

CHAPTER IV

THE END OF HINDU RULE IN SUVARṆADVIPA

I. SUMATRA AND THE RISE OF ISLAM

The disintegration of the Śailendra empire loosened the bonds which united politically the petty States of Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. But there shortly arose a new power in Sumatra, which sought to rival the exploits of the decaying empire, and revive it on a new basis. This was Malayu, which is usually identified with Jambi in the eastern coast of Sumatra. The existence of this kingdom in the seventh century A.D., and its ultimate absorption by the neighbouring kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya, have already been noted above. Since then Malayu disappeared as a separate political unit until the eleventh century A.D., when it sent two embassies to China in 1079 and 1088 A.D. But in the thirteenth century it was conquered by the Javanese king Kṛitanagara. The tragic end of Kṛitanagara enabled Malayu to throw off the yoke of Java, and it soon felt powerful enough to enter into a contest with Siam for the possession of the petty States in the southern part of Malay Peninsula.

Thus the end of the thirteenth century A.D. saw the decline of the Śailendras and the rise of the new kingdom of Malayu which sought to occupy the position so long held by the former. As we have seen above, the new kingdom owed its existence to Java, and for a long time there was a close attachment between the two States. When the Javanese army retired from Malayu after the death of Kṛitanagara, two princesses of Malayu accompanied it to Java. One of them, Dara-Petak, was married to the Javanese king. The elder daughter, Dara-Jingga, married one 'Deva' and had by him a son named Tuhan Janaka who afterwards became king of Malayu. He was also known as Śrī Marmadeva and was probably the successor

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of Maulivarmadeva who was ruling in 1286 A.D., as a vassal of Kṛitanagara. The account of Marco Polo shows that in 1292 A.D. Malayu (Malaiur) was a flourishing kingdom and a prosperous centre of trade and commerce.

The next king of Malayu known to us is Ādityavarmadeva. Ādityavarman was a Tantrik Buddhist, and ruled for at least 28 years (1347-1375 A.D.) over a fairly extensive kingdom, which comprised the central portion of Sumatra and extended from the eastern to the western coast. According to the Javanese chronicle, *Nāgara-Kṛitāgama*, this kingdom of Malayu acknowledged the supremacy of the Javanese king. If that were so, it would really mean a sort of nominal allegiance. It is interesting to note that the Javanese poem refers to Sumatra by the general name of Malayu, and thus gives an indirect evidence of the supreme position of that kingdom in Sumatra.

The influence of Malayu, however, did not extend to Northern Sumatra. This was now divided into a number of petty States which paid a nominal allegiance, some time to Java, and some time to China, as suited their convenience, and were all the while engaged in internecine wars. This paved the way for the gradual establishment of Islam as a political power which was destined in the long run to overwhelm nearly the whole of Suvarṇadvīpa.

The first definite information of this changed political condition is obtained from the account of Marco Polo (1292 A.D.). Marco Polo calls the island "Java the less," and says that it had eight kingdoms and eight kings. Of these he gives detailed account of six kingdoms visited by him. Of the six kingdoms, Ferlec is undoubtedly Perlak on the north-east, and Lambri the same as Lamuri or Great Atjeh (Acheh) on the north-west. Two other kingdoms, named between them, viz. Basma and Samara, probably represent Pase and Samudra.

The kingdoms had their own kings, but all, except Ferlec, called themselves subjects of the Great Khan i.e. the Chinese emperor Kublai Khan. The subjection, however, was more nominal than real, as would appear from the following statement of Marco Polo: "They call themselves subjects of the Great Khan, but they pay him no tribute; indeed they are so far away that his men could not go thither. Still all these

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islanders declare themselves to be his subjects and sometimes they send curiosities as presents."

About Ferlec Marco Polo observes as follows:

"This kingdom is so much frequented by the Saracen merchants that they have converted the natives to the Law of Mahomet."

Thus Perlak was the only Muhammadan State in Sumatra in 1292 A.D. when Marco Polo visited the island. Within a few years another Muslim State was founded in Samudra, a petty kingdom which ultimately gave its name to the whole island.

In A.D. 1346 Ibn Batutah visited the kingdom of Samudra, which he calls Sumutra. He was welcomed by the Muhammadan ruler of the place, Sultan Malik az-Zāhir. Ibn Batutah describes him as one of the most illustrious and generous kings, but says nothing definite about the extent of his kingdom. But that there were Hindu kingdoms on all sides is quite clear from his statement that the Sultan frequently fought with and defeated the infidels who lived in the neighbourhood, and they paid him tribute for living in peace.

Ibn Batūtah's account shows the gradual spread of Islam as a political factor in northern Sumatra. There is no doubt that India, and not Arabia, served as the base from which the stream of colonisation carried the influence of Islam towards the Far East. An examination of the tombstones of the Sultans of Samudra-Pase reveals their close resemblance to those found in Gujarat, and there is hardly any doubt that they were imported from the latter place. We may thus presume a brisk trade activity between Gujarat and Sumatra, and this indirectly led to the furtherance of Islam in the Far East.

The importance of Sumatra as a centre of Islam was no doubt due to the fact that Pase (in Sumatra) had succeeded Kedah as the chief centre of trade. In the fifteenth century Malacca succeeded Pase and played the rôle of the leading Muslim State. After the fall of Malacca at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Acheen in northern Sumatra became the chief centre of trade and Islam.

II. THE RISE AND FALL OF MALACCA

Of the independent States in Malay Peninsula that rose into prominence about the beginning of the fifteenth century

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A.D., the most important was undoubtedly that of Malacca, which rapidly grew to be the leading commercial centre in that region. The early history of this kingdom is involved in obscurity. The following account given by Albuquerque may be regarded as generally true.

“There reigned a king Bataratamurel (Bhaṭāra Tumapel) in Java, and a king Parimisura (Parameśvara) in Palembang. As there were frequent fights between the two they came to an agreement. Parimisura married the daughter of the king of Java, called Parimisuri (Parameśvarī), and agreed to pay tribute to his father-in-law. He, however, soon repented of his decision, and refused to pay either homage or tribute to the king of Java. The king of Java thereupon invaded Palembang, and Parimisura, being defeated, fled with his wife, children and some escorts to Singapura (Singapore). It was then a large and wealthy city under Siam and its governor hospitably received the royal fugitive. Parimisura, however, killed his host and made himself master of the city. On hearing this news his former subjects of Palembang, numbering 3000, came to Singapore. Parimisura welcomed them and lived there for five years, pillaging, with his fleet, the ships that passed through the Strait of Singapore.

“Then Parimisura was attacked by the chief of Patani, brother of the governor of Singapore whom he had so foully murdered. Being defeated, Parimisura fled with his people to the mouth of the Muar river inhabited only by a few fishermen. About this time 20 or 30 fishermen invited him to settle in their village, which was very fertile and yielded all necessaries of life. Parimisura, being satisfied by an examination of the locality, removed there with his family. The pirates in the sea touched at this port to take water, and being aided and encouraged by Parimisura they came there to sell their stolen goods. Thus it grew to be a commercial centre, and in two years the population rose to 2000. Parimisura named the settlement Malacca. Gradually merchants from Pase (in Sumatra) and Bengal came to trade there, and its importance rapidly increased.”

According to another account, Parameśvara was a nobleman of Java and married the daughter of the king. On account of civil war in Java, he fled, about A.D. 1401, to Singapore, murdered his host after a few days, and was driven away in 1402 or 1403 A.D. Whichever version is true, it is generally agreed that Parameśvara ultimately settled in Malacca, some time about 1402 A.D., and paid tribute to Siam. He received a Chinese envoy in 1403, and two years later sent an embassy to the Emperor of China who appointed him the king of Malacca, and sent him rich presents. Other embassies were exchanged, and in 1411 Parameśvara himself went to China with his family and ministers—altogether 450 persons. He again visited China in 1414. In 1419 he went to China with

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his family and induced the Emperor to issue an order to the king of Siam not to pursue any aggressive designs against Malacca.

King Parameśvara* married a daughter of the king of Pasai, who had recently adopted the Islamic faith, and himself became a Musalman, either at the entreaty of his wife or at the persuasion of his father-in-law. He then assumed the title of Sekandar Shah.

Parameśvara or Sekandar Shah laid the foundations of the greatness of Malacca. He first of all tried to divert the trade centre from Singapore to Malacca. With this object he guarded the Straits of Malacca and neighbouring sea with a strong flotilla, and compelled the ships passing through it to take to Malacca instead of to Singapore. As it threatened complete ruin to the trade of Singapore, the king of Siam made preparations to fight. Sekandar, however, entered into an agreement with him. He acknowledged the suzerainty of Siam, and agreed to pay as tribute a sum equivalent to the revenues derived from Singapore. In return, all the islands from Singapore to Pulan Sembilan and the corresponding coastal region were ceded to Malacca. By this master-stroke of policy Sekandar Shah laid the foundation of the greatness of Malacca on the ruins of Singapore. He died in 1424 A.D.

Sekandar was succeeded by his son, Śrī Mahārāja, who ruled till A.D. 1444. His son and successor was named Rājā Ibrāhim at his birth, but later assumed the name Śrī Parameśvara Deva Shāh. This probably indicates a reversion to the Hindu faith. After a reign of two years he was killed in course of a palace revolution which placed on the throne his half-brother, born of a concubine, daughter of a Tamil Musalman merchant of Pasai. The new king, who assumed the name Muzaffar Shah, conquered Pahang, in the Malay Peninsula, and Kampar and Indragiri in Eastern Sumatra. When kings of Pahang and Indragiri revolted in the next reign, they were defeated and their tribute was doubled.

