naval victory the Chinese leaders advanced to Majapahit to assist Vijaya against Jayakatvang. On the seventh day the soldiers of Kadiri arrived from three sides to attack Vijaya, but they were defeated.

Majapahit was saved, but the main army of the king of Kadiri was still at large. So, on the 15th, the Chinese army was divided into three bodies, in order to attack Kadiri.

On the 19th they (*i.e.* the different divisions of the army) arrived at Daha, the capital of Kadiri, where Jayakatvang defended himself with more than a hundred thousand soldiers. The battle lasted from 6 A.M. till 2 P.M. and three times the attack was renewed, when the Kadirian army was defeated and fled; several thousand thronged into the river and perished there, whilst more than 5,000 were slain. The king retired into the inner city which was immediately surrounded by the Chinese army. In the evening Jayakatvang came out of the fortress and offered his submission. His wife, his children and officers were taken by the victors, who then went back.

Jayakatvang's son had fled to the mountains, but a Chinese general went into the interior with a thousand men and brought him back a prisoner.

In the meantime, Vijaya asked for permission to return

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to his country, in order to prepare a new letter of submission to the Emperor, and to take the precious articles in his possession for sending them to the imperial court. On the 2nd day of the 4th month Vijaya left the Chinese camp, and the Chinese generals sent two officers with 200 men to accompany him.

Vijaya, having got rid of Jayakatvang, had no more need of his Chinese allies, and wanted to get rid of them. He killed his Chinese escort on the 19th, and having collected a large force, attacked the imperial army on its way back from Kaḍiri. The Chinese generals fought bravely against him and threw him back, though not without great loss.

The Chinese generals now thought of carrying on the war against Vijaya, but one of them, Yi-ko-mu-su, wished to do as the emperor had ordered them, and first send a messenger to the court. The two others could not agree to this; therefore the troops were withdrawn and on the 24th day of the 4th month they returned with their prisoners and the envoys of the different smaller States which had submitted. Jayakatvang and his son were killed by the Chinese before they left Java. With the death of Jayakatvang the shortlived kingdom of Kaḍiri came to an end.

Thus ended the strange episode of the Chinese invasion of Java. They came to punish Kṛitanagara, but really helped the restoration of his family by killing his enemy Jayakatvang. The net result of the expedition was to make Vijaya the undisputed master of Java with Majapahit as its capital. He soon re-established the friendly relations with the Chinese emperor. For we find embassies from Java at the imperial court in 1297, 1298, 1300 and 1308 A.D.

## VI. THE JAVANESE EMPIRE

Vijaya assumed the name of Kṛitarājasa Jayavardhana after his accession to the throne. Majapahit, which played such an important role in the recent happenings, became the capital of the new king, who rightly proclaimed himself, in the record of 1294 A.D., as the master of the whole of Java. Although the capital was changed, the new kingdom may justly be regarded as the continuation of the kingdom of Singhasāri, with a short break of two years, due to the assumption of royal authority by

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Jayakatvang. For Kṛitarājasa combined in himself various claims to be regarded as the rightful heir to the throne of Singhasāri. He was not only descended from the old royal family, but had also married four daughters of the late king Kṛitanagara who had no male issue. Although Kṛitarājasa ruled by his own right, the daughters of Kṛitanagara probably also exercised some royal authority derived from their father. This would explain why the royal power was assumed, a few years after Kṛitarājasa's death, by the youngest of his queens, who ruled not as dowager-queen or queen-mother, but on her own right as daughter of Kṛitanagara. The name of this queen was Gāyatrī, though she is usually referred to as Rājapatnī, the queen *par excellence*. By her the king had two daughters, but the three other queens had no issue.

Kṛitarājasa had a fifth queen, a princess of Malayu. This kingdom in Sumatra had been already conquered by Kṛitanagara. As soon as the Javanese army of occupation at Malayu heard of the catastrophic end of their king, they must have naturally made preparations to return. They reached Java ten days after Vijaya had finally triumphed over the Chinese army and brought with them two princesses of Malayu. The younger, Dara-Petaḥ, also known as Indreśvarī, was married by Kṛitarājasa. Dara-Petaḥ bore a son to Kṛitarājasa, and the boy was heir-presumptive to the throne. In 1295 Kṛitarājasa anointed the son, named Jayanagara, as the prince of Kaḍiri.

The reign of Kṛitarājasa was full of troubles. It appears that the first rebellion broke out in 1295 A.D. The leader of this, Rangga Lawe, aspired to the office of Prime Minister, but having failed in his object, organised a rebellion at Tuban. He was joined by a number of persons, but the rebellion was soon subdued, and Rangga Lawe perished with most of his followers. Then came the turn of Vīrarāja. He was indeed the highest dignitary in the court, enjoying large grants of land in the eastern corner of Java, but this was a poor compensation for half the kingdom of Java which the king had promised him in his dark days of exile and penury.

He followed the policy which he had suggested to Vijaya. He ingratiated himself into the favour of the king and then asked for leave to settle in Lumayang. There he declared himself independent and never came back to Majapahit, not

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even at the time of the official *Durbar* of the eighth month. The king put up with it and there was no open fight. Next came the turn of Nambi, the son of Vīrarāja, and one of the few companions of Vijaya during his flight. He took leave to see his father who was ill. He then established himself at Lembah, built a fort there, and collected an army.

Another companion of old days, Sora, rebelled against the king, who subdued him after two years' fight (1298-1300). Then Juru Demung, a partisan of Soro, revolted in 1302, but was not finally defeated till 1313 A.D.

Kṛitarājasa died in 1309 and was succeeded by his son, Jayanagara, who assumed the name Sundarapāṇḍyadevādhīśvara Vikramottuṅgadeva—a name which recalls some association with the Pāṇḍya Kingdom in South India.

The new king, also, was troubled by a series of revolts. Vīrarāja died in 1311 and the revolt of Nambi was finally suppressed in 1316. There were several other revolts, but the most serious was that of Kuṭi in 1319. Kuṭi was one of the seven Dharmaputras who occupied a high position in the kingdom. The *Pararaton* has given us a long and romantic account of this rebellion. It is said that in course of this rebellion the king left his capital city and fled during night with only a body-guard of twenty-five men under the command of Gajah Mada who was destined to become famous at no distant date. Gajah Mada returned to the capital and reported that the king was killed by Kuṭi's men. This caused a great sorrow in the capital. Gajah Mada concluded from this that the people were yet attached to the king and did not like Kuṭi. Thereupon he divulged the secret to the ministers, who killed Kuṭi, and the king was restored to the throne.

Gajah Mada was suitably rewarded for his services. He first became governor of Kaḥuripan, and, after two years, that of Daha, and he remained in this post till he became Prime Minister. The rebellion of Kuṭi in 1319 was the last organised attempt against the central authority, which was now firmly established.

We have a short reference to Java about this time in the writings of Odoric of Pordenone who visited the archipelago in 1321. He says that the king of Java exercises suzerainty over seven other kings, the land is very populous and produces spices,

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and that the palace is decorated with gold, silver and precious stones.

The political greatness of Java is also reflected in an inscription of 1323 A.D. It refers to the kingdom as comprising the whole of Java and includes among its foreign possessions Madura, Borneo etc. Thus although Java might have lost its influence in the west, its political supremacy in the east was yet unimpaired. Java also maintained good relations with China and sent regular embassies.

According to the story of *Pararaton* the closing years of Jayanagara were again full of troubles and he was assassinated in 1328 A.D. A part of the group of temples at Panataran was built during his reign.

As Jayanagara left no male heir, the nearest female heiress was 'Rājapatnī,' mentioned above, *viz.* the daughter of Kṛitanagara, and the widow of Kṛitarājasa. As she had adopted the life of a Buddhist nun, her eldest daughter Tribhuvanottungadevī Jayavishṇuvardhanī acted as regent for her mother. She was known to posterity as the princess of Jīvana or Kahuripan (Bhre Kahuripan), a title which she bore probably before, and certainly after her period of regency. During the regency she was called the queen of Majapahit, while her son, the heir-presumptive to the throne, bore the title, 'Prince of Jīvana.' Her personal name appears to be Gītārjjā.

In 1331, Sadeng and Keta revolted against the regent. These places were in the neighbourhood of Besuki. The revolts were put down by the royal troops. During the same year Gajah Mada, the governor of Daha already mentioned above, became the Prime Minister. From this time Gajah Mada played a prominent part in the Government, and is credited with the conquest of a number of islands in the archipelago. An expedition was sent against the island of Bali in 1343 A.D., and it was thoroughly subdued. A process of Javanisation of the island began, and it was intensified during the next reign.