Muzaffar defeated the Siamese who attacked Malacca both by land and sea. He sent an embassy to China in 1456 and

* His son and successor, named Sekandar Shah, according to Albuquerque. But this is now generally discredited.

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was the first ruler of Malacca who was designated as Sultan by the Chinese and the Portuguese. The next king, Sultan Mansur, who ruled from 1459 to 1477, extended the power of Malacca still further, both in the Peninsula and in Sumatra. The kingdom was, however, convulsed by palace intrigues. Mansur was succeeded by a younger son through the influence of his maternal uncle, the Bendahara, an official who virtually wielded the supreme authority in the State. The new king, however, died mysteriously in 1488, and was succeeded by his younger brother Mahmud.

Mahmud began his reign well and completely defeated the fleet of Siam. But though he thus gave promise of a vigorous and prosperous reign, he was destined to bring his kingdom to utter ruin. The Sultan was addicted to opium and left the cares of government to his Bendahara and maternal uncle, Śrī Mahārāja Tun Mutahir. The term 'Bendahara,' perhaps derived from Sanskrit 'Bhāṇḍāgārika,' was the designation of a minister who had by this time practically usurped the royal power in Malacca.

In 1509, a few Portuguese ships arrived at Malacca. At first they were well received, but subsequently the Bendahara imprisoned twenty Portuguese and refused to set them at liberty. Most probably the Bendahara, himself a half-Tamil, did not like the Portuguese to be rivals of the Indian traders in Malacca. The local Gujarāti Muslims also "dreaded trespassers on their monopoly, and preached a holy war against the infidel, who came to contest their trade". After the departure of the Portuguese ships, the king quarrelled with the Bendahara and killed him. When the country was thus passing through a period of turmoil and confusion, Albuquerque reached Malacca with a strong fleet (July, 1511) to avenge the wrongs done to his countrymen. The Sultan conceded most of the demands of Albuquerque. He set the Portuguese prisoners at liberty and even granted permission to Albuquerque to build a fort. But the latter soon came to know of the internal condition of Malacca, and was joined by Timutarāja or Utimutarāja, the chief of the Javanese settlers in Malacca. Throwing aside all ideas of compromise Albuquerque invaded the city which surrendered in August. The unfortunate Sultan fled, at first to Pahang and then to Bintan. A few years later,

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he made an attempt to recover Malacca, but his efforts proved unsuccessful.

Thus perished a great and flourishing kingdom after a glorious career for about a century. Malacca was a strong centre of Hindu culture in the fifteenth century. The Tamil recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was translated into Malay, and Indo-Javanese culture remained a strong force even after the conversion of the rulers to Muslim faith. This was strengthened by the Tamil strain in the royal family and in one branch of the Bendaharas.

Malacca was not only the seat of a great political power, but also a big centre of trade and commerce. Its commercial importance is described in glowing terms by the Portuguese writers who saw it in its days of glory. Duarte Barbosa, writing at the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D, gives the following graphic account of its trade and commerce.

“Many Moorish (Muhammadan) merchants reside in it and also Gentiles (Hindu), particularly Chetis who are natives of Cholmendel (Coromandel coast): and they are all very rich and have many large ships, which they call jungos (junks). They deal in all sorts of goods in different parts, and many other Moorish and Gentile merchants flock thither from other countries to trade, some in ships of two masts from China and other places, and they bring thither (*here follow a long list of articles of merchandise*). There also come thither many ships from Java which have four masts. From this place many ships sail to the Molucca islands. . . . They also navigate to Fanasery (Tennasserim), Peygu (Pegu), Bengala (Bengal), Palecate (Pulicat), Cholmendel (Coromandel), Malabar, Cambay and Aden with all kinds of goods, so that this city of Malacca is the richest trading port and possesses the most valuable merchandise and most numerous shipping and extensive traffic, that is known in all the world. And it has got such a quantity of gold that the great merchants do not estimate their property, nor reckon otherwise than by *bahars* of gold, which are four *quintals* each *bahar*. There are merchants among them who will take up three or four ships laden with very valuable goods, and will supply them with cargo from their own property. . . . The king of Malacca has got much treasure, and a large revenue from the duties which he collects.”

In the Commentaries of Albuquerque we find a similar description of the commercial importance of Malacca as a trading centre between the east and the west, where the ships, coming from the eastern countries such as China, Java, Formosa, and other islands of the Archipelago, exchanged cargo with that coming from Northern Sumatra and different part in

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India and Arabia on the west. This city contained 100,000 souls and extended over a great length along the sea-coast.

Malacca played a very prominent part as a stronghold of Islam, and a centre of propaganda of that faith in the Far East. We have already seen how the first king married a Muhammadan lady and himself adopted the new faith. Although it is likely that he was followed by two Hindu kings, under his grandson, Muzaffar Shah, the new faith was rapidly extended, partly by force, and partly by persuasion. When he defeated the kings of Pahang, Kampur, and Indragiri, he converted them to Islam by force and married them to three daughters of his brother. A number of Muhammadan merchants from Gujarat and Persia settled in Malacca, and, with the patronage of the king, these became powerful instruments of conversion. The following passage in the account of Jean de Barros clearly indicates that Malacca was a strong proselytising centre of the new faith.

“At the instigation of the Moors of Persia and Gujarat who had settled at Malacca for purposes of trade, the people were converted to the sect of Muhammad. The conversion rapidly spread among different nations, and Islam began to be propagated, not only in the neighbourhood of Malacca, but also in Sumatra, Java and all the islands situated round these countries.”

There is thus no doubt that the wealth and the commercial importance of Malacca gave a great impetus to the cause of Islam in Suvarṇadvīpa, and must be regarded as the deciding factor in the almost complete triumph of that faith in Malay Peninsula.

The last Malay ruler of Malacca became the first ruler of Johor. By him and his descendants Islam was introduced into Johor, Riau and Lenggga. It is to be noted that almost all the present Sultans of Malay (outside Selangor) claim descent from Parameśvara, and they are all followers of Islam. Even as late as 1537 A.D., vestiges of Hindu culture remained in Malacca, and the people used to write with Indian letters.

III. THE END OF HINDU RULE IN JAVA

The accounts of the Chinese traveller Ma Huan (1416 A.D.) clearly indicate that while the Muhammadans formed an important colony in Java, mainly composed of foreign traders,

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permanently settled there, they had not as yet acquired any political power in the country.

It appears, however, from the Portuguese accounts that towards the close of the fifteenth century some of the harbours of Java were in the hands of Muhammadan chiefs, most probably Javanese converts. But they still recognised the authority of the Hindu king, and there is no reason to suppose that the latter had suffered much in power or prestige. In 1509 the great Sultan of Malacca was afraid of an invasion by the king of Java, a fact which testifies to the latter's power and command over the sea. But gradually Islam spread in the interior, by marriage relations and other peaceful means. Thus we find that the dethroned Muslim Chief of Pase, Zain-ul-Abedin, took refuge with the king of Java who was related to him. The royal family apparently also contained some converts to the new faith. By these means Islam got a firm hold on a small but influential community including a number of ruling chiefs, as well as members of royal family and high officials at court. When they felt themselves powerful enough, the members of the new faith naturally tried to oust the Hindu king as he steadily refused to give up his own religion. It seems to be almost certain, that the Hindu kingdom fell as a result of internal disruption brought on by the clash of religious beliefs, and not by any organised Muslim invasion from outside. The traditions even connect the new Muslim ruling dynasty with the old Hindu royal family, but this may or may not be true. The episode of Girīndravardhana (p. 69) makes it very doubtful whether Majapahit was still the chief seat of Hindu authority. Even if it were so, it is by no means certain that the fall of Majapahit meant the downfall of the Hindu authority in Java. The Hindu king fought bravely against his own kith and kin who had adopted the new faith and wanted to seize the political authority. Even after the loss of Majapahit, he held out for some time in the eastern part of Java, and only a second defeat compelled him to leave Java and seek shelter in Bali. This took place about 1522 A.D.

The Muhammadan conquest of Majapahit was followed shortly by that of Sunda. It is clear from the Portuguese accounts that the Hindu kingdom of Sunda was overthrown by the coastal Muhammadan chiefs between 1522 and 1526

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A.D. The king and nobles of Madura thereupon voluntarily accepted the new faith.

The overthrow of Majapahit and Sunda dealt a death-blow to the Hindu culture and civilisation which had flourished in Java for well-nigh fifteen hundred years. Hindu civilisation, and even Hindu rule, however, did not vanish altogether, but maintained a desperate struggle for existence in the outlying regions, in the east as well as in the west. In the east, the regions around and beyond mount Smeroe (Sumeru) offered the Hindus a safe retreating place. According to a Portuguese account, the Muhammadan besiegers of Pasuruhan were forced to retreat in the middle of the sixteenth century. Even as late as 1600 A.D. Balambangan was an independent Hindu State, and remained as such for nearly two hundred years more.

But although these petty States kept alive the traditions of Hindu rule in Java, the main currents of Hindu culture now shifted to the east, and flowed freely only in the island of Bali, where the royal family and the aristocracy fled with a considerable element of the well-to-do people in Java. That island now possesses the unique distinction of preserving the old Hindu culture and civilisation, while in Java the old monuments alone remain to tell the tale of its past glory and grandeur.