In 1350 died queen Rājapatnī. Prince Hayam Wuruk, the son of the regent Tribhuvanottungadevī, came to the throne in 1350, on the death of his grandmother Rājapatnī. He was then only sixteen years old. His coronation name was Rājasanagara, though he is generally referred to by his old name Hayam Wuruk.



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The first notable incident in the reign of the king was his marriage with a Sunda princess in 1357 A.D. After the preliminary negotiations about the match were settled, the king of Sunda, called Mahārāja, came to Bubat near Majapahit with his daughter. A difference, however, soon arose. The Sundanese king desired that the daughter should be treated on an equal footing, and the marriage ceremony should be as between equals. The Majapahit court, on the other hand, regarded the Sundanese king as subordinate and wanted to celebrate the marriage as between a suzerain king and his feudatory. The Sundanese would not tolerate this indignity and refused to give up the princess. Thereupon the Majapahit troops surrounded the whole party. The nobles of Sunda preferred death to dishonour, and after brave fight, perished to a man.

The aggressive policy towards Sunda in 1357 was merely an indication of the strong imperialism which was to distinguish the period of Rājasanagara. During the same year a military expedition was sent against the island of Dampo, which was crowned with complete success. Although details of further conquest are lacking, there is scarcely any doubt that during the reign of this king the kingdom of Java rose to be the supreme political power in the Archipelago, and established its suzerainty in almost all the principal islands and a large portion of the Malay Peninsula. It is not to be supposed, however, that all these foreign possessions were directly administered by, and formed part and parcel of, the Javanese kingdom. But the king of Majapahit was regarded as the suzerain power by all of them, and his mighty fleet maintained his hold upon their rulers, excluding effectually the active exercise of any authority by other powers. The rulers of these subordinate States owed allegiance to him and paid tributes or other dues as agreed upon, although they were left free and independent in matters of internal administration of their States.

A detailed list of such subordinate States is given in the poem *Nāgara Kṛitāgama*, which was composed in 1365 A.D., during the reign of this king. The long list shows the hegemony of nearly the whole of Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago under the kingdom of Majapahit in Java, the only notable exception being the Philippines. Roughly speaking, the empire comprised the pre-war Dutch possessions in the East Indies,

with the addition of Malay Peninsula, but excluding, perhaps, northern Celebes. Other evidences also indicate that by the year 1365 A.D., when the *Nāgara Kṛitāgama* was composed, Java reached the height of her political greatness and established her unquestioned supremacy over Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago. She also occupied a position of international importance. The *Nāgara Kṛitāgama* refers to the intimate and friendly intercourse of Majapahit with the neighbouring States such as Siam with Ayodhyāpura (Ayuthiya), Dharmanagarī (Ligor), Martaban, Rājapura, Singhanagarī, Champā, Kāmboja and Yavana (North Viet Nam).

It also refers to a number of countries, including some of those just mentioned, which had trade relations with Majapahit, and from which Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas visited the Javanese capital. Thus we read: "There came unceasingly, in large numbers, people from all lands such as Jambudvīpa, Kāmboja, Chīna, Yavana, Champā, Karṇāṭaka, Gauḍa, and Siam. They came in ships with merchandise. Monks and distinguished Brāhmaṇas also came from these lands and were entertained." Jambudvīpa, of course, refers to India, while Karṇāṭaka and Gauḍa are specifically mentioned, probably to indicate a closer intimacy with Bengal and Kaṇṇaḍa districts. The Javanese had indeed a high regard for India, for in one verse (83.2) the *Nāgara Kṛitāgama* says that Jambudvīpa and Java are the good lands *par excellence*. The intimate relation between the two countries is also indicated by the fact that laudatory poems in honour of the Javanese king were written by the monk Budhāditya of Kāñchī (Conjeeveram) and the Brāhmaṇa named Mutali Sahṛidaya, probably a Tamil Brāhmaṇa.

It thus appears from all accounts that the reign of Rājasa-nagara witnessed the high-water mark of the power and glory of Java. In view of the increase in power and responsibility of the empire, we find a thorough organisation of the administrative machinery to cope with the new and heavy task. There is hardly any doubt that the credit for this, to a large extent, belonged to Gajah Mada. He had risen from a humble position to be the Prime Minister of the empire and brought to his task an unusual degree of devotion and skill. When Gajah Mada died in 1364, no other Prime Minister was appointed as his successor. The king, his father, mother, uncle, aunt, and his two

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sisters with their husbands formed a sort of inner royal council which kept the chief direction of affairs in its hands.