IV. THE BALI ISLAND

Recent investigations clearly prove that Bali was a Hindu colony with a distinct culture of its own, derived directly from India, and it was in no way a mere offshoot of the Indo-Javanese colony or civilisation. The fact that the language of the old inscriptions is Old-Balinese, and not Old-Javanese, is enough to discredit the generally accepted view that Bali derived its Hindu culture through Java, and we must regard the Hindu colony in that island as developing independently, and side by side with that of Java and other islands in Suvarṇadvīpa. There is no doubt that Java often established her authority over Bali. King Sañjaya of Java in the 8th century, as mentioned above (p. 44), claimed to have conquered Bali, and there were similar conquests in later times which must have established a close association between the two neighbouring islands.

The first historical king of Bali, definitely known to us, is

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Kesarīvarmadeva whose only known date is 914 A.D. The next king is Ugrasena (915-942 A.D.). Then follow kings Tabanendravaradeva and Chandrabhayasinghavarmadeva with dates 955 and 960 A.D., respectively. We next hear of king Janasādhuvarmadeva, ruling in A.D. 975, and queen Śrī-Vijaya-mahādevī ruling in 984.

Not long after this, the island of Bali was conquered by the Javanese king Dharmavaṁśa, and ruled over by Udayana and Mahendradattā, as noted above. This introduced a new epoch in the cultural history of Bali. Henceforth Indo-Javanese culture made a deep impress upon that of Bali, so much so that the culture and civilisation of Bali after 1022 has been regarded as Old-Javanese in character.

The catastrophe that overwhelmed Java in A.D. 1006 enabled Bali to overthrow the yoke of that country some time about 1022. We know of several independent rulers of Bali whose names are given below with the extreme dates, so far known: Dharmavaṁśa-varadhana Marakata-panghajasthānot-tuṅgadeva (1022-26), Anak Wungsu (1050-78), and Sakalendakiraṇa (1098). The last-named king may be identical with Śūrādhīpa whose known dates cover the period 1115 to 1119 A.D. All these kings probably belonged to the family of Air-lingga. Another king, Jayaśakti, ruled at least from 1146 to 1150 A.D. Other known kings are Jayapangus (1178-1181), Sakalendu (1201), Adikuntiketana (1204), his son Parameśvara Śrī Virāma (1204), and Parameśvara Śrī Hyang ning hyang Adilañchana, ruling in 1250 A.D. But during the reign of Kṛitanagara Java again found means to subdue the neighbouring island. A military expedition was sent to Bali in 1284 A.D. and its king was brought a prisoner before Kṛitanagara.

For more than half a century after the tragic end of Kṛitanagara Bali remained an independent State. With the growth of the empire of Majapahit attempt was made to re-establish the supremacy of Java over Bali. The king of Bali strove hard to maintain his independence, but he was totally routed in 1343 and his kingdom was added to the growing empire of Majapahit.

From this time Bali formed an integral part of the empire. The Majapahit conquest of Bali carried still further the process of Javanisation of that island which had already begun

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in the 11th century A.D. Henceforth, the two islands were very closely associated both in politics and culture. Bali formed a centre of Javanese literary life, which grew in importance in the same proportion in which it declined in Java itself. Bali carried on and developed the traditions of Java, first as a dependency of Majapahit, and then as an independent Javanese kingdom.

For, as we have seen above, the king of Majapahit, unable to withstand the onrush of Islam, took refuge in Bali with his followers. His example was followed by a large number of Javanese who found in migration to Bali the only means to save their religion and culture. Bali thus received a strong influx of Javanese element, and became the last stronghold of Indo-Javanese culture and civilisation, a position which it still happily maintains. It has not only contributed to the further development of Indo-Javanese culture, but has also preserved from oblivion much of it which Java herself lost as a result of conversion to the Muhammadan faith.

The subsequent history of Bali may thus be regarded as merely a continuation of Majapahit. Indeed, the popular notion in this respect is so strong, that most of the inhabitants of Bali style themselves, with pride, as Wong Majapahit or men of Majapahit. Only a few primitive tribes, scattered in hilly regions, are called, by way of contrast, 'Bali aga' or indigenous people of Bali.

The later history of the island may be briefly told. A prince of the royal family of Majapahit made himself overlord of the island. He assumed the title Deva-agung Ketut, and restored peace and order in the country. He chose Gelgel as his capital, and there his successors ruled till the end of the seventeenth century A.D., when the town was destroyed by the people of Karangasem, and the capital was removed to Klungkung.

Among the kings of Gelgel, Batu-Renggong occupies a prominent place. He ruled in the third quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. In addition to the whole of Bali, he ruled over Sasak and Sambawa, and a considerable part of Balambangan.

The death of Batu-Renggong was followed by a period of unrest and revolutions in course of which Bali lost all her foreign possessions. Balambangan proved the bone of conten-

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tion between Bali and Matarām, and in 1639 the king of Matarām invaded Bali. The invasion proved unsuccessful, and Bali retained its hold upon Balambangan, until the latter passed into the hands of the Dutch towards the close of the eighteenth century.

From the very beginning of this period the kingdom of Bali was divided into several districts, each being placed under a governor. These governors gradually assumed an independent position, so that in the eighteenth century Bali was practically divided into nine autonomous States, till the Dutch conquered them all and established their supremacy over the whole island. This conquest of Bali did not, however, prove to be an easy task. The Dutch suzerainty was first acknowledged by the Balinese in 1839, but many expeditions were necessary before the Dutch could finally curb the independent spirit of the ruling chiefs. In 1908, the Deva-agung of Klungkung, the last heir of the Emperors of Majapahit, made a final effort to free himself from the foreign yoke. Even when his palace was besieged by the Dutch, and there was no hope of success, he refused with scorn the offer of his enemy to save his life and family by an unconditional surrender. Remembering the proud examples of his Kshatriya forefathers, he seized the sacred sword, and boldly rushed out with his nobles, wives and children to meet with an end worthy of his race. Klungkung fell, and the remaining warlike elements of the place were interned at Lombok. In 1911, Klungkung was formally incorporated in the Dutch empire, and with that the Hindu rule in Bali came to an end.

CHAPTER V

PROGRESS OF HINDU CIVILISATION IN SUVARNADVIPA

I. SOCIETY

The fundamental basis of the Hindu society, and one which distinguishes it from all other known societies, is the system of caste. That this was introduced in Java, Madura and Sumatra is clear from the occurrence of the word *caturvarṇa* in early records, and frequent reference to the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras in literature and inscriptions. This caste system, however, was not the same as is prevalent in Hindu society to-day, but, rather as it was in earlier times, such, for example, as we find depicted in the *Manu-Saṁhitā*.

In order to convey an idea of the caste-system after its transplantation in the distant colonies, we can do no better than draw a picture of the system as it prevails to-day among the Balinese of Bali and Lombok.

The people are divided into four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vesya (Vaiśya), and Śūdra. The first three castes are twice-born (*dvijāti*), while the Śūdras are *ekajāti* (once-born).

Marriage among different castes is prevalent, but while a man can marry a girl of his own or lower caste, a woman can only marry one of equal or higher caste. The union between a woman with a man of lower caste is punishable by death. The children of mixed marriages belong to the caste of the father, though they differ in rank and status according to the caste of their mother.

The Brāhmaṇas are divided into two broad classes according as they are worshippers of Śiva or Buddha. The first is again sub-divided into five groups, originating mainly from the marriage with lower castes.

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The Kshatriyas are also sub-divided into five classes. Some, but not all the royal families in Bali belong to this caste. Their usual title is 'Deva' for the man and 'Desak' (*Skt. Dāsī?*) for the woman.

Among the third caste, the Vaiśyas, the Aria (*Ārya?*) forms the chief group to which belong the royal families in Bali who are not Kshatriyas.

The Śūdras, known generally as Kaulas, are not despised as impure or untouchable. The different castes are not tied down to specific occupations; for example, men of all castes take to agriculture. The Śūdras, in addition to agriculture, also follow other arts and crafts.

In Bali, we meet with another characteristic feature of ancient Indian caste-system, *viz.*, the privileges enjoyed in law courts by the higher caste. Here, again, for the same offence, the law lays down punishment in inverse ratio to the superiority of the caste of the offender, and in direct ratio to that of the offended.

As to the superiority, although the four castes hold a relative position similar to that in India, the ruling princes, be they of Kshatriya or Vaiśya caste, are regarded as superior to their Brāhmaṇa subjects. This is due to the theory that kings are representatives of God. It must be noted, however, that although superior, even a king cannot marry a Brāhmaṇa girl. In practice, however, even this is done by legal subterfuge. "Mr. Zollinger, in his interesting account of Lombok, gives an example. The young Raja of Matarām in that island, a Balinese, fell in love with the daughter of the chief Deva. In order to possess her, friendly legal ceremony became necessary. The Brāhmaṇa went through the form of expelling his daughter from his house, denouncing her as a 'wicked daughter.' She was then received into the Raja's house as a Vaiśya and became a princess."

Two other social institutions in Bali may be referred to in connection with the caste system. First, the *Satī* or the burning of a widow along with the body of her dead husband. This is forbidden in the case of the Śūdras, and in late periods came to be confined only to royal families. There were two kinds of self-immolation. In one case the wife first killed herself by the *Kris* (sword) and then her body was placed on the funeral pyre;

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in the other case the wife jumped into the funeral pyre. Sometimes even the slaves and concubines of the dead also perished with him.

Secondly, we may refer to the slaves as forming a distinct class in society. Slavery may be due to one of the following circumstances: (1) birth, (2) non-payment of debt or fines, (3) imprisonment in war, or (4) poverty. Although severely punished for crimes or attempts to escape, the lot of a slave is on the whole tolerable.