In 1371, however, we find a new Prime Minister appointed. This was Gajah Enggom, who served for the remaining eighteen years of Rājasanagara's reign, and continued in the post under the next king till his death in 1398.

### VII. THE DOWNFALL OF THE EMPIRE

King Rājasanagara had a long and prosperous reign, and under him, as stated above, Majapahit became the seat of a vast empire. But he took an unwise step in his old age which was mainly instrumental in pulling down the vast imperial fabric reared up with so much care. In order to understand this fully we must have an idea of the royal family. The king had by his chief queen Parameśvarī only a daughter named Kusumavardhanī. The queen's sister, Ísvarī, called Princess of Pajang, had one daughter, called Nāgaravardhanī Princess of Vīrabhūmi, and a son called Vikramavardhana, Prince of Matarām. Vikramavardhana was married to the crown-princess Kusumavardhanī, and was thus the next heir to the throne. But king Rājasanagara had also a son by a concubine. In order to settle him well in life, the king had him married to Nāgaravardhanī. He thus became the Prince of Vīrabhūmi and was adopted by the Princess of Daha. In order to strengthen his position still further the king made him governor of the eastern part of Java. Although nominally under the authority of Majapahit, the Prince of Vīrabhūmi really exercised almost independent powers, so much so that the Chinese annals refer to two kings in Java even during the lifetime of king Rājasanagara, and both of them sent envoys to the imperial court. Thus were sown the seeds of a future civil war which was destined to pave the way for the final overthrow, not only of the kingdom of Majapahit, but also of the Hindu kingdom and Hindu culture in Java.

King Rājasanagara died in 1389 A.D., and Vikramavardhana, also known as Hyang Viśeṣha, succeeded him at Majapahit. As the Prince of Vīrabhūmi was ruling like an independent king in Eastern Java even during the lifetime of Rājasanagara, it may be easily presumed that the relation between the two States did not improve after the death of that king. It

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appears that as early as 1401 A.D., king Vikramavardhana was involved in a fight with the Prince of Vīrabhūmi, but the result was indecisive. War broke out again in 1404 or shortly before that. At first the fortune of war turned against Vikramavardhana, and he decided to retire. But then the two powerful chiefs of Java, Bhre Tumapel and Bhra Paramēśvara, son and son-in-law respectively of the king, came to his aid, though they had at first stood aloof. This proved decisive. The Prince of Vīrabhūmi was defeated and fled during night in a ship. He was, however, caught and put to death, and his head was brought to Majapahit in 1406 A.D.

The defeat and death of the Prince of Vīrabhūmi once more restored the unity of Java. But the internal dissensions for nearly a quarter of a century, ending in a disastrous civil war, must have taxed to the utmost the military and financial resources of the country and left it weak and exhausted. Its first fruits were seen in the loss of that political supremacy which Java had secured in Suvarṇadvīpa. Her position as suzerain power now passed over to China, and gradually new kingdoms and commercial centres arose, which were destined to overwhelm Java herself at no distant date.

With the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D., we can clearly perceive the decline of Java as an international power. This may be best explained by reviewing the position of a few kingdoms which had acknowledged the supremacy of Java in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.

1. *West Borneo (Pu-ni)*—In 1370 the king of Pu-ni at first did not dare to send even an envoy to China for fear of Java. But we read in the *History of the Ming Dynasty* that in 1405 he not only got investiture as king from the hands of the Chinese emperor, but even went with his whole family to China to pay respects to the emperor. Henceforth the kings of Pu-ni sent regular tributes to the imperial court, and some time even personally attended the court with their family.

2. *San-fo-tsi*—The same Chinese history tells us that although Java had completely conquered San-fo-tsi, she could not keep all the lands. Two States were established there with two Chinese adventurers at their head. Although they nominally admitted the suzerainty of Java, they sent regular tributes

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and envoys to the imperial court. In 1424 a king of San-fo-tsi even asked permission of the emperor to succeed his father. It is evident that from the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. Java exercised but little real authority in that country.

Similarly various small States in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula transferred their allegiance to China. This shows in a remarkable manner the change in the position of Java as an international power. Everything indicates that China was now by common consent the recognised suzerain. Java silently acquiesced in the new rôle of China and accommodated herself to the changed state of things.