In general, the position of a woman in Java seems to have been much better than in India, so far as the political rights were concerned. Gunapriyā Dharmapatnī ruled in her own right, and in the official record her name was placed before that of her husband. The records of Airlangga show that a lady named Śrī Sangrāmavijaya Dharmaprasādottunga-devī occupied the post of 'rakryan Mahāmantri i hino', next only to that of the king. Rājapatnī succeeded Jayanagara, and her eldest daughter acted as regent for her although this daughter had a son. Again, we know that after the death of Vikramavardhana, his daughter Suhitā ascended the throne although she had two brothers. It is also interesting to note that on ceremonial occasions, such as the establishment of a freehold, the wives of officials are stated in the inscriptions to have received presents from the king along with their husbands.

There does not appear to have been any *pardah* system in vogue, and the women freely mixed with men. This is evident from literature as well as present-day customs in Bali. Women could choose their own husbands, and we find actual reference to *Svayamvara* in the case of princess Bhreng Kahuripan. There seems to be no restriction as to the degree of relationship within which marriage relation was prohibited. The case of Aji Jayanagara shows that even marriage with a step-sister was not forbidden.

The details of marriage ceremony in Java may be gathered from the following description:

"When a man marries, he goes first to the house of the bride to conclude the marriage, and three days afterwards he brings his wife home, on which occasion the relations of the bridegroom beat copper drums and gongs, blow on cocoanut shells, beat drums made of bamboo, and burn fireworks, whilst a number of men armed with small swords surround them. The bride has hair hanging loose, the upper part of her body and feet

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naked; round her waist a piece of green flowered cloth is fastened; on her head she wears strings of golden beads, and on the wrists bracelets of gold and silver nicely ornamented."

Some of the Chinese accounts testify to a very high degree of conjugal love and fidelity. In *Hsing-Cha Sheng-lan* (15th century A.D.) occurs the following passage about the people of Ma-yi-tung which has been identified with Banka.

"They highly value chastity, and when a husband dies, his wife cuts her hair, lacerates her face and does not eat for seven days, sleeping all the time together with the dead body of her husband. Many die during this time, but if one survives after seven days, her relations exhort her to eat; she may then live, but never marries again. On the day that the husband is burned, many wives throw themselves into the fire and die also."

The king occupied an exalted position and was sometimes regarded as divine. From a very early period the king imitated the grandeur and luxury of the Indian Court.

The residence of the king and the nobles was built of brick and wood, sometimes covered by Chinese tiles, while the dwellings of the people were mostly bamboo cottages covered with straw, the walls being filled in with leaves, and the poles fastened with rattan. Rice formed the ordinary article of food, at least in Java. Another Indian characteristic was the chewing of betel. They drank wine made from flowers, cocoanuts (probably palm-tree), *penang* or honey.

The people had various amusements to enjoy their lives. Gambling seems to have been widely prevalent. The people of San-fo-tsi played *pa-kui*, chess, and arranged cock-fight, in all cases staking money. Cock-fighting was also a favourite pastime in Java. More innocent amusements were trips to mountains or rivers. We are told about Java:

"In the fifth month they go in boats for their amusement, and in the tenth month they repair to the mountain to enjoy themselves there. They have mountain ponies which carry them very well, and some go in mountain chairs."

The women of Java had their own modes of enjoyment.

"On every fifteenth and sixteenth day of the month, when the moon is full and the night is clear, the native women form themselves into troops of 20 or 30, one woman being the head of them all, and so they go arm in arm to walk in the moonshine; the head woman sings one line of native song and the others afterwards fall in together; they go to the houses of their relations and of rich and high people when they are rewarded with copper cash and such things. This is called "making music in the moonshine."

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Music seems to have been fairly cultivated all over Suvarnadvīpa. Dancing has always been a very popular entertainment in Java. Sometimes even princesses are described as proficient in the art of dancing.

The most important amusement was the *Wayang* or shadow-play which originated in Java. It still forms one of the most interesting and unique forms of amusements in Java, Bali, Lombok, Malay Peninsula, and other places.

The Javanese have several kinds of theatrical performances. First, the ordinary kind, in which the dramatic characters are represented by men. The only feature that deserves special notice herein is that the actors wear masks except when they perform before their sovereign. Secondly, the *Wayang* proper. Although the term *Wayang* is now used for theatre in general, it technically means a shadow-play. The essential features of a *Wayang* proper are that the actors are represented by shadows which the puppets throw from behind on a white screen in front of the audience. The puppets are made of leather, generally of buffalo's hide, and painted and gilt with great care. The performer (*dalang*) sits behind the screen under a lamp, and manipulates the puppets so as to suit their actions to the speech which he himself recites from behind on behalf of all the actors. The movements of the puppets are rendered quite easy as they are cut in profile and have loose arms which can be moved by wooden sticks. The themes are usually derived from the two Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

Thus, on the whole, we find that poetry, drama, music, and dance formed the highest classes of amusement, at least in Java, and the spirit of these was undoubtedly derived from India.

Lastly, we may turn to the final rites of a man, which form such a characteristic feature of every society. As regards the disposal of the dead, burning, throwing into water, and exposure to wilderness for being devoured by birds or dogs seem to have been the chief practices. It is said about Dva-pa-tan, usually identified with Bali, that "when one of them dies, they fill his mouth with gold, put golden bracelet on his legs and arms, and after having added camphor oil, camphor baros and other kinds of perfumery, they pile up firewood and burn the corpse." In Kora or Kalah (Malay Peninsula), after the bodies were burnt the ashes were put in a golden jar and sunk into the sea.

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In this connection we may refer to the present practice of cremation at Bali. It consists of a series of ceremonies and requires much time and much money. Immediately after death the body is embalmed, i.e. covered successively with spices, coins, clothes, mats, and a covering of split bamboo. In this state the body remains for a length of time, until three days before the cremation, when the corpse is stripped of its coverings and the relatives look upon the dead for the last time. The dead body is then placed on the funeral carriage which is a sort of moving chariot, consisting of a base made of bamboo with a superstructure of bamboo or wood, in the form of a pyramid of three to eleven storeys. Of course the structure and its decoration vary with the wealth of the family and are very gorgeous in the case of princes.

The funeral carriage is then taken to the cremation ground in a long procession, accompanied by music, and also by armed men in the case of members of a royal family. The articles of daily use and holy water from the sacred places, both Hindu and Buddhist, are carried with the procession.

At the place of cremation the corpse is taken down from the carriage and placed into the coffin, which stands on a two-storeyed chamber. At last, after the *Padaṇḍa* (priest) has muttered the sacred texts and sprinkled the holy water on the body, a fire is kindled beneath the coffin. After the corpse is consumed, the bones are collected and carried the next day with great state to the sea, and thrown into it together with money and offerings.

II. JAVANESE LITERATURE

From an early date Indian literature was carried to Java, though the nature and extent of this importation are not exactly known. The study of this literature led to the growth of an Indo-Javanese literature, which forms one of the most characteristic features of Indian colonisation in that island. Nowhere else, outside India, has Indian literature been studied with so much advantage and with such important consequences.

As we have seen above, the history of the Indian colony in Java may be divided into three broad chronological periods,

according as the chief seat of political authority was in the west, centre, and the east of the island. For the first of these periods, we have no trace of any literature proper, although the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman clearly testify to the knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature. This knowledge became more intensive and extensive during the second period. This is proved not only by inscriptions, but also by the extensive monuments of the period, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, as the sculptures carved therein are mostly, if not exclusively, illustrations of Indian books. This period also probably saw the beginnings of Indo-Javanese literature; I say probably, because only three books may be tentatively ascribed to this period, and the date of each of them is a subject-matter of great controversy. It is only when we come to the third period that we find the Indo-Javanese literature taking a definite shape. For nearly five hundred years (1000-1500 A.D.) this literature had an unbroken and flourishing career in the east under the patronage of the kings of Kaḍiri or Daha, Singhasāri and Majapahit.

The Muslim conquest of Majapahit brought to an end what is usually called the Old-Javanese literature. The subsequent development of Javanese literature took place in different localities. The Javanese who took refuge in Bali continued the literary efforts, and their literary products are referred to as Middle-Javanese. On the other hand, there was a revival of literary culture in Central Java, in the new Muslim kingdom of Matarām, and the result was the growth of what is called the New-Javanese literature.

The artificial classic language of the New-Javanese literature is called Kavi. Formerly this word was used to denote the old language of Java in general, but now the term Old-Javanese is used to indicate the language which was current up to the fall of Majapahit, and the Middle-Javanese to indicate that used by the Javanese in Bali. We thus get three broad divisions of Indo-Javanese literature, viz.—

1. Old-Javanese.
2. Middle-Javanese.
3. New-Javanese.

In the following pages we shall make an attempt to give a short account of the first two only, as the third really falls beyond the Hindu period in Java.

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The Old-Javanese literature is marked by several important characteristics. Its poetry follows rules of Sanskrit metre, its subject-matter is derived mainly from Indian literature, and it has a strong predilection for using Sanskrit words and quoting Sanskrit verses. But even in subject-matter the deviation from the Sanskrit original is often considerable.

As already said above, the beginnings of this literature may be traced to the period when Central Java was the political centre of the island. The earliest book that we may definitely refer to this period is an Old-Javanese version of a Sanskrit work, *Amāramālā*, which, like Sanskrit *Amarakoṣa* and other Indian lexicons, contains synonyms of different gods, goddesses, and other animate and inanimate objects.

The composition of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* may also be referred to the same period. This is one of the best and most famous works of Indo-Javanese literature. It is not a translation of the Sanskrit epic, but an independent work. Its subject-matter agrees quite well with that of Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, but it concludes with the reunion of Rāma and Sītā after the fire-ordeal of the latter, and does not contain the story of her banishment and death.

The next important landmark in connection with the development of Old-Javanese literature is the prose translation of the great epic *Mahābhārata* during the reign of Dharmavaṁśa. The Old-Javanese translation of Ādi-Parva, Virāṭa-Parva, and Bhīshma-Parva may be definitely ascribed to the initiative and patronage of this king, while the Āsrama-Parva, Musala-Parva, Prasthānika-Parva, and Svargārohaṇa-Parva are of later date. There is also a version of Udyoga-Parva, written in very corrupt Sanskrit, and full of lacunae. The Virāṭa-Parva was composed in 996 A.D., just ten years before Java was overtaken by the great catāstrophe which destroyed both Dharmavaṁśa and his kingdom.

The Old-Javanese translations closely follow the original epic, but are more condensed. Their style is very primitive and lacks literary merit. Their importance, however, cannot be over-estimated, as they made the Great Epic popular in Java and supplied themes for numerous literary works which exhibit merits of a very high order.

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The first work of this kind is *Arjuna-vivāha*, written by Mpu Kanva under the patronage of Airlangga (1019-1042 A.D.). It deals with an episode from the *Mahābhārata* in which Arjuna helps the gods in their fight against Nivāta Kavacha.

Two other poetical works may be referred to the beginning of the Kaḍiri period. The first is *Kṛishṇāyaṇa* by Triguṇa. It deals with the famous episode of the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛishṇa and his consequent fight with Jarāsandha. The next work *Sumanasāntaka* (death caused by a flower) is based on the story of the death of Indumatī, the queen of Aja and the mother of Daśaratha, so marvellously dealt with by Kālidāsa in his immortal work *Raghuvamśa*.

We next come to the most flourishing period of the Old-Javanese literature, *viz.*, the reign of Jayabhaya (c. 1135-1157 A.D.). The greatest work of this period, which has all along enjoyed a very high degree of reputation, is *Bhārata-yuddha*, an independent work based on the Udyoga-Parva, Bhīshma-Parva, Droṇa-Parva, Karṇa-Parva, and Śalya-Parva of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*; in other words, those parts of the great epic of India which deal with the great war. It is written in simple but epic style, and its grandeur, according to eminent critics, is comparable to that of the Greek epics. It was written by Mpu Sedah in 1157 A.D., by order of the Kaḍirian king Jayabhaya. According to one tradition, the poet incurred royal displeasure and the work was completed by Mpu Panuluh.

Mpu Panuluh, who completed the *Bhārata-yuddha*, evidently during the reign of Jayabhaya, also composed another poetical work, *Harivamśa*, during the same reign. This book, like its Indian prototype, deals with the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛishṇa and the consequent war with Jarāsandha and the Pāṇḍavas who helped the latter. This last episode is not in the original Indian work.

Kāmeśvara II (1185 A.D.) maintained the brilliant literary traditions of the Kaḍirian court. The most famous work written under his patronage was *Smaradahana*. This work is based on the well-known episode of the burning of Smara or the god of Love by Śiva, which has been so masterly dealt with by Kālidāsa in his immortal work *Kumāra-sambhavam*.

The famous *Bhomakāvya* is also attributed to the period of

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Kāmeśvara II. It describes the defeat of Indra and other gods by Bhoma, or Naraka, son of Pṛithivī, and finally his death in the hands of Kṛishṇa.

In the fourteenth century, during the flourishing period of Majapahit, we get a unique poem, the *Nāgara-Kṛitāgama*, written by Prapañcha in A.D. 1365. Unlike the usual poems based on the Indian epics, it takes as its theme the life and times of Hayam Wuruk, the famous king of Majapahit, and supplies us very interesting information about the king, his capital city, his court, and his vast empire.

The class of poetical works we have hitherto described is called Kakawin, from 'Kavi', meaning Kāvya. They are all written in Old-Javanese language and their subject-matter is derived mostly from Indian Epics and Purāṇas. In addition to the works mentioned above, there are many other Kakawins, which, however, cannot be dated even approximately.

Special reference may be made to the Kakawin work, called in Java '*Nītisāstra-kawin*,' but now known in Bali as *Nītisāra*. The work may be referred to the closing years of the Majapahit period. It consists of a number of detached *ślokas* containing wise sayings, maxims, moral precepts, religious doctrines, etc., such as we find in Sanskrit works called *Nītisāra*, *Pañchatantra*, *Chāṇakya-sataka*, etc. in India. In many cases the Javanese verses may be easily traced to their Indian original.

The Kakawins form the first of the three grand divisions of the Old-Javanese literature. The second division comprises religious and doctrinal texts, like *Sūrya-Sevana*, *Gāruḍeya mantra*, etc. The third, the prose works, may be subdivided, according to their contents, into four classes. Two of these deal with law and religion and the third comprises prose works based on Indian Epics and Purāṇas.

The Mahābhārata series begins with the Old-Javanese translation of the different Parvas of the *Mahābhārata*. Another work of the same series is *Koravāśrama*, a late work, in which a great deal of modification of the epic is noticeable. To this class also belongs *Sāra-samuchchaya*, an Old-Javanese translation of a large number of moral precepts chiefly drawn from Anuśāsanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. It is interspersed

with quotations of Sanskrit verses from the epics and other Indian books such as *Pañchatantra*.

Navaruchi, a very popular work in Bali, describes the exploits of Bhīma. Of the other epic, we have the prose translation of Uttarakāṇḍa in Old-Javanese. It is interspersed with Sanskrit verses and its last two chapters are named Rāma-prasthānikam and Svarggārohaṇam, agreeing in all these respects with the Javanese version of Mahābhārata. Like the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, it shows divergences from the original Sanskrit text.

Of the Purāṇa class of works *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* is undoubtedly the most important. It closely follows the model of the Indian Purāṇa, though Javanese touches occur here and there.

Another work of the same class is *Agastyaparva*, where Agastya describes to his son Dṛiddasyu the creation of the world in right Puranic style.

The fourth category of Old-Javanese prose literature comprises texts of secular character, dealing with a variety of subjects such as history, linguistics, medicine, etc.

After having made a brief survey of the Old-Javanese literature we may next turn to the Middle-Javanese.

The extent and compass of the Middle-Javanese literature is fairly large. The most important works are those of historical character written both in prose and in poetry. The poetical works of the Middle-Javanese literature use new kinds of metre and are known as Kidung.

Of the prose works the most important is *Pararaton* which has been already referred to in the historical account of Java. It begins with the story of Ken Angrok (or Arok) and gives the outline of the political history of Java for nearly three centuries during the Singhasāri and Majapahit periods. The work was composed in 1613 A.D.

Another work, the *Usana Java*, contains traditions about the history of Bali.

Next there is a class of historical chronicles known as *Pamañchangah*. We have not only general works of this name but also local chronicles, written both in prose and poetry. Of the remaining poetical works, called Kidung, the most impor-

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tant is the Panji series, *i.e.*, those dealing with the romantic adventures of the famous hero Panji.

Next to the Panji-cycle may be mentioned the class of folktales and fables known as Tantri. These works are based on *Hitopadeśa* and *Pañchatantra*, but contain many new stories. This class of literary works is found not only in Javanese but also in Balinese, Siamese and Laotian languages, showing the great popularity of the subject. The preamble is, however, different. Instead of the usual introductory episode of Viṣṇu-śarma instructing his royal disciples, the stories are put in the mouth of a queen, the last of a long series who were daily married and put off by the king for a new one, thus reminding us of the introduction of the Arabian *Thousand and One Nights*.

Epic and mythological stories form the basis of many poetical works of the Kidung class. The *Sang Satyavan* is of more than passing interest as it gives a Javanese version of the famous episode of Sāvitrī. There are some Kidungs with independent plots of romantic character and not based upon epic or mythology.

III. RELIGION

We have described above in a broad outline how the religious systems of India—both Brahmanical and Buddhist—were spread in Suvarṇadvīpa and took deep root in its soil even during the early period of Hindu colonisation. As centuries rolled by, the Indian religions made a more thorough conquest of the land, and it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that so far as faiths, beliefs, and religious practices were concerned, the colonies in the Far East were almost a replica of the motherland. Of course, we should not expect that the indigenous faiths and practices vanished altogether. As in India itself, these were partly eliminated by, and partly absorbed into, the higher and more developed system, but in some respects the latter also was affected and moulded by the former.

All these observations are specially applicable to Java and Kambuja, the only colonies which furnish us detailed evidence of the various stages of religious development.

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1. *The Brahmanical religion in Java*

About the beginning of the eighth century A.D. we find the Pauranik form of Brahmanical religion firmly established in Java. In essence, it consisted of the worship of three principal divinities, *viz.*, Brahmā the creator, Vishṇu the protector, and Śiva the destroyer, together with their śaktis or divine spouses and a host of minor gods and goddesses related to them.

The position of supremacy among them was undoubtedly accorded to Śiva. That it was not a mere personal or local factor, but generally true of both Central and Eastern Java, clearly follows from a study of the literature, inscriptions and monuments of Java.

This great god Śiva was regarded not only as the agent for the destruction of the world, but also of its renovation. He had thus both a benevolent and a terrible nature. These two aspects are represented in Javanese iconography by the two human forms of the god known as Mahādeva and Mahākāla or Bhairava.

To these forms of Śiva correspond two different forms of his śakti. The śakti of Mahādeva is Devī, Mahādevī, Pārvatī or Umā, the daughter of Himālaya. A particular form of this goddess is Durgā or Mahishāsūramardīnī. The śakti of Mahākāla or Bhairava is Mahākālī or Bhairavī.