The reign of Vikramavardhana or Hyang Viśeṣha was thus inglorious both at home and abroad. In addition to the disastrous civil war, Java suffered terribly from a volcanic eruption in 1411 and a great famine in 1426. A new Prime Minister, Kanaka, carried on the government from 1413 to 1430. The king died in or shortly before 1429 A.D.

After the death of Vikramavardhana probably his daughter Suhitā ascended the throne. She superseded her two brothers and this was presumably due to her high rank on the mother's side.

We know of no important events during the reign of Suhitā. She died childless in 1447 A.D., and was succeeded by Bhre Tumapel, probably the younger of her two brothers of that name. The king was called Śrī Kṛitavijaya, and died after an uneventful reign of four years (1451 A.D.).

The events immediately following the death of the king are not quite clearly intelligible from the account of the *Pararaton*. It appears that three kings ruled during the period between 1451 and 1478 when Java suffered from a foreign invasion. In 1486 there was a new ruling dynasty founded by Girīndravardhana Raṇavijaya, king of Daha, whose known date is 1486 A.D. Girīndravardhana Raṇavijaya is the last Hindu king of Java about whom we possess any authentic details. But the Hindu kingdom continued there for 30 or 40 years more before it was finally conquered by the Muhammadans. The last embassy from Java visited China in 1499, and the last definite trace of Hindu rule in Java may be dated 1513-15 A.D.

VIII. THE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

There are three Old-Javanese prose texts on the political theory and public administration, which hold up a high and noble political ideal.

1. *Kāmandaka*. An Old-Javanese text, in which Bhagavān Kāmandaka explains to his pupils the duties of the king. The book was also known as *Rājanīti*. The characters from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are cited as illustrations of the political principles. Yudhisṭhira, for example, is held up as an ideal.

2. *Indraloka*. In this book Bhagavān Indraloka gives lessons on politics to his pupil Kumārayajña.

3. *Nītipraya*. This book describes the duties of a king towards his enemy. It was communicated by Viṣṇu to Vyāsa.

The absolute power of the king formed the basis of State. No form of government other than an absolute monarchy is ever referred to, and there was never any idea, far less an attempt, to put any check upon the unrestrained power of the king. Indeed the king was often conceived as the incarnation of God, and thus the theory of divine right, which we find in a fully developed form in the *Manu-Saṃhitā*, had a complete sway in Java. This is further exemplified by the deification of kings after death. This was accomplished by making divine images on the model of the king's person, and always referring to the dead king as god (Bhaṭāra) of such and such a place, meaning thereby the place of his cremation.

The framework of administration followed the Indian model to a certain extent. The king was at the head of a State, but all large kingdoms were divided into smaller units, each under a governor appointed by the king, and the smallest unit was formed by a village which had some form of local self-government under a headman.

The king was surrounded by a large group of officials whose number and designation varied at different periods. The records of Eastern Java refer to a large number of officials. The names are mostly Javanese, but we have, besides Mantrī, also two other Indian designations, Senāpati (Commander-in-chief) and Senāpati Sarva-Jala *i.e.* admiral. These records also introduce a stereotyped form of government which continued,

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with slight changes and occasional modifications, throughout the Hindu period. Next to the king were three great Mantrīs, called Mantrī Hino, Mantrī Sirikan, and Mantrī Halu; and after them three chief executive officers, Rakryan Mapatih, Rakryan Demung, and Rakryan Kanuruhan. The former gradually became ornamental figures, while the chief powers passed to the Rakryans whose number was increased to five and occasionally even to seven.

Besides these high executive officials there were two other classes of important functionaries, viz., Dharmādhikaraṇas and Dharmādhyakshas. The Dharmādhikaraṇa, as in India, denoted judicial officer. The two Dharmādhyakshas were the Superintendent of the Śaiva institutions and the Superintendent of the Buddhist institutions.

On the whole, we must conclude that there was a highly organised and efficient system of bureaucratic administration in Java under an absolute monarch.

Finally, a word may be said regarding the administration of the empire. It appears that nowhere except in Bali was there any idea of direct administration from the capital city of Java. The dependent States were left free in respect of their own internal administration so long as they acknowledged the suzerainty of Majapahit and paid their taxes and other dues. The Bhujangas and Mantrīs from Majapahit visited these States to collect these dues, and the former possibly took advantage of this opportunity to make a supervision of religious endowments.