The image of Gaṇeśa, the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, was very common in Java, and followed in general the Indian prototype. The war-god Kārtikeya, another son of Śiva, was also well-known in Java. Lastly, it may be mentioned, that Śiva was also worshipped in the form of Liṅga.

Vishṇu, the second member of the trinity, never attained in Java a position or importance equal to that of his rival Śiva, though under some dynasties he enjoyed very high honour and rank. His śakti, Śrī or Lakshmī, is usually represented with four arms holding lotus, ear of corn, fly-whisk and rosary, and the rider (*vāhana*) Garuḍa is also represented in Java. Most of his *avatāras* or incarnations specially Kṛishṇa, Rāma, Matsya, Varāha, and Narasimha, are represented by images. The devotees of Vishṇu were undoubtedly less in number than those of Śiva and Buddha, and Vaishṇavism ranked in importance next only to śaivism and Buddhism.

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The images of Brahmā, the remaining member of the trinity, are comparatively few in number.

The image of Trimūrti *i.e.*, of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva combined together, is also found in Java.

Another image, which is very popular in Java, is usually styled Bhaṭāra-Guru. It is a two-armed standing figure of an aged pot-bellied man with moustache and peaked beard, and holding in his hands, trident, water-pot, rosary and fly-whisk. This image is usually regarded as a representation of Śiva Mahāyogin (the great ascetic), and his universal popularity is explained by supposing that an originally Indonesian divinity was merged in him. Some are, however, of opinion, that the image represents the sage Agastya. The extreme veneration for, and the popularity of the worship of, Agastya in Java are reflected in the inscriptions, and this view seems eminently reasonable.

In addition to the principal gods and goddesses described above, we come across the images of various minor gods in Java. In short, almost all the gods of Hindu pantheon are represented in Java, and the following observation of Crawford, made more than a century ago, can hardly be regarded as an exaggeration.

"Genuine Hindu images, in brass and stone, exist throughout Java in such variety, that I imagine there is hardly a personage of the Hindu mythology, of whom it is usual to make representations, that there is not a statue of."

There was an extensive religious literature in Java, based on Indian texts. They show how the theology, mythology, religious concepts, and the philosophy of Paurāṇik Hinduism made a thorough conquest of Java.

2 *Buddhism*

We now turn to the other great religious sect, *viz.*, Buddhism. We have seen above that the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism was prevalent all over Suvarṇadvīpa towards the close of the seventh century A.D. But the next century saw a great change, at least in Java and Sumatra. The Hīnayāna form was practically ousted by Mahāyāna which had a triumphant career in Sumatra and Java during the period of the Śailendra supremacy.

In Java, it led to the erection of the famous Barabudur and

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several other magnificent temples. Buddhism, particularly its Mahāyāna form, became a very popular religion in Java and Sumatra among the masses. On the whole it may be safely presumed that as in the old days, Suvarṇadvīpa continued to be a strong centre of Buddhism. The international character of Buddhism gave Suvarṇadvīpa a status and importance, and brought it into intimate contact with India and the other Buddhist countries. It has already been stated above that the Śailendra kings were in close touch with the political powers of India and that the Buddhist preachers from Bengal exerted influence on Javanese Buddhism. It is also on record that eminent Buddhist scholars like Atīśa Dīpaṅkara of Bengal (eleventh century A.D.) and Dharmapāla of Kāñchī, who was a Professor at Nālandā in the seventh century A.D., went to Suvarṇadvīpa for study, as it formed an important seat of Buddhist learning. The study of Buddhist literature in Java is proved not only by the discovery of important Buddhist texts but also by the sculptures of Barabudur and other religious monuments which presuppose a wide range of knowledge in its various branches.

The international character of Buddhism perhaps explains the absence of any material modification of its principal tenets and beliefs. This is best illustrated by a study of the Buddhist iconography in Java. Here the entire hierarchy of the Mahāyānist gods makes its appearance.

The later phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India are also met with in Java. We may note in particular four of them, viz. (1) The adoption of Hindu gods in the Buddhist pantheon, (2) introduction of minor and miscellaneous divinities, some of a terrible appearance, (3) the development of Tantrik mode of worship, and (4) the gradual rapprochement between Mahāyāna and Brahmanical religion.

The close association between Śiva and Buddha was a characteristic feature of Javanese religion. The two deities have been identified in such books as *Kuñjarakarṇa* and *Sutasoma*. In modern Balinese theology Buddha is regarded as a younger brother of Śiva, and there is a close affinity between the two doctrines. A similar Śiva-Buddha cult existed in Java. Further, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Buddha were all regarded as identical and so were their Śaktis.

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3. *Religion in Bali*

The picture of Javanese religion, based on literature and iconography, corresponds to the present religious views and practices in Bali. Nevertheless, as Hinduism is still a living religion in Bali, we get naturally more details about its actual working than is possible in the case of Java. The following account of Balinese religion should, therefore, be regarded more as a supplement to the sketch we have drawn above than as an independent picture.

The Balinese mind is strongly dominated by a religious feeling inasmuch as they have a strong belief in the unbounded influence of gods and Butas, *i.e.* good and evil spirits, over the entire destiny of man. Their whole life may almost be described as an unceasing struggle to befriend the former and to appease the latter. The religious performances thus occupy a prominent place in Balinese life, and their ultimate object may be described as honouring the gods and ancestors and propitiating the evil spirits. The Balinese worship may be divided into two classes, domestic and public. The most important in the first category is Sūrya-Sevana or worship of Śiva as Sūrya (Sun). The following account of an actual performance given by an eye-witness may serve as an apt illustration.

“The Padaṅḍa (priest) is clothed in white, with the upper part of the body naked, after the Balinese-Indian manner. He sits with his face to the east, and has before him a board upon which stand several small vessels containing water and flowers, some grains of rice, a pan with fire (*dhūpa-pātra*) and a bell. He then mumbles, almost inaudibly, some words or prayers from Vedas (*sic*), dipping the flowers into the water and waving them and a few grains of rice before him (towards the east) with the forefinger and thumb of his right hand, whilst at the same time he holds up the pan containing fire. After having proceeded with his prayers for some time, during which he makes all kinds of motions with his fingers and turns his rosary, he appears to be inspired by the deity; Śiva has, as it were, entered into him; this manifests itself in convulsions of the body, which grow more and more severe, and then gradually cease. The deity having thus entered into him, he no longer sprinkles the water and flowers towards the east alone, but also towards his own body, in order to pay homage to the deity which has passed into it. The bells are not used in the ordinary daily worship, but only at the full and new moons and cremations.”

In addition to Sūrya-Sevana, there are other domestic religious ceremonies of the type described in the Gṛihya-Sūtras,

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performed on important occasions of a man's life, such as the birth of a child; the cutting of the navel string; the name-giving ceremony; the piercing of the ears; marriage; death; funeral; birthdays of family members; and also on occasions of illness, beginning of harvest *etc.*

Each house has got a domestic chapel where daily worship is offered to the tutelary deities with flowers and delicacies. These are prepared by the ladies of the family who bring them to the chapels and reverently deposit them before the god. The chapel is usually enclosed by a wall, along the side of which are wooden or stone niches dedicated to particular gods who receive occasional worship.

For public worship each district has three or four general temples. In addition to the regular worship in these temples there are annual religious ceremonies or feasts on fixed dates, e.g. (1) Menjepi, on a new-moon day, for driving away the evil spirits; (2) Usaba (utsaba ?) in honour of Śrī, the goddess of agriculture; (3) Sara-Sevati (Sarasvatī) for consecration of books or manuscripts; (4) Tumpek-landep, for consecration of weapons; and others on the birth-days of principal gods and chiefs, on the anniversary of the foundation of each temple, on the coronation of kings, on the conquest of a State, on the outbreak of epidemics for the welfare of domestic animals, *etc.*

The worship of ancestors forms an important part of the Balinese religion. Each dwelling house has got one or more small temples for this purpose. The worship consists mainly of presenting offerings and chanting (or secretly uttering) *mantras* from scriptures. These vary for different deities and different occasions. The offerings are usually made up of ordinary articles of food (grains, fruits and meat) and drink, clothes, and money. Animal sacrifices are chiefly reserved for Kāla, Durgā, Butas, Rākshasas and other evil spirits. Hen, duck, young pig, buffalo, goat, deer and dog are usually sacrificed. But sometimes we hear even of human sacrifices.

The well-known accessory articles of Indian worship such as *ghṛita* (clarified butter), *kuśa*-grass, *tila* (sesamum) and *madhu* (honey) are also used in Bali. One of the most important items is the holy water. Although rivers in Bali are named after the sacred rivers in India, *viz.* Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Yamunā, Kāverī, Sarayū and Narmadā, the Balinese recognise that those rivers

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are really in Kling (India), and the water of these Balinese rivers is not regarded as holy. The water is therefore rendered sacred by the priests by uttering *mantras*.

The *Padanḍa* or priest who conducts the worship is usually a Brāhmaṇa. He attains to this position by learning the sacred texts, both Sanskrit and Kavi, and following a course of religious training under a *Guru*, who then formally consecrates him. The *Padanḍa* is rewarded for his services by a portion of the offerings. Remnants of his food and drink (which he takes after finishing the religious ceremony) are regarded as holy and are consumed by the people present. The *Toyatirta* or holy water used in the ceremony is eagerly solicited and even bought by the people. Besides domestic and public religious ceremonies, his services are also required on the occasion of cremations. In addition to these he works as teacher, astronomer, and astrologer for the public. One of his most important functions is to consecrate every newly made weapon, as otherwise it would not be effective.

IV. ART

The art in Suvarṇadvīpa, like its parent art in India, and the sister-art in other colonies, may be described as the handmaid of religion. All the monuments of this art, so far discovered, are religious structures, and religion has provided its sole aim and inspiration from beginning to end. Although numerous temples once decorated various parts of Malay Peninsula and the East Indies, these are mostly in ruins, except in Java, where a few are still in a fair state of preservation. These alone enable us to form some idea of the grandeur and magnificence of the art of Suvarṇadvīpa which was derived from India. Indeed Indo-Javaṇese art and Indo-Javanese literature constitute the greatest and most durable memorial of the Indian culture and civilisation in these far-off regions. (Plates XIX—XXIV).

Indo-Javanese art excels both in architecture and sculpture, and these are closely associated, inasmuch as the important specimens of the latter are furnished either by the decoration of religious structures or the images enshrined therein. A fair idea of both may be obtained by the description of a few select

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specimens out of the numerous monuments which lie scattered all over Java.

The religious structures in Java are known by the general appellation *Chandi*, and, with a few notable exceptions, they are all temples. The general plan of the temples is more or less uniform with variations in details. They consist of three distinct parts,—a high and decorated basement, the square body of the temple with a vestibule in front and projections on all other sides, and the roof. The roof consists of a series of gradually diminishing storeys, each repeating on a minor scale the general plan of the temple itself, *viz.* a cubic structure with four niches on four sides. To the four corners are four diminutive turrets which again are miniature reproductions of the temple. In the cases of some great structures, the upper stages of the roof are made octagonal, instead of rectangular, in order to relieve the monotony.

The interior of the temple is a plain square chamber. Its walls, rising vertically up to a certain height, support a series of horizontal courses of stone which, projecting one in front of the other, form an inverted pyramid of steps, and is terminated by a high and pointed hollow cone,—the whole corresponding to the storied pyramidal roof outside. The decorative ornaments, which consisted of well-known Indian motives such as rosette, garland, floral scroll, arabesque, various naturalistic designs and floral or geometrical patterns, are derived from India and there is no trace of local flora or fauna. One very frequently occurring motive, however, deserves particular notice. The Dutch archaeologists describe it as *Kāla-Makara*. It really consists of two separate motives *Kāla* and *Makara*, though sometimes they are found united to form a single combined motive. The *Kāla*-head is shaped like the head of a monster, and is taken to be an effigy of the terrible god *Kāla*. But it is really derived from the Indian motive of lion's head, and *Coomaraswamy* rightly describes it as a grotesque *Kīrttimukha*. It is a conventional lion's head with protruding eyes, broad nose, and thick upper lip with two big projecting teeth on two sides.

The *Kāla*-head is usually placed right over a gateway, or above a niche, in the centre of the enclosing arch, ending in a *Makara*-head at its two ends. *Makara*-heads are also placed at the foot of doorjambs. These motives are also found at the

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top of the staircase and various other parts of the building. In short, the Kāla-Makara motive, combined, or separated into two elements, occurs almost everywhere, and is one of the most favourite decorative devices of Indo-Javanese art (Pl. XIII).

Two peculiarities of Javanese temples may be noted here. In the first place, columns and pillars are wholly lacking. Secondly, the arches are all constructed on horizontal principle, as in ancient India, and the true or radiating arches are conspicuous by their absence.

It is not necessary here to describe in detail the various temples in Java which conform to this standard type. They are often found in groups with one or more big temples in the centre, surrounded by numerous smaller ones. Although, therefore, with a few exceptions, no individual temple in Java is of vast dimensions, this grouping of numerous temples within one enclosure served to give a colossal character to the whole structure.

In Central Java, which contains the earlier structures, ranging in date between the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D., we have several such groups of both Brahmanical and Buddhist temples.

On Dieng plateau, 6,500 ft. high and surrounded by hills on almost all sides, are a number of temples called after the heroes and heroines of the *Mahābhārata*. They are generally regarded as the oldest in Java and probably belong to the eighth century A.D. Although they are comparatively small in dimensions, their simple and clear outline, and restrained but well-conceived decorations endow them with a special importance. The sculptures are also characterised by a simplicity and vigour worthy of the temples which they adorned. On the whole the art of Dieng is characterised by a sobriety and dignity which reminds us of the Indian temples of the Gupta period (Pl. I).

The images found in the plateau of Dieng belong exclusively to the Brahmanical pantheon. We have images of Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇesa, Brahmā and Vishnu. The temples were thus Brahmanical, and to judge from the extant remains, mainly of Śaivite character.

A famous group of Buddhist temples lies in the Prambanan valley which forms a rich treasure-house of the products of the

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art of Central Java. The region stands on the border of the modern districts of Jogjakerta and Surakerta. It was a seat of one or more cities or capitals, and not merely a city of temples like Dieng. The most notable temples in this region are Chaṇḍi Kalasan, Chaṇḍi Sari and Chaṇḍi Sevu. Chaṇḍi Sevu is the biggest Buddhist sanctuary except Barabuḍur. A rectangular paved courtyard, measuring about 200 yds. by 180 yds., is surrounded on each side by two rows of temples, altogether 168 in number. The main temple which occupies the centre of the courtyard is similarly surrounded by two rows of temples in the form of squares, with 12 and 8 respectively on each side, thus making a total of 72. The main temple is thus surrounded by 240 temples, and there are traces of five more between the first two and the last two rows. The group thus formed had, again, one anterior temple on each side, at a distance of about 330 yds. There were thus altogether 250 temples including the main temple (Pl. II).

The main temple, situated on an elevated plane, formed the worthy centre of this vast complex of sanctuaries, each successive row of which was on a lower plane than the others. The sloping roofs of the vestibules of the first and last rows of temples accentuated the gradual slope and gave a pyramidal appearance to the whole which was probably constructed in ninth century A.D.

About midway between the Dieng Plateau in the north-west and the Prambanan valley in the south-east stands the Kedu plain which contained some of the noblest monuments of Indo-Javanese architecture, belonging nearly to the same period as those described above. There are ruins of numerous fine temples, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, and two of them, Chaṇḍi Mendut and Chaṇḍi Pavan, which are fairly preserved, are beautiful specimens of Indo-Javanese art. But all these have been cast into shade by the famous Barabuḍur, the colossal structure which is justly looked upon as a veritable wonder by the whole world. The massive proportions and the fine quality of its immensely extensive decorations invest it with a unique character, and it has no parallel in the world save perhaps the Angkor Vat in Cambodia.

The construction of Barabuḍur may be referred to the century 750-850 A.D., and there is hardly any doubt that we

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owe it to the patronage of the Śailendra kings who ruled over a vast empire during that period.

The Barabudur is situated on the top of a hillock which commands a fine view all round across the green plains of Kedu to the distant hill-ranges that surround them. The site was admirably chosen for what was destined to be the greatest monument of Indo-Javanese art, and an immortal tribute to the genius and resources of a gifted people and the culture and refinement of the civilisation of which it was the product.

The site was, however, even more suitable than is apparent to a modern visitor. There was a rocky eminence on the top of the hillock which served admirably as the core of the huge structure. The big monument that stands before us to-day in its massive grandeur is really an outer covering of that primitive rock which lies hidden beneath it.

The noble building (Pl. III, IV, XXV) really consists of a series of nine successive terraces, each receding from the one beneath it; and the whole crowned by a bell-shaped *stūpa* at the centre of the topmost terrace. Of the nine terraces the six lower ones were square in plan, while the upper three were circular. The lowest terrace has an extreme length of 131 yds. (including projections) and the topmost one a diameter of 30 yds. The five lower terraces were each enclosed on the inner side by a wall supporting a balustrade, so that four successive galleries are formed between the back of the balustrade of one terrace and the wall of the next higher one (Pl. IV, Fig. 1). The three uppermost terraces are encircled by a ring of *stūpas*, each containing an image of Buddha within a perforated framework. From the ninth terrace a series of circular steps lead on to the crowning *stūpa*. The balustrade in each terrace consists of a row of arched niches separated by sculptured panels. All the niches support a superstructure which resembles the terraced roof of a temple, with bell-shaped *stūpas* in the corner and the centre, and contain the image of a Dhyānī-Buddha within. There are no less than 432 of them in the whole building.

There is a staircase with a gateway in the middle of each side of the gallery leading to the next higher one (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The doorway is crowned by a miniature temple-roof like the niches of the balustrade. The beautiful decorations of

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the doorways and the masterly plan in which they are set—commanding from a single point a fine view of all the doorways and staircases from the lowest to highest—introduce an unspeakable charm and invest them with a high degree of importance in relation to the whole construction.

The series of sculptured panels in the galleries form the most striking feature of Barabudur. On the whole there are eleven series of sculptured panels. The total number of these sculptured panels would be about fifteen hundred.

It may be safely presumed that the sculptures in the different galleries follow prescribed texts, and it is not possible to interpret them without the help of those texts. Fortunately, they have been traced in many cases, and thus the work of interpretation has been comparatively easier in these instances. They depict the life of Gautama Buddha, the Jātakas, *i.e.* previous births, and Avadānas or great deeds of the Buddha, and the story of Sudhanakumāra, who made sixty-four persons his *gurus*, passed through a hundred austerities and ultimately obtained perfect knowledge and wisdom from Mañjuśrī. The other reliefs have not been satisfactorily interpreted. All of them show a high artistic skill.

The detached images of Buddha in Barabudur (Pl. V) and of Bodhisatvas in Mendut (Pl. VI) may be regarded as the finest products of Indo-Javanese sculpture. Fine modelling, as far as it is compatible with absence of muscular details, refined elegance of features, tasteful pose, close-fitting, smooth robe and a divine spiritual expression of face are the chief characteristics of these figures. The art must have, therefore, been ultimately derived from the classical art of the Gupta period in India.

Although no Brahmanical Temple in Java makes even a near approach to Barabudur, the Lara-Jongrang group in the Prambanan valley may be regarded as the next best. It consists of eight main temples, three in each row with two between them, enclosed by a wall, with three rows of minor temples round the wall on each side making a total of 156.

Of the three main temples in the western row, the central one is the biggest and the most renowned, and contains an image of Śiva (Pls. VII-VIII). The one to the north has an image of Viṣṇu, and that to the south, an image of Brahmā.

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The Śiva-temple in the centre is the most magnificent. Its basement, about 10 ft. high and 90 ft. long, supports a platform on which the temple stands, leaving a margin about 7 ft. wide on each side, which served as a path of circumambulation. The platform is enclosed by a balustrade decorated with reliefs on both sides.

The inner side of the balustrade consists of a continuous series of relief-sculptures in forty-two panels, depicting the story of the *Rāmāyana* from the beginning up to the expedition to Lañkā. The story was presumably continued on the balustrade of the temple dedicated to Brahmā. These reliefs constitute the chief importance and grandeur of the Lara-Jongrang temples. They may justly be regarded as the Hindu counterpart of the Buddhist reliefs on Barabuḍur and are hardly, if at all, inferior to them.

The art of Lara-Jongrang is more naturalistic than that of Barabuḍur and is characterised by a greater feeling for movements and human passions. It is more informed by human life and activity, though not devoid of the graceful charm of idealism. It has brought the divinity of idealism to the earth below, but with less abstraction and more animation than is the case with Barabuḍur. It is dramatic and dynamic, while the latter is passive and static. In short, Barabuḍur and Lara-Jongrang represent, respectively, the Classic and Romantic phases of Indo-Javanese art.

From a strictly technical point of view, the figures of these reliefs perhaps suffer in comparison with the finished products of Barabuḍur. But the artist has shown a very high degree of skill in delineating not only human figures but also apes, aquatic animals and plants (Pl. IX, Fig. 1).

The fine images of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara in Chaṇḍi Mendut (Pl. VI) are very beautifully modelled and belong to the classical style of Central Java such as we find in Barabuḍur. They show the same characteristic features with perhaps a greater degree of refinement and delicacy.

The images of Chaṇḍi Banon, though Brahmancial, belong to the school of Barabuḍur rather than that of Lara-Jongrang. There is an indescribable charm in every detail, and although the figure is shown as standing erect, its graceful posture offers

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a striking contrast to the somewhat stiff attitude of the Mahā deva of Lara-Jongrang.

Having described the greatest monuments of Central Java we may briefly refer to a few notable monuments in Eastern Java.

The first, of which enough remains to give us a fair idea of its architectural peculiarities, is Chaṇḍi Kidal, which was the cremation-sanctuary of King Anūshapati. As this king died in A.D. 1248, the temple must have been built within a few years of that date.

To the north-west of Singhasāri lies the tower-temple known as Chaṇḍi Singhasāri. Two characteristic features distinguish this temple. In the first place, the projections of the basement which cover almost its entire height up to the cornice, do not correspond to any similar projections in the main body of the temple and are developed into separate chapels. These have independent profiles and look like four additional buildings added to the original structure. Secondly, the cella inside is within the basement, the western side chapel serving as its vestibule. Thus what appears from outside as the main body of the temple is really above the cella and should rather be regarded as its roof.

Chaṇḍi Jago is one of the most important monuments of the Singhasāri period. It is the burial-temple of King Vishṇu-wardhana in which he was represented as a Buddhist god. As king Vishṇuwardhana died in 1268 the temple must have been erected some years before or after that date.

The temple, badly damaged, stands on three platforms, each of which is not only smaller than the lower but also considerably set back behind it. This gives the temple a peculiar appearance, like a tower-temple on the back portion of a raised structure.

The greatest and most famous monument in Eastern Java is the temple complex of Panataran (old name Palah,) to the north-east of Blitar. Unlike Chaṇḍi Sevu, the various structures that compose the group of Panataran were not parts of the same plan or design, but grew up sporadically around what had come to be regarded as a sacred ground from early times. The building activities can be traced throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. The great temple which naturally

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occupies our chief attention belongs probably to the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.

The whole temple area, 196 yds. by 65 yds., was enclosed by a wall with its chief entrance to the west. The enclosed area was again divided into three parts by two cross walls. The main temple occupied the rearmost *i.e.* the eastern part. Three terraces, each smaller than, and having a different ground-plan from the lower, supported the main temple. The temple has, however, disappeared altogether, and the terraces alone remain. Its characteristic features were the decorated pilasters at the corners which project in front and support a miniature temple above the floor of the terrace, and the narrative reliefs on the central part representing scenes from the *Rāmāyana*. In the second terrace, the central part is covered by continuous reliefs illustrating the *Kṛishṇāyana*.

The temples in Eastern Java are decidedly inferior, both in plan and execution, to those of Central Java. The first thing that strikes even a casual observer is the lack of symmetry in the general plan of the temple-complex. Unlike Central Java, the main temple does not occupy the central position with subsidiary temples arranged round it in a definite order. Here the temples are arranged pell-mell without any plan or design. Besides, the smaller temples are not replicas of the central big temple, but the different temples have different designs. The most conspicuous example of this is furnished by Chaṇḍi Panataran.

Secondly, the several parts of the same temple have proportions very different from those of Central Java. The basement is given an undue importance while the pyramidal roof dominates the whole temple.

Thirdly, there are important variations in architectural decorations, the place of the Kāla-Makara ornament, *e.g.*, being taken mostly by the Nāgas. Besides, the ornaments are not generally suited to the architectural parts to which they are applied. They are not only exuberant and excessive, but instead of emphasising the different parts of the structure, they serve to hide them. Far from being subservient to architectural plan they seek to play an independent rôle.

The sculptured narrative reliefs (Pl. IX, Fig. 2) in different temples bear a decided stamp of their own and form the most

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characteristic distinguishing feature of the art of Eastern Java. The chief peculiarities of the style are the following:

- (a) The human figures are coarsely executed. They are vulgar and ugly, and sometimes queer and distorted like the puppets of Wayang.
- (b) There is no idea of symmetry, rythm, harmony, or perspective in the composition or grouping, the figures being arranged in a line with trees or other objects interspersed between them. .
- (c) The figures, lifeless and devoid of expression, usually look like silhouettes.
- (d) Exuberance of decorative ornaments such as trees, scrolls, and spirals.
- (e) The busts are always shown in their frontal aspect, even though the head or legs, or both, are turned sideways.
- (f) The figures are carved in low relief.

These characteristics are illustrated by the well-known reliefs of Chaṇḍi Jago and Chaṇḍi Panataran.

Anyone who compares the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs of Panataran (Pl. IX, Fig. 2) with those of Lara-Jongrang (Pl. IX, Fig. 1) can immediately perceive the great gulf that separates the two schools of art. The degradation of one of the best forms of art into one of the lowest is difficult to explain simply by the lapse of time. The reason must lie in the racial characteristics. In other words, the predominantly Javanese element in the East now asserts itself against the Indianised central region which lost its supreme position in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

Nothing illustrates more forcibly the conservative forces of religious traditions than the divine images of Eastern Java. In contrast to the degraded forms of men, and occasionally also of gods, which we meet with in the relief sculptures, the images of gods and goddesses in the round are made in old style.

The finest image in the whole series is that of Prajñāpāramitā of Singhasāri, the best specimen of Eastern Javanese sculpture (Pl. X). Her calm divine expression and serene beauty, recalling the earlier days of Javanese art, have evoked much enthusiastic and perhaps somewhat extravagant praise.

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In addition to the ordinary images of gods we have to note a series of remarkable images of gods which are designed as portraits. The Vishṇu image of Belahan (Pl. XI) is one of the finest in this series. Vishṇu has a serene majestic face, but the image is not an idealisation of divinity but realistic representation of an individual. There are good grounds to believe that the figure is that of the famous King Airlangga (11th century A.D.). The modelling of the image is good and the composition as a whole shows skill of high order. It is also probable that the image of Prajñāpāramitā, described above, is a portrait of queen Deḍes. A fine Śiva image, now in the Colonial Museum at Amsterdam, is supposed to represent Anūshapati. It is perhaps the finest specimen of figure sculptures of the thirteenth century A.D., combining as it does serenity with ideal beauty.

Another fine example is furnished by the Hari-Hara image of Simpang (Pl. XII) representing the features of king Kṛitarājasa.

Beautiful naturalistic figures, single or in groups, are occasionally met with in the ruins of temples. Their exact meaning and purposes are uncertain, but they show that pure aesthetic ideas were not altogether foreign to the art of Eastern Java.

In spite of the degraded character of the reliefs and images, the purely decorative sculpture of Eastern Java occasionally reaches a fairly high standard.

In spite of vital differences it may be held as more or less certain that the Eastern Javanese art is not an independent growth but a derivation from that of Central Java. It is held by many scholars that the differences are to be explained by a systematic process of degeneration and degradation. But, as noted above, we have to reckon with one very important additional factor, *viz.* the Indonesian spirit proper, which was less dominated by Indian culture in Eastern than in Central Java, and in course of time strongly asserted itself.

Some idea of the old temples of Bali may be formed from their later forms (Plates XXII, XXIII, XXIV).